Advancing the Collective Consensus of Investigative Journalism

A Rhetorical Analysis of The Globe and Mail's Reporting on the MHCare Scandal in Alberta

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Abstract

This rhetorical analysis examines The Globe and Mail's reporting on the Alberta MHCare scandal from July 2024 to November 2025 to show how journalists use their own feelings about a topic they investigate to connect with their audiences. The MHCare scandal consists of investigative news stories in Canada that allege a conflict of interest within the Alberta United Conservative Party (UCP) government, implicating Premier Danielle Smith's former chief of staff Marshall Smith, and formerly titled Health Minister Adriana LaGrange in favouring MHCare Medical CEO Sam Mraiche for healthcare procurement (Cardoso et al., 2025). A framework was developed using previous research on the morality of journalists from the findings of Glasser and Ettema (1989), who argued journalists objectified their morals to connect with a "community consensus of values" (p.9), and investigative journalism categories proposed by Wuergler and Cancela (2024), which contributed to a "self-feeding" journalism ecosystem in French-speaking Switzerland. We used Glasser and Ettema's moral rhetorical appeals to analyze 20 articles from The Globe and Mail, then divided them into Wuergler and Cancela's four categories to identify which were proactive (sources actively sought) and which were reactive (sources easily acquired from releases, etc.). This addressed the question: What moral rhetorical appeals did Canadian investigative journalists from The Globe and Mail use when reporting on the MHCare scandal? The MHCare case study highlighted the challenges Canadian investigative journalists face, stemming from impediments to access to information and roadblocks within the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. We found only one proactive story; the rest were reactive, suggesting that only one story is needed to sustain a Canadian investigative ecosystem.

Keywords

Canadian Investigative Journalism, Rhetorical Analysis, Journalism, Canadian Investigative Ecosystem, MHCare

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Popular culture has mythologized investigative journalists as muckrakers who uncover institutional corruption with "righteous indignation" (Glasser and Ettema, 1989, p. 1). When the *Washington Post* reported on the "Watergate scandal," it led to Richard Nixon becoming the first U.S. President to resign from office (Schudson, 1992; Smith and Tiffen, 2023; Usher, 2026). *All The President's Men*, a book and subsequent film based on the exploits of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, gave the impression that journalists were modern-day "heroes" (Schudson, 1992, p. 104). Investigative journalism is laced with Western journalistic values of objectivity and gatekeeping (Champlin and Knoedler, 2006); it also acts as a delegitimizer of the status quo, a *culture of disparagement* (Glasser and Ettema, 1989), one that works against the notion of being near the structures of power that journalists of the past long maintained (Schudson, 2022). Some practitioners also see investigative journalism as the pinnacle of the occupation due to an embedded ideology (Cancela et al., 2021), one that Deuze and Witschge (2018) say uplift journalism to a height of democratic importance in society (p. 167). Wuergler and Cancela (2024) argue "any discussion about the definition of investigative journalism entails a symbolic struggle because the epithet 'investigative' may be considered a label of honour: It is a 'higher form of journalism'" (p. 1399). Other journalists see a commitment to pursuing investigations as integral to not following the status quo of reporting, according to Cancela et al. (2021). However, journalists they spoke with admitted they either struggled to define their commitment when pursuing investigative journalism, were reluctant to do so, or couldn't accurately assess how to initiate these stories. While working to define investigative journalism, we reviewed literature from countries such as the United States and French-speaking Switzerland (Wuergler and Cancela, 2024) and found that scholarship on Canadian investigative journalism is limited in scope and understanding. However, it does highlight the challenges Canadian journalists face when pursuing investigations.

How journalism functions in Canada

Canadian investigative journalism is difficult to pursue for several reasons. Unlike the U.S. Constitution, Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms fails to protect journalists (Keel, 1998). The Charter of Rights and Freedoms doesn't have a "no malice" clause, unlike the U.S. Constitution, which forces U.S. politicians to prove malice before they can sue for defamation (1998). In addition, Canadian journalists are likely to comply with news media regulation

legislation due to adhering to the *social responsibility theory of the press* (Keel, 1998), which states that journalists are "obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society" (Siebert et al., 1956, p.74). This means Canadian journalists may withhold information that could damage an institution (Keel, 1998). Canadian investigative journalists also struggle to pursue stories because the country's Freedom of Information (FOI) laws require a fee and involve long waiting periods. These conditions severely hamper reporters' work when they seek government information (Thompson et al., 2021).

Understanding journalists' motivations behind an investigative series of stories can advance Canadian scholarship on investigative journalism by showing how journalists appeal to the public in cases of perceived scandals involving high-level politicians and administrators.

A Question of Morals

In truth, investigative journalism is difficult to define because practitioners and journalism studies scholars alike lack a clear consensus (Cancela et al., 2021; Wuergler and Cancela, 2024). A thematic quantitative analysis of news stories helped explain how journalists in Switzerland pursue investigative pieces (Wuergler and Cancela, 2024), and a rhetorical analysis revealed that moral indignation guides journalists in pursuing investigative stories (Glasser and Ettema, 1989). Wuergler and Cancela's thematic quantitative analysis used codes that defined stories as follow-up, leak, tip-off, and project. They further grouped these codes under two main themes: proactive and reactive stories. Reactive stories are considered a less significant form, referred to as "communication journalism," that places the journalist in a "spokesperson" role (2024, p. 1400), while proactive stories are often characterized as long-term investigations (2024). Both reactive and proactive stories contribute to what's been called an investigative journalist ecosystem, "a living whole formed by a group of different species in interrelations (…) between them and with their environment (…), on a given spatial scale" (Aufray and Rovillé, 2008, as cited by Wuergler and Cancela, 2024, p. 1401). Wuergler and Cancela (2024) found that most stories were reactive follow-ups triggered by proactive stories, creating a self-sustaining investigative journalism ecosystem.

When it comes to understanding journalists' motivations, Glasser and Ettema (1989) found that journalists seek to balance the moral outrage they feel with the professional value of objective reporting. Thus, the writer objectifies their own moral outrage within a story, inviting

the reader to "recognize and expose wrongdoing and at the same time maintain their allegiance to the ethic of objectivity" (p. 10), which they argue insulates them from their own judgements (p. 10). This contributes to a "community consensus of values," which is the set of moral values ascribed to the audience the journalist is appealing to, and which says "the story is always a call for the community to affirm by word or deed that an action is, indeed, a transgression of the moral order or else to affirm by indifference that once, perhaps, the act might have been a transgression, but it is no longer" (Glasser and Ettema, 1989, p. 16). Speaking with several journalists, five rhetorical appeals revealed how they objectified their morals, taking their personal feelings about a topic and churning them into a news story that is considered balanced and objective. However, Glasser and Ettema (1989) argue that the problem with objectification is that when journalists do so with the goal of building a community consensus of values, this "devalues, censors, and represses" the journalists' own values (Gouldner, 1976, as cited by Glasser and Ettema, 1989, p. 18).

This moral framework, as a motivating factor for journalists exposing wrongdoing, along with the fact that journalists struggle to define their position, led us to focus on what investigative journalism is and how it appeals to the public. Investigative journalism can be defined as a series of proactive news stories that require commitment from the journalist to expose moral wrongdoing, while following objective practices that adhere to Western journalistic values, and appealing to the public's own set of community values.

This definition, and its emphasis on moral appeals, leads to the research question: How does Canadian journalism function, and how does it deliver investigative reports? *What moral rhetorical appeals did Canadian investigative journalists at The Globe and Mail use when reporting on the MHCare scandal?* The scandal erupted in the news media after an innocuous photo from *The Canadian Press* showed Alberta Premier Danielle Smith watching the Edmonton Oilers versus the Vancouver Canucks in the Stanley Cup playoffs while in a private suite in Vancouver in 2024 together with MHCare Medical CEO Sam Mraiche (The Canadian Press, 2024). That led to multiple reports alleging a conflict of interest within the Alberta United Conservative Party (UCP) government, implicating Smith's ministers and staff in favouring Sam Mraiche's company for healthcare procurement (Cardoso et al., 2025). We focus our analysis on this series of stories, first reported by the Canadian newspaper *The Globe and Mail,* to answer the research question.

Case study: MHCare

The MHCare scandal can be broken down into five key developments that *The Globe and Mail* reported in their coverage. These developments, explained below, guided this research's sample selection.

1. First reported by *The Globe and Mail* in July 2024, the MHCare case revealed ties between the private healthcare provider MHCare and the Alberta government after photos showed Smith and other government officials in a luxury NHL playoff box with Mraiche, who provided them with tickets (Cardoso et al., 2025a).
2. In February 2025, AHS CEO Athana Mentzelopoulos brought forward a wrongful dismissal lawsuit after the government fired her "because she failed to execute its vision for the health care system" (Cardoso et al., 2025a, p. 1). She was terminated abruptly while investigating these perceived or real conflicts of interest, days before meeting with the Auditor General, but not before hiring Borden Ladner Gervais (BLG) LLP in 2024 to conduct internal investigations of AHS's purchasing department (2025a). The contracts in question included a $70 million deal to procure children's pain relief medication, in which only a third of the agreed amount was delivered and was found unusable upon arrival.
3. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and Alberta's Auditor General launched an investigation into the Alberta health agency in March 2025 (Cardoso et al., 2025a). At the same time, Premier Danielle Smith hired Raymond Wyant, a retired Manitoba judge paid with Albertan taxpayer dollars, to investigate the allegations (2025a).
4. BLG's report was obtained by *The Globe and Mail* in September 2025. The report found that two senior purchasing officials at AHS accessed an MHCare e-mail address in November 2022 and had personal relationships and financial interests with individuals at MHCare (Cardoso et al., 2025b).
5. Wyant released the report a month later, after several delays. He found that AHS broke its procurement rules when purchasing children's pain medication, and that the agency and the Health Ministry didn't follow procedure in their contract dealings with private surgical groups, placing blame on AHS. Wyant's report did not mention the hockey game tickets, include interviews with any elected officials or ministers, or mention Mraiche (Cardoso et al., 2025a).

Although the series is ongoing and more developments have emerged in the case and in *The Globe and Mail's* reporting, we used this timeline to answer our research question and understand the rhetoric espoused throughout the reports.

Sampling

The sample consisted of four articles for each of the five key developments discussed in *The Globe and Mail* MHCare investigation, from July 2024 to November 2025. Twenty stories were selected using ProQuest's Canadian News Database, Boolean search with focused keywords, the development timeline, and *The Globe and Mail* as the outlet. Due to time constraints, we selected four articles per development to round out the analysis, as the analysis began in November 2025 and ran for three to four weeks.

When searching for articles in the developments, we used the keyword "MHCare" throughout, adding one to five other terms to focus the search on each individual development. Using the keywords "Alberta" and "MHCare" for *The Globe*'s timeline of the case study, from July 2024 to November 2025, we found 44 articles, which led us to narrow the search with more keywords. From there, we filtered through articles to remove redundancies, retractions, repeats, and corrections. We also removed articles that weren't related to the MHCare case but contained a keyword. This left us with four articles per development, for a total of 20.

Table 1

Boolean Search Keywords, Time Period, and Articles Found for MHCare Case Study Key Developments

	Key Development 1	Key Development 2	Key Development 3	Key Development 4	Key Development 5
Key Search Words	"Tickets" "Danielle Smith" "MHCare" "Playoff" "Oilers" "NHL"	"MHCare" "CEO"	"Alberta" "MHCare" "Investigation" "Judge"	"Borden Ladner Gervais LLP" "Alberta" "Healthcare" "MHCare"	"MHCare" "Judge"
Time Period	July 2024 - August 2024	Feburary 2025	March 2025 - April 2025	September 2024 - October 2025	September 2025 - October 2025
Number of Articles	8	6	6	17	5

Methodology and Analytical Framework

To guide our coding, we used the conceptual framework defined by Wuergler and Cancela (2024), which classifies investigative pieces into four main categories. The first two categories include: project stories, which are defined as being either the first or the first in a

significant period to cover a particular case and having their sole origin in the journalist's initiative, and tip-off stories, which start with an incomplete lead but would not exist in completion without the journalist's pursuit. Wuergler and Cancela (2024) group these under the "proactive investigations" category. The remaining two categories include leaked stories, which "start with information that is not yet public and not supposed to become public" (Wuergler & Cancela, 2024, p. 1407) and are then developed into a story, and follow-up stories, which delve more deeply into already public events, articles, observations, reports, communications, etc. Wuergler and Cancela (2024) consider these *reactive investigations*. Throughout our analysis, we will use this framework to classify our articles into these categories.

To answer the guiding research question of which rhetorical appeals investigative journalists use to report on the Alberta MHCare controversy, we drew on the rhetorical appeals outlined in Glasser and Ettema's 1989 paper, which uses several interviews to illustrate how journalists have attempted to objectify their moral outrage. We examined and coded our selected news articles based on the definitions of the appeals, which we explain in greater detail in our findings. Each instance of an appeal, being a sentence or paragraph within each article, counted as one and was added to the graph.

The rhetorical appeals are classified as follows:

- Appeal to the law, i.e., citing the law as an objective standard to label wrongdoing.
- Appeal to formalized codes or guidelines, i.e., referring to objective standards to evaluate actions or behaviour.
- Appeal to recognized expertise, i.e., using the words and opinions of a professional or expert on the topic as a standard.
- Appeal to normality as evidenced in statistical or other comparisons, i.e. the use of statistics, reports, data sets, or comparative analysis in opposition to or support of a Judgement.
- Appeal to common decency, i.e., using shared experience or commonsensical standards to connect with the audience.

We used multiple indicators and investigative categories to further our rhetorical analysis. We then colour-coded a chart (see Appendix B) showing each story, the number of appeals found, and its investigation category (follow-up, leak, tip-off, and project).

Findings and Analysis

We found nearly all the stories to be reactive, consisting mostly of follow-ups (11) and leaks (9) (see Appendix A). Only one story is proactive: a tip-off, which is the first one. One story is borderline proactive because it brought new information never revealed to the public, but it was ultimately categorized as reactive: a leak, since the investigation stemmed from a previous report. Regarding the frequency of appeals (see Appendix B), the tip-off mostly used the second appeal, codes and guidelines (5), with the only other appeals used being law and normality, at one each. Follow-ups also used codes and guidelines most often (51), with appeals to expertise second most frequent (43). Leaked stories used appeals to normality significantly more than the other categories (35), followed by codes and guidelines (23) and expertise (14). Across all story types, the most used appeal was codes and guidelines (79), while appeal to law was the least used (15). Additionally, some original definitions of expertise, normality, and common decency applied only partially. These appeals received amendments and further clarification, or received a whole new definition. For instance, a new appeal derived from the appeal to normality splits around fifteen uses of the original intention into another category. Fourteen cases of common decency received similar treatment.

Our results align strongly with findings from Wuergler and Cancela (2024), who found most investigative stories were reactive, with nearly half the sample as follow-ups and one seventh as leaks, for a total of 61% of stories in their sample (p. 1405). However, our findings show significantly fewer proactive stories than Wuergler and Cancela, who found 25% of stories in their sample regarded as projects and a sixth as tip-offs, totalling 36% (Wuergler and Cancela, 2024, p. 1405). In *The Globe and Mail* sample, tip-offs made up 4.8 percent of the stories, follow-ups 52 percent, and leaks 42 percent. *The Globe and Mail* sample found no projects, as even the tip-off was based on another story from a different outlet, *The Canadian Press*.

In terms of appeal frequency, follow-up stories used the most appeals (126), with leaks close behind (96). The single tip-off contained seven appeals. The last article in our timeline had the most appeals (19), mostly codes and guidelines (13). The story with the fewest appeals was the third one appearing chronologically (3); however, it still contains the two most used appeals

at one apiece. The appeal to law was found in 10 stories, common decency in 11, normality in 14, expertise in 17, and codes and guidelines in 18 stories. Additionally, the data shows that appeals to expertise and codes and guidelines co-occurred most often with the appeal to normality, appearing in nine and 11 articles, respectively.

Appeals

Formalized codes and guidelines were the most frequently used rhetorical appeal across the dataset, appearing 72 times. This frequent use often stems from a desire to establish an "objective standard" (Glasser and Ettema, 1989, p. 11). This strategy enables the journalist to provoke a reader response by framing any deviation from a moral standard as a violation of the guidelines. For instance, in its reporting on Borden Ladner Gervais, *The Globe and Mail* uses appeals to formal institutional guidelines to highlight systemic and structural issues. As Carrie Tait and Alanna Smith (2025) demonstrate, this exposure is achieved through deliberate choice to report on improper institutional procedures, as seen below:

> The Alberta government dissolved the board of the provincial health authority the same day the organization was scheduled to receive a report from investigators examining whether some of its business deals were subject to "improper activity," according to a document obtained by The Globe and Mail (para 1).

Additionally, the articles often compared the current ethics rules with previous ones, effectively appealing to normality to show how much they had been relaxed. Tait (2024) references a podcast in which Premier Smith appeared eight days before the changes were introduced, where she declined an invitation to the Heritage Classic hockey game because “the ethics Commissioner told her that she could only stay in a suite for 20 minutes (para.6).” The use of the appeal to normality with that to expertise contrasts with her acceptance of playoff tickets after her party passed new legislation, serving as an appeal to normality. However, it was observed that the use of 'normalcy' varied slightly. Glasser and Ettema state that journalists rarely report on “*abnormalities*” through comparison (1989, p. 14). However, reporters Tait and Smith used it in several articles, both to highlight “abnormalities” and to defend their credibility as journalists, providing comments from those allegedly committing a moral wrong, as shown below from the article “Alberta appoints former judge to probe health contracts after allegations of interference” by Tait (2025):

> Ms. Smith has repeatedly dismissed allegations that her former chief of staff, Marshall Smith, put pressure on Ms. Mentzelopoulos to sign contracts with CSFs. The Premier argues it is appropriate for government staff to check in on agencies to see whether they are executing the government's policy objectives. Ms. Smith is not related to Mr. Smith, who has said the public service handled procurement (para 11).

This example of normalizing the allegations levied at the government, whether it's dismissing them or saying AHS *handled procurement* (Tait, 2025), led us to introduce a new kind of appeal along the lines of normality, referred to as an appeal to normality as a defence of wrongdoing or show of credibility. This follows other appeals used to show moral wrongdoing.

Additionally, these appeals boost credibility, particularly through an altered appeal to expertise, since investigative journalists often rely on an appeal to implicit authority by naming titles and roles rather than explicitly quoting an expert. Subsequently, the appeal to expertise is used when a voice objects to the story or to insinuations made by *The Globe and Mail*. As Glasser and Ettema (1989) say, journalists "fall back" on having a voice when making appeals, particularly when there is no evidence of wrongdoing, but they have an intrinsic belief that something wrong was committed (p. 12). Experts, such as politicians like Alberta NDP leader Naheed Nenshi, whom *The Globe and Mail* quotes, also help establish rules and standards. This moral appeal highlights the audience's perception of credibility, helping the narrative stay coherent while reporting on unfamiliar government figures. For example, in article five, Tait pens, "AHS spokeswoman Holly Budd provided a statement attributed to Mr. Tremblay and Andrea Beckwith-Ferraton, the health authority's lawyer" (2025.C, para. 13). By citing Andrea Beckwith-Ferraton, Tait is using Ferraton's title and status to lend credibility to the topic.

Common decency is used 32 times in total. According to Glasser and Ettema (1989), it is used when all other appeals "may not speak eloquently enough to summon the community's righteous indignation" (p. 14). Facts must also speak for themselves implicitly, which is achieved through an "objective" description of the situation (1989). In *The Globe and Mail's* investigative stories, this appeal took a different trajectory on several occasions, as it is not only an "explicit enumeration of objective standards but rather an implicit invocation of commonsensical standards" (1989, p. 14). Comments appearing in several articles prompted a moral expectation in readers. For example, speaking to a request for comment, *The Globe and Mail* provide statements, such as, "Mr. Prasad's lawyer did not acknowledge multiple requests for comment"

(Tait, 2025b, para. 12). They embed these non-responses from a potential interviewee after laying down facts of the case pertaining to that person to reinforce a sense of "wrong" having been done, which Glasser and Ettema (1989) coin as "How would you feel if this happened to you?" (p. 14). Public sentiment about how they navigate difficult stories builds sympathy and understanding, tapping into the community's "righteous indignation." The structure of *The Globe and Mail's* reporting relies on statements like these to provoke moral outrage and defend its credibility.

Finally, the appeal to law was used the least, cited only 15 times across the entire data set. Interestingly, Glasser and Ettema (1989) also call it the "sharpest edge among the journalist's tools" (p. 11). While one might expect to see the appeal to law cited more often in cases involving government regulation, *The Globe and Mail's* investigative journalists did not rely on it as heavily as expected. Additionally, the appeal has the strictest definition, which could explain its infrequency.

Furthermore, tip-off stories rely heavily on the appeal to formalized codes and guidelines, reinforcing the institutional wrongdoing that investigative stories are primed to expose, as we defined it. Leaked stories relied most on the appeal to normality. This appeal, typically accompanied by statistics (Glasser and Ettema, 1989), was often used alongside other appeals, even though journalists did not draw on any statistics.

Reactive stories engage most with appeals to codes and guidelines and expertise, as the data show. Wuergler and Cancela (2024) note that these types of stories stem from articles, press conferences, or public statements (p. 1407), where "journalists demonstrated a need to justify that it was indeed investigative" (p. 1406). To position the stories as investigative, *The Globe and Mail* journalists draw on codes and guidelines on the one hand and expertise on the other when highlighting wrongdoing.

Conclusion

Our data indicates that most stories in the MHCare case are reactive, with only one proactive story, reinforcing Wuergler and Cancela's (2024) notion of a *self-feeding loop* in journalism. The loop shows *investigative commitment* (Wuergler and Cancela, 2024, p. 1407) to a case and to working on emerging stories that follow. It suggests that one story can "trigger new follow-up or spin-off investigations" (p. 1407). In the case we studied, this singular *tip-off* story became the breakthrough that built the journalistic investigation. This self-feeding loop is crucial

to understanding investigative cases like the MHCare controversy. The reactive stories, which made up most of the sample articles, tended to use rhetorical appeals more than the single proactive tip-off story, showing that follow-up and leaked stories contribute significantly to investigative reporting by framing the public understanding of authorities' wrongdoing in moral terms.

When *The Globe and Mail* journalists reported leaked stories, they used the appeal to normality, comparing them to other situations, to expose government wrongdoing. In follow-up and leaked stories, the journalists used the appeal to expertise by highlighting the experts' titles, roles, and status to verify their credibility.

While Glasser and Ettema (1989) predicted the appeal to law would be the most valuable tool in the journalist's arsenal (p. 11), journalists did not rely on it as heavily in this case. With so many reactive stories, journalists may not have had conclusive, pointed evidence that laws had been broken. Additionally, most of the appeals found were codes and guidelines, not legal authorities. Wuergler and Cancela (2024) suggest that reactive storytelling is often done "quick and dirty" (p. 15) because journalists have little time and fewer resources, such as finances and the ability to enforce FOI laws, when putting a news story together. This finding points to the pressure Canadian investigative journalists face, which pushes them to rely on moral appeals that require only a document, scoop, or government statement.

Ultimately, Glasser and Ettema's (1989) rhetorical appeals that objectify journalists' moral order work for Canadian journalists. However, some appeal definitions required restructuring to apply them to the analysis of these investigative stories. The appeals were not used exactly as described in scholarly studies based on American and Swiss investigative journalism and had to be reshaped to remain useful in the context of Canadian journalism. Despite challenges such as limited legal protections and the difficulty of applying FOI laws (Thompson et al., 2021), Canadian journalists used these rhetorical appeals rigorously to conduct their investigative reporting.

Scope and Limitations

This research aims only to identify the types of rhetorical appeals used in the analysis and explain why journalists might choose them when reporting on cases such as governmental scandals. An acknowledged limitation of the study is its small timeline of the ongoing event. With more time, the sample size could have been larger, broadening the analysis of the rhetorical appeals Canadian journalists use. Interviews with the journalists to contrast and compare the analysis, along with reader polling, would also strengthen this analysis.

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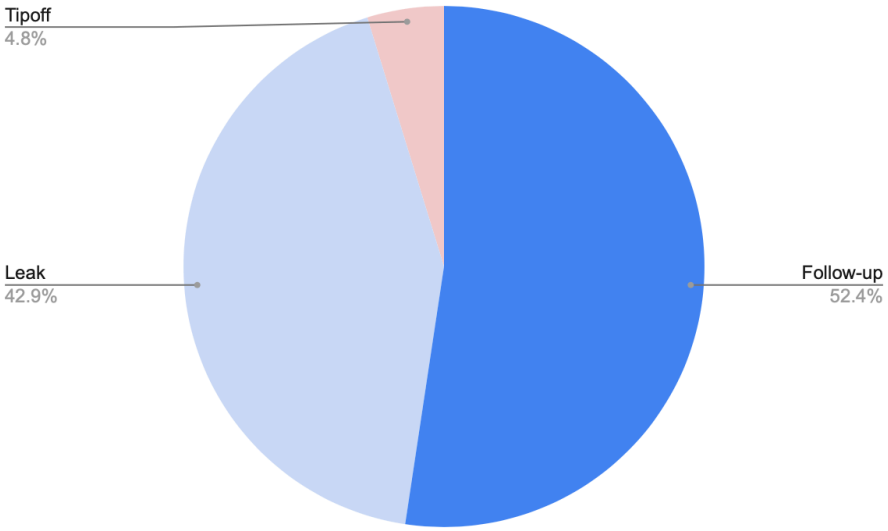
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Appendix A

Investigative Categories of Found in The Globe and Mail MHCare Stories Case

Figure 1

The Categories Represented on a Pie Graph



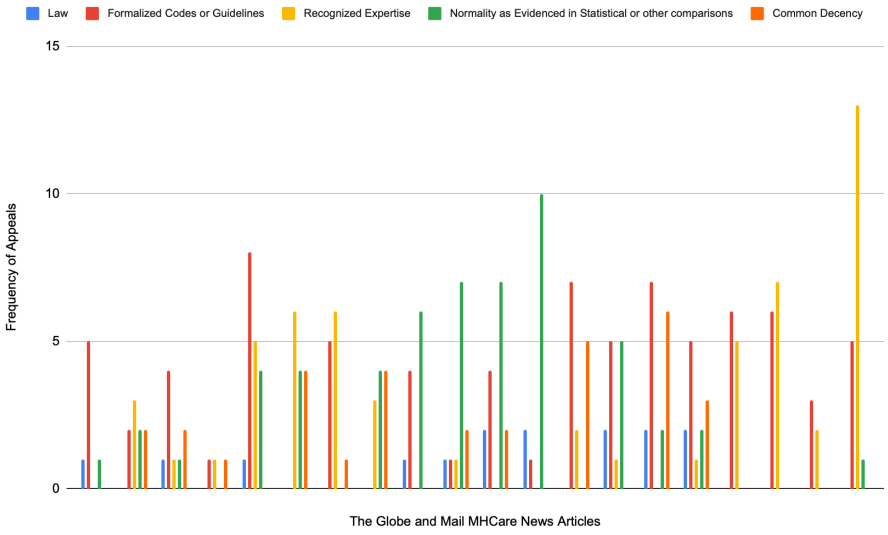
Note. A pie graph of Wuergler and Cancela's (2024) investigative categories as defined by Wuergler and Cancela (2024), used to filter into proactive or reactive stories. The categories are follow-up, leak, tip-off, and project.

Appendix B

Moral Authority Appeals in The Globe and Mail MHCare Stories

Figure 2

Moral Authority Appeals Found in 20 Globe and Mail Articles



Note. This bar graph shows the number of moral authority appeals, defined by Glasser and Ettema (1989), in each *Globe and Mail* article. The legend and text indicate the type of appeal for each colour. From left to right, they are: appeal to law, formalized codes and guidelines, recognized expertise, normality as evidenced in statistical or other comparisons, and common decency. See Legend.