Media Representations of Affordable Housing in Four Canadian Newspapers

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Introduction:

Media can be a way to frame or construct a force that contributes to the production of social reality, to the understanding of the nature of specific social problems such as housing insecurity (Tuchman, 1978). In doing this the media can often shape and alter a sense of reality by writing about, or not writing about certain topics in the news. Sometimes the information that is missing is what matters the most.

Our group is particularly interested in examining whether or not media coverage on the topic of affordable housing has increased along with both the rising cost of affordable accommodation and the dwindling number of low-income housing options available in the Vancouver area and on the DTES in particular. Along with the representation of media, we would like to shed light upon the speakers of these topics, who is talking about housing and what way it is talked about. Media representations thus have the potential to contribute to public understandings of housing insecurities, influence how those in need of affordable housing are regarded and treated, and play a role in debates and concerns about public policy about social housing (Schneider, forthcoming 2010).

We also looked into the way in which the media frames these issues, as well the extent to which (if any) this framing may have changed in relation to decreasing affordable housing options. We examined who the sources are in each article, and how many times these sources were mentioned. We wanted to see if there was a disconnect between the way the issue was talked about and the way it was given importance to the actual stats and crisis of affordable housing. We wanted to see if the representation is accurate, or if it is skewed to any which way (towards governmental or afflicted vox popli). The media is a very important source of information to the majority of masses, therefore the importance given to topics such as social housing are increasingly important.

Homelessness in Vancouver:

Vancouver – a Canadian city in the province of British Columbia – has been ranked as one of
the “best cities to live” for more than a decade, and is well-known for its consistently high placement among numerous quality of life reports (Mercer 2010); that being said, however, Vancouver is simultaneously ranked as the 13th least affordable city in the world, and is noted for having the least affordable housing in the nation (Woolsey, 2007). Though a large number of Vancouver’s residents are affluent, poverty both within and across Vancouver remains prevalent and the city is home to a sizable population that suffers from a combination of addictions, medical conditions and, of particular interest to our research, homelessness (Dobell Advisory, 2007, p.6).

In 2005, the Greater Vancouver Homeless Count (GVHC) estimated that there were approximately 2,200 homeless people in the Greater Vancouver area – close to 1,300 (or 63 percent) of whom were located in inner-city Vancouver (Dobell Advisory, 2007, p. 9). In addition to people counted as street homeless (i.e. those living on the street) and shelter homeless (i.e. those staying in shelters) in Vancouver, the GVHC also claimed that more than 1,200 persons in our inner city live in SRO (single room occupancy) hotels and are on the “immediate edge of homelessness” (p.9). The count also revealed that 66 percent of the reasons for homelessness (as cited by members of the homeless population/community themselves) were economic or, in other words, consisted of a combination of a lack of income and the high cost of housing in Vancouver (Social Planning, 2005, p.15).

According to “A Homeless Report Card for British Columbia,” Vancouver’s homeless population continues to increase dramatically (Paulsen, 2009). As revealed by Vancouver’s succeeding and most recent homeless count, for example, street homelessness in Vancouver increased 37 percent between 2005 and 2008 (Paulsen, 2009). Sean Condon – editor of the Vancouver street paper Megaphone – claims that anecdotal evidence supports both this increase in homelessness and the decrease in the availability of affordable housing (as cited in Paulsen, 2009). “Having done countless interviews with shelter workers, housing activists and the homeless themselves,” Condon claims, “there is a near unanimous consensus that the number of homeless people [in Vancouver] has increased over the past three years” (as cited in Paulsen, 2009). Pivot Legal Society lawyer Laura Track agrees, claiming that “minimum wages and social assistance rates have stagnated,” “rents and
property values have sky-rocketed” and the task of finding affordable housing has become “incredibly difficult” for a large portion of Vancouver’s population (as cited in Paulsen, 2009). “It is impossible to conclude,” argues Track “that the problems [of homelessness and insufficient affordable housing in Vancouver] have gotten anything but worse” over the past several years (as cited in Paulsen, 2009).

Most recently, two studies – “Pushed Out” and “Unpacking the Housing Numbers: How Much New Social Housing is BC Building?” – have once again drawn attention to the decreasing number of traditional low-income housing units available in Vancouver and, more specifically, to the small number of low-income housing units available on the Downtown Eastside. According to both “Pushed Out” and “Unpacking,” government data reveals that there has been an “overall net increase of only 280 new housing units over the past five years” – a finding that co-author of “Unpacking” calls both “sobering” and “concerning” (Copas & Klein, 2010). While “Pushed Out” does acknowledge the fact that “some” new social housing units are set to open within the next three years, its authors are quick to warn that it will take the city more than 40 years to replace its deplorable SRO hotel rooms with self contained social housing if nothing is done to increase the rate at which these hotel rooms are currently being replaced (Pedersen & Swanson, 2010).

**Media Coverage of (and Previous Studies on) Affordable Housing:**

Our preliminary research of previous studies on affordable housing quickly revealed that the majority (if not all) of the content analyses done on media coverage of affordable housing and the under-housed to date have been conducted on one specific area: homelessness. By analyzing media coverage of affordable housing in Vancouver, we hope to take the initial steps in filling what we perceive to be a gap in both the existing literature and the academic discourse surrounding housing and, more specifically, of affordable housing and the under-housed of Vancouver.

The primary finding of previous content analyses most closely related to our area of interest is that the media contributes to and constructs a particular narrative about homelessness. In both Schneiders’ (ForthcomingA) analyses on media representations of the homeless and homelessness
and Klodawsky, Farrsell, and D’Aubry’s (2002) analysis titled “Images of Homelessness in Ottawa: Implications for Local Politics”, for example, the researchers suggest that media framing promotes a particular narrative about homelessness and the homeless. “Images of Homelessness” additionally reports that such coverage simultaneously influences public perception of anti-homeless laws, and thereby impacts public policy surrounding issues related to homelessness. Insofar as we are interested in the extent to which media representations of affordable housing may similarly influence a narrow and unvaried public perception of this ‘type’ of housing (and the importance of policies that support it), we modeled both our research questions and our methodology after earlier studies on homelessness, such as those mentioned above. Similar to these earlier studies – each of which approaches a primarily quantitative analysis of media representations of homelessness prior to a more qualitative analysis of the resulting data set – the aim of our study is to paint a picture of the way in which affordable housing is covered in four Canadian newspapers: The Globe and Mail, The National Post, The Province and The Vancouver Sun. More specifically, our research was guided by the following four questions:

1) Who talks about housing?
2) How is housing talked about?
3) What/who is missing from the discussion?
4) What (if any) are the significant differences of coverage between the four newspapers?

Following analysis of these quantitative findings (what the media does and does not include in its coverage of affordable housing), we will be better equipped to qualitatively examine what the media has thereby established as ‘legitimate discussion’ surrounding housing in Vancouver. In addition, the data revealed by our quantitative coding will allow us to better measure the degree to which (if any) our data set reflects a sense of urgency towards the lack of affordable housing in Vancouver and on the Downtown Eastside in particular – something that our contextual research (i.e. the high number of under-housed and the lack of availability of affordable housing in our city) dictates the media ought to.
Method:

Four Canadian newspapers were collected from between September 1, 2009 to August 31, 2010: a regional newspaper, *The Vancouver Sun*; a tabloid, *The Province*; and two national newspapers, *The Globe and Mail* and *The National Post*. These papers were selected in order to compare coverage in the largest daily papers circulating across Canada. The focus was to research representation of affordable housing within national and regional media forms.

First, Vancouver is a suitable location to investigate coverage on social housing issues because it was in the midst of planning for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games during the period of collection. There was a lot of concern over how individuals living in the Downtown East Side, one of the most poverty stricken and drug use heavy areas in Canada, would be perceived. Further, it is also an area with an increased number of homelessness, addiction, and mental illness. The focal issue of social housing is especially important in this area, but is also a widely discussed topic across all of Canada.

Each newspaper was searched using the database Pro Quest. These articles were found and coded by Jill Pakulak, Pooja Pabari, and Toru Yokoi. We have collected 146 articles from these four newspapers to use as our sample size, highlighting articles for their key word usage of social housing or housing insecurity or single room occupancy or low-income housing or affordable housing or homelessness and Downtown Eastside. We found 146 articles including at least one of these key terms. Out of this, 61 articles were deemed applicable to this research. Some articles were not news in the usual sense; they were, therefore, excluded from the usable sources. We believe that 61 articles is a small enough sample size to be manageable for analysis, but large enough to give us statistically sound data. Further, we believe that the use of two regional and two national newspapers will provide a good range of viewpoints for the topics being investigated. A year was thought of as a good amount of time to attain a sizable data set; however, we ended up with only 61 articles that
pertained to our subject. This could be seen as not a large enough sample size. As The Vancouver Sun and The Province are the two major newspapers in Vancouver, we believe that they will have the highest readership within the city, making it the most common source of print media for people. According to the Canadian Newspaper Association (2010), weekday circulation of The Vancouver Sun is 168 000, making it British Columbia’s most read newspaper. The Province is close behind at 158 000. The Globe and Mail is Canada’s largest daily circulated newspaper, with a daily readership of 303 000. The National Post comes in second with a daily circulation of more than 154 000. We believe that these four newspapers are a sufficient example of Canadian and Vancouver major media sources that will provide us with a good sample.

A quantitative method was employed in this study. The coding frame consisted of categories that were exhaustive and mutually exclusive and based on relevant coding information available from previous studies on similar social housing subjects. Before final coding began, we did a sample coding of 10% of our articles and found our intercodal reliability on several categories to be lower than desired. Particularly, categories such as article type and dominant frames were difficult to be reliable enough since these categories require each coder to understand content of articles precisely. Therefore, we needed to change our coding protocol and questions turned out to be simpler than the previous one. In addition, we took out some categories like dominant topic and tragedy because these were too difficult for us to code. We then proceeded to change some of our coding questions. As a result, after recoding our sample, our intercodal reliability averaged 91%.

Definitions for all terms used in the coding system were also developed. Articles were coded on a variety of technical categories such as: their date of publication, word count, location in the newspaper, specific newspaper reported in, and genre (news, feature article, editorial). Further, the data set was coded for: the number of afflicted vox populi, source age, source gender (male, female, other, or unknown), source ethnicity (Caucasian, African-American, Asian, First Nations, other, or unknown), source affiliation (“expert opinion”, “un-afflicted” vox populi, afflicted vox populi, etc.), the
number of afflicted vox populi mentioned, affiliation of the dominant source, article type (whether it is critical or supportive for government policies and initiatives), and frames (thematic or episodic). In regards to frames, if episodic, we examined further to discover which episodic frame was applicable (sympathetic, negative image, exceptionalsim, or charitable). Finally, we created different categories to highlight whether the articles mentioned particular topics, such as housing security, single-room occupancy (SRO), mention of the condition of housing, mention of homelessness, mention of the Olympics, and mention of causes and the solutions of social housing issues. Our data set was analysed using SPSS, a statistical package which facilitates the analysis of quantitative data. After all the items were coded and entered into SPSS, we analyzed the data by creating charts and frequency tables for our coding categories, using these charts and tables we proceeded to analyze our data. We used the data that was most valuable and showed us the most amount of information. We then decided on how to display this data in report format. Most of the analysis of data consisted of working with the SPSS data and using the tables we found in ways that was easily understandable and congruent with our research.

Since the focus of the study is very similar, the research method is related to what Schneider, Chamberlain, and Hodgetts (ForthcomingB) used in their study: *Representation of Homelessness in Four Canadian Newspapers: Regulation, Control, and Social Order* (Canadian Newspaper Association, 2010). As they conducted in their study, we also used coding protocols to investigate how social housing issues are represented in Canadian newspapers especially in Vancouver. While their study assessed “who speaks about homelessness” by analyzing specific sources, we assessed the affiliation of dominant source likewise. As found in their study, the majority of the sources in our study were also found to be “experts.”
Results:

Though our original string of search terms (social housing OR low-income housing OR single room occupancy OR affordable housing OR low-income housing OR housing insecurity OR homelessness AND Downtown Eastside) originally yielded 146 results, we ended up with a data set of 61 articles; the 85 articles that were not included in our sample were removed as a result of being unrelated to our study. Several articles, for example, were removed insofar as they were solely about either homeownership or the Olympics and/or on the grounds that they included a mere mention (but no discussion) of one of our keywords. Of our 61 articles, 5 are from The National Post, 17 from The Vancouver Sun, 18 from The Province and 21 from The Globe and Mail. Although there were small differences between coverage within the four newspapers, we chose to report the aggregated results of the whole dataset as opposed to breaking down our findings by individual newspaper; where differences between papers is significant, we include mention of it in our results and analysis (Schneider, Forthcoming).

1. Who Talks About Affordable Housing?

Interested in the way in which particular media sources may contribute to and/or perpetuate a particular narrative about affordable housing, we coded for the affiliation of the dominant source – a person directly quoted and/or paraphrased the most (by word count) – within each of our 61 articles. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the most dominant speakers on the issue of affordable housing are ‘government experts’ – sources that we define as either government representatives or government officials; 36.1 percent of the time, these sources are given more words per article than any other ‘type’ of source (see Figure 1).
Following ‘government experts’, the next most common dominant source among our dataset is ‘unafflicted vox populi’ or, in other words, members of the general public that are not mentioned as being directly affected by housing insecurity (i.e. members of the general public who are not living in/have never lived in social housing and/or who are not currently in need of/have never been in need of social housing). Though initially surprised by the number of times ‘unafflicted vox populi’ are cited as the most dominant source in our dataset – 21.3 percent of the time – we attribute this finding, in part, to a poorly defined coding category. Unfortunately, our ‘unafflicted vox populi’ category ended up being a ‘catch-all’ insofar as it included all sources with any job or affiliation other than those explicitly specified as a ‘government expert’, ‘non-governmental organization/non-profit expert’ or an expert otherwise addressed with the explicit title of ‘expert’; as such, this category fails to capture the complexity of the many sources (and the many occupations and experiences) within this grouping. The broad definition of this particular coding category may also mistakenly imply a higher-than-accurate rate of inclusion of ‘average’ citizens (i.e. those simply stopped on the street and asked for
their opinion, for example) as opposed to the professors, lawyers, activists, etcetera that have been ‘lumped in’ to this unintentionally expansive category.

The remaining significant finding within the category of affiliation of dominant source is the affiliation that is cited the least frequently: ‘afflicted vox populi’. The dominant source in a mere one article, ‘afflicted vox populi’ (i.e. members of the general public that are mentioned as being directly affected by housing insecurity, such as those who currently live in/have previously lived in social housing and/or are currently in need of/have previously been in need of social housing/SROs) is a severely underrepresented affiliation among our category of dominant sources – a finding that we discuss in greater detail under both ‘What/Who is Missing from the Discussion About Affordable Housing?’ and ‘Discussion/Conclusion’.

To gain a better understanding of who is given a voice (and what voices are prioritized) in the media discourse surrounding affordable housing, we also coded for the affiliation of the first source mentioned in each of our articles. Findings within this category are similar to the our ‘dominant source’ findings, with ‘experts’ (both government and NGO/non-profit combined) cited most often, and members of the ‘afflicted vox populi’ – the first source mentioned in a mere four articles – cited as the ‘first source’ least frequently. Keeping in mind Buck, Toru and Ramos’ (2002) concept of relevance structuring (and the notion that the ‘most important’ information is often presented first), our finding that ‘experts’ are both the most dominant source by word count and the type of source most referenced before any other implies that the media assigns the most value to so-called ‘experts’, thereby positioning the members within this population as the most valuable commentators on the topic of affordable housing.

2. How is Affordable Housing Talked About?

In an attempt to capture the way in which affordable housing is talked about when it does, in fact, receive coverage in the media, we coded for the genre of each of our 61 articles. Taken from Bailey and Hackett’s (1997) “Newswatcher’s Guide to Content Analysis,” our five categorical genres include: ‘News’ (“refers to timely or breaking news”; “oftentimes in ‘inverted pyramid’ format”),
‘Feature’ ("think-pieces reflecting the opinions and judgments of an academic or other author"; includes interviews), ‘Column’ ("an item written by a regular columnist which conveys his/her opinion") and ‘Other’ (29). The overwhelming majority (42 times or 68.9 percent) of the articles in our dataset are ‘News’, followed by ‘Feature’ (at 11 times or 18 percent), ‘Column’ (at 7 times or 11.5 percent) and ‘Other’ once (or 1.6 percent) (see Figure 2, below).

Figure 2

Insofar as the media have become “core systems for the distribution of ideology” (Kendall, 2005b), we coded our data for the extent to which (if any) our articles were ‘supportive’, ‘critical’ or ‘equally supportive and critical’ of government response (such as policies/initiatives) to affordable housing. As illustrated in Figure 3 (below), most articles within our dataset – 32.8 percent – do not address government involvement whatsoever; 26.3 percent are primarily supportive, 21.3 percent are equally supportive and critical, and 19.7 percent are primarily critical.
We hypothesize that the fact that most articles do not address government response to under-housing and that the least cited category to government response is ‘critical’ are findings inextricably linked to the fact that the affiliation of the dominant source within our data set is ‘government expert’. Unfortunately, it appears as though government spokespeople are unwilling to criticize or evaluate current government initiatives/policies that may well lend a hand in the perpetuation of an insufficient affordable housing market in Vancouver. It is also important to note that the few times that articles do include criticism of government initiatives towards affordable housing, such criticism rarely (if ever) appears without the inclusion of caveats and/or without accompaniment of some degree of support or praise for government involvement on the issue of under-housing. Though we acknowledge that we are unable to make claims of causality on the grounds of our research, we nonetheless hypothesize that there may well be a correlation between a lack of critical analyses of government response to affordable housing within the media and a lack of critical capacity of the general public regarding both the issue of under-housing and the degree to which the public believes that the government ought to be involved in resolving it.
In hopes of capturing a more complete picture of the way in which the media speaks about affordable housing, we coded for the topic frames employed within each article. It is important to acknowledge, however, the limitations of our coding categories within this grouping and therefore concede that the majority of our data could not be coded as either thematic or episodic; that being said, however, it remains interesting that the majority of stories that can be coded as one of these two categories are coded as the former – thematic. According to Kendall (2005a), thematic framing is based primarily on statistics and trends and ignores the human tragedy in its impersonal approach; insofar as the majority of the stories within our dataset belong to the ‘news’ category, it is no surprise that the majority of stories that are coded as either episodic or thematic are thus the latter.

Though a mere seven articles are framed episodically, it is worthy of note that the majority of these episodic frames are what Kendall (2005a) calls frames of “exceptionalism” (121). According to Kendall (2005a), “exceptionalism” framing highlights “inspirational stories” that show the “importance of the human spirit in rising above adversity” (121). In each article where a member of the ‘afflicted vox populi’ is included in the discourse surrounding affordable housing (and where frames of “exceptionalism” are employed), it is, as Kendall (2005b) explains, as though the reporters and writers have “framed the available information and produced a construction of social reality that does not necessarily accurately reflect the real conditions of social life” among the majority of the under-housed population (5). In an article titled “Woodward’s Housing celebrated; Social-housing Units Mixed with Market Condos,” for example, the narrative begins as follows: ‘Eight years ago, Denis Paquin was sleeping on Vancouver’s streets — cold, wet and homeless. Today, the 57-yearold sleeps on a queen-sized fold-out bed with a cheerful yellow cover — and a glorious view of the mountains’ (Cooper, 2010). As this example illustrates, Paquin – a member of the afflicted under-housed population – was able to simply ‘overcome’ his hardships and is now living rather ‘happily ever after’. Upon reading this article, few without prior knowledge of the crises of under-housing would be convinced that structural changes (and perhaps little more than a “cheerful yellow cover”
and a “glorious view of the mountains”) is necessary in resolving a complex issue that is (at least in part) perpetuated through systemic injustice.

Though the frames of “exceptionalism” are well-suited to the episodic framing employed within the articles of our dataset, such frames do not accurately capture the many different experiences of being under-housed within Vancouver. Not only does such framing fail to reflect the diversity of those who are under-housed, for example, but “exceptionalism” framing seems to furthermore suggest that other members of the afflicted vox populi could simply ‘overcome’ the reality of being under-housed if only they set their mind to it – an intimation that not only “promotes a view that homelessness is an individual problem” but that furthermore “let’s society off the hook” for making major structural changes that might address the causes of under-housing (Kendall, 2005a, 8).

3. What/Who is Missing from the Discussion about Affordable Housing?

A surprising amount of significant information revealed by our study is in fact information that doesn’t technically appear within our data set. A discussion of potential causes and solutions of under-housing, for example, is practically missing from our sample entirely. An overwhelming 77 percent of articles within our dataset do not cite one or more potential causes for under-housing, and an equally surprising 65.6 percent fail to mention at least one potential solution (see Figure 4 and Figure 5, below).

Like so many of our findings, this particular finding, too – that causes and solutions of under-housing are overwhelmingly missing from the discussion – may well be related to the fact that the affiliation of
the most dominant source among our data set is governmental; were the government to acknowledge a cause (or causes) of under-housing, it is likely that the government would then be pushed and pressured by the public to criticize its own policy/initiatives and to then initiate a solution – something that may well be perceived as a drain on both the government’s limited time and resources. We hypothesize that the government may have a vested interest in preventing talk of both causes and solutions of under-housing from entering media discourse; if the public doesn’t perceive this as an issue of importance, then the government will not be pressured to initiate a solution and allocate time and resources accordingly.

In contrast, mention of homelessness is relatively significant within our data set, appearing 54 times out of 61 (or 88.5 percent of the time) (see Figure 6, below).

Insofar as homelessness can be perceived as ‘hard news’ (as opposed to a dwindling rental housing market, for example), we hypothesize that the high inclusion rate of homelessness among our data set is representative of the ‘legitimized’ discourse surrounding both under-housing and the under-housed. We also hypothesize that homelessness may be addressed in this discourse more frequently than other options along the housing continuum because of the fact that homeless people and emergency shelters – as opposed to those who live in social housing and SRO hotels, for example – are oftentimes easily identifiable within the city and are therefore less easily ignored. Though we did not code for mention of homeless shelters specifically (and therefore cannot make direct claims about coverage of shelters and coverage of affordable housing), we did code for
mention of SROs and found that SROs – oftentimes far less visible than homeless shelters and home
to a far less visible population – were much less frequently mentioned (See Figure 7, below).

Again, this comparison is significant insofar as it supports our hypothesis that the issue of under-
housing only enters media discourse once it has become a visible issue that cannot be ignored and
which is an issue that rarely receives coverage any sooner; even SROs, for example – the last stop
before homelessness – receive very little media coverage whatsoever.

As intimated in our section “Who Talks about Affordable Housing?”, it is important to reiterate
the minimal inclusion of afflicted vox populi in the media’s discussion of affordable housing. Quoted a
mere 12 times (or 19.7 percent of the time) within the entire data set, it is apparent that the voice of
those afflicted by a lack of affordable housing is very much missing from media discourse
surrounding this issue (see Figure Eight, below).
By excluding the voices of people whose lives have been directly affected by the affordable housing shortage, the media minimizes the human side of under-housing and includes few snapshots of the people affected by Vancouver’s overpriced and severely limited housing market. In rare instances when members of the afflicted population are included in this discussion, the media’s portrayal of this population is altogether narrow and unvaried; among those who are included in the discussion, for example, there is a shocking lack of diversity and a palpable message that it is a particular type of person (rather than numerous and diverse types of people) who is (or are) affected by the problem of under-housing. Not once, for example, does a story within our dataset mention a family who struggles with finding affordable housing, or with a member of society outside of extreme poverty who is likewise unable to maintain stable housing. On the rare instances when members of the afflicted population are included in the discussion of affordable housing, it is also important to acknowledge that their comments rarely, if ever, include anything but praise for policy initiatives or gratitude for having received government support. According to Kendall (2005a), articles are framed “more to praise the generosity of the rich than to explore the condition of the poor” – a statement that is entirely true of our data set (Kendall, 2005a, 99).

Seeing that the level of urgency that the media gives to affordable housing cannot be directly measured, we coded for mention of statistics (such as those released by Stats Can or CCPA) within each article in hopes of gaining some insight into this area of interest. We hypothesized that the inclusion of numerical data within an article may help readers visualize the large demand for affordable housing and may therefore potentially convey a greater sense of urgency towards the demand for affordable housing than would an article free of stats. As illustrated by Figure 9 (below), however, there is minimal mention of statistics across our data set, with no statistics referenced in over 80 percent of our articles.
4. What are the Differences in Coverage of Affordable Housing Between Newspapers?

Though we reported on the aggregated results of our data set, several areas of difference between newspapers (and among ‘affiliation of dominant source’, ‘article type’ and ‘mention of homelessness’, more specifically) warrant individual examination and analysis. As illustrated in Figure 10 (below), for example, the affiliation of the dominant source within *The Globe and Mail*, *The National Post* and *The Vancouver Sun* is most often ‘government expert’; that being said, however, there is a notable difference in the size of the disparity between the first most cited source and the second most cited source between papers. More specifically, *The Globe and Mail* has a significantly large gap between its most cited affiliation – government expert – and its second most cited affiliation – NGO/non-profit (see Figure 10, below).
While *The Globe and Mail*, *The National Post* and *The Vancouver Sun* all cite ‘government experts’ most often, it is also interesting to note that *The Province*, on the other hand, quotes NGO/non-profit experts most frequently. Moreover, *The Province* is the only paper to have an afflicted vox populi as the dominant source in at least one article. Another category in which findings differed between papers is ‘article type’. Here, it is interesting to note that *The Province* and *The Vancouver Sun* are the least likely to address government response (in any capacity), while *The Globe and Mail* is the most likely to include coverage in support of government response, and *The National Post* coverage that is ‘critical’ and coverage that is ‘equally critical and supportive’ (see Figure 11, below).
We hypothesize that the differences between papers may result, in part, from both their differing target audiences and reader demographics. As a more ‘popular press’ tabloid, for example, *The Province* has different news values than the other three papers and is perhaps less concerned with prioritizing the voice of the government. In addition, The Province initiated a year-long project – Project Phoenix – in which the paper focused on issues of importance to the Downtown Eastside; not surprisingly, the lone article in which an afflicted vox populi is the dominant source appeared in this paper. Insofar as *The Globe and Mail* is recognized as both Canada’s largest-circulation national newspaper and as the English language’s newspaper of record (on account of its high standards of journalism), we were particularly interested in its coverage of the issues of affordable housing. In contrast to *The Province*, *The Globe and Mail* places great value upon government sources, citing ‘government experts’ more than any other paper. We acknowledge that our analyses of differences
in coverage between papers is insubstantial and hope that further studies design their categories and coding schemes to better investigate and shed light upon these differences.

**Discussion/Conclusion:**

Much of our preliminary research suggests that the discourse surrounding housing and the under-housed in Vancouver may, to some degree, be receiving more press than it has in years previous; that being said, however, the majority of media coverage on these issues remains overwhelmingly specific to the most extreme ends of the large and complex spectrum that is housing and the under-housed: homeownership and homelessness. The rest of the conversation/the many options along the housing continuum – low-income housing; transitional, supportive and assisted living; independent social housing; rental housing, etcetera – are rendered invisible, or are otherwise illegitimatized in media discourse of housing and the under-housed.

In the related content analyses that came before us (including those conducted by Schneider and Klodawsky, Farrsell, and D’Aubry), researchers strongly suggest that media representations of homelessness perpetuate a particular narrative of the homeless population; similarly, the major problem that our study on affordable housing identifies is a lack of diversity of media coverage on the issue of under-housing and the under-housed. More specifically, there is a lack of diversity among both the affiliation of the most dominant source among a great majority of articles coded, as well as with the order in which these affiliations appear throughout the body of a large percentage of our data set. Even more concerning than this apparent lack of diversity, however, is the amount of data (in the form of information and or people) that is missing from the discussion surrounding affordable housing. Not only is there virtually no discussion of causes or solutions of under-housing, for example, but there is furthermore a gross underrepresentation of the afflicted population – what Tuchman (1978) calls “symbolic annihilation” – within our data set. While we acknowledge that members of this population are brought in to the discussion on occasion, we emphasize that when
they are, they are used as “isolated examples”, allowing the article to altogether ignore the “larger, structural” issues associated with under-housing (Kendall, 2005a, 130). Insofar as the systemic issues that contribute to and perpetuate under-housing are not included in our data set, the media is failing to convey a sense of urgency towards under-housing that the numbers we discussed at the outset of this report dictate they out to; on the contrary, we believe that media coverage may, in fact, make the public less likely to demand the political and economic changes necessary to alleviate the problems associated with under-housing than the public may have been prior to their engagement with any one of the majority of our articles – articles that seem to provide a sense or claim (however false/exaggerated it may be) that ‘something’ is being done to solve the crisis of under-housing.

Though we are pleased with the outcome of (and insight gained from) our research, we greatly support and encourage others to engage in further studies about media representations of under-housing and the under-housed; not only will ancillary studies inevitably put flesh on the bones of our research, but they will (in so doing), also contribute to a greater understanding of the extent to which media representation shapes public perception (and thus public policy) generally speaking, as well as public perception (and thus public policy) about housing in Vancouver more specifically.

Insofar as our data was collected from a relatively small number of articles, we encourage larger, more comprehensive data samples for greater statistical significance and more accurate representation of the diverse mediascape. Another interesting direction for future research might include a more direct examination of the multiple levels of government involved in the issue of under-housing in Vancouver and the extent to which each is given (or not given) a voice in the media arena.

Though we did not code for the inclusion of different government sources, we informally observed conflicting government opinions and commentary (oftentimes within the same article) from multiple levels of government and therefore suggest that future studies incorporate this observation into their designs to allow for its analysis. We also suggest the creation of categories that allow for more in-depth and more direct analyses of article tone.
Resource List:


Implications for local politics. Canadian Geographer, 46: 126-143.


Schneider, B. (ForthcomingA). *Sourcing homelessness: How journalists use sources to frame homelessness*.

Schneider, Chamberlain and Hodgetts (ForthcomingB). Representations of homelessness in four Canadian newspaper: Regulation, control and social order.


Appendices:
Appendix 1: Coding Sheet I

0) **Item Number:** _____ 3 Column 10) **Source 1**
   98 Other: ____________ **Affiliation:**

1) **Date (date):** (MM/DD/YY) 7) **Source 1 Age:** ____
   **(age1)** 1 Expert (NGO or non-profit)

2) **Newspaper (paper):** 8) **Source 1 Sex:**
1 Vancouver Sun (sex1) 2 Expert (government)
2 The Province 3 Male
3 The Globe and Mail 2 Female 3 Expert (unknown)
4 The National Post 3 Other 4 “Un-afflicted” vox pop.
   4 Unknown 5 Afflicted vox pop

3) **Headline:** ________

4) **Location of story** (pagenumber): **Ethnicity:**
   **(ethnicity1)** 6) **Genre (storytype):**
   1 Caucasian 98 Other 1 News

5) **Length of story** (storyln): 9) **Source 1**
2 African-American (age2)
   3 Asian 10) **Source 2 Age:** ____
4 First Nations 1 Male
6) **Genre (storytype):**
1 News 2 Female
2 Feature 3 Other
   99 Unknown 4 Unknown
### Source 2

**Ethnicity:**
- **(ethnicity2)**
  - 1 Caucasian
  - 2 African-American
  - 3 Asian
  - 4 First Nations
  - 98 Other
  - 99 Unknown

**Affiliation:**
- **(affil2)**
  - 1 Expert (NGO or non-profit)
  - 2 Expert (government)
  - 3 Expert (unknown)
  - 4 “Un-afflicted” vox pop.
  - 5 Afflicted vox pop.
  - 99 Article does not specify

### Source 3

**Age:**
- **(age3)**

**Sex:**
- **(sex3)**
  - 1 Male
  - 2 Female
  - 3 Other
  - 4 Unknown

**Ethnicity:**
- **(ethnicity3)**
  - 1 Caucasian
  - 2 African-American
  - 3 Asian
  - 4 First Nations
  - 98 Other
  - 99 Unknown

**Affiliation:**
- **(affil3)**
  - 1 Expert (NGO or non-profit)
  - 2 Expert (government)
  - 3 Expert (unknown)
  - 4 “Un-afflicted” vox pop.
  - 5 Afflicted vox pop.
  - 99 Article does not specify

### Source 4

**Age:**
- **(age4)**

**Sex:**
- **(sex4)**
  - 1 Male
  - 2 Female
  - 3 Other
  - 4 Unknown

**Ethnicity:**
- **(ethnicity4)**
  - 1 Caucasian
  - 2 African-American
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Asian</td>
<td>2 Female</td>
<td>99 Article does not specify</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 First Nations</td>
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<td>4 Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 Other</td>
<td>4 Unknown</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 Unknown</td>
<td>25) <strong>Source 5 Ethnicity:</strong> (ethnicity5)</td>
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<td>22) <strong>Source 4</strong></td>
<td>1 Caucasian</td>
<td>1 Expert (NGO or non-profit)</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>2 African-American</td>
<td>2 Expert (government)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 Asian</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 First Nations</td>
<td>4 &quot;Un-afflicted&quot; vox pop.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98 Other</td>
<td>5 Afflicted vox pop.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99 Unknown</td>
<td>99 Article does not specify</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>26) <strong>Source 5</strong> Affiliation: (affil5)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(age5)</td>
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<td>1 Expert (NGO or non-profit)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Expert (government)</td>
<td>2 Expert (government)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Expert (unknown)</td>
<td>3 Expert (unknown)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 &quot;Un-afflicted&quot; vox pop.</td>
<td>4 &quot;Un-afflicted&quot; vox pop.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>5 Afflicted vox pop.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99 Article does not specify</td>
<td>99 article does not specify</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24) <strong>Source 5 Sex:</strong></td>
<td>28) <strong># of afflicted vox pop quoted</strong> (voxpop):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sex5)</td>
<td>1 Male</td>
<td>1 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3 2</td>
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<td>4 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 4</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 5 or more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
29) **Article type**
   (articletype):
   1 Primarily govt. response critical
   2 Primarily govt. response supportive
   3 Equally critical and supportive of government response
   4 Does not address govt. response

30) **Dominant Frames**
   (domframe):
   1 Episodic
   2 Thematic
   3 Does not address housing insecurity directly

31) * only answer if 14 is 1 (i.e. the dominant frame is episodic) 
   **Episodic Frame – Type**
   (episodicframe)
   1 “Sympathetic” (Kendall, 2005, p.106)
   2 “Negative image” (Kendall, 2005, p.112)
   3 “Exceptionalism” (Kendall, 2005, p.121)
   4 “Charitable” (Kendall, 2005, p.124)

32) **Mention Housing Insecurity**
   (HousingInsecurity):
   1 Yes
   2 No

33) **Mention SRO(s)**
   (SRO):
   1 Yes
   2 No

34) **Mention of conditions**
   (of affordable/low-income, etc. housing)
   (condition):
   1 Yes
   2 No

35) **Mention of homelessness**
   (homelessness):
   1 Yes
   2 No

36) **Mention of the Olympics**
   (olympics):
   1 Yes
   2 No

37) **Olympic Village Focus**
(villageFocus): 42) Housing insecurity
1 Yes descriptor(s)
2 No (descriptor2)

38) Causes (cause):
1 Yes __________
2 No

39) Solutions (solution):
1 Yes __________
2 No

40) Statistics
  referenced (stats)
1 Yes
2 No

41) Afflicted vox pop. descriptor(s)
  (descriptor1)
  __________
  __________
  __________

Coder’s initials: ____
*the words inside
brackets are variable
names
## Appendix 2: Coding Sheet II

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<td>Newspaper</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Headline</td>
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<td>Location of story</td>
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<td>Length of story</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Genre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Source “X” Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Source “X” Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Source “X” Ethnicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Source “X” Affiliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Affli. of Dominant Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td># Of Afflicted Vox Pop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Article type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dominant Frames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Episodic Frame – Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mention of Housing Insecurity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mention of SRO(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mention of Conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mention of Homelessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mention of Olympics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Olympic Village Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Cause(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Solution(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Afflicted vox pop. descriptor(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Housing insecurity descriptor(s)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Comments & Explanations
Appendix 3: Coding Protocol/Definitions

0) **Item number**: ______

1) **Date** (date): (MM/DD/YY)

2) **Newspaper** (paper):
   1 Vancouver Sun
   2 The Province
   3 The Globe and Mail
   4 The National Post

3) **Article Headline** (headline): __________
   Title and subtitle

4) **Location of story** (pagenumber)
   Page number on which story begins

5) **Length of story** (# of words) (storyln)

6) **Genre** (storytype): *we have decided to omit articles written as personal/anecdotal responses to previous stories/articles*
   1 **News**: “refers to timely or breaking news”; “often in ‘inverted pyramid’ format: a factual style with the most important information first” (Bailey & Hackett, 1997, p.29)
   2 **Feature**: “think-pieces reflecting the opinions and judgments of an academic or other author” (Bailey & Hackett, 1997, p.29); includes interviews - “direct transcript[s] of interviews with social actors” (Bailey & Hackett, 1997, p.29)
3 Column: “an item written by a regular columnist which conveys his/her opinion” (Bailey & Hackett, 1997, p.29)

98 Other: ___________

**First Five Sources:**
*(We have defined source as: a person directly quoted and/or paraphrased within the body of a given article)*

7) **Source “X” Sex (sexX)**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Unknown/can’t tell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8) **Source “X” Age (ageX)**

9) **Source “X” Ethnicity (ethnicityX):** does the article mention/refer to source x’s ethnicity

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>African-American</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Asian</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Unknown/can’t tell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10) **Source “X” Affiliation (affilX):**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>expert (NGO or non-profit): NGO or non-profit representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>expert (government): government official/representative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 expert (unknown): source referred to as “expert”, but type of expert is not specified or is unclear (i.e. “Blah blah blah,” said an expert)

4 “un-afflicted” vox pop.: vox populi (i.e. members of the general public) that are not mentioned as being directly affected by housing insecurity (i.e. A - are not living in/have never lived in social housing/low income housing/SROs and/or B - are not currently in need of/never have been in need of social housing/low income housing/SROs); this category includes source(s) that have any mentioned job other than those mentioned above (if the job is not mentioned, however, code as 99 – see below)

5 afflicted vox pop.: vox populi (i.e. members of the general public) that are mentioned as being directly affected by housing insecurity (i.e. A – currently live in/have previously lived in social housing/low income housing/SROs and/or B - are currently in need of/never have been in need of social housing/low income housing/SROs)

99 article does not specify/affiliation not clear: affiliation is not mentioned or is unclear – no job is mentioned

11) Affiliation of dominant source (affildom):
(*We have defined dominant source as the source that has the largest number of words attributed to him/her)

1 expert (NGO or non profit): NGO or non-profit representative

2 expert (government): government official/representative

3 expert (unknown): source referred to as “expert”, but type of expert is not specified or is unclear (i.e. “Blah blah blah,” said an expert)

5 “un-afflicted” vox pop.: vox populi (i.e. members of the general public) that are not mentioned as being directly affected by housing insecurity (i.e. A - are not living in/have never lived in social housing/low income housing/SROs and/or B - are not currently in need of/never have been in need of social housing/low income housing/SROs); this category includes source(s) with any job other than those mentioned above

6 afflicted vox pop.: vox populi (i.e. members of the general public) that are mentioned as being directly affected by housing insecurity (i.e. A – currently live in/have previously lived in social housing/low income housing/SROs and/or B - are currently in need of/never have been in need of social housing/low income housing/SROs)

99 article does not specify: affiliation is not mentioned or is unclear – no job is mentioned

12) # of afflicted vox pop quoted (voxpop): (see vox pop. definition above)
10

21

32

43

54

65 or more

99 Unknown: (as a result of potential unattributed sources)

13) **Article type** (articletype):

1 Primarily critical of government response (such as policies/initiatives, or lack thereof) to housing insecurity (etc.): article is primarily critical of government response(s) related to housing insecurity (and similar issues) (i.e. lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.)

2 Primarily supportive of government response (such as policies/initiatives, or lack thereof) to housing insecurity (etc.): article primarily is supportive of government response(s) related to housing insecurity (and similar issues) (i.e. lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.)

3 Equally critical and supportive of government response(s) to housing insecurity (i.e. lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.) (such as policies/initiatives)

4 Article does not include discussion of government response to housing insecurity (i.e. lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.) (and/or related issues)

14) **Dominant Frames** (domframe): the way in which the article frames housing insecurity (and similar issues) (i.e. lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.)

1 Episodic: based on "personal experience of individuals," "provides a human face" for afflicted vox. pop, "often ignores larger structural factors that affect the problem [of housing insecurity]" (Kendall, 2005, p.95)

2 Thematic: based on "statistics and trends," results in coverage that is "abstract and impersonal," is "dehumanizing" and "ignores the human tragedy" (Kendall, 2005, p.95)
3 Article does not address housing insecurity (or similar issues): article does not address housing insecurity or similar issues directly and/or in a way that allows for classification as either 1 or 2

15) * only answer if 15 is 1 (i.e. the dominant frame is episodic)

Episodic Frame – Type (episodicframe)

1 “Sympathetic”: the episodic framing within the article is primarily sympathetic (Kendall, 2005, p.106) towards (and shows concern for/urgency towards) housing insecurity and similar issues

2 “Negative image”: the episodic framing within the article (towards housing insecurity and similar issues) is primarily “open to a variety of interpretation” (Kendall, 2005, p.112)

3 “Exceptionalism”: the episodic framing within the article primarily emphasizes “inspirational stories [that] show the importance of the human spirit in rising above adversity” in relation to housing insecurity (and similar issues); however the article may also “suggest that other [afflicted vox pop.] might be able to do likewise if they set their mind to it” (Kendall, 2005, p.121)

4 “Charitable”: the episodic framing within the article encourages and “motivate[s] audiences to contribute” (Kendall, 2005, p.124) to a solution to housing insecurity and related issues

16) Mention Housing Insecurity (HousingInsecurity): does the article mention/address the general topic of housing insecurity (as opposed to another specific/related issue only)?

*we have defined housing insecurity as a lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.

1 Yes

2 No

17) Mention SROs (SRO): does the article mention SROs (in any capacity)?

1 Yes

2 No
18) **Mention of condition** (of housing) (condition): does the article include a description of the physical condition of SROs, social housing, low-income housing and/or street homelessness/unsheltered homeless?

1 Yes
2 No

19) **Mention of homelessness** (homelessness): does the article mention homelessness and/or unsheltered homeless (and/or other synonyms for these terms, such as street people)?

1 Yes
2 No

20) **Mention of the Olympics** (olympics): does the article mention the Olympics (in any capacity, including the Olympic village)?

1 Yes
2 No

21) **Olympic Village Focus** (villageFocus): is the article about the Olympic village primarily?

1 Yes
2 No

22) **Cause(s)**: does the article mention cause(s)/possible cause(s) of housing insecurity/the housing crisis (i.e. lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.)

1 Yes
2 No: (“No” also includes articles that do not address housing insecurity whatsoever)

23) **Solution(s)**: does the article mention solution(s)/possible solution(s) to housing insecurity/the housing crisis (i.e. lack of affordable housing, raise in affordable housing rates, etc.)
1 Yes

2 No: ("No" also includes articles that do not address housing insecurity whatsoever)

24) **Statistics referenced** (stats): does the article reference statistics (i.e. Stats Can, CCPA, etc.) and/or any numbers whatsoever about housing insecurity?

1 Yes

2 No

25) **Afflicted vox pop. descriptor(s)** (descriptor1) ________

Key word(s) or phrase(s) that describe the afflicted vox pop. mentioned and/or cited in the article (no more than three phrases or keywords)

26) **Housing insecurity descriptor(s)** (descriptor2) ________

Key word(s) or phrase(s) that describe housing insecurity within the article (no more than three phrases or keywords)
## Appendix 4: Article List

Date: Month/Day/Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item #)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Article Headline</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>03/27/10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>‘Sign of trouble’; British Columbia has sued a Downtown Eastside non-profit housing agency for years of alleged mismanagement and negligence. But what does it mean for the community?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>03/25/10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shelter a job for both B.C. and city: minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>03/24/10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Future of shelter at stake in homeless count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>03/19/10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anxiety grows as shelter deadline looms with no word from province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5)</td>
<td>03/18/10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>How art thrives under the scars; Busy artists pour their talent into the soul of a battered neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6)</td>
<td>03/17/10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Activitists defy city order and stay at Downtown Eastside tent camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7)</td>
<td>03/16/10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Talks start to dismantle Olympics tent city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8)</td>
<td>03/05/10</td>
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</table>
How the Downtown Eastside became an Olympic non-story

9) 02/27/10

3

Getting its houses in order

10) 02/25/10

2

Efforts for Eastside

11) 02/20/10

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False Creek re-purposing a Vancouverism

12) 02/22/10

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It's time to stop fighting the Games and join the party

13) 02/20/10

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That revolving 'W' celebrates a healing opportunity below; Woodward's an invitation for us all to experience a historic social re-integration

14) 02/16/10

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CULTURE/VANCOUVER'S POET LAUREATE SPEAKS OUT AGAINST GAMES' LITERARY PROGRAM

15) 02/16/10

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Tent villagers protest Games

16) 02/16/10

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Activists pitch tent city on Downtown Eastside lot; Homeless plan to camp on undeveloped site owned by Concord Pacific and leased to Vanoc for one week raises awareness
17) 02/15/10

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Tent village to draw attention to plight of homeless; Site intended to be 'visible' to spectators in city to view Olympic competition

18) 02/15/10

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Three charged after march turns violent; Protesters to erect tent city in further anti-Olympic activity

19) 02/09/10

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Downtown Eastside women to greet visitors; 'Radical hostesses' assume Games role

20) 02/08/10

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Activists stage Poverty Olympics in Downtown Eastside

21) 02/05/10

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Games on; with one week to go, is Vancouver ready for its Olympic-sized close-up?

22) 02/02/10

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Downtown eastside information centre criticized as 'propaganda' for visitors

23) 01/24/10

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Bottles, cans, people redeemed; United We Can provides source of income, and dignity, for city's 'binners'

24) 12/23/09

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Vancouver opens first of new homeless shelters

25) 12/16/09
Heritage building to fall for new high-rise; Council approves tower that will spell end for all but facade of Maxine's Hideaway

26) 12/10/09
1

BC Housing plans information campaign about homelessness

27) 12/09/09
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Faiths attack homelessness

28) 12/02/09
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Downtown Eastside readying for world media

29) 12/01/09
2

Community pitches in for homeless; Warehouse to house 26 during renovations

30) 11/27/09
3

Not all housing advocates play the blame Games

31) 11/06/09
2

'It's not scary place. It's not a dangerous place.'; Cure for Downtown Eastside involves more supported housing and decriminalization, says author

32) 10/31/09
1

Homelessness knows no city borders; Problems facing Downtown Eastside's unhoused are challenges for all levels of government

33) 10/18/09
2
Focusing on the good in the DTES; Photographer has documented residents living happy, fulfilling lives

34) 10/06/09

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Street paper changes lives; Vendors get to earn income and become a part of society

35) 01/21/10

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Louder, madder, move prepared: Here come the protesters

36) 01/22/10

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Not enough female-only shelters, advocate says: The 'hidden homeless' would come inside if they didn't have to sleep in communal rooms beside men, experts say

37) 01/20/10

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Keep up the fight for street people; In this week, Operation Phoenix is making six key recommendations for the Downtown Eastside based on our experience covering the neighborhood’s issues

38) 01/12/10

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'There's a heartfelt view we can solve this issue'; Build more housing, engage public and prevent at-risk groups from winding up on the street

39) 01/07/10

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The new Woodward's won't help low-income people

40) 12/23/09

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Vancouver opens first of new homeless shelters

41) 02/02/10
Vancouver activists slam government ‘propaganda’; Downtown Eastside

Activist hold B.C. feet to fire over housing

Poverty: B.C.’s PR nightmare scenario

Operation Phoenix to share lessons with international visitors

Olympic village social housing should open by winter

Province rejects sole bids to run social housing

Downtown Eastside renters paying more for fewer spots; Gentrification has welfare recipients, seniors ‘digging into food money’ to pay for roofs over their heads

'Gentrification' threatens social housing; The poor, not richer neighbours, should define area’s future
Neighbourhood group opposes social housing in Mount Pleasant

50) 05/30/10

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Woodward's housing celebrated; Social-housing units mixed with market condos

51) 09/21/10

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Fewer rooms available at welfare-friendly rents; Number of hotels offering subsidized rates falls by more than half since 2009, report says

52) 07/09/10

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Olympics, homelessness haunt Vancouver mayor

53) 05/28/10

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Taking it to the street: Why businesses are vowing to fight homeless

54) 09/01/10

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Housing prices threaten growth; There are reasons why Vancouver has become forbiddingly expensive, and they are no mystery

55) 05/26/10

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City and province team with private sector on social housing

56) 06/05/10

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The woodword's project; What happens when yuppies and junkies live side by side? The Post's Brian Hutchinson joins an audacious urban experiment in Vancouver's derelict Downtown Eastside to find out

57) 04/17/10

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Province to keep three Vancouver shelters open

58) 04/09/10

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Number of Vancouver homeless increases 12% in two years

59) 04/09/10

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Advocates for homeless plan to ruffle a few feathers

60) 03/19/10

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Anxiety grows as shelter deadline looms with no word from province

61) 03/16/10

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Talks start to dismantle Olympics tent city