

The local team:
How sports journalists covered the career of Graham James

By

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Dedication

I would like to thank my supervisors, Mr. Kirk LaPointe and Professor Brian Wilson, for their timely suggestions and constant support. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Pat Palmer of the Swift Current Library and Scott Anderson of the Southwest Booster for their assistance in locating archival data in the dingy basements of Swift Current. Lastly, I want to acknowledge Joanne for all of her marvelous work as an unpaid research assistant and her crucial work as my number one fan and friend. Thank you.

Abstract

This project explores how sports journalists at the local, provincial, and national level covered the career of Graham James, a junior hockey coach who was convicted of sexually assaulting two of his players. Through an analysis of the content of four newspapers and interviews with journalists involved in sports reporting, I argue that the reporters closest to James failed to adequately investigate and report on this story. This project also identifies some problems with the way sports reporting is done in Canada and offers some suggestions of ways to solve those problems.

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It hurts to write these words. You feel betrayed. You feel misled. More than anything, you feel empathy for the victims.

There is also a haunting sense of culpability for having played a role in creating a saintly public perception of James.

Did flattering profiles of James tacitly endorse immoral, incomprehensible actions?

Were colorful quotes and unparalleled insights so intoxicating—and such instant copy—that the darker side was left unexplored?

In fairness, one rationalizes, how can anyone ever suspect such perversion?

Too many questions.

Not enough answers.

As reporters, we knew Graham James—but we didn't *know* him. Hardly anybody did....

Were there tell-tale signs?

Should we have noticed something? (“James’ case” B1)

Those words written by Rob Vanstone were published in the *Leader-Post* newspaper in Regina on Jan. 8, 1997. Six days earlier hockey coach Graham James admitted in court that he sexually assaulted two of his junior players while coaching the Swift Current Broncos in the Western Hockey League (WHL). Sports reporters on team beats work in close proximity with the teams and athletes they cover. Several journalists worked with Graham James for many years. No one discovered or revealed his secret.

News organizations and sports teams have a reciprocal relationship—sports teams help the media attract audiences and advertising while the media help promote and sell sports teams to that audience. The questions that are central to this thesis are: What happens to journalism ethics in this interwoven group of media and athletes? How are sports journalists influenced by their proximity to the local teams? And how are media organizations—particularly those in smaller centers—affected when they share close ties with a particular team?

In search of answers to those questions, the first section of this project consists of a case study focused on one of the most scrutinized sports occurrences in Canadian history—the sexual assault case involving junior hockey coach Graham James. In this thesis media coverage of Graham James in four newspapers is examined to determine how he was treated by local, provincial, and national reporters. The second section of the thesis consists of interview responses from journalists involved in reporting on Graham James and his career.¹ It also branches out from the findings of the case study into a more general examination of the dynamics of the relationship between beat reporters and the teams that they cover. The media analysis and interview evidence presented suggest that reporters heaped praise on the successful and charismatic James before his conviction. More surprisingly, some media organizations—particularly those closest to the scene of the assaults—failed in their coverage of the story even after James admitted his guilt. The resulting conclusions cast the rigour and ethics of sports reporting in a questionable light.

The Graham James case

On Jan. 2, 1997, Graham James pleaded guilty to two counts of sexual assault and one count of indecent assault stemming from incidents involving two former players. One

¹ See appendix A for biographical sketches of the interviews subjects.

player, Sheldon Kennedy, let his identity be known while the other never identified himself. The assault charges were laid because Kennedy went to Calgary police with his story. The case was shocking in several ways. When the news broke, Kennedy was a player in the NHL and his public acknowledgment of the assaults was unprecedented in the league. James also had a high profile in the sport. In 1988-89, James led the Swift Current Broncos—a team that included Kennedy—to a Memorial Cup championship, the highest prize in Canadian junior hockey. That same year James won *Inside Hockey* magazine's Man of the Year award. For his part in the story, Kennedy was chosen as "news maker of the year" in Canada for the year 1997.

The details of the charges added to the shock. The sexual assaults started in 1984 when Kennedy was 14 years old. Over several years James sexually assaulted Kennedy more than 300 times. Kennedy would later say that his relationship with his coach felt like a marriage. Most people throughout the hockey world—as well as in Swift Current, a town of approximately 15,000 people located west of Regina on the Trans-Canada Highway—said they were surprised by the news of the assaults. Later investigations, however, led to claims that some people associated with the team or the league knew about James' abuses of power but failed to stop or report them.

Existing literature

Ethics does not often enter into the conversation when sports journalism is discussed. Sports reports are often regarded as sources of entertainment rather than integral parts of the news media. As a result, they are less frequently questioned and are not often the focus of academic study. There are, however, some works which complement both sections of this thesis. The Graham James case received considerable

coverage from the news media when the story broke but it has not been closely examined by the academic world. Journalist Laura Robinson provides a detailed description of the events surrounding the Graham James case and other incidents involving junior hockey teams in her book *Crossing the Line: Violence and Sexual Assault in Canada's National Sport*. The book provides only a cursory examination of the role that the media played before and after the story broke. *The Dome of Silence: Sexual Harrasment and Abuse in Sport* (Kirby et al) is another book which addresses the Graham James case. The media coverage of the case is not the main focus of the study. The authors conclude, however, that, “the media can control the release of information about sexual abuse and harassment, or they can simply create a domain where it is hard to talk about. Either way, the media must be dealt with in disclosure and implicated in silence” (27). This thesis will start from these studies and work toward a better understanding of the media's role in the case.

Many texts regarding journalism ethics have been written—though few if any of them focus specifically on sports journalism. Kovacs and Rosenstiel provide guidelines for journalism ethics including some, such as independence from sources and loyalty to citizens, which are pertinent to this project. Mark Douglas Lowes' *Inside the Sports Pages* provides valuable insight into the workings of Canadian newspaper sports departments. Lowes is critical of the beat system of sports reporting, arguing that “the sports section is a finely-tuned, high performance promotional vehicle for the North American (and increasingly global) sports entertainment industry” (100). Lowes also suggests that change is not forthcoming, saying, “were journalists to challenge this state

of affairs they wouldn't be fulfilling their role as head cheerleaders for the major league sports business" (103). These studies provide the foundation on which this thesis is built.

Case study methodology²

The case study section of this thesis involves a close examination of media coverage of key points in the career of Graham James in four different newspapers—*The Southwest Booster* (Swift Current), *The Sun* (Swift Current), the *Leader-Post* (Regina), and *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto).³ The newspapers were chosen to allow for comparison between local, provincial, and national coverage. This thesis examines the type and amount of coverage devoted to James in these four sources at moments where either James or the Broncos were drawing national attention.

Case study timeline

As indicated above, this thesis examines newspaper coverage of several nationally prominent events involving Graham James and the Swift Current Broncos. Those events are as follows:

May 1989: The Swift Current Broncos win the Memorial Cup.

October 1990: Graham James, angered by the referee, storms onto the ice near the end of a Western Hockey League (WHL) game. When he is given a game misconduct, he throws objects from his bench onto the ice before taking off his jacket, tie, shirt, and one shoe and throwing them onto the ice. He is given a six game suspension.

November 1991: James hits a Moose Jaw Warriors' fan in the face with a hockey stick during an altercation near the Broncos bench. He is given a ten game suspension and one year later pleads guilty to assault and is given a conditional discharge.

² See appendix B for methodology limitations.

³ See appendix C for descriptions of the newspapers examined in this study.

May 1994: James resigns from the Broncos.

September 1996: James resigns as coach and general manager of the Calgary Hitmen, another WHL team. Police confirm that he is under investigation.

November 1996: James is charged with two counts of sexual assault.

January 1997: James pleads guilty and is sentenced to 3 ½ years in prison. Sheldon Kennedy comes forward as one of James' victims.

Case study results

What follows is an overview of how each newspaper covered each of the events listed above. Special attention was paid to amount of coverage, location of coverage, editorial commentary, original content, and investigative work.

May 1989: The Broncos Memorial Cup victory featured heavily in both of the Swift Current papers. In the *Booster* the Broncos were front page news for three straight weeks. On May 15 the paper included a 12 page supplementary section devoted entirely to the team and its victory. That paper also included a signed congratulatory message from the *Booster's* editor in which he noted the team's positive impact on Swift Current Society (Godfrey A4). *The Sun* featured the Broncos on their front page on two consecutive days and also included a six page supplementary section devoted solely to the Broncos.

The other two newspapers also covered the Broncos' victory. *The Globe and Mail* (Fisher D2) ran a story outlining how the Broncos' victory helped ease the pain left over from a bus accident that occurred two years prior to the championship, killing four members of the Broncos.

October-November 1990: In reaction to James' striptease protest, both *The Sun* (Knutson 8) and the *Booster* (Enns A12) ran stories which focused on the suspension

James received. The *Leader-Post's* story (“James stages wild protest” B2) focused on the sensational nature of James’ actions. The *Globe and Mail* did not have any articles on the event despite international attention that video of the strip-tease received.⁴

November 1991-November 1992: *The Southwest Booster* did not provide any coverage of Graham James’ altercation with a fan, suspension, or guilty plea. *The Sun* ran news articles describing the incident, James’ suspension, the charges brought against him, and his guilty plea. They also published an unsigned editorial (“James innocent” 4) criticizing the WHL for suspending James before his assault case was heard in court. The editorial began: “Graham James, coach and general manager of the Swift Current Broncos, is innocent. Our judicial system depends upon it. He and any other person charged with a criminal offence is innocent until proven guilty.”

The *Leader-Post* ran news stories following the altercation, the suspension, and the trial. *The Globe and Mail* ran sports briefs about the incident and James’ suspension but did not cover his guilty plea.

May 1994: James’ resignation from the Broncos was covered in *The Sun*. On May 18, two articles were published—one on the front page—as well as a letter from the Broncos’ Board of Directors. The articles and the letter spoke glowingly of James and his accomplishments with the team. There was no mention of James’ run-ins with the league or the law.

September 1996: *The Southwest Booster* did not mention James’ surprising resignation from the Calgary Hitmen or the subsequent announcement that he was being investigated

⁴ Video of James’ protest was frequently replayed on sports highlight shows and even made it onto the David Letterman and Jay Leno shows.

by the police. *The Sun* (“James quits Hitmen” 1) ran a front page article about James’ resignation and followed that up the next week with this “Editors’ note”:

Former Bronco coach Graham James has been the subject of media scrutiny since stepping down from his roles with the Calgary Hitmen over a week ago. However, given the nature of the allegations leveled at James and the potential they have to seriously damage his reputation, The Sun’s editors have decided not to cover the story unless criminal charges are laid. (Marshall and Anderson 3)

The *Leader-Post* and *The Globe and Mail* ran news stories about James’ exit and the announcement of the police investigation.

November 1996: *The Southwest Booster* did not mention Graham James and the sexual assault charges brought against him. *The Sun* ran a front page article with no byline (“Graham James charged” 1) which outlined the charges. The *Leader-Post* (“James charged with sex crimes” A10) ran a Canadian Press story while *The Globe and Mail* ran a sports brief about the charges (“Hockey junior coach charged with sexual assault” A22).

January 1997: On Jan. 2, 1997, Graham James pleaded guilty to two counts of sexual assault. Stories related to the James case have appeared since that time. This thesis will focus on newspaper coverage in January of 1997, a time when the stories were most concentrated.

At the end of 1996 *The Sun* stopped production and was assimilated into the *Booster*. For the month of January, *The Southwest Booster* ran one news story, one editorial, one pre-written statement from the Broncos, and four letters about the Graham James case. On Jan. 4 the *Booster* ran the following 128-word article on page nine:

Former Swift Current Bronco coach and general manager Graham James was sentenced to 3 ½ years in jail after pleading guilty to a pair of sexual offences.

James pleaded guilty to both charges during a court appearance in Calgary on Jan. 2.

The former coach of the Broncos was found guilty of a series of offences which occurred between 1984 and 1995.

James, 43, assaulted one of his victims more than 300 times over a number of years, while his second victim was assaulted on more than 50 different occasions.

He guided the team to a Memorial Cup championship in 1989 and a Western Hockey League title in 1993. During stops in Moose Jaw, Swift Current, and Calgary, James posted a 349-326-26 coaching record over his 10-year career. (“Ex-Bronco coach given 3 ½ year jail sentence” A9)

On Jan. 11, the *Booster* printed a letter to the editor from a woman who was “appalled to see a very tiny article buried on page nine of ‘The Booster’ regarding the conviction and paltry sentence of Graham James” (Palmer A5). The following week the *Booster* ran an “editorial opinion” condemning James’ conduct, outlining some developments since his guilty plea, and asking several questions about how such an incident could have occurred in Swift Current (“More questions than answers coming out of James case” A5). On Jan. 25 the *Booster* ran a pre-written statement from the Broncos’ board of directors (“Statement from the Bronco Board of Directors” A4) in which the board expressed its

regret and said they would make no further comments on the matter. Three letters to the editor related to issues of abuse also appeared on Jan. 25.

Over the month of January, 1997, the *Leader-Post* ran 39 articles related to the Graham James assaults, 21 of which were original articles by members of the *Leader-Post's* staff. Seven of the articles appeared on the paper's front page. A column by sports editor Gregg Drinnan defending the Broncos and the WHL appeared on Jan. 6. The column included the following passage:

If only James had gotten such headlines, when he helped the survivors and their families put the pieces back together after the 1986 bus crash that claimed four of the Swift Current Broncos, or after he led the Broncos to the 1989 Memorial Cup title, or after he was named The Hockey News' first man-of-the-year in 1992.

The soul-searching, the gnashing of teeth, the pointing of fingers began late Thursday afternoon.

And, of course, the know-it-alls came out of the woodwork like so many cockroaches to say that they knew all-along that something was fishy in the state of Swift Current. Which, of course, is so much nonsense. (Drinnan B1).

Two days later, *Leader-Post* assistant sports editor Rob Vanstone's column discussing the role reporters played in the James case appeared.⁵ On Jan. 21, Vanstone wrote a column criticizing the Broncos for refusing to comment any further on the case ("Broncos try" B1). Throughout January the *Leader-Post* continued to publish stories about the case, including several by Rob Vanstone who spent a short time in Swift Current.

⁵ See thesis page 2 for portions of Vanstone's text.

In January of 1997 *The Globe and Mail* ran 35 articles related to the Graham James scandal. Six of those articles were on the front page and 26 were written by *Globe and Mail* staff members. A *Globe* writer reporting from Swift Current wrote this comment about the lack of local media coverage (Mitchell A1):

There is talk of little else besides the sexual assaults in this frozen prairie city, despite the fact that The Southwest Booster, the town's weekly newspaper, put news of Mr. James's guilty plea on Page 9 and failed to mention that the victims were hockey players....

The people of Swift Current pull stories about [the scandal] off the computer Internet. All round town, these stories, photocopied on blue paper and stapled in bunches, form the topic of raw and troubled conversations.

The editor of *The Globe's* sports section invited readers to write in to the paper to discuss Canada's "junior hockey crisis" (Langford C14). The paper also sent Jan Wong (A16), a reporter who claimed to know next to nothing about hockey, on a weekend road trip with a junior team so that she could describe the experience from an outsider's point of view. Wong concluded that the junior system was akin to "indentured servitude."

Analysis – Swift Current media

The evidence above demonstrates that journalists in Swift Current did not report negative information about James or the Swift Current Broncos that reporters from newspapers based in other cities did report. This pattern is evident in the newspaper coverage before and after Graham James' sexual assault convictions. Scott Anderson, a reporter who worked for both *The Sun* and the *Booster* and is now managing editor of the *Booster*, started covering the Broncos in 1993. "It was my first time covering a WHL

team,” Anderson says. “I took my lead from James on how he wanted the team covered. He would give great quotes to those he favoured, and would be less cooperative with the other media” (e-mail interview).⁶

In covering Graham James’ 1990 strip-tease protest, both *The Sun* and the *Booster* focused on the suspension he received rather than his attempts to get at the referee and the protest that followed. Preferential treatment by the hometown newspapers was more pronounced after James’ altercation with a fan in 1991. The *Booster* completely ignored the entire incident even though it was significant enough to make it into the pages of *The Globe and Mail*. *The Sun* did not ignore the events but their editorial, instead of questioning James’ stick-swinging actions, criticized the WHL for suspending him before his trial. Their argument that a league must wait until an issue is through the courts before deciding on any suspensions goes against all accepted norms for sports leagues—sports suspensions are routinely handed out and are always done so at the discretion of the league. In fact, the only criticism James received after the strip-tease and the fan altercation came in a letter to the editor. The letter, published five days after *The Sun’s* editorial, argued that:

The problems of coach Graham James have been getting out of hand. It’s one thing to strip off one’s shirt in protest, but to fling a hockey stick at an innocent person is another.

If Mr. James did what he’s accused of doing, what kind of example is he setting for his young players? Not a very good one. I, as a Bronco fan, am deeply concerned and I’m sure I’m not alone. (Treen 4)

⁶ All subsequent quotations attributed to Scott Anderson refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

Judging by *The Sun's* editorial, their deep concern was the coach's suspension, not the actions that led to it.

Paul Edmonds, a reporter who worked for *The Sun* and did radio play-by-play for the Broncos in the early 1990s, describes what it was like covering James in Swift Current: "I had a great professional relationship with Graham. He was a great quote, he was funny, he knew the game." Edmonds says it was hard to criticize the team, let alone accuse the town's Cup-winning coach of anything.

That hockey team is the lifeblood of that society there. I mean they are just absolutely junior hockey crazy. And you're a cub reporter in your first job, it's kind of difficult and it would be very brazen to start to try to pick away at a story if you thought there was something going on. Having said that, I never thought that there was enough going on and I never even knew what was going on until it broke in '97. (telephone interview)⁷

After the story did break in late-1996, the same pattern of coverage continued in Swift Current. When Calgary police announced they were investigating James, the *Booster* again ignored all of the news. Although James did not live in Swift Current at the time, it is hard to believe that residents would have no interest in charges laid against the man who led their team for nearly a decade. Similarly, *The Sun's* refusal to print news about James after his resignation in Calgary—despite the fact that news sources around Canada were publicizing them—is hard to understand.⁸ In an e-mail interview, William Houston, a *Globe and Mail* writer who reports on sports media issues, was critical of *The Sun's* decision. "It's a joke," he wrote. "It's pathetic. It's a cop out. The guy who issued

⁷ All subsequent quotations attributed to Paul Edmonds refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

⁸ See "Editor's note," pp. 8-9.

that directive and had that editor's note published should have been fired. But he was probably supported by the publisher.”⁹

The *Southwest Booster* was the lone newspaper in Swift Current by 1997 and, as shown above, their coverage of James’ conviction was minimal. Nothing resembling a proper account of the events was published. The newspaper’s only substantial article, a strongly-worded editorial, appeared on Jan. 18—more than two weeks and three news cycles after James’ conviction. The editorial raised several questions about the case but they all remained unanswered as that editorial was the newspaper’s final word about the incident. Murray McCormick, a sportswriter who was at the *Leader-Post* in 1997 and is now their associate sports editor, says that his judgment of the Swift Current coverage has changed. “Thinking about it now, it shocks the hell out of me. But back then, probably not. Because Graham James had a lot of us fooled by being such a great person and a leader. They probably didn’t believe it” (telephone interview).¹⁰ Whether reporters in Swift Current believed James was guilty or not, the story never made the front page. For people who wanted to find out what happened to the hockey players in their own home town, they had to look away from their local newspaper to get the information.

“Community newspaper” reporting

The nature, mandate, and resources of the newspapers in Swift Current are important parts of this story. Gregg Drinnan, a sports journalist who was editor of the *Leader-Post* in 1997, argues that publications like *The Southwest Booster* “aren’t really newspapers in the truest sense of the word” (telephone interview).¹¹ Houston argues that

⁹ All subsequent quotations attributed to William Houston refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰ All subsequent quotations attributed to Murray McCormick refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

¹¹ All subsequent quotations attributed to Gregg Drinnan refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

the name *Booster* speaks volumes about the publication's objectives. "Too many beat reporters function as boosters, cheerleaders and PR people instead of journalists" he writes. "The paper doesn't want to lose club advertising or status in the community by being negative toward the team." Grant Fleming, a reporter who covered the James case for CBC Radio and did extensive research into what went on in Swift Current during James' tenure, argues that local media failed in covering James. "There were certainly lots of people in that province who worked in the media who had heard plenty of rumours about Graham James and his players, especially in Swift Current, or who had witnessed certain things to do with Graham James and his players," he says. "I often thought of that expression where there's smoke there's fire. You're a reporter, you should be looking into this stuff" (telephone interview).¹² Mark Douglas Lowes, who is now an associate professor in the University of Ottawa's Department of Communication, says that being a "community newspaper" does not mean a lower standard of journalism is acceptable. "If it's functioning as a newspaper, I adhere to the old social responsibility model for the media," says Lowes. "If they want to publish their materials under the guise of being a newspaper—a community newspaper—then they are obliged to uphold the standards of journalism" (telephone interview).¹³

While being a "community newspaper" does not absolve the Swift Current publications of their journalistic responsibilities or forgive them their failings in covering Graham James, there are specific difficulties associated with reporting on touchy local issues in a small-town paper. Current *Globe and Mail* writer and former sports reporter Roy MacGregor argues that,

¹² All subsequent quotations attributed to Grant Fleming refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

¹³ All subsequent quotations attributed to Mark Douglas Lowes refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

when you're working in a very small place where the sports team takes on a measure far beyond the team—in many of these places it becomes the identity of the community—then you're really into a dicey situation because you're extremely small in the ladder of importance and the person running the team is extremely high in that ladder of importance. Kicking down is always easier than punching up. (telephone interview)¹⁴

MacGregor also says that it would have been “extremely difficult” for a reporter in Swift Current to break the Graham James story. “I think that innuendo and gossip are always around and mischief-making is always around so you can't simply go by those criteria. You need to have some kind of hard fact.” Lack of resources such as access to wire copy, travel budgets, and long-distance phoning have also been mentioned as hindrances for reporters in the small newsrooms of Swift Current.

Regardless of what rumours were known, the story did not break in Swift Current and when it did break it was glossed over by the media in that small city. When the Broncos won the Memorial Cup, *The Southwest Booster* published a 12 page supplementary section—when their head coach and general manager went to jail for sexually assaulting players, they published a 128-word blurb. In Swift Current, the basic journalistic question ‘what happened?’ was barely addressed. Other fundamental questions such as why, how, and who knew were left mostly unasked and completely unanswered by the media in the city where the assaults took place.

Analysis – Provincial coverage

As the evidence above indicates, the *Leader-Post* newspaper in Regina had much more extensive coverage of the Graham James case in January of 1997 than the local

¹⁴ All subsequent quotations attributed to Roy MacGregor refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

media in Swift Current did. The newspaper ran stories, editorials, and columns about new revelations in the case. While the *Leader-Post* delved much deeper than the Swift Current media did, their coverage still came short of many people's expectations—including several of the newspaper's employees. "The *Leader-Post* historically wasn't one to turn over rocks," says Drinnan, the newspaper's former sports editor who now holds that position for the *Kamloops Daily News*. "When we covered [the James scandal]—basically we scratched the surface. We did the basics... We certainly weren't out there breaking stories, digging for stuff, that's for sure." Drinnan says that budget cuts, staff cuts, and management personnel at the newspaper who "didn't seem eager to go digging into anything," made him more inclined to use Canadian Press copy or other stories from outside their newsroom. "Do I wish we had covered it differently in Regina? Yeah. Without a doubt," says Drinnan.

I wish we could have had our own person or people in Calgary. Maybe we could have gone into Swift Current—I think to do that we would have had to send someone there for a week or two and we were past the stage of having resources to do anything like that. I mean, that was so far out of my hands as the sports editor.

Despite Drinnan's claims, one *Leader-Post* reporter says that it was not just a lack of resources that prevented the newspaper from thoroughly covering the Graham James story. "We didn't believe it," says Murray McCormick. "We didn't believe it would be possible—that a guy who had done everything he had done for hockey—we'd done features and stories on him." According to McCormick, the disbelief included the sports editor. "We were kind of limited on what we could write about because Gregg was one of

the non-believers. You know it was one of those things that, at the time, he couldn't believe it was true." Drinnan, in fact, indicated that he liked covering the charming coach when he was in Swift Current and sought him out after he was released from prison. "I enjoyed chatting with Graham," says Drinnan.

We had great conversations. In fact, I actually had his phone number at one time in Spain and I tried to get a hold of him and I left a message—he would never answer his phone—and I left a message and hoped he'd get back to me. And I did hear from a good friend of his who works for the Minnesota Wild that Graham had got my message and that if he ever felt like talking he'd be sure to give me a call. So I just left it at that.

Drinnan, however, maintains that it was a lack of resources that kept them from digging into the sordid history of Graham James and the Broncos. "We couldn't do anything, we couldn't spend a penny without getting permission," he says. "The fact that we knew Graham had nothing to do with it."

Instead of assigning a team of reporters to the Graham James case and allowing them to find out what happened in Swift Current and why, the *Leader-Post* told one reporter to get the story while still performing his normal columnist and reporter duties. Rob Vanstone was that reporter. Vanstone, however, disagrees with claims that his editors and managers were responsible for the newspaper's lack of investigative reporting on the story. "I'll take the bullet," he says. "I'm not going to blame anybody else for the manner in which it was covered. It was my beat" (telephone interview).¹⁵ Yet he was never taken off his regular WHL beat and was still expected to write columns. Vanstone,

¹⁵ All subsequent quotations attributed to Rob Vanstone refer to this interview unless otherwise stated.

who later replaced Drinnan as sports editor, admits that he wishes things had been done differently.

I wish we had just said, whether it was to me or someone else, to one person, ‘here, go after this.’ I was the hockey writer and I was trying to cover it while covering everything else that I was doing. I wish I had pushed a little more to just let me go on this and find somebody else to worry about columns or worry about the Pats.¹⁶ Let me loose on the Graham James thing, or let someone else loose on it.

Vanstone did manage to break a few stories in the James case while continuing with his other duties. The workload, he says, landed him in hospital with a stress-induced heart condition. Grant Fleming, the CBC Radio reporter who worked on the story in southern Saskatchewan for several months, says the blame for the *Leader-Post’s* lack of investigation should not be taken by Vanstone. “Rob is being a little bit hard on himself, Rob had no support,” he says. “Nobody said to Rob, ‘Rob, we’re going to pull you off of this beat coverage.... Nobody said to him, ‘this is the story.’” Fleming also argues that if the sportswriters were expected to stay on their regular beats, the paper could have given the story to someone else. “If Rob was so damn busy, why didn’t they assign any news reporter to it?” The *Leader-Post’s* coverage of the Graham James case was not lacking in material. What was missing, however, was investigative journalism intended to find answers to the many questions raised by James’ conviction. The *Leader-Post* was the only major newspaper with Swift Current in their coverage area yet they failed to adequately investigate a story that “would easily be in the top 10 of biggest stories in the province of Saskatchewan in the past 50 years” (Fleming).

¹⁶ The Regina Pats are another WHL hockey club.

Covering coach James

Reporters from both Swift Current and Regina covered the Swift Current Broncos extensively during Graham James' tenure. The team was often successful and the *Leader-Post* reported on them almost as if they were another home team. The *Leader-Post* even sent Vanstone to Sault Ste. Marie in 1993 to cover the Broncos in the Memorial Cup. Through those years Graham James repeatedly sexually assaulted players and none of the reporters who shared bus rides and hotels and dressing room chats with the team reported that anything was amiss. What did the reporters notice about Graham James? "He was a good person to deal with, very helpful, friendly," says McCormick. "I considered him a friend. He could call on the phone and we could talk about stuff. He knew my daughter." Drinnan describes him as the "most articulate hockey coach—to this date—that I've ever been around." Vanstone is equally glowing about the pre-scandal James:

if you'd asked me my perception of him before all this it would have been possibly the funniest person I've ever interviewed. His one-liners were just classics. He wasn't a guy who was just a hockey guy spouting clichés. He would quote from Shakespeare or refer to the WWF.

Edmonds describes a time when James phoned him after a game and gently chastised him for not conducting an interview—apparently James had some great quotes about that night's referee that he wanted to use. "When you get a guy that's a real gold quote, it makes your story sing a lot better," Edmonds says. "So Graham obviously respected me to phone me, but I had a very good relationship with him."

The working relationships with James were so good that many of the reporters now feel like they were duped by him. “I felt totally manipulated and misled by the whole thing,” Vanstone says.

I thought at the time, ‘boy, this is a goldmine, this guy’s great.’ But there was a whole underlying story that no one ever could have really suspected. It turns out while we thought we were getting the story we were missing the story. I look back on it and I’m not overly proud—but I’m not sure what I could have done during that time to have sniffed that out or suspected it.

Edmonds also wonders if James’ media-savvy personality was a deliberate ploy. “Maybe that was part and parcel to this plan or this kind of façade that he created around himself,” he says. “Because he was an accessible guy and a good quote and they won, it was hard to look at him for maybe what he was doing outside of the hockey rink.”

According to the reporters, James was not just accessible, but also bright. “He was a very, very smart man,” Edmonds says. “He was incredibly intelligent.” Drinnan likewise argues that James was too smart to get caught. “It was said that certain people must have known something was going on. But people who say that I think really underestimate Graham’s intelligence. This was and is a highly intelligent human being.” MacGregor says that it is no surprise that reporters who dealt with James speak about his intelligence:

the whole nature of the pedophile world is that they are brilliant manipulators. Charm, in fact, is one of their main things. How on earth do you think these people are able to get the total trust of both the child and usually the parent of that child to go off and be together and be basically custodians of them? It’s because

they tend to be extremely bright and extremely charming and extremely convincing.

Graham James not only charmed the hockey parents but also the hockey writers. Several of them spent large amounts of time with James and the team without discovering the assaults.

Analysis - National coverage

National and international media outlets, including *The Globe and Mail*, focused much attention on Swift Current and the Graham James story in January of 1997. *The Globe* sent reporters to Calgary for the trial, to Boston for Sheldon Kennedy's return to his NHL team, and to Swift Current. Articles related to the case appeared on the paper's front page six times that month and stories examining the case and the state of junior hockey in Canada continued to appear for several months. Despite being based in Toronto, the *Globe's* reportage was as thorough as or more thorough than the *Leader-Post's* in Regina and far more comprehensive than any media outlet in Swift Current.

Other media outlets not examined in this study also provided extensive investigative coverage of the James case. The *Calgary Herald* and *Calgary Sun*, aided by their proximity to the police investigation and James' trial, reported heavily on some aspects of the case. The *Toronto Star* also put large amounts of time and resources into investigating the case. One reporter, however, stands out for his extensive coverage and investigation. Grant Fleming was a sports reporter for CBC Radio, based in Regina. When it became evident that something seriously wrong had occurred in Swift Current, Fleming told his boss that he wanted the story. "The main thrust of my stories from there on out was who knew what, and when, and what did they do, if anything, about what

Graham James was doing,” says Fleming. The work paid off as Fleming found ex-players willing to speak and began piecing together stories revealing that some people did know about the abuse and did nothing to stop it. His reporting won national awards the following year for investigative journalism. “Grant did a hell of a job,” says Vanstone. “He broke story after story after story.” One thing Fleming had which Vanstone did not was the freedom and resources to focus on the Graham James case. “There was definitely support in the newsroom,” says Fleming. “It came from enough people that I was able to stick to the story.” In a strange twist, CBC Radio eliminated all of its regional sports reporters that year and Fleming was out of a job in March of 1997.

Discussion – The problems

The empirical evidence and interview responses listed above reveal several deficiencies in the way sports reporters in Canada cover their local teams. It is, however, important to mention something which several of the reporters brought up—sports reporting is not easy. Deadline pressures are intense and reporters on sports beats are expected to produce copy regardless of whether or not anything newsworthy is happening. Murray McCormick points out that sports reporters also need to be versatile—sports sections today are filled with courthouse stories, business stories, health stories, technology stories, and all other types of reporting. “We don’t get enough credit for having the depth and the ability to cover anything,” he says. In addition, sportswriting is a job where reporters must come face to face with their subjects on a regular basis. MacGregor compares it to a reviewer who writes an article about a play or movie. “In no way whatsoever does that theatre critic then go backstage and interview the people who were just out onstage,” he says.

So when you're the sports reporter, if you put it in those entertainment terms, everyday you're going in to talk to the main actors. Everyday you're dealing with the studio bosses. Everyday you're trying to get access to the studio parking lot. Everyday you're going through security at the studio to try to do your job.

The encounters can become tense for the writers. William Houston says Toronto Maple Leafs owner Harold Ballard banned him from the dressing rooms and press box at Maple Leaf Gardens for writing negatively about the team. "Ballard once told me I'd get my throat cut if I went ahead and wrote his unauthorized biography," Houston says. "There were clearly consequences if I did write something negative." Professional sports add a further dimension to the reporter athlete relationship—money. "Is a sportswriter who might be making \$60,000 a year really able to go up against an athlete who makes that much per game?" MacGregor asks. These variables make sports reporting unlike any other form of journalism.

Despite these obstacles, there are still many problems in the way sports reporters cover their local teams. Several sports journalists mention that reporters become too closely attached to the local players and coaches. "Sometimes we get protective of the teams," says McCormick. Vanstone says that media cheerleaders make it harder for all sports journalists to do their job. "I think there are too many boosters. What happens is because there are so many rah-rah guys in the media-base as a whole, I think it almost makes the players and everybody think that everyone should be that way." Personal relationships between the reporter and the local team can lead sports journalists to have the mindset of the team as 'we' rather than 'them.' When that occurs the journalist is no

longer doing journalism. “You can’t cover the parade if you’re marching in the band,” says Vanstone.

Ties to local teams extend past the personal relationships of reporters to include the personal and business associations of media organizations as a whole. In 1997 one of the co-owners of *The Southwest Booster* sat on the board of directors of the Swift Current Broncos. The *Booster’s* current website contains five links—Tourism Swift Current, the weather, the Agricultural Exposition Association, highway conditions, and the Swift Current Broncos (*The Southwest Booster* website). Similar relationships with sports teams can be found at media organizations of all types and sizes. For example, the publisher of British Columbia newspapers *The Province* and *The Vancouver Sun* is the chairperson of the “Waterboys,” a group of businessmen who act as team ambassadors for the BC Lions Football Club. Lowes argues that the purpose of sports reporting is nothing more than to sell the teams and leagues to the audience. “The sports media function, almost exclusively, as promotional vehicles for the sports industry,” he says. “It’s not a conspiracy theory—it’s nothing of the sort. That’s just an institutional analysis. That’s their function.”

The symbiotic relationship between media organizations and local sports teams includes advertising money. Paul Edmonds has worked for both the media and sports teams. He says the reality of the situation does not match what the media say about it. “They’re always going to tell you, especially in the newspaper industry, that the amount of ads that are bought by a team has no reflection on editorial comment. And while newspapers love to kind of pound their chest and say that’s the way it is, it’s not the way it is.” Edmonds is now employed by a minor-league baseball team and works as a play-

by-play announcer and account executive. “I have seen where administrators, not necessarily just here but in other teams I have worked for, have phoned publishers and said, ‘if you don’t get somebody out to cover us or if this doesn’t change with this guy, we’re pulling our ads,’” Edmonds says. “And it might be, in some cases \$50,000 to \$100,000 worth of advertising to the newspaper from the team, and maybe more.” Houston agrees that the claims of the sports media do not match with reality. “Newspaper proprietors and managers don’t care about good journalism,” he says. “They care about getting along, keeping everybody—even, it would seem, pedophiles—happy, getting ad revenue, not rocking the boat and making a buck. That’s sad, but that is reality.”

Another problem with local sports coverage is one that touches all levels of a media organization—resources. Reporters and editors in both Swift Current and Regina claim that they did not have the time or money to investigate the Graham James case thoroughly. MacGregor says that the allocation of resources is the biggest problem affecting sports reporting in Canada. “They’ve got people who are too busy, too caught up in filling in stuff that might, in comparison, seem inconsequential,” he says. “Like the stats, or the little tiny things about who’s got a groin injury or whose mom is coming out from Sackville to watch a game. And there’s nobody there to do the tough digging work.” Fleming agrees, saying that when it comes time for resource allocation, most media organizations ignore investigative journalism. “To devote time on a story like Graham James and Sheldon Kennedy takes enormous resources and they don’t see the dividend,” he says. Fleming says that when he was digging for information on what happened in Swift Current and who knew about it, there was “very little will or interest” shown by other media outlets. “Investigative journalism isn’t well understood and it’s not

something that is held in very high regard. There is certainly lots of lip service given to it, but it's not held in very high regard.”

The basic problem of sports journalism revealed in this project is that its proponents often do not act as actual journalists. Mark Lowes argues that there is no real journalism going on when it comes to sports. “I would characterize sports journalism as an oxymoron,” he says. “What passes for so called ‘critical reporting’ is maybe second guessing a coach’s call or this kind of stuff. But there’s no real journalism going on as I understand the purposes of journalism.” The situation appears to be exacerbated in smaller markets. In towns and cities such as Swift Current, media organizations are fewer in number and smaller in size. In such cases uncritical reporting of the local team becomes even more pronounced because there may only be one powerful sports team in the area. The evidence cited above indicates that uncritical coverage occurs even in situations such as the Graham James case. It was in the public’s interest for the media to investigate what happened and find out why it happened. The James case was a story which should have shaken local media organizations out of their sports reporting routines and into investigative mode. That is not what happened and that is an indication of how ineffective sports journalism is at covering challenging stories that reflect poorly on the local team. In Swift Current, the choice was made not to investigate the local team and—judging by the responses given by the subjects interviewed for this project—that choice is indicative of how sports journalism is most often conducted.

Discussion – The solutions

This project would be incomplete if it did not include suggested solutions to the problems listed above. Most interview subjects, however, argued that sports journalism is

not going to change. Houston simply states that, “there is no solution.” Vanstone also sees no changes coming. “I don’t think it’s any different than it was 20 years ago when I started,” he says. “I’m sure 20 years from now it will be the same. I think it’s almost the nature of sports reporting... that you’re going to have rah-rah guys.” Allan Fotheringham, a journalist who was syndicated across Canada for many years and who wrote about the ills of the junior hockey system after James pleaded guilty, has a pessimistic view of media ethics. “I’ve been fired by eight different newspapers and newspaper organizations in Canada because of—I think the old theory is, the truth does not make you free. You know what that does, the truth makes you fired” (telephone interview). Lowes is also pessimistic. “I don’t think there are any solutions, frankly,” he says. “It doesn’t mean there’s not good people, there’s some good columnists and so forth, but everyday, routine sports journalism will function as it always has and I don’t see any changes down the road whatsoever. There’s no impetus.” Fleming is not so absolute but he does see many obstacles that are in the way of sports journalism becoming more rigorous. “Until journalists—and that includes the reporters and the producers and the editors—until they become better trained, become more imaginative, more creative, shrewder, about coverage—and until the public—the readers and the listeners and the viewers—begin to demand something more, we’re going to continue to get this kind of milquetoast coverage.”

While most share this pessimistic view, not all are at a loss for ways to improve. Both Vanstone and McCormick argue that many sports reporters—particularly in smaller cities—are young and inexperienced. I think it would help if more media outlets had more experienced people,” Vanstone says. “With experience comes the ability to put

some things aside and deal with these [important stories]. I'm much better at that now." If young, inexperienced reporters are hired—which is inevitable in many small town settings—the news organization needs to provide training and mentoring. When local teams and reporters work together, the power balance is often tipped toward the coaches and managers of the team. Sports reporters need to be trained to handle sports teams and the influential community figures that run them. Young journalists also need to have the confidence to report on negative aspects of the teams and sports they cover. Reporter training is one way to instill that confidence.

MacGregor and Fleming both argue that mindset is important—that sports journalists can decide to go beyond routine sports reporting when it is necessary. “You have to have intent or desire,” MacGregor says. “A lot of them don't want to pursue those kinds of stories because—as I think the Graham James case proves..., the chances of that underbelly showing up are so slim that they would think it's not worth it.” Fleming uses a sports metaphor to make his point: “we have to cover it like we're on the road, like we're not of the community,” he says. “We have to look at the stories that lie within sport with a gimlet eye. In other words, we can't become... Graham James' golf buddy. We have to give ourselves a good distance between the teams and the people that we are going to cover.” On a sports beat it is necessary to cultivate sources but the relationship should remain a professional one between a reporter and a subject. Sports reporters can be friendly with the teams they cover but they should not be friends. It is important to remember that reporters' first loyalty should always be to the citizens who read, watch, or hear their reports.

Another solution is for reporters to gain awareness of and resistance to the ‘hockey myth.’ Sports reporters are usually, for obvious reasons, fond of the sports that they report on for a living. In Canada that fondness is felt most often for hockey—a game that is played all over the country and focused upon by almost all media organizations. In that context hockey takes on a pure, mythical quality. “You’re dealing with the national sport which is, I know this is cliché, but is not really a sport, it’s a religion. And you’re dealing with such an absolute love and adoration for the game and its values,” MacGregor says. “Basically people don’t want to hear anything bad about something they love so much. And I think that in some ways those that have operated in the venue of hockey have somewhat been protected by the sentimentalism that surrounds the sport.” Sports journalists need to acknowledge and accept that bad things do happen in hockey. While all reporters are comfortable reporting on wins and losses, they often forget that they are duty-bound to also report on the negative aspects of the game and its people.

An adjustment of how resources are used and allocated by sports departments may be the one solution which has the biggest potential to improve the ethical standards of sports reporting. A sports report, particularly a newspaper sports section, is typically very formulaic. Reports from beat reporters on the games, transactions, health, and personnel of the local team are almost always prominently featured. Game statistics and information about upcoming sports contests are also given prominence in most sports reports. When resources are limited, these types of reports take up most of the budget and leave little room for sports news that does not fall into the sports media organizations traditional purview. While sports beats and formulaic structures make it possible to produce a sports section every day, media organizations must have the courage to break

the formulas when stories such as the Graham James case arise. If that means that the stats page doesn't get filled in or the local team's daily press conference is uncovered, then so be it. In January of 1997 *The Southwest Booster* continued to fill its regular "Bronco Banter" column while ignoring developments in the James case. The *Leader-Post* kept Rob Vanstone on his regular WHL beat, severely limiting his ability to find out what happened in Swift Current. In times like those media outlets need to alter their structure and get the story, even if it means that some regular features are omitted. It could also be argued that altering coverage and reporting on important stories like the Graham James case is good for business. "The handling or mishandling of the James story illustrated the poor judgment of these news organizations and, by extension, their poor business sense," Houston says. "People in small town conservative Canada, people with families and children who played hockey—the local marketplace—would have wanted James' story exposed and carried on Page One. Instead, it was suppressed."

Conclusion

Gregg Drinnan, a reporter who has been covering junior hockey for more than three decades, said he did not change anything about his reporting methods after the Graham James scandal. "You can't go to a hockey rink every night or every day looking for pedophiles," he says. Roy MacGregor, however, makes a passionate case for why sports reporters must maintain an awareness that goes beyond the day's routine reporting.

In an odd way you can sometimes understand how these things happen and how tremendously advantageous a coaching position can be to someone who has that kind of intent. And so you need to report on these things and you need to be awake because you have to prevent the next Graham James from happening.

Graham James' sexual assault of players under his power is an extreme case. That does not, however, mean that lessons cannot be learned from it. Reporters who covered James' teams over the years missed the big story and lost an opportunity to stop a sexual predator. Sexual assault did not fit into their definition of what sports reporting should be about. More inexcusable is the fact that some media outlets continued to gloss over the story after James admitted his guilt. While *The Globe and Mail* and the *Leader-Post* did not conduct thorough investigative reports, they at least had reporters in Swift Current for a short time. The same cannot be said for the newspaper in Swift Current. Those closest to the story did the least to uncover the truth behind it.

If there is one message that can be taken out of this project it should come from the experiences of Rob Vanstone. Working out of Regina he covered Graham James' teams without discovering the terrible things happening within those teams. "It hurts to write these words. You feel betrayed. You feel misled.... Should we have noticed something?" Rob Vanstone wrote those words over ten years ago. The story still haunts him. "I've thought about it a lot," he says now. "What should I have seen? What should I have done? I hope nobody is pulling the wool over my eyes like Graham did. I hope I have a little more guile than I did back then." Vanstone's words should act as a warning to other reporters to be vigilant. When the story broke, he worked himself sick trying to cover it. Ten years later, he still beats himself up over the fact that he missed the chance to find the story and stop Graham James sooner.

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Leaving home at 14 or 15 to live with strangers, practice every day and spend long hours on buses for \$35 a week amounts to ‘indentured servitude.’” *The Globe and Mail* 18 Jan. 1997: A16.

Appendix A – Interview subjects

Scott Anderson is the managing editor of *The Southwest Booster* in Swift Current. Anderson worked as a sports reporter for both *The Sun* and the *Booster* in Swift Current. He arrived in the city one year before Graham James left the Broncos. When James pleaded guilty Anderson had just moved over from the defunct *Sun* to join the *Booster*.

Gregg Drinnan is the sports editor of the Kamloops Daily News and has been a sports reporter since 1971. From 1988-2000 Drinnan was the sports editor of the *Leader-Post* in Regina and he often covered Graham James and the Swift Current Broncos.

Paul Edmonds is the play-by-play announcer and account executive for the Winnipeg Goldeneyes baseball club. In the early 1990s Edmonds worked as the sports editor for *The Sun* newspaper and did the play-by-play for Swift Current Broncos radio broadcasts.

Grant Fleming is a communications consultant and media researcher in Winnipeg. He worked as a sports reporter for CBC Radio in Saskatchewan in the mid-1990s. Fleming covered the Graham James story extensively in late 1996 and early 1997.

Allan Fotheringham is a retired journalist who has worked for several news organizations across Canada. For many years his column graced the inside back cover of *MacLean's* magazine. Early in his career Fotheringham spent time as a sports reporter. He wrote a column about the ills of junior hockey following James' guilty plea.

William Houston is a sports columnist for *The Globe and Mail*. His columns focus on sports media in Canada. Houston was writing for *The Globe* when the Graham James story broke.

Mark Douglas Lowes is an associate professor in the University of Ottawa's Department of Communication. His research focus is sports media and he is the author of *Inside the Sports Pages: Work routines, professional ideologies, and the manufacture of sport news*.

Roy MacGregor is a columnist for *The Globe and Mail*. MacGregor worked as a sports reporter for more than 10 years with the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *National Post*. MacGregor was writing for the *Ottawa Citizen* when the Graham James story broke.

Murray McCormick is a sports reporter and assistant sports editor for the *Leader-Post* in Regina. He has worked for the *Leader-Post's* sports department since 1985 and often covered Graham James and the Swift Current Broncos.

Rob Vanstone is the sports editor of the *Leader-Post* in Regina. He has worked in their sports department since 1987 and became editor in 2000. Vanstone covered the WHL beat and reported extensively on Graham James and the Swift Current Broncos.

Appendix B – Case study limitations

Due to the nature of this project, the methodology used to examine the media coverage was not a traditional one. One reason for this was the difficulty in accessing some of the archived material. No electronic database searches were available from the time period in question for the newspapers based in Regina and Swift Current. *Leader-Post* analysis was done from microfilm stores at the University of Alberta library. Microfilm of *The Sun* is housed in the basement of the offices of *The Southwest Booster* in Swift Current. Archives of the *Booster* are also stored in the newspaper's basement but only in hard copy form. The analysis was done with these sources to the best of the author's ability.

The result of this examination is a mixture of qualitative and quantitative analysis. Both the amount and nature of the coverage of Graham James by the newspapers in question was examined. Some data, such as the number of articles devoted to the story in the month of January in 1997, is objective and clear cut. As part of the analysis, however, subjective choices were made by the author as to which articles to highlight and what information to include. These decisions were made in an honest fashion with the goal of portraying the media coverage of the Graham James case as accurately and clearly as possible.

Appendix C - The newspapers

The Southwest Booster is a free weekly newspaper published by Transcontinental Media G.P.. It is published in Swift Current and boasts that it is delivered to more than 19,300 homes in southwestern Saskatchewan. As the tagline “Your ADvertising ADvantage” suggests, it is a newspaper heavy on advertising and light on editorial content.

The Sun was a competitor of the *Booster* in Swift Current until December of 1996 when its owner, Hollinger Canadian Newspapers, sold it to a printing company. At the end of that year, the paper stopped publishing and was assimilated into the *Booster*. Before being purchased by Hollinger, *The Sun* ran up to three times a week and was considered to be more rigorous than the *Booster*. At the time that it folded it was a free newspaper and claimed to be delivered to nearly 20,000 homes.

The *Leader-Post* is the descendent of a newspaper established in Regina in 1883 and is currently owned by CanWest MediaWorks. CanWest owns 13 daily newspapers in Canada as well as 11 Global Television stations. The *Leader-Post's* focus is on Regina and southern Saskatchewan and it has an average daily circulation of more than 51,100.¹⁷ The *Leader-Post* is published Monday to Saturday.

The Globe and Mail is the descendent of a newspaper established in 1844 in Toronto. As the tagline “Canada’s National Newspaper” suggests, it prides itself on being the country’s newspaper of record. It is based in Toronto and published Monday to Saturday.

The Globe and Mail has an average daily circulation of more than 328,300 and is owned, along with the CTV network, by Bell GlobeMedia.

¹⁷ Circulation numbers for the *Leader-Post* and *The Globe and Mail* are for 2005 and are taken from the Canadian Newspaper Association website cna-acj.ca.

Appendix D – January 1997 timeline

The Southwest Booster publishes weekly. In January of 1997 there were seven items mentioning James:

January 4 – one article

January 11 – one letter to the editor

January 18 – one editorial

January 25 – one pre-written statement from the Broncos, three letters to the editor

The *Leader-Post* publishes Monday-Saturday. In January of 1997 there were 39 items mentioning James:

January 3 – one article

January 4 – two articles

January 6 – one article, one column

January 7 – one article, one editorial

January 8 – one article, one column

January 9 – one article, one column

January 10 – two articles, one letter to the editor

January 11 – three articles

January 13 – two articles

January 14 – one column

January 15 – two articles

January 16 – one article

January 17 – three articles, one column, one letter to the editor

January 18 – one article

January 21 – three articles, one column

January 22 – three articles

January 23 – one article

January 29 – one column

January 30 – one column

The Globe and Mail publishes Monday-Saturday. In January of 1997 there were 35 items mentioning James:

January 3 – one article

January 4 – one column

January 7 – one article

January 8 – one article, one column

January 9 – four articles

January 10 – two articles, one editorial

January 11 – one article

January 14 – one article, one column

January 15 – one column

January 16 – one article

January 17 – one article

January 18 – two articles

January 21 – one article, one column

January 22 – one article, two letters to the editor

January 23 – two articles

January 24 – three articles

January 25 – one article

January 29 – one article

January 30 – two articles, one column