

NEO-LIBERAL GOVERNANCE THROUGH TORONTO PRESS DISCOURSE ON  
YOUTH MISCONDUCT

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**LIST OF ACRONYMS**

JDA:	Juvenile Delinquents Act
YOA:	Young Offenders Act
YCJA:	Youth Criminal Justice Act

## ABSTRACT

This research considers the place of media in society by means of a Foucaudian genealogy of welfare and neo-liberal discourse surrounding youth misconduct in two Toronto newspapers. It was found that the overall “mode of talking” about youth misconduct has shifted from welfare to neo-liberal discourse, and that resistance or critical thought surrounding current neo-liberal discourse emerges in *The Globe and Mail*. I explore the role of newspapers in the process of governance by analyzing these discourses in terms of Foucault’s three rationalities for “the art of government” and also by analyzing the *knowledge* produced or titillated and the *power* outcomes or effects of these discourses. It is argued that newspapers can benefit governance by reflecting, validating and perhaps even rendering current neo-liberal governmentalities more efficient, by encouraging non-government groups to assist in the management of youth misconduct.

**Keywords:** Media portrayals of youth misconduct and misbehaving youth, governmentality, risk, titillation, the youth superpredator, neo-liberalism, welfare era, responsabilization, resistance or contestation, strategies of governance, the media’s relationship to society, agency.

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated in loving memory of my father Ron, who taught me to aim high, think future, speak my mind and be persistent. To my mother Mandy, your patience and support have been truly inspirational. To my fiancé Graham, thank you for being my editor-in-chief and my rock. To my big brothers, thank you for challenging me by setting the bar so high. To the rest of the Boyes and Billiald families, your support and confidence in me are the best motivation. To my best friends, thank you for your unfailing support and encouragement. I am truly blessed; thank you all from the bottom of my heart.

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*“Those things which men believe to be true, are true in their consequences.”*

*—W.I. Thomas*

## **INTRODUCTION**

In order to contribute to the perspectives in media-and-society literature that uphold different views on the place of media in society, I draw on governmentality theory to explore whether or not the media is a vehicle for governance and if, in fact, the media can be a voice for resistance. I provide a narrative which outlines a diversity of perspectives on the media-society relationship. What these perspectives have in common is that they all make statements about the nature of the relationship between the media and society or the media and the population. These perspectives differ regarding the degree to which they view the media-society relationship as positive or negative, the degree to which they acknowledge or account for agency among media target audiences and the degree to which the media allows alternative views or resistance. Some perspectives consider the effect of the media on the population and others consider this question in reverse, asking what the population does with media. Many perspectives on the place of media in society suggest that the media's place in society is “government serving”, often claiming the media's place in society is to dominate, control or exploit the population. Given this trend, it is important to consider the relationship between media and strategies of governance. Specifically, I explore this media-and-society relationship by examining the ways in which evolving strategies of governance and resistance thereto may be revealed in newspaper accounts centred on



Canada's "least accountable" population: misbehaving youth\*. My examination takes the form of a Foucaudian genealogy of welfare and neo-liberal discourse, as well as resistance to these discourses over time, focusing on youth misconduct and a recent portrayal of misbehaving youth: the youth superpredator, which closely parallels the neo-liberal individual. The newspaper publications of interest are *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star*. These specific publications target professional upper-class and middle-class majority moral communities of social agents respectively.

By applying Foucault's three rationalities for "the art of government", *sovereignty, discipline and government*, I argue that newspapers can reflect contemporary governance. I complete a genealogical analysis of newspaper discourse surrounding youth misconduct by exploring the mode of talking about youth misconduct; the *knowledge* or truths purported about youth misconduct in my sample media; and the *power* outcomes or effects of upholding, titillating or confirming these truths, through a widespread public interface from which the public gains the majority of its knowledge about crime and criminal justice issues. Through this genealogy, I then argue that newspapers can validate and possibly even render strategies of governance more effective by encouraging non-government groups, such as individuals, families and communities, to actively manage youth misconduct, thus making individuals "useful, controlled and efficient" (Palmer, 2003, 3). As such, it can be said that newspapers play a role in the process of governance, or population guidance, by assisting in the development of certain governmentalities. As a consequence of my

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\* In this research, I have chosen to refer to problematic or criminal behaviour among youth as *youth misconduct* and to the youth who engage in this unacceptable behaviour as *misbehaving youth*. This word choice reflects my decision not to limit the sample and discussion to youth who break the law, but rather to discuss delinquent or problematic behaviour among youth in its broadest sense, in terms of what is deemed problematic and unacceptable behaviour in the sample articles.

analysis, the differential emergence of strategies of governance and resistance thereto, surrounding misbehaving youth as communicated to the public through newspaper publications targeting different moral communities is problematized. This paper also analyzes and problematizes, using *discourse* and *knowledge* and in light of *power* outcomes or effects, the tendency to primarily resist or criticize the contemporary neo-liberal approach to governance through a lens of society's young people.

The Literature Review and Theory Chapter begins with a brief narrative on media-and-society perspectives, comparing the various perspectives and the limitations of these understandings of the place of media in society, namely the common tendency to downplay or neglect to account for the agency of the target audience when purporting to explain the media-society relationship. I shed light on some common themes and unanswered questions in this literature, such as: Is the population influenced by the media or is the media influenced by the population? Due to the emerging theme of the media as government serving, I ask "What is the relationship between the media and strategies of governance?". I then provide a brief overview of governmentality theory and explain my intention to draw on this body of literature to contribute to the media-and-society debate. I briefly outline some literature on the portrayal of youth in media and explain my decision to consider the relationship between the media and strategies of governance through the example of discourse around misbehaving youth while incorporating the commonly found image of the youth superpredator, which I decide to incorporate into my layered analysis due to the similarities I draw between the youth superpredator and the neo-liberal individual.

In the subsequent Methodology chapter, I further explain the layered analysis I conducted drawing on these various bodies of literature. I created an analytical grid drawing on this literature, which was designed to analyze welfare, neo-liberal and risk discourses as well as psychological portrayals of misbehaving youth, such as the youth superpredator. I explain that, adapting Foucault's definition of discourse and his genealogical method, I used this grid to analyze changes in discourse of governing youth misconduct in a total of one-hundred and fifty *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* press accounts. I used a pre-coding process to define three "eras" of sample newspaper articles: "welfare," "transitional" and "neo-liberal". The process for selecting sample newspaper articles is explained in detail.

In the third chapter, entitled "Findings", I outline the trends noted in the sample articles. I note that in the "welfare era", in both publications, the articles tended to attribute the causes of youth misconduct to developmental factors, which was commonly considered the government's responsibility to address. Misbehaving youth were not spoken of as ruthless superpredators but rather as youth who were average psychologically but socially disenfranchised. In the "transitional era", neo-liberal discourse begins to emerge and contest this welfare discourse. Previous developmental needs struggle for coverage with "new risks" to society. There was competing discourse about who was responsible to manage the needs and risks of misbehaving youth and there is competing discourse regarding whether misbehaving youth are ruthless superpredators or psychologically average individuals. In the "neo-liberal era", *The Toronto Star* seems to embrace neo-liberal discourse, while *The Globe and Mail* exhibits both neo-liberal discourse and internal contestation of this with welfare discourse.

The fourth chapter, entitled "Analysis", scrutinizes these findings in terms of Foucault's *sovereignty, discipline* and *government*. I also complete the genealogical analysis of the discursive findings by exploring the *truths or knowledge* upheld by this *discourse* and the *power* outcomes or effects of producing or titillating this *knowledge* among media target audiences. I conclude that newspapers can reflect and validate governance and I suggest that in doing this, theoretically, newspapers can potentially increase the efficiency of certain governmentalities. In addition to demonstrating that the media may play a role in the process of governance, I also demonstrate that it is useful to draw on governmentality theory to formulate a better understanding of the media-society relationship as it allows us to address some limitations of other perspectives. While many of existing perspectives fail to account for the agency of media target audiences, governmentality theory facilitates quite the opposite: It allows us to consider a range of potential *power* outcomes or effects of media discourse in light of the agency of the target audience.

## **1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY**

### **1.1 The Media: Influencing the Population or Influenced by the Population?**

In order to help situate this research, the section below explores the question “*What is media, and what is its relationship to society?*” through an overview of media-and-society literature. I begin by adopting certain consistencies within the research area to construct a base definition of media. The overview then proceeds to outline different perspectives on the media’s relationship to society. I note perspectives which maintain that media plays a positive role in society, for example, by promoting democracy. I note the apparent trend in the literature to make a statement about the role of the media in influencing the population,

either by shaping or effecting behaviour, or controlling or exploiting the population. I also outline reception studies, which explain that media influence can travel in the opposite direction, as target audiences have agency and can shape the media. The place of the current research in contributing to the understanding of the media-and-society relationship by drawing on governmentality theory is explained.

Reviewing existing literature on the nature of media seems to suggest some consensus about the media as a communication medium. O'Shaughnessy and Stadler (2005, 3-4) define the media as the "industry and the communication technologies involved in transmitting information and entertainment between senders and receivers across space and time". The term "media," then, fundamentally describes a human communication system that transmits messages using technology. The term "mass media" is often used to describe media as it reaches out to large audiences. The success of media is often built on popularity therefore it is affected by commercial interests, such as subscription rates and advertising. The media's success often depends on what the public "buys into" as content presentation, since without public satisfaction the media would fail to sustain itself through monetary gain. For the purposes of this research, the above concepts have been combined and adapted to formulate a base definition of media. The media is defined as a medium through which information is communicated widely through a significant public interface, with messages deemed to satisfy the majority readership, and with widespread distribution of content that is fiscally advantageous to the media outlets.

While there is some consensus in media-and-society literature about the media as a communication mechanism, there are also apparent inconsistencies regarding the extent to which media influences the population or if, conversely, media can be interpreted uniquely

by the target audience or even shaped directly by the target audience to voice alternative views. The perspectives I outline vary in terms of the extent to which they view the media's relationship to society as positive or negative. They also differ regarding the extent to which they recognize agency amongst the target audience. These inconsistencies prompt the following questions: Does the media influence population behaviour? Can the media be a voice for alternative viewpoints, thus improving democracy by allowing target audiences to shape the media? These varying perspectives are outlined below, beginning with pluralism and the functionalist, consensus approach, what I consider to be "optimistic" perspectives on the place of media in society, followed by various both positive and negative functionalist perspectives.

### **1.12 "Optimistic" Pluralism and Functionalist Perspectives**

Pluralist approaches to media scholarship present an "optimistic" understanding of the media-society relationship, which commands the media for offering an "embodiment of intellectual freedom and diversity" (Jewkes, 2004, 21). Given the recent privatization of many media sources and increased accessibility to the media due to improvements in technology, pluralism maintains that government censorship and regulation of the media have been eliminated and alternative viewpoints enabled (Jewkes, 2004). It is suggested that by providing a voice for the marginalized, the media actually improves democracy (O'Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2005, 11).

Functionalism purports to explain the media's purposeful role in society. Robert Merton (1967, 105) differentiates manifest and latent conduct by positing that actions may

have different consequences than intended by the actor. The functionalist, consensus perspective then focuses on how order is maintained and, therefore, on how people are “socialized into conformity” (Marsh & Melville, 2009, 32). Under these foundational concepts, the manifest function, then, of media is to disseminate knowledge across society, and the latent function of media is to “perform[...] a social control function by presenting to the population a set of values that reflect the requirements of the society” (Marsh & Melville, 2009, 32). This perspective implies that there is a consensus across strata and groups about the requirements of society, such that the values that the media latently presents are not the views of only one group or a select number within society. This perspective argues that it is necessary for the media to contain a range of views for people to choose from, as this promotes the stability of society. This is one functionalist understanding which views the media’s relationship to society as positive. Both this approach and the pluralist approach uphold that the media can and should be a voice for alternative views. Below, reviewing several additional functionalist perspectives on media and society, it becomes apparent that they vary in terms of whether the “functions” or influences of media in society are positive or negative.

In his first book, *Seduction of the Innocent*, Psychiatrist Doctor Fredric Wertham argued that a negative latent function of comic books was to seduce innocent minds into violence, turning youth into moral monsters. He argued that youth who read comic books were encouraged to act out similar behaviour. Youth would begin to accept violence as a useful means for solving problems. In this way, reading comic books could harden youth into violence and therefore, comic books have serious implications for juvenile delinquency (Wertham, 1954). Resolutions to this problem of comic books suggested by Wertham (1954)

include the prohibition of the sale of comic books to minors and censorship of comic books written for youth. Does the media function to seduce innocent minds into violence?

Counter to previous biological perspectives on crime, which maintained that crime was genetic or that criminals were in some way constitutionally different, Eysenck (1977, as cited in Howitt, 1998, 18) maintains that “any biological propensity can only manifest itself through socialization processes”. Since criminals offend because they are socialized slowly, perhaps the media is beneficial because it can provide additional socialization. Or perhaps, conversely, the media teaches target audiences how to be criminal. Counter to this, Greenberg (1980, as cited in Howitt, 1998, 18) notes that television, for example, promotes primarily “prosocial rather than antisocial messages”.

Other authors have explored the possibility for the media to have a direct physiological effect on the audience. Emery and Emery (1976, as cited in Howitt, 1998) suggest “television blunts the higher mental or cognitive functions”. As such, “television, then, is a dissociative medium which reduces the viewer’s involvement in life”. This may imply that “the viewer is in no state to resist the television’s antisocial messages” (Howitt, 1998, 19).

Rational choice theory maintains that individuals rationally calculate whether or not to engage in criminal behavior based on an analysis of associated gains and losses (Howitt, 1998, 19). Perhaps in this way, the media functions to provide information to the target audience about the gains and losses associated with crime. This perspective suggests that by providing this information, the media can influence individuals’ rational choices to commit crimes.



Social disorganization and anomie theories maintain that crime is the result of breakdowns in community controls and ties (Howitt, 1998, 19). It is argued that the media can function to assist in the modern tendency to place value on individualism, contradicting ties to a community, which can encourage suspicion within the community. Or perhaps, more positively, the media “broadcasts” the notion of community, thus promoting a sense of community.

According to the concept of catharsis, aggressive urges build up over time. These urges can result in violent outbursts without outlets. “The process of ridding oneself of this volatile pent-up and aggressive feelings is known as *catharsis*” (Kirsh, 2006, 106). This perspective on media and society maintains that the media can serve a cathartic function, allowing those exposed to media violence, through movies or videogames for example, to purge themselves of violent urges that have built up over time. This counters the effects research I explain below, which argues that viewing violence in media influences violent behaviour among media target audiences.

Limitations of the “optimistic” approaches described above are that perhaps the media does not reflect all points of view as a monolith or consensus. Perhaps, on the contrary, the media is a voice for people who control it or for communicating the values of one group or class in particular. In addition to negative, functionalist perspectives, perhaps criticisms of media can be considered outside of the realm of the function of media. This is where critical perspectives emerge.

### **1.13 Media as Controlling and Exploiting the Masses: Does the Media Serve the Interests of the Government?**

O’Shaughnessy and Stadler (2005, 6) argue that people in positions of social power can “limit and control the media as well as help develop it”. The critical perspective of political economy on media and society maintains that the media will serve the interests of whoever controls it (O’Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2005, 25). Through the process of “gate keeping”, the owners of media can control what gets included and whose voices are heard.

The critical Marxist understanding of media argues that it functions as a mechanism for subordinating the working classes, thus benefiting the upper-class bourgeoisie (O’Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2005, 17-18). This perspective upholds that “the media—like all other capitalist institutions—are owned by the ruling bourgeois elite and operate in the interests of that class, denying access to oppositional or alternative views” (Jewkes, 2004, 16). Thus the media is an industry that helps control the working class proletariats while producing profit simultaneously (O’Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2005, 18). In order to control the working class, the Marxian perspective upholds that the media creates “folk devils” to present negative images, thus creating an opportunity to lecture the population on the “rewards of conformity” (Bell, 1983, 10). Is the media’s role in society to control a passive working class?

The Frankfurt School is a group of Marxist scholars who began scrutinizing the role of media in Germany and Europe in the 1930s, after seeing the ways in which the media was used in Germany by Hitler to unify public support behind the Nazi party (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955). Eventually, the Frankfurt school began to analyze the role of American media in the 1940s and 1950s. Building on traditional Marxism, this school of thought stressed the role of

the media in subordinating the working classes while also producing profit (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2005, 17-18). Scholars within the Frankfurt School defined media in America as a "consciousness industry", arguing that the media "functioned to control the minds and feelings of the masses at the same time as making money" (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2005, 18). Herbert Marcuse made significant, as well as the most contemporary, contributions to the Frankfurt School in his book *One-Dimensional Man*. Marcuse held a pessimistic view of the media, which he describes as:

The means of... communication..., the irresistible output of the entertainment and information industry carry with them prescribed attitudes and habits, certain intellectual and emotional reactions which bind the consumers... to the producers and, through the latter to the whole [social system]. The products indoctrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is immune against its falsehood... Thus emerges a pattern of one-dimensional thought and behaviour. (Marcuse as cited in Bennett 1982, 43).

Media, in this sense, is an irresistible force, implying a passive role of the media target audience.

Relevant to this is the "hypodermic needle theory" or "magic bullet theory" (University of Twente, 2010, 1). This theory suggests that the mass media can influence the population "directly and uniformly" by "shooting" or "injecting" the audience with appropriate messages designed to trigger a desired response. The bullet theory suggests that "the message is a bullet, fired from the 'media gun' into the viewer's 'head'" while the hypodermic needle model suggests that "media messages are injected straight into a passive audience which is immediately influenced by the message" (University of Twente, 2010, 1). The reader cannot escape the powerful messages in these models. As such, media communication is dangerous because the "receiver or audience is powerless to resist the

impact of the message”. Receivers, therefore passively accept “what they are told because there is no other source of information” (University of Twente, 2010, 1). This critical perspective suggests that the media directly controls the thoughts of entirely passive receivers.

Scholars who discuss the social construction of crime myths also maintain a critical view of the media’s relationship to society. These scholars explore the “social forces that directs public attention and shapes the nature and characteristics of emerging social problems” (Kappeler, Blumberg & Potter, 2000, 1). The authors explore the construction of “crime myths”, which are “usually created in nonscientific forums through the telling of crime-related fictions or sensational stories. These crime fictions often take on new meanings as they are told and retold—and at some point evolve into truth for many people” (Kappeler et al., 2000, 2). Crime myths are, therefore, constructed by fabricating and distorting events into social and political problems. Targets of mythmaking tend to be groups that are “easily distinguishable from the dominant social group” (Kappeler et al., 2000, 17). These distinctions are often made based on race, colour or national origin, but can also be targeted toward groups with non-visual differences, including political views, religious groups or sexual preferences. Common crime myths include those that maintain minorities are predisposed to criminal behaviour and other narratives that conclude that most perpetrators are unknown to their victims. Some examples of crime myth targets from the past include serial killers and Italian immigrants (Kappeler et al., 2000).

Scholars in this area argue that the distortion of these crime myths as they are played out in public arenas facilitates the incorporation of crime myths into public consciousness. Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter (2000, 2) argue “crime myths are so powerful and can

become so compounded that they shape our thoughts about and reactions to almost any issue related to criminal justice". The authors identify the media's role in the construction of crime myths as that of choosing to present bizarre and gruesome "newsworthy" content to the target audiences in order to sell news for profit and attract large audiences to sell advertising. The authors also suggest that the government can begin the myth construction process by directing the media to focus on certain events or "hot topics(s)" (Kappeler et al., 2000, 7). By promoting these crime myths, the government establishes and maintains its criminal justice system by "maintaining the existing social definition of crime and extending this definition to groups and behaviours that are perceived to be a threat to existing social order" (Kappeler et al., 2000, 7). This perspective suggests that the media can be a means through which the government establishes and maintains its criminal justice system through mythmaking. Consistent with this perspective, does the media shape the thoughts of a target audience while also serving the interests of government?

Building on this notion of the social construction of crime myths, other scholars have also formulated a critical understanding of the media's place in society and the outcomes of mythmaking. Cohen (1972, 9) coined the term "moral panic" to refer to the sudden emergence of anxiety toward an "episode, condition, person or group of persons" that have been recently "defined as a threat to societal values and interests". Hall et al. (1978, 29) illustrate the notion of 'moral panics' through the example of mugging in the early 1970's. The authors explore the manipulation of statistics that created muggings as a "new strain of crime" around which panic was generated. The authors note that "the reaction to 'mugging' was out of proportion to any level of actual threat which could be reconstructed through unreliable statistics". The public reaction in this case was then to the "*perceived or symbolic*

*threat* to society,” rather than to the actual emerging phenomenon (Hall et al., 1978, 29). Agencies and the press were not, in fact, dealing with a “new strain of crime”. They were responding to a new *definition of the situation*—a new construction of the social reality of crime,” rather than a simple set of facts (Hall et al., 1978, 29). “When such discrepancies appear between threat and reaction, between what is perceived and what that perception is of, we have good evidence to suggest that we are in the presence of an ideological displacement”. The authors explain that this displacement is a moral panic.

The authors also note that since the public at large has very little experience of crime, the media bears some responsibility for relaying information to the public at large (Hall et al., 1978, 29-30). It is argued that agencies of government, such as key players in the criminal justice system, and the media panics mutually reinforce each other by their lack of counter-definitions of events. Such counter-definitions could probably only come from the perpetrators themselves or the legal professionals representing them (33). In other words, the lack of alternatives reinforces the moral panic. Is the media a mechanism that lacks alternatives, thus legitimizing government responses to specific issues or populations through moral panics?

#### **1.14 Recognizing the Agency of Target Audiences**

The abovementioned perspectives maintain critical views on media and whom it serves in society. These critical perspectives are often criticized for assuming a passive audience (Jewkes, 2004, 21). In addition to the limitations of critical perspectives, limitations of effects research also raise questions of passivity, suggesting the need to address the role of individual agency in the media and society relationship.

A number of research efforts have been dedicated to determining the potential effect of media on its target audience and the degree to which the media influences deviant or criminal behaviour (Jewkes, 2004, 5). This classification of literature, often referred to as “effects research”, is influenced both by sociology (mass society theory) and psychology (behaviourism). Both maintain that human behaviour can be shaped by external influences such as the media and that the media can corrupt minds and erode moral values. The theory maintains that exposure to violence in the media can increase violence in society (Jewkes, 2004, 5). Despite the widely held belief that the increase in violent media is causing violence in society to increase (Jewkes, 2004, 5), effects research is almost non-conclusive (O’Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2005, 18). The authors attribute this to the complexity of effects on a receiver. The media is only one aspect in a chain of causal factors that affects the human psyche thus it is difficult if not impossible to isolate the effects of the media on the public. For this reason, some scholars have been reluctant to accept a direct causal link between media and behaviour (O’Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2005, 18). Effects research has been criticized for assuming that humans are vulnerable and malleable, thus downplaying the agency of humans. Effects research is also accused of excluding the possibility that influence can travel the opposite way, as the audience may be able to influence the content that is produced in the media (Jewkes, 2004, 11). Critical perspectives and effects research, then, inconclusive on direct effects, arguably fail to explore the possibility of the individual agency of the human targets of media. As such, these perspectives demand further scrutiny into the role of the target audience.

In order to address these criticisms, reception studies attempt to formulate an understanding of media target audiences or receivers and what they might comprehend about

messages communicated to them through the media (Staiger, 2005, 1). The question then moves beyond what the media does to the audience (subordinates it in Marxist theory, manipulates its perceptions through social construction, or influences behaviour in effects research) to *what the spectators do with media*. Stuart Hall, a well-known author in the field of cultural studies, maintains that audiences are not passive and do not “consume without engagement or activity” (Davis, 2004, 62). Since media content is “framed by structures of understanding”, circulation and reception are “moments of the production process itself” (Hall, 1992, 119). As such, “production and reception of the [...] message are not, therefore, identical, but they are related: they are differentiated moments within the totality formed by the social relations of the communicative process as a whole” (Hall, 1992, 119). A message is not “a package or ball that the sender throws to the receiver”... “a message is encoded by a programme producer then decoded (and made sense of) by the receivers”, meaning that the sent and received messages may not be identical (Alasuutari, 1999, 3). Therefore, the creation of a text to be a certain way does not guarantee its reception, since audiences can formulate their own understandings, as well as embrace or reject a text (Davis, 2004, 62).

The various perspectives I have outlined often make explicit or implicit statements about whose interests and views are served and voiced by the media, the nature and role of media target audiences, and whether social views that are alternate to those of government and other populations in social positions of power are permissible in the media. Through this brief overview of media-and-society literature, it becomes apparent that there is controversy about whether or not groups in positions of social power—such as the government or the upper class—influence, dominate, shape or control the content of media; or whether the media is a medium that permits all agents in society to express alternatives to dominant



viewpoints. This leads to complex, unanswered questions regarding the media-and-society relationship, specifically: *Does the media serve the interests of the upper class and the government? Does the media influence the thoughts and behaviour of the target audience? Or conversely, can the target audience shape the media, allowing them to voice alternative views? Is the media's place in society for government, influence, domination or democracy?*

## **1.2 Evolving Governmentalities: Welfarism to Prudent and Responsible Existence**

Governmentality theory outlines the contemporary strategies involved in the process of guiding a population. It is argued here, therefore, that governmentality theory can be used to help explain the relationship between media and society. By analyzing whether discourses on governing strategies exist in media, it may be possible to determine if, in fact, the media is a medium to communicate the current strategies of governance. If this phenomenon can be demonstrated, this would strengthen the argument that the media is a mechanism that serves the interests of government. Given that governmentality theory is also predicated on recent shifts in strategies of governance, looking for discourse of strategies of governance in the media over time may strengthen the indication that media discourses can be consistent with strategies of governance as noted in the literature. This demonstration would strengthen the evidence that the emergence of strategies of governance in the media is a consistent trend or tendency.

Following this line of reasoning, the subsequent section explains the apparent shift from welfare to neo-liberal strategies of governing as noted by governmentality theorists. Foucault's notion of discourse is outlined briefly, followed by the construction and characterization of welfare and neo-liberal concepts as discourses in a Foucaudian sense.

The intention of this research to analyze the emergence of welfare and neo-liberal discourse and alternatives thereto in the media is explained.

It should be noted that the term “government” as it is used above in the overview of media-and-society literature refers literally to the elected government; for example, the Government of Canada. Governmentality theorists, such as Foucault, use the term “government” in a very different way. Michel Foucault (1991) introduced the concept of governmentality to describe the strategies drawn upon to guide the conduct of a population. As such, government to Foucault is “the conduct of conduct”, it is “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon, 1991, 2). Throughout this research, I use the term “government” to refer to government in the literal sense of the governing regime. I use “governmentality” and strategies of governance synonymously to refer to “government” in the Foucaudian sense. “Governance” however is the act of drawing on these governmentalities (strategies, approaches) to guide the conduct of a population.

Foucault (1991) explains the new “art of government”, which he uses to describe what he sees as a change to current governmentalities. The “art of government” is a triangle of *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government*, which combine to form the contemporary governance that targets the population (Foucault, 1991, 102). Transformations of these three rationalities are present in contemporary governing. *Sovereignty* focuses on the governance of a territory and the final authority over this territory. *Discipline* is concerned with governing a population through the economy and creating disciplined subjects or disciplined bodies, while *government* is concerned with creating self-governing citizens through the internalization of strategies of governance (Foucault, 1991). Successful and efficient

governance in this sense evokes self-management among individuals, which encourages them to conduct themselves in a manner that is beneficial to governance, or the conduct of conduct because it makes individuals useful, controlled and efficient. Efficient governance “create[s] individuals who do not need to be governed by others, but will govern themselves, master themselves, care for themselves” (Rose, 1996, as cited in Kelly, 2003, 168). I elaborate on these three rationalities in later sections.

Scholars building on Foucault have explored changes in strategies, approaches and rationalities, or governmentalities, exercised to govern populations (Rose, 1996; Brock, 2003). Rose (1996) describes changes in strategies of governance. While “the social” or welfare-oriented model has been central to political programs since the mid-nineteenth century, some theorists argue that this is no longer a locus or objective of strategies of governance (Rose, 1996). In this neo-liberal era, communities and individuals are responsible for managing their own risk, rather than maintaining a moral obligation to the whole (Garland, 2003).

Some authors have attempted to demonstrate that responsibility and risk management are characteristics and rationalities of neo-liberal society (Garland, 2003; Ekberg, 2007; Hunt, 2003; Haggerty, 2003). Others have used empirical examples to demonstrate the effects of neo-liberal strategies of governance on specific groups, such as women in prison (Hannah-Moffat, 2000), drug users (O’Malley, 1999) and the criminalization of women through Chunn & Gavigan’s (2006) analysis of welfare fraud. Outlined below are the theoretical understandings of welfare and neo-liberal discourse, based on existing literature that describes this purported shift in governance. The concepts within these two discourses

explain the strategies of governance. These are of interest in order to determine if the media acts as a means of communicating approaches to governance as they are current.

Prior to building an understanding of welfare and neo-liberal discourses, it is first essential to develop a fundamental understanding of what is meant by discourse. Kress (1983 as cited in Bell, 1983, 10) explains Foucault's conceptualization of discourse as "a mode of talking" that, in relation to social life, "will produce a set of statements about an area which will define, delimit and circumscribe what is possible and impossible to say with respect to it and how it is to be talked about". This concept of discourse is explained in greater detail in the methodology section. The welfare and neo-liberal concepts, described most immediately below, each comprise a discourse or a "mode of talking" about the governance of a population. For the purposes of this research, these concepts are targeted for analysis, in seeking to understand how welfare and neo-liberal discourse in the media emerge, drawing on Foucault's definition of discourse.

Welfare discourse refers to a mode of talking about population guidance in which certain strategies of governance are favoured. Welfare discourse views criminality as a problem of "defective or poorly adapted individuals and families", a symptom of need or social deprivation, the governance solutions for which are treatment, rehabilitation, social reform, addressing problems with the economy (Garland, 2001, 15), addressing social needs and providing social services and social protection (Rose, 1996, 328). The focus in a welfare discourse is largely on the developmental needs of maladjusted individuals. The governance of behaviour was often concerned with the criminogenic risk factors that are central to developmental criminology, such as attention problems, parental conflict, living on a low family income or coming from a broken family (Farrington, 2007).

In welfare discourse, strategies of governance included addressing social needs as well as providing social services and social protection (Rose, 1996, 328). During the welfare approach, individuals prescribed to a social contract, which entails that they are firmly tied to the best interests of society in general. During this time, societal stability was maintained because individuals tied their self-interest to best interests of society (Rose, 1996, 332; Cruikshank, 1999).

As noted earlier, some authors argue that this way of talking about social policy/governance is now outmoded, that there has been a shift away from welfare discourse toward a contemporary, neo-liberal discourse in governance. The paragraphs below explain this new way of approaching governance.

Scholars often explain that the neo-liberal approach to governance is governance at a distance, since the responsibility for population management is offloaded onto individuals and communities, who become responsible for their own regulation. This is illustrated by O'Malley (in Barry et al., 1996, 203), who discusses this “move from welfare to prudentialism”, in which “subjects are recast as rational, responsible, knowledgeable and calculative, in control of the key aspects of their lives”. Responsible individuals self-manage, whether by securing employment or associating with moral, law-abiding, responsible and non-government groups, termed *moral communities* (Rose, 1996). By contrast, the welfare discourse I discuss above conveys that government should seek to neutralize risks such as unemployment or poverty, and that “social engineering can and should be directed to correct these problems” (O'Malley in Barry et al, 1996, 203). Further, neo-liberalism regards “many *specific risks* as ones that can and should be prevented or minimized” (O'Malley in Barry et al, 1996, 204; Haggerty, 2003). This is accomplished by using knowledge to make prudent

decisions about how to avoid being dependent on the government. Dependency is seen as posing a risk to the stability of a society that values and relies upon independence.

In neo-liberal governance, government responsibility is lessened through encouraging all citizens, individuals and organizations to be active in managing their own risk and the risk of offenders. Individuals engage in technologies of the self (Foucault, 1982). As governance is internalized, through the use of expert knowledge, individuals begin to work on themselves as projects in order to foster self-improvement, avoid harm, and consequently ameliorate society as a whole (Foucault, 1982).

Current literature documents extensively manifestations of this individualization of responsibility and risk in neo-liberal society. For example, Chunn & Gavigan (2006) have found that income in the neo-liberal era is referred to as an individualized matter, implying that the risk of poverty, previously deemed a social issue for social policy, is an individual's concern, rather than a social responsibility. Securing adequate income is to be achieved through education, the labour market or marriage (Chunn & Gavigan, 2006). Therefore, responsabilization, or charging non-government groups with responsibility or accountability, can refer to an individual managing one's own financial circumstances.

Managing the threat of social problems is, likewise, the responsibility of individuals, groups and organizations (Cruikshank, 1999). Literature analyzing risk discourses reveals that terms such as "precaution", "danger", "hazard" and "insecurity" are used to explain similar concepts (Garland, 2001; Haggerty, 2003). Risk discourses have also been noted to surround drug abuse (O'Malley, 1999); welfare dependency and poverty (Chunn & Gavigan, 2006); recidivism (Stilverstein, 2005); and government dependence (Rose, 1996). Hannah-Moffatt, (1999, 71) notes risk discourses surrounding female prisoners and notes that "in

practical instances of governing the concept of ‘risk’ is ambiguous, fractured and flexible; that actuarial techniques of assessing women prisoners' risks tend to redefine needs as risk factors”.

Based on the above contributions to this area of research, it can be said that neo-liberal discourse responsabilizes individuals, families, communities and other non-government groups and organizations to manage the behaviour and risk of individuals. Neo-liberal discourse encourages individuals to engage in technologies of the self.

### **1.21 A Vehicle for Governance or a Voice for Social Agents and Resistance?**

I introduce earlier the controversies in media-and-society literature of the role of media in society as influence, domination or democracy. Some of these perspectives suggest that media serves the government. I argue that since governmentality literature outlines changes in strategies of governance, this literature can be used to determine if in fact the media can be used as a vehicle for governance by observing discourse surrounding governance in the media and alternatives thereto. I elaborate on this intention in the sections to follow.

In the above review of literature on the media’s position within society, some of the scholarly perspectives make an explicit statement or implicit comment about the degree to which the media allows or facilitates alternatives. For the purposes of this research, it is useful to understand these alternatives as forms of resistance or critical thought surrounding contemporary strategies of governance. Below I build an understanding of resistance by adapting concepts from literature on power, resistance and the role of social agents. Media

target audiences, or receptors, are explained as social agents who can be aggregated into several different groups of moral communities.

Michel Foucault (1978, 92) argued that power is “the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses the multiplicity of force relations”. Power is not held and imposed by one group and exercised in domination over another. It exists between all levels and can be produced or enacted by all levels. Therefore resistance or contestation is never outside a relation of power (Foucault, 1978). As explained in Latour’s (1986, 267) model of translation, “the spread in time and space of anything [...] is in the hands of people” who engage in a process of translation, whereby modification and appropriation are possible. Therefore, people involved in the process of translation are social agents, since they can exercise agency and engage in power relations, thus influencing outcomes.

Power as a pervasive struggle across groups and levels, and translation as a modification and appropriation of that which spreads suggests to this writer that the media is a relevant group in the unceasing struggle, and that the target audience of media is, therefore, comprised of social agents. As such, perceptions voiced in the media are not imposed onto these social agents without opportunities for resistance and translation. As suggested by reception studies (see Staiger, 2005), perhaps agents in the process can add to these ideas, reject or appropriate them. Perhaps this is the disorganized, fluid reality in which media is created if, in fact, resistance to discourses of governance is voiced in the media.

Before proceeding further with this investigation, it is first essential to explain the understanding of resistance I maintain throughout this approach. I argue that in newspapers resistance is any manifestation of critical thought toward the contemporary approach to governance. This critical thought or alternative view regarding the current approach to governance



can be anything more than considering the contemporary approach to governance with “passive acceptance”, as it is described in “magic bullet theory” for example. The rationale behind accepting critical thinking as resistance is that all forms of resistance have at one time stemmed from critical thought in some form. Critical thought can lead to viewpoints being shared and disseminated amongst social agents, critical thought can lead to activism or mobilization amongst the target audience which is comprised of social agents. The potential for critical thought to transcend into action cannot be underestimated. Critical thought or resistance may never be futile.

These target audiences of social agents can be further categorized into two separate groups of moral communities. *The Toronto Star* claims to be written for the middle-class majority of the population while *The Globe and Mail* claims to be written for the educated, professional upper-class (see Toronto Star, 2010 and Globe and Mail, 2010). As explained above, Nikolas Rose (1996, 335) argues that in neo-liberalism, populations are governed through moral communities, through affiliations and social ties to, “the particular collectivity to which each person is bound by kinship [...or] moral affinity”. Since newspapers are written to target different populations based on education and socio-economic status, it is argued that different newspapers target different groups of moral communities.

The question of media as a vehicle for governance and the extent to which the media can act as a voice for resistance will be addressed in this research by analyzing the emergence of discourses of governance (welfare or neo-liberal) as they may pertain to the media’s role; as well as the emergence of discourse that includes critical thought or resistance toward strategies of governance, as the latter may pertain to the understanding of the role of the target audiences of media.

### **1.3 Canada's "Least Accountable" Population: Does Society "Love" or "Hate" its Youth?**

This section explains the impetus for focusing on misbehaving youth as the focus of media target groups' responses, within frameworks of governance discourse and resistance to this discourse. A Canadian shift to neo-liberal policy for youth-justice legislation is then identified, through an overview of changes in this legislation during the period in which scholars have noted this general shift from welfare to neo-liberal discourse. I then consider connections and possible contradictions between such shifts and the characteristics of neo-liberal governance. Several authors' considerations of the implications of neo-liberal policies and discourses surrounding youth are also outlined. The concept of the youth "superpredator" is then considered; the rationale for including the concept in the analysis for the purpose of this research is explained. Lastly, in light of criticisms of governmentality theory, I explain the importance of including the additional concepts of the youth superpredator and Chibnall's (1977a) titillation to supplement an analysis predicated on governmentality theory.

I seek to contribute to the debate about whether the media is a vehicle for governance or a voice for social agents to exercise resistance by looking for manifestations of discourse of contemporary strategies of governance and resistance thereto. As previously mentioned, neo-liberal strategies of governance strongly emphasize the role of the individual in the process of governance. As indicated in governmentality literature, some authors have noted shifts from welfare to neo-liberal discourse in discussions of crime and delinquency. It is interesting to consider current Canadian youth justice legislation in light of the emphasis placed on the role of the individual in the process of governance in neo-liberal discourse.

Current legislation regards youth as less responsible for their actions given their age and level of development. Their age is a mitigating factor in and of itself, which results in diminished responsibility and accountability. As such, misbehaving youth are referred to throughout this research as the “least accountable” population. Selecting youth as the targets of interest for discourse on strategies of governance is particularly interesting because of the problematic and contradictory nature of emphasizing the individualization and responsible existence for Canada’s “least accountable” population. Given the expectation of responsible existence in neo-liberalism and the tendency for youth justice legislation in Canada to regard youth as the “least accountable” population, the following question is prompted: *What are the implications of shifting from welfare to neo-liberal discourse and policy for youth justice legislation in Canada?*

Considering the literature on the evolution of youth-justice legislation in Canada, it becomes apparent that some changes seem to reflect the shift from welfare to neo-liberal discourse. The Juvenile Delinquency Act (JDA), the youth justice legislation that applied until 1984, maintained that aspects of adolescents’ social environments were responsible for their delinquent behaviour, such as hunger and poverty (Tanner, 2001, 220), messages consistent with welfare discourse. As such, under the JDA, the most important goal of sentencing was rehabilitation therefore the focus was on responses such as treatment-centered custodial sentences and the informal handling of juveniles. Consequently, the JDA is often referred to as the welfare model of juvenile justice. This welfare model was criticized at the point when youth crime rates seemed to be increasing; it was assumed that the rehabilitative ideals of the JDA were not functioning to effectively manage youth crime (Tanner, 2001, 220).

More incapacitative sentences were suggested as an effective alternative (Tanner, 2001, 220-221). This is consistent with Garland's (2001, 8) observation that in neo-liberalism, lost faith in rehabilitative ideals can be observed, along with the increased will to control crime and impose punishments. To respond to this demand and the concerns of due process, the Young Offenders Act (YOA) was brought into effect in 1984. Under the YOA, individual youth are considered "responsible for their actions and should be held accountable" (Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001, 146). "Rather than being viewed as erring children requiring rehabilitation, deviant youth were now viewed as responsible offenders" (Hogeveen and Smandych, 2001, 147). The legislation seemed to be built on the premise that "individuals engage in crime out of their own free will" (Hogeveen and Smandych, 2001, 223). Young offenders became accountable, albeit with an acceptance of their diminished responsibility, but responsibility nonetheless (Bell, 2002, 52). The YOA embraces aspects of the due-process model, such as proportionality and guides for the administration of justice, as well as aspects of the crime-control model, such as community protection through custodial sentences that incapacitate and deter (Tanner, 2001, 223).

The YOA was criticized in its time for experiencing difficulties in meeting the contradictory objectives of the models and presumptions described above (Tanner, 2001, 224). To respond to these criticisms, as well as to criticisms of leniency, the YOA was replaced by the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) in 2003 (Tanner, 2001, 231). The YCJA moved Canadian youth-justice legislation even farther in the direction of crime control (Bell, 2002, 62). This is also consistent with Garland's (2001, 11-12) argument that there has been a shift toward focusing again on punitive sanctions and protecting the public above all else in neo-liberalism. However, the YCJA blended the focus on individual rights with the

welfare focus on rehabilitation and reintegration (Bell, 2002, 63), while shifting the discussion away from the “special needs” of youth, to the need to engage parents, extended family, communities and social or other agencies in youth rehabilitation and reintegration (Bell, 2002, 63; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001, 159), which is characteristic of neo-liberalism. In light of this new (albeit diminished) responsible existence of young offenders, what are the implications of this for Canada’s “least accountable” population?

Pratt (1999, 150) argues that the shift from welfare discourse to neo-liberalism has implications for youth. In times of welfare, youth were excluded from responsibility for their actions. The author suggests that youth may no longer be exempt from the consequences of law breaking due to their age and may receive harsher sanctions (Pratt, 1999). Due to the decreased emphasis on the social situations of offenders in general, the assumption of agency and the myth of rational criminal actors (also discussed above by Hogeveen and Smandych, 2001, 223), “young people have in effect been given the right to be made criminally responsible for their actions” (Pratt, 1999, 150).

Kelly (2003) also discusses the implications of neo-liberalism on young offenders. The author argues that in light of neo-liberal strategies of governance, youth have increasingly become a source of anxiety for adults. As a result, an overwhelming number of interventions emerge and target young people. This institutionalized risk and mistrust around youth are analyzed using Foucault’s three rationalities for “the art of government” or what Kelly (2003, 165) considers “forms of power”: *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government*. Kelly (2003, 174) argues that *sovereignty* is a form of power seeking to establish and maintain relationships of legitimate authority so that this authority itself is maintained, which is “functionally central to Liberal rule” (Stenson, 1999, 68). In addition, legitimizing certain

individuals and subcultures is a means of exercising sovereignty over these dangerous populations and a means of disciplining youth (Kelly, 2003, 176). Kelly's (2003, 174) interpretation of Foucault's disciplinary power "attempts to produce relationships of regulation and forms of subjection that promise a certain docility in subjects and populations". *Discipline* is concerned with the production of subjected, practised and docile bodies. *Discipline* can increase the usefulness, obedience and efficiency of bodies.

Disciplinary practices as they apply to youth are the development of skills and capacities that "enable young people to adapt to a modern industrial society" through surveillance and education (Stenson, 1996 as cited in Kelly, 2003, 174). Since youth is a transition to adulthood, the sovereign and disciplinary aspects of neo-liberal governmentalities seek to guide and encourage the emergence of well-regulated, autonomous adulthood (Kelly, 2003, 178). Kelly (2003, 176) discusses the notion of youth as "ungovernable," countering the ideal neo-liberal subject, who has the capacity to self-govern and self-regulate. As such, ungovernable youth are the targets of various forms of intervention, the disciplinary and the sovereign (Dean, 1999, 135). These authors' contributions regarding an analysis of the contemporary understanding of youth through the lens of *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government* become important for this analysis of emerging discourses of governance around misbehaving youth using Foucault's rationalities.

Now that changes in youth-justice policies have been outlined and the possible implications of neo-liberalism for young offenders considered, it is next important to consider how misbehaving youth are explicitly portrayed in neo-liberalism.

Rhineberger-Dunn, Radar & Williams (2008) examine current portrayals of youth in the crime drama *Law and Order*. The authors make a valuable contribution to research as

they conclude that juvenile delinquency is not portrayed as a social problem requiring support, and that most offences are presented as rational choices to engage in criminal behaviour, paralleling the neo-liberal mindset.

Kelly (2001) maintains that youth at-risk is a key concept in new liberal democracies. Neo-liberalism and governmentality enable youth at-risk discourses to function as “powerful truths” as any group of youth can be constructed as risky or dangerous given the era's broad definitions of risk and danger (Henriques et al., 1984 as cited in Kelly 2001, 23). Kelly (2001) argues that responsabilization and individualization characteristic of a “risk society” is problematic. By referring to several studies on documents available that discuss “youth at risk”, Kelly (2001) concludes that these discourses have become more prevalent. However, the author does not search for “youth at risk” discourse prior to the current neo-liberal discourses.

Hogeveen (2005) conducted a detailed analysis of media reports and debates in the House of Commons and concluded that the construction of the “punishable” juvenile offender was present in the late 1990’s: youth are made more punishable, given the view that harsh punishments are the answer to decreasing youth-crime rates. This conceptualization, he argues, propelled the more accountability-oriented YCJA. Hogeveen, however, does not provide a comparative analysis over time, such that the emergence of a more punishable juvenile offender requires clarification.

The above literature hints at some indications of neo-liberal discourse such as risk and responsabilization around portrayals of young offenders but does not specifically examine the presence of strategies of governance time. What has not been analyzed regarding media portrayals of young offenders is a comparison between Canadian media

accounts of juvenile offending in the welfare and neo-liberal eras, in light of evolving strategies of governance. Therefore, the proposed research will aim to address this gap while also contributing to the debate about whether the media is a vehicle for governance or a voice for alternatives or resistance.

In addition to the above findings about youth portrayals, a significant trend noted in portrayals of young offenders in media is the notion of a youth “superpredator” and the “demonization” of youth, concepts consistent with the crime-myth literature, previously discussed in the overview of media-and-society literature. Analyzing portrayals of youth in crime stories, Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald (2007) found that the juvenile superpredator is present in media accounts of youth homicide from 1997 to 2004. This image suggests that youth are more impulsive and dangerous, are "brutally remorseless", more involved with drugs, possess more deadly weapons and have a more casual attitude about violence than previous generations.

Rapping (2003) explains that after a wave of overwhelming concern for the welfare of children, the more recent trend in America is one of demonizing youth or envisioning them as superpredators. These “young and ruthless” individuals who lack ties to humanity have been described by some as “the most vile human beings on the face of the continent” (Taylor, 2002, 496-7). Rapping (2003, 203) argues that generally, there has been a shift from caring for the welfare of youth to “increasingly harbor[ing] quite negative attitudes toward youth in general”. There is an obvious contradiction present in American society: are youth in need of protection from society or is society in need of protection from its youth? “Do we love or hate our children?” (Rapping, 2003, 203).



Ironically, when confronted with the idea that they are caring for youth less and less, many Americans are shocked and insulted (Rapping, 2003, 204). While there are many American policies in place that rigorously protect the welfare of children, America has also become a nation which has decreased its investments in public health as well as education and which increasingly incarcerates young people (Wolfe as cited in Rapping, 2003). Public figures are routinely applauded for demanding stiffer sentences for America's youth (Rapping, 2003). Society and legislators take no responsibility for this "alien race" of ruthless youth, for whom the only imagined solution is incarceration (Rapping, 2003, 204).

Taylor (2002) notes that in order to manage an upcoming wave of juvenile superpredators, conservative laws were put into place. However, the eruption of superpredators never occurred. Taylor (2002, 497) refers to this as "the myth of the superpredator". Despite the statistical decrease in juvenile offending and the rarity of brutal predator-like youth crime in America (Taylor, 2002), public figures speak of youth as 'superpredators' who have "taken the form and mannerisms of our own flesh and blood but who, in fact, are evil demons hell bent on mayhem and destruction, especially for those closest to them" (Rapping, 2003, 204). In media, it is assumed that all juveniles have a certain level of badness. Youth are then divided and described in terms of "bad" and "not so bad" (Harner & Drakeford as cited in Rapping, 2003, 206). This helps construct a "largely mythical moral panic about the state of American youth today" (Harner & Drakeford as cited in Rapping, 2003, 206).

Rapping (2003) outlines two typologies of demonized youth. The author explains that traditionally 'superpredator' scapegoats are groups of black inner-city youth. More recently this group has been joined by superpredators of a second strain, a perhaps more

frightening “demon youth: the ‘good (white) kid’, mysteriously, and apparently instantaneously, gone bad” (Rapping, 2003, 205). These juvenile superpredators become the “scapegoats for all that is wrong in society” (Rapping, 2003, 204). It is as if these youth have “slipped through the cracks of [...] nurturing [American], social, structures, apparently because they are genetic mutants, ‘bad seeds’ inexplicably emerging from [...] warm fertile [American] soil” and the role of socioeconomic context is ignored entirely (Rapping, 2003, 203). Precisely the opposite is argued below.

Rather than attributing the new wave of ‘superpredators’ to bad seeds or demons, inexplicably different from a nurturing society, it is argued here that ‘superpredator’ youth are a direct reflection of a neo-liberal society. They mirror the lack of empathy for the disadvantaged that is an inherent element of neo-liberalism. The concept of youth as superpredators becomes interesting juxtaposed with neo-liberal attitudes towards criminal offending. Ironically, neo-liberalism and superpredators share many of the same characteristics. What makes superpredators so vile? They lack ties to humanity and therefore fail to experience empathy for those who experience hardship, harm or disadvantage (Taylor, 2002). Juvenile superpredators possess similar attitudes towards their victims as well as society and humanity more generally. They lack commitment to the welfare of others. This is demonstrated in their willingness to impose harm on those around them without showing remorse. The superpredator is consumed with his own desires thus he lacks sympathy for others and fails to dedicate himself to upholding humane living standards for others. This reflects neo-liberal discourse. As aforementioned, in neo-liberalism, managing poverty and drug addiction for example is an individual problem. As explained by Rose (1996), individuals in neo-liberalism lack ties to humanity in general. They are concerned with their

own wellbeing and that of their own fragmented moral communities (Rose, 1996). Attributing poverty and drug addiction for example to individual choice implies less empathy for those experiencing these circumstances. While the poor and the drug addicted are experiencing hardships, they are responsible individuals who rationally chose these lifestyles, thus there is less empathy for these groups in neo-liberal society. The rationale is as follows; if irresponsible individuals are choosing these hardships, why should the responsible individual commit themselves to the welfare of these groups?

The lack of responsibility that society and legislators take for these superpredators is also seemingly neo-liberal. When speaking about superpredators, Rapping (2003, 204) notes the consistent absence of social and economic context. Although this may seem accidental, this avoids “implicitly pointing a finger at the parents and legislators who have created the private and public environments in which these kids have grown up” (Rapping, 2003, 204). This absence of societal blame and responsibility is precisely what distinguishes welfare discourse from neo-liberal discourse. Neo-liberalism places the explanation for social situations directly on the individual who is no longer regarded as a victim of his or her social surroundings. Rather than receiving assistance from the government and from legislators because of social hardships, they are expected to responsibly manage themselves out of social and economic difficulty or simply cope with them on their own without engaging in irresponsible, risky or illegal activity.

Superpredators may be offenders that mirror society’s neo-liberal thinking which is then used to spin a ‘new angle’ (Chibnall, 1977) (superpredator) on an old problem (youth crime). Perhaps there is nothing spectacular or extraordinary about these offenders and thus, consistent with Taylor (2002) there is no need to wage a political war against

“superpredators” using conservative policies that simply inflate the prison population. Superpredators may simply be neo-liberal youth framed as a new type of ‘super’ offender in order to provide a ‘new angle’ on an old problem: a technique typically utilized by the media to facilitate fiscal gain (Chibnall, 1977). Perhaps youth are mirroring contemporary society which values independence to such a degree that individuals fail to care for or uphold the welfare of others. Given the links between neo-liberal discourse and the juvenile superpredator described above, characteristics of the juvenile superpredator have been incorporated into this research. Also, it is important to combine governmentality theory with other theories because governmentality theory is not intended to be a theory that, on its own, can explain or address all aspects of a given phenomenon. Some criticisms and limitations of governmentality are considered below.

#### **1.4 Addressing Limitations and Gaps in Governmentality Theory**

Some governmentality literature applies the theoretical concepts to government documents and policies. Several scholars have pointed out flaws in this method of analyzing government practices. Analyses are often limited to documents of the government, providing a top-down analysis that makes power look uni-dimensional (O’Malley et al, 1997). Looking at government documents and policies is convenient but doing this looks exclusively at the programmes of rule rather than the rationalities of rule, which may be quite distinct (O’Malley et al., 1997, 512). This is an “episodic” analysis referred to as the “moment of the programme”. This neglects the messy actuality that agents who translate policies into practice, which can potentially result in discrepancy. Additionally, agents also have opportunities to resist during the process of translation (O’Malley et al., 1997, 508-509;

Rose et al, 2006, 99). As demonstrated by Walby (2005), motivation or contestation of social policies can be influenced from a number of social positions. For this reason, Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006, 98) argue that there is no empirical mapping of government as "rationalities are constantly undergoing modification". Programmes are thus separated from "the processes of their 'messy' implementation" and "the constitutive role of contestation" is silenced (O'Malley et al, 1997, 512). O'Malley et al. (1997, 509) argue that governmentality approaches fail to be critical and take a stand in their analyses of government practices. Another criticism of governmentality literature is that it cannot provide a complete analysis of all aspects of any given phenomenon (Stenson, 2005). For this reason, some scholars have combined governmentality theories with other theories for a stronger and more complete analysis of the phenomenon of interest (see Norris and McCahill, 2006; Hogeveen and Woolford, 2006).

The current research uses governmentality theory to investigate manifestations of welfare and neo-liberal discourse surrounding misbehaving youth in order to contribute to the debate about whether the media is a voice for governance or a medium which allows resistance in order to further understand the relationship between media and society. Combining governmentality theory with other theories is especially important when analyzing a phenomenon that is multidisciplinary, such as the intersection of crime media and strategies of governance using discourse around misbehaving youth as an example. For this reason, this research sought to formulate an understanding of the relationship between media and society by drawing on governmentality theory, the youth superpredator and titillation, which, as I explain in the subsequent chapter, assists in formulating an understanding of the discourse, knowledge and power genealogy triad. This research goes

beyond observing policies of the government, for which governmentality theory is often criticized, by focusing on the media, which may be a medium for resistance among social agents. The method utilized to contribute to knowledge in this area is outlined in the methodology section that follows.

While there is widespread support for the shift from welfare to neo-liberal strategies of governing, including the emergence of risk discourse and responsabilization strategies (Foucault, 1991; Rose, 1996; Brock, 2003; Garland, 2003), there is room for investigation regarding the relationship between this shift and welfare and neo-liberal discourse in media. Governmentality theory has been used in the past to discuss media, primarily within the context of closed-circuit television, surveillance and Panopticism (see Jewkes, 2004, 179). In addition to this, in his book *“Discipline and liberty: Television and Governance”*, Gareth Palmer (2003) explores the role of reality television in the process of governance. Palmer (2003) argues that television plays a role in the development of certain strategies of governance by recommending ways in which individuals should conduct themselves. In this way, television helps shape behaviour to certain ends. As such, television has a place in setting the processes of governance in motion by helping individuals become useful, controlled and efficient. Television, according to Palmer (2003, 4), encourages individuals to engage in technologies of the self by inviting television audiences to “think through the way [they] are and how [they] should be”. In addition critical theories and the arguments they present regarding the media as “government serving”, Palmer’s (2003) work has also prompted me to further explore the relationship between governance using governmentality theory by scrutinizing a different form of media: newspapers, which are widely distributed throughout society. I further explore the contributions of governmentality theory to the

understanding of the place of media in society by examining the emergence of welfare and neo-liberal discourse and resistance to strategies of governance surrounding misbehaving youth in two Toronto newspapers.

Given the abovementioned gap in literature, this research seeks to answer to the following questions: Do welfare and neo-liberal discourse emerge in the media around misbehaving youth, consistent with the apparent shift in discourse noted by other scholars, suggesting that the media is a medium through which strategies of governance are expressed? Given parallels between the youth superpredator and neo-liberalism, does the juvenile superpredator emerge in Toronto news media? What is the relationship between media and governance? This research seeks to provide some insight on addressing these questions through a genealogy of the shift from welfare to neo-liberal discourse surrounding misbehaving youth in Toronto press accounts. In the subsequent methodology chapter, I provide a conceptualization of discourse and genealogy as they are used as a method and analytical framework for the purposes of this research. I explain the analytical grid used to note findings and changes in discourse regarding welfare discourse, neo-liberal discourse and youth psychological portrayals. The creation of this analytical grid, obtaining a sample of newspaper articles and the process of applying the analytical grid to this sample are discussed in detail in the subsequent methodology section.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Analyzing Discourse: Foucauldian Genealogy as Method

This chapter uses the work of scholars who have built on Foucault's notion of discourse to construct an operational understanding of discourse and of the evolution of discourse around youth misconduct. It also discusses operationalizing resistance and counter-discourse. As well, I describe my sampling method for obtaining these discourses and my rationale for focusing on the *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* as conduits of discourse. A detailed explanation of the overall sampling process is provided.

#### 2.1.1 Discourse as “Modes of Talking” or Constellations

As stated earlier, the conceptualization of discourse as “a mode of talking” that, in relation to social life, “will produce a set of statements about an area which will define, delimit and circumscribe what it is possible and impossible to say with respect to it and how it is to be talked about” (Kress, 1983 as cited in Bell, 1983, 10) derives from Foucault.

Carabine (2001, 268) maintains that discourse “consist[s] of groups of related statements which cohere in some way to produce both meanings and effects in the real world”. Carabine explains that ways of speaking about an object cohere to build up a picture or representation of that object. Following Foucault, discourses are productive because they “produce the objects of which they speak” (Carabine, 2001, 268). They construct a particular version of that object as real by defining and establishing what is *true* about this particular object at a particular point in time. Discourses are productive because “they have power outcomes or effects”. This research, therefore, explored groups of related statements about the governance of misbehaving youth and how these statements cohere to build a picture of



the governance of misbehaving youth, thus exploring what discourse in the media define and establish as true about this governance and about misbehaving youth at particular points in time.

Prior (2004, 321) argues that text structures observation, and she draws parallels between discourse and constellations. Just as an atlas structures our observation of constellations in the night sky by providing the parameters of what we should look for, texts tell us what to see. This is how Prior explains the notion of discourse. Further, just as constellations are composed of groups of stars, discourse is composed of concepts that together make up these texts, or ways of talking. Concepts on their own, without structuring the understanding of the receiver with regard to these concepts, do not make up discourse in themselves. Concepts, strung together as a unified discourse, structure this understanding and give the entity a meaning. The concepts, just like the stars, do not represent specific understandings in themselves and do not intend to be part of constellations or parts of discourse. It is the human understanding of groups of stars and groups of concepts as an entity of meaning (a constellation or discourse) that allows them to be grouped together.

Building on both Carabine and Prior, I present an analytical matrix that illustrates welfare and neo-liberal discourses and their component concepts (see Appendix I for a referenced matrix and Appendix II for a working analytical matrix). Building on this understanding of discourse, welfare and neo-liberal discourses have been constructed by pulling together concepts from scholars who have documented these modes of talking about governance, as described in the previous chapter. The methodological process for analyzing these discourses is outlined in detail below.

## 2.12 Discourses of Governing Youth Misconduct

This research sought to understand how discourse around youth misconduct in newspapers has changed over time in lieu of changes in governance documented by scholars using a Foucaudian genealogy. The methodology for this research has been adapted from the guidelines set out by Carabine (2001), which she bases upon a genealogical analysis as described by Foucault. Carabine (2001, 275) explains the concept of genealogy, Foucault's method for examining the triad of discourse, power and knowledge, or studying "discourse to reveal power knowledge networks". The *discourse* component is the mode of talking about a particular phenomenon. The *knowledge* component is concerned with the truths upheld by that mode of talking and the *power* component is interested in the outcomes or effects of producing certain truths or *knowledge* about a given phenomenon through speaking about them in a certain way. As such, genealogy is the "historical method for tracing discourses and their effects" (280). Carabine (2001, 268) explains that genealogy offers a lens "through which to undertake discourse analysis and with which we can read discourses". The author argues that the Foucaudian genealogy is a useful method for the analysis of social policy discourses. Carabine (2001) illustrates the methodological processes of a Foucaudian genealogy by tracing discourse around unmarried motherhood in Britain from 1830 until 1990, analyzing both parliamentary papers and newspapers. Carabine (2001, 269) first asks the following questions: "What discourses of motherhood are evident?" What picture of lone/single motherhood is being created? Carabine then provides several categories for classifying discourse: the family, welfare, crime, children, communities/society.

Carabine (2001, 281) explains that in taking this approach, the researcher should read and re-read their sources, identify themes and categories in the discourse, look for evidence of a relationship between discourses and contextualize the material in the power knowledge networks of the period. Carabine (2001, 271) suggests that the discourse analyst may want to include resistances or counter-discourse as well as silences or absences (281) in their analysis. The author cites lobbying organizations as an example of somewhere a researcher might search for counter-discourse but also notes the ability for newspapers to contain both discourse and counter-discourse (271). Carabine (2001, 280) also argues that “snapshots” can tell us something about the discourse, power, knowledge triad, without resorting to tracing the entire history of a particular moment.

The genealogical approach of this research involved tracing *discourse* around misbehaving youth in the media and understanding particular discourses in terms of producing *knowledge* about the governance of youth misconduct. I also incorporate Chibnall’s (1977) notion of titillation in understanding discourse not only as producing particular knowledge and truths about the governance of youth misconduct but also as modes of talking that uphold, titillate or confirm certain truths, *knowledge* or viewpoints among the media target audience about the governance of youth misconduct. In the analysis chapter, networks of power outcomes or effects will be problematized using the concept of titillation, the differential emergence of counter-discourse in both newspaper publications and by exploring the discourses in the context of policy to further understand the implications of the power outcomes or effects of the discourse. While my analysis is not as “long-term” as Carabine’s, I took “snapshots” of discourse around times of legislative change to see what these “snapshots” would tell me about the *discourse*, *knowledge* and *power* triad. This was

appropriate given that I was interested in whether or not newspapers could show signs of a shift from welfare to neo-liberal discourse consistent with policy to explore the media's relationship to governance. I also draw on Carabine's (2001) use of key questions and newspapers as sites for counter-discourse. This methodological approach is described in detail below, beginning with the construction of an analytical grid.

In order to prepare to analyze selected newspapers, a working analytical matrix was created (see Appendix II). Derived from the detailed, referenced grid (Appendix I), the working coding matrix uses existing literature to link together concepts that comprise welfare and neo-liberal discourse. Like Carabine (2001), I have identified relevant categories: government responsibility, civic virtue and social contributors, responsabilization, punitiveness, accountability and the loss of rehabilitative ideals, risk and youth psychological portrayals\*. Like Carabine (2001), I asked key questions about the content I was looking for, such as "what is portrayed as a risk or hazard to the well-being of misbehaving youth themselves or what behaviour among youth is portrayed as a risk to the safety or well-being of society? What was the psychological portrayal of misbehaving youth? Key questions for each item are included in the working analytical matrix (see Appendix II). Applying the matrix to the selected articles, I read the content over several times, completing an analytical grid for each newspaper article and exploring the relationship between different items.

The working analytical grid was designed to look for several different categories of components: 1. Welfare discourse, 2. Neo-liberal discourse and 3. Discourse regarding the psychological state of misbehaving youth. The first category, welfare discourse, was divided

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\* "Youth psychological portrayal" was included as a category for analysis due to the links between the youth superpredator and neo-liberalism I draw earlier in the Literature Review and Theory chapter (see pp. 32-34).

into two components: Government responsibility (component A) and civic virtue and social contributors (component B). For each of these components, a nominal definition, a key question and an operationalization of the concept were provided. Category 2, Neo-liberal discourse, was also divided into several components: Responsibilization (component C), punitiveness and the loss of rehabilitative ideals (component D) and risk discourse (component E). A nominal definition, key question and operationalization of the concept were also provided for each of these components. Discourse on the psychological state of misbehaving youth (category 3) was given one component, component F: superpredator characteristics present and a nominal definition and key question were given for this component. While there is an abundance of literature on the youth superpredator, it was unclear what other psychological portrayals would emerge. As such, space was left to record other discourses that described the psychological state of misbehaving youth.

It should be noted that the operationalizations for each component are examples of content that would indicate the item in question based on the literature but that they were not intended to be all encompassing. Other manifestations of the discourses were present within the articles in addition to those provided in each item's operationalization. This is where the key questions adopted from Carabine (2001) became important, to identify less obvious manifestations of the concepts and get at the overall message the article was communicating. For example, getting at the overall message about *who* was responsible for managing youth misconduct (responsibilization) or *what* behaviour among youth was considered a threat (risk discourse). Key questions were especially important given the literary genre of newspaper articles. Newspaper articles are a unique literary genre. They are written to be simple and straightforward, so that the majority of the population can read and comprehend

them with ease. This ensures the maximum profits from sale by targeting the majority of the population. They are also written to be cut off at any time, the title gives the most pertinent information, the text begins with the most pertinent information and progresses in more detail so that the reader can get the main point quickly and move on to another article or stop reading the newspaper and move on with something else. The articles are written to be read in passing, which is why it is no surprise that they are written with a sense of simplification and immediacy (see Chibnall, 1977). Due to this style of journalism, it was likely that, at times, the concepts of interest would not be addressed explicitly. Therefore an “inquisitorial” method of formulating and asking key questions allowed the coding sheets to capture the overall message and less obvious content that was of interest for this research.

In addition to incorporating and building on Carabine’s approach of asking key questions, this research also includes Carabine’s (2001, 271) suggestion of looking for counter-discourse or resistances. Given that this research is specifically interested in the emergence of resistance, it was especially important to analyze counter-discourse. The categories within each discourse were also used to note resistance or counter-discourse to strategies of governance. Given that this research is interested in whether or not media can be a voice for resistance, this research focuses only on newspapers, as it was possible that they would contain resistance in themselves, as proposed by theoretical perspectives such as pluralism (see Jewkes, 2004). Carabine (2001) also notes the potential for newspapers to contain both discourse and counterpoints to that discourse.

As explained below under “Sample Selection”, welfare, transitional and neo-liberal “eras” were approximated for the purposes of this research based on governmentality literature and trends noted during a preliminary analysis. It was therefore expected that the

mode of talking about youth misconduct in the “welfare era” as defined in this research would reflect and be welfare discourse and strategies of governance consistent with welfare discourse. It was expected that the “neo-liberal era” as it is defined in this research would reflect neo-liberal discourse and be consistent with neo-liberal strategies of governance. As such, the emergence of neo-liberal discourse during the “welfare era” and the emergence of welfare discourse in the “neo-liberal era” were noted as resistance or counter-discourse to current strategies of governance. When these discourses occur outside of their expected era (welfare or neo-liberal), the discourses will be considered resistant.

## **2.2 Sample Selection: “Snapshots” of Youth Misconduct Discourse**

Now that the methodological process and analytical grid used for the purpose of this research have been explained, the process for obtaining a sample of newspaper articles for analysis is explained below. Firstly, it should be noted that I have also adapted Carabine’s (2001) idea of “snapshots”. As described above, Carabine (2001) argues that “snapshots” can tell us something about discourse, knowledge and power without actually tracing the history of these “snapshots” or moments. Consistent with this, I have selected several different timeframes to sample in order to take “snapshots” of discourse around youth misconduct and trace changes without tracing the history of these changes in its entirety, rendering this research more feasible while still providing a genealogical understanding of youth misconduct discourse in Toronto news. Essentially, this research takes “snapshots” of discourse around youth misconduct at times of legislative change and also directs “snapshots” towards times of transition that reflect the recent shift in wider political discourse. Below, the process through which I located a sample of articles that would

comprise “snapshots” useful for understanding how this discourse has evolved over time is explained.

While there is certainly no concrete division between the welfare and neo-liberal “eras”, the timing of these eras can be approximated based on governmentality literature. Garland (2001) concludes that welfare-oriented policies present throughout the 1970’s have gradually shifted towards the above neo-liberal characteristics. Pratt (1999) notes changes in the law, more adverse and conservative/avoidant of risk and danger and other neo-liberal shifts from 1970 onwards (1999). In Canada, Haggerty (2003) observed the promotion of self-governance characteristic of the neo-liberal era early in the late nineties. During conservative Harris’ era of government in Ontario from 1995-2002, Chunn & Gavigan (2006) noted a shift towards self-government in welfare policies. Cruikshank (1999) notes a movement towards social responsibility through the beginning of the self-esteem movement in 1983. Therefore, I suggest that perhaps a shift can be seen in discourses surrounding the governance of youth misconduct sometime between 1970 and present.

The sample selection process began by using the literature to approximate a “welfare era”, a “neo-liberal era” and the transition between the two. The “eras”, welfare, transitional and neo-liberal, were detected by downloading and coding articles from various years that included the key terms in 1970 followed by doing the same in later years until trends were detected. This process is explained in further detail below.

Given that the eras were approximated throughout over a forty-year period of media coverage (1970 to present as per the literature), it was practical to focus on media from one city. Toronto was selected because there are several widespread newspapers in Toronto that largely target different populations. Newspaper articles from both *The Toronto Star* and *The*



*Globe and Mail* were examined, as they are two widespread newspapers in Toronto that were both easily accessible in online databases as early as 1970 making data collection feasible for the purpose of this research. Focusing the analysis solely on two newspapers was advantageous as it ensured that a comparative analysis between the content of the two papers was within the scope of the research. It was also believed that choosing these two publications would allow for an interesting comparison given that they both have different target audiences. Looking closely at the perception that each newspaper's editors have of their publication, it was clear that the two papers are perceived very differently and target very different types of readership. Below, as per the editors of each newspaper, the publication's characteristics are discussed in turn beginning with *The Toronto Star*.

*The Toronto Star* prides itself on being the largest daily newspaper in Canada with the largest readership in the country. This publication claims to be written for the middle-class majority (Toronto Star, 2010). In speaking about the publication, editors of *The Toronto Star*, editors tell the story of Joseph Atkinson, who was the Editor at the time publication gained popularity. Atkinson grew up with a poor, widowed mother and many siblings. Prior to becoming Editor for *The Toronto Star*, Atkinson had lost his job and charities were keeping him from hunger. As a result of his experiences, Atkinson was dedicated to developing Canada's modern welfare system by recognizing welfare system accomplishments in other countries, such as mother's allowances and the health care system, then pressing for similar advancements in Canada. The newspaper's editors maintain that "The Toronto Star continues to respect and reflect [Atkinson's] finest principles" (Toronto Star, 2010, 1).

Conversely, *The Globe and Mail* considers itself as the most quoted and relied upon newspaper (Globe and Mail, 2010). The publication prides itself on its readership, saying that their readers are key decision makers that are only satisfied with reading *The Globe and Mail* because of the critical look it takes on current events. *The Globe and Mail* stresses that their readers are the “most influential and affluent citizens” and emphasizes the educational background and professional status of their readers (see Appendix III). Now that the process for identifying a timeframe and justification for choosing newspaper publications has been specified, the process for narrowing down the timeframe and sample to select specific articles will be explained.

Due to the span of this research, it was impractical to examine articles over the entire forty-year period in which changes from welfare discourse to neo-liberalism have been documented in the literature. As such, I have chosen to narrow down the sample using “snapshots”, which will still allow a genealogical understanding of the shift from welfare to neo-liberal discourse surrounding youth misconduct in Toronto newspapers. One way in which I decided on times at which taking “snapshots” of discourse would be useful in yielding rich content was by taking “snapshots” during times of change in youth justice legislation, which, as discussed in the literature review, also reflect changes from welfare to neo-liberal discourse.

During the time frame of change from welfare dominant to neo-liberal discourse based on existing literature, there were also several considerable changes in youth justice legislation. To recap briefly, the Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA) was geared toward helping youth (Doob & Cesaroni, 2004). This was a flexible, welfare-oriented approach; in 1961 the Canadian Department of Justice had begun to examine the JDA with the intent of changing

Canada's response to juvenile offending. The Young Offenders Act (YOA) replaced the JDA in 1982. The JDA was criticized for its welfare-and-treatment orientation; the YOA was more offence oriented. However, the YOA still focused a considerable amount of attention on the needs of youth. In 1998, the Minister of Justice, Anne McClellan, commenced a strategy for renewing youth justice (Doob & Cesaroni, 2004). In 2003, the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) replaced the YOA. The YCJA states that the youth-justice system should try to "prevent crime by addressing the circumstances underlying a youth's offending, and ensuring that a young person is subject to meaningful consequences for his or her offence" (Doob & Cesaroni, 2004, 26). In order to target times of change in regards to young offenders and include diverse discourse around young offenders, samples were taken around times of legislative change as they represent changes in perspectives on society's approach to youth crime. Based on changes in youth justice legislation, it was estimated that there would be a stronger prevalence of content and discussion around the management of young offenders from 1970 to 1985 (JDA reform into YOA) and again from 1997-present (reform from YOA-YCJA) (Doob & Cesaroni, 2004).

In order to code a substantial sample of articles that would adequately represent each year, a sub-section of articles dispersed within these timeframes was chosen to further narrow down the sample size and make the project more feasible. The welfare, transitional and neo-liberal "eras" were chosen by allowing the newspaper articles to be classified based on a pre-coding process. This allowed the articles to speak to their own classification rather than being classified arbitrarily by the researcher. Within these classifications, years and the articles selected within were not selected arbitrarily so as not to bias the sample. Years were

selected in order to disperse them as evenly as possible throughout the timeframe. The timeframes established as a result of this process are tabled as Appendix IV.

In order to retrieve a sample of newspaper articles within these years, several databases were used, all of which provided some form of electronic articles searchable by keyword. Scanned *Toronto Star* articles were accessed through an online keyword search between 1970 and 1985 in the “*Pages of the Past*” online database. To retrieve *Toronto Star* articles between 1985 and 2009, the “*Factiva: Canadian Newsstand*” was used to collect online articles by keyword. Scanned copies of *Globe and Mail* articles were accessed through the “*Paper of Record*” electronic database from 1970 to 1985. Post 1985 *Globe and Mail* articles were collected through the online “*Factiva: Canadian Newsstand*” database.

Access is granted to the “Factiva Canadian Newsstand” database for all University of Ottawa students. The database provides complete full-text coverage for *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* as early as 1985. Databases available through the University of Ottawa library do not provide *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* coverage pre-1985. For a small fee, the “*Pages of the Past*” online database was accessed, which provides a complete archive of all *Toronto Star* articles published that dates back further than the coverage available through the “*Factiva: Canadian Newsstand*” database. Also for a small fee, the “*Paper of Record*” database provides access to complete *Globe and Mail* full-text article coverage pre-1985. The “*Pages of the Past*” database was accessed from <http://pagesofthepast.ca/>. The “*Paper of Record*” database was accessed from <http://www.paperofrecord.com/>. These databases were chosen because of their ability to provide a complete, full-text archive of the newspaper year in question searchable by keyword, in order to avoid selection bias by excluding any relevant articles.

In order to obtain a sample of articles that contained content relevant to the interests of this research, it was necessary to establish some key search terms. Given the span of this research, it was especially important to include various key words during database searches for newspaper articles to avoid biasing the search, as certain key terms are associated with different pieces of legislation. The following is a list of key terms included in the search for articles:

- youth OR young OR juvenile OR teen OR adolescent **AND**
- devian\* OR offender OR delinquen\*

The key terms remained the same regardless of the database being searched. The stars allowed the search terms that preceded them to pull up the root words with various suffixes. For example, “delinquen\*” would include articles that contained the word “delinquent” or “delinquency”. This allowed a more complete and inclusionary search as it avoided excluding relevant articles based on semantics.

After conducting a search using the above search terms, the systematic random sampling technique was used to obtain a manageable sample of articles from the search results (see Salkind, 2006). When entering the specified search terms into the databases listed above, the search would typically yield over two hundred articles. This research was interested in representing each year with ten articles for each publication. Applying the systematic random sampling method, a dice was rolled to determine the starting point. The total number of search results was divided by the number of articles desired from year. This number ( $n$ ) indicated which articles would be included in the sample. Every  $n$ th article was included in the sample. This allows the sample to be spread out evenly throughout the search results.

For example, to obtain a sample of articles from *The Globe and Mail* for the year 2008, the search terms above were entered into the “*Factiva Canadian Newsstand*” database. The search yielded 215 results and a sample of ten was needed. 215 divided by 10 is 21.5. A die was rolled which produced the number 6. Therefore, beginning at the 6<sup>th</sup> article, every 21<sup>st</sup> article was obtained for the sample. The articles included in the sample were the 27<sup>th</sup> article, 48<sup>th</sup>, 69<sup>th</sup>, 90<sup>th</sup>, 111<sup>th</sup>, 132<sup>nd</sup>, 153<sup>rd</sup>, 174<sup>th</sup>, 195<sup>th</sup> and 216<sup>th</sup>. The selected and relevant articles were assigned this number, saved to a hard drive and were later analyzed using the working analytical grid (see Appendix II). Examples stated in the findings chapter refer to the article’s number assigned through this process. Listed by assigned number in numerical order, the full references for the articles included in the sample are listed as Appendix VI.

It should be noted that while the systematic random sampling process described above is generally accepted as an impartial way of obtaining a sample, it is still possible that the articles included in the sample are somehow different, by chance, from those that were not included in the sample, thus posing a threat to external validity. It is possible that not all conclusions and trends noted are generalizable or that perhaps the sample missed some notable trends. This limitation should be kept in mind when considering the weight of the conclusions made in my analysis. However, there is no reason to suspect that articles that were not included in the sample differed significantly from those that were included as the articles were dispersed relatively evenly throughout the sample for each year. Slight exceptions to this equal dispersion occurred when articles selected were deemed irrelevant and were excluded from the sample. At times the search terms would yield articles that were not relevant to juvenile delinquency or youth crime. At times, terms like “juvenile

delinquency” were used out of context, to describe an animal for example. Other articles that were excluded were those that included keywords such as “youth” and “offending” in circumstances where the article was discussing the victimization *of* a youth, as this research was interested in portrayals of misbehaving youth. Articles that were included in the search results for situations like these would skew research results if included in the sample, as they would represent discourse around youth *as victims*, rather than as perpetrators of crime or misconduct. In the case that an article selected was irrelevant, the article following it would be included in the sample. If, for example, article 90 in the example above had been irrelevant, the 91<sup>st</sup> article would have been included. The process of excluding irrelevant articles did not interrupt the systematic sampling process. The  $n^{\text{th}}$  article after the irrelevant article was still the next article included in the sample. Articles selected using the systematic random sampling method were coded using the working analytical grid (Appendix II).

As a result of this process, a sample consisting of 150 articles was obtained then analyzed using the working analytical grid. The distribution of articles in the sample is tabled as Appendix V. The findings to follow are based on this analyzed sample of articles. Note that throughout the research findings, the “welfare era”, “transitional era” and “neo-liberal era” refer to the timeframes as they are defined and constructed in this research.

### 3. FINDINGS

The findings that resulted from executing the research method described in the previous chapter are explained in the sections to follow. These findings constitute the discourse component of this genealogical analysis. As described in the methodology chapter, the times selected for “snapshots” of discourse were guided by existing literature and legislative changes in youth justice policy. Additionally, a preliminary analysis of discourse was conducted in order to allow the newspaper articles to demonstrate at what time welfare discourse, neo-liberal discourse and the transition between the two emerged in the media.

As a result of this process a “welfare era”, a “transitional era” and a “neo-liberal era” have been defined based on the discourse present in each timeframe surrounding misbehaving youth in Toronto news media. The “welfare era” is represented by sample articles from 1977, 1981 and 1985 in *The Toronto Star* and articles from 1977 and 1981 in *The Globe and Mail*. The “transitional era” is represented by sample articles from 1989 and 1990 in *The Toronto Star* and articles from 1985 and 1986 in *The Globe and Mail*. The “neo-liberal era” is represented by sample articles from 1994, 2001 and 2008 in both newspapers.

This chapter is organized to discuss the findings chronologically based on the three “eras” as they have been defined in this research. Firstly, the manifestations of welfare discourse in the newspapers’ defined “welfare eras” are discussed. I note two types of resistance in my sample. The first type of resistance is noted in the section below titled “Transitional Era”, in which I describe the emergence of manifestations of neo-liberal discourse; which struggle with welfare discourse during this timeframe. The “Neo-liberal Era” section below explains the emergence of neo-liberal discourse in this timeframe. I contrast the discourse that emerges in the two newspapers, highlighting the apparent



“hybrid” welfare and neo-liberal discourses of managing youth misconduct that emerged in *The Globe and Mail* during the “neo-liberal era”. This “hybrid discourse” illustrates a second form of resistance: “internal contestation” (see Appendix VII for a summary of findings).

### **3.1 The “Welfare Era”**

In the “welfare era”, sample articles from *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* demonstrated welfare discourse with little to no resistance to welfare concepts in either publication. The various manifestations of welfare discourse noted are explained below. The first notable trend relates to the factors that are expressed as contributing to youth misconduct in what this research has defined as the “welfare era” of discourse surrounding youth misconduct in the newspapers.

#### **3.1.1 Developmental Needs as Factors Contributing to Youth Misconduct**

Consistent with literature on welfare discourse, factors that were regarded as contributing to youth misconduct in both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* in the “welfare era” articles were socially and developmentally centralized. Misbehaving youths’ actions were explained as the result of adverse social circumstances, such as poverty, abuse and mental disorder. Below are some examples that illustrate this trend.

Misbehaving youth in the “welfare era” were often referred to as “victims”, “misguided children” or youth “troubled” by social situations (52; 36c) and thus are “in need of protection” (68a). Some articles acknowledged family violence or neglect (67; 4b; 7), the role of child abuse, unemployment, suicidal tendencies, emotional problems (1; 6a; 56) and broken homes (203; 5b; 1; 13a) as factors that contribute to youth misconduct. This is

illustrated explicitly in *Toronto Star* article 30a in 1985, which argues that “the juvenile delinquents who graduate into adult criminal courts by lingering in overcrowded jails often come from the broken homes led by a single custodial parent”. In 1981, *Toronto Star* article 4b explains that juvenile delinquency is so closely related to the quality of parenting that perhaps “[p]arents may be liable for offences committed by their juvenile children if it is proven the parents have ‘neglected to exercise due care of the child’”.

Building on this notion of social causes, articles in the “welfare era” often maintained that since misbehaving youth’s behaviour resulted from adverse social circumstances, addressing developmental needs, as they are explained in developmental criminology, such as parental conflict, low family income and attention problems (see Farrington, 2007), was necessary to curb youth misconduct. This is demonstrated in articles that discuss the special needs of misbehaving youth (52; 36c). After a delinquent incident, “we will say ‘what needs do children have?’”. The approach must be “responsive to the individual child” (36c). Other needs recognized such as the need for life skills education (144), as well as rehabilitation and treatment such as counselling (80a; 32). In addition to social and developmental needs as central factors relating to youth misconduct, articles in the “welfare era” also often make statements about who is responsible for managing, preventing and responding to the needs of youth.

### **3.12 Government Responsibility to Address the Factors Related to Youth Misconduct**

Once the articles established that developmental factors were related to youth misconduct, the articles often made a statement about what should be done and who should be responsible for managing the needs of misbehaving youth. The articles varied greatly

regarding recommended responses to youth misconduct but they shared a fundamental commonality: the government was charged with the responsibility for managing and responding to youth misconduct through some type of response, often by providing a treatment or service or by amending legislation.

Articles often recommended that the government invest in treatment and services for youth, such as social workers (33), counselling, homeless shelters (13b), medical and psychological assessments and treatments (32; 1), life skills training (144), recreational programming (138; 56) and family law staff to “improve the welfare of children” (52).

Many articles also suggested that the government should invest in legislative and procedural amendments in order to more effectively respond to youth crime. Some examples of this include recommending that the government amends court procedures (30a; 52). It is recommended that the government invests in a special task force to gain more knowledge about the role of stress in the family unit, which is arguable to blame for youth misconduct: “If the family is in stress, the kids are in stress and the kids act it out”. “The key [to curbing youth misconduct] is in the strengthening of the family unit in Peel”, argues article 13a. It is also recommended that the government amend sentencing provisions in order to better acknowledge the needs of young offenders (68a).

Articles from both *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* consistently emphasized that the government was responsible to respond, prevent and manage youth misconduct through some means in the “welfare era”. This was demonstrated by the trend for articles to recommend various services and approaches that the government should take in order to attend to the developmental needs of youth. Now that content that emerged around the causes of youth misconduct and the response recommended for addressing youth

misconduct in the “welfare era” have been examined, the psychological portrayal of misbehaving youth themselves during this timeframe will be discussed.

### **3.13 Youth Psychological Portrayals: Average Youth Disenfranchised**

Articles in the welfare era in both *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* spoke of misbehaving youth as youth with the same psychological make-up as well-behaved youth. Misbehaving youth were spoken of as average youth with the same needs and same emotions as well-behaved youth. During this time, misbehaving youth were spoken of as average youth who were simply disenfranchised; they were misbehaving because they were experiencing some adverse social circumstances.

The misbehaving youth in the articles in the “welfare era” was constructed as an individual who shows compassion and relates to others (80a). One article claims that young offenders get upset about their wrongful behaviour and are ultimately nice kids (369), demonstrating that despite their antisocial behaviour, misbehaving youth experience the same emotions as other human beings, such as remorse and compassion. This trend was noted explicitly in *Globe and Mail* article 1 in 1977, in which a correctional worker recalls times when boys in custody wept reading letters from their parents; “It shows they’re human. They’ve got the same emotions as other human beings”, the worker insists.

Youth were also portrayed as having the same needs as “average, well-behaved youth, such as the need to participate in recreational programming (138), develop life skills (144) and become further socialized (108). Misbehaving youth are spoken of as typical youth who have learned misbehaviour (144; 67) and are experiencing troubles (52) or misbehaving because their needs are not being met (108). These examples illustrate the trend

that young offenders were portrayed as youth that are fundamentally the same as well-behaved youth in regards to human emotions and needs.

### **3.14 Themes of Civic Virtue**

During the “welfare era”, articles in *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* make reference to the idea of civic virtue or ties to the greater good of society in general or social collectivity, consistent with welfare discourse (6a; 56; 108). Articles argue that looking out for one’s self is not the norm, cooperating with and looking out for others is the current way in which people should live their lives (6a). It is argued that “society must reach out to juveniles at the fringes of delinquency” (56), society in general should assist with the integration of delinquent youth into society by urging citizens to “be neighbourly to troubled children” (108). Consistent with welfare discourse, the content reinforced that society in general must share the responsibility for troubled and misbehaving youth.

### **3.2 The “Transitional Era”**

The preliminary analysis facilitated the approximation of a transition between welfare and neo-liberal discourse. “Snapshots” of this transition were taken by analyzing the first two years of newspaper coverage in which discourse differed significantly from the “welfare era” in that neo-liberal discourse began to emerge. The “transitional era” findings, as described below, are represented by sample articles from 1989 and 1990 in *The Toronto Star* and sample articles from 1985 and 1986 in *The Globe and Mail*. There is consistent conflict and struggle between welfare and neo-liberal discourse during this “transitional era”. These struggles or competitions for coverage are explained below, beginning with a focus on

how developmental needs that were apparent in the “welfare era” compete for news coverage with a focus on a profusion of risk factors.

### **3.21 Developmental Needs or Risks to Society?**

In the “transitional era”, the notion of developmental needs as factors related to youth misconduct, which was characteristic of the “welfare era”, began to struggle with “new” risk factors. Many articles reject or dismiss the developmental factors associated with youth misconduct that were recognized and accepted in the “welfare era”, such as poverty, family turmoil and child abuse. New risk factors emerge that seem to be developmental factors linked to a chain reaction of various other risk factors that become less and less connected to the social and developmental factors associated with youth misconduct.

Some articles in the sample were consistent with welfare discourse in that social and developmental needs were spoken of as factors contributing to youth misconduct. The articles often attributed youth misconduct to developmental factors such as emotional or psychological disorder (3), abuse (69; 81b), conflict (17), low-income and single-parenting in families (84) or acknowledge that misbehaving youth are “troubled” in a broad sense (3; 15).

Conversely, other articles introduce “new” risks regarded as factors contributing to youth misconduct that fall outside of contributing factors recognized in developmental criminology that were often acknowledged in the “welfare era”. Some of these new contributing factors illustrate causal chains of risk factors. These causal chains of risk factors begin with developmental needs at the core but then spiral to include other secondary risk factors, creating a series of risk factors that build on the core developmental needs and

become less connected to causal factors related to youth misconduct as they escalate (Articles 8; 42a; 16b). This trend was noted with regard to parents not helping their children with their homework, this leading to dropping out of school which then leads to misconduct (8; 42a). Similarly, other articles highlight the importance of school attendance as a risk factor for misconduct. *Globe and Mail* article 16b in 1986 explains that truancy leads to academic failure, which leads to teen pregnancy, which leads to drop out and then youth misconduct. These causal chains of risk factors frame all links in the chain as risks, such as teen pregnancy, dropout and poor attendance, creating many new risk factors of youth misconduct. Article 59 maintains that malnutrition should be addressed to reduce youth misconduct. The article maintains that:

Some authorities dealing with juvenile criminals ascribe the behaviour of many young wrongdoers to a lack of fresh vegetables and fresh fruit. Some of the malefactors, when tested, have been found to have blood full of toxic chemicals, coupled with a shortage of vitamins and a zinc deficiency. When treated, their behaviour changed as their health improved.

The article argues that “the addition of lead by gasoline companies has been known to destroy brain tissue in children”... “[y]et, leaded gasoline, a direct attack on the future of our children, is still used”. The article also problematizes the consumption of “junk food[s]”, including bread, hamburgers and cola, which “destroy children's cleverness”. While the article acknowledges that juvenile delinquents “often live in public housing, and often come from single parent families”, “poisoning children” with junk food, malnutrition and leaded gasoline are problematic because the ways in which they interfere with “schoolwork”, thus leading to academic failure or dropout, with youth misconduct as a likely outcome. *Toronto Star* Article 81b acknowledges social factors arguing that there is a need to help homeless youth “on the brink” of youth misconduct, which “include the sexually and physically

abused”, the majority of which “come from single-parent families and half live on income below the poverty line”. In addition, the article also makes reference to a “new” risk: that youth are “in need of encouragement away from youth delinquency”. This implies that homeless youth, often abused youth from broken homes, are nearing misconduct because they require encouragement, making a lack of encouragement a new risk factor related to youth misconduct. These causal chains of risk factors struggle with the notion that youth misconduct results from social factors and difficulty in meeting developmental needs, consistent with welfare discourse.

Welfare discourse and neo-liberal discourse are competing for news coverage in the “transitional era” regarding factors that contribute to criminal behaviour amongst youth. Welfare discourse maintains that developmental needs, that if not satisfied, contribute to youth misconduct. Risk discourse, characteristic of neo-liberalism, emerges and contests welfare discourse by maintaining that a multitude of “new” risk factors contribute to youth misconduct. In addition to this trend, welfare and neo-liberal discourse also compete in regards to who should manage, prevent and deter youth misconduct and associated risk factors.

### **3.22 Who is Responsible for the Management of Misbehaving Youth?**

While in the “welfare era” the government was consistently charged with the responsibility to manage, prevent and deter youth misconduct, this welfare concept struggles for news coverage in the “transitional era”. Some articles in the transitional timeframe were consistent with welfare discourse, maintaining the perspective that the government is responsible for managing misbehaving youth. It was recommended that the government



invests in rehabilitation and reintegration programs to prevent future misconduct (377) and that new programs (451), new policies (37), new police prevention efforts (68a) and new legislation (3) should be implemented by the government in order to address youth delinquency and associated risk factors. These articles demanded more government intervention, more innovation and more government investment.

Other articles struggled with this manifestation of welfare discourse by placing the responsibility for managing misbehaving youth onto non-governmental organizations and parents of the misbehaving youth. Responsibility was often offloaded onto these non-government groups explicitly. Some articles commended partners such as older youth that mentor younger, misbehaving youth for their partnership in curbing youth misconduct, as seen in *Toronto Star* article 84 in 1989. Article 229 commends a private organization for funding a drug treatment centre for misbehaving youth, illustrating the diffusion of government onto non-governmental organizations and communities. The article declares: “we can’t expect to sit back and say this is up to the police”... “everyone’s got to be involved”... “this type of community commitment can go a lot further than anything the government can do”. Parents are asked to play a role in crime prevention by helping their children “blossom”: “parents [are] encouraged to take a larger and more direct role in their children’s education”. Parents are urged to prevent misbehaviour among their youth by encouraging them to “face the reality of the situation” and by giving them “tough love” (55a). In these articles, non-government organizations, individuals or families become partners in the management of youth misconduct, consistent with neo-liberal discourse.

### 3.23 Misbehaving Youth: Average Youth Disenfranchised or Juvenile Superpredators?

“Welfare era” trends also struggle for news coverage with new trends regarding psychological portrayals of misbehaving youth within the “transitional era”. The aforementioned “needs based” perspective on youth misconduct in some articles within the “transitional era” frames misbehaving youth as normal human beings with human needs, such as familial support and healthy socialization and development (3; 69; 81b).

Conversely, some articles resisted this portrayal of misbehaving youth as average youth disenfranchised and portrayed misbehaving youth as a seemingly different species than other human beings. These articles portrayed youth as remorseless superpredators that do not experience the same emotions, such as empathy, as “average”, well-behaved youth. This is seen in 1989 in *Toronto Star* article 155b, which describes the enjoyment a young offender experienced killing his victim and the “bad jokes” he made about the victimization. The article states that the young offender “got some sort of rush or high during the killing”. Similarly, article 42b argues “today’s troublesome kids are more defiant, more prone to vicious acts, less remorseful than previous generations”. *Globe and Mail* article 55a in 1985 argues that youth are “uncontrollable” and that they “use guns and knives to back up their temper”. A mother quoted in the article states that her teen turned into a “raging drug fiend” who took out his rage on his own mother. During these abusive times, “[the youth’s] eyes didn’t connect with reality; he was suddenly a monster”. Article 95 describes a specific young offender as “somewhat machine-like” and “seized by the idea of killing”.

Often, this image of youth as a new more ruthless “species” of young offender is used to justify harsher punishments for young offenders. Some harsher punishments suggested include adult punishments (525), longer prison sentences (14), easier transfer to

adult court (599), offering less protection by publishing young offenders' names (20; 33) and by making young offender's criminal records accessible (2). As illustrated above, there is competing discourse on whether or not young offenders are average human beings with typical human emotions. When youth are portrayed as superpredators, this is typically used to justify some form of harsher punishment. The section below explains how the above noted trends emerge and evolve in the "neo-liberal era".

### **3.3 The "Neo-Liberal Era"**

Many of the trends that emerged in the "transitional era" begin to dominate discourse in the "neo-liberal era", which is represented by "snapshots" of discourse in sample articles from both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* in 1994, 2001 and 2008. At this time, welfare discourse became largely outweighed and was occasionally directly overridden by neo-liberal discourse. While the "transitional era" saw one form of resistance, struggle for news coverage between welfare and neo-liberal discourses, the "neo-liberal era" sees resistance in the form of "internal contestation" to contemporary neo-liberal discourse only in *The Globe and Mail*. This represents a different form of resistance: a sort of internal contestation within a single publication. This results in a "hybrid" discourse in *The Globe and Mail* in this era where neo-liberal discourses occasionally gives way to welfare discourse, thus allowing resistant alternatives to the dominant discourse of the "era". Up until this point chronologically, the publications have been fairly consistent in the trends noted in welfare and neo-liberal discourse. During the "neo-liberal era", the publications seemed to divide in terms of welfare and neo-liberal discourse. Trends in discourse during

this timeframe are explained below, including similarities and differences between both publications.

### **3.31 Neo-liberal Discourse Versus Welfare Discourse: A Comparison**

*Globe and Mail* articles at times recognized the role of social and developmental factors in youth misconduct such as poverty (27a) and toxic living environments (207). However, most articles in *The Toronto Star* in the neo-liberal era emphasized the individual responsibility of youth for their own misbehaviour, in place of discussing social circumstances. This individualization of responsibility will be discussed further below. In *The Toronto Star* in this timeframe, the neo-liberal discourse was predominant and at times would directly override welfare discourse. Some articles recognized that youth who commit crimes often do so due to social circumstances such as poverty or mental illness but also added that individuals are responsible for their own actions (48c), demonstrating that at times in *The Toronto Star* welfare discourse was often directly overridden by neo-liberal discourse or absent entirely.

*The Globe and Mail* exhibited some contestation toward neo-liberal concepts. Only in *The Globe and Mail* were neo-liberal ideas rejected or resisted. It is sometimes recognized that family life can contribute to criminal behaviour and that young offenders should not be held as fully responsible as adults due to societal and capacity issues (182) and the role of mental illness (195a). New risks to society are rejected and it is argued that healthy socialization is key in determining misbehaviour (215). Building on this, *Globe and Mail* 2001 article 147 argues that it is “irresponsible” to punish at-risk children “who have experienced abuse, neglect and family breakdown”.

Conversely in *The Toronto Star*, while some social context surrounding youth crimes is acknowledged, the neo-liberal minded responsabilization for making the choice to misbehave consistently overrides this context. The social factors that surround those “free choices” are undermined. For example, article 72 in *The Toronto Star* in 2008 states that “society’s understanding of the negative effects on young people of living in poverty of broken homes shouldn’t outweigh the need for justice”. Harsher sentences are then advocated to severely punish youth who have chosen to misbehave. The emergence of neo-liberal discourse is discussed in further detail below beginning with responsabilization and the diffusion of governance that emerged in the “neo-liberal era”.

### **3.32 Responsibilization and the Diffusion of Governance**

The diffusion of governance from the government to community partners, non-governmental organizations, individuals and families or partnership between the government and non-governmental individuals or agencies which is argued is a characteristic of neo-liberalism emerged in *The Globe and Mail* and was prevalent in *The Toronto Star* during the “neo-liberal era”. *The Globe and Mail* emphasizes both the responsibility of the misbehaving individual youth and the responsibility of the misbehaving youth’s family and community in order to manage the misbehaviour.

Responsibilization and technologies of the self are apparent in the ways youth are invited to participate in improving themselves and steering themselves from misbehaviour. Youth are invited to engage in theatre troupes as an artistic outlet for their emotions in order to steer themselves from misbehaviour (226). Youth are also encouraged to self-manage by volunteering in their communities (48b), travelling and engaging in self-exploration and

improving their self-respect (180). These examples illustrate the tendency for articles in *The Globe and Mail* in the “neo-liberal era” to encourage youth to become active in their own governance.

Several articles in *The Globe and Mail* in the “neo-liberal era” also encourage families, communities and non-government organizations to become active in the governance of youth. In 2008, article 27a “urges stepped-up community and parental responsibility” to make communities safe from youth crime. Article 11 explains that parental involvement can help manage the risk that youth will offend criminally, for example, by explaining that parents can prevent misconduct among their youth by having dinner with them. It is also argued that “includ[ing] parents and communities in the process of securing schools” will decrease incidences of youth violence at school (Article 269). These examples illustrate the tendency for “neo-liberal era” articles to invite non-governmental organizations, families and communities to assist in the management of misbehaving youth, thus suggesting that these non-government groups become partners in security.

*The Toronto Star* exhibited more examples of the diffusion of responsibility for young offenders onto individuals, families, communities and non-government organizations than *The Globe and Mail* in the “neo-liberal era”. Manifestations of the diffusion of government were also more explicit and detailed in *The Toronto Star*.

Youth are commended for rallying to determine solutions to the youth crime problem in partnership with a youth crime prevention committee (330). Youth are encouraged to engage in horticulture therapy in order to steer themselves from criminal behaviour. The 2008 article argued that by “using plants and gardening”, improvements will be seen in young offenders’ “physical and emotional well-being” (21). This program and others

recommended throughout *The Toronto Star* articles in the “neo-liberal era” are often initiatives of non-governmental organizations. It is also argued that youth can govern their own behaviour by engaging in arts programming, which gives youth an outlet and means that they are less likely to join gangs: “Kids who take part in artistic activity and express themselves creatively discover that they have a voice; they do not need to express themselves in anti-social ways” (42c). Parents are instructed step-by-step how to govern their children if they are involved in school violence or bullying: “WHERE did it occur [...] WHY did it happen. You need to pinpoint the reason why the bullying occurred [...] The next step is to try and make sure that the [violent incident] doesn’t happen again” (44). This 1994 article in *The Toronto Star* instructs parents how to investigate school violence and how they should respond to prevent further incidents from occurring, thus enlisting them as partners in security. In addition to changes in who is responsible to manage the behaviour of youth, there are also changes in the “neo-liberal era” regarding what factors are considered to be predictors or causal factors related to youth misconduct.

### **3.33 The Emergence of “New” Risk Factors**

In the “welfare era”, the central factors associated with youth misconduct were the social and developmental needs of youth and the challenges they faced in meeting these needs. *The Globe and Mail* articles in the “neo-liberal era” partly retained this focus on developmental needs, which demonstrates the “hybrid discourse” or “internal contestation” apparent in this publication in the “neo-liberal era”. Conversely, in *The Toronto Star* articles in this timeframe, the focus is on a multitude of risk factors: a broader range of factors that may increase the likelihood that a youth will engage in misconduct and pose a risk to

society. The criteria of what constitutes problematic factors surrounding youth have shifted from “developmental needs” to “new” risks. As I described earlier, these “new” risks which began to emerge in the “transitional era” are broad categories that sometimes involve slippery slopes or causal chains of risk factors, beginning with a small indication of antisocial behaviour and ending in an often inevitable, misbehaving fate based on a series of assumptions. Risk factors have shifted from socially and developmentally centralized factors that were apparent in the “welfare era”, such as poverty and mental disorders as a risk of misconduct. In *The Toronto Star*, the focus is consistently on very specific risks that spiral and become far removed from risk factors associated with youth misconduct in developmental criminology.

*Toronto Star* article 140b in 2008 argues that youth house parties are an increasing cause for concern. House parties are hazardous because unwanted youth often attend. Unwanted guests may retaliate through assault or murder. Therefore, youth having house parties is a risk to society. “New” risk factors were also noted in article 5c, which describes a bullied teen that wrote a fictional drama piece at school about a bullied boy who avenges his bully and how he is treated as a risk to society, by being removed from school, arrested and held in detention. The risk slippery slope argument is that victims of bullies are a risk to society because they may avenge their perpetrators and also that artistic, fictional expression of feelings and fears about bullies and fictional stories about avenging bullies are a risk to society. This chain of risk factors now implies that freedom of expression and creative thought are risk factors associated with youth misconduct. This is paralleled in articles that discuss panic towards raves. These articles explain that electronic music has become a “new” risk to society or “threat to societal order” because it is associated with raves, which are



associated with drugs and violence. Article 68d cautions: “[k]ids beware the evils of electronic music”. Now, freedom of expression through particular genres of music is a threat to society. Article 107c argues that naming babies unusual names can lead to social exclusion and isolation, which in turn can lead to adolescent “angst”, which can lead to antisocial behaviour. Naming babies brand names, like “lego”, “could cause them to retaliate”. The article concludes confidently, “a peculiar name could turn your baby into a juvenile delinquent”. These articles are similar in that they frame some sort of self-expression or freedom as a risk or threat of youth misconduct.

*The Globe and Mail's* hybrid discourse demonstrates some internal contestation to these “new” risks to society by maintaining a “developmental needs” focus in some cases and also at times blatantly resisting the notion of “new” risks to society. Article 215 in 1994 refers to a recent claim that cliques based on race are a new risk among youth because it is the root of all contemporary youth violence, rejects this new risk and suggests a “developmental needs” approach; that misbehaving youth need healthy socialization and development rather than focusing on eliminating racial cliques. Article 48b emphasizes familial problems and mental disorder for their role in youth misconduct. Article 226 argues that drug related youth crimes are an “expression of deep-seated social problems that demand social responses”. Article 269 explains the importance of healthy familial relationships in youth development, which prevents youth misconduct. Similarly, article 68c notes that many misbehaving youth “had the inner child beaten out of them”, thus acknowledging the role of child abuse in youth misconduct. These examples demonstrate *The Globe and Mail's* internal contestation of neo-liberal discourse in the “neo-liberal era”.

### 3.34 Youth Psychological Portrayals

In addition to demonstrating some resistance to neo-liberal discourse by maintaining, in part, a developmental needs focus in the “neo-liberal era”, *The Globe and Mail* also largely portrayed misbehaving youth as having the same psychological make-up as “average” or well-behaved youth with only the occasional exception. One such example of *The Globe and Mail* portraying youth as juvenile superpredators in the “neo-liberal era” occurred in article 269 in 1994, which explains that society is “facing kids who are extremely violent, have no respect for others and don’t see a future for themselves”...”they just live for today”. This portrays the image of a youth who does not care for the welfare of other human beings, consistent with the image of the youth superpredator.

Conversely, the youth superpredator emerges repeatedly in *The Toronto Star* in the “neo-liberal era”. For example, 2008 article 160 argues that contemporary youth criminals prey on the vulnerable elderly, creating the image of a youth criminal that is ruthless with no sympathy for the vulnerable. Violent youth who “leave their victim to die in the cold” should be targets of deterrence through public shaming by publishing their names for deterrent purposes (174). This implies that they are savage killers that should be exposed. “Why should we protect the names of those who allegedly killed [the victim] and left her to die in the cold?”. This describes a very ruthless victimization, giving a sense of lack of emotion and sympathy. Young offenders when arrested “play it cool”, are not concerned with the victimization and feel no remorse (30b). “Kids can do some pretty awful things to other kids [...] and not understand what they’ve done” (111b). This demonstrates a lack of empathy for offences committed and a lack of understanding human behaviour, feelings and reactions. Article 154 (2001) describes a savage beating perpetrated by young girls after simply feeling

like another girl gave them a wayward look, the victim was “swarmed” and “[perpetrators] used [...] whatever they could to hit [the victim]”. This article describes an inhumane, savage beating in response to a simple look, which portrays a ruthless, emotionless group of young girls who can behave very violently for little to no reason. These youth psychological portrayals make the young offender seem irrational, ruthless and unsympathetic, consistent with the image of a youth superpredator.

This chapter has used “snapshots” to trace the evolution of welfare and neo-liberal discourse around youth misconduct in two Toronto newspapers. This understanding of the evolution of discourse is the first component of a Foucaudian genealogy. The discursive findings raise certain questions of meaning, significance and interpretation, such as: What are the implications of a lack of resistance to neo-liberal discourse and strategies of governance in *The Toronto Star*? What are the implications of the emergence of neo-liberal strategies of governance? What are the implications of the emergence of the juvenile superpredator? What do these results imply for the place of media in society? The subsequent analysis chapter strives to address these questions of implication and bring meaning and significance to the findings outlined above.

In the following analysis chapter, I explore the ways in which the emerging neo-liberal discourse reflects contemporary governance using Foucault’s three rationalities for “the art of government”: *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government*. I complete the Foucaudian genealogy by exploring the relationship between this *discourse*, the *knowledge* it produces or titillates and the *power* outcomes or effects of the discourse. It is through this analytical process that I argue that newspapers can reflect, validate and render neo-liberal

governmentalities more efficient. The potential for newspapers to do this is problematized in light of the shortfalls of the neo-liberal approach.

#### 4. ANALYSIS

As previously explained, a Foucaudian genealogy analyzes the mode of talking about a given phenomenon by looking at the triad of *discourse*, *knowledge* and *power*. The trends in discourse noted over time in this genealogy with respect to the shift from welfare to neo-liberal discourse around youth misconduct in two Toronto newspapers are explained in the previous findings chapter. These findings constitute the *discourse* component of this Foucaudian genealogy.

In this analysis chapter, I discuss the trends in discourse in terms of Foucault's three rationalities for the "art of government": *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government*. I also bring meaning and significance to these findings and consider their implications by exploring the *knowledge* and *power* aspects of the genealogy triad; the truths upheld, the viewpoints titillated or confirmed and implications of producing or titillating these truths in regards to *power* outcomes or effects. By way of this analytical approach, I argue that newspapers can function to reflect, validate and improve the efficiency of current governmentalities or strategies of governance.

In making this argument, I shed some light on the scholarly conversation regarding the media's place in society. It seems that perhaps the media does not serve the interests of the government in the sense that the media influences, effects, controls or subordinates a supposedly passive audience. Perhaps the media serves the interests of government by doing precisely the opposite: By encouraging the population to become very active agents, as conductors in their own behaviour and the behaviour of others. Below, I begin this analysis by briefly revisiting the analytical framework used to bring meaning to the discursive findings outlined in the previous chapter.

#### 4.1 Building an Analytical Framework: The Art of Government and Genealogy

In order to provide a suggestion on the media's place in society by scrutinizing the ways in which newspapers can reflect, validate and improve the efficiency of contemporary governmentalities, it is first essential to explore the relationship between contemporary strategies of governance and the discursive findings. Foucault argued that the contemporary approach to governance involves a triangle of three rationalities, *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government*, which together describe current strategies of population guidance, or governmentalities (Foucault, 1991). *Sovereignty*, as discussed by Foucault (1991, 102), focuses on the government of a territory and final authority over this territory. *Sovereignty* is a form of power that seeks to establish and maintain relationships of legitimate authority so that this authority itself is maintained (Kelly, 2003, 174), which is "functionally central to Liberal rule" (Stenson, 1999, 68). *Discipline* is concerned with government of a population through the economy and creating disciplined subjects or disciplined bodies (Foucault, 1991), which can increase the usefulness, obedience and efficiency of bodies (Kelly, 2003). Disciplinary practices as they apply to youth are the development of skills and capacities that "enable young people to adapt to a modern industrial society" through surveillance and education (Stenson, 1996 as cited in Kelly, 2003, 174). Since youth is a transition to adulthood, the sovereign and disciplinary aspects of neo-liberal governmentalities seek to guide and encourage the emergence of well-regulated, autonomous adulthood (Kelly, 2003, 178). *Government* is concerned with creating self-governing citizens. Successful and efficient government in this sense evokes self-management among individuals, which encourages them to conduct themselves in a manner that is beneficial to governance because it makes individuals useful, controlled and efficient (Foucault, 1991). Efficient government

“create[s] individuals who do not need to be governed by others, but will govern themselves, master themselves, care for themselves” (Rose as cited in Kelly, 2003, 168). By applying Foucault’s three rationalities for the “art of government” to the findings outlined in the previous chapter, I argue that newspapers can reflect contemporary governmentalities.

Foucault argued that discourses are productive because they produce what they are speaking about. They define and establish what is true about a particular object at a particular time. As such, “they have power outcomes or effects” (Carabine, 2001, 268). The genealogical understanding formulated in this research therefore examines the *discourse*, or mode of talking about youth misconduct and its governance, the truths upheld and *knowledge* produced about the governance of misbehaving youth by this discourse and the *power* outcomes or effects of upholding or titillating these truths about the governance of youth misconduct by means of this discourse. Through the completion of this genealogy, I argue that newspapers reflect and validate current governmentalities. I begin this analysis by examining the emerging discourses relevant to responsabilization, including the direct diffusion of responsibility and indirect diffusion of responsibility by transforming needs into micro risk factors.

## **4.2 Responsibilization**

In both newspapers in the “welfare era”, the government was typically charged with the responsibility for attending to the needs and risks of misbehaving youth through some type of response, treatment or legislative amendment. In the “transitional era”, there is competition between emphasis on government responsibility for youth misconduct and emphasis on the roles of the individual, family, community, and non-government

organizations as partners in the management of youth misconduct, consistent with neo-liberal discourse. In the “neo-liberal era”, this diffusion of government emerged in *The Globe and Mail* and was prevalent in *The Toronto Star*. These findings represent the discourse of direct diffusion of responsibility.

In addition to the discourse of direct diffusion of responsibility for managing misbehaving youth, the risk discourses that emerge in the “transitional era” in the sample articles and are prevalent in the “neo-liberal era” also shifts the responsibility for managing youth misconduct from the government to non-government groups more indirectly. In the “welfare era” both *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* consistently demonstrated welfare discourse in that social and developmental factors were recognized as contributing to youth misconduct. This trend begins to shift in the “transitional era” toward new risk factors that seem to be centralized around social and developmental factors but that are linked to a chain reaction of other risk factors. A series of “new” risk factors ensue, for example truancy leading to teen pregnancy, which leads to school dropout then eventually crime. This trend that emerges in the “transition era” is a consistent theme in the “neo-liberal era”.

Looking closely at the risk discourses, it becomes apparent that they also constitute forms of responsabilization as they diffuse responsibility for managing youth misconduct onto communities, families, non-government organizations and individuals. Like Hannah-Moffatt (1999), I have noted the transformation of needs into risks in neo-liberal discourse. While the “welfare era” sample articles focused on youth misconduct as the result of difficulty in meeting a developmental need, such as poverty or mental illness, the “neo-liberal era” articles focus on “slippery slopes” of risk. While it may be accepted that individuals and other non-government groups cannot resolve some “macro” needs, such as



economic problems and broader social problems, by transforming these social needs into “micro” risk factors related to youth misconduct, contributing factors become those that perhaps non-government groups and individuals can manage, such as school attendance. It is argued that these “slippery slopes” represent the “microization” of risk, or the process by which “macro” social and developmental needs as factors related to youth misconduct are broken down into “micro” risk factors, thus upholding that non-government groups such as individuals and families should and are able to micromanage their own needs and behaviour by focusing on these “micro” risks. This “microization” process acts as a more covert means of offloading responsibility for the management of youth misconduct onto non-government groups, such as individuals, non-government organizations, communities and families.

What emerges then, are two forms of responsabilization, the direct diffusion of responsibility and the indirect diffusion of responsibility by transforming needs into micro risks that can be managed by non-government groups. Below I discuss these findings together, as together they create the illusion that non-government groups are enabled to manage youth misconduct, which I refer to as the “illusion of enablement”.

By exploring these trends in discourse using Foucault’s *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government*, it becomes apparent that newspapers can reflect current governmentalities or strategies of governance. Foucault (1991, 102) explained that *sovereignty* focuses on the government of a territory and final authority over this territory. *Sovereignty* then, is concerned with establishing and maintaining relationships of legitimate authority. Despite the emergence of responsabilization that diffuses governance among non-government groups, the role of the sovereign, legitimate authority with final authority over a territory is all but absent. Conversely, *sovereignty* is ever present in the sample articles. When the

articles discuss the management of youth misconduct, the aim is always to reduce or eliminate its existence. This constantly affirms and legitimizes the sovereign authority to punish and restrict the freedoms of those who act criminally.

Newspapers can also reflect *disciplinary* aspects of governance. *Discipline* is concerned with creating disciplined subjects or disciplined bodies (Foucault, 1991). Disciplinary practices as they apply to youth are the development of skills and capacities that “enable young people to adapt to a modern industrial society” through surveillance and education (Stenson, 1996 as cited in Kelly, 2003, 174). Governance through *discipline* can be seen in the findings through school, education and other forms of training as a recurring theme. In order to ensure that youth become disciplined adults, the articles often emphasized the importance of school attendance and punctuality. Parents were called upon to make sure their youth were doing their homework and learning adequately, thus preparing them to work and contribute to the economy. These strategies encourage the development of disciplined bodies so that youth are productive and law-abiding members of society in adulthood.

“Neo-liberal era” articles also reflected aspects of *government*, Foucault’s third rationality for “the art of government”. *Government* is concerned with creating self-governing citizens. Successful and efficient governance in this sense evokes self-management among individuals, which encourages them to conduct themselves in a manner that is beneficial to the process of governance because it makes individuals useful, controlled and efficient (Foucault, 1991). Beginning in the “transitional era” and continuing through the “neo-liberal era”, the responsibility for managing the behaviour of misbehaving youth is often discussed as the responsibility of families, parents, individuals, communities or non-

government organizations. For example, youth are encouraged to work on steering themselves from misconduct by volunteering in the community and improving their self-respect. Some articles directly encouraged increased community and parental responsibility. Non-government organizations are encouraged to run programs such as theatre troupes and horticulture therapy in order to manage misbehaving youth. These programs encourage youth to work on themselves as projects or engage in technologies of the self.

These examples illustrate the diffusion of governance. Consistent with Foucault's *government*, governance, or the conduct of conduct, is diffused and non-government groups partake in the management of misbehaving youth. By examining the discursive trends in the sample newspaper articles using Foucault's three rationalities for "the art of government", it becomes apparent that newspapers can reflect contemporary governance.

Newspapers can also function to validate and improve the efficiency of contemporary governmentalities. Consistent with Carabine (2001, 275), discourses are powerful as they "specify what is and what is not". Discourses are also productive as they "produce effects—discursively and through practice—which influences the way we understand, experience and respond to the issue or topic" (Carabine, 2001, 273). In order to understand the implications of newspapers' reflection of contemporary governmentalities, I complete a genealogy of this discourse to understand the *knowledge* or truths that are upheld or titillated about the governance of youth misconduct and the *power* outcomes or effects of producing these truths. I consider some of the shortfalls of neo-liberal governmentalities in order to demonstrate why the validation of these strategies of governance in the media is problematic.

When the newspaper articles in my sample reflect neo-liberal governmentalities they produce the knowledge or understanding that individuals, non-government organizations, communities and families can adequately respond to and manage misbehaving youth. This knowledge titillates or confirms that these groups have the tools and abilities necessary to respond to youth misconduct. Perhaps this diffusion of government could effectively manage and respond to youth misconduct if responsabilized groups such as individuals, families, communities and non-government organizations are enabled to manage the behaviour of youth as opposed to having new responsibilities given to them for which they are not equipped to manage. If responsabilized groups do not have the tools and techniques necessary to manage youth misconduct, then responsibility is simply being offloaded onto these groups without yielding an effective response to youth misconduct. The access to tools and techniques necessary to respond to youth misconduct is the distinguishing factor between enabling and offloading. Further scrutinizing the roles of community, family, non-government organizations and individuals, it becomes apparent that this responsabilization can sometimes resemble offloading, thus it may be problematic to uphold and titillate the *knowledge* that these groups are able to manage youth misconduct.

#### **4.21 The Myth of Community**

Articles often explained the need for communities to assist and commit to the well-being, management or governance of youth by calling on the community to participate actively in improving youth's behaviour and rendering them functional, law-abiding members of society. Discourses that promote community responsabilization uphold certain truths about the role communities can and should play in the management of youth

misconduct. These discourses titillate the *knowledge* that communities can and should mobilize to respond to the needs and behaviour of misbehaving youth. Potential *power* outcomes or effects of this are that social agents reading this content may embrace this knowledge and develop expectations about community support and its availability and adequacy as a response to managing juvenile youth misconduct.

The problem with titillating these discourses that promote community responsabilization is that it is unclear exactly what a community is, who a community is comprised of and whether or not communities have the tools and capacities necessary to adequately address the issue of youth misconduct, which they are considered partially responsible for in the “neo-liberal era” articles. If these “communities” do not have the tools, knowledge and resources necessary to assist in the management of youth misconduct then this community is limited in how effectively it can address youth misconduct, meaning that responsibility may be offloaded onto communities who do not have the means to generate an effective response. There are also some questions of access raised regarding community. Does everyone have access to a willing and enabled community? Do some individuals have access to more enabled communities than others, due to resources or other reasons? Is there anything that can result in the loss of ties and connections to a community, such as incarceration, which arguably removes youth from their communities? Titillating community responsibility in the news may confirm amongst the public that they can rely on “the community” for solutions to misconduct when this may not be the case. In this way, titillating these truths about discourses that encourage community responsabilization validates contemporary governmentalities, which place less emphasis on government responsibility and more emphasis on community mobilization.

#### 4.22 Blaming Families: From “Family Issues” to Family’s Issues

“Neo-liberal era” articles often called upon families to manage youth misconduct and steer them from crime by helping them blossom and learn through family math or simply by showing them tough love. In the “welfare era”, familial issues are acknowledged as factors that contribute to youth misconduct, for example, family stress that results from economic hardship. This develops into the viewpoint that if family problems contribute to youth misconduct, then families should therefore be charged with the responsibility to help manage youth misconduct. These issues cannot be wholly resolved through programs newspapers suggest should be used by families to govern the behaviour of their youth, such as family math and horticulture therapy. Responsibilizing families shifts the blame for youth misconduct onto the misbehaving youth’s family when social factors that have proven to be related to youth misconduct fall outside of the realm of issues that can be addressed within the family unit. Placing responsibility on families also ignores issues of family capacity in that the role of two-parent families is often emphasized in the articles. In this way, responsabilizing families neglects to consider the capacities of families and puts those who do not fit in with the nuclear family ideal at a disadvantage. Titillating the role of families amongst social agents may help encourage readers to place the blame for youth misconduct on irresponsible families who did not manage their youth’s behaviour, drawing attention away from broader social issues that contribute to misconduct which were often regarded as factors that mitigate misconduct in welfare discourse. Producing and titillating the *knowledge* that families can and should play a role in managing misbehaving youth validates neo-liberal governmentalities that emphasize the role of the family in the management of youth misconduct.

#### 4.23 Responsibilizing Non-Government Organizations

The “neo-liberal era” sample articles also highlighted the role of non-government organizations in managing youth misconduct through programs like horticulture therapy and theatre troupes. These efforts are often aimed at “micro” risk factors and are difficult to evaluate, prove or disprove. It is difficult to evaluate programs such as horticulture therapy and theatre troupes for their role in “reducing” youth misconduct among youth participants. Pre and post evaluation that would attempt to measure the likelihood of youth recidivism (dependant variable) based on engagement in horticulture therapy or theatre troupes (independent variables) is difficult because the independent variable cannot possibly be isolated from other factors, such as other positive activities in a youth’s life that may contribute to lawful behaviour in the future. These programs may in fact have positive outcomes, perhaps as distractions or as means for building positive relationships but largely they continue to operate based on the assumption that they are effective because they cannot be disproved. However, it should be noted that some programs may have greater potential than others. The understanding of risk factors is shifting from established macro social and developmental risk factors to micro risk factors.

These discourses that encourage responsabilizing non-government organizations uphold, titillate and produce the *knowledge* that non-government organizations should and are able to assist in the management of youth misconduct. The *power* outcomes or effects of this are that producing or titillating this knowledge among social agents could contribute to the expectation that misbehaving youth can access effective programming in order to reduce the likelihood of misconduct. This validates neo-liberal governmentalities that often parcel

out governance to non-government organizations. This diffusion of governance also places a great emphasis on the role of the individual to participate and improve.

#### **4.24 Social Problems, Individual Responses?**

The programs that are offered in the community for young offenders call on the youth to work on themselves as projects in order to address the risk factors that are contributing to their misbehaviour. While some may argue that engaging the individual in this process yields positive results in regards to individual rehabilitation, is this an appropriate strategy for youth? Is it realistic and appropriate to expect misbehaving youth to work on themselves as projects when their behaviour is deeply rooted in social problems that existed long before they did? The current youth justice legislation in Canada recognizes that young offenders have not fully developed and matured. As such, they are considered less responsible for their crimes than adults; age is always a mitigating factor (Doob & Cesaroni, 2004). Youth are Canada's "least accountable" population. Is it appropriate to think that someone at this stage of maturity and development can effectively self-manage? What is being asked of young people contradicts what is known about this stage in development (Doob & Cesaroni, 2004). The existence of these programs allows the onus for resolving the issue of youth misconduct to move from the government to individual youths, making this "least accountable" population individually responsible for their own actions.

Discourses that encourage individual responsabilization emphasize the role of individual youth in the management of their own behaviour and self-improvement. This upholds certain truths about the roles misbehaving youth can play in their own development. Therefore, these discourses produce and titillate the *knowledge* that youth can use the tools



and programs available to them to effectively work on themselves and eliminate misbehaving tendencies. However, when the effectiveness of some of these programs is questionable, youth are effectively given the expectation and responsibility to self-manage without the tools to resolve problems that are ultimately rooted in social and developmental factors. By titillating the viewpoint that youth can self-manage, it becomes acceptable to hold youth responsible for their actions. Harsh punishments that are typical under current political regimes become suitable because the individual assumes responsibility for their actions. Consistent with Pratt (1999), youth are effectively given the right to be held criminally responsible for their actions.

Within discourses that encourage individual responsabilization, *The Toronto Star* “neo-liberal era” articles discussed criminality as a rational choice. While some social context surrounding youth crimes is acknowledged, the neo-liberal minded responsabilization for making the choice to misbehave consistently overrides this context. The social factors that surround those “free choices” are undermined. The power outcomes or effects of upholding the truth that youth misconduct is a rational choice is that this *knowledge* renders youth more punishable. By overriding social factors and framing youth misconduct as a rational choice, youth are more punishable because they seem to have chosen this outcome without any type of contextual factors as an influence. Framing youth misbehaviour as a rational choice removes the social context that often regarded as a mitigating factor of youth misconduct. Creating a punishable youth validates neo-liberal governance by confirming that harsher criminal justice policies are necessary. This trend is noted in neo-liberal approaches (Garland, 2001) as well as in Canadian youth justice policies (Tanner, 2001).

#### 4.25 Problematizing The Microization of Risk

In addition to diffusing governance onto non-government groups as discussed above, the risk discourses that emerge in the “neo-liberal era” articles are problematic for several additional reasons. Some of the risk slippery slopes essentially problematized the freedoms that are heavily valued in liberal democracies. As noted in the summary of research findings, at times exercising freedom of speech and expression was problematized in *The Toronto Star*. Some examples of risk factors associated with youth misconduct that were titillated surrounding misbehaving youth amongst *The Toronto Star*'s middle-class readership included naming babies unique names, listening to particular types of music and holding some types of social gatherings. Several *Toronto Star* articles problematized specific types of music events such as raves, youth house parties and artistic pieces written about youth who avenge their bullies as risk factors related to youth misconduct or crime. This is problematic because the exercise of freedoms, such as expression and association, of certain individuals are being problematized and labelled as risks to society. It is also problematic because this trend was only observed in *The Toronto Star*, a paper targeting primarily the middle-class. This is further problematic as it titillates some forms of freedom of speech as a risk to society amongst the middle-class. This titillates limitations on freedom of expression and association, disproportionately managing, criticizing and responsabilizing middle-class freedom of expression. This produces the *knowledge* that it is sometimes appropriate or necessary to limit certain freedoms in order to manage risks to society amongst the middle-class.

In addition to this, the chain of risk factors I discuss above, truancy leading to teen pregnancy, which leads to school dropout then misconduct or crime, creates a slippery slope

of risk between several outcomes that are connected spuriously. The connections are spurious as the links are not necessarily indicative of a causal relationship (they may not increase the likelihood that misconduct will follow) and because at every link in the chain, the outcomes could differ drastically depending on many factors. While school completion may be a predictor of youth misconduct, truancy does not always lead to teen pregnancy, drop out and misconduct. There is not a strong enough base to justify problematizing these as risk factors that contribute to youth misconduct. This microization of risk produces the *knowledge* and titillates the viewpoint that addressing these “micro” risk factors is the answer to resolving youth crime. The *power* outcome or effect of upholding this truth among social agents is that non-government groups may be mobilizing to address risk factors that may bare no causal relationship to youth misconduct.

#### **4.26 Summary: The Genealogical Analysis of Responsibilization**

Analyzing these discursive findings, it becomes apparent that there are discrepancies between the truths that the sample newspaper articles upheld about the roles of non-government groups and what these groups may actually be enabled to contribute to the management of misbehaving youth. The developmental needs approach that emerged in the “welfare era” placed a lot of emphasis on the government to innovate, improve and do more for the public. Conversely, dividing youth misconduct into “micro” risks creates the illusion that non-government groups hold the solution to youth misconduct.

In completing a Foucaudian genealogical analysis, scholars typically analyze the *power* outcomes or effects in terms of implications discourse can have for policy. It is argued here that the *power* outcomes of validating neo-liberal governmentalities in

newspapers are that policies are confirmed in their current state since the discourse in the media supports and validates neo-liberal policy.

In addition to reflecting and validating neo-liberal governmentalities, newspapers can also improve the efficiency of strategies of governance. This is done by upholding certain truths about the roles that non-government groups should play in the processes of governance. Therefore, another *power* outcome or effect of this discourse is that the newspapers can confirm governance and render it more efficient by encouraging people to actively self-manage. It makes governance more efficient by validating governmentalities through a widespread public interface from which many social agents acquire an understanding of crime and justice issues.

#### **4.3 Resistance to Neo-liberal Discourse**

I have noted the problems with reflecting and validating neo-liberal governmentalities in newspapers. However, as I have discussed in my findings chapter, the emergence of neo-liberal governmentalities was not entirely without resistance. Recall that manifestations of resistance for the purposes of this research were considered to be discourse that contradicted or exhibited some form of critical thought toward current strategies of governance, for example neo-liberal discourse in the newspapers' defined "welfare era" or welfare discourse in the newspapers' defined "neo-liberal era". Discourse in the "welfare era" was consistent with welfare discourse. In the "transitional era", both discourses conflicted and competed for news coverage. Some resistance in the form of "internal contestation" emerged toward neo-liberal governmentalities in *The Globe and Mail* during the "neo-liberal era". Conversely, *The Toronto Star* did not demonstrate any resistance to

neo-liberal discourse in the “neo-liberal era”. Below, I problematize the differential emergence of resistance in both publications in this “neo-liberal era”, which raises questions about the relationship between class and governmentality. I will begin by reconsidering my findings regarding resistance in light of what both newspaper publications maintain is their current focus or mandate.

Consistent with *The Globe and Mail’s* current mandate, the newspaper is written for the professional, upper-class, who are only satisfied by the critical content present in *Globe and Mail* articles (see *Globe and Mail*, 2010), *The Globe and Mail* did contain content that was critical of current strategies of governance by maintaining welfare discourse at times, which took the form of welfare discourse that acknowledges the role of developmental factors in contributing to misconduct.

*The Toronto Star’s* mandate is rooted in fighting for social welfare. While the newspaper’s editors maintain that the “Toronto Star continues to respect and reflect [Atkinson’s] finest principles” (*Toronto Star*, 2010, 1), *The Toronto Star* seems to embrace current neo-liberal governmentalities without resistance or lingering manifestations of welfare discourse. Ironically, the newspaper is being used in exactly the opposite fashion in which it was intended. While *The Toronto Star* was previously used to gain public support for welfare-oriented policies, it currently functions to reflect, reinforce and increase the efficiency of neo-liberal strategies of governing that emphasize diminished government responsibility for the social needs of the public.

Below, I reconsider the theories of resistance outlined in the literature review section in order to problematize the lack of resistance emerging in *The Toronto Star* in the “neo-liberal era”. Scholars attempting to theorize resistance and contestation often consider

whether or not resistance is futile, especially if it is constantly appropriated by those in positions of social power, such as the government. The strength and potential of resistance or critical thought in the media should not be undermined as the outcomes of titillating resistance in the media are unclear. Perhaps resistance to strategies of governance in the media motivates mobilization and activism among the target audience. Perhaps it cannot be assumed that the media has an *effect on* its readers but the potential outcome that titillating resistant viewpoints is unknown and should not be dismissed. For this reason, titillating resistance among *The Globe and Mail* target audience, moral communities comprised of the more highly educated, professional and upper-class minority only is problematic. Resistance is important because it invites conversation and critical thought. It makes it so that newspaper content that gets widespread public exposure as a significant public interface and source for public information about crime and law does not merely passively accept society as it is. All resistant or critical action was at one point critical thought. Therefore, the potential of critical thought to translate into action and therefore contribute to societal change cannot be underestimated. It is through this understanding of resistance, critical thought and action that I problematize the differential emergence of resistance between both publications.

The first problem with the Toronto Star's lack of resistance to strategies of governance in the "neo-liberal era" is that it indicates that for the middle-class majority of the population, newspapers are used for titillation rather than public information, for which newspapers have tremendous potential. Given that newspapers are a significant public interface, newspapers are a medium with a vast potential to communicate information to the public about the realities of crime and governance, political hot-button issues about which

much of the population likely has little to no firsthand experience or formal education and from which the public generally indicates that they gain the majority of their information about crime and law. Unfortunately, my results suggest that newspapers can be used to validate governance by supporting or titillating particular approaches to governance. The particular forms of resistance I coded for were those that supported a critical thinking about governance and therefore the possibility of critical action. While there is little to no resistance to neo-liberal strategies of governance in this form in *The Toronto Star*, there is some resistance to neo-liberal strategies of governance in *The Globe and Mail*. This is consistent with *The Globe and Mail's* editors' promise that they provide critical content for their upper, professional class readers who are satisfied only by this content. It is being assumed that middle-class readers of *The Toronto Star* are not interested in critical content, which I argue is problematic. As I explained earlier, media target populations are composed of groups of moral communities of social agents. They can exercise agency given that they can consider, learn, adapt appropriate and make decisions about voting and decisions about how they live their lives more generally. Since they are agents whose thoughts and opinions can have very real outcomes, especially through voting, they can impact policies about crime and governance. As such, they need the full spectrum of ideas about current governance, they require critical thought in order to make informed decisions, or they need the ability of critical thinking, one that is fostered by exposure to critical content which is only present in *The Globe and Mail*. A lack of critical thought limits agents' abilities to make informed decisions and impact policies. Since *The Toronto Star's* readership is comprised of the middle class majority of voting social agents, the power outcomes or effects of not having resistance to current strategies of governance would be to confirm neo-liberal governance as

it is. This impedes improvements to strategies of governance by impeding public recognition that neo-liberal strategies of governance have their limitations.

The notion of titillation, as explained by Chibnall (1977) indicates that people will read what confirms their sensibilities and their prejudices. Therefore, the media functions to titillate the thoughts and sensibilities of its target audience. The target audience is drawn to what they already think; they are interested in reading what they already know to be true. Arguably then, titillation is generally problematic because since people are drawn to what they know, titillation has the inverse effect of education as it maintains public knowledge in its current state. This is unfortunate given the widespread distribution and popularity of *The Toronto Star*. When newspaper articles are written to be straightforward and simplified and to titillate the reader's existing knowledge and viewpoints in order to appeal to the majority of the population thus maximizing the potential for fiscal gain, these fiscal interests compete with public education. Titillating sensibilities and confirming readers' existing views is a good marketing strategy for the paper but it is not good for public information, knowledge expansion and the stimulation of critical thought. If public access to information and education is not accomplished through media that is widespread or through academic work (whereby academics typically write for other academics), what mechanisms are in place to educate the public about crime and justice issues and give them the information that they need in order to make informed decisions about the management of misbehaviour or crime? Resistance and critical analysis of policies in the media has the potential to influence re-evaluation and change. Instead of using media in this productive way, it is largely being used to confirm what people already know to be true about governance, which is precisely the opposite of public information and education.



If target populations are reading what confirms their prejudices, then the middle class is simply reinforcing political attitudes that are consistent to current governmentalities, given the lack of resistance in this publication. No critical thought towards current strategies of governance is stimulated among the middle class majority. Perhaps this is why, as noted by Garland (2001), there is diversity in political perspectives on developmental needs vs. neo-liberal strategies. Due to the lack of resistance and critical thought, diverse and resistant titillations are lacking so there is no demand for diverse political perspectives among the majority of the voting population.

In *The Toronto Star*, the role of the public in the management of youth misconduct is passively accepted without resistance amongst the majority of the population, despite the fact that, as I argue above, this may not be enabled to adequately respond to the issue of youth misconduct. This could potentially result in widespread public misinformation amongst middle-class moral communities of social agents about the role that they can realistically play in the management of youth misconduct. This may contribute these groups misdirecting their attention to efforts that may not be effective. This can also contribute to what others can realistically expect from these groups, thus removing blame from the government for the macro problems.

Given that *The Toronto Star* is widely distributed primarily among the middle-class, it is evident that this functions to discredit social context and validate the notion of a level playing field and image of rational misbehaving youth to many middle-class Canadians. It is also interesting to note the stronger prevalence and assertion of the overt offloading of governance in *The Toronto Star*. Since newspapers are a significant public interface, it can be said that the middle-class is disproportionately being asked to manage youth misconduct

using non-government based intervention. This functions to disproportionately responsabilize the middle-class as opposed to in *The Globe and Mail* (targeting the upper or professional class) where this trend is noted on a lesser scale. This prompts an interesting question that lies outside of the scope of this research: What is the relationship between class and governmentality?

In order to make a connection between the emergence and evolution of strategies of governance in political regimes and in the media, it is important to consider the order in which the strategies emerged in politics vs. in media. As outlined in the literature review, scholars begin to note the shift from welfare to neo-liberal discourse in political regimes and policies as early as 1970. From the sample, it is apparent that the shift in the media begins around 1985. Since the media is titillating or confirming current strategies of governance through a significant public interface, it is advocating support for what current political regimes are doing. As current governmentalities emerge in the media in the “transitional era”, there is resistance in both newspapers, resistance back and forth between manifestations of welfare and neo-liberal discourse. It then appears that by the newspaper’s defined “neo-liberal era”, *Toronto Star* content has embraced manifestations of neo-liberal discourse, which are now widespread in political regimes. *The Globe and Mail* content continues to at times titillate the current neo-liberal political regimes but also contains some critical thought and resistance to current neo-liberal political regimes however, this is amongst the professional class minority, while there is little critical thought about current neo-liberal political regimes in the significant public interface primarily of the middle-class majority. Without critical thought and resistance among the majority of the voting population, the current strategies of governance cannot be overturned or rejected entirely.

These are the power outcomes or effects of resistance to discourse being present only in *The Globe and Mail*, a publication written for professional, upper class minority of the population.

As seen above, there is little direct resistance or critical thought surrounding neo-liberal strategies of governance in *The Toronto Star* in the “neo-liberal era”. However, closely analyzing youth psychological portrayals and other ways of criticizing youth for reflecting neo-liberalism, it becomes apparent that another way in which neo-liberalism is criticized is through the catalyst of misbehaving youth, at times in *The Globe and Mail* and frequently throughout *The Toronto Star*. Below I discuss the discursive findings relevant to youth psychological portrayals, the way in which this discourse reflects and reinforces sovereign aspects of governance and explore the implications of the discourse by completing the genealogy through an examination of the relationship between youth psychological portrayals discourse, knowledge and power. It is through this triad that I explore the implications of problematizing the neo-liberal approach to governance largely through the lens of society’s young people.

#### **4.4 Youth Psychological Portrayals**

Prior to analyzing youth psychological portrayals as they emerged in my sample, below I briefly review the research findings regarding youth psychological portrayals. During the “welfare era”, as it was defined for the purposes of this research, psychological portrayals of misbehaving youth were consistent with psychological portrayals of average youth. Misbehaving youth were portrayed as youth with typical human emotions such as empathy. The difference between misbehaving youth and average, well-behaved youth was

that misbehaving youth were spoken of as experiencing some sort of social troubles. Conversely, youth superpredator discourse appeared often during the “transitional era”. In the “neo-liberal era”, youth superpredator discourse continues to appear frequently in *The Toronto Star* and appears occasionally in *The Globe and Mail*. The youth superpredator is often used to justify harsher punishments for young offenders. Also in *The Toronto Star*, youth are criticized more directly for reflecting neo-liberalism in the “neo-liberal era”.

Portraying youth as superpredators, violent, remorseless youth that lack ties to humanity creates a punishable individual. This demonization of youth frames youth as dangerous and impulsive threats to safety. As such, society is in need of protection from its youth (Rapping, 2003, 203). Creating this punishable individual reaffirms the need for the sovereign to possess final authority. The image of the youth superpredator establishes and maintains relationships of legitimate authority so that authority itself is maintained (Kelly, 2003, 174) by creating a population that needs to be punished and from which society requires protection.

In addition to reaffirming sovereignty by creating a punishable individual, it is also argued that the discourse in the media sample articles upholds the truth that all youth are punishable and that they can't behave acceptably. This is consistent with Rapping (2003, 203) who argues that society harbours negative attitudes toward youth in general. Below I take a deeper look at the discourse around youth psychological portrayals in these research findings, I discuss the knowledge or truths upheld and explore the potential power outcomes or effects.

As discussed in the literature review section, the youth superpredator is an exaggerated reflection of neo-liberalism. This ruthless, emotionless predator that feels no

remorse or sympathy for the harm they cause to others resembles neo-liberalism in that the individual is independent, selfish and has no regard for the welfare of others. This youth superpredator opposes youth psychological portrayals in the “welfare era”, which spoke of misbehaving youth as average psychologically. As demonstrated by the above results, misbehaving youth have often been criticized for reflecting neo-liberalism through the image of the juvenile superpredator in the newspapers. This image of a youth superpredator is also often used to justify harsher sentencing for young offenders. It appears that the neo-liberal youth is being criticized and targeted with harsh responses for reflecting the neo-liberal mindset that characterizes many aspects of the society in which they were raised.

In addition to this, *Toronto Star* articles in the “neo-liberal era” often criticize youth for reflecting neo-liberalism. Youth are described as “realistic and pragmatic” (166). They are “self-involved and disappointed”. They are “sceptical of anything that comes from the contemporary world”. They are “deeply cynical kids who are determined to take care of themselves no matter how screwy the world gets”, about which “it’s almost impossible to be idealistic”. It is evident that youth are being criticized for looking out for themselves despite the circumstances that surround them while neo-liberal discourse emphasizes and commends this type of self-responsibility. While youth are criticized for this, this is exactly the message a neo-liberal mindset sends; no matter how poor a person is, no matter the circumstances you are up against, they must meet their own needs. It is interesting to note that criticisms or resistance to neo-liberal discourse are absent in *The Toronto Star* and at times are present in *The Globe and Mail*. As such, youth become the primary targets in the media of criticism for the shortfalls of neo-liberal society. In *The Toronto Star*, neo-liberal society is criticized only through the misbehaving youth. This is consistent with Rapping (2003, 204) youth

superpredators, as well as youth in general I would argue, become the “scapegoats for all that is wrong in society”. It is interesting to note what these findings suggest for Rapping’s question: “do we love or hate our children?” These research findings seem to suggest that children are set up to fail by problematizing the entire spectrum of possible youth behaviour, thus putting them in situations where they cannot possibly behave acceptably. Instead of talking about youth misconduct, we are now talking about youth *as* misconduct.

The knowledge or truth upheld by this discourse is that youth are problematic generally, whether they deviate from society or mirror society. This titillates harsh responses to misbehaving youth, who seem to have been dubbed a generally problematic population. This titillation brings us to consider the power outcomes or effects of portraying youth as superpredators with fundamentally different psyches than average human beings and problematizing youth generally.

It is important to consider the power outcomes or effects of the above in light of public information since newspapers are widespread and since the public admittedly gains much of their information about crime and justice from newspapers. When youth are portrayed as superpredators and when their behaviour is problematized more generally and this is communicated to the public through a widespread public interface such as newspapers, support can be gained for politically conservative policies among the voting public. Taylor’s (2002) work has previously discussed this power outcome or effect of portraying youth as superpredators in the media. Taylor (2002) argues that conservative laws were put into place in order to manage an anticipated wave of juvenile superpredators. Taylor argues that this eruption never occurred and that conservative policies are now in existence to respond to something that does not exist. This is consistent with Kappeler,

Blumberg and Potter (2000, 177-178) who observe that “the crime wave that the media and politicians prophesied never took place”. The idea that society was under attack by an army of juvenile superpredators was a myth.

It is interesting to further consider these power outcomes or effects in light of the evolution of youth justice legislation. The youth superpredator and criticizing youth for reflecting neo-liberalism emerges in the transitional era, which is represented by “snapshots” of discourse in 1985 and 1986 in *The Globe and Mail* and 1989 and 1990 in *The Toronto Star*. This superpredator seems to emerge in the media slightly after youth justice policies begin to move further and further toward crime control and punishment (Tanner, 2001). As such, perhaps the power outcomes or effects of this are confirming amongst that the population that these new harsher laws are necessary.

These power outcomes or effects of the juvenile superpredator panic on politicians’ arguments and legislation have been documented elsewhere (see Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter, 2000). Politicians began to argue that, based on testimonies of “experts”, “a tidal wave of juvenile crime and violence is gathering force” and that “the coming crime wave is not so much due to poverty as to a poverty of values. While more police and prisons may help, the cure [...] is a renaissance of personal responsibility” (Kappeler et al, 2000, 177). In many jurisdictions, policy makers were so alarmed by this upcoming wave that they began to transform current systems of juvenile justice.

This is consistent with Tanner (2001) and Bell’s (2002) observations in Canada that youth justice legislation shifted further and further toward punishment and crime control, beginning with the Young Offenders Act in 1984 and also through the Youth Criminal Justice Act in 2003.

The above seems to indicate that, in part as the result of this media panic around the title wave of juvenile superpredators, society and the government, as illustrated in policy, have cut ties to the well-being of youth and are no longer taking responsibility for misbehaving youth and their needs. It can be argued based on the above that the myth of the superpredators functioned as the means for implementing harsher sentences for youth. The myth also functioned as the means and justification for placing the responsibility to address the welfare, needs and behaviour of misbehaving youth on non-government organizations, families and youth themselves. Next I discuss how this diffusion of responsibility emerges both overtly and covertly in my sample using Foucault's rationalities of discipline and government and explore the knowledge and power outcomes or effects of this discourse of responsabilization.

### **CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

This research examines sample articles from only two different publications within one Canadian city. As such, results may not be generalizable to newspapers in other publications in other areas and therefore it cannot be said that all newspapers fit within the characteristics I have outlined. However, it is still valuable to consider what my findings imply for media-and-society literature.

Above I have argued that newspapers can reflect governance by examining manifestations of Foucault's three rationalities for the art of government: *sovereignty*, *discipline* and *government*. I have also argued that newspapers can validate governance by speaking about youth misconduct in certain ways (*discourse*) thus upholding certain truths (*knowledge*) and having certain effects or outcomes (*power*). I have also argued that by



validating neo-liberal governmentalities that diffuse responsibility, newspapers can make governance more efficient by rendering individuals useful and controlled (see Appendix VIII for a diagram which illustrates this argument). Below I reconsider some perspectives on the place of media in society in light of my findings.

The functionalist consensus perspective maintains that the media performs a social control function by presenting values that are important to society. My argument supports the notion that the media plays a role in promoting a useful and controlled population, not by performing social control onto target audiences, but rather by encouraging social agents to become active in their own governance, thus rendering them controlled and efficient. Other functionalist perspectives suggest that the media blunts cognitive functions so that readers cannot resist antisocial messages, influences rational choices or has a cathartic effect. Effects research maintains that media can have a direct, causal effect on behaviour as seeing violence can lead target audiences to perform violence. These perspectives minimize the agency of the target audience and also do not consider whose interests are served by the media.

Marxism argues that the media serves the bourgeoisie and functions to control the working-class. My research supports elements of Marxism in that the media seems to disproportionately responsabilize the middle-class target audience of *The Toronto Star*, which has prompted me to pose the question: What is the relationship between class and governmentality? However, Marxism glosses over agency amongst the target population of media. As does the Frankfurt School, which maintains that the media is a tool for controlling the minds and the feelings of the masses and the “hypodermic needle theory”, which proposes that the media directly and uniformly influences the target audience by “injecting”

the population with messages that are designed to trigger a desired response. My results indicate that newspapers are advantageous to governance by encouraging consenting agents to participate in the governance of troublesome populations, rather than by coercion, exploitation or “uniform” injection of a particular message. Seeking to further understand the media-and-society relationship through governmentality theory allows an analysis that considers the multitude of power outcomes or effects of producing particular knowledges through a particular discourse among social agents. Interpreting the effects of media in this way recognizes the agency of media target audiences and avoids making power appear uni-dimensional, or available only to those in positions of power such as the government, which are limitations of the Marxist and Frankfurt School approaches.

Pluralism maintains that the media allows diversity and can actually improve democracy by allowing a voice for diverse viewpoints. While my findings do indicate that resistance to current governance is possible in the media, there was not a tremendous amount of diversity apparent in the views presented and the critical content that appears seems to emerge only professional, upper-class moral communities of social agents that comprise the target audience of *The Globe and Mail*. This “optimistic” perspective fails to consider ways in which the media can benefit certain groups, such as the upper-class or the government.

Reception studies focus on the role of the receiver in the media and society relationship, as receptors, individuals exposed to the media can interpret what they are in contact with in different ways. It has been useful to consider what target audiences “do” with media in my consideration of *power* outcomes or effects but reception studies cannot on their own bring an end to the literary conversation on the place of media in society.

Consistent with mythology of crime research, I note the emergence of the juvenile superpredator. Further to this, I explore the portrayal of the youth superpredator as a neo-liberal construct and investigate how the myth of the juvenile superpredator reinforces and validates governance through the legitimization of sovereignty. Perhaps then, crime myths are a means for legitimizing the sovereign final authority over a territory and authority to punish.

My argument then is the following: The media does appear to serve the interests of government, not because it affects, controls or exploits a passive audience but because, on the contrary, it reflects and confirms current governmentalities and therefore encourages an active population. Rather than shaping, affecting or controlling a passive audience, the media plays a role in the activation of self-governance by encouraging target audiences to become active agents in population management. It should be noted that in making this argument I am not suggesting that the government is deliberately controlling media content in order to use the media to validate neo-liberal governmentalities. This reflection of governmentalities in media seems to be a sort of productive happenstance that perhaps results from a lack of critical thought around policies, which end up being confirmed in media, perpetuating a cycle of media confirming policies and policies confirming media.

I am not the first researcher to draw on governmentality theory to understand the media's relationship to society. Palmer (2003) makes a similar argument in examining the role of television documentaries in the process of governance. I argue that there are benefits to using governmentality theory to understand the media-and-society relationship the way Palmer (2003) and I have.

In this section, I have discussed the limitations of other media-and-society approaches and I have explained what this governmentality approach contributes to these perspectives and their limitations. Through this, I have demonstrated the ability for governmentality theory to facilitate a critical analysis of the media-society relationship that accounts for the important aspect of human agency to avoid a top-down approach that makes power relations appear uni-dimensional. A Foucaudian genealogical analysis also facilitates the same, by allowing us to understand *discourse* in terms of the *knowledge* it may produce and the possible *power* outcomes or effects the depending on how this *knowledge* is understood, utilized or appropriated by social agents. As such, governmentality theory and Foucaudian genealogy have the potential to make valuable contributions to understanding the media-and-society relationship. The governmentality approach is useful because, consistent with Howitt (1998, 17), the most useful ways of understanding the media-and-society relationship are those that draw tentative links between media and society, as they consider potential outcomes or effects without stating direct uninterrupted linear outcomes. Below I suggest some further implications of my findings and provide several suggestions for further research.

I have explored how newspapers can reflect governance by examining the emergence of Foucault's three rationalities for the art of government emerge in my findings. I also explore how newspapers can validate and render neo-liberal governmentalities more efficient by exploring the relationship between my discursive findings, the *knowledge* they produce or titillate and the *power* outcomes or effects of producing this *knowledge*. In light of the problems associated with the neo-liberal diffusion of responsibility and microization of risk, I have problematized the validation of neo-liberal strategies of governance in my sample. I

have analyzed my findings in terms of resistance and problematized the lack of resistance in *The Toronto Star* using discourse, knowledge and power. The findings regarding youth psychological portrayals in terms of sovereignty, discipline and government and explored the relationship between this discourse and the knowledge power relationship have been analyzed. I have also problematized the emergence of criticisms of neo-liberalism as they emerge through criticizing misbehaving youth.

As demonstrated above, the neo-liberal approach is not without its flaws. While it is recognized that media target audiences are comprised of social agents, these social agents can only exercise *power* relations within the realm of the *knowledge* they possess. Therefore, it is important for media target audiences to be conscious of flaws and critical of the current approach to governance. If not then social agents that may lack the information necessary to formulate critical opinions can confirm policies and approaches the way they are and impede positive change in the current approach to governance. The lack of critical thought toward strategies of governance in general also has implications for youth as criticizing the current approach to governance through misbehaving youth primarily can allow youth to become more punishable. This can be seen in the genealogical analysis of youth psychological portrayals. Misbehaving youth become scapegoats for all that is wrong with contemporary society, which can lead to panic about the state of society as youth spiral out of control. There is a need to be critical of society outside of youth because otherwise these harsh punishments are recommended for something that is not as problematic as it seems or something that does not exist at all. This realization that misbehaving youth are often criticized in my sample for reflecting neo-liberalism has also caused me to wonder if neo-liberalism is also criticized through the lens of other troublesome populations. Are strategies

of governance primarily scrutinized through troublesome populations? It would be interesting to explore this question in media and policy discourse in further research.

It would be valuable to explore similar research in other areas within Canada to understand the scope of public misinformation and how resistance emerges to see if other areas demonstrate differences by class. I have made some interesting observations by comparing discourse in two newspapers that target different target audiences: professional upper class and middle-class.

In addition to the argument I have made, I have also demonstrated that governmentality theory, Foucault's three rationalities for the art of government and Foucault's genealogy triad are useful tools for understanding media discourse. As such, it would be interesting to explore through further research the genealogy of neo-liberal discourse in other "everyday" communication mediums that the general public is exposed to regularly that could reflect and validate governance, such as television, radio and perhaps even the internet. This would be useful in formulating an understanding of the full spectrum of points of contact that can assist in rendering populations useful, controlled and efficient.

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Appendix I: Using Governmentality Theoretical Concepts to Build Welfare and Neo-Liberal Discourse

<b>Governmentality Theoretical Concepts Operationalized &amp; Referenced</b>	
<b>Concept</b>	<b>Discourse Indicators</b>
<b>Welfare Discourse</b>	<p><b>Emphasis on government responsibility for young offenders' developmental needs:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-rehabilitation/ reintegration into society following criminal behavior (Silverstein, 2005)</li> <li>-mental/physical health needs</li> <li>-divert young offenders from criminal tendencies</li> <li>-access housing, income and education (Rose,1996)</li> <li>-level of self-esteem (Cruikshank, 1999)</li> </ul> <p><b>Government responsibility to manage the risk of young offenders:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-potential recidivism (Silverstein, 2005)</li> <li>-threat or harm to the community</li> </ul> <p><b>Civic virtue:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-discussion/implication of social ties to specific young offender or young offenders in general (Cruikshank, 1999)</li> </ul> <p><b>Individualistic: Mentions the developmental needs of maladjusted individuals</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-acknowledges violent family life</li> <li>-acknowledges mental health needs (Rose, 1996)</li> </ul>
<b>Neo-liberal Discourse</b>	<p><b><u>GENERAL</u></b></p> <p><b>Encouragement of youth playing an active role in their rehabilitation, reintegration or self-improvement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-responsibilized programming (Cruikshank, 1999)</li> <li>-encouragement of young offenders to work on their self-esteem, psychological rehabilitation or employability (Foucault, 1982)</li> </ul> <p><b>Support for rehabilitative ideals</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Theme of theory failure of rehabilitative programs (Garland, 2001)</li> </ul> <p><b>More punitive sanctions (Garland, 2001)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-demand for carceral punishment</li> <li>-longer prison sentences</li> <li>-mandatory minimums</li> </ul> <p><b>Lack of emphasis on reintegration/mitigating factors</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-does not mention the needs of maladjusted individuals such as mental health needs, financial needs or need for education and training</li> <li>-instead of reference to deprivation and social factors that can influence crime, young offenders are portrayed as rational choice-makers (Garland, 2001)</li> </ul> <p><b>Theme of holding young offenders accountable</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-words like ownership, accountability, prudence, competency and social responsibility.</li> <li>-harsher sentences (Pratt, 1999)</li> </ul>

**The “individualization” of matters/responsibilities (Haggerty, 2003)**

-poverty, reducing recidivism and rehabilitation are matters that must be managed and resolved by young offenders themselves (Foucault, 1991; Haggerty, 2003)

**RESPONSIBILIZATION/DIFFUSION OF GOVERNANCE**

**-Themes of encouragement of young offenders to manage their own behavior/risk (Foucault, 1991)**

**-Themes of the importance of community members and families managing the young offender’s behavior (Silverstein, 2005)**

**-Themes of individuals, communities and government being partners in security (Garland, 2001)**

-community and individual involvement in crime control and security is emphasized (Rose, 1999)

**-Reference to “individualized matters”:** Poverty, crime, mental illness and lack of access to education are portrayed as individual problems to be solved by the individual through the labor market or marriage.

(Chunn & Gavigan, 2006)

**-Encouragement of any of the following:** social responsibility, social citizenship, self-government, accountability, ownership, competency, prudence and maturity of young offenders. (Rose, 1996; Haggerty, 2003; Pratt, 1999)

**RISK DISCOURSE**

**The following themes will be considered indicators of risk:**

-state dependence (Rose, 1996)

-lack of self-sufficiency (Rose, 1996)

-poor/irresponsible choices (Rose, 1996)

-recidivism as a risk to society (Silverstein, 2005)

-drug abuse as a risk to society (Haggerty, 2003; O;Malley, 1999)

-welfare dependency (Chunn & Gavigan, 2006)

-poverty (Chunn & Gavigan, 2006)

-low self-esteem (Cruikshank, 1999)

**-these will be codified as risk discourses when they are portrayed as jeopardizing or threatening the safety or well-being of young offenders themselves, those around them or broader society in general (Garland, 2003)**

-words like danger, hazard and insecurity (Garland, 2003)

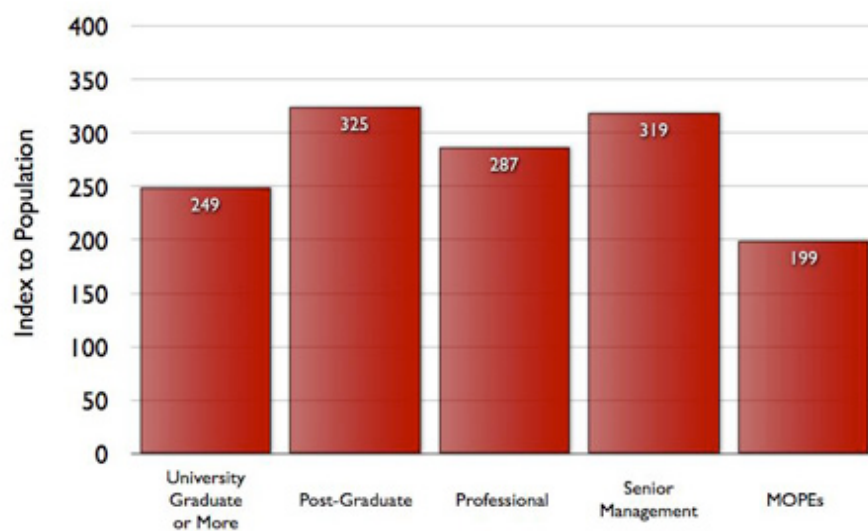
## Appendix II: Working Analytical Matrix

ITEMS	INDICATORS	NOTES
<b>1. WELFARE DISCOURSE</b>		
<b>Component A: Government Responsibility</b>		
<b>Nominal Definition A</b>	Emphasis on government responsibility for managing the needs or behaviour of misbehaving youth.	
<b>Key Question A</b>	Is the government responsible to manage the behaviour or meet the needs of misbehaving youth?	
<b>Indicator A Operationalized</b>	The government is responsible for youths': <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rehabilitation/reintegration</li> <li>• Mental/physical health needs</li> <li>• Diversion of youth from criminal or misbehaving tendencies</li> <li>• Access to housing, income and/or education</li> <li>• Level of self-esteem</li> <li>• Potential to recidivate</li> <li>• Threat of harm or damage to the community</li> </ul>	
<b>Component B: Civic Virtue &amp; Social Contributors</b>		
<b>Nominal Definition B</b>	Implication of social ties to a specific misbehaving youth or misbehaving youth in general. Acknowledgement of the role of social factors in contributing to youth misconduct. Government responsibility to address the needs of maladjusted individuals.	
<b>Key Questions B</b>	Is broader society tied to the needs of misbehaving youth? Is the role of social factors in contributing to youth misconduct acknowledged? Is the government responsible to address the needs of maladjusted individuals?	
<b>Indicator B Operationalized</b>	Societal ties to the well-being and needs of misbehaving youth. Social Contributors Acknowledged: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Violent, unstable or neglectful family life, mental health issues, poverty, substance abuse/addiction</li> </ul> Recommends that the government invests in programs which address the needs of maladjusted individuals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Psychological treatment, substance abuse counseling, etc.</li> </ul>	
<b>2. NEO-LIBERAL DISCOURSE</b>		
<b>Component C: Responsibilization</b>		
<b>Nominal Definition C</b>	Responsibility of individuals, communities, families and non-government organizations to manage youth misconduct. These non-government groups partner with the government in the name of security.	
<b>Key Question C</b>	Are individuals, communities, families or non-governmental organizations charged with the responsibility of managing youth misconduct?	
<b>Indicator C Operationalized</b>	<b>The Diffusion of Responsibility</b> --Encouraging families (neo-conservative), communities or NGOs to manage, prevent,	

	<p>control, respond to or investigate youth misconduct.</p> <p>Individuals, communities, families and non-government organizations are encouraged to manage youth in regards to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rehabilitation/reintegration</li> <li>• Education/employability</li> <li>• Self-esteem</li> <li>• Psychological health</li> <li>• Self-improvement</li> <li>• Behavior, criminal or misbehavior</li> </ul> <p><b>Individualization of Responsibility</b> Risks are portrayed as individualized matters (ie. Mental illness, access to education and poverty are to be resolved through working on one's self, the labour market or marriage)</p> <p>Youth are encouraged to engage in technologies of the self, ie. work on themselves as projects. For example, self-improvement through therapy or self-esteem building exercises.</p> <p>Encourages social responsibility, social citizenship, self-government, accountability, ownership, competency, prudence and/or maturity of misbehaving youth.</p>	
<b>Component D: Punitiveness, Accountability and the Loss of Rehabilitative Ideals</b>		
<b>Nominal Definition D</b>	Increased focus on accountability and punishment of misbehaving youth. Unfavourable views towards rehabilitative efforts.	
<b>Key Question D</b>	Does the content focus on the accountability or punishment of misbehaving youth and/or express unfavourable views towards rehabilitative efforts?	
<b>Indicator D Operationalized</b>	<p><b>Lack of support for rehabilitative ideals:</b> Discussion of theory failure of rehabilitative programs</p> <p><b>Need for more punitive sanctions:</b> Supports the use of prison sentences Requests harsher sentences Requests longer prison sentences Supports mandatory minimums</p> <p><b>Holding young offenders accountable:</b> Words like ownership, accountability, prudence, competency or social responsibility Misbehaviour is framed as a rational choice individual matter. The myth of the rational actor. The idea that youth should take responsibility for their individual situations.</p>	
<b>Component E: Risk Discourse</b>		
<b>Nominal Definition E</b>	Hazards to safety or well-being of misbehaving youth themselves, others or broader society more generally.	
<b>Key Question E</b>	<p>What is portrayed as a risk or hazard to the well-being of misbehaving youth themselves or what behavior among youth is portrayed as a risk to the safety of well-being of society?</p> <p>New risks to society: specific among youth, how were youth at</p>	

<b>Key Question E</b>	What is portrayed as a risk or hazard to the well-being of misbehaving youth themselves or what behavior among youth is portrayed as a risk to the safety of well-being of society? New risks to society: specific among youth, how were youth at risk defined? What was risky behavior?	
<b>Indicator E Operationalized</b>	The following will be codified as risk discourses when they are portrayed as jeopardizing the safety or well-being of young offenders themselves, others or broader society in general: -Dependence on the government -Making poor\irresponsible choices -Recidivism -Substance abuse -Welfare dependency -Poverty -Low self-esteem -Disempowerment -Words like danger, hazard, insecurity	
<b>3. DISCOURSE ON YOUTH PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE</b>		
<b>Component F: The Youth Superpredator</b>		
<b>Nominal Definition F</b>	Youth are portrayed as lacking typical human emotions, as inherently evil and ruthless “superpredators”.	
<b>Key Question F</b>	Are youth portrayed as evil and ruthless predators that lack typical human emotions such as empathy?	
<b>Indicator F Operationalized</b>	Youth are portrayed as emotionless, lacking ties to humanity Youth not showing remorse, emotion or sympathy for the welfare of others.	
<b>OTHER:</b>		

## Appendix III: Globe and Mail Readership Index to Population



Source: The Globe and Mail (2010). About our newspaper. Retrieved September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010 from <http://www.globelink.ca/newspaper/about/>



## Appendix IV: Sample Timeframes and Representing Years

SAMPLE TIMEFRAME	REPRESENTING YEARS
<b>The Toronto Star</b>	
Welfare Era	1977, 1981, 1985
Transition Era	1989, 1990
Neo-liberal Era	1994, 2001, 2008
<b>The Globe and Mail</b>	
Welfare Era	1977, 1981
Transition Era	1985, 1986
Neo-liberal Era	1994, 2001, 2008

## Appendix V: Distribution of Sample Articles by Year

The Globe and Mail:

<b>Timeframe</b>	<b>Actual number of Articles Analyzed</b>
<b>Welfare Era</b>	
1977	10
1981	10
<b>Transition</b>	
1985	10
1986	10
<b>Neo-liberal Era</b>	
1994	10
2001	10
2008	10
<b>Total:</b>	<b>70</b>

The Toronto Star:

<b>Timeframe</b>	<b>Actual number of Articles Analyzed</b>
<b>Welfare Era</b>	
1977	10
1981	10
1985	10
<b>Transition</b>	
1989	10
1990	10
<b>Neo-liberal Era</b>	
1994	10
2001	10
2008	10
<b>Total:</b>	<b>80</b>

## Appendix VI: List of Full References for Sample Articles

- (1\*) Yaffe, B. (1977, Dec. 28). At Hillcrest School some of the youths are rapists, killers. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 1.
- (2a) Access gained to young offenders' records. (1986, Nov. 17). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A4.
- (2b) Denno, D. (1985, Dec. 27). Are criminals born or made? New research explores biology as the key to criminal behavior. *The Toronto Star*, p. C15.
- (3) Sun writer is charged over column. (1986, Sep. 11). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A. 18.
- (4a) The law is unfair to boys in Alberta appeal court told. (1977, Jan. 11). *The Toronto Star*, p. A2.
- (4b) Parents could be liable—lawyer. (1981, Jan. 16). *The Toronto Star*, p. A15.
- (4c) Rincover, A. (1989, Dec. 30). Setting fires a conduct disorder that needs to be studied more. *The Toronto Star*, p. F2.
- (4d) Haliechuk, R. (1990, Dec. 7). Court denies Peel right to collect for juveniles. *The Toronto Star*, p. E7.
- (5a) Corrections minister asks communities to accept offenders. (1986, Aug. 26). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A13.
- (5b) Haliechuk, R. (1985, Dec. 20). Lawyer sure teen killer would be judged insane. *The Toronto Star*, p. A2.
- (5c) Shephard, M. (2001, Jan. 9). The class project that landed a student in jail. *The Toronto Star*, p. A3.
- (6a) Doing your own thing is out. (1981, Dec. 10). *The Globe and Mail*, p. 8.
- (6b) Barnes, A. (1986, Aug. 12). Hiding driving records from insurance firms to end soon for youths. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A1.
- (7) Vienneau, D. (1985, Dec. 17). RCMP sets up registry to help find missing kids. *Toronto Star*, p. A1.
- (8) Jail term for youths to be lifted. (1986, Jul. 29). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A3.
- (11) Castrator drug unfair to son father says. (1985, Nov. 18). *The Toronto Star*, p. A2.
- (12) Makin, K. (1986, May 30). Brockville digging in heels against young offenders' home. *Globe and Mail*, p. A15.
- (13a) Task-force study of family stress urged before curfew law passed. (1977, Nov. 15). *The Globe and Mail*, p. 4.
- (13b) Pigg, S. (1985, Nov. 13). Home turf results dash Johnston bid. *The Toronto Star*, p. B2.
- (14) Malarek, V. (1986, May 1). Amendments tabled to toughen Young Offenders Act. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A21.
- (15) Publication ban imposed at murder trial. (1989, Oct. 18). *The Toronto Star*, p. D32.
- (16a) Bill expected today to beef up penalties for young offenders. (1986, Apr. 30). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A4.
- (16b) Schools become more effective when they address social needs. (1990, Nov. 10). *The Toronto Star*, p. D3.
- (17) From Russia with love, but not marriage. (1985, Nov. 9). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A9.
- (18a) Sobel, D. (1981, Nov. 11). Study finds work as child aids mental state. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 16.

- (18b) Girl, 15, to undergo tests to determine mental capability. (1986, Mar. 6). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A14.
- (18c) Henton, D. (1985, Nov. 5). Youth act holds up the courts judge says. *The Toronto Star*, p. A3.
- (19) One system to oversee all young offenders. (2001, Nov. 9). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A25.
- (20) Claridge, T. (1986, Feb. 8). Ban upheld on using young offender names. *The Globe and Mail*, A20.
- (21) Tyler, T. (2008, Nov. 1). A floral approach to justice; Can tending flowers prevent criminals from reoffending? Some advocates say yes. *The Toronto Star*, p. ID1.
- (23) Jones, F. (1985, Oct. 7). Destroying these files is shameful. *The Toronto Star*, p. A15.
- (24) Police back on beat—walking all over Metro. (1981, Feb. 7). *The Toronto Star*, p. A3.
- (26) Most delinquency charges found to be theft-related. (1981, Oct. 30). *The Globe and Mail*, p. 17.
- (27a) Appleby, T. (2008, Nov. 14). Report seeks \$100-million for youth programs. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A17.
- (27b) Gillespie, K. (2001, Oct. 22). Youth crime legislation faces challenge ; Ontario plans to tell Senate bill not tough enough. *The Toronto Star*, p. A4.
- (28) Yaffe, B. (1977, Dec. 28). Foster care sought. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 5.
- (30a) Hooshangi, S. E. (1985, Aug. 6). End the adversarial approach in divorce cases, lawyer says. *The Toronto Star*, p. A18.
- (30b) 2 Live Crew trial bars spectators under 18. (1990, Oct. 17). *The Toronto Star*, p. E8.
- (32) Young offenders jailed longer under new law Ontario official says. (1985, Aug. 6). *The Toronto Star*, p. A9.
- (33) Harpur, T. (1985, Aug. 4). Is our Young Offenders Act too rigid for all? *The Toronto Star*, p. A8.
- (35) Best, M. (1977, Mar. 22). North York Council no longer brawling. *The Toronto Star*, p. D1.
- (36a) McCallum, P. (1977, Dec. 14). On the job and earning school credits. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 16.
- (36b) Lawlor, A. (2001, Sep. 28). Charges dropped against teen jailed for essay. *The Globe and Mail*, A10.
- (36c) Better deal for young offenders. (1977, Mar. 24). *The Toronto Star*, p. B6.
- (37) Becker, M. (1985, Sep. 2). The school of hard knocks. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 6.
- (40) Grant, D. (1981, Sep. 19). Burn victim's mother seeks award Favorable ruling may set precedent. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 1).
- (42a) Cernetig, M. (1985, Aug. 15). Tailoring courses to young children. *The Globe and Mail*, p. R8.
- (42b) Landsberg, M. (1990, Sep. 29). Troubled children dumped by schools. *The Toronto Star*, p. G1.
- (42c) Raminsky, L. (2008, Oct. 8). A better way to influence 14-year-olds. *The Toronto Star*, p. AA8.
- (44) What if your child is the bully? (1994, Nov. 6). *The Toronto Star*, p. B1.
- (47a) Rutherford, G. (1981, Sep. 1). Sold Drugs, Youth Held to View Jail. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 6.

- (47b) Capannelli, H. (2001, Sep. 5). Murder accused, 16, seeks youth trial. *The Toronto Star*, p. GT5.
- (48a) Butters, B. (1977, Dec. 10). Borstal-style reform schools for juveniles? *The Globe and Mail*, p. 8.
- (48b) Fine, S. (1994, Nov. 17). First-timers, second chance. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A20.
- (50) Smith, J. (2008, Oct. 16). Boy shot with pellet gun gravely injured. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A8.
- (52) Zosky, B. (1977, Apr. 16). Judge aims to cut the red tape that chokes kids. *The Toronto Star*, p. B3.
- (55a) Haslett Cuff, J. (1985, Jun. 13). Parents under attack. *The Globe and Mail*, p. B1.
- (55b) A reflection of our values. (2008, Oct. 4). *The Toronto Star*, p. AA5.
- (56) Report urges bill to outlaw asking minor to have sex. (1981, Jul 17). *The Globe and Mail*, p. 8.
- (57a) Cox, K. (2001, Aug. 4). Parents of dead boy pursue adult trial for young offender. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A6.
- (57b) Rivers, D. (1981, Mar. 21). Burlington family aid project fizzles. *The Toronto Star*, p. A26.
- (59) Giles, H. (1990, Aug. 30). Good nutrition can help delinquent behavior. *The Toronto Star*, p. A17.
- (67) Boy killed another to stop bullying. (1977, Jun. 3). *The Toronto Star*, p. A5.
- (68a) Nightingale, S. (1981, May 23). Judges still sending truants to maximum-security centres. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 1.
- (68b) Haslett Cuff, J. (1985, May 9). BABY BURGLARS Arson, burglary, sexual assault - what can anyone do with an 8-year-old criminal? *The Globe and Mail*, p. BL1.
- (68c) SOCIAL STUDIES. (2001, Jul. 16). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A16.
- (68d) Kids beware the evils of electronic music ; Police, media treat raves as a threat to societal order. (2001, Jul. 28). *The Toronto Star*, p. J3.
- (69) Counsellor's own incest story helps others. (1990, Jul. 31). *The Toronto Star*, E2.
- (72) Whittington, L. (2008, Sep. 23). PM's plan Life terms for 14-year-olds; Tougher sentencing key to crackdown on young offenders. *The Toronto Star*, p. A1.
- (79) Excess against excess. (2008, Sep. 24). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A18.
- (80a) Juvenile delinquents counsel other kids. (1981, Apr. 13). *The Globe and Mail*, p. 28.
- (80b) More mothers should quit work. (1981, May 3). *The Toronto Star*, D. 3.
- (81a) Malarek, V. (1985, Apr. 2). Corrections ministry hiring 500 to deal with young. *The Globe and Mail*, p. M1.
- (81b) Wong, C. (1990, Jul. 5). Group aids street kids 'on the brink'. *The Toronto Star*, p. N7.
- (82) Liquor blamed for destroying native life. (1977, Jul. 14). *The Toronto Star*, A7.
- (83) Ha, T. (2001, Jun. 22). Quebec to challenge young offenders bill. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A5.
- (84) Simpson, L. (1989, Nov. 18). Program matches high-risk kids with older pals. *The Toronto Star*, p. A6.
- (86) Josey, S. (1994, Oct. 6). 2 to be tried as adults in Feige slaying. *The Toronto Star*, Section B, p. A21.
- (87) Spiegelman, A. (1981, Mar. 6). Robbery, rape, murder N.Y. child crime soaring. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 15.
- (89a) Classmates rape girl, 7, police say. (1981, May 23). *The Toronto Star*, p. H2.

- (89b) Quinn, J. & Rankin, J. (2001, Jun. 14). It's a meaner city, crime snapshot shows; Violence on the increase last year. *The Toronto Star*, p. A1.
- (90) Rankin, K. (2008, Jul. 20). Politicians can't resist being 'tough on crime'; Despite falling crime rate, Liberals and Tories have both embraced mandatory minimums. *The Toronto Star*, p. A8.
- (93) Torture and punishment. (2008, Sep. 6). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A24.
- (95) Claridge, T. (1985, Mar. 1). Decision reserved in 1st murder trial under youth law. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 12.
- (99) Cox, K. (1994, Oct. 5). Help for young in Nova Scotia called inadequate. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A6.
- (101a) Butterfield, F. (1981, Jan. 5). Hundreds of thousands suffer in China's Gulag. *The Globe and Mail*, p. 1.
- (101b) Katz, S. (1977, Aug. 27). Unhappy marriage can hurt unborn child: Doctor. *The Toronto Star*, p. B8.
- (101c) Study tracks problems of troubled kids. (1990, Apr. 24). *The Toronto Star*, p. B3.
- (107a) Mother has son, 7, charged with theft. (2001, May 10). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A17.
- (107b) Rincover, A. (1990, Apr. 7). How kids' conduct disorders develop. *The Toronto Star*, p. J2.
- (107c) Menon, V. (2008, Jun. 10). My name is iPod, but call me Felon. *The Toronto Star*, p. A2.
- (108) Be neighborly to troubled children. (1977, Sep. 6). *The Toronto Star*, p. B4.
- (110) Lavigne, Y. (1985, Feb. 7). The violation of a boy's trust. *The Globe and Mail*, p. E9.
- (111a) Fox, M. (2008, Jul. 16). Good parenting overrides bad-behaviour genes. *The Globe and Mail*, p. L4.
- (111b) Healing circle shows offenders their human toll. (2001, May 26). *The Toronto Star*, p. A4.
- (113a) Attack suspect was on leave. (1981, Jun. 23). *The Toronto Star*, p. A18.
- (113b) Avery, R. (2001, Apr. 5). Young offender returns to court to face the music ; Teen convicted of theft ordered to compose song. *The Toronto Star*, p. A4.
- (118) Keller, S. (2001, Apr. 25). Kids' criminal behaviour. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A14.
- (120) Malarek, V. (1985, Dec. 20). The right to refuse Young offenders who won't accept treatment pose a growing problem. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A15.
- (123) Delinquency rate soaring—among girls. (1977, Oct. 25). *The Toronto Star*, B2.
- (124) Putting the accent on early schooling. (1990, Feb. 19). *The Toronto Star*, p. A16.
- (125) Josey, S. (1994, Sep. 9). Expelled youth receives 15 days Sentenced teen first one ousted under new policy. *The Toronto Star*, Section C, P. A6.
- (126) Mitchell, B. (2008, May 7). Bathtub killers must remain in prison, judge says; Sisters' bids to enter halfway house and live under dad's care denied. *The Toronto Star*, p. A8.
- (132) Cox, K. (2001, Mar. 20). Woman regrets she didn't name alleged rapist. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A3.
- (133) Blatchford, C. (2008, Jun. 6). Terror trial hears of hatred for Jews, respect for rats. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A1.
- (138) Steen, D. (1981, Jul. 28). Young offenders at work to repay community. *The Toronto Star*, p. 9.
- (140a) How our prison system works. (1994, Aug. 24). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A11.

- (140b) Centeno, C. J. (2008, Apr. 6). Oakville teen still in coma from fight; Boy, 15, faces charges after house party turns violent, a week ago. *The Toronto Star*, p. A3.
- (144) Problem kids improve marks in special class. (1977, Dec. 7). *The Toronto Star*, p. B2.
- (147) Geigen-Miller, M. (2001, Feb. 5). Punish the weak, it's easier. *The Globe and Mail*, A15.
- (153) Friesen, J. & O'Neil, K. (2008, May 9). Armed posses spreading violence across Prairie communities. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A16.
- (154) Woods, A. (2001, Mar. 9). 7 girls charged in attack at school. *The Toronto Star*, p. B5.
- (155a) Teen's fetus may get own lawyer. (1981, Aug. 31). *The Toronto Star*, p. A15.
- (155b) Harbottle, J. A. (1989, Oct. 28). Youth 'enjoyed' killing teenager, witness testifies. *The Toronto Star*, p. D32.
- (160) Mitchell, B. (2008, Feb. 7). Teen arrests in carjackings open door to wider probe; Peel police investigating whether young men held in four incidents are linked to others in GTA. *The Toronto Star*, p. A14.
- (163) Oziewicz, E. & Laghi, B. (2001, Jan. 12). Scaring peers only motive, teen says. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A3.
- (166) Now Generation Y is asking 'Why?' Today's teens are facing major responsibilities. (1994, Jul. 11). *The Toronto Star*, Section B, p. C7.
- (173) Crime and punishment. (2001, Feb. 6). *The Toronto Star*, p. A6.
- (174) In the age of Facebook, should media be barred from naming young offenders? (2008, Jan. 5). *The Toronto Star*, p. ID2.
- (177) Thefts in Metro every 23 minutes. (1981, Oct. 12). *The Toronto Star*, p. A1/A12.
- (180) Feschuk, S. (1994, Jul 22). Time out on the tundra heals Inuit offenders. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A7.
- (182) Fine, S. (2008, Mar. 22). A most peculiar young offender. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A19.
- (195a) Agrell, S. (2008, Feb. 12). Mentally ill youth 'in harm's way'. *The Globe and Mail*, p. L1.
- (195b) Daly, C. (2001, Jan. 19). 'Mafiaboy' computer hacker pleads guilty ; Montreal teenager to be sentenced for crippling net sites. (2001, Jan. 19). *The Toronto Star*, p. A24.
- (203) Finn, E. (1981, Nov. 14). Day care is a social need—unionist. *The Toronto Star*, p. C11.
- (207) Templeman, B. (1994, Jun. 4). A modest proposal to keep kids from turning bad. *The Toronto Star*, Section E, p. B5.
- (215) Wentz, M. (2008, Jan. 12). Panic in the blackboard jungle. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A23.
- (226) Barber, J. (1994, Jun. 21). Is crime control an impossible dream? *The Globe and Mail*, p. A6.
- (229) Ferenc, L. (1989, Sep. 14). Rotary club gives \$20,000 for drug centre. *The Toronto Star*, p. W5.
- (248) Funston, M. (1994, May 12). Abuse rises by juveniles inside Peel. *The Toronto Star*, Section B, p. MS1.
- (269) Makin, K. (1994, May 21). A look at school violence Peacekeeping force patrols New York schools. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A3.

- (289) Walker, W. (1994, Apr. 17). Restoring a strong economy will cut crime, McLeod says. *The Toronto Star*, p. A12.
- (305) 2 face charges for \$200,000 fires started in factory. (1989, Aug. 2). *The Toronto Star*, p. A6.
- (312) Howard, R. (1994, Apr. 21). Rock sticks to guns on city weapons ban Proposal draws fire from colleagues. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A6.
- (330) Millar, C. (1994, Mar. 20). Oakville teen studies solutions to U.S. crime. *The Toronto Star*, p. A14.
- (369) Youth faces new charges in crash that killed 4. (1994, Mar. 15). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A3.
- (371) Josey, S. (1994, Feb. 2). Court clears way for lifetime expulsion Scarborough student learns fate at hearing tonight. *The Toronto Star*, Section B, p. A7.
- (377) Levy, E. (1989, Jun. 20). PRISON overpopulation is an ever-increasing problem which has reached crisis proportions in the United States and parts of Canada. *The Toronto Star*, p. A15.
- (400) Anti-crime petitioners heard. (1994, Feb. 8). *The Globe and Mail*, p. A4.
- (412) Josey, S. (1994, Jan. 6). Police charge student facing expulsion, *The Toronto Star*, p. A6.
- (445) Study documents school violence Solicitor-General plans action as more students arm selves with knives, guns. *The Globe and Mail*, p. A7.
- (451) Ainsworth, L. (1989, May 16). Getting parents to go to school Moms and dads learn about their kids' education as Metro boards make participation a priority. *The Toronto Star*, p. B1.
- (525) Johnson, E. (1989, Apr. 6). Young offender must stand trial as adult for murder, judge rules. *The Toronto Star*, p. A4.
- (599) Walker, W. (1989, Feb 28). Hint of youth act change cheers Scott. *The Toronto Star*, p. A13.

\* The number assigned to each article represents the article's number in the sequence of articles retrieved as the result of a search in a given sample year. Where two or more articles selected in different years happened to occur as the same number in their sequence, the articles are differentiated with letters, both in this reference list and as they are referred to within the body of the paper.



## Appendix VII: Summary of Research Findings

	<b>“Welfare Era”</b>	<b>“Transitional Era”</b>	<b>“Neo-liberal Era”—G&amp;M</b>	<b>“Neo-liberal Era”—T.S.</b>
<b>Overall</b>	<b>Consistent with welfare discourse</b>	<b>Struggle between welfare and emerging neo-liberal discourse</b>	<b>Internal contestation or hybrid discourse</b>	<b>No internal contestation of neo-liberal discourse</b>
<b>Factors relating to youth misconduct</b>	Developmental needs	Developmental needs compete with “new risks”	Developmental needs & some resistance to “new risks”	Broad range of risk factors: The “microization” of risk
<b>Responsibility for addressing youth misconduct</b>	Government responsibility	Competition between gov. responsibility & NGO, families etc	Diffusion of governance onto non-government groups apparent	Prevalent diffusion of governance
<b>Psychological portrayals of misbehaving youth</b>	Average youth disenfranchised	Some psychologically average, others superpredators	Typically average, occasional exception	Youth Superpredator emerges repeatedly

Appendix VIII: Argument Summary: The Role of Newspapers in the Process of Governance/The Place of Media in Society from a Governmentality Perspective

