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Portrayal of Rooming Houses in the News

Media Summary

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1. SUMMARY

Guiding Question: How are stories about rooming houses told in local media?

Purpose: This paper reviews how local media deals with one form of housing in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Local media outlets tell stories and present unique perspectives about rooming houses. Rooming houses rent multiple rooms singly, while allowing tenants to share bathroom and/or kitchen space. Discourse analysis of media articles published from 1996 to 2015 reveals the narratives about rooming houses that affect public perceptions of the housing option.

Design and Methods: A database of local news articles permits analysis of news stories in an attempt to better understand how the media portray rooming houses in Halifax. Each article was reviewed for multiple categories such as purpose, frame, tone, and other categories based on pre-determined guiding questions. Stakeholders including municipal officials, landlords, tenants, housing advocates, neighbourhood residents, community organizations, and others were identified. Note was taken whenever stakeholders were quoted or descriptive words were used to discuss rooming houses, quasi-rooming houses, rooming house residents, and landlords. In the event of a rooming house closure, any follow-up actions were recorded.

Results: Rooming houses appeared in the media most commonly due to an incident such as fire, crime, or closure. The media sometimes recognizes rooming houses as filling a need for affordable housing for low income and disadvantaged residents; stakeholders are quoted calling for protection and enhancement of rooming house stock in the city. “Quasi-rooming houses” typically target university students in areas near Dalhousie and Saint Mary’s universities, and are a target of complaints from neighbours. Stories often address rooming houses in a negative tone. News reports tend to cover stories of murder, death, and substandard living conditions. Numerous articles report on single incidents, with multiple outlets following court cases. These stories largely concentrate on a few rooming house properties. Rooming houses also appear in the news as a topic of discussion on affordable housing and societal justice. The media reports on City Council decisions and concerns of neighbours and housing advocates.

Practical Implications: Media can shape societal perceptions. Given the nature of incident reporting, the general picture painted of rooming houses in Halifax is negative and may contribute to a social stigma against this form of housing. Media highlights societal issues and

may generate pressure for action. Awareness of the media focus on a few “bad apple” properties, which may not reflect most rooming houses in the city, is key in ensuring action is not taken in haste.

2. PROJECT OVERVIEW

2.1 Data Collection

This analysis is part of a study in Halifax on rooming houses, also called single room occupancies or SROs¹. Articles were collected through an electronic search of local media including the Chronicle Herald, the Daily News, The Metro Halifax and CBC Nova Scotia (Lee, 2016). A search on each rooming house address identified in Halifax (Lee, 2016) was completed on Eureka.cc (article database for the Chronicle Herald, CBC, and the Daily News). Each article date, author, title, and news outlet is listed in Appendix A. The word “rooming house” appears in the title of 57 of the 262 articles evaluated.

Table 1. Local news outlets.

Newspaper Outlet	Dates Available	Number of Articles
Chronicle Herald	1999 - 2015	168
The Daily News	1996 - 2004	39
CBC Nova Scotia	2007 - present	36
The Coast	1993 - present	1
The Metro Halifax	2008 - present	18

(Modified from Uytas Lee, 2016).

¹ The study is part of a broader investigation of neighbourhood change in Halifax. See <http://theoryandpractice.planning.dal.ca/neighbourhood/index.html>

2.2 Previous Findings

In his study of Halifax rooming houses, Lee (2016) notes that certain rooming house addresses have received more attention than others over time, reflecting a publication bias for “newsworthy” incidents. The issues warranting media coverage are typically associated with negative events such as murder, fire, or poor housing conditions (Lee, 2016). Lee finds 57 Halifax rooming house addresses identified with incidents in the media. Only one “quasi rooming house” -- defined as properties that have 6 or more rooms to rent but not licensed, advertised, or otherwise labelled as rooming houses – had an incident (Lee, 2016). Most rooming houses identified in Lee’s inventory of Halifax had no newsworthy incidents.

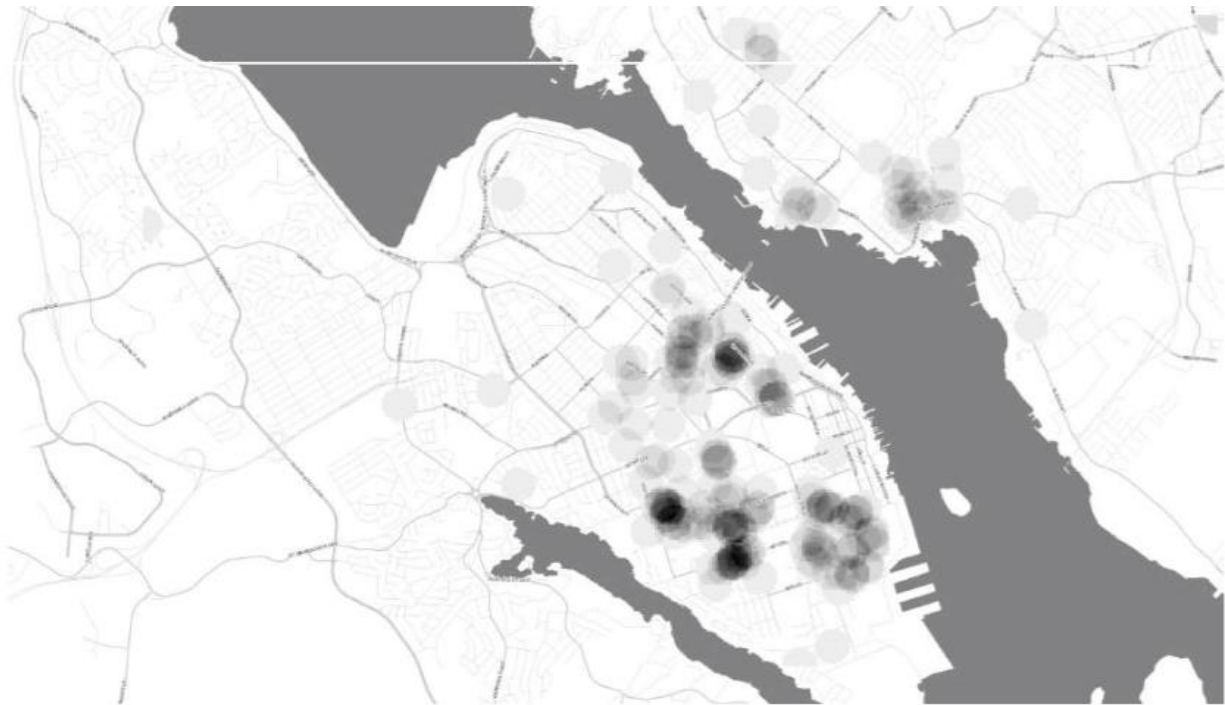
The focus of media coverage is displayed in density maps. Figure 1 shows a concentration of news reports on rooming houses in Halifax’s north end, south end and downtown Dartmouth. Particular addresses appeared numerous times, such as a property on Cogswell Street mentioned 33 times in the media. Figure 2 shows all rooming house and quasi rooming house addresses identified in Halifax between 1995 and 2016.

Figure 1. Density map of media articles mentioning rooming house or quasi rooming house addresses between 1996 and 2016



(Lee, 2016).

Figure 2. Density map of all rooming house and quasi rooming house addresses identified.



(Lee, 2016).

Media coverage on rooming houses revolves around incidents occurring in particular properties and may contribute to a negative public perception of this form of housing (Campsie, 1996; Lee, 2016). Less attention is given to quasi rooming houses as they apparently had fewer newsworthy incidents. The discussion around quasi rooming houses in the media focusses on university student-related concerns and is generally about restricting them through policy and regulation.

Beyond a negative public perception, there is a clear narrative of decline in media coverage of rooming houses. Notably, in the mid-2000s when the minimum standards bylaw (M-100) was passed, publications reported code violations alongside rooming house fires. Fraser (2004) blames fires for the closure of many rooming houses. Lee (2016) notes other reasons for decline, although less publicized, such as the conversion of rooming houses into other housing forms.

The first portion of the report reveals key findings. Local media has concentrated on negative incidents occurring in a small number of rooming houses. Many of the rooming houses in Halifax have no newsworthy incidents; however, the preponderance of negative sentiments in

the media may mean that “Rooming houses may find themselves socially condemned and displaced from the community around them” (Lee, 2016, p.9).

3. MEDIA ANALYSIS

The stories told by media have the potential to shape societal perceptions of this form of housing (Campsie, 1994). Understanding the picture of rooming houses painted by the media can challenge pre-conceived ideas about rooming houses that may or may not accurately reflect reality.

Media outlets have a tendency to highlight societal issues that may result in pressure to act rashly in attempts to solve a problem (Campsie, 1994). In the case of rooming houses, premature action can lead to closures through enforcement of standards and codes. Awareness of media hype and related pressure can help navigate appropriate responses to rooming house issues. Furthermore, understanding the narrative of the time proves useful. Noting shifts in describing words for rooming houses, tenants, and landlords may help decipher the message sent about rooming houses. For example, in Toronto in the 1990s bachelorettes [studio apartments] were facing financial struggle, with evictions commonplace. During the time, media reports changed from associating tenants with drug use and illegal activities to characterizing them as marginalized individuals and victims of unfortunate circumstances (Campsie, 1994). Such portrayals may influence community responses to issues.

Media creates images of certain stakeholders in the rooming house sector. For example, Campsie (1994) notes that in Toronto media, landlords are often criticized for allowing tenants to live in poor conditions. In Halifax, the term “slumlord” appears multiple times in local media. By contrast, well-managed rooming houses may not receive media attention due to lack of perceived news value (Campsie, 1994).

3.1 Methods

In the analysis that follows, local media is examined through reading news articles and organizing data into categories, such as purpose of the article. Incidents and important events such as rooming house closures and follow up measures are also recorded. In performing a media analysis, Douglas Gould and Company (2004) suggests developing guiding questions to

direct data collection and analysis. Based on this advice, some pointed questions were created to guiding the process:

- What are the most common reasons rooming houses appear in local media?
- What percent of articles portray rooming houses negatively?
- What positive messages appear about rooming houses?
- Which stakeholders are given a voice?
- What common words are used to describe rooming houses?
- How are rooming houses framed in the media articles in which they appear?
- How does the discussion around this form of housing shift over time?
- What general message(s) does the media portray about rooming houses?

Using these guiding questions the following categories were developed to analyze each article. Each category has a supplementary description.

Table 2. Data collection categories.

Category	Description
Basic Information	Note author, title, location, or property owner whenever explicitly stated.
Incident	Nature of the incident mentioned, if any. Example: assault.
Policy	Nature of the policy mentioned, if any. Example: minimum standards bylaw.
People involved	All actors mentioned in the article. Example: rooming house residents and Halifax Regional Police.
People Quoted	The name and role of each person quoted is recorded into the appropriate sub-category including municipal officials, landlords, tenants, housing advocates, neighbours, community organizations, others.
Important Quotes	Any quotes that stand out as important to the discussion or display a unique perspective are recorded verbatim.
Words Describing Rooming Houses	Any words used to describe rooming houses are noted, including both adjectives and nouns. Example: rundown, crackhouse.

Words Describing Tenants	Any words used to describe residents of rooming houses are noted.
Words Describing Landlords	Any words used to describe property owners of rooming houses are noted.
Balance	Yes or no value is given based whether or not there are two sides to the story often seen in contrasting options and whether or not multiple stakeholders are quoted.
Purpose	Purpose is the reason for the article, such as to report an incident or have a discussion about affordable housing.
Descriptive/Analytical	Articles are described as descriptive if rooming house(s) are mentioned without further discussion. Articles are described as analytical if rooming house(s) are discussed in context, provoking thought.
Frame	<p>The frame identifies the underlying message about rooming house(s). Frames include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failed (tenants not secured stable housing) • Unsafe (violence or harm or feeling unsafe) • Trivializing (adding an element of humour to a negative situation) • Tenant health (concerns about tenant behaviour or environment) • Afterthought (rooming house mentioned without discussion) • Unwelcome (community unhappy about rooming house existence) • Affordable (provides an affordable option)
Issue Addressed	<p>Categories were developed based on a code book designed by Gregorio et al. (2011) to reflect how the article addressed rooming houses. An article could include all or none of the elements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diagnostic (identifies a problem and who/what is to blame) • Prognostic (articulation of proposed solution or plan of attack) • Symptomatic (discussed issue as it affects the community) • Motivational (beyond basic existence of issue and cause to put forward a moral reason for concern)

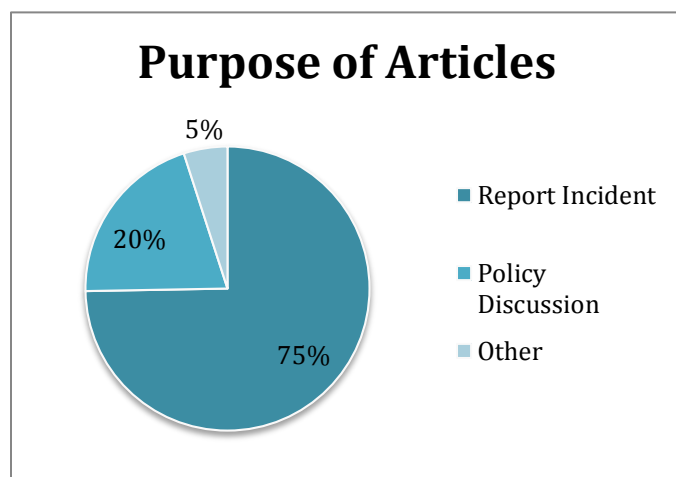
Tone	Tone is described as negative, neutral, or positive. Negative tone is justified via negative adjectives or description of rooming house(s), as well as labelling rooming houses unnecessarily. Neutral tone does not present rooming houses as either negative or positive. Positive tone is identified when there is a positive message present.
Positive Message	Item where articles show rooming houses in a positive light. Example: recognized need for this form of housing.
Closure	Note when a rooming house is closed down.
Follow-up	Note when there are follow-up measures upon closure of a rooming house, such as emergency accommodations.
Policy Ideas	Note any ideas for policy change or other solutions to better the rooming house situation.

The broad range of categories attempts to provide many options for analysis as the data reveals itself through the process of reading and categorizing data. Some categories may prove less useful for analysis than others.

3.2 Findings

3.2.1 Nature of Reporting

The most common reason rooming houses appear in local media is due to an incident such as a murder or fire. Figure 3 shows that 75% of the articles examined report on an incident or a trial following an incident. Of all the articles, 20% discussed policy around this form of housing. The remaining 5% included a mix of articles focusing on housing discussions, stories on individuals, discussions on problem properties, reports on recent developments, and community efforts.

Figure 3. Purpose of articles.

Some articles reported incidents and discussed policy, in which case the most obvious or most prominent purpose was chosen. For example, an article describing an incident in detail and concluding by mentioning a policy solution to address rooming house conditions would fall under the “report incident” category.

3.2.2 Tone in Addressing Rooming Houses

Figure 4 displays the percentage of articles that portray rooming houses as negative, neutral, or positive. Figure 4 displays the reason articles are deemed to negatively portray rooming houses.

Figure 4. Tone of articles.

Most articles (85%) have a negative tone when addressing rooming houses. The tone is deemed negative if an article uses the title “rooming house” unnecessarily, if the article uses negative adjectives to describe the form of housing, if a rooming house is connected to an incident, if a rooming house is described as a negative living environment, or when an individual ended up in a rooming house due to having no other options.

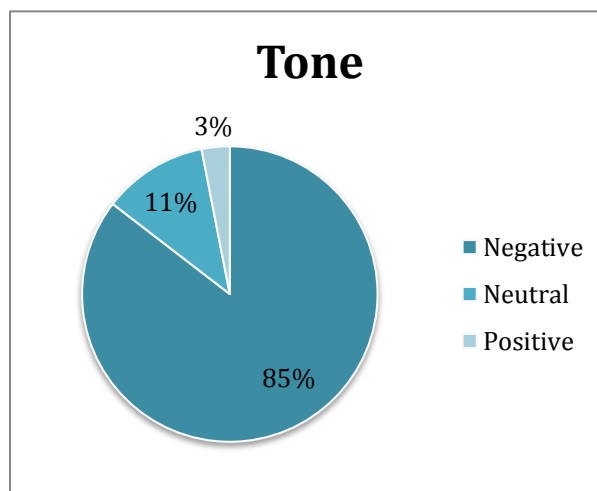
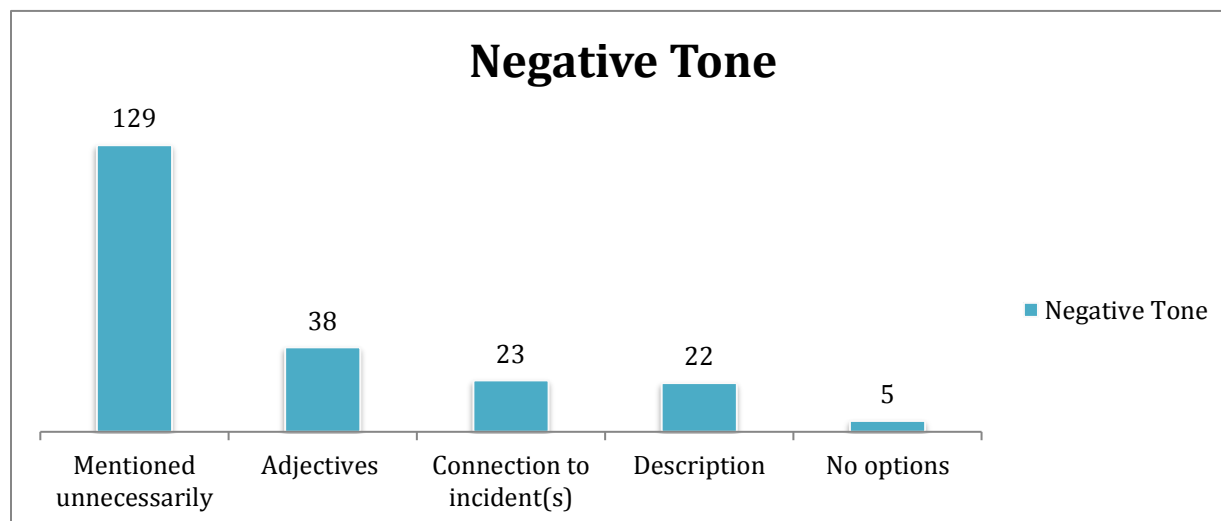


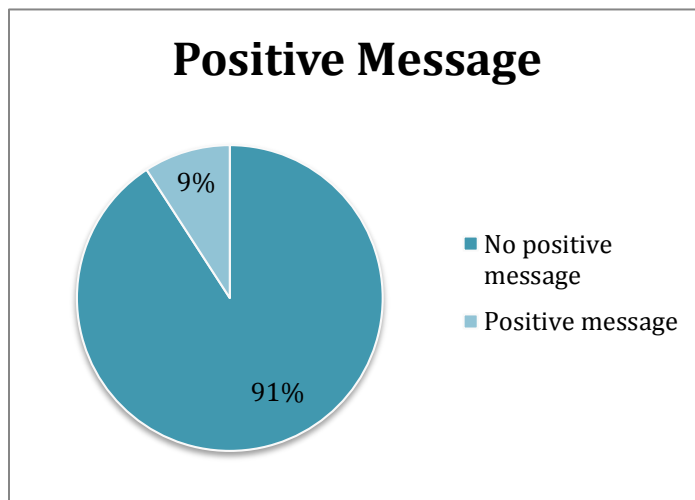
Figure 5. Number of articles with associated negative tone.



The most common reason for a negative tone is mentioning the status of a property as “rooming house” without reason, as displayed by Figure 5. For example, an article may say “rooming house fire” instead of “house fire”, in effect associating the use with the incident. Of the articles with a negative tone, around half (129 articles) mention the status of a property as a rooming house unnecessarily. The second most common reason for a negative tone is the use of negative adjectives to describe rooming houses such as “decrepit” or “rundown.”

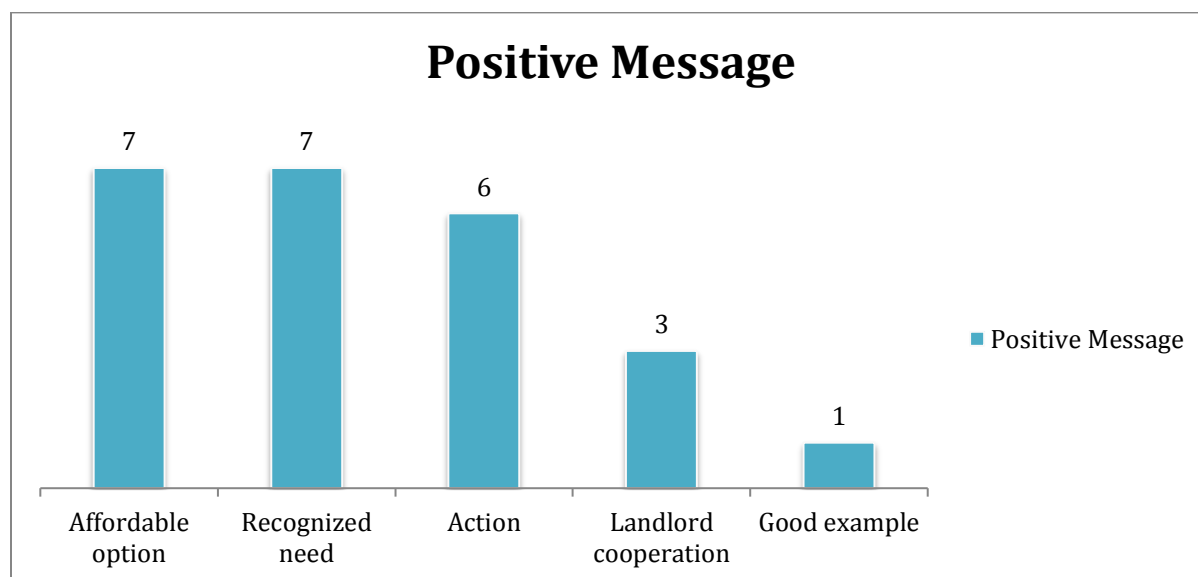
Some articles established a negative tone toward rooming houses yet simultaneously presented a positive message, such as recognizing rooming houses as an affordable option. Figure 6 shows the different positive messages present in the articles examined, including those with negative, neutral, and positive tones. Percentages reflect all 262 articles.

Figure 6. Percent of articles in which a positive message appears.



Most articles (91%) did not have a positive message about rooming houses as a form of housing. Only 9% mentioned something positive about rooming houses. Figure 7 displays the different positive messages that appeared in media articles.

The two most common positive messages portrayed by local media include: first, rooming houses provide an affordable option; second, rooming houses are recognized as an important form of housing needed in Halifax. Taking action to improve the rooming house sector is another common positive message, including both past and current efforts.

Figure 7. Number of articles with associated positive message.

3.2.2 Stakeholder Opinions

Media articles often quote different stakeholders in the rooming house sector. These stakeholders include municipal/provincial officials, landlords, rooming house residents, advocates, neighbours, and others. Figure 8 displays the percent of articles in which each stakeholder was quoted.

Figure 8. Percent of total articles each stakeholder is quoted in.

Municipal/provincial officials receive the most airtime in local media with quotes in 60% of the articles. Reporters often gather details from officials such as police officers in the event of an

incident. The Halifax Regional Police are the most quoted officials in local media, followed by local councillors. Rooming house residents and others (often bystanders) are quoted in 25% of the articles. Landlords are the least commonly heard voice in reports. This may be due to refusal to comment or inability of the journalist to reach the property owner. For example, one news story reports a landlord living in Wolfville who “could not be reached” (Jones, 2003). Another article states, “Mr Carette [landlord] could not be reached for comment” (Arsenault, 2004).

3.2.3 Trends and Discussions Over Time

Figure 9. Number of articles reporting on rooming houses over time.

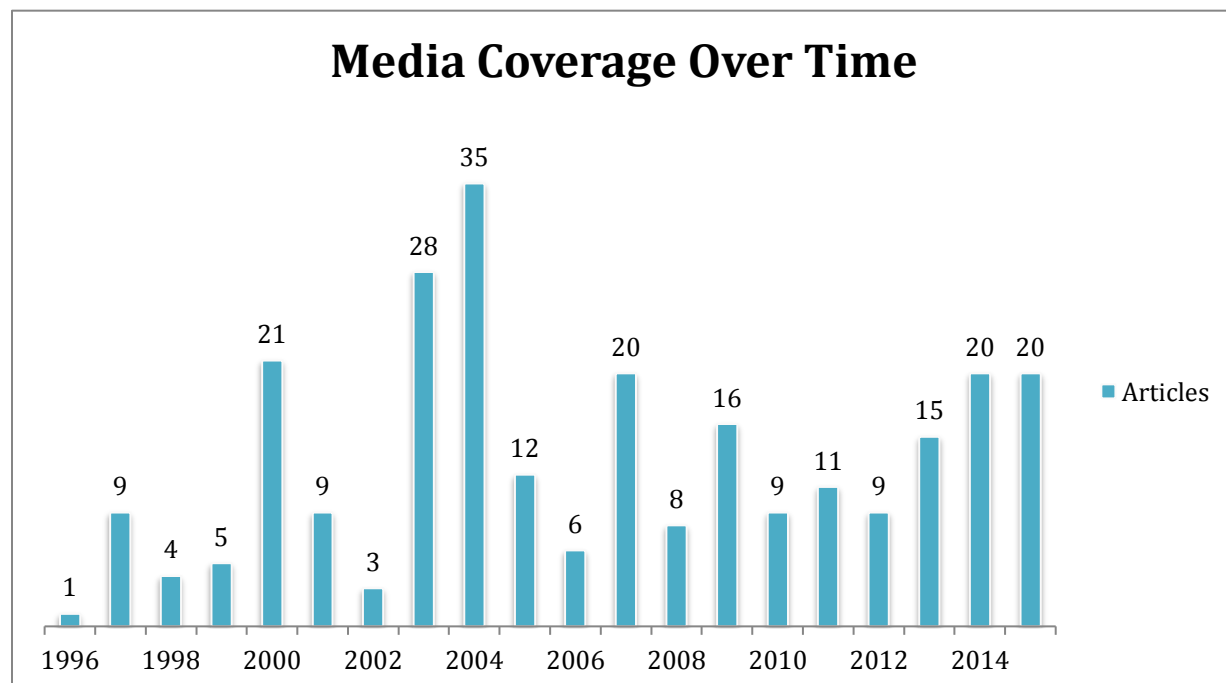


Figure 9 displays local media coverage on rooming houses between 1996 and 2015. The first notable spike in media attention occurred in the year 2000 followed by a larger spike in 2003 and 2004. In 2004, 35 articles were written with some mention of rooming houses. After 2004, media attention faded with another spike in 2007 and a smaller spike in 2009. Post 2012, there is growing media attention on this form of housing with an average of 20 articles published on the topic in both 2014 and 2015.

Rooming houses gained some attention in 1997 as a result of a series of incidents. The Daily News published an article in December of 1997 titled “A record of rooming-house deaths”, which mentioned the passing of four individuals in connection with Halifax rooming houses (Flinn and MacKinlay, 1997). The notable spike in the year 2000 followed the death of Lisa MacNeil in a rooming house fire. This incident was prominently covered in the Chronicle Herald along with other stories and incidents related to other rooming houses. The passing of the minimum standards bylaw (M-100) in the mid-2000s explains the spike in 2003 and 2004. Reports of code violations, rooming house fires, evictions, and discussions around safety and affordable housing ensued. A notable article published in the Chronicle Herald in October 2004 reports on anti-poverty activist protesting council at city hall to address recent evictions brought on by the M-100 bylaw, calling for an emergency response plan (Fraser, 2004). Around the same time, Allan Robert Bartels murdered two individuals on separate occasions in a Cogswell Street rooming house. These incidents received intense press coverage.

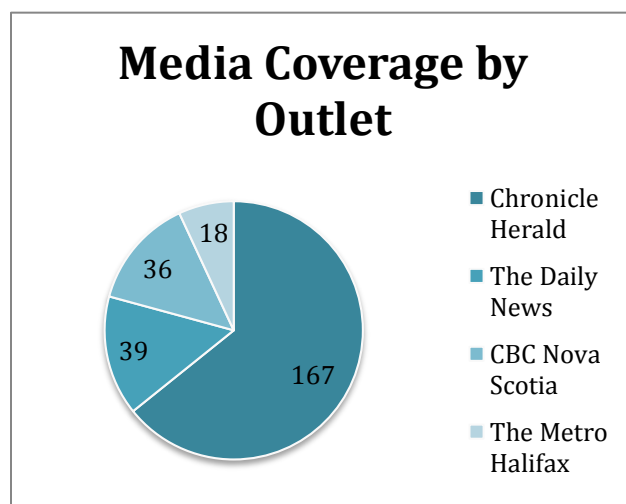
In 2007 news stories were released on the death of Bernard Grismajer, rooming house fires, minor crimes, and discussions on policy and affordable housing. In 2009, the rooming house at 214 Portland Street received attention in the murders of Gordon Murray and Tanya Brooks. Media coverage in 2014 and 2015 followed the murders of David Rose and infant Aurora Breakthrough. Also in recent years, unlicensed rooming houses gained more media attention with discussions around definitions and licensing. In May 2015, CBC reports on the use of the term “quasi rooming house” with Building Inspector Matt Covey stating, “It really became obvious that the definition [of rooming house in the city bylaw] isn’t working” (Murphy, 2015). Another report calls on Halifax to “crack down on decrepit, unlicensed rooming houses” (Allen, 2015).

The Chronicle Herald produced most news coverage for rooming houses in Halifax with its peak in 2004 shortly after the M-100 bylaw was passed. Figure 10 shows a breakdown of media coverage by local news outlet. The Daily News peaked in 1997 around the time of multiple rooming house murders.² CBC Nova Scotia is recently dominating with its peak in 2015,

² The Daily News ceased publication in 2008.

reporting on recent rooming house deaths and on unlicensed rooming houses.³ The Metro Halifax saw its peak in 2014⁴, most frequently reporting on the death of David William Rose.

Figure 10. Breakdown of media coverage by outlet.



Overall, media coverage revolves around rooming house deaths, fire, and policy discussions. Reports on incidents in rooming houses prove common since 1996. Policy became a prominent topic around the time the M-100 bylaw was passed as well as when quasi rooming houses became a topic of concern.

3.2.4 Image of the Rooming House Sector

Using “Word It Out” online word cloud engine, a compilation of the adjectives and descriptions of the rooming house sector in local media was created. Figure 11 displays all the words used to describe rooming houses in the articles examined. Words used more frequently appear in larger text. Figure 12 shows only the positive words used to describe rooming houses. Note that some words are changed slightly from original wording to match the most common word used with similar meaning. For example, “poor repair” is changed to “disrepair” to condense the number of words appearing on the graphic (see Appendix B for full list of words).

Rooming houses are most often described negatively in the media contributing to a negative tone. Positive words describing rooming houses appear significantly less frequently than negative words. Rooming houses are most often associated with drugs, pests, and poor conditions by local media. However, there are some reports on clean and decent rooming houses in the city.

³ CBC Nova Scotia articles prior to 2007 were not available electronically.

⁴ Metro Halifax began publishing in 2008.

Figure 11. Words describing rooming houses in the articles examined.

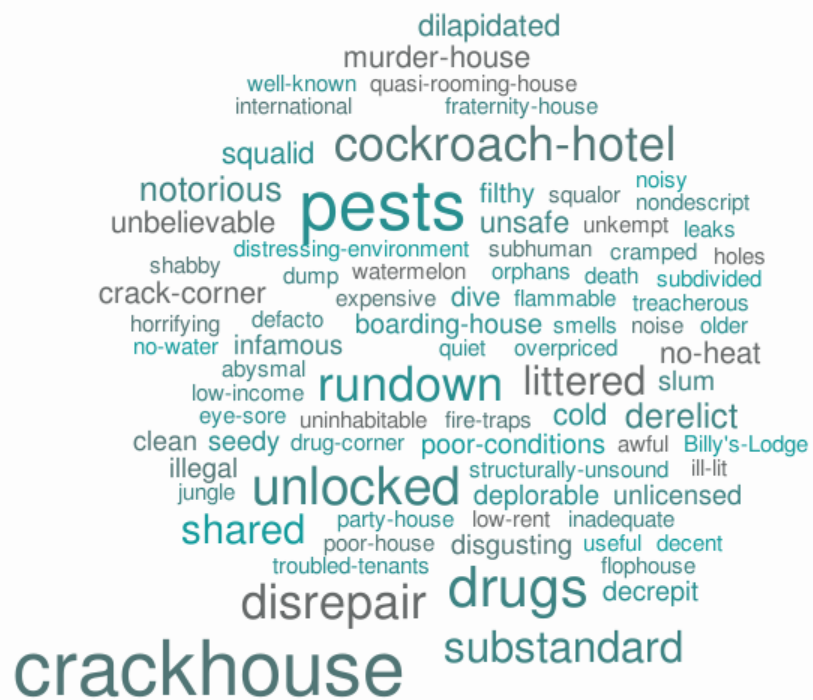


Figure 12. Positive words describing rooming houses in articles examined.



A word cloud visualization showing positive words used to describe rooming houses. The words are arranged in a circular pattern. The largest word is 'decent' at the top. Below it, in smaller text, are 'always-warm', 'low-rent', and 'quiet'. At the bottom, the word 'clean' is also prominently displayed.

decent
always-warm
low-rent
quiet
clean

WordItOut

Figures 13 and 14 display words used to describe rooming house residents and landlords. Both figures show positive and negative words to describe these individuals.

Figure 13. Words describing rooming house residents in the articles examined.



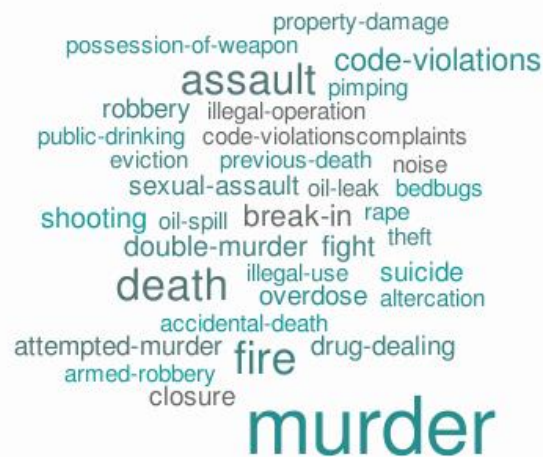
Figure 14. Words describing rooming house landlords in the articles examined.



Rooming house residents are most commonly described as mentally ill and alcoholics in local media. Tenants are commonly associated with forms of substance abuse and lack of employment. Some positive words also appear more than once, such as nice and friendly. Landlords are commonly described as slumlords, non-caring, and unreachable. One common positive word used to describe landlords is helpful. Overall, descriptions of both tenants and landlords are largely negative. Rooming house residents are depicted as people in unfortunate circumstances, whereas landlords are described as facilitating tenants' unfortunate circumstances without conscience. An image of those who need help is paired with those who do not provide help.

Incidents reported on in local media are also compiled into a word cloud to show the most common reasons rooming houses appear in the news. Figure 15 displays murder as the most common incident reported. Fire, death, assault and code-violations also appear frequently.

Figure 15. Incidents recorded in the articles examined.



Due to the prominence of murder and death cases in the news, a word cloud was created to display which incidences of murder or death received most attention.

Figure 16. Murders and deaths recorded in the articles examined.



WordItOut

The murder of David Rose is the most reported incident in local media. Rose was murdered in a south-end rooming house in Halifax in 2014. The murder was a shock, with Rose described as a “pillar in the poor people’s community” by a close friend (anonymous, 2014). The murder of Gordon Murray was also a shock and horror to friends and family as the victim was murdered after “a dispute over beer” (Bruce, 2011). The brutal nature of the murders of MacDonnell and King by Robert Bartels may have contributed to the coverage of these events in the news (Anonymous, 2004). The death of infant Aurora Breakthrough caused significant media attention. The child’s parents lived in a rooming house at the time of the incident: the father was accused in her death (Fairclough and Bureau, 2012).

3.2.5 Frame and Message

Media sources have unique ways of framing rooming houses. Frame refers to the underlying message about rooming house(s). Frames discovered in the analysis include failed (tenants not secured stable housing), unsafe (violence or harm or feeling unsafe), trivializing (adding an element of humour to a negative situation), tenant health (concerns about tenant behaviour or environment), afterthought (rooming house mentioned without discussion), unwelcome (community unhappy about rooming house existence), and affordable (provides an affordable option). Some articles framed rooming houses in more than one way, in which case the most prominent frame was treated as primary.

Figure 17. Frame of rooming house(s) in the articles examined.

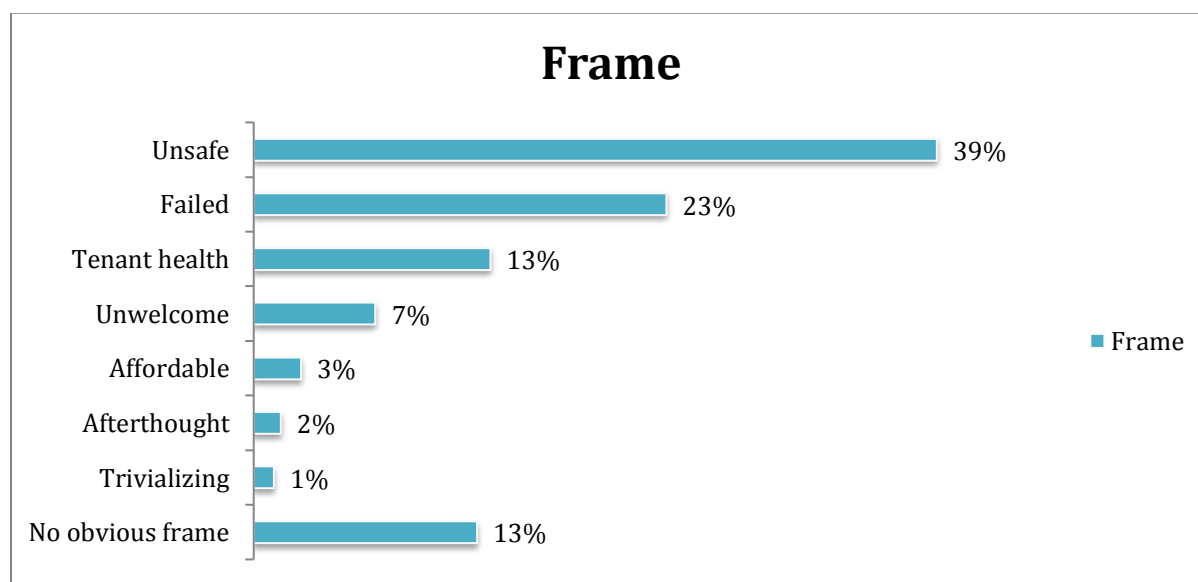


Figure 17 reveals 39% of articles framing rooming houses as unsafe, most commonly due to incidents of murder or other offenses. Rooming houses are also commonly framed as failed, often due to a fire and/or eviction. The only common positive frame appeared in 3% of the articles examined: it frames rooming houses as an affordable option.

The way rooming houses are framed in local media sends a message. With a large portion of articles framing rooming houses as unsafe and failing to provide secure housing, the media builds a negative image of rooming houses.

3.2.6 Incidence of Closures

The closure of rooming houses often appears in local news. Figure 18 displays the most common reason for rooming house closures in the news as fire, cited in 25 articles. Second, bylaw infractions are reported to have closed rooming houses in 14 articles. Less commonly cited reasons include oil leaks and spills and the Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods Act. The Act is described in a CBC article as legislation used to help police shut down houses associated with drug-dealing (Anonymous, 2009).

Figure 18. Number of articles reporting rooming house closures, with reasons.

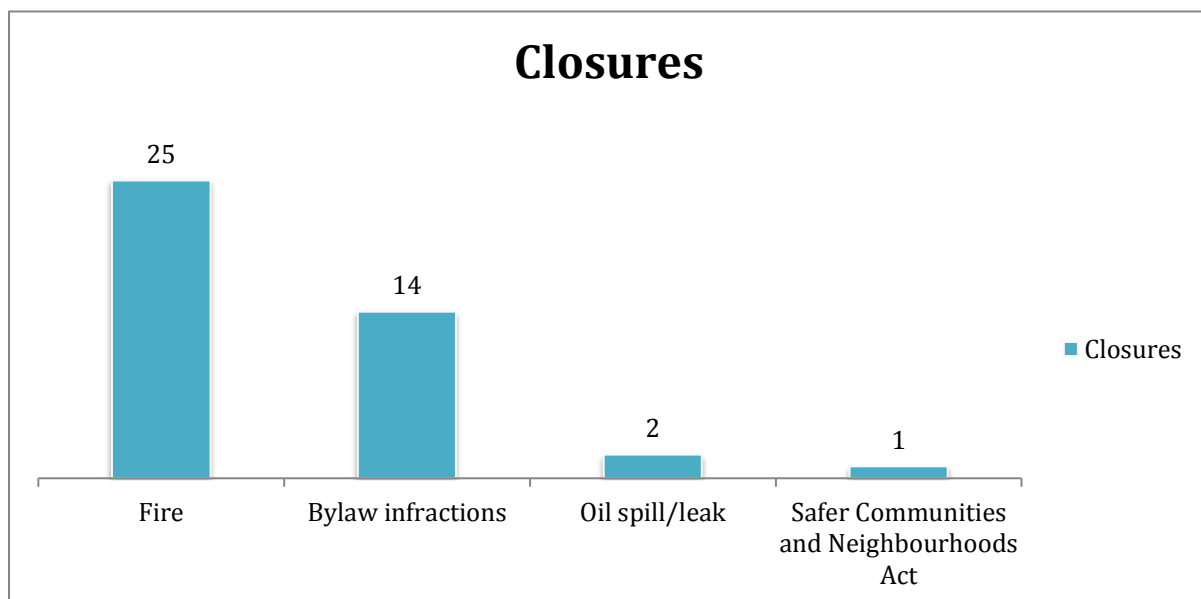


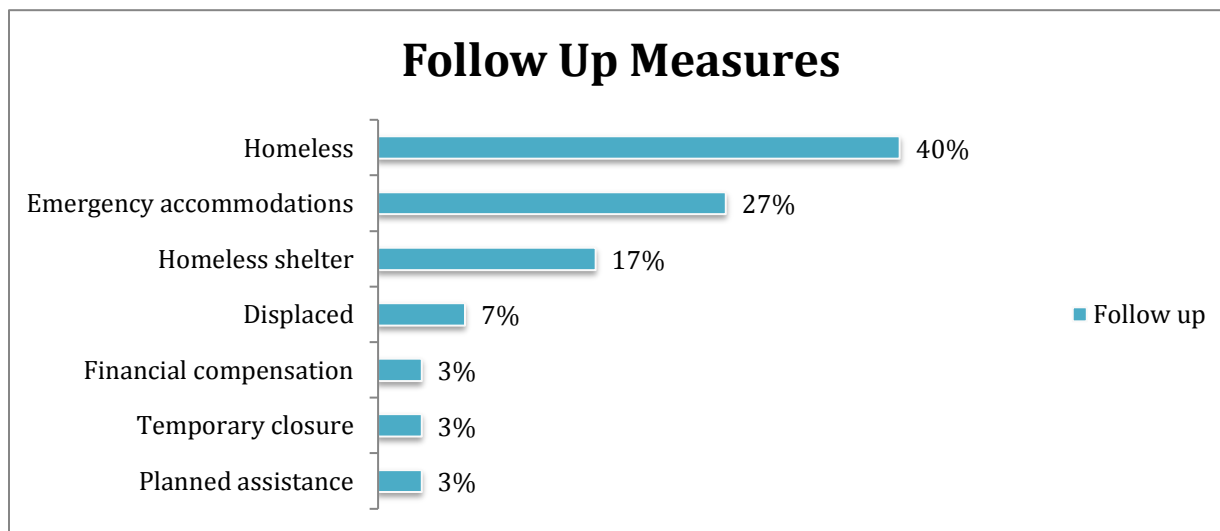
Figure 19. Follow up on rooming house closures.

Figure 19 shows that 40% of reported rooming house closures resulted in homelessness. Emergency accommodations were reported to have occurred in 27% of the reported closures while 17% reported sending rooming house residents to homeless shelters. The large portion of closures ending in homelessness for some tenants reveals the need for discussion about policy related to rooming house conditions and crisis management.

3.2.7 Policy Discussions

Table 3 lists all the policy suggestions and number of times each suggestion is mentioned in local media.

Table 3. Policy suggestions from the articles examined.

Policy Suggestions	Number of Times Mentioned
Licensing	2
Wet shelter	1
Managed alcohol facility	1
Tougher bylaws and enforcement	5
Build affordable housing	2
Rent controls	1
Emergency response plan	1
Eviction prevention	2
Provincial housing	2
New definitions	2
Revise Residential Tenancy Board Process	1
Non-profit and coop housing	1
Community land trusts	1
Pressure landlords	1
Zoning change	1
Mediation	1
Build emergency shelter	2
Raise social assistance	1
Lobby federal government	1
Neighbourhood watch program	1
Live-in superintendent	1

A wide array of policy suggestions appears in local media articles. The most common suggestion is tougher bylaws and enforcement, with five articles specifically posing the suggestion. Other ideas suggested more than once include licensing, more affordable housing, eviction prevention, provincial housing, new definitions, and more emergency shelter.

Policy discussions are ongoing in local media with diverse ideas about appropriate action on poor rooming house conditions, a lack of affordable housing, and community concerns about neighbourhood character and safety. There are mixed views on who is responsible to ensure housing is safe and affordable. Media articles often report on poor housing conditions and discuss appropriate action or lack thereof. In an article published in the Daily News in 2001, Jim Donovan of Municipal Compliance states, “We know there are people who live in rental accommodation...where the conditions of the housing has been allowed to slide” (Moar, 2014).

The existence of unlicensed rooming houses continues to arise in media, notably in 2005 with a bylaw amendment changing the definition of rooming house in the Halifax peninsula, following the proliferation of university student-oriented rentals. Councillor Sue Uteck is quoted in an

article saying this amendment will “protect residents from similar developments in the future” (Bornais, 2005). Definitions remain a struggle in recent years. In 2015, a CBC article reports “City staff have even dubbed quasi rooming houses that fit no definition “watermelons”,” a phrasing later retracted due to potentially racist connotations (Murphy, 2015).

Even more recently, a media report from CBC discusses an overcrowded rooming house skirting the rules in the south end of the city (Luck, 2016). Other recent reports discuss the need for “a revival of safe rooming houses in the city”; in order to accomplish this, Claudia Jahn says “we have to be creative” (Allen, 2015).

4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Narratives

Overall, rooming houses received more negative media attention than positive. Rooming houses most commonly appear in media for incidents of murder and are most often framed as unsafe places to live. When closures are reported, tenants are described as temporarily accommodated or left homeless. The tone in addressing this form of housing is generally negative and far more negative words are used to describe rooming houses, rooming house residents, and landlords than positive words. The most common policy suggestion is to enact tougher bylaws and enforcement to address poor rooming house conditions. Overall, local media reinforces the negative stigma of rooming houses in Halifax.

Rooming houses are portrayed negatively in local media, yet a positive narrative also appears. Rooming houses are sometimes recognized as playing an important role in the housing continuum. This form of housing provides an affordable option for many individuals and effort is encouraged to keep rooming houses available and improve conditions. For example, some stories mention landlords who have cooperated to bring rooming houses up to standard. Good examples of well-managed rooming houses are also discussed, notably those with an on-site superintendent.

4.2 What is “Newsworthy”

The nature of media publication in dealing with rooming houses is to report incidents of concern as well as societal discussions on housing conditions and affordability. Rooming houses cultivate a negative image because newsworthy incidents sometimes occur in rooming houses. However, the incidents are typically concentrated on a few properties and thus may not reflect all rooming houses in the city. Well-managed rooming houses may not appear in the news as they are not a public concern and may have little value for news stories.

Freeman (2013), studying rooming houses in Toronto, notes that rooming houses typically garner media attention in the event of neighbourhood conflict and bylaw implementations. She argues that rooming houses tend to make an appearance in media once a decade. Freeman suggests the people who consistently care about rooming houses are typically those living in rooming houses, their neighbours, councillors, policy makers, and housing advocates. These stakeholders become the voices on rooming houses when issues arise that cause public concern (2013). Media attention in Halifax follows a similar pattern to that identified by Freeman with most attention given to public concerns and debates regarding rooming houses – notably the M-100 bylaw. Furthermore, similar stakeholders appear in local media, yet municipal officials are most quoted.

4.3 Shaping Societal Perceptions

Local media shapes the social stigma against rooming houses through concentrated coverage on incidents and problem properties. Municipal officials often have media space to push for greater control, but other stakeholder perspectives may be missing. Given the drive for newsworthiness in media storytelling, rooming houses rarely make the news when all goes well. Instead, media analysis highlights the contexts in which reporters frame their story: the rooming house as a social setting is framed as atypical and non-normative. It is portrayed as a housing form requiring state intervention and community action.

For example, in Toronto, media coverage in the 1990s concentrated on rooming house fires led to public pressure to enforce standards on substandard rooming houses. In that instance, public concern surfacing in a matter of months caused hasty action on conditions rooming house residents had dealt with for many years, resulting in many rooming house closures (Campsie, 1994 p.4). Understanding that media highlights the negative issues surrounding rooming houses

due to publication bias is useful to keep in mind. Media has a role to play in informing citizens and spurring action, but it may reinforce negative attitudes toward rooming houses.

As in other communities, media narratives about rooming houses in Halifax reinforce the stigma around an affordable housing form. In a local context where gentrification and other processes of neighbourhood change threaten the continued viability of affordable options, local officials and community advocates face significant challenges to frame positive stories of the possibilities of multi-occupancy housing as a way of providing safe, convenient, and affordable housing for those most in need in the city.

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Moar, Kim. (2001, October 14). Could tenants be victims in slumlord crackdown? The city wants to protect those living on the margins of society, but it's easier said than done. *The Daily News*.

Murphy, B. (2015, May 21). Halifax quasi rooming houses avoid definition and licensing One place had no smoke alarm, fire extinguisher or lock on the door. *CBC Nova Scotia*.

Appendix A – News stories analysed

Date	Author	Article Title	News Outlet
2008-05-20	Rachel Bloomer	Local police searching for shooter; casserole assailant	The Metro Halifax
2008-06-16	Lindsay Jones	NDP MLAs warn of impending housing crisis	The Metro Halifax
2008-07-30	Lindsay Jones	Bedbugs' days are numbered	The Metro Halifax
2009-05-14	Kristen Lipscombe	Recent murders no reason not to feel safe, police say	The Metro Halifax
2009-05-14	Philip Croucher	Man appears in court for alleged murder of roommate	The Metro Halifax
2009-05-15	Philip Croucher	Dartmouth murder suspect appears in provincial court	The Metro Halifax
2010-03-15	Alex Boutilier	Homes hit by morning fires	The Metro Halifax
2012-06-22	Philip Croucher	Man pulls knife, uses it in altercation at Halifax rooming house	The Metro Halifax
2013-03-10	Anonymous	Rooming house fire leaves tenants homeless	The Metro Halifax
2013-03-10	Philip Croucher	Five homeless after fire extensively damages home in north-end Halifax	The Metro Halifax
2013-03-27	Ruth Davenport	Halifax man sentenced to nearly 10 years for rooming-house murder	The Metro Halifax
2014-03-11	Haley Ryan	Halifax police not releasing cause of death in south-end murder, neighbours concerned	The Metro Halifax
2014-03-12	Philip Croucher	Man charged with murder, woman with accessory after the fact, in killing of Halifax man	The Metro Halifax
2014-03-13	Haley Ryan	South-end Halifax murder was drug related, David Rose died of asphyxiation: police	The Metro Halifax
2014-03-19	Melissa Heald	Woman facing accessory charges in Halifax murder case sent for medical assessment	The Metro Halifax
2014-08-05	Haley Ryan	North Street development goes to public: Council split on density vs. good design	The Metro Halifax
2015-03-10	Anonymous	Man in underwear found standing in couple's bedroom: Halifax police	The Metro Halifax
2015-04-15	Haley Ryan	No break and enter or indecent act in recent reported incident: Halifax police	The Metro Halifax
1996-05-02	Brian Flinn	Tough living for the poor: Report slams rooming houses	The Daily News
1997-06-21	Shaune MacKinlay	Killer blows top as sentence passed	The Daily News
1997-11-14	Rachel oomer	Stabbed pair stable: Neighbors say Dartmouth rooming house notorious for drug activity	The Daily News
1997-11-24	David Redwood	Body found in Halifax rooming house	The Daily News
1997-11-25	Shaune MacKinlay	Police rule out foul play: Toxicology tests could take weeks for man who died in rundown rooming house	The Daily News
1997-12-07	Brian Flinn and Shaune MacKinlay	The last Resort Squalid rooming houses pricey shelter for city's neediest	The Daily News
1997-12-07	Brian Flinn and Shaune MacKinlay	A record of rooming-house deaths	The Daily News
1997-12-08	Brian Flinn and Shaune MacKinlay	The struggle against squalor: Inspectors yearn to go after dilapidated rooming houses, but often their hands are tied	The Daily News
1997-12-20	Shaune MacKinlay	Three times unlucky	The Daily News
1997-12-21	Robert Martin	The art of the turnaround: New owner vows to make downtown inn profitable	The Daily News
1998-02-05	Brian Flinn	Man dies alone in rooming house: Death comes two months after roommate found dead: natural causes cited	The Daily News
1998-02-13	Brian Flinn	City closes rooming house where three men have died	The Daily News
1998-02-17	None Identified	IN BRIEF: Rooming-house action urged	The Daily News
1998-06-28	Chris Lambie	MLA wants action on rooming houses	The Daily News
1999-05-16	Chris Lambie	Rooming houses to stay empty: City scraps plan to force repair of six north-end buildings	The Daily News
2000-04-17	Richard Dooley	Fire damages house	The Daily News
2000-07-10	Rebecca MacEachern	Street brawl follows blaze: Each man blamed other for starting fire, police say	The Daily News
2000-12-01	Brendan Elliot	Barrington St. house key to murder probe: Man may have died in building	The Daily News
2001-06-19	Kim Moar	Rooming house reform sought	The Daily News
2001-10-14	Kim Moar	Could tenants be victims in slumlord crackdown?: The city wants to protect those living on the margins of society, but it's easier said than done	The Daily News
2002-10-10	Beth Johnston	Man questioned in two-year-old Halifax murder	The Daily News
2003-01-08	Kim Moar	New rules may hurt those meant to help	The Daily News
2003-01-10	Kim Moar	Relief sought for rooming houses	The Daily News
2003-01-13	Sherri Aikenhead	Rooming-house bylaw not misguided: Diligent, cautious approach will help ensure it doesn't backfire	The Daily News
2003-08-08	Shaune MacKinlay	Pleasant St. fire rash continues	The Daily News
2003-12-12	Richard Dooley	Police looking for man find dead body instead	The Daily News
2003-12-13	Richard Dooley and David Harrison	Victim was beaten last spring: Neighbours say murdered man was helping younger friend, whom they feared	The Daily News
2004-09-18	Richard Dooley	Fire officials close Halifax murder house	The Daily News

2004-10-08	Johnston-Ross, Beth	Suspicious blaze destroys notorious rooming house	The Daily News
2004-10-13	Shaune MacKinlay	Tenants sent to shelters as rooming house closed down Fire inspector cites owner for more than 30 violations	The Daily News
2004-10-27	Shaune MacKinlay	Activists don't want to see tenants out on the street	The Daily News
2004-11-23	Peter McLaughlin	Panel: close slums with care Shutting substandard housing can put homeless tenants on streets, city told	The Daily News
2004-11-24	None identified	Creating homelessness	The Daily News
2005-02-25	Kim Moar	Trial date set for alleged murder in rooming house	The Daily News
2005-09-13	Stephen Bornais	City moves to plug housing loopholes	The Daily News
2005-11-01	Nicoll Cathy	Bartels admits to two slayings in rooming house Trial ends before it begins in beating cases	The Daily News
2007-05-08	Reid Southwick Special	Cops begin crackdown on crack houses New police unit empowered to evict tenants, but critics say law 'criminalizes poverty'	The Daily News
2007-12-20	Robyn Young	Residents shiver on street during rooming-house fire Blaze leaves eight men homeless	The Daily News
2011-03-07	None identified	In brief: Man dead after fight at Edmonton rooming house	The Daily News (Truro)
2007-03-26	anonymous	Halifax police probe rooming house death	CBC Nova Scotia
2007-12-20	anonymous	Fire-struck tenants all getting help: Red Cross	CBC Nova Scotia
2008-08-20	anonymous	Apartment complex to be built for people with addictions, mental illness	CBC Nova Scotia
2009-05-13	anonymous	Man slain at Dartmouth rooming house	CBC Nova Scotia
2009-05-14	anonymous	Police charge man with murder in Dartmouth rooming-house slaying	CBC Nova Scotia
2009-05-14	anonymous	Halifax police, RCMP speak out on recent violent crimes	CBC Nova Scotia
2011-01-28	anonymous	Oil leak forces out rooming house tenants	CBC Nova Scotia
2011-03-03	anonymous	updated Man killed in Halifax stabbing	CBC Nova Scotia
2001-11-14	anonymous	Trial in 2009 baby death begins	CBC Nova Scotia
2001-11-15	anonymous	[Ashiqur Rahman is charged in the death...]	CBC Nova Scotia
2011-11-16	anonymous	[Ashiqur Rahman (CBC)...]	CBC Nova Scotia
2011-12-07	anonymous	Mother testifies in baby death trial	CBC Nova Scotia
2011-12-07	anonymous	[The mother of a seven-week-old baby who...]	CBC Nova Scotia
2012-01-04	anonymous	Rahman questioned about finances	CBC Nova Scotia
2012-07-09	anonymous	Police investigate home invasion	CBC Nova Scotia
2012-08-07	anonymous	Halifax man gets 6½ years for baby daughter's death	CBC Nova Scotia
2012-08-07	anonymous	Rahman to be sentenced in baby daughter's death	CBC Nova Scotia
2013-01-14	anonymous	Man pleads guilty to manslaughter in Halifax stabbing	CBC Nova Scotia
2013-03-10	anonymous	Firefighters save one from burning Halifax house	CBC Nova Scotia
2013-03-11	anonymous	5 homeless after Agricola Street fire	CBC Nova Scotia
2013-03-18	anonymous	Cause of Preston Street fire under investigation	CBC Nova Scotia
2013-03-27	anonymous	Man gets 10 years for manslaughter over loud fan fight	CBC Nova Scotia
2014-03-11	anonymous	David William Rose identified as south-end homicide victim Cause of death not released	CBC Nova Scotia
2014-03-12	anonymous	2 arrested in David Rose homicide	CBC Nova Scotia
2014-03-12	anonymous	David Rose investigation nets 2nd-degree murder charge 65-year-old Halifax man killed in South Street home	CBC Nova Scotia
2014-03-13	anonymous	David Rose killed by asphyxiation: Halifax police Bradford Beales and Deborah Spencer appeared in court Thursday	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-01-16	Yvonne Colbert	Halifax assault victim plans move away from Seaforth Street Police still searching for 26-year-old suspect	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-04-24	Blair Rhodes	Bradford Beals pleads guilty to manslaughter in south-end Halifax killing Beals sentenced for 15 years in death of David William Rose	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-05-20	anonymous	Rooming houses? Officials and people who lived there say so	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-05-21	Bob Murphy	Halifax quasi rooming houses avoid definition and licensing	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-05-21	anonymous	Halifax staff say they'll no longer call buildings 'watermelons' 'It's not right, it's insensitive,' says Irvine Carvery	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-05-23	Susan Allen	Halifax called on to crack down on decrepit, unlicensed rooming houses Problems include sub-standard plumbing and electricity, structural integrity, bedbugs	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-07-24	Pam Berman	Halifax council cool on assuming affordable housing responsibility Councillor Jennifer Watts says idea works in other areas; others not convinced	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-11-04	anonymous	Halifax woman convicted of helping killer will be deported to St. Vincent Debra Jane Spencer pleaded guilty to accessory after the fact in the murder of David William Rose in 2014	CBC Nova Scotia
2015-11-20	anonymous	Deportation of guilty woman not justice, advocates say Debra Spencer's conviction of accessory to murder after the fact triggered her deportation	CBC Nova Scotia

2015-11-20	anonymous	Nova Scotia woman ordered deported to country she hasn't seen since childhood Debra Spencer's conviction of accessory to murder triggered deportation order	CBC Nova Scotia
1999-10-08	Patricia Brooks	Apartment super links prisoner to house fire; Man later found with knives in jail had been 'lurking around'	The Chronicle Herald
1999-10-29	anonymous	Rooming-house death accidental - police	The Chronicle Herald
1999-11-29	Lois Legge	Halifax blaze forces evacuations; Downtown fire displaces dozens	The Chronicle Herald
1999-12-21	anonymous	Man taken to hospital after knife attack	The Chronicle Herald
2000-01-31	Patricia Brooks	Society's forsaken on police chaplains' beat; Death, tragedy constant factors [...]	The Chronicle Herald
2000-04-17	anonymous	Officials probe fire at rooming house	The Chronicle Herald
2000-05-24	Randy Jones	Halifax fire kills woman; Bleeding man collapses nearby	The Chronicle Herald
2000-05-24	Randy Jones	Suspect faces murder charge; Woman dies in Creighton St. fire	The Chronicle Herald
2000-05-25	Davene Jeffrey	Tearful suspect charged in death	The Chronicle Herald
2000-05-26	Randy Jones	Murder victim was missing person; 'Real nice kid' believed to have hung out with pimps, drug dealers	The Chronicle Herald
2000-06-14	anonymous	Assault charges against suspect dropped	The Chronicle Herald
2000-06-24	Sherri Borden	Man changes story in Shrubbsall trial; Witness says he saw former suspect carrying baseball bat	The Chronicle Herald
2000-06-27	Sherri Borden	Son didn't own bat, woman tells court; Last witnesses take stand in case of robbery attack	The Chronicle Herald
2000-07-10	Davene Jeffrey	Rooming house fire sparks melee; Residents barely manage to get out	The Chronicle Herald
2000-07-10	Davene Jeffrey	Rooming house fire sparks melee; Residents barely manage to get out	
2000-07-11	Davene Jeffrey	Rooming house lacked alarms; Smoke detectors missing in two rooms in building damaged by fire	The Chronicle Herald
2000-07-12	Joel Jacobson	Phoenix House saved man's life	The Chronicle Herald
2000-07-15	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Panhandler facing jail over fines	The Chronicle Herald
2000-07-25	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Fire inspector praises owners despite court conviction	The Chronicle Herald
2000-10-13	Susan LeBlanc	A break for the homeless; Feds announce \$753 million over three years for housing	The Chronicle Herald
2000-11-18	Randy Jones	Rooming house brawl seriously injures man	The Chronicle Herald
2000-12-01	Patricia Brooks	Police search for killer; Rooming house combed for clues	The Chronicle Herald
2001-01-09	Brian Hayes	Man jailed for killing girlfriend; Lee sentenced to 5 1/2; women died after fire set	The Chronicle Herald
2001-01-12	Randy Jones	Daughter's charges bring mom to tears; Suspects appear before judge in shooting of couple	The Chronicle Herald
2001-03-12	Amy Smith	Halifax housing project offers hope for residents; First phase plans apartment living for 18 people	The Chronicle Herald
2001-03-29	Patricia Brooks	Police seek clues in 15-year-old murder	The Chronicle Herald
2001-09-13	Lois Legge	Room for improvement; Housing program helps some people while others pay \$490 for squalor	The Chronicle Herald
2001-09-21	anonymous	Crown withdraws charges in pimping case	The Chronicle Herald
2001-10-08	Lois Legge	Dartmouth building destroyed by second blaze in three weeks	The Chronicle Herald
2002-09-17	Emily Bowers	Students face tough housing choices	The Chronicle Herald
2002-12-17	Jeffrey Simpson	Dwellings now must be warm, safe, dry; New bylaw singles out rooming houses in municipality	The Chronicle Herald
2003-01-03	Patricia Richards	Substandard housing: let's work together	The Chronicle Herald
2003-01-08	Jeffrey Simpson	Anti-slum bylaw may leave more homeless; Tenants could be 'displaced' if building not up to standards	The Chronicle Herald
2003-01-29	Randy Jones; Patricia Brooks	Police to explore possible links between Cross death, other cases	The Chronicle Herald
2003-02-28	Randy Jones; Patricia Brooks	Officer in ICU after attack; Police swarm building, detain suspect after patrolman hurt in arrest bid	The Chronicle Herald
2003-03-01	anonymous	Man arraigned in Halifax cop assault	The Chronicle Herald
2003-03-04	Randy Jones	Injured officer's condition improves	The Chronicle Herald
2003-03-05	anonymous	Accused in officer-assault case sent for evaluation	The Chronicle Herald
2003-03-27	anonymous	Halifax man accused of injuring officer found fit to stand trial	The Chronicle Herald
2003-04-07	Joel Jacobson	Halifax Rotary club committed to helping homeless	The Chronicle Herald
2003-06-14	Lois Legge	Begging for a living; With hat, bucket or cup in hand, some of metro's poorest residents ask others to spare some change so they can pay bills, eat or buy cigarettes	The Chronicle Herald
2003-07-12	Hayley Mick	Animal cruelty laws not harsh enough for cat killer - lawyer, Vancouver man released after spending for four months in jail	The Chronicle Herald
2003-08-07	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Firebug strikes Dartmouth; Several blazes hit 2 buildings	The Chronicle Herald
2003-08-08	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Suspicious fires prompt police patrols; Pleasant Street rooming house scene of three fires Thursday	The Chronicle Herald

2003-08-09	Dan Arsenault	Two arrested at arson scene; No charges laid in series of fires at Dartmouth rooming house	The Chronicle Herald
2003-08-10	Kelly Shiers	Police seek public's help in solving rash of arsons; Pair questioned, but no charges laid in Dartmouth blaze	The Chronicle Herald
2003-08-12	anonymous	Arsons shut down rooming house	The Chronicle Herald
2003-08-23	Brian Hayes; Randy Jones	East Preston man pleads guilty to assault that put cop in coma	The Chronicle Herald
2003-10-10	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Warrant issued for man who beat officer	The Chronicle Herald
2003-11-25	Randy Jones	Traffic, youth nuisance problems are biggest issues for District 8; Woodside, Eastern Passage crimes tend to be smaller-scale offences	The Chronicle Herald
2003-12-12	Randy Jones	Police find man dead in blood-spattered room	The Chronicle Herald
2003-12-12	Randy Jones	Body found at Cockroach Hotel; Man in mid-60s was reported missing Thursday	The Chronicle Herald
2003-12-13	Randy Jones	Man questioned in killing says he didn't know friend was [...]	The Chronicle Herald
2004-02-11	Jennifer Stewart	Homeless youth numbers on rise; HRM study sheds light on who lives on street and why	The Chronicle Herald
2004-04-03	Brian Hayes	Murder or suicide?; Family, friends claim woman died of forced heroin overdose	The Chronicle Herald
2004-04-06	Patricia Brooks	Dumpster victim was a male; Charred remains don't match any missing persons cases	The Chronicle Herald
2004-08-11	Jennifer Stewart	Landlord needs to rein in tenants, neighbours say	The Chronicle Herald
2004-08-30	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Ear shorn in attack; Assault victim clings to life, suffers severe head wounds	The Chronicle Herald
2004-08-31	Dan Arsenault; Brian Hayes	Beating suspect faces murder rap; Charge laid in 2003 death at same house as Sunday's attack	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-08	Dan Arsenault; Brian Hayes	Bartels faces 2nd murder charge; Victim of brutal Aug. 29 assault dies	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-14	Amy Pugsley Fraser	'Crack House' under probe; City departments investigating rooming house, site of 2 killings	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-13	Jeffrey Simpson	Living next to bad news; 'The place isn't even fit to live in'	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-17	Barry Dorey	Tenants ordered to vacate rooming house	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-19	Jeffrey Simpson; Lois Legge	Vocal tenant to be evicted; Renter says it's revenge; landlord cites damage, parties	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-22	Dan Arsenault	Homeless tenant says city broke its promise	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-23	Jeffrey Simpson	Tenants need more help than landlord says he can provide	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-24	Jeffrey Simpson	Councillor derides province on social issues	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-28	anonymous	Accused in double murders in court today	The Chronicle Herald
2004-09-29	anonymous	Preliminary hearing set in murder, assault cases	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-07	anonymous	Fire destroys notorious Halifax rooming house	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-08	Dan Arsenault; Daniel Bonner	Blaze raises suspicions; Cogswell Street rooming house was scene of two earlier murders	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-09	anonymous	Fire at rooming house deliberately set, police say	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-11	Lois Legge	Soul food; For 15 years, group has been feeding Dartmouth's hungry	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-16	anonymous	Ousted rooming house residents shun shelters	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-16	Pat Lee	Authorities say winter weather will put more homeless at risk	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-27	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Activists: Gap in city bylaw puts tenants out on the street	The Chronicle Herald
2004-10-27	Pat Lee	Homeless may be at risk; Advocates fear recent housing issues, numbers will add undue stress as cold weather sets in	The Chronicle Herald
2004-11-09	Jennifer Forhan; Amy Smith	No need to spend night on streets, Morse says	The Chronicle Herald
2004-11-23	Dan Arsenault	A whack in the back; Hockey stick may have dealt fatal blow, friends say	The Chronicle Herald
2004-11-26	Jennifer Forhan	Homeless solutions focus of meeting	The Chronicle Herald
2004-11-27	Kristen Lipscombe	Grismaier had little, but shared all he could; Memorial service remembers man who died after assault	The Chronicle Herald
2004-12-04	Lois Legge	Charity offers leg up; Hand in Hand offers goods for sale and free to those unable to pay	The Chronicle Herald
2005-01-21	Davene Jeffrey	Transient gets 11 years for killing; Man was strangled in rooming house brawl	The Chronicle Herald
2005-02-11	anonymous	Man faces trial on lesser murder charge	The Chronicle Herald
2005-04-08	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Influx of rooming houses unwelcome	The Chronicle Herald
2005-04-14	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Residents want city to crack down on rooming houses in Halifax	The Chronicle Herald
2005-09-18	Nasreen Gulmanhusein	Rooming law still under construction More inspectors needed	The Chronicle Herald
2005-10-11	Amy Pugsley Fraser	Manager defends rooming houses; Supervision key to keeping tenants' behaviour in check	The Chronicle Herald
2005-10-31	Patricia Brooks	Accused pleads guilty in double slaying	The Chronicle Herald

2005-11-04	Dan Arsenault	Like father, like son; Bartels senior, junior both ripped victim's ears	The Chronicle Herald
2005-11-11	Kelly Shiers	Man gets life in beating death; Bartels must serve at least 18 years	The Chronicle Herald
2006-02-17	anonymous	Killer given escorted day passes; Man apologizes to families of victims; says he's changed	The Chronicle Herald
2006-03-06	Dan Arsenault	Police call rooming house death suspicious	The Chronicle Herald
2006-03-07	None Identified	PROVINCE IN BRIEF	The Chronicle Herald
2006-04-12	Steve Bruce	House-size change rejected; Peninsula councils vote down recommendation to lift restrictions	The Chronicle Herald
2006-09-02	None Identified	Metro in brief	The Chronicle Herald
2006-12-02	Dan Arenault	Beaten to death; Man dies after being hit with shovel at reputed crack house	The Chronicle Herald
2007-01-13	Jennifer Stewart	Killer's sentencing delayed until April; Judge cuts man break to look after ailing wife, newborn son	The Chronicle Herald
2007-01-31	Bernard Smith	Cost too high, in lives and funds	The Chronicle Herald
2007-03-03	anonymous	Woman attacked	The Chronicle Herald
2007-03-09	None Identified	News in brief	The Chronicle Herald
2007-03-26	Brian Hayes	Neighbours believe man died in accidental fall	The Chronicle Herald
2007-03-26	None Identified	NEWS IN BRIEF	The Chronicle Herald
2007-03-27	Kristen Lipscombe; Susan Bradley	Cause of Halifax man's death undetermined	The Chronicle Herald
2007-04-26	Jennifer Stewart	Panhandler's killer learns his fate today; Defendant's lawyer wants sentence served in community	The Chronicle Herald
2007-05-16	None Identified	Metro in brief	The Chronicle Herald
2007-05-19	Jeffrey Simpson; Davene Jeffrey	Cops likely U.S.-bound next week; Officers want to interview Race about possible evidence found here, elsewhere	The Chronicle Herald
2007-06-08	anonymous	Relive Halifax's storied past History cover...	The Chronicle Herald
2007-06-19	Dan Arenault	No one hurt during shooting in Spryfield	The Chronicle Herald
2007-12-08	Steve Bruce	Rapist now dangerous offender; Judge hands man indeterminate sentence due to likelihood he'll reoffend	The Chronicle Herald
2007-12-11	Brian Hayes	Hoops star sentenced in bizarre break-in	The Chronicle Herald
2007-12-20	Jennifer Macmillan	Fire rips through rooming house; Residents escape from three-storey building [...]	The Chronicle Herald
2007-12-21	Jennifer Macmillan	Red Cross helps victims of Halifax rooming house fire	The Chronicle Herald
2008-01-02	Dan Arenault	Review set in death of ER patient; Family, friends question how hospital could lose track of man	The Chronicle Herald
2008-02-20	Sherri Borden	Crown: Man likely to stay in jail for life; If rapist is released he would have to report regularly to offender registry	The Chronicle Herald
2008-05-20	Jennifer Stewart	ER kept busy during Victoria Day; Assaulted man, ATV crash victim had head injuries	The Chronicle Herald
2008-09-02	Kristen Lipscombe	Man killed in Dartmouth street fight; Cops: Combatants knew each other	The Chronicle Herald
2009-05-13	Davene Jeffrey	Another murder; Body of 33-year-old found in Dartmouth rooming house	The Chronicle Herald
2009-05-14	Kelly Shiers, Dan Arsenault	Man arrested in slaying; Suspect was a long time resident of rooming house that locals call 'the scourge of neighbourhood'	The Chronicle Herald
2009-05-14	Davene Jeffrey	Man 'very critical' after bullet to head	The Chronicle Herald
2009-05-15	Michael Lightstone	Police chief tries to ease concerns about violence; Beazley says many criminals, victims are caught up in 'high-risk' lifestyles	The Chronicle Herald
2009-05-15	anonymous	10 DAYS OF MAYHEM; CRIME SPREE	The Chronicle Herald
2009-05-15	None Identified	CRIME IN BRIEF	The Chronicle Herald
2009-05-16	Kelly Shiers	He was loved. He will be missed.; Gordon Murray was a troubled man whose life ended in violence. But his brother Jim says he was so much more than that	The Chronicle Herald
2009-08-15	Dan Arsenault; Steve Bruce	Fight leaves man in critical condition	The Chronicle Herald
2009-10-21	Steve Bruce	Defendant erupts into tirade at prosecutor; Crown attorney calls police after dangerous hearing outburst	The Chronicle Herald
2009-12-15	anonymous	Preliminary opens in rooming house killing	The Chronicle Herald
2010-01-02	Bill Power	Student landlord fined for operating boarding house	The Chronicle Herald
2010-01-15	Dan Arsenault	Two metro fires ruled accidental	The Chronicle Herald
2010-03-02	Steve Bruce	Halifax man will stay in jail indefinitely; Newhook declared dangerous offender	The Chronicle Herald
2010-03-06	Steve Bruce	Tenant at rooming house faces murder trial	The Chronicle Herald
2010-03-15	Pat Lee	Sunday no day of rest for firefighters; Crews respond to two house fires, rash of brush fires in Halifax region	The Chronicle Herald
2010-05-12	Ian Fairclough	Landlord who ran rooming house with 14 rooms fined \$18,500	The Chronicle Herald
2010-08-27	Kelly Shiers	Internet date gone awry leads to jail; Man sentenced to weekends in prison, probation for sexual assault	The Chronicle Herald

2010-12-14	The Canadian Press	MacIntosh says sex was consensual	The Chronicle Herald
2011-02-03	Laura Fraser	Worried tenants find new digs	The Chronicle Herald
2011-11-16	Davene Jeffrey	Dying baby's breaths "difficult" to watch; Policeman describes infant's distress; paramedic saw no signs of abuse	The Chronicle Herald
2011-12-08	Ian Fairclough	Mother testifies in slain baby case; Gomes: Accused killer was missing 'joy of being parent'	The Chronicle Herald
2012-03-27	anonymous	Multiple shots fired at car in Dartmouth; 22-year-old in custody for questioning	The Chronicle Herald
2012-06-23	Ian Fairclough	Rahman found guilty in baby daughter's death; Judge convicts man of manslaughter, aggravated assault	The Chronicle Herald
2012-08-08	Ian Fairclough	Dad jailed in death of daughter; Rahman gets 6 years for killing infant	The Chronicle Herald
2012-10-26	Lezlie Lowe	[Most hardcore street drinkers Michael Burke has made friends with at Hope Cottage aren't likely ever to go straight. "They are going to be with...]	The Chronicle Herald
2013-01-08	Bill Power	Landlord seeks break on zoning law; Appeal launched against city's ruling that apartment conversion was improperly done 1980s	The Chronicle Herald
2013-01-15	Steve Bruce	Man pleads guilty in stabbing death; Zhang killed fellow tenant in rooming house	The Chronicle Herald
2013-03-19	Kelly Shiers	Chimney changes cause rooming house fire	The Chronicle Herald
2013-03-28	Ian Fairclough	Man jailed 10 years in stabbing death; Kitchen fan dispute led to killing	The Chronicle Herald
2013-03-29	Patricia Brooks	Police want help with old homicides; Unsolved Metro cases date back to 1986, 2004	The Chronicle Herald
2013-10-28	Ian Fairclough	People should be kinder to people' Outreach worker says homeless are vulnerable to abuse	The Chronicle Herald
2013-11-22	Lezlie Lowe	HRM poverty numbers too big to ignore	The Chronicle Herald
2014-03-11	Davene Jeffrey	Man's death ruled a homicide; Friends of Halifax victim mourn mourns very nice gentleman' as police begin investigation	The Chronicle Herald
2014-03-13	Davene Jeffrey	Man, 51, charged in killing; Woman, 29, accused of being an accomplice in weekend slaying	The Chronicle Herald
2014-03-14	Steve Bruce	Police: Slain man knew accused; Pair allegedly smothered Rose	The Chronicle Herald
2014-03-15	Clare Mellor	David Rose remembered as gentle, kind, a good friend; Service for slain man held Friday at Saint David's	The Chronicle Herald
2014-03-20	Steve Bruce	Saunders murder case put over; Defense lawyers to review evidence against two charged in death	The Chronicle Herald
2014-03-21	anonymous	MD nixes assessment for accessory suspect	The Chronicle Herald
2014-04-26	anonymous	HALIFAX; Preliminary date for Beals case to be set in May	The Chronicle Herald
2014-05-01	anonymous	Killer's parole revoked for deceptive behaviour	The Chronicle Herald
2014-07-18	Steve Bruce	Dangerous offender denied parole	The Chronicle Herald
2014-07-28	Brett Bundale	Report: Proposed building on North and Oxford 'inappropriate'	The Chronicle Herald
2014-10-25	Steve Bruce	Man to stand trial in rooming house death	The Chronicle Herald
2015-01-16	anonymous	Man stabbed in Halifax	The Chronicle Herald
2015-03-12	Bill Spurr	Feeding the homeless, feeding the soul	The Chronicle Herald
2015-04-11	anonymous	Police seek Halifax intruder	The Chronicle Herald
2015-04-25	Steve Bruce	Man gets 15 years in death of friend	The Chronicle Herald
2015-05-09	Ian Fairclough	Parole board sets rules on Rahman release; Conditions imposed even though father convicted in death of baby may be deported	The Chronicle Herald
2015-06-13	Sherri Borden Colley	Released killer faces conditions	The Chronicle Herald
2015-07-10	anonymous	Tragic memories of Halifax's City Home	The Chronicle Herald
2015-11-20	anonymous	Trial to be held in September in killing of Halifax man	The Chronicle Herald
2013-11-28	Tim Bousquet	Rooming houses are disappearing in HRM	The Coast

Rooming Houses	Positive Rooming Houses	Rooming House Residents	andlords	Incidents	Deaths and Murders
older unlocked unlocked pests crackhouse crackhouse crackhouse pests squalid rundown drugs pests inadequate shared unlocked shared drugs unlocked littered ill-lit rundown littered unlocked poor-conditions expensive cold smells pests pests filthy cold unsafe pests unlocked drugs jungle deplorable death littered decent unsafe shared squalid substandard rundown dilapidated flammable littered eye-sore dump flophouse disgusting substandard low-income squalid cold pests fire-traps holes pests murder-house notorious infamous seedy uninhabitable slum slum substandard notorious orphans infamous crackhouse drugs crackhouse unlocked substandard drugs decrepit unlicensed unbelievable unsafe defacto pests pests unlocked useful watermelon quasi-rooming-house decrepit unlicensed subdivided murder-house treacherous boarding-house	decent low-rent quiet clean clean decent always-warm	hard-to-house substance-abuse mentally-ill mentally-ill alcoholic chronically-drunk not-easy drunk, violent chronic-lysol-drinker good-man human-being mentally-ill, alcoholic careless druggies crackheads hobo derelict-human-beings, forgotten feared on-social-assistance addict few-options criminalized disabilities lack-support addictions marginalized sex-workers addict vulnerable few-options uneducated addict, hard-life bright down-on-luck, memory-loss, on-social-assistance, generous students tender, goodhearted memory-loss, unemployed memory-loss, unemployed, on-social-assistance students violence-in-childhood poverty-in-childhood, traumatic-childhood sexual-abuse, mentally-ill development-challenges recovering crackheads on-social-assistance, friendly, good-spirited bright panhandler street-person street-person addict, mentally-ill crackheads, weird-people crackheads fixture-in-community pillar-in-community substance-abuse veteran, vulnerable, very-poor fearful need-help veteran great-people friendly	mistreat, enter-without-permission evict, mediate helpful, helpful dispense-medication known, villain, non-caring, motivated-by-profit co-operative slumlord tyrannical money-grubbing heartless non-caring absentee slumlord slumlord negligent good slumlord friendly great unreachable unreachable unreachable unreachable non-helpful non-caring upset unreachable non-caring non-caring responsible unreachable Unreachable slumlord slumlord	fire murder assault break-in fire break-in murder shooting murder murder robbery murder murder fire murder bedbugs murder; robbery murder assault murder death fire fire death; fire code-violations complaints fire death code-violations fire death code-violations fire fire murder death murder fire murder code-violations fire code-violations closure closure murder fire death property-damage, theft, rape oil-leak murder closure murder murder murder murder fire murder murder assault death death death murder break-in death murder death fire	Casey Eisenhower Mason Donaldson Unidentified Brooks and Murray Abbouds Murray Unidentified Unidentified Unidentified Currie Rose Brooks Rose Murray Murray Rose Rose Budden Casey Casey Eisenhauer Murray MacDonnell King Godin Murray Brooks Rose Currie Rose Rose Currie Rose Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Rose Rose Rose McCue MacNeil MacNeil MacNeil MacNeil Murphy MacNeil Masson Cross MacDonnell MacDonnell MacDonnell Bland Gerard-King King MacDonnell King King MacDonnell King MacDonnell King MacDonnell King MacDonnell Murray Baker Grismanger

cramped boarding-house crack-corner crack-corner crack-corner fraternity-house drug-corner derelict shared international derelict substandard squalor rundown pests dilapidated leaks no-heat no-water disgusting unbelievable substandard nondescript, Billy's-Lodge crackhouse cockroach-hotel dive noisy dive cockroach- hotel party-house cockroach-hotel crackhouse cockroach-hotel crackhouse crackhouse cockroach-hotel no-heat crackhouse cockroach-hotel disrepair abysmal cockroach-hotel crackhouse poor- conditions rundown no-heat filthy drugs notorious derelict structurally- unsound rundown awful unbelievable pests clean disrepair illegal illegal subhuman quiet clean disrepair disrepair disrepair crackhouse shabby drugs deplorable overpriced disrepair well-known seedy low-rent troubled-tenants dilapidated noise drugs crackhouse disre- pair unkempt littered drugs shared murder-house rundown, poor- house, distressing- environment, horrifying derelict notorious		former-addict polite loyal wonderful transient students students seriously-damaged volatile danger-to- society addict; drug-dealer drunk unemployed, nice, living-on-disability, alcoholic physical- issues and mentally- ill unemployed, nice, living-on-disability, alcoholic physical- issues and mentally- ill unemployed, nice, living-on-disability, alcoholic physical- issues and mentally- ill convicted drug- dealer sweet loved drunk troubled, drinking- lysol, crackheads drunk nice, excellent- tenants, unsavoury- characters alcoholic drunk, substance- abuse, smart-mouth forthright giving selfless diplomatic wonderful antisocial- personality-disorder, substance-abuse well-liked alcoholic, drinking- listerine hard-to-house alcoholic undesirables		death murder fire death murder murder murder accidental-death fire fire murder fire murder murder fire, murder assault code-violations code-violations assault murder murder murder murder pimping fire previous-death murder murder assault assault assault assault assault break-in fire fire fire fire fire break-in; assault assault murder murder murder overdose overdose assault murder murder murder double-murder overdose drug- dealing suicide fight break-in code- violations eviction; murder, overdose, drug- dealing, suicide, fight, break-in code-violations code-violations double-murder; assault double-murder; assault fire fire, double-murder overdose drug- dealing suicide fight break-in code- violations fire code-violations code-violations murder attempted- murder murder murder murder; fight double-murder; assault code-violations code-violations, noise, public-drinking double-murder	Grismanger King MacDonnell King MacDonnell MacDonnell Clayton Grady LeBlanc Grady Provo Grismanger Godin Grismanger Grismanger LeBlanc Hanlon Murray Murray Brooks Henneberry Murray Brooks Henneberry Fillier Brooks Murray Murray Murray Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Breakthrough Currie Currie Masson Petrie Lawrence Rose Rose Rose Rose Rose Saunders Rose Rose Sharifrazi Rose Barati Rose Breakthrough Murray, Baker Rose
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crackhouse				altercation murder murder death death assault; death assault murder murder assault assault death death death murder murder murder sexual-assault break-in fire fire death assault assault murder murder murder shooting; murder murder murder attempted-murder; assault murder murder; shooting shooting shooting shooting armed-robbery shooting; murder murder murder altercation attempted-murder; fight, assault murder; robbery murder fight assault murder illegal-operation fire assault, possession- of-weapon murder fire illegal-operation sexual-assault sexual-assault oil-spill death death death death illegal-use murder fire murder death death death murder murder murder murder murder murder murder murder death murder death murder, attempted- murder, sexual- assault, assault murder fire
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