BAD BOYS AND GIRLS, YESTERDAY AND TODAY: A CENTURY OF PRINT MEDIA PERSPECTIVES ON YOUTHFUL OFFENDING

by

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ABSTRACT

In order to assess the relevance of claims often found in contemporary print media accounts that youth crime is out of control and that youth today are worse than ever, this dissertation examines Canadian print media coverage of youthful offending throughout the twentieth century. The research endeavour is situated within the existing research literatures on youth crime and justice and media coverage of crime. A sample of 1937 news items from three Canadian daily newspapers (The Toronto Star, The Province from Vancouver and La Presse from Montréal) is examined using quantitative and qualitative data analysis techniques and from perspectives that draw on cultural studies and feminist media studies.

Quantitative analysis reveals certain patterns in coverage over time as well as similarities and differences between the three newspapers examined. The qualitative thematic analysis exposes several key narratives in the print media discussion of youth crime and justice.

This research confirms existing research literature in several ways, while also offering new insights about the social construction of youthful offending in the print media. The media simplify and decontextualize youth crime for its presentation as news. Official sources, particularly police, play a privileged role in shaping the news. Since the 1950s, however, print media coverage of youth crime has shifted significantly in terms of both quantity and quality of coverage. The narrative themes of fear and violence feature more prominently in the post-1950 discussions.

Explanations of youthful offending are largely absent from or trivialized in the coverage. Moreover, when they are offered, explanations of and responses to youth crime do not tend to challenge the status quo in any significant manner. They largely draw on the conventional paradigms represented by the Classical and Positivist Schools
of Criminology. The coverage gives very little consideration to the implications of the broader social structure and context for youth.

Notably, gender stereotypes and dichotomies between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are prevalent in the portrayals of offenders and their families, as well as victims. Dominant ideologies of gender, sexuality, family, race and class run through the portrayals of individuals and families in the coverage.
DEDICATION

For my three great loves, Daniel, Claire and Rose.

Without them, I might have finished this project much sooner.

If not for them, I might not have finished it at all.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CCJS: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics
JDA: Juvenile Delinquents Act
OPP: Ontario Provincial Police
PM: La Presse (Montréal)
RCMP: Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SQ: Sûreté du Québec
TS: The Toronto Star
VP: The (Vancouver) Province
YCJA: Youth Criminal Justice Act
YOA: Young Offenders Act
YPICL: Young Persons In Conflict with the Law
CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Complaining that youth crime is out of control, mayors of three Vancouver-area cities came to Ottawa calling for tougher sentences for juvenile criminals. (The Spectator, September 30, 1994, p. A12)

Reform justice critic Jack Ramsay said that while overall crime may not be up significantly, there is a sharp increase in violent juvenile crime and that must be seriously addressed by changes to the Young Offenders Act. (The Calgary Herald, February 12, 1998, p. B6)

Why are so many young people perpetrating these vicious, motiveless acts of violence? (The Vancouver Sun, November 21, 1996, p. A21)

Youth crime wave looms, Ontario’s Attorney General warns. (The Toronto Sun, March 16, 1998, p. 4)

Apprehension about escalating and ‘out of control’ youth crime and deviance has been a recurring theme at various moments in the history of many Western societies, including Canada. There also appears to be a link between that sentiment and demands for and/or the implementation of policy and legislative reforms to deal with troubled/troubling youngsters. However, contentions of increased delinquency or the need for stronger enforcement/punishment must be questioned in light of their ongoing occurrence regardless of any evidence (other than anecdotal) to substantiate them. Is youth crime out of control? Are tougher measures needed?

Moreover, media portrayals of youth crime seem to be one particularly interesting site of investigation. While media are but one of the means through which people construct their perceptions of the world, they are a significant source of information for many when it comes to ideas about crime. Some research has been done to examine images of youth crime and deviance in the media, but many gaps exist within this literature: time periods examined have usually been less than 30 years (generally less than 10 years); examination of Canadian coverage has been rare; and analysis along the lines of gender, race, ethnicity and age has also been lacking. These gaps represent important deficiencies in existing knowledge about how youth crime and deviance have been represented in the media. This study adds a few pieces to that puzzle.
The 13th report of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs, which eventually led to the enactment of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (2002), is a testimonial to the disquiet that surrounds youthful offending in Canada and how it should be properly handled. While recognizing that public anxieties may be largely unfounded, the report nonetheless calls for a 'renewal' of youth justice in order to address public concerns (Canada, 1997).

In the last decade, apprehension has been particularly high over offending perceived as violent and/or when girls have been involved as perpetrators. But this apparent unease is of course intangible and can be examined only through its more evident manifestations. The Standing Committee cites public opinion polls, media and anecdotal evidence as examples of ways in which public worries can be ascertained.

Although the relation between actual social problems and news reports on them is more convoluted than a mere reflection of public concern (see Chapter 3 of this dissertation), I believe newspaper reports to be one of the catalysts and manifestations of public anxieties. As such, a careful examination of Canadian newspaper reports on youthful offending may help us in considering certain questions. For example, was youth violence being portrayed as an 'epidemic' in Canadian newspapers at the end of the twentieth century and, if so, why? Has youth violence historically been a topic of focus for media attention and has it always been discussed in the same manner? Does concern about violent boys and girls run along the same lines? Is coverage consistent in amount, form and content in different parts of the country? What are the broader implications of the form and content of newspaper coverage? These are the central questions posed in this research.

This dissertation examines the social construction of youth crime and deviance, and particularly violent offending, in print media. I began to formulate this project in 1999. The then-recent examples of school shootings, youth gangs and violent girls
provided ample fodder for sensational media stories that recurrently projected a frantic
tone. Sensational and alarmist reporting, as in the quotes at the beginning of this
chapter, gives me pause. I wonder how sensationalized versions of events play out in
the public imagination. The disproportionate number of media stories on violent crime in
relation to more common forms of crime has been shown by others (e.g., Bell, 2003;
Chesney-Lind, 1999; Corrado & Markwart, 1992; Doob & Cesaroni, 2004; Dussuyer,
1979; Osborne, 1995; Perrone & Chesney-Lind, 1997; Schissel, 1997a, 2006; Sprott,
1996), as has the inadequate/inaccurate knowledge about crime, justice and punishment
that is prevalent among the public (Ericson et al., 1991; Fishman, 1978; Graber, 1980;
Hall et al., 1978; Hung & Bowles, 1995; Perrone & Chesney-Lind, 1997; Roberts &
Stalans, 1997; Sprott, 1996; Surette, 1998a).

I have continued to observe the presence of sensational coverage of youth crime
since my interest in the topic was initially sparked by Bernard Schissel's book Blaming
Children (1997a). Therefore, although focused on the twentieth century, this dissertation
is very pertinent to the analysis of a current problem.

This problem of media sensationalism is further compounded by the fact that
media accounts (accurate or not) are many people's main source of 'information' on
crime. Research also shows that media are an important source of socially constructed
As such, media depictions of crime can certainly contribute to shaping perceptions of
crime-related issues. It is important to attempt to understand the basis for these
perceptions because the research literature also tells us that there are policy
implications which flow from how people perceive crime and punishment and what they
feel should be done about youth crime (Bernard, 1992; Best, 1999; Cavender, 1981;
Creechan, 1992; Doob & Cesaroni, 2004; Garland, 2001; Gerbner, 1994, 1998; Perrone
I am particularly concerned about law-and-order political platforms which seem to feed off stories of violence committed by youth (see, e.g., Kappeler et al., 1993; Schissel, 1997a). Calls for tougher laws and stricter law enforcement are justified on the basis of claims that youth violence is 'out of control.'

Are the media providing fuel to conservative lobby groups in garnering support for repressive methods of dealing with young offenders? Are young offender legislation and policies consequently affected? Although the findings of this research inform us on these questions only indirectly, these issues are nonetheless at the heart of the matter being considered herein.

In order to examine the issues I have discussed so far, I undertook a study that would look at print media coverage of youthful offending throughout the twentieth century. A data set was derived from a sample of relevant Canadian newspaper articles printed between 1901 and 2000 in three Canadian daily newspapers: La Presse\(^1\) from Montréal, The Province from Vancouver and The Toronto Star. I examined these data through both quantitative and qualitative lenses in order to attempt to answer the research questions.

The dissertation is divided into 10 chapters which address key issues in the research process. Chapters 2 and 3 review existing literature in two general areas relating to this research: youth and media, respectively. In Chapter 2, the historical and contemporary literature on youth crime and deviance and their control is examined in order to provide a historical frame against which to understand the progression of youth justice and its coverage in the news. In Chapter 3, some of the theoretical literature on

\(^1\) The use of italics, unless otherwise indicated, denotes the use of French-language text.
media is reviewed as well as the existing literature on media coverage of youthful offending.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approaches used in this research as well as the key issues that the research raises. The research questions are elaborated and research decisions discussed.

Chapters 5 through 9 provide detailed accounts of the data analysis and research findings. Chapter 5 is an overview of the quantitative data analysis, outlining temporal and spatial trends in the coverage of youthful offending. I examine a number of variables to provide an indication of overall trends and I use other variables in order to provide context for the qualitative themes covered in subsequent chapters. In Chapter 6, I discuss the qualitative themes relating to portrayals of offences, offenders and victims. I explore narratives around crime and violence, as well as descriptions and representations of offenders and victims. In Chapter 7, I dissect the explanations for youth crime provided in the coverage and reveal a decided dearth of explanation as well as the conventionality of the explanations that are utilized. In Chapter 8, I analyze the responses to youth crime which parallel to some extent the paradigmatic explanations discussed in Chapter 7. Also in Chapter 8, I scrutinize representations of the administration of youth justice. In Chapter 9, I examine representations of gender in the coverage more closely, both in relation to the young people and to their parents.

In Chapter 10, I offer a summary discussion of the research findings, suggest possible interpretations and discuss the contribution of this research to the field of knowledge. Also in this chapter, I consider the implications of this research.
CHAPTER 2 – YOUTH CRIME AND JUSTICE: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Children now love luxury. They have bad manners, contempt for authority, they show disrespect for elders and love chatter in place of exercise. They no longer rise when their elders enter the room. They contradict their parents, chatter before company, gobble up dainties at the table and tyrannize over their teachers. (Socrates, quoted in Bernard, 1992: 31)

Never has youth been exposed to such dangers of both perversion and arrest as in our own land and day. Increasing urban life with its temptations, prematurities, sedentary occupations and passive stimuli just when an active, objective life is most needed, early emancipation and a lessening sense of both duty and discipline, the haste to know and do all befitting man's estate before its time, the mad rush for sudden wealth and the reckless fashions set by its gilded youth... (G. S. Hall, 1904, quoted in Hine, 1999: 158)

Headline: "Youth Lacks Spirituality, P.-T. A. Told"
A sense of insecurity, due to unsettled conditions of modern life, was blamed for discontentment and restlessness among young people of today by members of the British Columbia Parent-Teacher Federation, discussing "Teen-Age Problems" in session at Hotel Georgia on Thursday.

"Young people seem to take a materialistic viewpoint of everything," complained one of the delegates. "They seem to live for thrills and excitement and have no time for spiritual values and ideals of service."

"They do not seem interested in anything and they are uninteresting in themselves," said another.

A similar refrain was taken up by several contributors to the discussion, who spoke of "spiritual shallowness" and "taking the line of least resistance" as characteristics of modern youth. (The Province, April 14, 1939, p. 8)

As one may gather from the brief description in the introduction, this project brings together many issues, such as youth crime, crime control, media portrayals as well as historical and geographical aspects of each. The present chapter reviews some of the existing research on these aspects in order to elucidate how and why they are significant components of this research project.

A) The youth crime problem and the social construction of delinquency

As the above quotes from Socrates (circa 500 B. C.), G. Stanley Hall (1904) and The Province (1939) illustrate, this is not the first time in history that 'the youth problem'
is perceived to be out of control. Clearly, generation after generation view their\textsuperscript{2} so-called youth crime problem as being at its worst ever, and worsening by the day (Bibby, 2001; Pearson, 1983; Tanner, 1996). Yet, no clear-cut empirical evidence seems to support the idea of an ever-escalating youth crime problem (Bell, 2003; Doob & Cesaroni, 2004). Instead, it appears that concern over youth crime is a recurring social phenomenon. Each society faces its youth problem with calls for action (and without historical perspective). Pressures to reform existing youth delinquency legislation result. All of this, of course, is premised on the idea that the problem can and will be quelled by new and better legislation. Clearly, youth crime will not be suppressed by a change in law, but the belief that it can be leads from one reform to the next, leaving perceptions of the problem unaffected. This critique is not new; others have discussed the politics of crime control and law reform in the youth justice context as well as other areas (see, e.g., Doob & Cesaroni, 2004; Schissel, 1997a, 2006).

This discussion about the misinformation of the public regarding youth crime begs other questions. Is youth violence really on the rise? Is youth crime really worse now than it was in the past? As to the first question, researchers have defended varying positions on this question: violence is on the rise (Bibby, 2001; Carrigan, 1998; Corrado & Markwart, 1994; Markwart & Corrado, 1995; Savoie, 2003), violence is decreasing (Department of Justice, 2004a), violence has been relatively stable over the last few decades (Doob, Marinos & Varma, 1995), increases in youth violence are largely the result of increases in minor assaults (Bala, 2003; Canada, 1997), apparent fluctuations in youth crime rates can better be explained by factors other than fluctuation in youth crime such as different categorizations (i.e. uniform maximum age to be considered a 'youth'), or shifts in attitudes, enforcement and reporting policies and practices (Bala, 2003).

\textsuperscript{2} In order to avoid confusion with excessive use of italics, the use of bold denotes emphasis added.
Regardless of which position seems most convincing, it is noteworthy that statistics are socially constructed and can be manipulated to reflect different portraits of the same ‘reality.’

i) The social construction of childhood and the child-savers

Specific federal laws governing youth misbehaviour differently from adult behaviour are less than a century old in Canada. The absence of laws relating specifically to youth conduct prior to that can be understood through the historical contextualization of the social construction of childhood. "Through the latter parts of the Middle Ages, children, soon after weaning, interacted, labored, and played with adults in everyday life. The child was viewed as a small version of an adult" (Conrad & Schneider, 1980: 145).

The periods preceding and following the Enlightenment era progressively led to changes in the way children were viewed. "Industrialization and urbanization created the nuclear family, and this drew more energy and attention to children and individual needs" (Conrad & Schneider, 180: 146). Through gradual changes in the way people related to children, the period of childhood came to be socially constructed: "Children were innocent and dependent but corruptible and needed guidance and discipline" (Conrad & Schneider, 1980: 146). This led to what Platt (1977) termed ‘the child savers’ movement, comprised of middle- and upper-class people who engaged in various initiatives aimed at protecting children from negative forces in society.

Conrad and Schneider (1980: 150) summarize three main contributions of the child savers: drawing public attention to the welfare of children, developing a welfare ideology, and institutionalizing it through the creation of the juvenile court. However, Platt (1977: 3-4) argues that
The child savers went beyond mere humanitarian reforms of existing institutions. They brought attention to — and, in doing so, invented — new categories of youthful misbehavior which had been hitherto unappreciated. It is with this recognition and discovery of youthful crime that this study is specifically concerned.

[...] Although the child savers were rhetorically concerned with protecting children from the physical and moral dangers of an increasingly industrialized and urban society, their remedies seemed to aggravate the problem.

Notwithstanding their differences, these authors and others (see, e.g., Chunn, 1990; Corrado & Markwart, 1992; Houston, 1982; Matters, 1984; Myers, 2006; Schlossman, 1977) all describe the invention of delinquency. Moreover, the Canadian research suggests that this nation followed a similar path to that taken in the United States (Hagan & Leon, 1977; Myers, 2006). As Matters (1984: 266) has pointed out, social reform was a fundamental feature of social life during the second half of the nineteenth century:

Since all areas of political, economic and social life had to be brought to their highest levels of efficiency, the reform impetus moved simultaneously in many different areas: labour legislation; public health measures; municipal reform; the temperance movement; and others. But whatever their primary focus, reformers agreed that the child was the keystone and had to be saved if their efforts were not to be lost. A steady stream of legislation, institutions and other measures directed at children and their worlds were set in place.

The reform efforts aimed at children were part of a larger context of social reforms dealing with the implications of industrialization, urbanization and immigration. Houston (1982) has emphasized the strong focus on street children. She points out that the stereotypes the social reformers held about these children ("street arabs") and their families ("vicious, degraded, and neglectful parents") were quite far from the mark (Houston, 1982: 140). The image reformers had of these children nonetheless was significant in that it oriented their approach.

The imposition of middle-class values seems to be held unanimously to be one of the underlying motivations of these reformers' work (see, e.g., Strange & Loo, 1997). Chunn (1990: 105-106) contends that the youth courts were involved in inculcating
middle-class values into those who came before them. In treating boys and girls differently, the courts reproduced not only class relations, but also patriarchal gender relations (see also Iacovetta, 1998; Myers, 2006). Strong-Boag (1982, 1988) and Arnup (1990, 1994) have also demonstrated the enforcement of middle-class values and standards by childcare experts in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, because the ultimate unstated goal of the reformers was to exert social control, the distinctions between dependent, neglected and delinquent children were often blurred (Coulter, 1982). All these children came under the scope of intervention. Sometimes they were even housed in the same institutions. As Donzelot (1979) has pointed out, there was a convergence of 'children in danger' and 'dangerous children' – i.e. a child could be both threatened and threatening.

Laplante (1989) contends that the proliferation of institutions for children resulted from the reform efforts aimed at "la gestion de la pauvreté." In the same general vein of prevention discourse, Rooke and Schnell (1982: 90) report that "guttersnipes" were seen to be on a path towards sure criminality if the "rescuers" did not intervene before it was too late. Sutherland (1976: 129-130) has also remarked that "social optimism" characterized the child welfare efforts and that they tended to express hopefulness that they could in fact accomplish their mission of saving children.

Trial and error may have shown the child savers that the way to 'save' children was not what they had initially perceived to be the best approach. Several authors have noted that there was eventually a shift in philosophy from taking children away from unfit families to preserving family units as much as possible while ensuring adequate supervision (Myers, 2006; Schlossman, 1977; Sutherland, 1976).

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Translation: poverty management (all translations provided in this dissertation are my own).
Consequently, the initiatives of the child savers led to numerous and far-reaching controls exerted over children and families, particularly poor and/or ethnic minority children and families. Chunn (1990, 1992), Myers (1999, 2006) and Sangster (2002a, 2002b) in Canada and Chesney-Lind and Shelden (1998) in the U.S. have implied that the controls applied to girls were especially firm. Girls in both countries appeared before the youth courts for status and morality offences much more so than boys and, in Canada, were sentenced just as harshly as were boys who committed serious property crimes (Chunn, 1990: 103). Matters (1984: 269-270) found, for example, that upwards of 80% of the girls held in the BC Industrial Home for Girls were there for "incorrigibility and morals offences." The status offence of incorrigibility is especially troubling in that many parents charged their own children with this offence (Chunn, 1990; Iacovetta, 1998; Myers, 1999, 2006; Schlossman, 1977). These examples indicate how very pervasive the child-saving philosophy had become.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the child savers are not seen as entirely controlling and negative in nature. For some children, industrial or reform schools presented them with 'a way out' of the difficult life situation in which they were trapped due to social inequalities inherent in the capitalist system (Houston, 1982; Matters, 1984). But, in the end, we cannot deny that, as Rooke and Schnell (1982: 100) aptly put it

While they rescued their dependent children by protecting and separating from adult society and thus ensuring them a "childhood," the managers of the institutions were compelled at the same time to make them socially useful. To make them useful required that they be taught to work and made to contribute in the process to their upkeep. The work they did in and out of the homes confirmed their inferior social and economic status. On one hand they were ensured a partial childhood and on the other they were prepared to be exploited. The "noble institution" rescued them as children for exploitation as youth and adults.

These initial considerations about childhood and delinquency reveal the ways in which social control and moral regulation of these groups could be exercised. I turn now to a more detailed account of the creation of a separate juvenile justice system.
B) Laws relating to youthful offending in Canada

Smandych and Hogeveen (1999) have commented on the fragmented state of historical knowledge in the Canadian criminal justice field. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however, to detail one hundred years of youth criminal justice history. Instead, the following pages summarize some of the existing research on the formation and development of the Canadian youth justice system in order to provide the reader with a basic outline of those historical developments. (See Appendix A for a chronology of legislative reforms on youth justice from 1901 to present.)

The official creation of a separate youth justice system in Canada occurred in 1908 with the enactment of the Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA). This law reflected the welfare model of justice where the child's needs were said to be the primary concern of the juvenile court. By 1911, separate juvenile courts had been legislated in Winnipeg, Halifax, Montréal, Charlottetown, Victoria, Ottawa, Toronto and Vancouver (Carrigan, 1998). The philosophy of parens patriae guiding the law indicated that the state should act in the place of parents when children were judged to be 'at risk.' As Leon (1977: 76 – italics in original) writes,

The question was not whether a child would be held accountable for his or her behaviour – criminal or otherwise – but rather how best to treat the child in order to effect adequate socialization before the child became a 'convicted criminal.' If the family was not capable, then the state would intervene to reform the child.

Who is considered a 'young person' was (and still is) another socially constructed aspect of juvenile delinquency. The ages of 'youth' vary from one place to another, from one period of time to another, and from one legal code to another. Under the JDA,

A child under seven years was presumed to be doli incapax, and hence not capable of distinguishing right from wrong. A child between the ages of seven and fourteen years was prima facie exempt from criminal responsibility, unless it could be proved 'that he had discretion to judge between good and evil.' (Leon, 1977: 72)
The upper age limit varied between 16 and 18 from one province to another, though the reasons for these regional differences are not quite clear.

Eventually, the JDA came under considerable scrutiny. A major issue was the individualized and unequal treatment of youth under the law, based on a paternalistic notion of 'the best interests of the child.' Other problems associated with the JDA included little emphasis on legal rights, perceived coddling of delinquents, lack of uniform maximum age, lack of concern over guilt or innocence, informality of proceedings, overly intrusive dispositions, stigma of labels, uneven implementation, and indeterminate sentences (Bala, 1997; Bell, 2003; Carrigan, 1998; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001b; Myers, 1999, 2006). Another major area of critique has been the discrimination against girls under this Act (Chunn, 1990; Matters, 1984; Myers, 2006; Reitsma-Street, 1998; Sangster, 2002b; Théorêt, 1991).

Despite ongoing concern over delinquency, it was not until the 1960s that major discussions about altering the JDA took place (Sangster, 2002a). The mounting dissatisfaction with the JDA led to growing preoccupations about juvenile justice reform during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1961, a committee was appointed by the Department of Justice, following recommendations of the Fauteux committee a few years earlier, to examine the problem of juvenile crime (Corrado & Markwart, 1992). In 1965, the committee's report *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada* detailed the size and nature of the juvenile delinquency problem as well as the many shortcomings of the JDA and juvenile justice system in addressing this problem. This report led to the formulation of the Children and Young Persons Act, a preliminary bill intended to reform the youth justice system. The Children and Young Persons Act (1967), the Young Offenders Act (1970), the Young Persons In Conflict with the Law (1975) were all eventually rejected due to various factors, most notably provincial resistance to specific features of each (Bell, 2003).
Twenty years after the Department of Justice undertook the process of examining the JDA, Bill C-61, the Young Offenders Act (YOA), was proposed to replace the JDA. The new law was enacted in 1982 and came into force in 1984. This bill reflected what Corrado and Markwart (1992: 138) refer to as a modified justice model, emphasizing the legal rights of youths. It retained certain elements of the welfare model, but also incorporated elements of the more conservative and punishment-oriented crime control model, especially the idea that law should promote the protection of society.

Corrado and Markwart (1992) describe the transition from the JDA to the YOA in four phases. With each phase, different factors entered into play to affect the direction of the reforms:

- the dynamic interplay of federal and provincial politics arising from Canada's unique constitutional arrangements; the role of senior federal and provincial civil servants, who in turn were influenced by criminological/legal theory and research; and, to a lesser extent, professional interest groups. (Corrado & Markwart, 1992: 140)

The YOA set out uniform upper (18) and lower (12) age limits to define 'youth' under the law. The focus shifted away from the 'troubled child' view of juvenile delinquency towards a view of the young person as responsible for his/her actions, though to a lesser extent than adult counterparts. A Declaration of Principle was included in the Act. This declaration set forth guidelines for understanding the intent of the law. The principles outlined in the Declaration, though not necessarily in order of priority, were the importance of crime prevention, (limited) accountability, society's right to be protected from young offenders, the special needs of youth, rehabilitation, the use of alternative measures or no measures when it does not pose a significant risk to society, emphasis on the legal rights of youth, the right to the "least possible interference," and parental involvement in the care of young offenders (see Bala, 1997: 34-57). These guiding principles were problematic in that they were often contradictory, unclear and not prioritized.
Clearly, the YOA represented a significant shift from previous juvenile justice legislation. The welfare model took a back seat to a firm alliance of the justice and crime control models, though defenders of the welfare model blamed the lack of resources for the failure of the JDA to achieve its rehabilitative ideals. While the focus on young offenders’ rights was a key aspect of the new law, in keeping with the then-recent enactment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the crime control orientation was considerable as well. Indeed, later amendments to the law were clearly crime-control oriented. Among other changes, the YOA raised the maximum sentence from three years to five years less a day in 1992 and then to ten years in 1995 (Bala, 1997: 10). These successive amendments also increased the ease with which youths could be transferred to adult court. This continued focus on the crime control model of juvenile justice calls into question the origins and motivations behind these calls for ‘toughening up’ the YOA.

Researchers have noted that the control of juvenile crime – and especially the ‘toughening up’ of youth crime legislation – has been and continues to be a popular political platform (Bala, 1997; Bell, 1999; Corrado & Markwart, 1994; Doob & Cesaroni, 2004; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001b). While the YOA was passed in Parliament with the unanimous support of the three major parties (Liberal, Conservative, NDP), it seems to have been constantly critiqued from the moment it came into effect (Bala, 1994; Hylton, 1994). As Bala (1994) points out, the ‘get tough’ approach is unrealistic about the capacity of the YOA to affect juvenile crime. “We cannot rely on the law to achieve social protection or social peace” (Bala, 1994: 265). Critics often adopt extreme positions which are indefensible because they do not take into account the lessons of history. Bala (1994: 253) comically refers to the critics as “YOA bashers.” He differentiates between two types of critics: “Those on the right mistakenly believe that the old law was tougher and suffer from ‘JDA amnesia.’ Those on the left correctly
remember the rehabilitative tone of the JDA, but forget the realities of its implementation and suffer from 'JDA nostalgia.'

Sapers and Leonard (1996: 80) clearly illustrate the challenges of placing this issue in the political realm:

It is difficult to tell which comes first in the cycle of policy development: concern for the public or reaction to public outrage. Crime and violence serve as targets of convenience for politicians hoping to deflect concern away from other pressing social issues. It is much easier to pass laws, build prisons, and talk tough than it is to solve the problems that contribute to crime, such as poverty, dropping out of school, and unemployment.

Despite numerous reforms, by the 1990s the YOA could no longer withstand public scrutiny. In 1996, the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Task Force on Youth produced A Review of the Young Offenders Act and the Youth Justice System and, in 1997, the Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs produced a report on the YOA titled Renewing Youth Justice (Canada, 1997). Then-Justice minister Anne McLellan responded the following year with A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice (Department of Justice, 1998) setting out the government's plan to introduce a bill promoting the renewal of youth justice. Between 1998 and 2002, the Youth Criminal Justice Act was introduced and re-introduced as Bills C-68, C-3 and C-7. Bill C-7 incorporated 160 amendments in response to reactions to the earlier versions (Department of Justice, 2004b). The Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) was enacted on February 4th, 2002 and came into force April 1st, 2003, replacing the YOA.

The YCJA adopts a bifurcated model of justice in an attempt at a compromise between those who favour a 'tougher' approach to youth crime (Conservative MPs and the former Harris government in Ontario, for example) and those who feel Canada incarcerates too many young people (Bloc MPs and the Province of Québec, for example). As Hogeveen and Smandych (2001: 145) point out,

On the one hand, parliamentarians, and in particular members of the federal Liberal Party, have argued that crime prevention and rehabilitation should be
made important parts of any reformed youth justice system, along with the overriding needs for "the protection of society." On the other hand, most federal political parties (with the notable exception of the Bloc Québécois) appear to agree that a tougher approach is needed to deal with more serious repeat and violent young offenders. [...] it is significant that throughout the months of debate over the YCJA before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights, the most vocal opposition to the legislation came from members of the Bloc Québécois.

The problem, however, is that the new law seems to satisfy neither side. The YCJA allows adult sentencing of the most serious and violent young offenders, while ostensibly offering a wider range of approaches for handling those involved in less serious crimes.

C) Historical perspectives on the regulation and control of youth and families

i) From welfare state to neo-liberal state

These various reforms to the youth justice system have clearly not occurred in a vacuum. In fact, they parallel the broader social and political trends of the twentieth century. Just as juvenile justice shifted away from the welfare model, the socio-political context was also characterized by a move away from welfarism.

The emergence of the welfare state in the late nineteenth century was intended to redress the situation of those disadvantaged by the laissez-faire capitalist mode of production. The state took on some fiscal responsibility for the support of those citizens in need, those not provided for by traditional family arrangements (Fudge & Cossman, 2002). However, the shift away from the laissez-faire approach also led to the intrusion of the government into spheres previously deemed to be matters of individual liberty. "This shift in thinking about the role of government and the need for better regulating of certain segments of the population had a direct effect on developments in juvenile justice and on the treatment of deviant children" (Hogeveen, 2001: 46).
Throughout the twentieth century, and particularly after the Second World War, the state took on new roles in controlling the economy and redefined its responsibilities to its citizens (Fudge & Cossman, 2002). The welfare state came to encompass a wide array of social programs in the areas of health, education and income assistance to individuals and families (Pupo, 2001), a social safety net. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, however, neo-liberal tendencies occasioned a move away from state responsibility towards a responsibilization of citizens for their own welfare (Brodie, 1995). The fight against unemployment that played a key role in the (Keynesian) welfare state was replaced by the fight against inflation within the neo-liberal state which emerged from the early 1970s on (Fudge & Cossman, 2002). This shift from the welfare model to neo-liberalism enabled the government to divest itself of responsibility for social welfare and place the onus on individual citizens and families to care for themselves (Fudge & Cossman, 2002).

Again a parallel shift can be observed in the youth justice field, where increased accountability is expected of youths and their families.

Over the last 20 years, Canadians have come to believe that young people need to be held “responsible” for their criminal behaviour. This way of thinking is not new; it brings us closer to treating child and youth offenders in the same manner as adult offenders, and thus to the response of authorities in the colonial era to children and youth involved in criminal behaviour. (Bell, 2003: 30)

The Youth Criminal Justice Act, then, reflects the key tenets of neo-liberalism. First, it holds those young people guilty of the most serious and violent crimes accountable in much the same way as adults. There are presumptive offences for which they can be sentenced as adults. Second, for first offences and less serious offences, incarceration becomes a last option after a list of other options for handling the young person has been attempted. This also reflects the neo-liberal imperatives of minimizing the intervention of the state and employing fiscal restraint. After all, incarceration is the least effective and most expensive form of criminal justice handling of such youth crime.
Third, the YCJA adopts the vocabulary of empowering communities, adopting a holistic approach which stands in contrast to the harsh stance adopted by neo-liberal and neo-conservative rhetoric. However, this can also be seen as a way in which the government is divesting itself of responsibility for handling these problems, placing the onus on communities which may or may not have the capacity to handle such problems. It also ignores one of the basic principles of community-based approaches, which is that they cannot be mandated from above, but must rather stem from a grassroots movement within the community (see, e.g., Lederach, 1997; Pranis, 1998, n.d.; Woolford and Ratner, 2003).

**ii) Shifts in dominant familial ideology**

This transformation in the state form has also been paralleled by a shift in familial ideology (see, e.g., Eichler, 1997; Fox, 1993; Luxton, 1997). Eichler (1997) suggests that this transition in the dominant familial ideology during the twentieth century from the Patriarchal Model to the Individual Responsibility Model has occurred since the 1970s.

The Patriarchal Family Model is characterized by the male breadwinner head of household who is economically responsible for his dependent wife and children. The wife's role relates primarily to the care and non-economic well-being of family members. "His adequacy as a parent was measured in economic terms, while hers was measured in moral, sexual, and social terms" (Eichler, 1997: 11). Such families were founded upon legal marriage between a man and a woman and a strict gendered division of labour. The family unit was largely seen as responsible for the well-being of all its family members (Eichler, 1997).

Others have also emphasized the gendered role expectations of parents within the earlier part of the twentieth century. For example, Menzies, Adamski and Chunn (2002: 27) state that "one of the most crucial targets for emerging forms of social
regulation in Canada was the family. In gender-specific ways, parents were responsible for raising healthy children and future citizens." The inculcation of middle-class values was a key focus. For example, Janovicek (2003: 145) points out "How closely a home conformed to middle-class values determined its quality. Prescriptively, good homes were led by a sober, Christian patriarch; mother tempered father's authority and managed an orderly home with love and thrift." Sangster (2002a) further explicates the control of boys and girls in terms of their differentiated intended outcomes: boys were to be moulded into social citizens while girls were to be moulded into moral citizens.

In contrast to the Patriarchal Model, the Individual Responsibility Family Model, which began to gain in terms of ideological dominance from the 1970s on, is characterized by a union (not necessarily a legal marriage) of a couple (not necessarily heterosexual) where each spouse is responsible for his or her own economic well-being, as well as that of his or her spouse and their children. This family model is marked by formal gender equality, since it is assumed that both parents are able to fulfil both the economic and care functions for the family (Eichler, 1997).

Despite this shift, welfare ideas continue to circulate and influence the administration of laws and policies related to families and young people. In fact, Martin (2002) describes the neo-conservative influence exerted on the neo-liberal state as the "'new' welfare state." Also, while neo-liberal approaches to family are based on (formal) equality and identical treatment, welfare ideas about the sexual division of labour (i.e. gender difference) are officially banished but remain substantively influential in terms of establishing expectations for mothers and fathers.

The transition in the dominant familial ideology from patriarchal to individual responsibility is closely reminiscent of the shift in the juvenile courts' approach to young people in conflict with the law during those same time frames. Juvenile courts under the JDA have been characterized as patriarchal (e.g., Chunn, 1990; Lacovetta, 1998;
Matters, 1984; Myers, 2006; Reitsma-Street, 1998; Théorêt, 1991). The judges were said to act as 'good fathers,' 'in the best interests of the child' and with complete authority over the proceedings. Youth courts under the YOA and YCJA have moved toward increased accountability (individual responsibility) of young people appearing before them. These courts formally protect young people's legal rights and, in this sense, treat youthful offenders with more equality. Young offenders' increased accountability is premised on the protection of their rights in the same way as that of adults, if not more so.

As Eichler (1997) points out, the shift from one dominant familial ideology to the other does not mean that other family models do not exist during each period. In fact, these models are ideological in the sense that, although at any specific time they are construed as representing the 'norm' and the 'majority,' there are large numbers of families who do not conform to the dominant model. Families who do not fit the dominant norm, then, are more vulnerable to marginalization as 'bad' families.

Again, we can draw a parallel between the shifts in familial and youth justice ideologies. During the welfare-oriented JDA period, there were those who felt that more emphasis needed to be given to young people's legal rights and that more punitive measures should be adopted. In the current period of enhanced legal rights and increased severity in justice responses to young people, there are those who feel that such approaches are not helpful and only exacerbate the problem. The Province of Québec is a prime example of this ideological trend. Québec and its representatives in Parliament have been strong advocates against increased punitive tendencies proposed in the YOA amendments and the YCJA.
D) The Province of Québec’s distinctive approach

In his review of the historiography of children in French and English Canada, Turmel (2003) points out that juvenile delinquency has been a persistent concern among English-Canadian historians, but only of peripheral interest in Québec. He argues that, if there was a child saving movement in Québec, its history has not been documented by historians to the same extent as has been the case in English Canada. The work of Trépanier (1981, 1986, 1990) and Myers (1999, 2006) on the historical control of juvenile delinquents in Québec is nonetheless consistent with Turmel’s assertion that other social scientists have done historical research on children, emphasizing differences in concepts, scope and perspective.

Provincial and political disagreements as to how to address youth crime problems are not new. In fact, there has been a marked divide between Québec and many of the anglophone provinces, as well as between anglophones and francophones within Québec, on the appropriate approaches to be taken (see, e.g., Trépanier, 2004). As is often the case, Québec marches to its own drum when it comes to juvenile justice, as much as is permissible in the confines of the federally regulated sphere of justice. Having had some level of success in handling juvenile offenders, the province is examined by researchers as a model to emulate and some Québec justice officials hinted (while others clearly stated in front of Parliament) during discussions of the bill, that they would want to opt out of the YCJA legislation because it was perceived to be more repressive than the YOA in nature.

According to Leblanc and Beaumont (1992), Québec has always been set apart from the other provinces with respect to juvenile justice. Québec had begun the process of reforming its juvenile justice system well before the 1984 enactment of the YOA. As Bala (1997: 8 – italics in original) points out,
The 1965 release of the federally commissioned report *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada* began a lengthy period of debate and gradual reform. While some provinces, most notably Quebec, took steps to change their juvenile justice system by, for example, ensuring that youths had access to lawyers and by establishing a system of diversion of some cases from the juvenile courts, other provinces continued to maintain informal juvenile courts with little recognition of legal rights.

Québec had implemented many aspects of the YOA before it came into effect, and thus it is not surprising that the majority of youth justice workers in Québec were favourable to the status quo by 1984 (Le Blanc & Beaumont, 1992; Trépanier, 2004). Québec implemented the Youth Protection Act in 1979. This law “sought to restrict, as much as possible, application of the JDA and to give priority to Quebec law” (Le Blanc & Beaumont, 1992: 287). Québec had implemented many forms of diversion when dealing with youthful offenders as well as broad criteria for use of alternative measures (Trépanier, 1986, 2004). “Because of its extensive use of alternative measures, Quebec has the lowest rate of youth court charging in Canada” (Bala, 1997: 156). In recognition of the fact that formalized juvenile court procedures were not having a significant impact and were expensive to boot, “the movement in Quebec has been toward non-intervention and lighter sentences for juveniles” (Le Blanc & Beaumont, 1992: 306; see also Trépanier, 1986). This movement was helped along by the professionalization in the social services around the time that these juvenile justice reforms began taking place in Québec. Le Blanc and Beaumont (1992: 310-311) point out

> It must be remembered that in Quebec during the sixties and the seventies there was a massive increase in the number of university-trained people who created new services and took over others traditionally administered by religious services agencies. [...] As a consequence of this explosion, the discussion about how the juvenile justice system was to be structured by a new law became a matter of debate between experts. It was a professional debate, if we refer to analyses of written statements to parliamentary commissions. A new doctrine was discussed – minimal intervention – implying five objectives: decriminalization, diversion, respect for rights, involvement of the community and deinstitutionalization. Even at the political level, scientific theories and facts were cited, and treatment evaluations and experimental treatments were referred to. The nature of this professional discussion is illustrated by the 1982 Charbonneau Report.
In fact, while the YOA led most provinces to transfer responsibility for young offenders from social services to corrections, Québec has always maintained youth justice within the child-welfare system (Bala, 1997; Trépanier, 2004). In addition, Québec and Manitoba were the only two provinces to already have 18 as the age of criminal responsibility prior to the enactment of the YOA. The YOA did not require an adaptation of public perceptions as to who is considered a youth and an adult in Québec as it did in other provinces.

For the various reasons stated above, the YOA was generally appreciated in Québec while it was roundly criticized in much of English Canada (Trépanier, 2004). By the same token, the reform of the YOA undertaken by the federal government was seen as unnecessary in Québec and many opponents of the YCJA suggested that it would worsen, rather than improve, the situation. As pointed out by Trépanier (2004: 285),

For its opponents, the review of the YOA was not a proper solution for restoring long-term public confidence. It did not address the real problem, which was one of perception. Even under a new law, people would still be ignorant of crime statistics and youth court practices. Media reporting of serious crimes committed by young people would still foster the perception that youth crime is a serious problem – still perceived to be on the increase – and that youth justice is unable to deal with it.

Since the various characteristics of Québec's youth justice system set it apart from the rest of the country, the examination of media coverage of Québec's system in this study allows us to highlight any differences between the systems that are reflected in the coverage. Further, if the problem is one of perceptions fuelled by media images as noted in the quote from Trépanier above, the examination of coverage in Québec compared to anglophone provinces is all the more relevant.

Reforms based on dominant ideologies about crime and justice (which are the main types of ideas we find about crime in the media, as I argue in the next chapter) are
important to consider, especially in that they tend to be more crime control oriented than anything else. For example, McCormick (1995: 155) states

In 1993 and 1994, Canada and other countries passed crime bills which promised tougher sentences for young offenders, more minimum mandatory sentences, more use of incarceration, more prisons, more police on the streets, more investment in surveillance technologies, more restrictions on the rights of the individual, and so on. People are willing to go along with these measures because they believe crime is on the increase and/or they believe not enough is being done about it. Does the tail wag the dog, or vice-versa; are law reforms driven by public perception, or the other way around? They certainly go together.

We can see that shifts in perceptions about youth crime are associated with shifts in ideas about appropriate responses to it. The question then is why do these perceptions and responses shift? A careful examination of the socio-historical context can help to answer that question. The Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) adopted by Parliament in 2002, after two rounds of revisions from 1999 to 2001, has now replaced the Young Offenders Act. Outside of Québec, the Young Offenders Act was much maligned by certain political groups and the media. For example, Hogeveen and Smandych (2001; see also Schissel, 1997a, 2006) argue that we were bombarded throughout the 1990s with media accounts of the “growing seriousness of youth crime.” They state

By spotlighting excesses through tag lines that emphasized the everyday brutality of youth, the media punctuated the need for “new” approaches to deal with young “criminals.” Throughout the decade, articles exposing the perceived inadequacies of the YOA and calling for tougher youth crime legislation also appeared in newspapers. (Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001: 148)

Before the second reading of the bill, then-Minister of Justice Anne McLellan stated “Canadians realize that several important aspects of the youth justice system are not working as well as they ought to, and that the system needs to be re-examined and reworked” (Hansard, March 22, 1999). As Sprott (1996) has shown, the Canadian public (or at least the Toronto public) is misinformed, perhaps in large part due to the media, about youth crime and punishment. This public confusion then may lead us to reforms
such as the YCJA, which try to get tougher and tougher with youth, while at the same time many of those working in the system recognize that it is the provinces which are the least 'tough,' such as Québec, that have the best success in dealing with youthful offending (see also Hansard, 1999, 2001). The discrepancies in philosophy between anglophone Canadian Alliance MPs (as an example of the dominant or mainstream 'anglophone perspective') and Bloc Québécois MPs (as an example of the dominant 'francophone perspective') were highlighted by their positions in the Parliamentary debates prior to the passage of the YCJA.

Finally, Schissel (1997b: 166) notes the political attraction to the 'issue' of youth crime, given the moral panics surrounding this issue, for law-and-order type campaigns.

The state's inability to support the spirit and intent of the YOA has given right-wing political movements ample fodder for their 'we told you so' agenda. With the rise of street kids (a social/political problem, not a criminal phenomenon) and with a profusion of highly publicized violent crimes committed by youth, the 'war on young offenders' is a cause célèbre that politicians seem unable to resist.

Bell (1999: 3; see also Doob & Cesaroni, 2004) also highlights this tendency in referring to the official positions on youth crime of the major political parties in the 1993 election. Nearly all favoured a more severe approach to various degrees. Youth crime and violence can be easily exploited for political gain as hot button issues where politicians cannot lose votes by appearing tough on those issues. The inclusion of francophone news coverage from Québec in this study allows us to determine the extent to which resistance toward those dominant 'get tough' ideological discourses is present in media coverage of youth crime and justice.

The increasing severity of responses to young offenders may be linked to a historical shift toward perceptions of young people as being more like adults. It is crucial to examine how youth are perceived at any given time as well as the broader contexts

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4 The Canadian Alliance is now defunct, having been absorbed into the Conservative Party of Canada in 2003.
within which these perceptions may change. Media portrayals of youth crime may be one source of public concerns over the issue. But before exploring the nature and impact of media portrayals, I would like to advance the idea that these concerns are not as new as one might otherwise believe.

**E) The same old story**

With regard to the American juvenile justice system, Bernard (1992: 3) claims

> There is a cyclical pattern in juvenile justice policies in which the same sequence of policies has been repeated three times in the last two hundred years. Present juvenile justice policies can be explained by this cycle and future changes in these policies predicted by it.

Although Bernard's research relates to the United States, Canada arguably has followed a similar cycle with respect to juvenile justice legislation (see also Bell, 2003; Smandych, 2001b). An examination of the phases of Bernard's cycle allows parallels to be drawn. Bernard describes this cycle in four phases that should be related to the context of the times in order to understand why perceptions of youth change over time and how or why this may affect the response to juvenile offending.

First, Bernard (1992) sees the cycle starting at a time when many adults perceive juvenile crime as too high. This occurs in a period when the justice system offers many harsh punishments such as incarceration for juvenile offenders but few lenient treatments such as probation and counselling for youth who engage in crime. Second, the purported high crime rate is blamed on what Bernard calls the "forced choice" between punishing harshly and letting the behaviour go unsanctioned. Third, this forced choice can lead to major reforms in juvenile justice aimed at providing law enforcement authorities and judges with lenient treatments for coping with these behaviours. This third phase is what Bernard refers to as the creation of a "middle ground." Finally, this introduction of lenient treatments does not appease the concerns over the juvenile crime
rate which continues to be perceived as too high. During this phase, people blame the high crime rate on the lenient treatments. "Harsh punishments gradually expand and lenient treatments gradually contract" (Bernard, 1992: 4). And this expansion and contraction then leads back to the initial phase of the cycle where there were too many harsh punishments and too few lenient treatments.

According to Bernard (1992), this cycle is perpetuated by certain prevailing ideas. There are ideas that remain the same throughout the cycle:

- that juvenile crime is at an exceptionally high level, that present juvenile justice policies make the problem worse, and that changing those policies will reduce juvenile crime. These people usually believe that their ideas are new and different, but in fact they have been continuously believed for at least two hundred years. These ideas drive us from one policy to the next as we pursue a lower level of juvenile crime. (Bernard, 1992: 4-5)

According to Bernard (1992), there are also ideas that change as we go through the cycle. These are ideas about juvenile delinquency and juvenile justice. He claims that the public will advocate policies that are in keeping with how they view delinquency and youth. This means then that if they view delinquency as a “cry for help” and/or young offenders as “kids gone astray,” they will be more inclined to favour treatment-oriented policies. On the other hand, if the public views delinquency as predatory and/or young offenders as tough and purposeful, punishment will be prioritized. Bernard explains that the cycle is perpetuated by alternating from one view to the other and seeing no other approach to dealing with youth offending.

If we link Bernard’s cycle to the Canadian context, several parallels emerge. Before the JDA, juveniles were treated quite harshly, much in the same way as adults. Segments of the public and justice officials perceived youth crime as being too high (as evidenced by media coverage and political pressure) and there seemed to be no appropriate measures for dealing with youth misconduct.

The historical record is replete with references to young people being housed in correctional facilities with adult criminals. In addition, like adults, it appears many
young offenders were subjected to all manner of corporal and capital punishment for offenses that would be considered minor by today's standards (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones 1994, in Hylton, 1994: 230).

The JDA, then, was a major reform, introducing lenient treatments for juvenile delinquents (Bala, 1997). However, this reform in the system was not accompanied by a decline in the previously mentioned public perception of a high level of youth crime. Crime continued to be a concern and was felt to be too high. Eventually, the so-called lenient treatments of the JDA came to be viewed as a cause of the supposedly high juvenile crime rates. Reforms leading to the YOA moved progressively in the direction of harsher punishments. Many felt that a 'get tough' approach was needed with young offenders because youth crime was much too high. Amendments made to the YOA from its inception continued to veer in this direction. Bernard's cycle thus does appear to apply to the Canadian juvenile justice context.

The change over to the YCJA presents an interesting turn in terms of this 'cycle.' On the one hand, it continued the trend towards increased severity of punishment for the most serious and violent offenders. On the other hand, the YCJA also expanded 'lenient treatments' for those involved in less serious and non-violent offences. However, while this bifurcation does appear to be a break in the cycle, the core ideas remained unchanged: youth crime continued to be seen as too high, the YOA was seen as making the problem worse, and the change to the YCJA was proposed as a way to reduce youth crime. Perhaps then the split in the approach rests in the fact that no clear position was taken as to the 'nature' of youthful offenders as either 'crying out for help' or 'tough' and 'predatory.' The YCJA seems to sit on the fence, postulating the existence of both types of offenders and responding to each according to the respective approaches suggested by Bernard.

But variations in the form and content of juvenile justice throughout the century are not the only substantive area that this project examines. The interplay between that
reality and how it is and has been portrayed in the media is also at the core of the issue. What is the relationship between the media and public opinion on the issue of juvenile crime and crime control? Do the media affect public opinion? Does public opinion affect the media? Can we even speak about 'public opinion'? How have media framed the issue of youth delinquency and violence over time? Has there been an impact at the level of policies enacted? These are issues examined further in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 3 – MEDIA AND SOCIETY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I review the literature on media analysis that is relevant to my examination of portrayals of youth crime and justice in print media. The discussion addresses some key issues including the influence of the media, the processes through which crime news is defined and shaped, and the ideological nature of media content. Given the vast literature that pertains to these issues, my focus is on research drawn from theoretical perspectives (and critiques of them) that inform the analytical framework that I elaborate in Chapter 4, particularly cultural studies and feminist media studies.

A) The influence of media in society

Why should criminologists concern themselves with media portrayals of youth crime? After all, media images are nothing more than fragmentary accounts of ‘reality’; they are not reality. Media images, however, are powerful and influential and, ultimately, they do have an impact on so-called reality. Therefore, although this is a study on media content, more than on media effects, I have included an abbreviated discussion of media impact to highlight the research that reveals the influence of rampant misinformation on public perceptions of youth crime and justice.

Agreement about the role played by media accounts of crime and violence, youth crime and violence in particular, does not exist. While some may view media depictions as accurate and fair representations of reality, many others would argue that these portraits of youth are anything but neutral. Media accounts may provide people with information and so-called knowledge about youth crime, but what seems more important is the influence exerted by these renditions on people’s perceptions, opinions and even behaviours. Several researchers have pointed out the decontextualized nature of media portraits of youth crime and the process of ‘othering’ which is frequently involved.
Finally, moral panics have been generated in the past by media coverage, and some feel that this continues to be the case today. These are some points which must be considered when we examine media portrayals of youth crime and justice.

**i) Media images and public perceptions of crime and justice**

The link between media coverage and public perceptions of youth crime is not patently obvious. Perrone and Chesney-Lind (1997: 103) and Hall et al. (1978: 56) have pointed out the primary role of media accounts when it comes to an issue such as youth crime with which most people have little or no direct experience. As such, the accuracy or objectivity of media accounts is really less significant than the widespread ease of access to these accounts. Furthermore, in the study conducted by Perrone and Chesney-Lind (1997), 83% of respondents named newspapers as one source of their information about crime in their neighbourhood. Other media (television and radio) were the second and third highest rated sources of information. Others have also identified media as the primary source of information about crime among the public (see, e.g., Chibnall, 1977; Ericson et al., 1987, 1989, 1991; Graber, 1980; Hall et al., 1978; Roberts & Stalans, 1997; van Dijk, 1991). According to Chibnall (1977: 8; see also Hall, 1980: 134),

Their [journalists specializing in crime news] accounts of crime and deviance may often be fragmentary and superficial, but for most of us they are the most complete and detailed available. This makes them powerful accounts, capable of shaping opinion and understanding.

As sources of information and knowledge, media accounts must then have some form of relationship to the perceptions people derive from media representations of the world. Writing 25 years ago, Sacco (1982) argued that there was no direct causal link between media depictions and public perceptions established in the literature. He mentions the methodological limitations of attempting to show such a link. Others have
suggested that rather than a linear cause-effect model, the media tend to feed pre-existing attitudes and beliefs and have cumulative effects over prolonged periods of exposure (Graber, 1980; Jiwani, 1993; Surette, 1990).

Heath and Gilbert (1996; see also Cavender, 1981: 432; Surette, 1998a: 195-239) also indicate the variability of effects:

The message is clear. Media messages do not affect all of the people all of the time, but some of the messages affect some of the people some of the time. As we move into an age of ever-expanding technological options in the mass media, we need to recognize that the process is as complex on the human side as it is on the technological side. (Heath & Gilbert, 1996: 385)

In addition to the impact of media on public perceptions and attitudes, Finn (1989) has noted that media accounts can influence consciousness and behaviour. She suggests that while the impact of any single message is uncertain, "Images do not work discretely and in isolation; they have a cumulative, incremental effect" (Finn, 1989: 393).

Criminologists generally agree that the media foster a distorted historical and contemporary image of youth, crime and criminal justice. A study conducted by Jane Sprott (1996: 271) found that "Most (94%) of the stories about youth crime appearing in a sample of Toronto newspapers involved cases of violence. Youth court statistics, in contrast, showed that fewer than a quarter of youth court cases in Ontario involved violence." Others have also pointed out the overrepresentation of murder and other violent crimes over the far more prevalent property crimes found in police records and statistics as well as the more frequent crimes committed by adults against children and youth (Dussuyer, 1979; Glassner, 1999; Graber, 1980; Killingbeck, 2001; Males, 1999, 2001; Wortley, 2002). Clearly, the over-reporting of youth violence will have some influence on public perceptions and concerns about the issue.

But it is not only the quantitative aspect that needs to be considered. What is said or implied about 'bad' youth is just as important as how often it is said. Sprott (1996) compared the information contained in newspaper articles with the information
contained in reports used by judges and found that journalists do not report information which is deemed essential to judges when deciding on cases. If judges require this additional information to adjudicate cases, then clearly the lack of information provided to the public impedes their formulation of an appropriate assessment of youth cases.

Sprott (1996: 282) indicates that "Knowledge of the provisions of the YOA was quite low within the sample." Nonetheless, she also found that 88% of her sample felt that the YOA was too lenient (Sprott, 1996: 285). She argues that people's perceptions of youth, of crime and of the appropriate responses to crime tended not to be specific to youth crime, but rather paralleled their views on crime in general.\footnote{The three-year maximum sentence (which was later raised to five years, and ten years in the case of first-degree murder) was a contentious issue among critics of the YOA. However, it seems very important to note that the media rarely contextualized these concerns within the wider provisions of the YOA. A disposition under the YOA reflected actual time served; there was no eligibility for parole or early release under the YOA. A three-year sentence for a young offender could therefore correspond to a nine-year sentence in the adult system, since adults can be eligible for parole after serving one third of their sentence. When properly contextualized, this issue becomes much less inflammatory.}

Another interesting aspect of the misinformation about youth crime and the YOA is that young people seem to be just as misinformed as the general public. Perhaps they share the perceptions of the adults around them. Doob, Marinos and Varma (1995: 103) note from a study conducted by Jaffe et al. that

Most of the young people reported that their primary source of information about the Young Offenders Act was the news media. Fewer than a quarter of the students were accurate in reporting the age limits of the jurisdiction of the youth court. Most of the young people did not know the maximum penalties available under the Act.

If this finding is accurate, we must ask ourselves some serious questions about the objectives pursued by those exerting pressure for 'toughening up' the law. First, we cannot expect the law to deter young people if they do not even know its content. Deterrence supposes knowledge of the law. Second, the idea that youth are purposely

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taking advantage of a law that is 'soft' on youth is ludicrous if the youths' beliefs about
the law are inaccurate.

In his survey of 3500 15- to 19-year-olds, Bibby (2001) found that the extremely
low rates of violence in schools were not reflected in students' ratings of their safety
level. "In light of the wide disparity between anxiety levels and violence levels, one
cannot avoid looking at the media and asking for some accountability" (Bibby, 2001:
315).

Furthermore, the YOA provisions for transfer to adult court tended to be
downplayed by the proponents of 'getting tough' on youth crime. The public in general
and youth themselves appeared to be misinformed about the possibility of transfer to
adult court (Marron, 1992: 213). Additionally, most people probably did not realize that
transfer to adult court did not occur solely in cases involving murder or manslaughter.

Several researchers have been even more pointed in their depiction of media
representations, suggesting that, more than merely misinforming the public, the media
actively decontextualize youth crime news for their audience. For example, Schissel
(1997b: 166 – emphasis added) states "I wish to suggest that the primary effect of media
and official accounts of youth crime is to decontextualize the act for public consumption,
allowing those with direct access to discourse to direct and control public perception."
He argues that this need to decontextualize events is largely due to shortened attention
spans which render people "unreceptive to contextualized accounts" (Schissel, 1997b:
173-174). Males (1996, 1999, 2001) has also been vocal in demonstrating the various
ways in which youths serve as scapegoats for social problems created by adults,
describing the media as one of the main culprits in the misdirected targeting of young
people.

The decontextualization of youth crime mentioned by Schissel (1996, 1997a,
1997b, 2006) is crucial to understanding the role of media accounts. Media tend to
produce small bits of 'easily-digestible' information which do not require serious thought on the part of the reader. This is done, according to Schissel (1997a: 34), by "[removing] crime from its socio-economic context and [recasting] it in moralistic and emotional frames of reference." He contends that media accounts do not provide the public with an accurate image of young people and crime.

What we are left with, then, is a gulf between reality and perception. The reality is that youth are mostly disenfranchised from the democratic process at all levels of governance. They are disadvantaged in the labor market and have few services available to them unlike the adult world. When they do break the law, they victimize other youth who are like them. Furthermore, youth crime has not increased significantly, although the prosecution of youth crime has. (Schissel, 1997b: 167)

Hall et al. (1978) also discuss the selection and decontextualization of news. They note that journalists will tend to play up the extraordinary, dramatic, tragic, etc. elements in a story in order to enhance its newsworthiness; [and] that events which score high on a number of these news values will have greater news potential than ones that do not. (Hall et al., 1978: 53-54 – italics in original)

Despite the obvious mutations of 'facts' induced by this type of sensationalism, crime news must be carefully considered given its significance as a source of information on crime and justice for many people, as detailed earlier in this chapter.

While media effects on behaviour are an area of important debate, media influence on policy is a more immediate concern in the area of juvenile justice. The media often play up concerns of some individuals involved in the justice system in a sensationalistic manner which serves to augment fear of youth crime and favour harsh responses. For example, Mofina (1996) outlines the issues as follows:

The number of serious criminal cases involving youths across the nation does not appear to be decreasing, as federal statistics and a survey of recent headlines indicate. That the YOA is a joke is virtually a creed among hardened young criminals and honest, law-abiding teens. Critics of the YOA cite media reports of growing youth crime rates and sensational cases. Supporters of the YOA point to media accounts of the courts employing tougher measures against young offenders. For its part, the justice system seems to grapple with the YOA's successes and failures at a glacial pace. The dilemma has evolved into a
full-scale debate, but one that is vital if the strengths of the YOA are to be preserved and its weaknesses are to be strengthened. The fuel propelling this debate is information the public primarily gets from the news media. Regardless of its bias, people cannot effectively participate in any constructive debate without information from the media. (Mofina, 1996: 115 – italics in original)

While he provides no source of information for these statements, Mofina raises several interesting points. First, I think it is important to be conscious that both sides he presents can frame what is going on in youth justice to suit their own purposes. Decontextualized media accounts, where individual examples serve to make and to support general claims, focus on the cases (often extreme or unusual ones) that reflect a particular view of the system, while neglecting those cases and examples which are contrary to that view. Second, while the justice system seems slow to adapt to its critics, we must consider this apparent inertia along with the competing directions in which it is being pulled. It is difficult to move forward when ‘forward’ is not a direction that is readily apparent. Third, and the most thought-provoking element identified by Mofina, is the tension between the problems posed by media reporting and the need for media reporting.

Others have been more straightforward in emphasizing the influence that media can exert on the policy-making process. For example, Surette (1990: 8; see also Altheide & Snow, 1979) has argued that “the press can influence policy because officials react to what they see and hear in media or because they act on the basis of anticipated media attention.”

Media images are not limited to young offenders. They also offer more or less favourable depictions of laws dealing with young offenders. Politics come into play when we talk of law reform and this is another factor which complicates the issues. In her comparison of public perceptions of youth crime and justice, assessed through an opinion survey, with images of youth crime and justice generated in the media and in statistical and legal reports, Sprott (1996: 286) found that
Most [survey] respondents had inaccurate knowledge of the YOA. This lack of information by the public is particularly important when one realizes that the public may be influencing policy making without any substantive knowledge of the youth justice system. In most cases, the public believes that Act to be more lenient then [sic] it actually is.

Bibby also found that 71% of his survey respondents believed the Young Offenders Act needed to be toughened (Bibby, 2001: 45). Sprott further points out that “The irony of the current lack of information is that if youth court sentences were increased, few members of the public would know since dispositions are so rarely reported” (Sprott, 1996: 287).

It is ironic that while media depictions of youth crime and justice orient the debate and polarize the issues, making the problem sometimes worse than it is, we can hardly address the issue without mass media dissemination of ‘information.’ Whether or not the media willingly acknowledge the significance of their educational function, as opposed to their corporate objectives, they play an important pedagogical role, particularly in a field such as crime and justice where most people have little or no direct personal experience upon which to base their understanding.

ii) ‘Othering’ and moral panics

Groups who are disadvantaged in society for any number of reasons such as age, race, class, gender, ability or sexuality, are more likely to experience marginalization. Though ‘youth’ can at times be idealized, the fact remains that young people generally lack resources, education and political influence and, as such, are easier to cast aside as ‘others’ than groups with more clout. While this othering process is not the exclusive domain of the media, the media can play an important role in shaping and furthering such perceptions of youth (Glassner, 1999; Kappeler & Potter, 2005; Males, 1996, 2001; Schissel, 1997a, 2006; Smandych, 2001a).
The cultural studies perspective brought attention to the importance of class analysis in examining culture (McRobbie, 2000). Secondary to its focus on class, cultural studies also spotlighted race. But critics have decried the absence of attention to gender analysis (McRobbie, 2000; Sardar & Van Loon, 1999; Zoonen, 1994), as well as on youth and sexuality. This feminist critique has been acknowledged by Hall (1992). It is worthwhile to consider the various groups which are stereotyped and excluded through media representations as the commonalities between them are evident.

While youth have tended to be a favoured scapegoat in the media, the media have also represented women in a stereotypical manner that reinforces capitalist and patriarchal ideology (Zoonen, 1994; see also Finn, 1989). The concern is clearly not with a single negative portrayal, but rather with the cumulative effect of long-term exposure to such images.

Other groups whose targeting by media has generated academic interest include racial and ethnic minorities. Recent publications have drawn attention to the image of marginalized groups conveyed in the media. Some studies have pointed out that, with the exceptions of sports and entertainment representations, media portrayals of racial minority individuals are typically confined to conflict situations (Grenier, 1992; Jiwani, 1993; Wortley, 2002). The consequent othering of minority groups has been well documented by these researchers as well as others (e.g., Henry & Tator, 2002; Kappeler et al., 1993; Schissel, 1997a, 2006; van Dijk, 1991).

Schissel (1997b: 175 – italics in original) also emphasizes this practice of othering: "In essence, the print media's depictions of youth criminals, as the new folk devils, are fraught with biased images of gender, class, and race/ethnicity." He further adds

From a political-economy position, constructing images of crime and criminalization is a social control strategy that creates the illusion that the 'dangerous class' is primarily located at the bottom of the social hierarchy. This
illusion melds poverty and criminality and proposes them as the effects of moral inferiority. (Schissel, 1997b: 183)

He also notes the paradoxical reality that the same groups who are disadvantaged by the courts and the socio-economic system are disadvantaged by media portrayals as well. In this sense, they are "doubly victimized" (Schissel, 1997b: 176).

Attention is needlessly drawn to the racial or ethnic background of minority group offenders, while this is not done for white offenders (Henry & Tator, 2002; Jiwani, 1993; Perloff, 2000; Schissel, 1997a, 2006; van Dijk, 1991). Racial minority individuals' crimes are directly or inferentially attributed to their cultural origins, while crimes of white people are explained by individual pathology or immorality (Wortley, 2002).

Graber (1980) further found that, regardless of the actual coverage on Black offenders, when readers in her sample were asked to estimate the proportion of coverage involving Black offenders, they over-estimated by a factor of nearly three. They also overwhelmingly underestimated the age and socio-economic status of offenders in the sample of news coverage, thus suggesting that readers are more likely to notice and remember news representations that fit existing stereotypes.

Furthermore, the othering of racial minority victims has been noted as well (Henry & Tator, 2002; Jiwani, 1993; Wortley, 2002). In fact, representations of victims in the media tend to follow a dichotomous pattern, whereby the media draw, or at least infer, distinctions between "innocent" and "culpable" victims (Golding, 2001; Perloff, 2000; Wortley, 2002). So, as Henry & Tator (2002: 167) note, "Although the research evidence is still scanty, there is general agreement that media reporting produces, reproduces, and reinforces racist stereotyping."

Ultimately, some argue that the influence of media depictions is so profound that they can generate moral panics about youth crime, among other issues. Furthermore,
the groups most likely to be targeted by moral panics are those composed of ‘others’: for example, the lower-class, racial minorities, youth and females.

A moral panic may be defined as a generalized fear and outrage which is out of proportion with actual events, where a group (e.g., youth) is singled out for the danger they ostensibly represent to the rest of society. This danger relates to the ascribed moral inferiority of the ‘dangerous’ group. “In essence, the moral panic draws on existing ideological beliefs about crime and criminality and reinforces this ideology by fomenting fear about the unpredictable and expanding dangerous nature of youth activity” (Schissel, 1996: 39).

One of the relatively recent foci in the research literature on moral panics involving youth has been the media attention garnered by some ‘school shootings’ in the late 1990s. The apprehensions raised by these incidents have been further fuelled by more recent shootings at other schools, including C.W. Jeffreys in Toronto. Cohen (2002) discusses the media coverage of those shootings in the introduction to the third edition of his 1972 seminal study on moral panics: *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. Cohen (2002: viii) states that young, working-class, violent males “are the most enduring of suitable enemies.” He argues that the shooting which took place at Columbine High School on April 20, 1999 signalled a shift in discourse whereby such occurrences came to be seen as potentially happening anywhere. White middle-class boys shot white middle-class victims in a white middle-class suburb. In Canada, this “it could happen anywhere” alarm was sounded eight days later when a boy shot at classmates at W.R. Myers High School in Taber, Alberta.

Some of the key issues pointed out in the research pertaining to the media representations of the school shootings and moral panics include the labelling of the shootings as ‘a trend,’ the disproportionality between the coverage of these shootings and the threat posed, the limited range of explanations offered in the media and the
inadequacy of responses proposed and undertaken (Burns & Crawford, 1999; Cohen, 2002; Glassner, 2004; Jenkins, 2003; Killingbeck, 2001; Klein & Chancer, 2000; Muazzati, 2004). In the 1990s, the excessive attention paid to youth crime in the media produced the impression that a wave of violent crime committed by youth was sweeping across the country (Schissel, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 2006).

Interestingly, many of the panics that typified the 1960s and 1970s appear today in similar form, if not content. [...] I contend that public panics are predictable in that they have little to do with a criminogenic reality and much to do with an economic and political context in which they arise. (Schissel, 1997b: 166-168)

Fishman (1981: 382) has also noted that the same kinds of crimes always seem to be reported. However, it is also possible for a 'new' kind of crime to receive considerable attention and produce the impression of what might be referred to as a "crime wave." Fishman (1978; see also Sacco, 2005) studied extensively the ideological nature of the so-called "crime wave." In sum, he found that "Only a restricted class of crime themes – those dealing with street crime – ever become crime waves. Once a crime wave begins to emerge in the media, officials use their newsmaking powers to control its growth" (Fishman, 1978: 531). Mostly, he explained, crime waves would be more accurately portrayed as "media waves" because they are truly disconnected from what is actually happening on the streets or in the crime statistics (Fishman, 1978: 533).

Arguably, one of the biggest problems with generating crime waves is that they are not without consequences. For example, Fishman (1978: 532) remarked that following the supposed "wave of crime against the elderly" in New York in 1976, new legislation was passed that denied juvenile status for 16- to 19-year-olds accused of crimes against the elderly.

6 For other research documenting moral panics surrounding youth over the course of the twentieth century, see Acland, 1995; Fishman, 1978; Gilbert, 1986; Hall et al., 1978; Jenkins, 1992; Schissel, 1997a; 2006; Young, 1993.
Studies examining heightened levels of concern surrounding youth have been
done in the United Kingdom (Chibnall, 1977; Jenkins, 1992) and the United States
(Acland, 1995; Gilbert, 1986). These studies have covered varying periods from one to
three decades and tend to show that the current preoccupation with youth, which some
characterize as approaching a moral panic (e.g., Schissel, 1997a), may not be an
entirely novel phenomenon. Accordingly, I would argue that problems with young people
are a recurring theme in the media. Others have hinted at this pattern as well (e.g., Bell,
2003; Bernard, 1992; Doob, Marinos & Varma, 1995; Pearson, 1983; Tanner, 1996) by
noting studies which have gone back through newspaper coverage of youth violence
over several decades to find that the same concerns periodically reappear and are
phrased in fairly similar terms.

Gilbert (1986: 4) has proposed the concept of “episodic notion” to describe this
“reappearance of an old worry.” His book examines the underlying factors connected
with an apparent increase in apprehension about juvenile delinquency. Class conflicts
and fear or disapproval of cultural changes provide a backdrop against which to study
this apparent unease. He states that

The reasons for this outpouring of concern are, upon examination, made
extremely complex for one important reason. What every participant in the broad
public discussion assumed to be true – that delinquency had increased in
quantity and severity since World War II – now seems questionable or at least
difficult to prove. Despite inflammatory headlines and the repetition of charges
about brutality, the incidence of juvenile crime does not appear to have increased
enormously during this period. This disparity between reality and public
impression, between behavior and anticipation, suggests that the issue of
delinquency – the word itself even – struck a wider resonance. The problem of
delinquency, then, was much broader than the misbehavior of the postwar
generation. (Gilbert, 1986: 66)

We can begin to see the parallels between this episode he describes in the
1950s in the U.S. and the Canadian situation in the late 1990s. Public discourse, media
and official accounts also expressed the same worries at the end of the nineteenth
century in Canada (Houston, 1982). There was widespread concern about controlling working class youths who were perceived as a threat for many reasons.\(^7\)

Likewise, Chibnall sets out a chronology of law-and-order news from 1945 to 1975 in Britain. Throughout this entire period, events occurred which stimulated a great deal of public concern and media attention. Whether it be the ‘Teddy Boys,’ gangs, the cult of the rebel (as portrayed by Marlon Brando and James Dean in the movies), or youth riots, there always seemed to be something available to feed the fear of youth violence. Chibnall (1977: 55) contextualizes the situation as follows:

By 1947 the number of adolescents imprisoned was 250\% up on the figures of 1939 and it seemed to many that an increasing number of working-class youths were reacting to conditions of commodity shortage by acting out a type of gangster fantasy.

The media techniques used in the perpetuation of moral panics are discussed below in the section describing what defines and shapes crime news.

In sum, we must note the key role of media in influencing the image of youth crime that is conveyed to the public. Perceptions of youth crime and corollary attitudes and behaviours can thus be affected. It is therefore highly pertinent to deconstruct ideological and decontextualized accounts of youth crime and justice. The dynamics of power which are at play in the process of media production are noteworthy as well in that class, race, gender and other variables affect the images of different groups that are generated. Finally, the media’s role in the periodic phenomenon of moral panics gives further credence to the contention that the media play an important role and exert considerable influence in society.

\(^7\) Others have also studied the relationship between media and fear of crime (see, e.g., Garofalo, 1981; Garofalo & Laub, 1978; Heath, 1984; Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Hollway & Jefferson, 1997; Sacco, 2005; Skogan & Klecka, 1977), but it is not my purpose here to review this body of work, as it is peripheral to this dissertation.
B) Defining crime news: Media formats and structures

i) What is news?

One question we might ask ourselves is 'Why are crime and violence news?'

Roshier (1973) conducted a study where he found that people estimated the proportion of news space devoted to crime in their newspaper at four times the actual percentage. He speculates that "There is one obvious explanation for this: people perceive more crime in their newspapers than there actually is because they are more likely to read it" (Roshier, 1973: 31). Hence, one preliminary answer to the question of why crime is news is that people are interested and read the stories. But clearly, that answer is lacking. In this section, I examine the specific criteria of newsworthiness identified in the research literature and note their relationship to youth crime and violence.

Hall et al. (1978) argue that the news media operate on the assumption of a consensus view of society. Crime, and violent crime especially, interrupts that consensus, thus making it newsworthy. Violence therefore occupies a privileged place in news coverage. As Hall et al. (1978: 67-68 – italics in original) mention,

One special point about crime as news: this is the special status of violence as a news value. Any crime can be lifted into news visibility if violence becomes associated with it, since violence is perhaps the supreme example of the news value 'negative consequences.'

Acts of violence seem to be shrouded in an aura of newsworthiness, and perhaps more so when we speak of acts committed by young people. The definitional difficulties of a term such as violence also appear to contribute to this seeking out of stories about violence. Certain acts that can be encompassed under a broad definition of violence (from common assault by a school bully to air pollution by a large company) do not receive the same coverage as individualized acts of violence with immediate and visible effects. As Chibnall (1977: 79) points out, not all aspects of violence are as newsworthy and news coverage emphasizes the uncomplicated yet dramatic elements:
the relevance of various moments in the process of violence, identifying the most
significant moments as the act and its effects rather than its causal context or
motivation. Undoubtedly, this relevancy hierarchy is closely related to the
pragmatics of news presentation. A violent act is more amenable to
dramatization than are the conditions and processes which shape its
development. Its effects can be vividly portrayed by photographing victims; its
meaning captured in a single, simple, graphic, and immediate message. The
causes of violence are more complex and intractable, less open to instant
emphatic understanding.

The above quote suggests that stories on violence are a news commodity under
some specific conditions. Chibnall (1977: 77) offers five rules for judging the relevancy of
a story involving violence: first, that the acts reported be visible and spectacular; second,
that the story have sexual and political connotations; third, that the acts can be
presented graphically (see also Sacco, 1995); fourth, that we can focus on the individual
pathology; and fifth, that the story have implications for deterrence and repression. This
selection criteria then excludes the largest part of crime in favour of interpersonal
violence by individuals, with the consequence that we are left with a contrived set of
stories that have little to do with what is actually going on in the world.

As Hall et al. (1978: 53 – italics in original) suggest,

The media do not simply and transparently report events which are 'naturally'
newsworthy in themselves. 'News' is the end-product of a complex process
which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics
according to a socially constructed set of categories. [...] At the most general
level this involves an orientation to items which are 'out of the ordinary,' which in
some way breach our 'normal' expectations about social life, the sudden
earthquake or the moon-landing, for example. We might call this the primary or
cardinal news value.

They further add that other important elements in determining the
'newsworthiness' of a story are that it is unexpected, dramatic, and has negative
consequences. Surette (1998a: 61, citing Cohen & Young, 1981) claims that the
elements needed for the media to consider an item 'newsworthy' are 'periodicity' and
'consonance.' The timing of an event needs to be favourable to its being incorporated
into the schedule of news production and the event must be related to common news
themes and be explained in concordance with accepted views on the topic. Consonance also refers to what others have described as the newsworthiness of stories that have a link to current news theme(s) or a recurrent theme or motif or recursivity (Best & Hutchinson, 1996; Ericson et al. 1987; Hall et al., 1978; Luhmann, 2000). Stories with a recurrent theme or motif come with their own vocabulary that evokes for the audience the stories that have come before.

Sacco and Fair (1992:195) have demonstrated "the extent to which press attention is focused upon violent, relatively infrequently occurring crimes such as homicide, while more frequently occurring non-violent offences such as break and enter tend to be under-reported" (on over-reporting of murder, see also Dussuyer, 1979; Fasiolo & Leckie, 1993; Golding, 2001; Graber, 1980; Killingbeck, 2001; Wortley, 2002). In light of the previous discussion of the influence of media on public perceptions, we might ask whether this distortion in reporting practices produces the impression that violent crime is occurring more frequently than it actually is.

Various authors (Cohen, 1973; Ericson et al., 1987; Hackett, 1991; Hall et al., 1978; Luhmann, 2000; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991; Surette, 1998a) have enumerated some of the following criteria as news values: involvement of elite persons or nations, conflict or controversy, human interest (personalization), civic significance, political relevance, cultural or geographic proximity to readers (local relevance), large number of people affected, surprise (unexpected), moral judgments or difference (good vs. bad), attributing to actors rather than background circumstances (simplification), expression of opinions, and routines of news organization (time and space available).

The competition brought on by electronic media since the 1950s has also forced the press to change the types of stories it covers and how it does so. For example, prior to the 1950s, it would have been considered in poor taste for the press to cover private matters or 'backstage' behaviour, such as crime (see Surette, 1998a: 19). However, the
electronic media blur the line between news and entertainment and the press have to follow suit, to a certain degree, in order to remain competitive (Surette, 1998a, 1998b).

As discussed above, 'newsworthiness' criteria can influence which stories receive attention in the news and which do not. Before I expand upon this point by examining internal and external sources of influence on media content, I would like to note that Gerbner (1988) has suggested the opposite of some ideas I have put forth here. His review of various studies on television content intimates that the popularity of television programs is determined more by their scheduling than by their content. However, Gerbner also links longitudinal exposure to violent content with a "mean world" view and the punitive thrust of contemporary reaction to crime in the U.S. In other words, scheduling may determine when a program is aired but ongoing consumption of violent content also affects the world view of many people.

ii) Shaping crime news

While criteria of newsworthiness arguably have a profound influence on the content of media, there are nonetheless a number of other factors to be considered when assessing the forces that shape media content.

Shoemaker and Reese (1991) have indicated that much of the research on media content has examined the effects of this content on audiences in particular. They propose that instead of looking at how the media exert influence, it would be equally valid to scrutinize how the media are influenced. They suggest that no one source of influence can account for media content and they offer several theories. These explanations can be found in journalistic routines, journalists' socialization, and media practices; media owners' and employees' attitudes and role conceptions; organizational constraints; extramedia factors such as the economic environment, revenue sources,
advertisers, and culture; and ideological forces from the powerful or, more specifically, media financiers (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991: 49).

While space constraints prevent me from examining the potential influence of all of these explanations, I will examine a few examples and indicate how they might apply to media coverage of youth violence. A first example we may consider is the following statement: "Events are more likely to be covered than issues" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991: 221 – italics in original; see also McManus & Dorfman, 2002). Crime is an ongoing issue, but individualized representations of criminal events fit into newsworthiness criteria more easily. However, one tendency we may notice (see, e.g., Schissel, 1997a) is that reporting on specific incidents of juvenile violence can lead to a discussion of the issue as well.

Another example of factors influencing the media is that "The more deviant people or events are, the more likely they are to be included in media content and the more likely they are to be stereotyped" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991: 225 – italics in original). This assertion begs the question of who is defined as 'deviant.' Journalists do not tend to look for a fresh perspective; they attempt to frame the discussion around established understandings of an issue (Hall et al., 1978). Children raised by single mothers as well as minority and/or disadvantaged youth are examples of stereotypes of young people who might be more prone to delinquency and violence. Perloff (2000), Schissel (1997a, 2006) and van Dijk (1991) have indicated that offenders' race is generally mentioned only when they originate from a visible minority (see also Dubinsky & Givertz, 1999; Giroux, 1997) and, conversely, racial identity may be omitted when the victim is racialized (as in the case of Reena Virk, e.g., see Jiwani, 1997).

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8 Reena Virk was a 14-year-old racial minority girl from Vancouver Island who was beaten to death by a group of teenaged girls and one male youth in November 1997. Her death received enormous media attention locally, nationally and internationally, in particular because girls were
The trimming of editorial spending can also influence media content. Hackett and Zhao (1997: 65) suggest that in Canada's context of newspaper monopolies, there is very little incentive for newspapers to spend money to improve the quality of their content. Vipond (2000) further points out that some of the consequences of cost-cutting are the importation of American content and having one journalist in a chain provide copy for all chain newspapers on specific locations (e.g., Ottawa). She notes that "Newspapers that spend more than strictly necessary on editorial costs, that is, that sacrifice some profits to public service, become targets for takeover" (Vipond, 2000: 68).

Schissel (1996) provides insightful illustrations of some techniques used by media in decontextualizing crime stories. Some of these are what he calls "the morality play;" focusing on the individual (see also Ericson et al., 1991); citing "the exception as the rule;" invoking expert testimony to construct youth as evil; listing more or less similar incidents and portraying them as typical in order to support arguments about increasing youth crime or the severity of youth crime; and using photographs and headlines to grab the reader's attention and frame the discussion. These techniques have an effect of producing a story that is more sensational, by taking the event outside of its proper social, political, economic and cultural context.

Kappeler et al. (1993) also describe several media techniques which decontextualize crime. They refer to the selection of certain unusual incidents and their transformation into social issues, the overemphasis on violent crime (see also Ericson et al., 1991) and the misuse of statistics. They view the role of media, police and politicians as 'mythmakers' about crime and justice. Media create myths in order to attract attention and increase readership. Law-enforcement workers have a vested

involved in such brutal violence. Little attention was paid to Reena Virk's racial identity, although her face was often displayed in photographs. Even less attention was paid to the fact that the two teens identified as leaders and charged with her murder, Warren Glowatski and Kelly Ellard, are both white (see Jiwani, 1997).
interest in people fearing crime and in portraying their work as dangerous. Politicians use crime as an easy platform for election (everyone is against crime), and crime myths allow them to focus attention on a group which threatens the existing social order. Therefore, these three mythmakers can collaborate to generate ideological yet mythical crime stories which serve each of their respective purposes.

Cohen (1973) has described three practices involved in the "manufacture of news." The first is exaggeration and distortion. This involves exaggerating the seriousness of events and over-reporting. Misleading headlines, repetition of false or uncorroborated stories and "boxscores of the latest riot news" (Cohen, 1973: 229) are techniques mentioned. More recently, Schissel (1997a), Barron and Lacombe (2005) and Fishman (1981) also observed these techniques.

The second practice mentioned by Cohen (1973: 234) is prediction. He describes this technique as follows:

This is the implicit assumption, present in virtually every report, that what had happened was inevitably going to happen again. [...] these predictions played the role of the classical self-fulfilling prophecy. Unlike the case of natural disasters where the absence of prediction can be disastrous, with social phenomena such as deviance, it is the presence of predictions that can be 'disastrous.'

The third practice is that of symbolization. When a word (e.g.: 'biker') is associated with a status (e.g.: criminal), then objects (e.g.: leather jacket, motorcycle) connected with the word also become linked with the status. Through this manoeuvre, many false or misleading implicit statements can be made while the explicit statements are factual. Van Dijk (1991) also points to the significance of (racist) implications in media texts. Implications can be made either by providing irrelevant information or by leaving certain elements unsaid.

Lastly, another influence on media content is indicated by Hackett and Zhao's (1997: 67) assertion that in order to reach broader audiences, papers have tended to
depoliticize the news. Stories about street crimes have emerged as a ‘safe’ area, not so much because they are apolitical, but more because of their reliance on “implicit and hegemonic” political values (see also Ericson et al., 1991; Hall et al., 1978).

These influences and others have resulted in news coverage of violence that is totally detached from reality (Gerbner, 1988; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). Shoemaker and Reese (1991: 14) aptly point out that “the answers we find depend on the questions we ask.” Indeed, crime reports on violent youth could offer an entirely different picture, but the questions that need to be asked for that to happen are not being asked or cannot be asked within the current economic and socio-political context of media. According to Webster (1995), Schiller draws our attention to social inequalities and to the fact that information and technology are not being used to alleviate these inequalities.

Unfortunately, we are left with a situation where

Violence and crime are the staple diet of commercial news reporting. Even though [...] their frequency in reporting bears no relationship to that of actual incidence, their legitimacy is so well established that their social and political functions are rarely noted, and policies guiding their publication are seldom debated. (Gerbner, 1988: 11)

The ways in which crime and violence are shaped and sold as news are exemplary of the media’s role in the production and reproduction of ideology. As Hackett and Zhao (1997) have noted, reporting tends to be rather homogeneous. This is particularly evident when we consider crime news.

In sum, there are a number of ways in which crime news content is selected and shaped. This construction of images which conform to dominant ideologies thus serves to reproduce a certain world view, as discussed in the following section.

C) Media content and dominant ideologies

It is clear that media do not represent all issues and all points of view on the issues with equal frequency or space. Certain views are obviously favoured and the
relevance of this preference can be drawn from the foregoing discussion of the influence of media on public perceptions.

i) Dominant ideologies

Dominant or hegemonic ideas, though they may be harshly criticized by some groups who are not well served by them, have a strong level of adherence not because they are inherently 'true,' but rather because these ideas seem like common sense and are therefore unquestioned. These are views that are strongly held by a majority in liberal democratic states and that, though they may be challenged, are difficult to overcome. Individuals or groups who attack these ideologies are often marginalized. Extraneous knowledge tends to be associated with these established ways of knowing the world, such that dominant conceptualizations are not replaced by new ones, rather they absorb the new concepts. Hall (1980: 134 – italics in original) explains that

The different areas of social life appear to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organized into dominant or preferred meanings. New, problematic or troubling events, which breach our expectancies and run counter to our 'common sense constructs,' to our 'taken-for-granted' knowledge of social structures, must be assigned to their discursive domains before they can be said to 'make sense.' The most common way of 'mapping' them is to assign the new to some domain or other of the existing 'maps of problematic social reality.'

This conceptualization is strongly reminiscent of Berger and Luckmann's (1967) portrayal of the social construction of reality. They have referred to these established ways of knowing whereby any 'new' element tends to be understood in relation to what is already accepted. In some of the moral panics literature, it has been observed that the issue must be framed within the terms that are already viewed as 'problematic.' For example, if a claim against an individual or group fits into the current context of 'known reality,' it will be more easily accepted than a claim that is completely different, foreign or new (Jenkins, 1992), regardless of the relative veracity of any claim.
How, then, do some ideas become dominant and reproduced in the media while others do not? It is a complex question and one which cannot be addressed by looking at the media alone. Media are but one of the means through which people construct their versions of reality. People who work in the media have undergone prior socialization into a way of looking at the world. This view then is reflected in their work. And those who read newspapers also have been socialized into the social order and this socialization taints the way they perceive and understand what they read. Dissonant views may be included in the media, but as just that: dissonance. They do not represent the mainstream. They do, however, contribute to the purported 'objectivity' of the news.

Tuchman (1991) sees media as being strongly tied to ideology, yet able to exert some influence on it and, ultimately, modify it. “Theoretically the most interesting questions about news and news organizations concern either process, such as the general relationship between news and ideology, or the specific processes by which news reproduces or alters ideology” (Tuchman, 1991: 79). And this adherence to ideology by no means guarantees the underlying assumption of consensus:

Discourse analysis of content, participant observation within news organizations, and interviews with sources thus all confirm that official views are embedded in news accounts. In this specific sense, news is ideological. However, although the news media may unconsciously embed a “preferred reading” in their stories, even that “preferred reading” may constitute a “contested terrain” (Hall, 1979). That is, groups of readers or viewers (or individuals) may reject the preferred reading or argue about its validity. (Tuchman, 1991: 88-89)

In short, neither media personnel nor media sources are ever completely in control. They are both engaged in a process that produces the media content as well as its ideological aspects (see also Ericson et al., 1989).

The perpetuation of dominant ideas about crime and justice seems to be especially connected to three dialectical relationships discussed in the research literature.
The first dialectical link whereby dominant ideas are perpetuated mediates between media and political preoccupations on the one hand, and public concerns on the other. "The sociological question that remains then is whether public sentiment precedes the activities of discursive agents like politicians and media specialists, or whether these typical moral entrepreneurs direct public passions for political and economic benefits" (Schissel, 1996: 40). McCormick (1995: 155) has also addressed this relationship:

News reports fit into a textually constructed reality, where public perception and official policy are part of a loop. The more stories people read about crime, especially of events they can't control, the more likely they are to think crime is out of control, which will produce more stories and generate more interest in legal reform, a condition promoting the production of crime news in the first place.

The binary notion that either media and political interests shape public concerns or public concerns shape media and political preoccupations seems somewhat limited. Conceptualizing a mutually constitutive and reinforcing relationship between them seems more compelling, although perhaps the influence of one side is greater than that of the other under certain conditions (see also Ericson et al., 1989).

The second mutually reinforcing pattern observed is that hegemonic ideas tend to be legitimated by media accounts, and this legitimation in turn lends further credibility to these ideas. In Hall et al.'s examination of the parallels between media representations and dominant ideologies, they note (1978: 57 – italics in original)

In this section, we want to begin to account for the 'fit' between dominant ideas and professional media ideologies and practices. This cannot be simply attributed – as it sometimes is in simple conspiracy theories – to the fact that the media are in large part capitalist-owned (though that structure of ownership is widespread), since this would be to ignore the day-to-day 'relative autonomy' of the journalist and news producers from direct economic control. Instead we want to draw attention to the more routine structures of news production to see how the media come in fact, in the 'last instance,' to reproduce the definitions of the powerful, without being, in a simple sense, in their pay.

These "structures of news production" such as limited resources and the pressures of deadlines are also combined with the professional ideology of journalistic
“objectivity.” This view of the news as a “mirror of reality” masks the fact that journalists must use their individual judgment (Leff, 1997); what is considered objective in journalism is not neutral but merely conventional. The overreliance on authoritative sources, though perhaps justified in many ways, is in fact a choice made by journalists which results in other voices (i.e. less authoritative ones) not being heard. By choosing certain sources, journalists give legitimacy to the authority these sources purport to hold, whether justified or not (see also Ericson et al., 1989). Journalists are influenced to some extent by the same dominant ideologies as are the rest of us, and are therefore not necessarily engaged in some conspiratorial plot with their employers to convey the views supported by them. Another element entering into this equation, to be examined further, is the nature of the sources from which media accounts are primarily drawn. As Ericson et al. (1989) have pointed out, there is a form of “negotiated control” between sources and journalists as to which versions of reality appear in the news.

The third dialectical relationship which serves to perpetuate dominant ideology is that between press reports and police reports. Fishman (1981) has observed that news stories on crime are primarily based on police reports, but one of the criteria for police in selecting crimes to report to the media is the perceived 'newsworthiness' of the story. Reporters rely on police criteria and police rely on media criteria. “This circularity of the reporting system keeps the same sorts of crime in the news” (Fishman, 1981: 382; see also Ericson, et al., 1989; Thomas, 1990; Welch et al., 1998).

The self-perpetuating nature of these ideologies about crime and justice leads us to consider the implications of policies generated within these confines. As Sprott (1996: 272) has pointed out, “Because public concern may have an impact on the reform process, it is important to understand the public’s main source of information about youth crime - the media.”
ii) News sources and news organization

Stories which are based on these ideological views about crime will be readily accepted on that basis alone. Nonetheless, adding voices of authority to these stories compounds the problem of distortion. Moreover, the reproduction of ideological discourse is tied into the use of institutional sources to inform crime news stories, as many have noted (e.g., Ericson et al., 1989, 1991; Hackett, 1991; Hall et al., 1978). The supposed ideal of 'getting both sides of the story' does not seem to be truly met very often. Furthermore, Hackett and Zhao (1997: 66) point out that "Straight reporting is typically reactive, consisting of reports of statements from legitimized sources."

Legitimized sources are not only deemed more credible but they are also more expedient. Fewer resources are required (time, money) to seek out these sources and there may often be pre-existing relationships between them and reporters. It can lead to situations such as that pointed out by Schissel (1996: 27): "The existing public debates on youth crime, while largely uninformed, have the potency and the scientific legitimacy to direct public opinion and to effect social control policy that stigmatizes and controls those who are most disadvantaged and most victimized."

The predisposition of journalists to seek out certain authoritative sources on crime and justice can be explained by several factors revolving around the routines of news production (Ericson et al., 1987, 1989; Hall et al., 1978; Manning, 2001; Tuchman, 1991). And the fact that the sources which tend to be favoured are also likely to reproduce ideological ways of thinking contributes to the maintenance of this type of discourse in the news. Furthermore, the reliance on the habitual sources is time and cost effective. Hall et al. (1978: 58 – italics in original) describe this characteristic of journalism as follows:

These two aspects of news production – the practical pressures of constantly working against the clock and the professional demands of impartiality and objectivity – combine to produce a systematically structured over-accessing to
the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions. The media thus tend, faithfully and impartially, to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society's institutional order. This is what Becker has called the 'hierarchy of credibility' – the likelihood that those in powerful or high-status positions in society who offer opinions about controversial topics will have their definitions accepted, because such spokesmen are understood to have access to more accurate or more specialised information on particular topics than the majority of the population. The result of this structured preference given in the media to the opinions of the powerful is that these 'spokesmen' become what we call the *primary definers* of topics.

In this sense, the points of view of the powerful are conveyed in the news, not so much because they control the newspapers but because their views *seem* inherently credible and also perhaps because their views are shared. Neither newspaper owners, nor managers, nor journalists are part of the so-called lower class. This may very well lead to a dominance of a certain worldview in their approaches to news stories.

The consequence of the quasi-inherent legitimacy of the frameworks set forth by the "primary definers" is that other sources, though not necessarily barred from access, have their views interpreted as "secondary definitions" and need to be framed in response to the "primary definition" (Manning, 2001). Welch et al. (1998) also demonstrate that there are a limited and narrow range of statements that these primary definers make regarding crime causation and crime control.

We might wonder who in fact these primary definers are. Welch et al. (1998) have grouped them into two principal categories: state managers and intellectuals. State managers can include politicians, various criminal justice system officials (judges, correctional workers, police officers, lawyers) and lobbyists. Intellectuals include professors and researchers in the private sector. Moreover, as far as intellectuals are concerned, the authors have noted that "[s]ome professors appear in feature articles more frequently than others; this fact raises questions about the selection and quoting of academic experts" (Welch et al., 1998: 221). This over-accessing of certain professors might be partially explained by Greek's (1994) assertion that many academics tend to
shy away from interaction with the media and, as a result, the media will rely on
whichever expert will speak to them. However, it may also be that journalists actively
seek out those academics who will provide them with information that does not
challenge the existing ideologies circulating in media portraits of crime.

In relation to agents of the criminal justice system as experts on crime and justice
issues, Sacco and Fair (1992) have noted an especially interesting trend. Police officers
are a major source of information for stories relating to crime and, consequently, they
benefit from generally favourable depictions of themselves in the newspapers as part of
a reciprocal relationship between the media and the police. Other agents of the criminal
justice system (judges, correctional staff) do not benefit as much from this type of
positive media attention because their activities are less frequently reported in the media
and when they are reported, it is usually in relation to their alleged inadequate
performance. Ericson et al. (1991: 181-182) have highlighted the importance of the
production of knowledge on crime for these organizations which serve as sources for
crimes stories:

The essence of organizational work is the production of knowledge, of images
and symbols with objectivated meaning, as they function to provide identity for
members and legitimate their activities to others. [...] Source organizations,
through their designated spokespersons, also become ‘authors’ of the news.
They work hard to produce knowledge, and to police it, so that they can sustain
their preferred versions of events and visions of what should be done about
them. As producers of social discourse, actors in the news participate in every
part of the social drama.

The point Ericson et al. make about designated spokespersons from source
organizations is important in relation to what has happened in large police forces since
Hall et al. (1978) conducted their research. In the ongoing negotiation of control
between journalists and police sources, police increasingly have appointed one public
spokesperson who provides information to the media at daily briefings. One result of
this strategy is tighter police control over information that is disseminated (see also
Another effect is that the police spokesperson can become a public personality who, if she or he has the right qualities, can ‘humanize’ the police. However, I should stress the fact here that Ericson et al. (1989) do not consider journalists and news organizations to be at the mercy of the 'knowledge' provided to them by authoritative sources. Control is being exerted internally and externally in the production of news, such that if institutional sources are unwilling to assist the media, journalists have other avenues open to them in investigating crime news (see, e.g., Doyle & Ericson, 1996).

The considerable effect of producing versions of the news in accordance with the accepted ideologies can be explained by the limited access to different views available in the media. Furthermore, the lack of alternative views further impedes the already incomplete understanding of the public with regard to youth crime and violence.

In sum, this chapter has drawn from the large body of research on media and society in order to identify and explain some key theoretical concepts guiding this research. It is essential to consider the role of media in influencing public views about youth crime and justice as well as the processes affecting the social construction of crime news (selection of stories, shaping of stories, routines of news production, choice of news sources and the reproduction of dominant ideologies about crime and justice). In the next chapter, the analytical framework is more clearly laid out as well as the ways in which these concepts inform this research. Also discussed in Chapter 4 are the methodological issues involved in this dissertation.
CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND ISSUES

In order to elaborate an adequate method for studying media depictions of young offenders, I have developed an analytical framework that takes into account the many facets of this topic as well as the issues identified in the research literature review. In this chapter, I first specify this analytical framework which draws from social constructionism, cultural studies, feminism and critiques of the cultural studies model. The second part of this chapter details various methodological issues I encountered in my research including the development of research questions, data selection, sampling and analysis as well as the limitations and contributions of the research.

A) Analytical framework

Given the scope and inter-disciplinary nature of this research project, a combination of approaches seemed appropriate for developing an analytical framework. There are a number of theoretical perspectives on media and society. It would do little to advance the discussion of this topic to detail each of them here. Instead, what follows is a very brief description of some key theoretical perspectives which have some bearing on this work and from which I have drawn conceptually. These approaches facilitate the deconstruction of media texts from different yet complementary perspectives.

The unifying theoretical framework is social constructionism. That the media play a key role in constructing social reality is not questioned in this dissertation – it is assumed. What is examined here are the images that are produced in the media’s construction of the reality of youth crime and justice. Therefore, the focus is on content rather than on the process of social construction or how the constructions are received by the audience. The process of construction of news has been explored to some degree by Ericson et al. (1987, 1989, 1991) and in order to understand how the
audience decodes messages, it is imperative to first understand what the content of those messages is. As Jiwani (1993: 20) points out,

"Semiotically-informed textual or local semantic analysis can help deconstruct the meanings that are privileged in media texts. However, the end result is not necessarily one that all audience viewers would arrive at were they to watch the same news story. For one thing, audiences do not have time to analyze systematically the news they watch in the context of their homes."

Textual analysis is in line with existing sources in the research literature and facilitates comparison of my findings to those from other times and places. Also, to employ textual analysis is to acknowledge that language is not neutral and that the way an issue is discussed has real effects (see Hall, 1997a, 1997c; Henry & Tator, 2002; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001; Welch et al., 1998). As such, I felt that a textual analysis of the coverage of youth crime would be a valid contribution to the field of knowledge in that analysis of the content of Canadian news relating to young offenders is sparse.

Certain theoretical perspectives offer particularly useful concepts for examining these images. The first theoretical perspective on which I draw in the elaboration of this dissertation is the cultural studies perspective stemming from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies and, in particular, the work of Stuart Hall and his colleagues. The cultural studies perspective examines how dominant ideology is produced and reproduced in society. The role of the media in the routine dissemination of ideology is a central focus. The production of meaning through the processes of encoding and decoding was also examined by Hall (1980).

Given the interdisciplinary nature of this study, the cultural studies approach is a good fit. It is also ideal in that it supports the analysis of semiotics (how the messages are constructed) as well as discursive analysis (assessing potential effects from a political point of view). Although the focus of this research is on textual analysis, it is not done without an awareness that these texts undergo processes of encoding and
decoding that are beyond the scope of the study. Neither a market perspective on media, nor an instrumentalist view seem satisfactory for the purpose of this study.

Cultural studies have been concerned with inequalities, social relations of power, dominant ideologies and how they are reproduced, popular culture, resistant subcultures and underlying meanings. The primary interest I have with cultural studies is their focus on the news media in their examination of culture. The cultural studies perspective is very mindful of the discourse used in reproducing ideological concepts and images. The cultural studies approach helps to examine how news, specifically crime news, is fitted within the boundaries of ideological discourse, to consider the importance of news sources in the reproduction of this discourse, and to explore the 'encoding' of meaning into media texts on youth who misbehave. In order to analyze the meaning in the media texts studied, attention was paid to the words used and the themes developed within the coverage on young offenders. The qualitative thematic analysis reveals findings which are not available through a quantitative content analysis in terms of reflecting on ideological discourse, othering, decontextualization and moral panics, for example.

Stuart Hall is one of the most prominent figures of the cultural studies movement. His work explains in great detail the processes involved in communication, what ideology is and how it can be found in cultural texts (e.g., Hall, 1980, 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Hall et al., 1978). Hall (1980) has highlighted how "dominant or preferred meanings" tend to shape our understanding of the world and new or problematic events. Hall et al. (1978) have also shown how these "dominant or preferred meanings" infiltrate themselves into the complex structure of news production. They have identified characteristics of the media which facilitate the reproduction of ideological discourse, such as the definition of newsworthiness, time constraints, the supposed quest for objectivity in journalism, and the resulting choices of sources.
Because of the role of media, and especially news media, in shaping and being shaped by culture, we can see the significance of studying media content and discourse for penetrating and getting at the core of ideological discourse on specific issues. Altheide (1996) has emphasized the importance of media for researchers studying culture. Also, as Fishman (1978: 542) has stated, “News plays a crucial role in formulating public issues and events, and in directing their subsequent course.”

To better understand how the meaning derived from framing stories in a certain manner is vital, I turn here to Altheide’s (1996: 31 – italics in original) distinction between themes and frames:

Themes are the recurring typical theses that run through a lot of the reports.
Frames are the focus, a parameter or boundary, for discussing a particular event. Frames focus on what will be discussed, how it will be discussed, and above all, how it will not be discussed.

He provides the example of illegal drug use. Framing this as a public health issue or a criminal justice issue will lead to quite different ways of discussing the problem.

The process of encoding meaning is all the more troublesome in that it is mostly unconscious. What is more,

The relationship between the signifier [sound or image] and the signified [concept] – and this is crucial – is arbitrary, unmotivated, unnatural. There is no logical connection between a word and a concept or a signifier and a signified, a point that makes finding meaning in texts interesting and problematic. [...] How do signifiers generate meaning? And how is it that we know these meanings? If the relationship between signifier and signified is arbitrary, the meanings that signifiers hold must be learned somehow, which implies that there are certain structured associations, or codes, that we pick up that help us interpret signs. (Berger, 1998: 8-9 – italics in original)

This consideration of the process of encoding meaning brings us back to the practice of symbolization described by Cohen (1973, 1972). There are two important implications to the encoding of meaning through symbolization. First, symbolization represents a significant hurdle for the researcher considering meaning in media texts. Second, the practice of symbolization suggests that issues do not have inherent meaning; issues can
be shaped and moulded to some extent at the discretion of journalists and their sources. For instance, Altheide (1996: 73) draws an interesting picture of how the distinction between crime and violence has become blurred. By continually using the words together, the media have nearly made these words interchangeable and one can now be used without the other because their meanings have been merged to some degree.

Cultural studies allow us to consider media presentations more closely. Notwithstanding a focus on social inequalities of race and class, cultural studies historically tended to be gender-blind and have also attached too much importance to external pressures shaping media content and/or not enough to internal pressures. Feminists have criticized the cultural studies perspective for failing to consider the question of power in relation to gender. Feminist positions are quite varied, such that it is sometimes problematic to group them under a single label. However, though there may be disagreement as to its root cause, gender inequality is the central consideration of feminism. In terms of feminist media studies, feminists have been concerned with the stereotypical images of women in the media, the relative absence of women in news production, and the relative neglect of women as audience members (see, e.g., Barak, 1996; Benedict, 1992; Chesney-Lind, 1999; Davis, 1997; McRobbie, 2000; Modleski, 1986; Rhode, 1997).

A feminist approach contributes to the mix by forcing the researcher to dissect the gender stereotypes, among others: those in the document, those in the structure of media, those in the time and place being studied as well as the researcher's own biases. For example, McRobbie (1997, 2000) serves as an example of the complementarity between cultural studies and feminist approaches in her work on depictions of young women in the media.

The framework discussed so far draws from a substantive literature (Altheide, 1996; Chibnall, 1977; Cohen, 1972, 1980; Ericson et al., 1991; Fishman, 1978; Gilbert,
which gives little or no attention to gender analysis or even to ethnicity or race in some cases, with a few exceptions. This omission is clearly one of the greatest gaps in this field of knowledge and one which I have tried to overcome in my study.

While there is no specifically feminist method, adopting a feminist methodological approach entails paying critical attention to certain aspects of the data. Harvey (1990: 154) explains that

Unravelling myths and exposing contradictions provides the major ways through which feminist critical social research enables the dialectical deconstructive process. Stereotypes and anomalies are located structurally and this provides the basis for revealing the operation of patriarchal ideology. Detailed analysis of the operation of legitimating practices reveals the nature of the oppressive mechanism.

This is markedly true when we are dealing with the myths and contradictions rooted in media discourse - even more so because there appears to be some sort of mutually reinforcing relationship between media stereotypes on the one hand, and the personal and social biases of the media public on the other hand. Schissel (1997b: 179) has noted that the media present images of young offenders and their families that are steeped in common stereotypes, and the presentation of these images in the media only seems to reinforce the stereotypes further.

In their review of Canadian newspapers since 1993, Hackett and Gruneau (2000) have documented that there is a dearth of women not only in news production, but also in news as sources, experts or newsmakers. Some feminist media scholars have also pointed out these same weaknesses ingrained in media production which result in a skewed version of events and issues. For example, throughout the twentieth century, women have been largely absent from media production (Rhode, 1997). In the U. S., there was only one female TV journalist in the 1940s. By 1960, there was one female per network. Even in those cases, the women reported only on 'women's issues' or on
the weather (Rhode, 1997). The numbers of women journalists and journalism school graduates slowly increased, "Yet women also continue to be grossly underrepresented in media positions of greatest status and power and dramatically overrepresented in the lowest" (Rhode, 1997: 9). She later adds that the situation is further amplified for women of colour. As women exercise little decision-making power, their perspectives are also not adequately represented in the media. Rhode also points out that there seems to be a "quota of one" when it comes to female reporters writing about female concerns but that this "quota" never seems to be paralleled for male reporters and male concerns. However, Zoonen (1994) indicates that the relationship between the gendered production of news and the gendered encoding of discourse is complex:

Although in some instances it was clear how this gendered structure affects the encoding of gender discourse in media content, it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a straightforward connection between the gendered structure of production and the encoding of gender discourse. (Zoonen, 1994: 62)

This virtual absence of women in news production consequently tilts the coverage of issues. Moreover, not only are there few women producing the news, there are still relatively few women being quoted, interviewed, or used as sources more generally. Rhode (1997) indicates that men are overwhelmingly used as authoritative sources, even when reporting is on women's issues. Welch et al. (1998) also found that few women were being quoted as experts (academic or government sources). Leff (1997) explains this absence in part by the preoccupation that the media tend to have with the appearance of objectivity. The overreliance on sources that are perceived as authoritative often leads to overlooking women as sources because they have fewer higher ranking (i.e. authoritative) positions in organizations. "The danger of the objective method is not that it leads to certain outcomes but that it masks the pervasive subjective

9 I certainly do not wish to suggest that merely having more women involved in news production would necessarily remedy the problem; however, it would be a start.
judgements implicit in all news stories, lending them unwarranted authority" (Leff, 1997: 32).

Another problem is the image of women who are in the news. Women in the news are objectified (Davis, 1997; McRobbie, 1997; Rhode, 1998). They are defined \textit{prima facie} by their relationships to the men in their lives (i.e. they are mothers, sisters, daughters, wives, and girlfriends). They are cast within stereotypical categories of femininity, i.e. the good girl/bad girl dichotomy. Davis (1997) argues that the media perpetuate and update stereotypes of women on the good/bad dichotomy, and reinforce the view of women as objects and men as subjects. When a woman is seen to be acting 'like a man,' it means she is exercising her own agency as a fully autonomous being (see also Higgins & Tolman, 1997). This is incongruous with the image of women.

The specific focus on stereotypical images of males and females is one consequence of adopting a feminist approach. By taking into account the historical differences in the situations of boys and girls, we can get a better understanding of how delinquent youth are portrayed in the media. Myers (1999, 2006), for example, describes the social situation of working class girls at the beginning of the twentieth century in Montréal. The delinquencies attributed to girls were much different from those of boys and the means to control them were different as well.

Likewise, in Chapter 2, I mentioned the paternalistic nature of the \textit{parens patriae} doctrine of the JDA which many researchers have pointed out (Bala, 1997; Chunn, 1990; Corrado and Markwart, 1992; Matters, 1984; Reitsma-Street, 1998; Théorêt, 1991). This paternalistic attitude played out differently when it came to disciplining boys as opposed to girls. Awareness of this attitude about delinquency and its correction provides an interesting backdrop for examining media portrayals of youth and youth courts.

Additionally, in arguing for an 'institutional approach' to media research, Ericson (1991) critiques the dominant ideology approach of cultural studies for its media-centric
analyses. He argues that such analyses overestimate the effect of media on society and do not situate their research within the broader social context of media production, reception and influence. Ericson (1991; see also Doyle & Ericson, 1996) views the media as more open to diverse groups and a plurality of viewpoints than what is suggested by cultural studies theorists. As such, Ericson's work on news sources, and that done in collaboration with colleagues (Ericson et al., 1989, 1991), is relevant to this discussion. Ericson's (1991) critique that cultural studies exaggerate the perceived importance of the media in affecting public perception serves as a caveat in terms of the conclusions to be drawn from this research. However, it is his critique about the relative openness of the media to a plurality and diversity of sources which I have incorporated into my research. Given the latter critique, I chose to draw on Ericson et al.'s (1991) analysis of news sources in examining the news sources in my sample in greater detail.

In sum, my analytical framework is geared toward understanding the socially constructed images of youth crime and justice in the print media. In order to do this, my framework draws on the cultural studies approach while incorporating important critiques levelled at this approach, particularly the feminist and institutional model critiques. I analyzed the data through this lens in an attempt to identify elements involved in the news processes and routines of selecting and shaping youth crime and justice news and the decontextualization involved. This framework was also useful in shedding light on inequalities based on gender, race, class and other variables in the coverage.

The approaches discussed above provided a guiding orientation for the analytical framework of this study. They helped direct me toward a better understanding of the issues. Further, the grounded theory literature has provided arguments for not imposing pre-determined ideas on the evolution of the research project. Grounded theory is a concept coined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) which refers to the discovery of theory.
from data. The idea is to start with few preconceived notions about the topic and to develop hypotheses or research questions as you go along in the research process. They explain that "Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 6).

That being noted, it is nonetheless acceptable to set out certain beacons based on a general theoretical understanding of the issues to be studied — in this case, media portrayals of young people in conflict with the law. While preliminary thought was given to what I might do, how I should do it, which concepts might be important and which relationships could be worth investigating, the form this project took shifted many times from my initial conceptions.

**B) Research design**

i) Research questions

In order to clarify the specific objectives of the study, I elaborated detailed research questions based on my particular interests when I began the research process. The questions that guided this research project are

**Interest/Amount of coverage over time**: Have media interest levels remained constant throughout the past century? In what context have interest levels varied, if/when they have varied?

**Content: How have crime and violence committed by youths been portrayed in the past?**: What has been the focus of media coverage on youth crime and violence in the last 100 years? How have the topics been discussed? How does this coverage relate to official, academic, and other discourses on youth crime and violence?
Gender/ethnicity/class/race/age: How has coverage on 'bad boys' differed from that on 'bad girls'? How do these differences relate to the social context of the lives of boys and girls throughout the past century?

Similarities and differences in newspaper coverage/content: Have different newspapers from different regions of Canada covered the issues in a similar manner? What similarities and differences in coverage exist between anglophone and francophone newspapers? How do these differences relate to anglophone and francophone approaches to youth crime throughout the period studied? For instance, does the 'distinct' Québec approach to youth appear in media coverage? Are there gender/ethnic/class/race/age differences as to how youth crime is represented and which responses are deemed appropriate?

Content (moral panics): Was there a sense of urgency in the end-of-the-century Canadian media coverage of youth crime and violence? Was the tone of the coverage alarmist, portraying youth crime and violence as an epidemic? Was coverage in earlier parts of the century also marked by a sense of urgency? Can we see a recurring pattern of moral panics throughout the study period?

Implications of media portrayals: What are the broader implications of the form and content of newspaper coverage? What policy and legislation reforms have been discussed in the same time frame? How might the reforms and media coverage be related?

ii) Conceptual and definitional issues

This project raised several issues that required some initial deliberation: scope of the research (time frame and geography); and definitions of key concepts (crime/deviance/violence, youth/age, gender, and language/ethnicity).
Scope: I wanted a time frame for investigating images of youth in the media that would allow me to ascertain the transformations that may have occurred in the way youth were portrayed and note any parallels with other spheres of social life such as economic situations (prosperity versus depression), political climate (times of peace versus times of war), religious control (strong influence versus declining influence), and justice orientation (legislative pressures and changes pertaining to youth justice). Upon consideration, one hundred years seemed to be the best time frame for studying this topic in the Canadian context. This time span encompassed both the Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA) of 1908 and the Young Offenders Act (YOA) of 1982 as well as the critiques of these statutes. Limitations on resources prevented me from extending the period further than 100 years. Also, there were very few newspapers that covered the 100-year span and there would have been even fewer covering a longer period.

Thought was also given to the dimension of space, i.e. geography. We live in a vast and diverse country and it would be impossible to study it in its entirety. Choosing strategic locations was a key concern. The choice was again limited by the restricted availability of newspapers that have been in circulation for one hundred years.

Conceptualizing and integrating language and ethnicity: Another concern here, also tied to the issues of language and ethnicity, was Québec's historically different approach to young offenders. This distinction provided the basis for my research question regarding a potential difference in news coverage between Québec and some of the anglophone provinces. I felt the contrast would be heightened if the comparison were between a French-language newspaper in Québec (as opposed to Québec's anglophone daily, The Gazette) and English-language newspapers in other provinces.

Conceptualizing and integrating gender: Another element I contemplated was gender. The great significance of this element is why I chose to incorporate feminist analysis into the very framework of the project. Studies on youth delinquency have
traditionally looked exclusively at male offenders, disregarding females entirely or lumping them together with males without explaining the huge discrepancies between their respective levels of offending (see Messerschmidt, 1993). Heidensohn (1985: 129) explains the neglect of female offending in criminological theories: "Treating delinquency as normal made female delinquency problematic because it was both statistically unusual and also deemed role-inappropriate." Clearly, the issue of gender should be involved when studying a phenomenon such as juvenile delinquency. In light of the mounting concerns about and media attention to the supposed escalation of young female crime and violence in the late 1990s (whether these concerns were founded or not), it seemed that the field of research surrounding juvenile delinquency was propitious for a study which would look at media depictions of both female and male offending in youth. As male and female delinquents have generally been viewed and treated quite differently from one another, I hypothesized that they may have been portrayed differently in the media. This suggestion also helped guide choices about the sample.

Defining youth/age: The concept of age required some preliminary thought since definitions of what constitutes 'youth' vary across time and space and are often tenuous and arbitrary (see, e.g., Lesko, 2001). I felt it was necessary to confront this question because the articles I selected would be determined to some extent by the age of the young people depicted. As Fasiolo and Leckie (1993) point out, the media do not use a definition of 'youth' which corresponds to only those individuals covered by juvenile legislation. The arbitrariness of selecting specific 'numbers' as the upper and lower limits of 'youth' was quite apparent. The legal definitions varied over time and from one
location to another. Applying a single definition to cover all possibilities raised several issues, as did the idea of using multiple definitions.\(^1\)

After considering these issues, I opted for an inclusive definition, which could be restricted later if necessary. I defined ‘youth’ as the age span of seven to twenty-one years of age. This definition proved to be unproblematic since the majority of articles included in the sample dealt with young people fitting the current Canadian legal definition of youth (i.e. 12 to 17 years old inclusively). Moreover, although the sample included a fair number of 18- to 20-year-olds, analyses of the data including and excluding these articles were virtually identical (see Chapter 5). Therefore, considering the frequent media referrals to these older individuals as ‘youths,’ they were included in the analysis presented in this dissertation.

The reason for the choice of seven as the lower limit was that it is the age below which children are usually deemed incapable of *mens rea*, so their behaviour should not be defined as delinquent *per se*. Seven was also the lower age limit under the JDA.

While the children at the lower end of this spectrum may not necessarily be seen as ‘youth,’ there were very few articles about children under twelve included in the sample and I believed that this inclusion could offer some interesting material. For example,

\(^{10}\) Several authors offer extensive discussions on the variations in the definition of youth and the randomness of using chronological age as a definer (Acland, 1995; Ariès, 1962; Barron, 1998; Chunn, 1990; James, 1993; Jenks, 1996). For example, Chunn (1990: 94) reports:

> The trend from the nineteenth century onward was to raise the minimum age at which young people could leave school and enter the workforce, engage in sexual relations, exercise citizenship rights and be held criminally responsible. Moreover, these minimums were not uniform; they often differed by type of activity, gender and locale. For example, by 1940, youths in both Ontario and British Columbia were required to attend school to age fifteen, at which point they could legally take up paid employment and live away from home. Yet they could not vote and were still juvenile under the criminal law. Indeed, following a 1923 amendment to the J.D.A. that gave the provinces some flexibility in setting the age limit for juveniles, Ontario retained the cut-off point at sixteen while British Columbia raised it to eighteen (MacGill, 1939). Thus, a youth might have been self-supporting for one to three years but still be categorized and treated as a juvenile. This had an enormous effect on how the norms of childhood and sexuality were enforced in different provinces.
there has been ongoing debate about whether the lower age limit of 12 years under the Young Offenders Act (YOA), or of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA), should be reduced to 10 years. Thus, including children who are below the legal age limit of criminal responsibility for 'youth' allowed me to examine these data as well.

As for the upper age limit, 21 may seem high now since the category of 'youth' ends at 18 in criminal law. However, under the Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA), the youth court could maintain jurisdiction over young people until the age of 21. Also, coverage of crimes committed in the United States is prominent in Canadian newspapers today, and to some degree in the past. In many American jurisdictions, the upper limit of 'youth' is and has been 21.

One last problem with this definition by age is that, inevitably, many articles do not mention the offender's age. I, therefore, elaborated definitions as to how to recognize 'youth' in an article (in order to determine which articles to include and which to exclude, as well as how to code the age of the offender).

I included articles about 'youths' of unspecified age in the sample when the 'youthfulness' of the individual was highlighted either through repetition of the referrals to 'youth,' inclusion in the headline, or other indications such as appearance, student status, presence of parents at the police station or in court, reference to a youth court jurisdiction, or youthful types of offences (e.g., stealing candy or toys, unsafe handling of firecrackers, and Hallowe'en pranks).

Defining crime/deviance/violence: Other issues warranting consideration are the concepts of crime and deviance. What are crime and deviance? These are questions that have caused much ink to flow but around which there is very little consensus. For the purposes of this project, I focused primarily on the offence-oriented definitions used by the media. In order to get at what may be defined as 'crime' or 'deviance' in the media, focusing on offences is easiest. This media definition refers mostly to street
crime with a particular accent on crimes of violence. This emphasis on violence then opens another door: the problem with defining 'violence.' Violence is another broad, vague concept which has many levels of meaning. In the media, the concept of violence is again focused on individual acts, and particularly the more gruesome forms of interpersonal violence such as murder, assault, rape, and armed robbery. However, these definitions may not include all that describes 'bad youth' or deviant youth. For example, running away from home, living on the street, and sexual promiscuity are no longer considered 'offences' per se, but they may still be part of what the media portray as 'bad youth.' Also, drug-related offences and vandalism may not fit with the violence orientation of media depictions of crime; however, they are forms of 'crime' which may receive coverage, particularly if they are believed to be linked to gang activity. I adopted an inclusive approach once again, in order to capture the full spectrum of what may be termed 'youth crime.'

By looking at a broad range of what might be considered 'bad' behaviours, we may be able to get at this orientation toward crimes of violence described by several authors (Chesney-Lind, 1999; Graber, 1980; Osborne, 1995; Perrone & Chesney-Lind, 1997; Schissel, 1997; Sprott, 1996). Whereas violence represents a small fraction of criminal activity by youth, it also comprises a large part of the criminal activity that is selected for media coverage. The implications of this overrepresentation of youth violence have been discussed above and are fairly serious in nature. As such, consideration of the discrepancy between youth violence and media coverage of it was one focus of the data analysis.

The above issues having been reviewed, I turn now to a more detailed description of the project, including a discussion of the data sources, sampling and analysis procedures.
C) Data sources, sampling and analysis

i) Data sources

As I mentioned in the introduction, the data for this project came from Canadian print media between the years 1901 and 2000. From the start, this time frame imposed restrictions on the choice of data sources. Arguably, the transformations in film, television, magazines and radio, among other electronic media, were much more pronounced throughout the last century than were the transformations in the press. For example, radio and television did not reach mass audiences in Canada until the 1930s and late 1950s, respectively, when over 75% of households possessed the necessary technology (Desbarats, 1996; Vipond, 2000). Therefore, while other media forms could be equally interesting, particularly in more recent times, the primary interest for this study was print media.

Another limitation was imposed by the length of the time span to be studied. Newspapers that had published throughout the twentieth century were needed. Again, it might have been possible to make methodological adaptations to circumvent this constraint, but for an initial exploration, it seemed that the evolution over time would be easier to trace within the same newspapers, as would the parallels and contrasts across the century by utilizing data sources that had existed throughout. A review of the National Library database revealed that only seven daily newspapers have been in existence without any major interruptions since 1901: La Presse (Montréal), The Province (Vancouver), The Toronto Star, The Globe and Mail, Le Soleil (Québec), The Fredericton Daily Gleaner, and The Winnipeg Free Press.11

11 Of course, the transformations within those newspapers over time must also be considered. The shift away from the openly partisan press of the nineteenth century, the mounting influence of advertisers and the growing concentration of newspaper ownership from early on in the twentieth century are well documented in detailed histories of the Canadian press such as Fetherling (1990) and Kesterton (1967) (see also Desbarats, 1996; Vipond, 2000).
In considering these newspapers, one noteworthy dimension is the environment in which they are distributed. Unfortunately, no rural newspapers have been in existence long enough for the demands of this study. However, two triads do appear. These are big city, metropolitan newspapers – Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver – and the small city (yet provincial capital) newspapers – Québec, Fredericton, and Winnipeg. I feel that the environment is material when it comes to making comparisons. As such, in order to draw comparisons between newspapers on other variables, I considered it best if they were of similar quality levels and perhaps also from the same type of urban environment.\textsuperscript{12} Given the sampling technique described below, it would be too lengthy a collection period to include both triads. Therefore, the newspapers chosen for this study are La Presse, The Toronto Star and The Province.

Parallel to the developing urban environments, the developments within the newspaper industry were notable as well. In particular, the three selected newspapers increased in length and their circulation numbers steadily rose throughout the twentieth century. Prior to World War I, the weekday newspapers were anywhere between eight and 24 pages in total length and approximately 24 to 40 pages on Saturdays. The Toronto Star and La Presse were each sold for a penny and The Province for five cents. La Presse boasted the highest daily circulation of any newspaper in Canada in these early years with a circulation approaching 100,000 newspapers sold daily. From 1901 to 1911, The Toronto Star's circulation went from over 10,000 to over 70,000 newspapers per day. In comparison, The Province's daily average circulation for 1906 was just over 10,000, just under 28,000 in 1911 and reached the 100,000 mark by the 1940s.

\textsuperscript{12} Ericson et al. (1991) examined only Toronto outlets. Schissel (1997a) studied mostly Western news magazines and newspapers from the biggest city in each province between British Columbia and Québec. He had only the Winnipeg Free Press from the triads I mentioned, but his period of study was restricted to the years between 1988 and approximately 1995.
During World War I, the circulation figures continued to rise, despite the restricted content of the newspapers, and by the 1930s, The Toronto Star had caught up to La Presse in terms of circulation numbers, with both newspapers selling about 200,000 copies daily. By the end of the 1930s, La Presse referred to its circulation as the highest French-language daily circulation in North America and continued to do so until the end of the study period. Meanwhile, the circulation of The Toronto Star continued to rise and at the end of the study period boasted figures that far surpassed those of La Presse and The Province.

From around the 1940s, the newspapers began adding sections, thus expanding space for advertising as well as news content. By the end of the study period, La Presse published four to six sections daily (more on Saturdays) and charged 60 cents for a paper ($2 on Saturdays) and The Toronto Star published five to ten sections daily (more on Saturdays), charging 50 cents for a paper ($1.50 on Saturdays). As for The Province, it expanded by one or two sections until the 1980s. In the sample month of May 1983, which was the last year in the sample with the vertical full-page length format, the paper was sold for 25 cents (50 cents of Fridays and Sundays). By the following sample month of July 1987, the paper had changed to the tabloid format and sold for 50 cents daily (75 cents on Sundays). In this format, the number of pages printed daily grew until the end of the study period from about 64 to 136 pages daily in 1987 to about 88 to 216 pages daily in 1999, but the daily circulation figures never reached 200,000. By 1999, the price of a copy of The Province had increased to 60 cents on Mondays to Thursdays, 85 cents on Fridays and $1.25 on Sundays.

Another choice to be made was whether to use computerized databases such as Lexis/Nexis, Canadian Newsdisc/Newsstand or Canadian Business and Current Affairs (CBCA). While these sources are so much faster and more efficient than microfilm, they have only been around since the early 1980s or 1990s, depending on which database is.
used. Changing the collection procedure part way through the study would create some problems in comparing data collected by the two different methods. Also, as Best (1999: 189-195) points out there are certain considerations for the researcher who uses these types of indexes or databases.\textsuperscript{13} For all of these reasons, I felt it was best to stick to one method of data collection: cover-to-cover searches of newspapers on microfilm.

As I have explained, it is important to be very familiar with the data source you choose. In this case, such familiarity includes knowing the newspapers' tone, biases, ethical standards, publisher controls, and pressures (Smith, 1989: 323), recognizing the biases of the sources used as well as the researcher's own biases (Fortner & Christians, 1989), understanding the links between newspaper coverage and other media coverage (Gilbert, 1986) and understanding how changes in media ownership and formats may have a significant impact on media content (Jenkins, 1992: 19-22). For example, Jenkins (1992: 19-22) has noted that the emergence of various tabloid newspapers or 'yellow press' newspapers in England may have led the more mainstream newspapers to cover issues that they would not have covered previously.

These explanations also have bearing on the newspapers I chose. For example, The Province was initially a good quality full size newspaper and shifted to the tabloid format in the 1980s. Also, Desbarats (1996: 15 – italics in original) points out

Montreal's \textit{La Presse} began publication in 1884 to become, during the first half of the next century, the great popular daily of Quebec, luridly sensational by the standards of the day. Its counterpart in Ontario, the \textit{Toronto Star}, was introduced to its readers in 1892 as the \textit{Evening Star: A Paper for the People}. Always a staunchly Liberal organ in opposition to the Conservative \textit{Globe}, it advertised

\textsuperscript{13} First, the researcher is at the mercy of the person who has done the indexing, with the indirect implication that someone else is basically deciding what is included and excluded from the sample. Also, the rules for including and excluding articles under a specific heading can change over time and depending on who performs the operation. Indexing services vary in quality and some may include fewer categories than others, meaning that unless you have the right search term, you may not find the article for which you are looking. Sometimes, shorter items are not indexed. Further, databases do not include advertising, photos, comics, charts and classifieds.
itself as "the only exclusively evening newspaper in the city employing union labor."

Likewise, during the 1940s and 1950s, the anglophone newspapers met with competition from dozens of true crime magazines and, in the 1950s and 1960s, La Presse had to contend with, among other competitors, over a dozen tabloid newspapers and true crime magazines (Strange & Loo, 2004; The Culture of Cities Project, McGill Research Team, n.d.a, n.d.b).

ii) Sampling procedure

The technique used to collect the data for this study was a random sampling of one month of coverage from each of the three chosen newspapers for every four-year-period from 1901 to 2000. The year randomly selected in the first four-year-period was 1903. I sampled every fourth year thereafter. The months randomly chosen for the sample are listed in Appendix B.

The random sampling of the newspapers was intended to give an idea about the distribution of stories on young people throughout the period. I did not think it would be possible to obtain a purely random sample in this data set because it was difficult to define a 'unit of analysis' that was appropriate for this study. In order to do that, I would have had to collect all possible items that would relate to the project and then randomly choose however many were needed for an adequate sample size. Clearly, that approach is completely prohibitive given the amount of work involved in collecting all possible items.14

Ericson et al. (1991) sampled pages as their unit of analysis. While this technique seems to have worked well for their study, it is not practical for the length of time I wanted to cover (they studied 33 days). Bailey and Hackett (1997) and Stempel

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14 It requires roughly six hours to go through one month of newspaper microfilm and make copies of all relevant articles. It took over 450 hours to collect the sample for this project.
(1989) recommend using composite weeks when selecting periods to study. The problem with this approach was that I would not be able to follow stories that occurred within the same month which could be much more revealing than a purely random sample of any 28 days throughout the year. Altheide (1996: 36) states that the rule of thumb for sample size is between five and 10%. One month out of a year is 8.3% and one year out of every four is 25%, so my sample size was sufficient according to this criterion.

For each month sampled, I collected all the pertinent articles in that month from each of the newspapers studied. I determined the ‘pertinence’ of an article on the basis of its content. During the sampling, I read as much of the articles as I needed to determine whether they related to juvenile delinquency, youth crime, laws pertaining to young people, and/or certain areas of youth deviancy and marginalization that were potentially connected to criminalization. For example, I included in the sample articles reporting on crimes committed by young people or crimes for which young people were charged or suspected. I also retained articles about drug use and abuse in high schools, transient youth, hippie youth protests, Hallowe’en pranks, school discipline and safety, bullying, runaways, and youth prostitution. I kept items about suspicious shootings and fires, where it was unclear if they were the result of an accident or a crime, as well as articles about different laws for youths (curfews relating to work hours, drinking age, voting age, age of consent).\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{15}\) I excluded from the sample stories about missing youth where there was no mention that they might have run away and articles about general youth or social or criminal issues which made only passing remarks about youth delinquency. Aside from substantive topics, I discarded a fair number of news items on the basis of age determinations. When age was not specified and “youth” was not sufficiently emphasized, I did not keep the articles in the sample. For example, I did not consider one or two references to a “young man” as sufficient evidence of youth. In some articles about “young men,” their ages were mentioned as under 21, while in other cases they were over 21 – even up to 30 years old. I therefore did not find the term “young man” as sufficient emphasis if used without other indicators of youth.
In total, I gathered a sample of 1937 news items: 576 from The Province, 871 from The Toronto Star and 490 from La Presse. Although I originally wished to complement the random sample with a selective sample of key time periods (surrounding the enactment of the JDA and YOA, for example) and a theoretical sample (of high profile cases having received much media attention), these supplementary collections have now been relegated to ‘future projects’ due to the large random sample I obtained.

iii) Data analysis

There is no need, nor any utility, in dichotomizing qualitative and quantitative research methods. Both bring distinct offerings to the table of knowledge and are much more powerful when used in conjunction with one another.

Glaser and Strauss (1967), for example, have noted that research can be enhanced by not considering qualitative and quantitative domains as mutually exclusive. They note that

*In many instances, both forms of data are necessary* – not quantitative used to test qualitative, but both used as supplements, as mutual verification and, most important for us, as different forms of data on the same subject, which, when compared, will generate theory. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 17-18 – italics in original)

In this sense, the two are not opposites, but rather associates. They present the researcher with different information and points of view. Their respective contributions are discussed at greater length below.

I excluded articles that were primarily focused on an adult offender (co-accused with a youth) and articles about adults accused of crimes against minors who were also engaging in offences (prostitution, runaways, drugs) except when the focus was on the young person. However, I did include stories about adults charged under the JDA. I did not keep in the sample articles on adult offenders mentioning the start of their criminal “career” in youth. I left out articles on the wrongful conviction of Donald Marshall Jr. (as a minor), as they focused more on his acquittal after 11 years in jail and on the elderly man truly responsible for the crime, rather than on youthful offending. I eliminated reports on fictional depictions of delinquent youths (on television, for example) and one article involving children under seven years of age.
Christians and Carey (1989: 357) also argue that it would be a misconception to view qualitative studies as separate from studies that quantify certain social phenomena. Qualitative and quantitative studies do not differ in their appropriation of certain operations for collecting or analyzing data; they differ in their way of viewing and understanding data. While it is true that certain methods of data collection or analysis are more connected with one or the other, nothing inexorably makes this link so. As such, I employed both approaches in examining the data sample.

a) Quantitative analysis

I developed a preliminary coding sheet at the start of the research, listing initial categories of interest. After I completed the data collection, I transformed the coding sheet into a detailed coding manual that incorporated several new categories for analysis based on a more accurate assessment of the sample than was possible at the outset. I tested this coding manual with several different types of articles from each of the newspapers and from different time periods. This trial use of the coding manual helped me to refine the manual to a certain extent in order to reflect the realities of the data being analyzed. This 'semi-final' manual was used to code all 1937 items in the sample. However, the manual continued to evolve as new issues arose throughout the coding process. Changes to the manual entailed a re-coding of all previously coded variables. The final version of the coding manual can be found in Appendix C.

The coding manual lists and explains the quantitative codes employed. Every item was coded for each of 115 variables directly into SPSS software which was used to conduct the subsequent statistical analysis.

The authors on whose work I initially based the development of the categories for coding and the underlying rationale are Ericson et al. (1991), Welch et al. (1998), Hall et al. (1978), Schissel (1997a), van Dijk (1991), Altheide (1996), Bailey and Hackett (1997).
and Stempel (1989). As I became more involved in data collection and coding, other categories emerged as relevant and were added.

The coding instrument that I developed, based on existing research on similar topics as well as on other media research with which I have been involved, contained eight principal sets of data to be coded: general identification information, general content information, information on photos (when applicable), information on offenders, victims, and sources, media techniques used and potential thematic elements for qualitative analysis.

The general identification information included basic data on the newspaper and the article: headline, name of the newspaper, day, date, section, page number, whether the item is covered on the front page, and the size of the item including headline size, text size, photo size and total size. This background was intended to provide baseline data for tracking the sample.

The general content information included some of the basic features of the story itself such as the type of item (genre), the geographical focus, the framing in terms of specific incident or general issue, whether the story is following up an earlier story, the level of the criminal justice system that is concerned (if applicable), and the type of offence being discussed (if applicable). Such data were intended to provide a more detailed portrait of the nature of the coverage found in the sample involving youthful offenders.

I limited the coding of photographs to their presence, number and size. It seemed more appropriate to conduct detailed individual examinations of the photos since much of the information beyond those basic facts would not be easily quantifiable.
Given the importance of age, gender, race and class in sociological analyses, these variables were recorded for each offender and victim mentioned in the news items. Up to three offenders and three victims were coded into SPSS, and data on additional individuals were kept in a research journal (used to diarize various notes about the data collection) in order to limit the size of the SPSS dataset. I also kept track of offenders and victims being quoted as sources, as well as the co-occurrence of offender and victim status for any single individual.

The information sought on sources in the article included the author source type (as defined by Ericson et al., 1991: 155-161, "news-item source" with some additions), the total number of quoted sources, the types of sources (as defined by Ericson et al., 1991: 186-199) and the types of knowledge each source provided (as defined by Ericson et al., 1991: 204-218). I coded information on up to six sources in the SPSS dataset and kept data on additional sources in the research journal. I intended the information on sources to help in investigating who defines youth crime news and how they do so.

I also examined the use of some media techniques which have been described in the literature. For example, I assessed the mention of actors who are not used as sources and whether the headline is an accurate reflection of the content of the article. I noted the use of series, which consists of listing similar (and sometimes not so similar) crimes that have occurred in the past in order to relate the current story to those other crimes. The technique of othering was studied as well. I noted any mention of race, ethnicity, religion, or other information that was irrelevant to the story. The use of inflammatory terms or images which can be reasonably expected to provoke an

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16 There are two classifications of offender age (variables #14 and #38 in the coding manual). I used the first initially to test the categories employing an "all that apply" approach, which I found impractical for conducting statistical analyses. I therefore decided to utilize the second more detailed classification to record the age of each offender individually, which was much more functional, analytically, and I set aside the first classification.
emotional reaction to the story were also examined. These techniques, while ostensibly advanced to contextualize a story, actually serve more to decontextualize it, and may help us to understand how certain portrayals of youth are generated.

The final set of variables coded into SPSS were generally of a yes/no type of response. I noted elements of a story which might warrant further qualitative examination. This was done to avoid conducting in-depth qualitative analysis on 1937 news items. Several themes of potential interest had been identified through the research questions, through the review of the existing research literature and through the initial phases of the data collection and analysis.

For example, the use of specific adjectives describing young people or their actions as well as adjectives concerning youth justice legislation was noted as potentially revealing as part of the portrait of delinquent youth in the media. Other likely areas for thematic analysis were violence, family, police, gender, moral panic, morality, military and social responsibility, crime, justice, responses to youthful offending, guns, gangs, drugs and other (with space to specify other themes).

I coded each article collected according to these categories. I conducted quantitative analysis using SPSS, in search of overall trends, chronological trends and similarities and differences between the three newspapers. Comparisons with respect to gender also became apparent at this juncture. I discuss key findings of the quantitative analysis in Chapter 5.

b) Qualitative analysis

In order to conduct a qualitative analysis, for each of the “themes” identified, I generated a list of articles coded as “yes” from SPSS and used these lists as sub-sets for qualitative analysis on the different themes. I gathered detailed data from the news items listed in order to develop sub-themes relating to the general themes. I paid close
attention to the key terms used, their context of use and the general narratives that emerged in the construction of offences, offenders and victims, the framing of explanations for and responses to youthful offending, representations of the justice system as well as the gendered portrayals of young offenders and their families that were inevitably included in these articles. I discuss the findings of the key thematic analyses in Chapters 6 through 9.

In Chapter 6, I used sub-groups of the entire sample to examine in closer detail the language, discourse and key narratives present in the discussions around offences, offenders and victims. I considered specifically those sub-groups identified by the thematic variables of othering (variable #96, n=104), provocative/potentially inflammatory terms or images (#97, n=91), descriptors applied to young offenders and acts (#98, n=728), violence (#99, n=414), moral panic (#104, n=220), race/ethnicity (#111, n=102), drugs (#112, n=104), guns (#113, n=226), and gangs (#114, n=70). In total, I examined 1189 items in the development of the themes discussed in Chapter 6 as there was much overlap between these themes and the discussions of offences, offenders and victims.

The theme of speculation about the causes of crime (which sometimes takes the form of a discussion about the contexts of, reasons or motives for crimes) is the most predominantly covered theme among those considered for analysis. The findings discussed in Chapter 7 are drawn from a qualitative overview of 793 news items which I coded for "speculation on causes of crime" (variable # 95).

In Chapter 8, I report on the articles I had identified under the themes of law (variables #100 and 101, n=179), police (#103, n = 291), justice (#109, n = 394) and response (#110, n = 348). I scrutinized a total of 885 different news items17 in the development of this theme and its sub-themes.

17 Of those 885 different news items, I analyzed 267 for more than one of these sub-themes.
One of the research questions specifically targeted gendered representations of offenders and a qualitative thematic analysis of gender in the news items revealed that gender is constructed in the news accounts not only in relation to the young people in conflict with the law, but also through representations of families, and particularly parents, of these young people. In Chapter 9, I examine a sub-set of 579 articles which construct the themes of gender (variable # 105, n=334) and family (#102, n=388) in this news coverage. This set of articles clearly intersects with articles analyzed in the previous chapters, as several points will have already been noted in terms of the gendered representations of offenders and victims, explanations and justice. Individuals' conformity to conventional gender norms appears to play a key role in their portrayal as 'good' or 'bad', deserving or undeserving of sympathy, irreproachable or blameworthy.

In sum, I complemented this quantitative and qualitative approach to the data analysis with an eye to how the print media have socially constructed youth as 'bad' throughout the century by contextualizing the data from a historical point of view. I analyzed the texts in depth for explicit as well as implicit messages by focusing on language used, words and expressions, and images produced, particularly stereotypical and/or alarming images.

D) Limitations and contributions of this research project

As with all research, there were choices to be made and these choices imposed limits on what could be accomplished. For example, the length of the period under study, though a strength of the project, was also a weakness because of some of the choices that it imposed on the sample size and on the choices of media. In particular, the newspapers that had existed long enough for the study period were all from fairly large cities, so no rural newspapers or even small town newspapers were included. This exclusion was unfortunate. However, while the contrast would undoubtedly be an
interesting one, there were equally compelling insights to be gained from focusing on the big cities.

Additionally, among those newspapers that had been in existence for 100 years, choices also had to be made to render a reasonable sample size. Since all could not be included, I was left with no newspaper from the Maritimes or Prairies and no newspaper of a national scope. This constraint again limited the cross-country comparisons that could be drawn; however, the comparisons between selected English- and French-Canadian coverage were a greater priority for me.

One more limitation imposed by the sampling procedure, as previously discussed, was that I was not left with a truly random sample, because of the nature of the items to be studied. This drawback therefore imposed certain limits as to the conclusions to be drawn from the data, but I was cognizant of this restriction in my analysis.

Other challenges arose with respect to my analytical framework. The cultural studies perspective helped me to gain critical insight into media content. One limitation was that the literature of cultural studies seems to emanate predominantly from Britain and the United States. This is nothing new; the English-language research literature on many topics seems to be mainly British and American. We therefore cannot automatically assume a perfect fit with Canadian reality, particularly in terms of news media organization.

Also, the cultural studies literature places great emphasis on the processes of encoding and decoding, which I was unable to duplicate in this study. My main focus was on the news content itself rather than the forces that shaped it or its actual impact on the audience.

The methods used were not particularly associated with the domain of feminist studies, but I did not feel that this apparent dissociation precluded gaining significant
feminist perspective by giving added attention to gender analysis. Integrating gender into an analysis of social relations enhances the understanding gleaned from other perspectives.

Several authors have pointed out that the preponderance of news media stories about youth are about disreputable behaviours (Corrado & Markwart, 1992, 1994; Pearson, 1983; Tanner, 1996: 4). Since stories about 'good boys and girls' were not collected or analyzed in this research, only impressionistic assessments can be made of the proportion of all stories on youth included in the sample. Also, the proportion of youth crime stories among all crime stories cannot be assessed.

These limitations and boundaries of my research project do not diminish the contributions to knowledge that it makes. This research covers many areas on which the existing research literature has been silent. In other countries, some work has been done with a special focus on the role of the media in the development of moral panics (e.g., Altheide, 1976; Cohen, 1972; Ferrell, 1995; Fishman, 1978; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Hall et al., 1978; Jenkins, 1992; Sindall, 1990; Thompson, 1998). Nonetheless, very little academic attention has been paid to media portrayals of young people in Canada until quite recently. Schissel (1997a) has reviewed news coverage in some English-Canadian newspapers and news magazines in the late 1980s and early 1990s. He does not, however, include French language newspapers in his sample of Canadian newspapers and magazines.

Therefore, this research makes a significant contribution to the field for several reasons. First, this topic is vastly understudied, especially in Canada, and particularly from a longitudinal approach. Second, the project gives special attention to gender analysis which has also been lacking in existing research. Third, the project includes some French-language coverage on 'bad kids' which is crucial to obtaining a truly 'Canadian' portrait of the situation.
Furthermore, the methodological approaches chosen offer great insights into this topic, as explained above. Following Glaser and Strauss (1967: 6), I did not set out a large number of research hypotheses, but rather allowed hypotheses to emerge from the data. I left myself room for interacting with the data in order to help develop the sampling procedures, the coding protocol and the ongoing process of analysis, as suggested by Altheide (1996). I kept in mind Strauss’ (1987: 7-8) warning that methodological guidelines should be seen as rules of thumb, not rules. They were to be modified and adapted by the researcher to best suit the research needs.

The implications of studying the discourse and rhetoric on youth and their troubling behaviours lie in the relationship that the discourse entertains with subsequent policy justifications. Best (1999: xi) has argued that “focusing on 'random violence' distorts our understanding of our society’s crime problems, and that this distortion makes it harder for us to address those problems.” The problem, in my opinion, is amplified when the discussion turns to violence committed by young people. Jenks (1996: 127-128), in discussing the media coverage of the murder of James Bulger, states

children who commit such violent acts pose a conundrum for they disassemble the traditional binary opposition between the categories of ‘child’ and ‘adult,’ an opposition previously legitimized by the peculiar gloss of the moral ground […] whereby innocence is a hallmark of ‘the child’ and corrupting knowledge that of the ‘adult.’ These categories became badly blurred as the literally unthinkable was transformed by a grim reality. The conceptual boundaries once containing the child, through ‘is’ or ‘ought,’ became utterly indefensible. Public attempts at propitiation in the face of this potentially dangerous confusion were conducted in different ways.

One approach was through conceptual eviction: children who commit acts of violence should be removed from the category of ‘child’ altogether. Such expulsion facilitates the restoration of the old moral order and re-establishes the discourse of childhood in its traditional ideological form.

Furthermore, the eviction Jenks describes above is much more than conceptual. The YOA, and the YCJA even more so, expunge young people from the category of youth based on which acts they have committed – it is easier, I suppose, to decide “this child is no longer a child” than to acknowledge that a child could have committed this
act. The legal treatment of youth is at the very core of how this research contributes to the field of knowledge. There are intimate links between how young people are perceived and how they are treated by society. If and when media affect the ways in which youth are perceived, they may consequently affect how youth are treated. As such, no matter how small a role media might play in determining the orientation of youth justice, it is imperative to examine the processes through which youth are portrayed as 'bad' in the media.
CHAPTER 5 – HISTORICAL TRENDS IN COVERAGE

In this chapter, I begin to answer those research questions pertaining to the amount and content of news coverage on youth crime. I do so primarily through a discussion of some key aggregate-level findings stemming from the statistical analysis of all 1937 news items. I assess longitudinal trends in the newspaper coverage on youth crime and deviance, as well as variations in coverage between the three sampled newspapers. The discussion juxtaposes my findings with some basic assumptions and findings of feminist cultural studies and other research reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3.

I begin with an examination of the amount of coverage in the sample, as it is spread over time and between the three newspapers. I then consider the characteristics of the coverage in terms of which crimes receive most attention in the coverage and variables providing evidence of the simplification and decontextualization of youth crime news, as well as indications of moral panics discourse. I also provide an overview of the sources of news stories and the sources quoted within the stories, as well as an outline of key variables relating to the offenders and victims portrayed in the news stories.

A) Amount of coverage

The analysis of the distribution patterns of the news items over time and between the three newspapers points to three important findings. First, the variations in the amount of coverage have little to do with the actual incidence of juvenile crime during any given period. Second, the overall increase in coverage of 'bad youth' is consistent with the argument that the media has given more attention to 'backstage' behaviour, such as crime, since the 1950s. Third, the greater prevalence of youth crime news in the anglophone coverage may be one indicator of the distinction between Québec and English Canada. These findings are detailed below.
i) Historical variations in the amount of coverage

The sample of 1937 news articles was unevenly distributed across time and space. Different time periods were characterized by more or less coverage and the amount of coverage also varied between the three newspapers at any given time. The overall total distribution of the sample items is illustrated in Figure 5-1 below.

Figure 5-1: Frequency distribution of sample items by year

Frequency distribution of sample items by year

At first glance, the variations in the amount of coverage throughout the 20th century appear considerable. There are a number of partial explanations for these variations that I wish to discuss: restrictions on newsprint during wartimes, inconsistencies between the amount of coverage and officially recorded juvenile offending during different time periods, and increased attention to youth crime in the second half of the century.
The amount of coverage was the lowest in the first three decades I examined, when the newspaper industry was at its least developed in the study period. Despite this generally small amount of coverage, the number of items in the sample shrank even further in the sample month of June 1915, during the period of World War I, when newspapers were quite restricted, particularly in topic areas not directly relating to the War. While coverage had increased considerably in the 1930s, the amount of coverage declined in the sample month of September 1943 during World War II. This diminished coverage of youth crime during both wars probably relates more to rationing and paper quotas as well as to the lesser significance of street crime news during wartime periods than to other factors.

From a social constructionist perspective, media coverage may represent perceptions of the amount and type of youth crime at a given moment, but it certainly does not reflect the actual amount and type of youth crime that is occurring (Males, 2001). This disjuncture between the amount of coverage and officially recorded levels of juvenile crime is evidenced repeatedly in the sample. In contrast with the decreased coverage during the war years discussed above, as Carrigan (1998: 96) has documented, the war years witnessed a sharp increase in convictions of juveniles which cannot be explained by an increase in the juvenile population alone. Sangster (2002a: 340) suggests that the increase was "attributed to the loss of paternal/male authority on the battlefront."

Further, again, in the official crime rate trends documented by Carrigan, nothing parallels the important increase in news coverage juvenile offences received during the period of the Depression. Carrigan argues that the 1930s represented the first time in half a century that the rate of reported convictions stabilized (Carrigan, 1998: 113). Sangster (2002a) suggests that although there were heightened anxieties during the Depression, these concerns were not reflected in the official statistics. A more detailed
examination by Huzel (1986) indicates that Depression era concerns about crime in
Vancouver were not only evidenced in media reports and editorials, but also in police
commission minutes as well as documents of business associations and community
groups. Further, Huzel's analysis of crime rates in Vancouver suggests that, while the
overall crime rate may have been stable or slightly declined during the Depression, the
incidence of property crime rose markedly during this period.

In the post-War era we see the amount of coverage of youth crime climb to
unprecedented levels, during the late 1950s and through the 1960s. In addition to a
series of what appear to be moral panics around youth during these years, which
according to the research literature are paralleled by similar panics in Britain and the
U.S. (see, e.g., Chibnall, 1977; Cohen, 1972; Gilbert, 1986; Jenkins, 1992), there also
appears to have been a heightening in the coverage around the issue of illegal drugs
and their link with the youth counter-culture, hippies and non-traditional values
associated with youth. The moral panics of the 1950s and 1960s occurred in the context
of the baby boomer generation; however, they appear to pre-date the actual boom in
terms of the youth population size. Census statistics indicate that youth aged 10 to 19
years comprised a larger part of the population from the mid-sixties to mid-seventies
than they did from the 1940s to the 1960s. The proportion of 10- to 19-year-olds in the
total population was highest in the early twentieth century, in the 1920s and 1930s and
from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s, although the actual number of youths rose almost
continually throughout the twentieth century (Leacy, 1983).

This peak in the coverage observed in the 1950s and 1960s tapered off in the
1970s (when the number of baby boomers in their teens peaked) and then started to
gain strength again in the late 1980s and the 1990s. This trend again is not reflective of
Carrigan's assertion of an almost continuous increase in crime rates among juveniles
through the latter half of the twentieth century.
The last year included in the sample was 1999 and it appeared to be heading toward another high peak, with the sample month coming after the shooting at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado. I would expect that the current level of coverage has not continued to follow this upward trend and might even be slightly on a decline with other issues becoming more dominant in the media since September 11, 2001 (see also Glassner, 2004; Schissel, 2006).

Overall, the second half of the century included much more coverage of youth crime than did the first half (64% of the total sample came from 1951 to 1999 compared to 37% from 1903 to 1947). In addition to the historical content factors such as the expansion in length of the newspapers surveyed (and contraction during the war years) and certain periods of social anxiety about youth, as documented in the research literature, this increase in coverage of youth crime in the latter half of the 20th century reflects the greater tendency of the press to cover crime news. The move of the print media to pay increased attention to private or 'backstage' behaviour (see Surette, 1998a: 19) reflects the growing influence of the competition represented by electronic media from the 1950s onward. As such, the variations in the amount of coverage do not appear to be linked in any way to fluctuations in the rates of officially recorded youth crime and juvenile delinquency, but more to these historical factors discussed above.

ii) Sampling variations in the amount of coverage

Other than historical contextual factors, explanations for variations in the amount of coverage were also sought within the sample itself. Some variables I examined for potential explanations included the number of days sampled in each month, the amount of coverage contributed to the total by each of the three sampled newspapers, the length of the newspapers and the average number of items per day from each newspaper.
There were important variations in the number of days on which the newspapers were published in each month (see Appendix C - Variable #8). The individual newspapers varied between 23 and 31 issues of the newspaper printed in one month. The total number of issues for all three newspapers in any of the sample months ranged from 72 to 87, with the exception of 1979 when only 48 newspapers were printed because a strike at The Province resulted in no items from The Province being included in the sample that year. Nonetheless, the frequency distribution of the average number of items published per day was virtually identical to that of the total number of items in the sample.

The trends in the amount of coverage from each of the individual newspapers sampled did not uniformly mirror the trends in the total coverage. There were important outliers in La Presse and The Province which skewed the frequency distribution of the entire sample for the years 1907 and 1947. The figures for those years are not necessarily representative of the whole time period represented by those months in the coverage. Thus, it is the frequency distribution of The Toronto Star that most closely mirrors that of the overall sample. This similarity also reflects in part the fact that The Toronto Star represents a larger proportion of the sample than either of the other newspapers, as illustrated in Figure 5-2.

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18 For some years, one or more of the sampled newspapers had Saturday and Sunday editions, while for other years only Saturday or Sunday editions. Several holidays could occur within a sampled month when the newspaper might choose not to put out a paper that day.  
19 In 1907, La Presse carried daily coverage for many days of the murder of a boy in rural Quebec with several reporters filing stories from different locations on the same days. The coverage of this story alone seriously skews the number of articles in the entire sample for 1907. In 1947, it is The Province which exhibits an exaggerated sample size due to a combination of factors including one relatively lengthy cartoon series, increased attention around the issue of street fights between youth gangs, and a high profile incident involving the shooting death of a police officer with a 17-year-old subsequently being sentenced to death. Combined, these elements make for a disproportionate number of stories in that one-month period.
A number of factors may help to explain these differences in the proportion of the total sample contributed by each of the newspapers. Throughout the greater part of the sample period, even when its circulation was lower than that of *La Presse*, *The Toronto Star* was a lengthier newspaper. *The Province* only approached the number of pages printed by the other two newspapers after 1983, when it switched to the smaller page format of tabloids. But the format change did not appear to have much impact on the number of stories on youth crime printed by *The Province*. In addition, *The Toronto Star* ran daily court columns during 17 of the 25 years sampled. Consequently, while police and court columns represent over 10% of the items in the total sample, they represent 15% of the articles from *The Toronto Star*, just under 10% of the articles in *La Presse* and only 5% of the articles in *The Province*.

Given the variations in the number of days published per month, I considered averaging out the number of items published per day. *The Toronto Star* exhibited the highest number of days published among those sampled (662), averaging 1.3 news items per day. *La Presse* had the second highest number of days sampled, but with
fewer items in the sample, it only averaged 0.75 news items per day. The Province, although it had the fewest days in the sample (primarily due to the strike in 1979), had a higher average number of news items per day (0.93). Another explanation of these differences may reside in the English/French distinction, given that the English papers published more youth crime news on average.

In sum, the analysis of the amount of coverage on youth crime throughout the study period provides evidence of the incongruence between the amount of youth crime news and reported levels of youth crime, the greater attention paid to youth crime and justice in the press since the 1950s and one distinction between the francophone and anglophone coverage.

**B) Characteristics of the coverage**

i) Evidence of the perceived newsworthiness of youth crime

As discussed in Chapter 3, Hall et al. (1978) suggest that crime is intrinsically newsworthy because it breaches the normative boundaries which purportedly govern social life. The meting out of 'justice' is also newsworthy in that it serves to reaffirm the consensual morality of society. Others have also discussed the inherent newsworthiness of crime and justice and emphasized that the media tend to focus on street crime in particular (see, e.g., Fishman, 1978, 1981). Furthermore, many researchers have shown that crimes marked by interpersonal violence are overrepresented in the news because they combine multiple newsworthiness criteria, such as drama, conflict, negative consequences, and rupture of social order (Dussuyer, 1979; Fasiolo & Leckie, 1993; Glassner, 1999; Golding, 2001; Graber, 1980; Hall et al., 1978; Killingbeck, 2001; Sacco & Fair, 1992; Wortley, 2002).

My research findings further confirm the inherent newsworthiness of crime, youth crime in particular, as well as the overrepresentation of (youth) violence in the media.
The evidence of newsworthiness comes from the analysis of the variables of location of stories in the papers and coverage in multiple newspapers, while the overrepresentation of violence stands out in the analysis of the types of offences reported in the news.

a) Prominence of youth crime coverage

In terms of location within the newspaper, clearly, stories are not randomly distributed. More than half of the sample items were found either in the first section of the newspaper, or in the first quarter of the newspaper when the newspapers were not divided into sections. Another 27% were located in “other news” sections, typically the B section or local news or international news. So the majority of the items were clustered toward the front of the newspaper. These findings echo those of other researchers who have demonstrated that crime news is a durable commodity. Zhu (1994) cites a number of other studies in order to show that five to 28% of newspaper space is devoted to crime news (see also Sacco and Fair, 1992).

Nonetheless, while crime news stories are certainly a staple of the news, it would be misleading to say that they are staples in the same sense as political, business or sports news. There is no set ‘crime section’ in any of the newspapers I studied, other than the regular court columns which do not provide any type of analysis of crime as an issue. An illustration of this lesser significance of crime news is that 8% of the items, including stories about homicides, were found in the classified section, towards the end, filling in the empty space not taken up by the ads. It is possible that youth crime news stories placed nearer to the front of the newspapers were also filling empty spaces left once more prominent stories had been positioned, since the vast majority of the items studied were very brief, as discussed below. However, the fact that crime stories are more dispersed throughout the papers than are stories about politics, for example,
means that readers who look only at specific sections may be more likely to see items about youth crime.

Another area to examine in how stories are placed in the newspapers is whether or not they receive front page coverage – either front page placement or a front page referral with a teaser and/or photo and “see story on page x.” About 10% of stories in my sample were entirely or partly on the front page, with an additional small number of front page referrals to a story inside the newspaper. In addition, about 5% of stories appeared on the front pages of the other non-front sections. Given that in a 100-page newspaper, only 1% of the space is on the front page, a fairly high proportion of stories received prominent coverage.20 My findings support the argument that stories are not randomly assigned to the front page. As I discuss below, ‘if it bleeds, it leads.’ Crime stories are therefore a key feature of media coverage, if we operate on the premise that the front page plays a role in selling the newspaper.

Prominent coverage was not uniformly distributed over time or across the three newspapers. As Table 5-1 illustrates, The Province was strongly overrepresented in the proportion of front-page stories in the sample (41.6% of front-page stories but only 30% of all stories) and in the proportion of stories appearing on the front page of other newspaper sections, whereas La Presse and The Toronto Star are underrepresented in both respects.

20 The Vancouver Sun reported last year on an RCMP study which had purportedly found 67% of front-page stories in BC newspapers to be about crime in a one-month sample period (Vancouver Sun, July 31, 2006, p. A1). The conclusion from the RCMP study was that news organizations contribute to the fear of crime by placing crime stories so prominently in the newspapers.
Table 5-1: Comparison of front-page items to all items in sample by newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>% Of All Front-Page Items (n = 219)</th>
<th>% Of All Items (n = 1937)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La Presse</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Province</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Toronto Star</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My assumption that the conversion of The Province to a tabloid format during the early 1980s would be the key factor in explaining this discrepancy, due to the more populist and sensationalistic coverage observed in that newspaper after the format change, was not borne out. In fact, the format change resulted in a reduction of the number of stories appearing on the front page per day, including front-page referrals, due to the emphasis placed on large front-page photographs in the newer tabloid version of The Province. The frequency distribution of front-page stories in The Province over time shows that the bulk of front-page stories on youth crime in The Province appeared in the 1930s and from the late 1940s to the 1970s, with very little prominent coverage in the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, no stories about youth crime were featured on the front page in the sample months from 1987 to 1999 and only three stories were referred to on the front page, one of which was about police officers who help young people living on the streets during the holidays (VP, December 7, 1995, p. A1, A5).

With respect to the front pages of inside sections, news items in the sample were found on these pages primarily from the 1950s to the 1970s. Not many items were found on those pages in the last two decades of the century. These inside sections of the newspapers were introduced in the 1930s in The Toronto Star and in the 1940s in The Province and in La Presse. In recent years, the number of inside sections has expanded, although they have been used mostly for specialized news areas such as...
business, sports, entertainment, and classified ads and are thus not really amenable to prominent coverage of news stories about youth crime. In contrast, the earlier versions of newspapers with additional sections had, for the most part, only one or two additional sections, which were primarily focused on local news and thus more likely to include youth crime stories.

Coverage on the front page denotes newsworthiness and certain characteristics of particular crime stories may have enhanced an incident's perceived newsworthiness. In addition to Hall et al.'s assertion that newsworthiness is determined primarily by what is viewed as 'out of the ordinary,' they note that unexpected, dramatic events, with negative consequences, human tragedies involving elite persons from powerful nations and fit within a recurrent theme are aspects which can render a story more newsworthy (Hall et al., 1978: 54). In my sample, there was a statistically significant correlation between prominent coverage and the following variables: violent offence (yes/no), presence of photograph(s), female offender, male victim, provocation theme and moral panic theme.21

In terms of offences, murder and arson, in particular, as well as crimes involving illegal drugs were frequently front-page stories. In sample months of November, incidents that had occurred on Hallowe'en were invariably front-page news on the first or second day of the month. Stories relating to prison, be they about prison escapes, riots or prison conditions, were regularly placed on the front page. Also, the involvement of people of a prominent socio-economic background, particularly as offenders, was commonly front-page news. Crimes with unusual characteristics such as very young

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21 Violent offence yes/no: \( \chi^2(2, n = 1572) = 7.86, p < .05 \). Presence of photograph(s): \( \chi^2(2, n = 1937) = 31.24, p < .001 \). Female offender: \( \chi^2(2, n = 1549) = 8.15, p < .05 \). Male victim: \( \chi^2(2, n = 1317) = 8.61, p < .05 \). Provocation theme: \( \chi^2(2, n = 1937) = 13.59, p = .001 \). Moral panic theme: \( \chi^2(2, n = 1937) = 5.94, p = .05 \).
offenders, apparently incomprehensible acts, or bizarre circumstances were also featured prominently, as exemplified in the following front-page headlines:

- *Un père rend son fils meurtrier* \(^{22}\) (PM, May 19, 1911, p. 1)
- Surrey Boy Admits Peculiar Robberies (VP, November 23, 1935, p. 1)
- $60 bought hit-man for dad (TS, February 21, 1979, p. A1)
- Pimps charged as young as 12 task force says (TS, July 28, 1987, p. A1)

Furthermore, new stories which fit into a recurrent theme could be placed on the cover of the newspaper, usually when a certain level of moral panic existed around that theme – for example, street fights in Vancouver in 1947, armed robberies against messengers reported in *La Presse* in 1959, hold-ups reported in *La Presse* in 1963 or in The Province in 1955, the month prior to the sample month having been named “Black February” due to the large numbers of hold-ups being reported in Vancouver at that time. A typical headline read “March Crime Holds Fast Pace Set Here In Black February” (VP, March 4, 1955, p. 1).

Another indicator of newsworthiness is coverage of the same story in multiple newspapers. A cross-comparison of stories which received coverage in more than one of the studied papers revealed that 8.6% of stories appeared in two or three newspapers. In the cases where the item-source was indicated, many of these stories were wire stories, although the majority of wire stories were used in only one of the newspapers. Closer examination of the stories receiving coverage in more than one paper reveals that it is surprisingly difficult to identify the characteristics of the stories that multiple papers will cover since the criteria that might intuitively be considered relevant do not hold. For example, geographical proximity would make sense as a criterion, yet in several cases Montréal and Vancouver covered stories that Toronto did not.

\(^{22}\) Translation: A father makes his son a murderer
not. Likewise, some stories that happened in Toronto were covered in *La Presse* or *The Province*, but not *The Toronto Star*. Substantial variability and unpredictability also characterized the coverage of high profile stories such as violence against the elderly (e.g., the Toopes and Lamarre murders\(^{23}\)). In addition, the press did not uniformly cover law reform stories which would be equally relevant to all parts of the country in some cases, while all three papers provided reports in other cases. This variability in coverage might, therefore, be another indicator of the use of youth crime news as 'filler' when other more 'significant' or 'newsworthy' stories are not available.

**b) Overrepresentation of youth violence**

The analysis of the types of offences receiving coverage reveals that offences of a violent nature are overrepresented, which is consistent with findings reported in the research literature. In addition to the great frequency of violent youth crime reports, I also found evidence of a qualitative shift in the way the media discuss violence and that violent offences tend to receive the most prominent coverage. Furthermore, a comparison of violent coverage from the three newspapers indicates that the overrepresentation of violence is most pronounced in *La Presse*.

To begin, offences of a violent nature are overrepresented in the types of offences being reported in the sample.\(^ {24}\) Table 5-2 below shows the distribution of offences.\(^ {25}\)

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\(^{23}\) The Toopes were an elderly couple murdered in their Beaconsfield, QC, home in 1995 by young offenders aged 13 to 15. Mrs. Lamarre was an 81-year-old woman also murdered in her home in 1999 by 13- to 15-year-old offenders in Chambly, QC. Both stories received extensive press coverage.

\(^{24}\) While the entire sample contains 1937 news items, only 1572 of those relate to specific offences, with the other 365 items pertaining to more general issues. The portion of articles discussed in this section generally relates only to that part of the sample: \(n = 1572\), unless otherwise indicated.

\(^{25}\) See Appendix C (Variables #29 and #32) for the full list of offences included in each category.
Table 5-2: 1st offence category recoded\textsuperscript{26}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offences</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder (including attempts, accessories, manslaughter and infanticide)</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other violent (including assaults, kidnapping, robbery, extortion...)</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property (including theft, breaking and entering, possession of stolen property, fraud...)</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other minor (including mischief and disorderly conduct)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other serious (including criminal negligence, arson, cruelty to animals, explosives...)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law &amp; order (including firearms and other offensive weapons offences, prison breach, escape, evading arrest, perjury, obstruction of justice, counselling, conspiracy...)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morals (including sexual offences, public morals, gambling-related offences, prostitution-related offences...)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs, alcohol (including possession of illegal drugs, trafficking, selling alcohol to minors...)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDA, YOA, juvenile (including curfew violations, runaway, truancy, underage drinking...)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, unclear</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1572</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No specific offence</td>
<td>365\textsuperscript{27}</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Murder – particularly murder committed by a young person – is a very rare occurrence. For example, homicides accounted for 0.02% of the almost three million Criminal Code of Canada incidents reported to police in 1997 (CCJS, 1999: 200). From 1987 to 1999, youths accounted for approximately 9% of persons accused of homicide in Canada (CCJS, 1999: 208, 2001: 19). Nonetheless, homicides by young people were highly prominent in the sample of news items. Although rarity is a criterion of 'newsworthiness' (see, e.g., Hall et al., 1978), this level of overrepresentation is problematic. An additional 23% of the articles relating to specific crimes focused on

\textsuperscript{26} A more detailed distribution of offences is provided in Appendix D. Table 5-2 collapses the categories found in Appendix D. The numbers in both tables reflect the primary offence (i.e. the first one mentioned if the articles reported on offences by different offenders, or the most serious if the article related to several offences committed by one individual or group of individuals).

\textsuperscript{27} These items pertain to more general issues such as general crime (including youth crime, social problems, law reform, etc., not specific offences.)
assaults, robberies and other offences of a violent nature. The more than 40% of stories concerned with violent incidents is a severe overrepresentation of violence even if we take the most alarmist statistics on youth violence as a benchmark (see also Barak, 1996; Onstad, 1997; Schissel, 1997a).

Such an overrepresentation of violence is entirely consistent with other research findings (e.g., Dussuyer, 1979; Fasiolo & Leckie, 1993; Graber, 1980; Sacco & Fair, 1992; Wortley, 2002). For example, in the period studied by Killingbeck (2001: 192), school shootings accounted for 0.5% of gun-related deaths for 15- to 24-year-olds in the U.S., while they represented 9% of all network television news coverage. Males (2001: n.p.; see also Glassner, 2004) has pointed out that "A national study by the Center on Media and Public Affairs found that as homicide rates fell 20% from 1992 to 1996, coverage of murder stories on ABC, CBS, and NBC rose seven-fold."

Aside from crimes of a violent nature, the most prevalent category of offence reported in the sample was theft which, when coupled with other offences against property, constitutes the largest group of offences being reported. In contrast to violent crimes, if news reporting patterns followed official statistical patterns, one might expect there to be more news reporting on this category of offence. For instance, the Juristat report on Canadian Crime Statistics for 1997 indicated that of all Criminal Code offences for which youths were charged, 20% were for violent crimes (assaults 15% and robbery 3%, representing the largest part) and 53% were for property crimes, while other Criminal Code offences represented 27% of offences with which youths were charged (CCJS, 1999: 127). In short, the news coverage reverses the ratio of violent crime to property crime that is seen in official statistics.

After recoding the articles to include any violent offence mentioned (first offence as shown above or second or third offences if multiple offences or offenders), the total
number of the articles reporting violent offences is 47.5% of articles about specific criminal incidents (n = 1572).

By no means has the presence of news on youth violence been constant throughout the study period. However, it has been somewhat proportional to the overall trend in the total number of items in the coverage on youth crime in general. This means that the overrepresentation of violence was relatively constant throughout the study period regardless of the level of overall coverage at a given moment. Those trends are evidenced when we compare Figure 5-3 to Figure 5-1 seen at the beginning of this chapter.

Figure 5-3: Number of items reporting on violent crimes by year

Aside from the sheer number of articles on youth violence specifically and other youth crime in general, there were also qualitative differences in the coverage. What is interesting to note is that there was a qualitative shift in the manner in which the
newspapers discussed and emphasized the violence.\textsuperscript{28} If we examine the frequency distribution of the items coded for the theme of violence (Figure 5-4) against the one just seen, we can observe a pronounced upward trend in the number of items since the 1950s, and particularly in 1999, with the sample month being drawn after the so-called series of school shootings. This pattern may also be indicative of the trend in increased coverage of 'backstage' behaviour. I examine this qualitative shift more closely in Chapter 6.

\textbf{Figure 5-4: Number of items with violence theme by year}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure5_4}
\caption{Number of items with violence theme by year}
\end{figure}

Another quantitative indicator of this qualitative difference in the coverage of violence is prominence of the coverage (as measured by coverage on the front page or on a front page of a secondary section, e.g.: page B1). Table 5-3 shows that in the sub-sample of articles reporting on specific crimes ($n = 1572$), 248 items received prominent coverage, nearly three quarters (184) of which were on the front cover of the

\textsuperscript{28} In addition to being coded for the presence of violent offences, the items were also coded for their suitability for a qualitative analysis on the theme of violence. 414 items were retained for closer examination in the development of a qualitative analysis.
newspapers. Of those 248 items, 49.2% reported on violent incidents involving young offenders. Murder and other violent offences were the most frequently featured type of offences on the front pages. In addition to being more frequently featured on the front pages, stories reporting on youth violence tended to have significantly bigger headlines and the articles were lengthier. Property offences were the second most frequently reported type of offence overall (24.4%), but received prominent coverage much less frequently (10.9%), as seen in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3: 1st offence category recoded * Front page Cross tabulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Offence Category Recoded</th>
<th>Front Page – Yes</th>
<th>Front Page – Other Section</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other violent</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other minor</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other serious</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law &amp; order</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs, alcohol</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDA, YOA, juvenile</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, unclear</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another element to consider is the variation in coverage of violent crime between the three newspapers. For various reasons, The Toronto Star is represented more strongly in the sample. As stated above, 45% of the items in the entire sample (n = 1937) were drawn from the Star, 25% from La Presse and 30% from The Province. In the part of the sample reporting on specific incidents (n = 1572), 44.5% of the items were drawn from The Toronto Star (n = 699), 27% from La Presse (n = 425) and 28.5% from The Province (n = 448). However, the same proportions do not carry through to the

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29 Size of headline collapsed and adjusted: t(1492.79) = 4.85, p < .001. Size of article text collapsed and adjusted: t(1491.31) = 5.96, p < .001.
number of items reporting on violent offences. Figure 5-5 illustrates the proportion of all articles on violent incidents (n = 747) coming from each of the three newspapers.

**Figure 5-5: Number and percentage of items reporting on violence by newspaper**

Furthermore, of those articles reporting on specific incidents in each of the three newspapers, the proportion of articles on violent incidents was approximately 43% in The Toronto Star, 55% in *La Presse* and 47% in The Province.\(^3\)

As detailed in the next section, one of the basic findings of this research project is that news about youth crime is presented in a simplified and decontextualized manner.

\(^3\) That is a statistically significant difference \(X^2(2, n = 1572) = 14.94, p = .001\). Nonetheless, there may be factors other than differences between the three newspapers which could explain these variations. While the sample was randomly selected, more stories received ongoing coverage (i.e. four or more items relating to the same story) in *La Presse* than in the other two newspapers. For example, there were no articles in the sample on the 1959 murder of Lynne Harper in Ontario for which then-14-year-old Steven Truscott was wrongfully convicted, nor on the 1997 murder of Reena Virk in British Columbia. If there had been, one might expect that The Toronto Star or The Province, respectively, would have had a greater representation. Also, it should be noted that the trends in coverage in The Toronto Star may have been somewhat muted by the large presence of articles drawn from court columns, which tended to focus less on violence than did the news and opinion genres.
The overrepresentation of violence, as evidenced above, is a good illustration of this point and is also quite consistent with the existing research literature.

**ii) Simplification and decontextualization of reporting on youth crime and justice**

Analysis of several of the variables studied indicates that crime and justice news around young offenders is simplified and decontextualized. This finding is not a new one, as many others have come to similar conclusions (Allan, 1999; Chesney-Lind, 1999; Greek, 1994; Hackett & Gruneau, 2000; Schissel, 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Sprott, 1996) about the capacity of the news to convey the complexity of crime in context. It is nonetheless worthwhile to consider the evidence for this assertion as well as its potential implications. In this section, I review findings relating to a number of the variables that provide evidence of simplified and decontextualized reporting on youth crime and justice: short articles, large headlines, few items of an analytical genre, preference for reporting on incidents rather than issues, infrequent follow-up on stories, dominance of local stories, and focus on the front end of the criminal justice system.

Aside from the number of articles, the amount of coverage can also be assessed in terms of the size of article texts, headlines, photos and total length of the news items. The amount of space devoted to youth crime stories is significant in the sense that it provides an indication of the detail and complexity with which the stories can be covered. The information that the media are able to convey in a short article is assuredly simplified as well as decontextualized. The sizes of article text, headlines and photos were measured in terms of lines of text in order that the different measures might be comparable.\(^\text{31}\)

\(^{31}\) This comparison was complicated by changes in font size and column width over the course of the study period, the use of microfilms which were not reproduced to the same scales throughout the period, and microfilm readers which did not enhance to the same ratios. Therefore, while
By examining the gross count of lines of text we can see a trend with a very significant clustering of the size of articles in the lower numbers of lines of text, but with a lengthy span up to the longest articles (see Figure 5-6). An initial impression is that the stories about youth crime and deviance are brief, with not much attention being given to detail and analysis. Over 50% of the articles contain 30 lines of text or less and over 80% of articles have 70 lines of text or less.32 These findings are consistent with those of Dussuyer (1979) who also tracked the size of Ontario print media reports on crime.

Headlines typically occupy about 30% of the space taken by text. For example, we might expect a headline size equivalent to roughly nine lines on the articles of 30 lines. The trend for headline size is similar to that of article size (see Figure 5-7).

**Figure 5-6: Size of article text**

**Figure 5-7: Size of headline**

The trend over time was a lengthening of the articles. The shorter articles tended to be overrepresented in the first half of the century and the lengthier articles overrepresented in the second half. Because more recent articles could have appeared longer due to the more frequent inclusion in the last 20 years of photographs which can

32 To give the reader a sense of proportion, in a typical contemporary full-size newspaper (i.e. non-tabloid, for example, The Vancouver Sun, the Globe and Mail, La Presse), 30 lines of text span less than one quarter of the length of a page in a single column width and 70 lines span less than half a page in a single column.
take up quite a bit of space, this trend was analyzed by looking at size of article text alone and then at the total size, including headlines and photographs. The same trend was observed in both tabulations.

The overall trend in total size of the news items, illustrated in Figure 5-8 below, shows that nearly half of the sample was composed of very short articles, spanning the equivalent of one quarter of a page on one column-width, with the majority of the rest being no more than one half of a page for the same width. The length of these very short articles poses a definite challenge in terms of the type of content that may be conveyed in such a short space, thus providing an initial indication of the simplification and decontextualization which must necessarily occur in order to communicate complex crime news in a small amount of space.

Figure 5-8: Total size of news items

In terms of differences in article size, the three newspapers revealed the same overall trend with a few exceptions. In the “blurb” category (1-15 lines of text), La Presse was underrepresented and The Province was overrepresented. The overrepresentation of blurbs in The Province was present throughout the sample, not solely in the years
since the change to tabloid format. *La Presse* also tended to have more of the lengthier articles throughout the sample period, while the other two newspapers tended to follow the general trend which was that the lengthier articles were overrepresented in the second half of the century.

While I interpreted the predominance of very short articles and large headlines as indicators of the simplification of youth crime news, they were by no means the only ones. A further indicator was found in the variable of genre. I classified the large majority (75%) of the articles as "news" broadly defined to include hard and soft news genres. I drew an additional 10% of items from police columns or court columns which appeared on a quasi-daily basis during some periods in the sample. Seven percent of the items were different forms of opinion, including editorials, guest editorials, regular columns, and letters to the editor. And only 6% could be considered analysis pieces or special features, presenting more in-depth analysis, more than 50% of which appeared in the last 25 years of the study period and more than 80% since 1950. This lack of analysis is also consistent with the work of others who have found few stories that elaborate upon explanatory frameworks or solutions frameworks in discussions of youth crime (e.g. Fasiolo & Leckie, 1993; Graber, 1980; Klein & Chancer, 2000; McManus & Dorfman, 2002; Muzzatti, 2004; Welch et al., 1998; Young, 1993).

Another variable examined for its contribution to the simplification and decontextualization of youth crime news was the focus of the story. An effort was made to differentiate between incident-specific stories (also referred to as episodic reporting in the research literature, e.g.: Graber, 1980; McManus & Dorfman, 2002) and stories pertaining to issues (also referred to as thematic). Two-thirds of the items concerned a specific incident (one crime or series of crimes committed by the same offender(s)); 9% linked specific incidents to a related ongoing issue; and 19% did not relate at all to any specific incident, but were more issue-focused (including crime issues, law issues, and
social issues). These proportions are in keeping with findings of other research in this area (e.g. Graber, 1980; McManus & Dorfman, 2002; Sacco & Fair, 1992).

In addition to the very short length of articles and the paucity of analytical genres of reporting, this focus on incidents is one more indication that crime is covered in a simplistic manner, minimizing the amount of contextualization provided to the reader. Short articles about specific incidents do not tend to offer readers historical, sociological and political perspective for understanding the incident (see also Graber, 1980; McManus & Dorfman, 2002); instead they offer a micro level outlook. This decontextualized presentation serves to (mis)inform the audience about crime and justice, by spoon-feeding little bits of more or less relevant information here and there rather than exploring the different perspectives on an issue and allowing people to gain a more comprehensive 'big picture' understanding about problems that may exist.

Another way in which stories are decontextualized was discovered through the infrequent follow-up of stories. I found a total of 23% of stories that certainly or likely were part of a series,33 not stand-alone stories. I also took this relatively low proportion as an indicator of the decontextualization of the issues because, if crime news reports give no sense of the process of justice – only isolated bits of information here and there throughout the process, relating to different cases – one cannot really say that the audience is informed by what they read. Furthermore, based on this truncated version of justice that they are given, the audience is nonetheless invited to formulate a judgment as to whether or not justice is being served (see also Sprott, 1996).

Another variable examined in relation to the context of news items was the geographical focus of the story. As seen in Figure 5-9 below, more than half of all news items (56.4%) were of local interest to the city and metropolitan area where the

33 See Appendix C – Coding Manual, variable #25.
newspaper was published. Fifteen point six percent of the other stories were coded as having a provincial focus, i.e. relating to the province in which the newspaper was published. Canadian and American stories\(^{34}\) contributed 9% and 8% of the sample respectively. The emphasis on local stories may be an exception to the tendency to decontextualize in one sense, since they present readers with more crime stories relevant to their surroundings (although crime occurring the downtown core of the big cities is not necessarily relevant to readers living in the broader metropolitan distribution area of the newspaper). However, these "local" stories still generally decontextualize and simplify the representation of youth crime and justice in other ways. Furthermore, if only the most bizarre and sensational stories from other locales are reported, then this too is a distortion in the representation of crime.

Figure 5-9: Percentage distribution of geographical focus of news items

\(34\) By ‘Canadian and American stories’ is meant stories of a national scope as well as from locations outside the region of the newspaper publishing the story.
The focus on local stories did not vary significantly over time; however, it did vary between the three newspapers. *La Presse* tended to focus more on local stories and less on national and American stories, while *The Province* did the opposite. The Toronto Star had fewer regional reports (from neighbouring provinces), but also more American and North American news stories than either of the other papers. These findings contrast significantly with those of Ericson et al. (1991: 162-194) who found a significant proportion of foreign crime news content in both quality and popular newspapers. The proportion of local news items in their sample was much lower, representing only 30.2% of popular newspaper items and 9.8% of quality newspaper items. Ericson et al.’s findings in respect to the popular newspapers were also somewhat consistent with those of Dussuyer (1979) who encountered approximately 30% each of local and foreign stories. This contrast may point to one of the differences between the coverage of youth crime and of crime in general.

Another variable which provided indications about the context of a story was the level of the criminal justice system involved. As indicated above, stories were rarely followed through from actual events to ultimate disposition of the case. Crime stories are therefore presented in isolation from their context within the criminal justice process, serving both to decontextualize and simplify them. Thus, it seemed relevant to consider which phase(s) of the process received most attention. As shown in Figure 5-10, the majority of news items focused on the front end of the criminal justice system: police and court levels with 30.9% and 37.8%, respectively, of stories relating to each level. This distribution is more or less consistent with Graber’s (1980) findings regarding the distribution of crime news stories. She reported that about 32% of stories concerned the courts, but only 10% involved police. The discrepancy may be explained largely by the use of different categorizations (she found that over 40% of stories were about “specific individual crimes,” which may include much of what I have categorized as police
investigations and arrests). The importance of court proceedings, including appearances, trials and sentencing, may also be explained in part by the over 10% of items in the sample that are drawn from court columns. Other explanations may be plausible as well, since court proceedings are scheduled and more open to the public, as opposed to live events and police investigations. It should be noted that, although court proceedings under the JDA were not generally open to the public, there were a number of proceedings involving young people, above and below the age of 16, which were reported on in the sample.

Figure 5-10: Percentage distribution of level of criminal justice system involved in news items

The variables examined in this section provide several indicators of the simplification and decontextualization of youth crime and justice. These are added to perhaps the most obvious indicator, the systematic overrepresentation of violent crimes...
and murder especially, as detailed in the previous section. A further way in which the presentation of youth crime can be distorted in the press is when the discourse begins to reflect a moral panic on the issue. This tendency is discussed in the following section.

iii) Evidence of moral panics

Another 'historical trend' noted in the coverage is related to the concept of moral panics discussed in Chapter 3. Although I initially expected that a much more in-depth analysis of moral panics over the course of the twentieth century would be possible through this research, my sampling procedure did not generate a sufficient number of news items from any single 'moral panic' episode to make quantitative or qualitative analysis feasible. It was impossible based on the data collected to elaborate the kind of rich and detailed narratives about specific moral panics such as those discussed in the research literature (e.g., Acland, 1995; Chishall, 1977; Cohen, 1972; Fishman, 1978; Gilbert, 1986; Hall et al., 1978; Jenkins, 1992; Schissel, 1997a, 2006). Furthermore, as Hall et al. (1978) and others (Best, 1999; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Thompson, 1998) point out, there are different types of moral panics. They can be focused on a single issue or a number of more or less related issues can be combined into a panic. It is the socio-historical context which becomes highly relevant in differentiating the panics and understanding the course of events. Given the limited amount of data spread out over a lengthy period of time, I felt that the findings derived from the analysis of these data would be tenuous at best.

Nonetheless, there is partial evidence in the sample of coverage that points to some of the characteristics associated with moral panics. I identified the 'theme' of moral panics in 220 (11.4%) of the news items in the sample. I selected items for qualitative analysis on the theme of moral panics on the basis of content making alarmist claims, fear mongering, perceived exaggeration and distortion, prediction, symbolization
(Cohen, 1972), and links between seemingly unrelated or dissimilar events (Schissel, 1997a). The frequency distribution of these news items over time (see Figure 5-11 below) is indicative both of periods that would warrant further examination as far as moral panics are concerned and of periods already identified within the research literature as times when moral panics have abounded. In 1955, for example, The Province repeatedly referred to a number of hold-ups that had taken place in the last one- to two-month period as a “crime wave.” La Presse did the same in 1959 and went even further in 1963 referring to the situation as a reign of terror, a state of emergency and a problem that was threatening to spread to the entire province. I discuss these and other alarmist claims resembling moral panics discourse with the representations of offences in Chapter 6. (See also Appendix E for examples of this discourse.)

Figure 5-11: Frequency distribution of articles with theme of moral panics over time
Despite the caution with which conclusions should be drawn from these data, Figure 5-11 does appear to indicate a strong predominance of the moral panics-type of coverage in the latter half of the twentieth century, in sharp contrast to the earlier half of the century. Evidence of high levels of concern over young people and moral panics surrounding particular issues relating to young people, such as prostitution, venereal disease, crisis of the nuclear family, crime films, comics, and dance halls, certainly existed in the first half of the century (see, e.g., Bell, 2003; Brannigan, 1986; Chunn, 1990, 1997, 2003; Freund, 2002; Houston, 1982; Lacovetta, 1998; Mawani, 2002; Matters, 1984; Myers, 1999; Sangster, 2002a, 2002b; Swainger, 1998, 2003). Nevertheless, those earlier panics pale in comparison with the panics which have marked the second half of the twentieth century when we consider the lack of evidence of them found in the news coverage on youthful offending. The finding of intensified moral panic, particularly in the 1990s, is also consistent with what Barron and Lacombe (2005) found in relation to ‘the nasty girl’ as well as Schissel’s (1997a, 2006) findings.

The findings in the above section have detailed various characteristics of the news coverage on youth crime and justice such as the overrepresentation of violence, the simplification and decontextualization of the news, and evidence of moral panics-type discourse in the coverage. In the next section, I examine the various actors who contribute news content as authors of or contributors to the stories.

**C) Sources and news content**

As discussed in Chapter 3, media content is influenced by the selection of news sources. Hall et al. (1978) describe official/authoritative sources as primary definers of news while relegating the journalists themselves to the role of secondary definers, whereas Ericson et al. (1989) view journalists as somewhat more autonomous from these official sources. Nonetheless, these authors overlap in their agreement that
sources with institutional affiliation tend to be over-accessed by the media and frame or define issues within parameters that do not challenge the status quo (Ericson et al., 1991; Hall et al., 1978; Manning, 2001; Welch et al., 1998). Given the attention paid in the research literature to the selection of news sources, I examined information on a total of 3829 sources. My findings are generally consistent with the research literature in relation to news sources, although there are some points of divergence.

i) Types of sources

In considering the types of sources that have an impact on news content, there were two categories of relevance: sources of news stories (those whom Ericson et al. (1991: 156) categorize as reporter, wire service, citizens, and so on), and sources in news stories (alluding to those sources whom the authors of the news acknowledge by direct quotation or indirect summation). The sources of news stories were difficult to ascertain as they were not indicated in more than half of the articles in the sample. Furthermore, since a significant portion of articles quotes no sources, we can assume that the journalist's role in shaping news content is considerable, although they may be influenced by unacknowledged sources. Among the sources who are acknowledged, the police and other criminal justice officials play a prominent role. This finding is in keeping with the research literature. A few distinctions between the three newspapers are noted. Offenders are also featured relatively often, but are greatly underutilized as sources. As well, greater attention is paid to other government, professional and academic sources after 1960.

a) Sources of news stories

In 37% of the news items, there was no news-item source to indicate the provenance of the item, i.e. no by-line, and in an additional 8.8% only the city location of
the story was identified. Reporter by-lines appeared on 18% of the stories, while wire service by-lines accounted for 19.9%, with an additional 4.4% of items labelled as "special" to the newspaper. Citizens and community organizations provided 2.6% of the items (primarily letters to the editor). The remainder of news items were police and court columns for which no reporter was specifically listed. These numbers are inconsistent with the findings of Ericson et al. (1991) and Dussuyer (1979), both of whom found much higher rates of wire service use. Ericson et al. (1991: 156) also reported higher rates of news items by reporters and from citizens. However, the differences here may be partly explained by the large number of items falling into the "no information" category as well as by the sampling period in this study which is far lengthier than for either of those two studies. There were many more items without by-line identification in the earlier decades of the sample than in the later decades.

Since over half of the news items did not identify the source directly, it is a leap of faith to draw any conclusions about trends in relation to the news item sources. However, of the articles with a by-line, it should be noted that *La Presse* relied more frequently on its reporters than did the other two newspapers and *The Province* relied more regularly on wire service stories than did the other two.

About 40% of the articles in the sample made use of no sources other than the journalist him or herself. If journalists were attempting to show the various 'sides' of a story, the more sources used, the better, it would seem. That being said, the mere addition of sources does not in and of itself ensure that various 'sides' will be

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35 I coded news-item sources according to categories similar to those of Ericson et al. (1991: 155-156).
36 Such items include those without an author by-line, those that only name the city of provenance, and police or court columns which were not attributed to a specific reporter.
37 Gender of reporters was also recorded in order to examine claims from the feminist media studies literature (Allan, 1999; Rhode, 1997; Zoonen, 1994), but no findings can be reported in relation to this variable as it was not possible to identify gender in 82.6% of the news items.
represented, as multiple sources are often used to bolster the same perspective. It should be emphasized that the absence of sources in a news story generally means the absence of acknowledged sources. Journalists clearly obtain their information from others even if they do not acknowledge them and therefore often present a particular point of view. Nonetheless, the absence of sources does not bode well for an attempt at showing the various ‘sides’ of a story and offering context.

The bulk of the sources coded were in fact the journalists. Thirty-one point three percent were journalists employed by the newspapers printing the items and 11.1% were “other journalists” meaning that they were working for a wire service or another publication. The relatively high proportion of news items referring to no sources other than journalists seems to contradict Hall et al.’s (1978) classification of journalists as “secondary definers.” Journalists may in fact play a much greater role in shaping the news and defining the issues than is suggested by the concept of secondary definers. However, the failure to acknowledge sources does not necessarily signify their lack of influence.

b) Sources quoted in news stories

Of the 1937 items in the sample, 644 news items used one source other than the journalist; 255 news items included two sources; 125 included three sources; 59 included four sources; 29 included five; and 52 included six or more. Table 5-4 provides a summary of some of the key categories of sources other than journalists.
Table 5-4: Selected types of sources used in news items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Of Source</th>
<th>Percent Of Articles (n = 1937)</th>
<th>Percent Of Sources (n = 3829)</th>
<th>Percent Of Sources Other Than Journalists (n = 2206)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown counsel</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence counsel</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offenders</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victims</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academics</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research literature on news sources tells us that the police are a source of primary importance when it comes to news about crime (Doyle, 2006; Ericson et al., 1989, 1991; Fishman, 1981; Sacco & Fair, 1992). They tend to be fairly easily accessible and it is in their interest to communicate with the news media in order that they may have a hand in shaping the information that is available to the public. In addition, the police can use the media in order to help their investigations, by soliciting collaboration from the public, for example. As explained in Chapter 3, police organizations also benefit from their relationship with the news media in that the police are generally portrayed favourably in the news (Sacco & Fair, 1992).

Table 5-4 shows a preponderance of criminal justice sources in my sample (over 40% of articles quote them and they represent over 40% of sources other than journalists). Mentioned in 20% of articles, police were the most frequently cited type of

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38 In terms of the sources used to provide knowledge in stories, certain features particular to this research, along with the indications in the research literature about the significance of police in particular as news sources, led me to utilize a typology of sources that differed from that of Ericson et al. (1991). The various actors involved in the criminal justice system were coded into separate categories. However, these criminal justice sources (police, Crown, defence lawyers, courts, corrections, other legal participants) may be collapsed for the purpose of comparison with the findings of Ericson et al.
source, aside from journalists. This considerable deployment of police sources is consistent with the considerable proportion of the news items representing events taking place at the front end of the criminal justice system between police investigation, arrest and charges being laid (approximately 31% of the news items). Police therefore were seen as a highly prominent source of stories and useable quotes. Although they were not quoted in all stories in which they were featured, their perspective may still have been conveyed by journalists who used information provided by police without acknowledging them as sources. Police and prosecutors together represent nearly one quarter of all sources cited.

Police were quoted with more regularity in the latter half of the twentieth century. From the end of World War II, they were regularly cited in over 20% of the news items in any given year. Prior to 1945, they were infrequently used as sources in more than 15% of news items per year. There were also statistically significant variations between the three newspapers, with The Toronto Star quoting police in over 27% of news items, The Province in nearly 20% and La Presse in under 14%.39

Part of this preference given to police sources may be explained by the fact that journalists regularly speak to police. The contact is also facilitated (and managed) by daily media briefings, although the journalist may have less of a relationship with individual police officers. However, it is not clear from the data which types of contact between police and reporters are most influential, as the context of their interactions is generally not reported. Police are the most likely of all source types to be quoted as interviewed. However, when the context is noted in the story, the police, like all source types affiliated with the criminal justice system (lawyers, judges, offenders, victims, witnesses, etc.), are more likely to be quoted in a courtroom context.

\[ X^2(2, n = 1927) = 52.34, p < .001. \]
The second most prominent type of source was the judges (used in 13.4% of news items). More than 10% of the entire sample was obtained from the daily court columns and this proportion of articles tends to boost the frequency of reporting on stories at the court level including appearances and sentencing (the proportion of news items drawn from the court level of the criminal justice system was 38%, which is higher than at the police level). In this instance, judges were quoted in only about a third of the stories in which they were key actors (in contrast to the police who were quoted in about two-thirds of the stories in which they were key actors). There is nonetheless quite a substantial focus on judges and courts in the sample. Some reasons for this focus might be that judges do make good sources as they are often fairly articulate and well informed, but also because their comments are easily accessible in the courtroom, unlike other sources where the reporter might have to be more proactive in contacting the source for a quote. Judges may also manage their courts in a way that is analogous to the police use of daily press conferences to manage the dissemination of information about their investigations.

No discernible pattern over time in the quoting of judges could be identified, aside from more consistent quotation during the years in which court columns were printed daily. The Toronto Star tended to include quotes from judges on a more regular basis than did the other two newspapers, using them in over 17% of its news items. The Province and La Presse published quotes from judges in 9.5% and 10.8% of news items respectively. This difference is also consistent with The Toronto Star's greater use of police and court columns.

In terms of Crown counsel and defence counsel, the differences in their enlistment as sources seem more negligible. I found no noticeable variations over time. The Toronto Star quoted Crown sources in 7.4% of its articles, The Province in 4.8% of its articles and La Presse in 4.9%. The Toronto Star cited defence sources in 5.4% of its
articles, The Province in 3.7% of its articles and La Presse in 6.1%. It is interesting to note that, although the variations were not statistically significant, both English language newspapers slightly favoured Crown sources whereas La Presse relied slightly more on defence lawyers. This distinction is consistent with other findings that suggest different tendencies in coverage in La Presse from those in the anglophone newspapers.

One hypothesis that I did have in including this variable was that offenders (suspected, accused or found guilty) generally would not have the opportunity to present their views (see Hall et al., 1978). While the findings supported this expectation, offenders are nonetheless the third most important source used in the news items.

However, the use of offenders as sources needs to be contextualized further. Although 10.6% of the news items used offenders as sources, we should consider this information in light of the fact that approximately 80% of the news items involved at least one identifiable offender. Offenders are therefore quoted far less often than they appear in news stories. Also, they are rarely interviewed and they are not quoted to the same extent within any given article as are police or judges.

Furthermore, an effort was made to identify those individuals who were discussed but not given the opportunity to voice their own views in the news items. The hypothesis that offenders would be underutilized as sources guided the classification of articles for this variable. Of the 1544 news items where I identified an actor in the story who was not used as a source, 1129 times (73%) it was the offender.

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41 Although the extent of citation was not quantified in the data analysis, it was noticeable after prolonged interaction with the data sample.

42 Such individuals were identified as those whom we could reasonably expect to have been contacted in the preparation of the story as well as those whom we might expect to have a different view to offer than those already included in the article.

43 When more than one actor could be considered as "not used as a source," I prioritized the offender, since it was a single-response variable. When defence lawyers were quoted, this was deemed to represent the views of the accused, so the "offender" was not coded as "actor not used as source."
In addition, 50 items mentioned in passing that the offender had denied guilt or pleaded not guilty and 189 items reported that the offender had confessed or pleaded guilty, in each instance without quoting him or her. In total, 1368 news items (or 88.6% of the 1544 news items where actors in the events were not used as sources) mentioned an offender without giving him or her the opportunity to have their voice heard.\footnote{44}{Other actors not used as sources were identified in only 176 news items, although the actual number of cases where people involved in a story might not have been used as sources is probably somewhat higher given the inability to account for additional actors not used as sources within the single-response model used for this variable.}

Moreover, the use of offenders as sources is given added significance due to how much they overshadow victims as sources.\footnote{45}{With regard to both offenders and victims, when their family members could be seen as speaking on their behalf (especially in the case of young offenders and victims, or deceased offenders and victims), the family members were coded as the type of source “offender” or “victim,” respectively. When the actual offender or victim was used as source and a family member was also used or if a family member was speaking on their own behalf, then the family member was coded as “Other legal participant – witness” or “Other legal participant – other.”} This discrepancy may be partly due to the fact that offenders may testify, speak or at least plead guilty or not in court, whereas victims may not speak at all in court (e.g., if they are dead or too young, etc.). I was operating on the assumption that victims were very much exploited to enhance the drama of crime and to augment the emotive aspect of stories (see, e.g., Rapping, 1999). I did not find this to be the case very often. Instead, there were many instances where there simply was not that much information available about the victims. The items did not mention their names, or how they might have been affected. There is no evidence in my sample to support the suggestions of Rapping (1999) and Garland (2001) that victims and victims’ advocate groups have played a larger role over recent decades in the media coverage of the criminal justice system. There may be a discrepancy between print and visual media with respect to the use of victims as sources.

There were no remarkable variations over time in the use of offenders or victims as sources, except for a slightly more frequent use of victims in the earlier decades of
the century. Offenders were more frequently cited in The Toronto Star (13.1% of articles) than in the other two papers (just over 8% in each). This was a statistically significant difference.\textsuperscript{46} Victims were also cited more regularly in The Toronto Star (6.6%) than The Province (5.1%) and La Presse (4.1%). However, this variation was not statistically significant.\textsuperscript{47}

The use of criminal justice government sources (judges, prosecutors, police) discussed above and other government sources (mostly politicians, and Statistics Canada reports) discussed below is very much in keeping with the cultural studies research literature, which tells us that sources in powerful positions are more likely to have their views expressed in the news media (Ericson et al., 1989; Hall, 1980; Hall et al., 1978). The views of influential sources tend to be the dominant ones (the legitimacy of those views is taken for granted) and alternative views need to be couched within the parameters set out by the dominant sources. Professionals also fall largely within this category, including social workers and other helping professions as well as teachers and others involved in work with young people. Finally, a finding met with some ambivalence is that academics are hardly used at all. It is surprising, on the one hand, because academics would be those whom one might consider the 'experts' on the matter and so it would seem obvious that they should play some role in defining the issues. On the other hand, it is not entirely unexpected that experts are not used as sources in light of the infrequent analytical coverage found in the newspapers.

The use of sources with official affiliations such as government representatives, professionals and academics,\textsuperscript{48} all of whom feature prominently in the hierarchy of

\begin{align*}
\text{\textsuperscript{46} $X^2(2, n = 1927) = 11.68$, $p < .01$.} \\
\text{\textsuperscript{47} $X^2(2, n = 1927) = 3.89$, $p = .143$.} \\
\text{\textsuperscript{48} Although these sources all benefit from their institutional affiliation in enhancing their credibility, it is important to note that they do not all speak on behalf of their institution. Many of them speak as individuals, expressing personal opinions which probably nonetheless are considered more}
\end{align*}
credibility (Becker, 1967), has followed an upward trend from the start to the end of the sample period. Few such sources were used in the earliest decades of the century and slowly they came to be employed more and more. For example, 60% of the academics quoted in the sample were quoted in the last 20 years. Due to the small proportion of such sources to the overall volume of sources, which is in line with Fasiolo and Leckie's (1993) finding that academics are infrequently used as sources, the statistical significance of the variations over time was not established. Nonetheless, Table 5-5 illustrates the general upward trend in the percentage of articles quoting such sources.

The development of a public Canadian university system and the expansion of the social sciences only began in the 1960s, which coincides with the post-1960s emergence of the academic expert.

Table 5-5: Variations over time in percentage of articles quoting government, professional and academic sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Sources</th>
<th>Government Sources</th>
<th>Professional Sources</th>
<th>Academic Sources</th>
<th>% of Articles In Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-1920</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1940</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1960</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1980</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-2000</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were no significant differences between the three newspapers in terms of the frequency of use of such sources, with the exception of professional sources.\textsuperscript{49} 56% of all professional sources cited were in The Toronto Star, while only 17.6% were in \textit{La Presse} and 26.4% in The Province. The reason for this discrepancy is unclear.

credible because such sources are deemed to have specialized knowledge (see, e.g., Hall et al., 1978; Welch et al., 1998).

In terms of the typology of sources used by Ericson et al. (1991), the criminal justice sources (including police, lawyers, and judges) were collapsed into a single broader category of government sources. However, collapsing these types of sources in my sample yielded a far greater proportion of total sources than that cited by Ericson et al. Whereas they included 3.0% of sources from the quality newspaper and 10.6% of the sources from the popular newspapers in the criminal justice category, in my sample, 27.6% of all sources were in this category.

In sum, among the actors involved in any given crime story, not all have the same likelihood of being called upon as sources in the news reporting of the story. In a large proportion of news items, reporters do not even bother to quote sources, which may be a means of expediency rather than a true exclusion of other voices. My findings are consistent with the research literature showing that sources in official/authoritative positions are more likely to have their views reported in the news. My findings suggest that offenders (or accused or suspected offenders) have their views reported more often than one might expect; however, they are not truly given a voice in the coverage and are excluded much more often than other types of sources. Also, my findings contradict the notion that victims are given a prominent voice in the media.

ii) Type of knowledge provided by sources

Another variable to which Ericson et al. (1991) paid considerable attention was the types of knowledge provided by the sources which they defined as follows:

The types of knowledge available in the news include primary (factual, asking 'What happened?'), secondary (explanatory, asking 'Why did it happen?'), tertiary (descriptive, asking 'What was it like to be involved in what happened?'), evaluative (moral, asking 'Was what happened good or bad?'), and recommendations (asking 'What should be done about what happened?'). (Ericson et al., 1991: 204)
Using the same classifications, I identified and coded the types of knowledge provided by each of the 3829 sources in my sample. The considerable differences between my findings and those of Ericson et al. suggest that I did not apply their definitions in the same way as they did.

Primary and secondary knowledge were each provided by nearly 85% of the sources in my sample. The sources who contributed far more primary and secondary knowledge than any others were the journalists and the police. Tertiary knowledge was given by 35.8% of sources, with victims and offenders providing most here. Evaluative knowledge was supplied by 40.4% of sources and recommendations by 18.5%. Evaluations and recommendations came primarily from judges, lawyers, professionals, government sources and academics.

In relation to types of knowledge, the finding that 85% of sources provided secondary knowledge is highly inconsistent with Ericson et al. (1991: 260). Those authors found approximately 35% of any newspaper sources providing explanations about deviance. They reasoned that “Explanations are seen by journalists as making stories too boring and as working against the need for simplification” (Ericson et al., 1991: 208). However, the explanations found in my sample arguably did not work against the need for simplification, since they were often made only in passing and were typically quite simplistic (see Chapter 7).

Ericson et al. (1991: 260) also found fewer newspaper sources contributing tertiary knowledge (around 10%), but higher levels of evaluative knowledge and recommendations (about 48% and 32% respectively).

In terms of the types of sources responsible for providing the different types of knowledge, I found that reporters and police, who constitute the bulk of the sources of and in news stories, are predominantly responsible for the primary and secondary types of knowledge. In fact, journalists often provide primary and secondary knowledge about
a case without referring to any other sources at all. In contrast, it tends to be the elite
types of sources such as judges, lawyers, professionals, government sources and
academics who are quoted with less frequency, with the exception of judges, who have
their views reported when it comes to providing evaluative knowledge and
recommendations (see also Chapter 8).

Interestingly, though, one would expect police to be highly 'authoritative' sources
about crime and justice, since they have first-hand knowledge although they may not
have the status of judges or Crown attorneys. Nonetheless, I found that police tended to
be underutilized in providing evaluations and recommendations. In spite of the lesser
reporting of police evaluations and recommendations, I would have to agree with Hall et
al.'s (1978: 58) conclusion that the police serve as primary (institutional) definers, due to
the sheer volume of the police contribution to news content.

Hall et al. (1978) suggest that journalists are secondary definers who enable the
powerful to over-access the media. Hall et al. focus on how journalists allow direct over-
access to the media of the powerful, but they do not discuss how journalists facilitate
indirect over-access to the media by presenting the viewpoints of the powerful without
quoting them. Without suggesting that the media are part of a conspiracy to reproduce
the definitions of the powerful, it is important to point out that the mainstream media do
not very often challenge the hegemony of the powerful. Authorities are not all of one
mind – either across or within categories. Notwithstanding these disagreements, the
powerful and the status quo are not fundamentally threatened by the ways in which
mainstream media conceptualize crime, criminals and justice.

In sum, this aggregate presentation of the sources of youth crime news and the
sources used in the news, along with the overview of the types of knowledge each
contributes to news content, serves as a backdrop against which to examine the
explanations provided for youth crime (Chapter 7), the actual and proposed responses
(Chapter 8) and the reproduction of hegemonic notions about gender within those portrayals (Chapter 9). In the following section, I discuss the variables relevant to the examination of representations of offenders and victims within the coverage (Chapter 6).

**D) Overview of variables pertaining to offenders and victims**

i) Offenders

This section provides an overview of the information generated through the variables which dealt with the young people identified as offenders in the news items or as principal suspects in the investigations. The research literature variously considers the significance of social variables such as gender, race and class in the representation of individuals in the news. Here, I reveal those aggregate findings about individuals and, in the following chapter, I delve into the thematic analysis of representations. Among all news items, the total number of articles providing information about offenders was 1549 (at least one offender) and the total number of offenders on which I coded information into SPSS was 2573.

The coverage did not report on all of these different variables to the same extent. Table 5-6 below indicates the proportion of offenders in the sample for whom those social indicators were not included in the coverage.

**Table 5-6: Percentage of offenders in sample coded as “don’t know” for gender, age, race or class**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Don't know (% of n = 2573)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was possible to identify the gender for 94% of the 2573 offenders in the sample. This finding sets gender apart from the other variables and gives greater weight
to the analysis of gendered portrayals in the coverage (see Chapter 9). Of the 1549 articles, 282 (18.2%) identified at least one female offender.\textsuperscript{50} This proportion is higher than the 12.2% of articles on female offenders found by Dussuyer (1979). It is also higher than the rates of female offending suggested in official statistics, which averaged around 10% over the course of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, somewhat less than that in the earlier half of the century and only approaching the 18% level in the 1990s (Carrigan, 1998).

Of the 1549 articles mentioning at least one young offender, 174 (11.2%) stated or implied race or ethnicity of the young person. Mentioning race or ethnicity could be accomplished, for example, through the use of photographs, or references to skin colour, country of origin, religious affiliation, languages spoken or through the use of names, particularly surnames. In three quarters of the 234 cases where the race or ethnicity of an offender was mentioned, it was either directly stated or ascertained with a photograph. However, it was not possible to identify racial or ethnic characteristics for 90.1% of the 2573 offenders. Wortley (2002) and Henry and Tator (2002) found significantly higher rates of racial identification. However, their studies were specifically focused on racial depictions in the press and not on young offenders.

Overall, there was no explicit information about the socio-economic status of 71.7% of the 2573 offenders in the sample. However, allusions to the socio-economic status of the offender were somewhat more frequent than those made to race, albeit far more implicit. Approximately one third of articles mentioning a young offender would make some reference to socio-economic indicators. Such indicators were present for at least one of the offenders mentioned in 513 of the 1549 news items (33.1%).\textsuperscript{51} The

\textsuperscript{50} 234 articles mentioned only one female offender, 41 discussed two female offenders and seven referred to three or more female offenders.

\textsuperscript{51} This figure includes 344 items referring to one young person’s socio-economic status, 124 items referring to the socio-economic status of two of the young people and 45 items referring to the socio-economic status of three or more young offenders.
most typically used indicators were a young person’s address or their occupation (or those of the young person’s parents). Other indicators in this category included favourable comments about an individual (or their family) as, for example, “well respected,” “well known,” or “esteemed.” Unfavourable comments about a family situation could also be used to infer socio-economic status as was the case when articles described “drunken” fathers and “single” or “widowed” mothers. Comments about a young person’s appearance, particularly the quality of their clothing, were also included here.

Identifying the age of the young person was a significant challenge, as lack of information on this variable could lead to exclusion from the sample. For 15.1% of the 2573 offenders mentioned in the sample, it was not possible to ascertain an actual age. The broad definition of ‘young’ as including persons aged seven to 21 years is contentious for various reasons outlined in Chapter 4. This definition was used, nonetheless, in the hope of obtaining a sufficiently large sample, which it did. The question must still be asked as to the effect of including 18-, 19- and 20-year-olds in the sample. I ultimately included news items about these young adults in the sample after ascertaining that it would not skew the overall distribution of data.

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52 I included these items in the sample when the individual’s youth was emphasized (three or more references).
53 The sample included 1549 articles which mentioned at least one offender. Of those, 791 articles referred to at least one “young adult” offender of 18 years or older (including adults 21 or older who co-offended with youths) and 1050 items spoke of at least one “juvenile” offender aged 17 or younger. Analysis of a number of variables was conducted for the purpose of comparing the effect of the over- and under-18 age groups, to see whether it would be relevant to eliminate the young adult offenders. For all the variables checked, the overall pattern of frequency distributions was similar to the sample including only the juveniles. The frequency distribution of articles by year followed the same pattern for the juveniles as it did for the entire sample (n = 1937). In most cases, the frequency distributions varied by less than 2% up or down from the juvenile group to the entire sample, with a couple of distributions varying by less than 4%. Overall, these findings lead me to conclude that including the young adult offenders does not skew the sample or affect the representation levels of the adult group to the detriment of the juvenile group. It is my contention that young people aged 18 to 20 are very much a part of the cultural representation of youth and it is worthwhile to examine their portrayals as well as those of
Another note with respect to age: it has been a mystery throughout the course of this research as to why young people who fell under the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts were being tried in police courts (as indicated by the discussion of their cases in police court columns). In some instances, juvenile courts were part of police courts (i.e. the same magistrate presided over both courts – see Chunn, 1992). However, in some cases, their names and other information were being provided, which was expressly forbidden by the Juvenile Delinquents Act (section 10). I have been unable to answer this question. However, a comparison of the articles concerning juvenile-aged offenders only with the entire sample reveals that the juvenile group were represented in the police and courts columns in the same proportions as the larger sample.

Overall, the majority of offenders for whom age could be ascertained were 15 and older. While I could not clarify why younger offenders were appearing in police court columns, the fact that the majority of offenders were older than juvenile court age would suggest that no reports were made on cases before the juvenile courts and court reporters focused on the police courts because these were open to the public. Nonetheless, cases involving the younger offenders were reported on from other levels of the criminal justice system (e.g.: police, corrections).

In sum, the most noteworthy findings about offenders stemming from the foregoing analyses include an important lack of information about key sociological variables that would enable readers to understand the reality of these youth's lives; a slight overrepresentation of female young offenders compared to existing research and official statistics; and the conclusion that, when studying media representations of young offenders, adhering to the strict legal definition of 'young offender' is not essential.

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younger people who are legally defined as young offenders. For these reasons, I did not withdraw the 18 and older offenders from the sample.
The above analysis of sociological variables about the young people represented as offenders in the news coverage constitutes a new contribution to the field of knowledge, as I did not find other research with parallel analyses against which to compare my findings. Unfortunately, the limited amount of information and the implicit character of much of what was available, leave me unable to offer an aggregate profile of the 'typical' offender depicted in the news. Nonetheless, the thematic analysis presented in the next chapter adds to the initial findings discussed here.

ii) Victims

The review of the research literature suggested that the portrayals of victims tended to dichotomize them as 'innocent' or 'culpable' according to stereotyped notions which are based on gender, age, race, class and so on. The analysis of these variables is presented in this section and the implications in terms of representations of victims are discussed in the next chapter.

There were 1317 news items in the sample which referred to at least one victim. I recorded 1710 victims' indicators of gender, age, race and class, as well as their use as sources and whether they were also offenders. Overall, the information about victims in the coverage was rather limited, particularly in terms of the variables used in this quantitative analysis.

With respect to the gender of victims, 280 of the 1317 articles identified at least one female victim (with 315 female victims identified in total) and 603 identified at least one male victim (with 718 male victims identified in total).\(^{54}\)

I defined the age of victims using broad categories (child, youth, adult, senior) and included categories such as business and public property when no individual person

\(^{54}\) Many of the "victims" were not identified as male or female either because the gender could not be ascertained or because the category of victim also included places of business and public property for which gender was coded as not applicable.
was identified as a victim. Three hundred and twelve of the 1317 articles (23.7%) identified at least one child or youth as a victim, 82 of them children and 281 of them youths. Three hundred and eighty-two of the 1317 articles (24.6%) identified at least one victim as a property (business or public property), with a total of 287 businesses as victims and 62 designations of public property as the target of victimization.

With respect to the race or ethnicity of victims, some mention or implication was made in 101 of the 1317 articles (7.7%) in respect to 123 of the victims. The exclusion of race in relation to victims is very much in keeping with that found for young offenders in the coverage. This paucity of racial identification is again in contrast to the higher levels suggested in the research literature on portrayals of race in the press (e.g., Henry & Tator, 2002; Perloff, 2000; Wortley, 2002). For the most part, the few identifications of race in my sample emanated from direct statements of racial or ethnic belonging (for 42.3% of the 123 victims) or were ascertained through photographs (for 43.9% of the 123 victims).

With respect to indicators of the victims’ socio-economic status, typically indicated by addresses or occupations, 575 of the 1317 articles (43.7%) provided some information on at least one victim, for a total of 736 victims. For 46.5% of those 736 victims, occupation (at least partially) pointed to their socio-economic status, and their address or neighbourhood of residence was the indicator for another 43.3%.

In 150 of the articles (11.4%), at least one of the victims was identified as also being an offender, including a total of 183 victim-offenders.

I carried out further statistical analyses for the following victim types: male, female, youth, elderly and business. These types were singled out because of the large numbers they represented in the sample or the particular ideological constructions of
fear and likelihood of victimization which exist about those victim types (especially women and the elderly).

The statistical variations by year for each victim type were examined and found to be statistically significant in all cases except elderly victims, suggesting that the types of victims being reported on shifted over time.\textsuperscript{55} For example, male and business victims were more typically reported on in the earlier part of the century, up to the 1960s. Female and younger victims became a greater focus in the latter decades of the twentieth century. The variations for elderly victims were based on numbers too small to rely on the validity of the statistics. However, it should be noted that 18 of the 53 articles (34\%) reporting on elderly victims were found in the sample years of 1995 and 1999. By grouping the years into 20-year blocks, I arrived at a finding of statistical significance in terms of the variation over time in coverage relating to elderly victims.\textsuperscript{56} As mentioned earlier, two high profile murders of elderly victims were reported in those years, the murder of the Toopes couple in Beaconsfield, Québec in 1995 and the murder of Pearl Lamarre in Chambly, Québec in 1999.

The cross-tabulation of certain victim types and the presence of photographs revealed statistically significant relationships between female and/or child victims and photographs accompanying articles.\textsuperscript{57} There was no significant relationship found between male victims and business or public property victims and the presence of photographs.\textsuperscript{58 59}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Male victims: $X^2(24, n = 1317) = 49.02, p < .01$. Female victims: $X^2(24, n = 1317) = 77.45, p < .001$. Young victims: $X^2(24, n = 1317) = 118.35, p < .001$. Elderly victims: 50\% low cell count. Business/public property victims: $X^2(24, n = 1317) = 78.93, p < .001$. \textsuperscript{56}
  \item $X^2(4, n = 1317) = 16.78, p < .01$. \textsuperscript{56}
  \item Female victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 9.35, p < .01$. Young victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 10.40, p = .001$. \textsuperscript{57}
  \item Male victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 1.79, p = .181$. Business victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = .22, p = .642$. \textsuperscript{59}
  \item The statistics on elderly victims were not reliable for the same reason stated above. \textsuperscript{59}
\end{itemize}
The independent samples t-test comparing the size of headlines with the presence of certain victim types revealed that bigger headlines were used for male, female, youth and elderly victims in contrast to business victims. There was no statistical significance in the relationship between business victims and headline size. The t-test comparing the size of article text in articles reporting on different victim types showed that articles about male, female, youth/child and/or elderly victims were significantly longer, while articles about businesses as victims were significantly shorter. These findings are probably a reflection of the fact that people make more compelling victims than property in terms of news coverage.

The follow-up yes/no variable (indicating whether the article was part of a series of articles on the same story) was shown to have a statistically significant relationship with the victim types of male, female, youth/child, and business/public property through cross-tabulation. Stories concerning male, female and/or youth/child victims were more likely to be followed up, while those regarding business/public property were less likely to receive continued coverage. This finding may suggest that the presence of an identifiable individual victim makes a story more worthy of continued coverage. The multiple coverage yes/no variable (indicating whether an article was about a story also covered in another sample newspaper) showed that male, female and elderly victims were significantly more likely to receive coverage in more than one newspaper, while

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60 Male victims: \( t(1139.76) = -4.46, p < .001 \). Female victims: \( t(1315) = -3.28, p = .001 \). Young victims: \( t(1315) = -2.65, p = .008 \). Elderly victims: \( t(1315) = -3.11, p = .002 \). Business victims: \( t(1315) = 1.43, p = .153 \).

61 Male victims: \( t(834.22) = -5.20, p < .001 \). Female victims: \( t(513.59) = -3.48, p = .001 \). Young victims: \( t(344.12) = -3.56, p < .001 \). Elderly victims: \( t(1315) = -2.29, p = .022 \). Business victims: \( t(929.11) = 2.72, p = .007 \).

62 Male victims: \( X^2(1, n = 1315) = 15.33, p < .001 \). Female victims: \( X^2(1, n = 1315) = 11.98, p = .001 \). Young victims: \( X^2(1, n = 1315) = 9.95, p < .01 \). Elderly victims: \( X^2(1, n = 1315) = 3.55, p = .06 \). Business victims: \( X^2(1, n = 1315) = 12.87, p < .001 \).
business victims were not as likely. This discrepancy would suggest that crimes targeting businesses do not present the same interest outside of their immediate vicinity as do crimes targeting individuals.

While the statistical analysis of variables relating to victims provides some useful information, it does not give us a sense of how they are portrayed in the coverage in any real sense. Qualitative analysis of what is actually said about victims beyond their gender, age, race, class information allows us to examine the image of victims that is rendered in the coverage. In many cases, there was not much information provided about victims, beyond what has already been mentioned. In some cases, however, a thorough discussion of the victim(s) was present and Chapter 6 presents some of the themes that existed in this more detailed coverage.

In sum, the most significant quantitative finding that emerged about victims, aside from the important lack of basic information about victims, was the tendency, particularly in the later half of the twentieth century, to play up those victims most likely to be perceived as vulnerable (i.e. the youngest and oldest victims, and/or female victims) by using longer articles, bigger headlines, photographs, and follow-ups. While male victims were also prominently displayed, such would be expected as a result of their representing the largest group of victims in the sample.

As mentioned with offenders above, the research literature probing these specific variables about victims of young offenders was extremely sparse and it is therefore difficult to provide a more detailed comparison than the few points noted above.

In sum, this chapter has outlined the quantitative analyses of some of the key variables examined in the coverage. Overall, the analyses show that variations in news

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63 Male victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 7.19, p < .01$. Female victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 14.43, p < .001$. Young victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 2.78, p = .095$. Elderly victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 24.90, p < .001$. Business victims: $X^2(1, n = 1317) = 17.21, p < .001$. 
coverage have little to do with the actual incidence of youth crime, that (violent) youth crime is inherently newsworthy, and that the media present youth crime news in a simplified and decontextualized way. News writers rely heavily on institutional/authoritative sources such as police, judges and others in professional positions, while they underutilize offenders and victims. There is little information about offenders and victims in the stories. The findings indicate a definite turn in the coverage from the 1950s on: more coverage in the second half of the century, a qualitative shift in the discussion of violence, more moral panics-type discourse and an emphasis on ‘vulnerable’ victims. The coverage in La Presse differed in a few ways: while there was more coverage in the English-language newspapers, La Presse tended to overrepresent violence more. Further, La Presse relied significantly less on police as acknowledged sources, and slightly favoured defence sources over prosecution sources, which is the reverse of what the anglophone papers did.

The quantitative findings in this chapter give the reader an overall picture of the sample. The following chapters shift to the presentation of findings stemming from the qualitative analysis of groups of articles relating to different topics.
CHAPTER 6 – REPRESENTATIONS OF OFFENCES, OFFENDERS AND VICTIMS

This chapter presents qualitative thematic analyses of the representations of offences, offenders and victims in the coverage of youthful offending. Overall, representations of offences, offenders and victims were fairly consistent between the three studied newspapers, although I have noted some differences below. This chapter also tracks historical variations in the dominant themes and sub-themes about offences, offenders and victims.

In the first section, I explore the qualitative counterpart of the quantitative findings that youth crime is sensationalized, simplified and decontextualized, and that violence is overrepresented. The dominance of the narrative of fear emerges clearly from this analysis, as do the sub-themes of random and predatory crime and the overrepresentation of violence.

The second section focuses more specifically on the actors rather than their acts. I examine the language used in referring to young people who break the law and the narratives that develop around them. I discuss the historical shift in the media treatment of young offenders, which parallels their legal treatment. I then push past the quantitative findings about the representations of gender, age, race and class to examine what is actually said about young offenders when these variables enter into the coverage. Finally, I explore one noteworthy counter-narrative, that of the weak/vulnerable/pathetic young offender who does not fit the dominant image present in most coverage.

The third section considers the images of victims that are present in the coverage examined here. Just as offenders tend to be dichotomized into good and bad, so too do victims appear as innocent or culpable based largely on certain characteristics including
gender, age, race and class. While victims do not feature prominently as news sources, newspapers clearly use the experience of victimization to play up the dramatic aspect of crime in their reporting.

**A) Representations of offences**

A number of narratives about youth crime can be observed with a certain level of frequency and regularity. The narratives explored in this section are those which stand out in the depictions of offences specifically and generally. I examine the themes of fear, randomness and violence, through the vocabulary used by various sources describing offences, as well as the emphasis given to certain elements of stories over others.

i) Dominant narrative: Be afraid, be very afraid...

The sensationalist narrative of fear is dominant throughout the sample. I examined narratives around variations in the level (frequency, spread) of youth crime as well as in the seriousness (more violence, younger offenders) of youth crime and found that the narrative of increasing crime runs through the sample. The discourse used in the discussion of these trends is very much in keeping with what has been highlighted in the moral panics literature (see, e.g., Burns & Crawford, 1999; Cohen, 1972, 2002; Fishman, 1978; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Hall et al., 1978; Killingbeck, 2001; Schissel, 1997a, 2006; Thompson, 1998).

These reported trends were sometimes the subject of an article in themselves, but at other times were just mentioned in passing in an article about a specific crime. In examining these trends over time, the most glaring finding is that the overwhelming majority of ‘trends’ are in the direction of an increase. The description of youth crime as

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64 Appendix E is a table summarizing coverage relating to trends in the level of crime – generally youth crime but in some cases crime in general, into which youth crime was lumped.
‘epidemic’ or ‘crime wave’ or other alarmist terms in 1931, 1943, 1947, 1955, 1959, 1963, 1967, 1971, 1975, 1983, 1991, 1995 and 1999 (i.e. 13 of the 25 years in the sample) at the very least challenges the credibility of such accounts. Seen from a longitudinal perspective, this tendency in the reporting can be better contextualized and rationalized. There may have been crime problems in each of those years which were urgent and alarming; however, there may also be a tendency on the part of the news industry to inject urgency and interpret in that direction whenever possible. Some of the findings in Chapter 5 would suggest that this tendency was probably greater in the second half of the century when the media began paying more attention to crime or “backstage behaviours” (Surette, 1998a). The fact that 10 of the 13 years listed above were post-1950 is further evidence of the shift in the coverage. This change in the second half of the century may reflect what Garland (2001: 75-102) refers to as ‘the coming of late modernity’ where a number of changes have marked social organization since the 1950s, such as consumerism and a larger proportion of the population living with crime in their everyday life. He argues that this perception leads to the development of a culture of control, which can also serve to explain the shifts in discourse that I have noted in the coverage of young offenders since the 1950s.

In a couple of articles adopting a rather alarmist tone about youth violence, the information that the number of youths accused of murder in Canada had been stable over a number of years (PM, September 23, 1999a, p. A3) and that school violence and school crime had decreased in the United States (TS, September 11, 1999, p. A25) was presented at the very end of fairly lengthy articles which drew deeply from alarmist and fear-mongering sources about a violent murder in Quebec and post-Littleton fear in schools, respectively.

The cultural studies perspective attributes great importance to the choice of words used to describe phenomena as well as to the source of the words/discourse.
Messages and discourse are meaningful because they are encoded and decoded by the message producers (newspapers, in this case) and receivers (readers, in this case) respectively (Hall, 1980). As such, the very words used to describe a phenomenon will impact this production of meaning. In order to examine these processes of encoding and decoding, it is worthwhile to first consider the words which are used in the messages (see also Golding, 2001; Hall, 1997a; Henry & Tator, 2002; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001; Welch et al., 1998).

The vocabulary used in the portrayals of these trends in youth crime was particularly noteworthy. The use of vocabulary likening crime to a disease (e.g., epidemic, outbreak) was prevalent, as were water metaphors (e.g., crime wave, deluge), synonyms for increase (jump, rise) and the qualifiers attached to them (such as alarming, rapid).65

The use of such terminology is highly evocative. The disease and water metaphors suggest that youth crime is a force of nature, that it can worsen and even spin out of control, that disastrous consequences will result if the increase is not checked immediately. The use of synonyms and qualifiers brings added emphasis to the notion of increasing youth crime. This choice of vocabulary contributes to the development of the fear theme. Youth crime is presented as increasing in frequency, affecting more and more people (as offenders and as victims) and becoming more serious. Even those who have no direct or indirect experience with youth crime can easily arrive at the conclusion that “it could happen to them.”

Statistics were used in some cases to back up the purported increases in crime, but were generally not presented with sufficient background in order to be meaningful in any real sense. For example, although rates of population change by age are important

65 See Box 1 in Appendix F for exhaustive lists of such terms used to convey the notion of youth crime on the rise.
background when assessing trends in crime rates, these were not usually provided in the articles that mentioned crime rate variations. Increases in the 100 to 300 percent range were occasionally cited without much effort to analyze critically those numbers for plausible explanations. In fact, when numbers were used, they were rarely criticized at all. Numbers were typically portrayed as official, irrefutable evidence of a problem. This penchant is consistent with the research literature on the use of statistics in news reporting (see, e.g., Best, 2001; Kappeler & Potter, 2005; Schissel, 1997a).

Overall, words and occasionally numbers were used to portray a situation as a cause of alarm and fear. Expressions such as the following illustrate this type of message clearly:

We must wake up to this peril which confronts us all and do our utmost to stamp it out with a firm hand before it is too late.

- Mr. Justice Manson66 (VP, June 27, 1947, p. 6)

Certains croient que si ce honteux mouvement se continue, il y aura peut-être 1,700,000 adolescents qui auront des difficultés avec la police en 1960.67 (PM, March 11, 1955, p. 6)

"We don't want to push the panic button but there is a need and there will be a need [for a gang squad]." (TS, January 17, 1991, p. E6)

- Durham Region Police Chief Dave Edwards

As the above examples also point out, the narrative of fear often serves as a platform for criminal justice system personnel to advocate certain remedies, which typically involve a greater allocation of resources to their departments. A more detailed analysis of media portrayals of what should be done about youth crime can be found in Chapter 8.

In addition to this non-descript and generalized fear that things are getting worse and will continue to get worse come the narratives related to the spread of 'the problem,'

66 Alexander Manson was the Attorney-General of BC and Minister of Labour from 1922 to 1928. He served as Supreme Court Justice from 1933 to 1961, presiding over the Assize Courts. 67 Translation: If this shameful movement continues, there may be 1,700,000 adolescents who will have difficulties with the police in 1960.
that anyone can be affected by it and that it can happen anywhere, that no person or place is safe.

"Il y a un déluge de vols avec violence dans notre ville. Les domiciles sont violés : personne n'y est plus en sécurité. Les femmes n'osent plus sortir dans la rue, de crainte d'être attaquées. Et combien de fois ne le sont-elles pas?" - le juge Fontaine\textsuperscript{68} (PM, November 13, 1963, p. 27)

"This is the type of thing you expect to see in Detroit, not Trochu," said Laubman [principal of Trochu Valley school]. (VP, January 17, 1991, p. 32)

"People somehow think violence is reserved for the city [...] It's getting to the point where you know people who have been victims of heinous crime." (TS, September 10, 1999, p. B5)

- Cheryl Taylor, 45, who has visited the [beating] victim in hospital at least five times

News coverage surrounding the ‘school shootings’ in the late 1990s has been examined more extensively by others (Burns & Crawford, 1999; Cohen, 2002; Jenkins, 2003; Killingbeck, 2001; Klein, 2005; Klein & Chancer, 2000; Males 2001; McManus & Dorfman, 2002; Muzzati, 2004). The sample month of September 1999 came five months after the notorious shootings at Columbine High School, but coverage of this incident nonetheless found its way into the sample. The alarmist tone of the coverage was quite consistent with what I have discussed above. For example, Dawn Yow, a high school student, wrote an opinion piece for The Toronto Star about bullying and ostracism in schools. She argued that the actions of the two boys at Columbine High School, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, were not hard to understand in the context of the “clique-infested waters” of high school where certain students are shunned, tortured and terrorized by others. She wrote “Columbine is Any school in Anytown and what happened there could happen anywhere” (TS, September 14, 1999a, p. F2). This statement is entirely consistent with the findings of others on the tone of media coverage.

\textsuperscript{68} Translation: “There is a deluge of robberies in our city. Homes are violated: people are not safe in their homes. Women do not dare to go out in the street for fear of being attacked. And how many times are they not?” – Judge Fontaine
about the shooting at Columbine and fits perfectly into the narrative of fear. It takes an act considered extreme and portrays it as likely to re-occur.

A number of articles adopted the position that the school shootings were merely another instance of rampant firearm violence in the U.S. For example, one article quoted the following statement:

"Rien qu'en 1999, nous avons assisté à des fusillades contre des personnes innocentes à l'école, ou qui se rendaient chez elles depuis l'église ou une synagogue, qui jouaient dans un camp d'été, ou bien encore qui travaillaient dans leurs bureaux, livraient du courrier et maintenant qui étaient en train de prier dans leur église" a déploré l'Attorney General, Janet Reno.69 (PM, September 17, 1999, p. C10)

Grouping such events, so disparate but for the common element of firearms used, represents an important distortion within the coverage. Rather than acknowledging that these acts occurred in completely different contexts (e.g., different locations, different motivations), the acts are decontextualized in order to foster the notion that "it can happen anywhere, it can happen to anyone," which is a central component in the narrative of fear. Lumping school shootings with religiously motivated shootings and shootings in the workplace, for example, obscures the distinction between youth and adult violence and their respective motives and grievances (see also Doob & Cesaroni, 2004; Schissel, 1997a, 2006).

Aside from the scope of the problem as described above, some news items also emphasized the changing nature of crime. Two 'changes' are of particular interest: the involvement of younger offenders and the increase in the degree of violence. Reports of such 'changes' in the nature of youth crime were also seen throughout the study period. It would be hard to argue that for decades upon decades youth violence involved ever

69 Translation: "In 1999 alone, we saw shootings against innocent people in school, or who were going home from church or a synagogue, who were playing in a summer camp, or else who were working in their office, delivering mail and now while they were praying in their church," deplored Attorney General Janet Reno.
younger offenders becoming more and more violent. The quotes below were selected to illustrate the recurring discourse over time.

“There is an alarming increase in crime, to which I would direct attention of all good citizens,” he [Chief Constable D. C. Draper] said. “During the past eight or nine years, crimes committed by youthful prisoners throughout North America have increased greatly. Nothing [sic] can be more alarming than to find these youths of from 16 years up perpetrating the type of crime that only a few years ago was confined to men of 40 to 50 years of age, and known to be hardened criminals.” (TS, March 5, 1931, p. 1)

From armed robbery to drug pushing, crime in Canada is on the rise and the criminals are getting younger. (TS, August 25, 1975, p. A4)

And experts report today’s bullying is more violent, more likely to involve weapons or a gang harassing one child. More and more girls are involved. [...] School officials report more violent behaviour among younger children. Children as young as 10 have been found with weapons. (TS, September 28, 1999a, p. D1, D3)

Although the theme of worsening youth crime was more prevalent in the last three decades of the sample, it was also present in the earlier years. This is consistent with the suggestion that each generation believes its own youth problem is worse than it ever has been (see, e.g., Bell, 2003; Bernard, 1992), a contention that loses all credibility when examined longitudinally.

ii) Narratives around random acts of predatory crime and violence

The narrative of fear was augmented by the related narrative of random violence. Various discourses tended to emphasize the randomness of youth crime and its predatory nature. While this narrative was most developed in relation to violent crimes, non-violent crimes were also portrayed as random and predatory.

The use of qualifiers was one technique employed to characterize offences. In some cases, the qualifiers add meaningful information which is useful in understanding the situation (e.g., stating that an act was unprovoked or deliberate). In other instances, the qualifiers are not necessary to the story, but do serve to characterize the acts.
described (e.g., serious, strange, random). However, despite the purported ‘objectivity’ of journalism, I found that the majority of the qualifiers tended not to provide useful or meaningful information. On the contrary, they imparted judgments and were not objective at all (e.g., horrible, vicious, heinous).  

In 1907, *La Presse* reported extensively on the stabbing murder of a young boy named Amédée Carrier in rural Québec. His sister was initially suspected and charged with the murder, but later released when another suspect was arrested. Although the coverage of this story was atypical in many respects (the sheer volume of coverage; the length of articles for that time period; the frequency of stories; the presence of multiple stories on the same day; and the emotive language used), it provides a number of useful illustrations of the narratives that can develop around random acts of predatory crime and violence. The use of emotive and titillating language, the focus on the weapon used, the detailed accounts of the manner in which the crime was believed to have occurred and the elaborate depiction of the mother and the son as victims all served to produce a highly sensational story.

Aside from the extensiveness of the coverage, the reports on the Carrier murder were also characterized by particularly sensational and dramatic language as well as emotional narratives detailing how various individuals involved in the case were feeling (actually or presumably) including the reporters’ own feelings about the events as they unfolded. Some of the terms commonly used in referring to the case included drama, mystery, tragedy, sensational, revolting and bloody. The repeated use of the term “sanglant” is ironic given the account by the witness who found the victim in the snow.

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70 See Box 2 in Appendix F for a detailed list of the different types of qualifiers found in the coverage.
71 Translation: bloody
that froth and vomit were present around the boy's mouth, but no blood could be seen anywhere.

Violence was evoked in a number of ways in the sample. Reporters used the word violent as both a qualifier and a term to which others (such as fatal, grave, brutal) were attached to characterize the violence. They also mentioned weapons to evoke violence in a great many ways. Additionally, the contexts of violence, by which I mean situations where individual violent acts were being portrayed as part of a broader accumulation of violence, served to portray violence as an important cause for concern (e.g., gang warfare, a reign of terror). 72

For example, referring again to the case of the murder of Amédée Carrier, the victim's own pocket knife, which was used to kill him, was discussed on five of the nine days on which the story was covered. The discussions about the knife were repeated and lengthy. The physical appearance of the knife was discussed, as were the rust/blood stains found on it and the expert analysis that would be done on them, how much the victim treasured it, how it could have inflicted a wound such as that found on the deceased, its length (reported at eight inches in one article and two and one quarter inches in another), how it was not found upon initial examination of the victim's body. The following excerpt underscores the drama that surrounded the knife in these reports:

_De nouveau, M. le coroner exhibe le fameux COUTEAU SANGLANT
Trouvé dans les goussets des habits du mort. Il le met sous les yeux du témoin [Mme Carrier, mother of the victim], qui frissonne visiblement et qui pour une seconde détourne la tête.
Là, sur la lame aiguisée dont son fils s'était fait pour ainsi dire un [illegible] c'est du sang de ce même fils maintenant assassiné. C'est la première fois depuis le sombre lundi du 1er avril, que la pauvre mère voit l'arme fatale.
"-Reconnaissez-vous ce couteau? demande le coroner.
-"Je crois que oui," répondit-elle dans un sanglot.
"Est-ce celui qui a appartenu à votre fils?"

72 Box 3 in Appendix F provides extensive examples of these different references to violence found in the coverage.

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—"Il y ressemble beaucoup, mais lorsque j'ai vu le petit Amédée avec le sien entre les mains, le dimanche soir, veille du meurtre, je n'y ai pas remarqué ces taches de rouille."

Macabre dérision! Ces taches, c'est le sang de son enfant. L'ignore-t-elle entièrement ou se refuse-t-elle, dans son cœur de mère à le reconnaître? Elle seule le sait, c'est un mystère de la douleur. (PM, April 8, 1907b, p. 11, 12)

The excerpt above is not typical of the coverage throughout the sample, although evocations of violence were frequently made through the reporter's own voice. In some cases the qualifiers used were directly quoting sources, for example, "Magistrate Robert Taylor called the thefts 'among the worst crimes imaginable'" (TS, December 6, 1967a, p. 36) and "Mais il [le juge Wagner] ajouta: —Vous avez commencé par un délit de la plus grande gravité, un crime d'autant plus infâme que la victime était une femme incapable de se défendre" (PM, November 20, 1963a, p. 15). However, on several occasions, the reporter was responsible for the choice of terminology, as here: "Évidemment estomaqué par l'attitude des prévenus, le juge demanda à plusieurs reprises au jeune témoin [sic] de préciser certains détails des déclarations renversantes qu'il était en voie de faire" (PM, February 13, 1959, p. 46).

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73 Translation: Once again, Mr. the coroner displays the much talked about BLOODY KNIFE. Found in the gussets of the clothes of the dead person. He puts it under the eyes of the witness [Mrs. Carrier], who visibly shudders and who, for a second, turns her head away.

There on the sharpened blade with which her son had made himself [illegible] it is the blood of this same son now assassinated. It is the first time, since the sombre Monday of April 1st, that the poor mother sees the fatal weapon.

"Do you recognize this knife?" asks the coroner.

"I think so, yes," she answered with a sob.

"Is it the one that belonged to your son?"

"It looks a lot like it, but when I saw the little Amédée with his [knife] in his hands, on the Sunday night, on the eve of the murder, I did not notice these rust stains."

What a macabre mockery! These stains, it is the blood of her child. Is she completely unaware of it or does her mother's heart refuse to believe it? She alone knows, it is a mystery of pain.

74 Translation: But he [Judge Wagner] added "You started with an offence of the highest seriousness, a crime that is even more vile/loathsome since the victim was a woman incapable of defending herself."

75 Translation: Obviously flabbergasted by the attitude of the accused, the judge asked the young witness repeatedly to specify certain details of astounding declarations he was making.
The use of such an expansive vocabulary contributes to the development of the narrative of youth crime as random and predatory. So many of the terms used to describe youth crime do not convey knowledge, but rather suggest how the information that is provided should be interpreted. For example, does ‘an attack’ differ from ‘a violent attack’ or even ‘a vicious and brutal attack’? The added qualifiers serve to ensure that proper emphasis is given to the meaning of attack. They guarantee that the violence of the attack is not lost in the process of decoding the message.

Above were a few of the ways in which specific crimes and youth crime in general were characterized in the news coverage. Additionally, crimes of youth violence constitute a key area of interest in this research, as stated in the research questions, and youth violence is vigorously overrepresented in press coverage of youth crime, as seen in Chapter 5. It is therefore appropriate to give added attention to the narratives surrounding youth violence since such narratives were far more prevalent and detailed than those relating to non-violent types of offending.

iii) Prominence of narratives around violence: When it bleeds, it leads...

"When it bleeds, it leads" brings to mind the idea of violence and the suggestion that it will dominate the news coverage in quantity and/or quality. The overrepresentation of violence in the media is not a new concern. Violence is generally considered one of the criteria of newsworthiness (e.g., Hall et al., 1978; Surette, 1998a). I have observed this overrepresentation of violence in my data, and I discuss here the nature of those images present in the print media on young offenders.

Qualitative analysis of the headlines revealed elements of note in the coverage on young offenders. Of the 414 articles on the theme of violence that I retained for qualitative analysis, about three quarters of the headlines made some reference to violence. Clearly, if the headlines are meant to draw in readers, the element of violence
is part of that draw. This is further evidence of the significance of emphasizing the theme of violence, be it in headlines or through the use of various types of vocabulary discussed above.

Examination of the theme of violence in the coverage reveals the extent of the English vocabulary in particular, but also French to a certain extent, in respect to the words denoting violence.\footnote{See Boxes 4 and 5 in Appendix F.}

The most prominent evocation of violence in the coverage is what I refer to as murder-related vocabulary. Terms such as murder/meurtre, kill/tuer, death/mort and their derivatives and synonyms figured prominently in headlines. Some examples include these headlines:

- \textit{QUI EST LE MEURTRIER DE CE JEUNE GARCON?}\footnote{Translation: Who is the murderer of this young boy?} (PM, April 5, 1907b, p. 1)
- JOBLESS YOUTH, 18, SOUGHT IN MURDER OF 'NICE BLONDE' Beautiful Blonde Slain, Had 'Lots of Boy Friends' (TS, February 17, 1959, p. 1)
- I listened to him die: Teen (VP, December 13, 1995, p. A18)

The second type of discourse surrounding violence in the coverage is the use of violent action words such as shoot/tirer, beat/battre, and attack/attaquer. Violent action words were also quite frequently used in the headlines to indicate violence in a story. Some examples of these words as they were used in headlines in the sample follow:

- Gang seizes, hacks youth (VP, November 14, 1963, p. 6)
- \textit{Un camarade d'école avoue avoir enlevé et tué le petit Emmanuel à coups de gourdin}\footnote{Translation: A schoolmate admits having taken and bludgeoned the little Emmanuel to death} (PM, December 11, 1967, p. 51)
- Elderly sisters beaten, raped – 5 youths held (TS, May 26, 1971b, p. 69)
- Teen held after stabbing charged in scissor attack (TS, July 12, 1987, p. A3)
The theme of violence was also constructed through discourse emphasizing the consequences of violence. In reference to my heading "When it bleeds, it leads," blood is one symbolic, yet visible and tangible consequence of violence. Below are some examples from the sample illustrating the use of blood-related vocabulary to conjure up images of violence:

Headline: “Le sang de la maman va-t-il sauver le fils?”
Sub-Headline: “Madame Dupré se prête à une seconde transfusion. – La lutte contre la mort toujours terrible.” (PM, March 26, 1931b, p. 3)

His body was found lying in a pool of blood and shattered glass the next morning. [...] Police said at the time Chew’s body was covered with blood and it was obvious he had been severely beaten. (VP, February 18, 1959a, p. 1)

What started as a high-school romance ended here in a blood-soaked field as a man who was to face kidnapping charges this fall abducted the same girl and shot her to death before taking his own life. (VP, August 7, 1975, p. 1)

More specifically, news reporters used language related to injuries and death to invoke the consequences of violence. For example, in an article about a student who was stabbed at school by another youth trying to steal his Tommy Hilfiger jacket, police Sergeant John Kerk is quoted as describing the victim’s injuries as follows: “It is quite a cut and goes from just below his hair to the bottom of his chin” (TS, December 17, 1995, p. A3). The article is accompanied by a photograph of the youth’s face displaying his scar. An article reporting on another story stated:

The teenager is charged with criminal negligence causing bodily harm and aggravated assault which left the baby with a fractured skull, broken ribs and multiple bruises. The baby is in serious condition in the intensive care unit at the Hospital for Sick Children. (TS, July 9, 1987, p. A6)

As such, the consequences of violence are clearly laid out in a manner that is sufficiently graphic that no picture is needed. There were countless examples throughout the sample relating to the consequences of violence including more or less

79 Translation: Will the mom’s blood save the son? Mrs. Dupré lends herself to a second transfusion. – The fight against death is always terrible.
detailed accounts of injuries, as well as a few accounts of funerals held for victims who met a violent end.

The prominence of these narratives around violence serves to compel readers’ attention in a way that is quite memorable (see also Best, 1999). Graphic images, be they conjured from pictures or words, are more difficult to forget than are straight reports of facts, procedures, evidence or findings of guilt or innocence. By discussing crime in this manner, newspapers overrepresent violence not only in quantitative terms but in qualitative terms as well. Newspapers report on youth violence with greater frequency than other types of offences and with greater elaboration.

In this section, I have shown the ways in which newspapers portrayed offences committed by young people. The sensationalism in the coverage of youth crime was demonstrated here from a qualitative perspective, which accords with my quantitative evidence of simplification, decontextualization and overrepresentation of violence discussed in Chapter 5. The narratives of fear and of the random and predatory nature of youth crime and violence build upon each other. The result is an image of youth crime that cannot but serve to induce certain reactions from the reading public.

In the next section, I consider more closely the portrayals of the actors rather than their acts. I examined coverage of the young offenders, as individuals, to determine whether they too were portrayed as fearsome, random, predatory and violent.

B) Representations of young people who break the rules

In an attempt to distinguish between the offenders and the offences, I also analyzed portrayals of young people with respect to discussions of their level of responsibility as well as their personal characteristics and attitudes. Three distinct narratives emerged about young offenders. The first related to their degree of responsibility for their actions. The second narrative consisted of a dichotomization and
'othering' of offenders based on attributes such as age, gender, race and class. The third was more akin to a counter-narrative. It set out some characteristics of certain young offenders which might set them apart from the dominant narratives in a portrayal more likely to induce pity than fear.

**i) From boys to men: shifting the locus of responsibility**

One important shift in the representations of offenders noted was the shift from boys to men, which parallels shifting views of youth and youth justice over the course of the twentieth century. The discourse used in describing young people, particularly young men who represent the overwhelming majority of offenders in the sample, in the earlier part of the sample is in keeping with the protective, kindly father philosophy underpinning the Juvenile Delinquents Act that conceptualized juveniles as misguided children. While the classical approaches to justice were also prevalent in this early coverage, the portrayals of young people themselves had a much more benevolent tone.

In contrast, during the latter decades of the century, youths came to be viewed as being increasingly responsible and accountable for their behaviour under the Young Offenders Act and its successive amendments. Adult standards were applied to an ever-widening constituency of young offenders. This shift was more pronounced in the two anglophone newspapers. The change in the coverage also parallels what observers have noted in the public's and authorities' reactions to youth crime over this period (see, e.g., Bell, 2003; Boyle et al., 2002), as well as being contemporaneous with the increased attention to misbehaviour in the press since the 1950s noted in Chapter 5.

Overall, those two general trends (portraying young offenders first as misdirected children and, then, as increasingly responsible and accountable) also apply to female offenders in the sample; however, there were many gender-based differences between the depictions of girls and boys (see Chapter 9).
While the discourse used to designate offenders was not homogeneous at any given time, dominant discourses did emerge during different periods. Distinctions between the French and English languages occasionally make comparison somewhat awkward, but the general similarities and discrepancies are highlighted below.

Many of the words designating the offenders in this sample were terms that connote age, especially young age. Aside from age in number of years, reporters typically used fairly literal terms such as young/ youth/ jeune. They also employed the terms younger and youthful sporadically throughout the sample. The selection of different expressions to place greater or lesser emphasis on the age of the offenders contributes to the development of the narrative around their degree of responsibility. The use of the diminutive terms in the earlier half of the century is consistent with the JDA vision of delinquents as ‘misguided children,’ whereas the shift away from such language in the second half of the century also fits with the increasing levels of responsibility expected of young people. Referring to them as children when they are being held to higher and higher standards would be incongruent.

“Boy” and “girl” were also regularly employed much more in the anglophone newspapers than were their equivalents, garçon and fille, in La Presse. These designations peaked around the 1950s (boy) and 1960s (girl) and tapered off afterwards. There was a very frequent use of the term boy in the late 1990s surrounding the previously mentioned high profile cases of the Toopes and Lamarre murders by individuals aged 13 to 15 years old. Each of the six articles reporting on the Toopes murder case makes several references to the ages of the accused (VP, December 6, 1995, p. A46; PM, December 6, 1995, p. A1, A2; PM, December 8, 1995, p. A7; PM,

80 Box 6 in Appendix F outlines the different uses of age-related terminology in designating young people accused of crimes, contrasting diminutive terms such as boy, girl and child, with those emphasizing youth (young, teenager, student) and those de-emphasizing it (man, woman).
In this case, these recurrent references may have been made partially to circumvent the difficulty of reporting on three different individuals without being able to use their names. However, the four articles in *La Presse* did address that hurdle through the use of fictional names. The reports are replete with terms that remind the reader of the youthfulness of those accused of this violent crime: *jeune, adolescent, cadet, aîné, le plus jeune,* children, (little) boys, teen and a reference to nursery-rhymes. The use of so many diminutive terms is uncharacteristic of the 1990s where the tendency was to liken young offenders more to adults than to children. However, the young offenders in this particular case were exceptionally young compared to those in most of the other articles in the sample. Therefore, emphasizing their young age serves to highlight the contrast with the brutality of the murders of which they stand accused. As such, the late 1990s re-emergence of "boy," although it appears to be inconsistent with the 'boys to men' narrative, is compatible with the dominant narrative.

News writers frequently described offenders with the terms young people/jeunes gens. *Jeunes gens* was favoured in the earlier part of the century, up until approximately the mid-1960s, while "young people" was preferred in the later part of the century, from about the 1970s onward. *Jeune homme* was frequently used in *La Presse*, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Young woman/jeune femme was not employed often. The terms man and woman were used infrequently, primarily in the anglophone papers and in the last three decades of the twentieth century.

Other terms which would carry a connotation of young age include diminutive terms such as child, kid, little/petit, etc. The application of such terms was highest in

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81 Translations: youth, adolescent, the youngest, the oldest, the youngest.
82 Translation: young man
83 See Box 6 in Appendix F.
the first and last decades of the century, although these peaks are largely attributable to specific ongoing stories involving very young offenders, as in the case of the Toopes and Lamarre murders in the 1990s and the murder of Amédée Carrier in 1907. These diminutives were predominantly utilized in the earlier half of the century, with the exception of “kid” which became a popular word choice in the last 25 years of the study period. The terms lad, small, *gamin*, *fillette*, and *garçonnet*\(^{84}\) were mostly out of use from the mid-1950s onward. It was in *La Presse* that this type of term was mostly employed, again with the exception of “kid” in the last part of the century.

Both findings of the greater deployment of diminutives in the earlier decades of the century and in *La Presse* are consistent with the welfarist philosophy of the JDA. This philosophy was the dominant perspective during that period and the move away from it was more moderate in Québec than in the anglophone provinces, as Québec maintained youth justice integrated with its child welfare system (Corrado & Markwart, 1992; Trépanier, 1986) and youth court judges in Québec “have interpreted the YOA in a manner that has emphasized the limited accountability and rehabilitation of young persons and that has resulted in lower rates of custody use and transfer to adult court than elsewhere in Canada” (Bala, 1997: 66). These uses of diminutive terms are also consistent with the lesser responsibility attributed to young offenders in the earlier portion of the study period (“boys”) as opposed to later (“men”).

The second category of words describing offenders is what I have designated as legal terms – namely, the vocabulary of the criminal law and the criminal justice system. For example, in 1908, young people who came into conflict with the law were specifically designated as “juvenile delinquents” or “jeunes délinquants” following the enactment of the Juvenile Delinquents Act. In 1984, the same individuals were named “young

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\(^{84}\) Translations: mischievous or playful kid, small girl, small boy

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offenders" or "jeunes contrevenants" in law following the Young Offenders Act. The term "juvenile delinquent" and its components "juvenile" and "delinquent" were repeated in the sample, but "jeunes délinquants" was hardly seen at all. Juvenile delinquent was a common designation, gaining strength in the 1940s and remaining strong throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. It was not uncommon for those terms to be used in the 1980s and 1990s, even after the enactment of the Young Offenders Act in the early 1980s. The term young offender was found repeatedly in 1959, primarily in The Province, although for the most part it invoked the term post-YOA (i.e. 1980s and 1990s). The equivalent French term jeunes contrevenants was rarely applied at all and only in the late 1990s. This distinction is again in keeping with Québec's resistance to the toughening of the YOA, but it is perhaps also attributable to Québec's broader preference for social rather than legal solutions to problems with young people.

However, La Presse did make use of some of the other terms derived from the criminal justice system more than the anglophone newspapers, including such terms as accused, suspect, prisoner, convict and minor. While, as stated above, the legal terms "juvenile delinquent" and "young offender" were found more in the anglophone newspapers, these other criminal justice terms were seen more in La Presse. Among this type of terminology, journalists employed the term "accused" and its French equivalents most often. It was constantly applied throughout the study period, with peak use in the late 1950s and late 1990s. Reporters rarely applied the term "suspect" prior to the 1940s and only sporadically thereafter. Their use of the term "prisoner" peaked in the 1930s and there was resurgence in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The coverage of the Toopes murders in the sample consisted of six articles reporting on court proceedings. Therefore, it is not surprising that legal terminology

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85 See Box 7 in Appendix F for a complete list.
found its way into the coverage. The expressions used also reflect the fact that four of the six articles came from *La Presse*, which tended to favour the legal terminology more than did the anglophone papers. The reporters favoured the terms accused/accusé and their derivatives and also used *(présumé) complice* and *(présumés) meurtriers*.

The use of legal terminology contributes to the narrative of responsibility by reminding the reader of the gravity of the acts discussed and their consequences, which are to be borne by the individual(s) who committed them. The use of this language also exhibits a certain level of detachment between the reader and those about whom he or she is reading, though perhaps not to the same extent as the offence-related terms discussed below.

Another category of words describing offenders in the news related to them as individuals, describing their personal characteristics and attributes. An interesting trend was noted in the terms that referred to the individuals' badness of character, based largely on their act or acts. Newspapers did not portray the "bad boys and girls" to whom I refer in the dissertation title consistently throughout the study period. In the earlier part of the sample, primarily the 1900s to the 1950s, young people who broke the rules tended to be portrayed more as being naughty, described with such words as wayward, incorrigible, errant and dishonest, as exemplified here: "I have known the youths for many years and they have not given us much trouble. They are good boys, but they are a little mischievous," stated Sergt. Robert Weatherup" (TS, April 14, 1939b, p. 8).

Towards the middle of the century to the 1970s, there was a shift in this portrayal to an image of these same young people as more disruptive and deliberate in their

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86 Translations: (presumed) accomplice and presumed murderers.
badness. This transition was mostly noted in the two anglophone newspapers. The following examples illustrate this change:

...sterner measures will be taken against cocky, swaggering teenagers. [...] "If these brash swaggering youngsters think we will allow this they are terribly mistaken. We will not stand for the formation of these bands of young hoodlums. (TS, February 14, 1959, p. 49)

Then, in the last 20 to 30 years, this portrayal transformed again to an image of evil. Young people were described as evil, cruel, vicious, brutal, dangerous and menacing as well as laughing and bragging about their crimes. The shift was most pronounced in the 1990s. Such portrayals were predominantly found in the anglophone newspapers, as *La Presse* did not follow the crime control trend observed in the other two newspapers. Nevertheless, there were a few examples uncovered in *La Presse*, discussing crime in the U.S. and racist or other heinous attacks in Montréal, which did employ such terminology as well.

The coverage of the Toopes murder case also tended to vilify the youths by describing them as indifferent, unremorseful, bragging, joking, lying, brutal and violent. One article quoted prosecutor Louis Miville Deschenes stating "'People want to cling to the comforting nursery-rhyme view that little boys are made of snips and snails and puppy dog tails,' the prosecutor told Judge Lucie Rondeau. 'Sometimes boys are made up of baseball bats and beer bottles'" (TS, December 14, 1995, p. A19). However, in one instance, the reporter for *La Presse* did humanize youths by describing the testimony of one of them as "plus troublant que franchement repoussant" (PM, December 6, 1995, p. A1).

The shifting terminology used in characterizing young people who break the law is more thoroughly illustrated in Box 8 in Appendix F. It should also be noted that these changes occurred parallel to broader societal shifts as discussed in Chapter 2. The

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87 Translation: more troubling than frankly repulsive
transition from a welfare state, which serves its citizens and protects the most vulnerable in society, to a neo-liberal state, where market imperatives lead to increasing responsibilization of citizens for their own welfare, signals a change in the way we view those who break the law. This transformation in the representation of young offenders is in accordance with the neo-liberal attitude of holding young people more accountable for their behaviour.

Therefore, the transition through these worsening depictions of young people’s personal characteristics and attributes is consistent with the temporal shifts in the narrative of responsibility outlined above. In the earlier half of the century, when the law considered them as "misguided children," the media portrayed youths in a more forgiving manner. In the later half of the century, as legal discourse moved towards higher levels of responsibility and accountability, the representation of young people who broke the law became less and less sympathetic.

Incidentally, the youth "bulge" of the baby boomers hit its peak in the 1970s. The links between such portrayals and calls for action on youth crime appear obvious. As the image of youth becomes more threatening, we may become willing to escalate the level of repression in order to protect ourselves from the perceived menace. If we contrast this shift in portrayals with the variations in official homicide rates (the most empirically valid of any crime statistics), which have been generally on a decline since the mid-1970s (CCJS, 1999: 200), and the youth homicide rates, which were relatively stable from 1987 to 1999 (CCJS, 1999: 208, 2001: 19), an important disjuncture must be noted between media portrayals of youth crime and the official statistics, as noted in Chapter 5 as well.

My findings accord with those of Golding (2001) who found that Vancouver Sun portrayals of youth homicide between 1960 and 1999 also reflected the prevailing models of juvenile justice as they changed over the course of that period.
In sum, I found that the newspapers portrayed young offenders in ways which were consistent with the dominant legal paradigms. The media and legal perspectives shifted similarly over the entire study period from the welfare orientation of the JDA in the early century to the increasing levels of responsibility and accountability in the last decades of the twentieth century. The differences between the francophone and anglophone newspapers were also reflective of the distance between Québec and English Canada as far as youth justice is concerned. La Presse’s representation tended to be more sympathetic toward young people, less vilifying, less repressive. In terms of these historical shifts and disparities between the francophone and anglophone newspapers, we can see some degree of relationship between media representations and the “realities” of youth crime and justice.

ii) The narrative of the criminal as “other”

In addition to the construction of criminals as predatory “others” through the description of their offences as such, distinct narratives emerged in the construction of criminal youths as “others.” This was done in particular through racializing offenders, referring to them through offence-related terms and the designation of “recidivist.”

Individual identities are generally shaped by race, class, gender and age, although they are not limited to these social constructs. As indicated in the statistical overview in Chapter 5, news reports did not disclose information on each of these variables to the same extent (see Table 5-6).

This vast discrepancy in the sample between the disclosure of gender and age as opposed to race and class may in part be an artefact of the ways in which we come to know about individuals’ gender, age, race and class in general, such as through appearance, name, age, occupation, address and other information that is more or less
readily available about individuals. Race and class are certainly as relevant as age and gender in discussing youth crime, despite their somewhat different levels of self-evidence and permeability. However, research shows that "race" is much more often indicated when the offender (and/or victim) is not white (Dubinsky & Givertz, 1999; Henry & Tator, 2002; van Dijk, 1991). Also, if reporters are relying on some stereotyped "commonsense" assumptions about offenders or criminal "others," then it may not be necessary to mention the race and class of the individual.

The indications of race and class given in the news items were generally either quite cryptic, requiring attention to detail and a certain level of knowledge on the part of the reader in order to decode that information (as in mentioning an address, school, name or coded racial identifications), or they were quite blatant (as in using racial epithets, photographs or stating skin colour). Even when indications were explicit, the racist imputations were almost always implicit. These insinuations in the coverage raise the question as to what the audience will infer from this lack of information. Graber (1980) found that, regardless of the actual information about race, class and age provided in news items, readers tended to remember mostly the information that fit within their own pre-existing stereotyped views about crime and criminals (see also Schissel, 2006 on the issue of race and class in coverage). We cannot presume, however, that assumptions made by readers will be uniform across all segments of the audience, over time and between different locations.

The inclusion of information about a young offender's race or class was usually brought into the article by the reporter, not through quotation from other sources.

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88 The difference may also be explained by the ways in which I attributed these indicators in my sample. Gender was often disclosed by a person's given name or by the use of gendered pronouns in the article. Ability to ascertain age (or approximate age or age group) was a key factor in defining whether articles were included in the sample; therefore, those articles which were included necessarily provided some information, however vague, about age.
Another question raised by the explicit and implicit indications about race and class related to the process of encoding. What does the reporter intend by including this information in some instances but not in others? Is it not a suggestion to the reader that race, for example, constitutes a relevant piece of information in this case? Although the research raises these questions, it is unable to answer them.

The two most frequently identified visible minority groups were Indian/Native or Cree or Inuit and Black/Negro/coloured. In the stories where Aboriginal race was identified, it tended to be repeated more than once in the story. In one story in The Province bearing the headline "Halfbreed girl free," the young woman is identified as "the most beautiful halfbreed girl in Alaska." She is charged with murdering her mother, "an Indian woman," with the help of "an Indian suitor" (VP, May 3, 1911, p. 18). In each of two stories in La Presse about three Native youths accused of murder, the youths are identified by race four times. The first article bears the headline: "Trois jeunes Indiens suspectés de meurtre" (PM, February 9, 1979, p. D12). Other designations used in those two articles include “trois jeunes gens de Caughnawaga,” "tous d’origine indienne,” “trois jeunes résidants de la réserve indienne de Caughnawaga” (PM, February 9, 1979, p. D12), “un[deux] Amérindien[s] de la réserve de Caughnawaga,” and “le jeune Amérindien” (PM, February 15, 1979a, p. A3). This type of repetition was also present in a series of articles in The Toronto Star about a young Sikh man accused of murdering a police officer. In all three articles, the headlines identify him only as “Sikh” (TS, May 10, 1983, p. A8; May 11, 1983a, p. A17; May 12, 1983b, p. D23). In the first article, he is referred to as "dark-skinned," wearing “a ceremonial dagger, the kirpan" and the article also provides the following information which is irrelevant to the crime

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89 Translation: Three young Indians suspected of murder
90 Translations: three young people from Caughnawaga, all of Indian origin, three young residents of the Caughnawaga Indian reserve
91 Translations: an[two] Amerindian[s] from the Caughnawaga reserve, the young Amerindian
with which he is charged: "speaking through a Punjabi interpreter" and meeting a man to "discuss an arranged marriage with a girl in India" (TS, May 10, 1983, p. A8 – emphasis added). In the third article, the word Sikh is repeatedly used to refer to the young man and his community. A friend of the accused and witness at the trial is described as having "appeared in court in a brilliant blue religious costume with a silver band and medallion around his turban, white leggings, and bright yellow sash" (TS, May 11, 1983a, p. A17). Again, such information has no bearing on the witness' testimony being reported.

A number of the articles racially identifying offenders as Black or Negro or coloured were stories from the United States. In 1911 and 1935, three articles reported on "negro" youths, accused of crimes against (presumably) white people, being lynched. Other stories about problems in "Negro slums" and fights between "Negro" and white youths also came from the United States.

Virtually the only instance where "white" individuals were racially identified in the news item texts was when they were involved in fights with individuals of another racial group. For example, in August 1975, The Toronto Star ran four articles reporting on conflicts arising in the public housing neighbourhood of Jamestown Crescent in Etobicoke, Ontario. Fights between black and white youths were described at length with frequent identifications of youthful offenders and victims according to skin colours of black or white.

The fundamental problem in excluding race and class from the basic information provided about an individual is that it precludes considering those factors in assessing the situation. Of course, not everyone will decode such information in the same way. For some, inclusion of information about race would confirm pre-existing beliefs about who the "criminal" is (see also Graber, 1980). Nonetheless, excluding information about race and class prevents the writer from drawing structural elements into his or her
analysis and it prevents the reader from inferring those same structural elements in understanding the information and relating it to existing maps of meaning (Hall et al., 1978: 54). However, the habitual exclusion of race brings added emphasis to the inclusion of that information whenever it does occur, thus reinforcing the stereotype of the criminal other (see Hall, 1997b; Schissel, 2006).

The use of the racial markers, particularly those referring to visible minorities, was almost exclusively observed when the offences discussed were of a very violent nature. This propensity too poses a problem when we consider the impact such coverage might have on the social construction of the racialized young offender. For example, Wortley (2002) as well as Dubinsky and Givertz (1999) have pointed out the ways in which attributions about crime causation are made differently in the news based on the race of the offender.

In contrast, white young offenders were hardly ever identified racially and in instances where they were, it was usually in connection with fights against a visible minority group. Also, the racial or ethnic motivations underlying some of those fights were often brushed off when white young offenders were the attackers, through the use of quotes from police or judges. For example, in one case involving fights between two groups of French-Canadian and Jewish youths, the judge brushed aside any racial tensions by stating that the fight was merely about girls and dancing (PM, September 29, 1943a, p. 3, 27). In another example involving inter-racial fights at Pickering High School, a police detective contradicted the parents' assertions that the fights were racially motivated (TS, December 10, 1995, p. A2). These examples and others of race as an explanation for youth crime are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

Aside from racialization of offenders, offenders can also be othered through the use of offence-related vocabulary, such as thief, murderer, assailant, etc. This practice tends to dehumanize the young people to whom the terms refer, by tying their entire
identity to the act for which they have come into conflict with the law and, by extension, with society.92

The usage of such terminology was not consistent across the three papers. For example, the French equivalent of the term thief, voleur, as well as the term bandit were both found more in La Presse than English equivalents in the other two newspapers combined, although the distribution of offences did not indicate more thefts being reported in La Presse than the other newspapers. Terms which were seen more in The Province than the other two newspapers include hoodlum, thug, arsonist and those terms around drug use, abuse and trafficking. The increased use of “hoodlum” and “thug” presents an interesting conundrum. Like “criminal,” these are not terms which refer uniquely to one type of offence as are most of the others. These terms were often combined with others and described individuals taking part in a wide variety of offences ranging from armed robbery to Hallowe’en pranks. As for “arsonist,” the difference is best explained by the presence of more than double the number of arson offences being reported in The Province compared to the two other newspapers. With respect to reporting on drug-related offences, these tended to be present in The Province in higher than average proportion; however, there were still many more articles in The Toronto Star reporting on such offences. Aside from “gunman,” none of the terms appear to have received disproportionate use in The Toronto Star.

The deployment of these offence-related terms also varied over time with certain words coming into greater popularity during specific periods and then falling out of usage at other times. For example, the term “bandit” started being seen with some degree of frequency in the 1930s and 1940s in all three newspapers. It is noteworthy that this period followed the American Prohibition and the Great Depression era of the 1920s and

92 See Box 9 in Appendix F for a list of terms describing young people based on their offences.
1930s when such individuals as Al Capone, "Machine Gun" Kelly, John Dillinger, "Baby Face" Nelson, "Pretty Boy" Floyd and Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow repeatedly attracted news coverage in the U.S. and Canada, often being referred to as "bandits" and "gangsters," among other things. As such, the term "bandit" would fit with what Hall et al. (1978: 54) refer to as a recurrent theme, one of the criteria of newsworthiness. Therefore, by invoking the term "bandit" the reporters could conjure up a previously defined problem and associate this new event to that theme, thus presumably making it more easily understood (i.e. decoded) by the reader. The term "bandit" fell almost entirely out of use from the 1960s on, thus illustrating Hall et al.'s notion that stories follow cycles of newsworthiness.

The use of "gang" and appellations derived from it started around the same time period as "bandit" but were found a bit more frequently in the late 1950s and early 1960s. They continued to appear occasionally after that with a greater surge in use in the 1990s in *La Presse* and The Toronto Star. The terms hoodlums/voyous and thugs were also most concentrated around the 1940s to early 1960s, with only occasional mentions before and after that period. The terms thief/voleur, burglar/cambrioleur were used consistently throughout the entire study period.

Terms referring to individuals having committed an act of murder were found predominantly in the first half of the century in *The Province*, while they were more prevalent in the second half of the century in both *La Presse* and The Toronto Star. This divergence again cannot be explained by variations in the number of articles covering murders during different periods in the three newspapers. Perhaps the *sub judice* rule limiting news coverage or preventing presumption of guilt could have rendered newspapers more aware of the implications of the terms used (see Hall et al., 1978: 67).

In a few cases, individuals were referred to, particularly in headlines, by some attention-grabbing name, usually media-generated. This practice is largely related to
what Barak (1994) has referred to as the criminal as media icon, one of the most common themes of everyday crime news coverage. Barak argues that the media “create” iconic individuals and reports about them become news staples. Some examples of this phenomenon include “the Raffles Gang” (VP, April 4, 1907, p. 19), the “Silk Stocking Gang” (VP, November 28, 1935, p. 18), the “Numbers Gang” (TS, June 9, 1947a, p. 1), “The Point Grey Molester” (VP, February 24, 1959b, p. 25), the “Teddy Boys” (PM, February 25, 1959, p. 38), and “Le suspect du metro”\textsuperscript{93} (PM, July 12, 1987, p. B9).

In a couple of cases, individuals were compared to high profile criminals in headlines and text referrals such as these: headline: “Vol de $400 chez Morgan par une émule de 'Molly,'”\textsuperscript{94} followed by “Une autre émule [sic] de 'Molly-la-Mitraillette'”\textsuperscript{95} (PM, December 14, 1967, p. 13) and the headline “Bonnie et Clyde de neuf ans”\textsuperscript{96} (PM, May 4, 1983b, p. F10) described as “Bonnie et Clyde miniatures”\textsuperscript{97} in the article. In a few articles, the individual’s actual name would be given in the headline, typically in cases which attracted much media attention. This was the case with names such as Bachand, associated with FLQ\textsuperscript{98} bombings (PM, November 30, 1963, p. 6), as well as Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, linked to the shooting at Columbine High School (TS, September 14, 1999a, p. F2). In the latter two examples, the fact that the individuals were dead may have been a factor in publicizing their names.

Other descriptors used in referring to a young person’s character included relatively frequent mentions of criminal records or lack thereof. Young people were also

\textsuperscript{93} Translation: The subway suspect
\textsuperscript{94} Translation: $400 theft from Morgan’s by a ‘Molly’ emulator
\textsuperscript{95} Translation: Another emulator of Machine Gun Molly
\textsuperscript{96} Translation: Nine-year-old Bonnie and Clyde
\textsuperscript{97} Translation: miniature Bonnie and Clyde
\textsuperscript{98} Note: FLQ refers to the Front de libération du Québec, a separatist/nationalist (terrorist) group active from 1963 to 1970, best known for their role in the October Crisis of 1970, including many bombings, the kidnapping of James Cross and the kidnapping and murder of Pierre Laporte.
referred to as “first offenders,” “hardened criminals” and “récidiviste.” These references were typically found in police and courts columns, where such information would be provided in assessing the level of responsibility and blame as well as the perceived adequacy of dispositions and sentences, as seen in these examples:

Croft and Hayes were sent to jail for from three to twelve months, whilst Colby, whose previous record is a good one, was placed in charge of the probation officer. (TS, October 31, 1923, p. 3)

The elder boy has quite a record for his little index card shows that starting in 1923, when he was only 9 years old, he has faced a dozen charges of theft, shop breaking, trespassing and truancy registered against him. (TS, July 6, 1927, p. 1)

Lapointe, un récidiviste endurci malgré son jeune âge, avait déjà été condamné à six reprises différentes, dans le passé, pour les délits les plus divers. (PM, March 8, 1955, p. 3)

When news writers employ terms identifying individuals by offence-related designations, it contributes to the image of young offenders as other. The narrative of criminal as other is developed through the repeated use of language which distances the reader from those about whom he or she is reading. Tying the individual’s identity to terms such as ‘murderer’ or ‘thief’ obscures other aspects of their identity, such as son, daughter, brother, sister, or any positive attributes they may have in common with the reader (see Becker, 1963).

Overall, the othering of young offenders through racialization or through designations relating to their offences or criminal records tended to portray them unfavourably. In the worst cases, news reports painted young offenders as dangerous others who should be feared and hated (see also Smandych, 2001b: xv). In contrast, some reports portrayed young offenders more like victims of circumstances as discussed below.

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99 Translation: recidivist/second offender/habitual offender
100 Translation: Lapointe, a hardened recidivist despite his young age, had already been found guilty on six different occasions, in the past, for a wide range of offences.
iii) Counter-narrative: The few we need not fear and hate

Some articles portrayed young people as objects more of pity than of fear and loathing. Positive character references were occasionally reported, perhaps to elicit sympathy for the youth. Youths who exhibited remorse for their actions and/or were reported as crying in court also tended to be portrayed as pitiful rather than dangerous. However, the more typical sympathetic portrayals of youth came when their actions were seen to be somehow beyond their own control, or when they had purportedly acted under the influence of fear or panic, and/or had been used or abused by adults.

Some positive character references were made, primarily in The Toronto Star, but these were rather uncommon. For example, in one article, a judge reportedly expressed "belief in the prisoner's truthfulness, his manly actions and his wonderfully patient and reserved mien" (TS, January 12, 1903, p. 1). A different article mentioned the "exemplary character" of a youth accused (TS, July 6, 1927, p. 1) and another youth was described as "of prior good character" (TS, September 17, 1943, p. 2). In a couple of articles about a youth accused of the murder of a woman who lived in the same rooming house as he did, the youth was variously described as "Good Boy" (in headline), "good kid" (twice), "neat and clean and thrifty," "a good worker and cheerful" (TS, February 18, 1959, p. 1), "one of the most popular persons in the reserve army unit," "a clean cut lad, quiet and unassuming," and "a teetotaller and sober" (TS, February 19, 1959b, p.1). Some links are apparent between these positive characterizations and assumptions about the extent to which the youth in question seemed to adhere to norms of gender, sexuality, family life and morality (see Chapter 9).

In other instances, offending youths were themselves portrayed as the pawns of adults (or more experienced youths) who had corrupted, seduced, exploited or otherwise influenced them to misbehave. In such cases, the relative innocence of the youth was emphasized, thus depicting their worst offence as the desire for freedom or being naïve.
In contrast, the guilt of adults who had led them astray was stressed in the media portrayals as it was in law. Section 33 of the JDA stated that adults could be held liable for contributing to the delinquency of a minor and provided for punishment accordingly. In the news sample, there were a few examples of girls who had run away with (older) men, gotten married and/or pregnant and then found themselves alone. The coverage described the men as having taken advantage of the girls' innocence, as well as being perverted and lecherous. This corresponds with the way such men were treated by the courts (see Chunn, 1990).

One particularly bizarre story involved a boy facing charges for a murder purportedly committed while under the influence of his uncle. The item reported

The man is Arthur Covell, widely known astrologer. He is alleged to have hypnotized Alton Covell, 16, and forced the boy to kill his stepmother, Mrs. Fred Covell, by holding a cloth saturated in ammonia over her face. (TS, October 13, 1923, p. 1)

This depiction of youths as pawns also occurred when a number of sources provided positive commentary about the offender, pointing to the exceptional circumstances surrounding the crime and how things may have gotten 'out of hand.' The choice of sources for such portrayals played a key role in determining the image that is rendered in the coverage. One example was an item about Kathleen Boyle, "Toronto's first girl bandit," who upon release from prison returned to live with her parents. The parents were the primary sources used in the construction of the story and, as such, provided a very narrow and positive image of their daughter. She was portrayed as the victim of her brother-in-law. The father stated "The noose is too good for that devil who got her mixed up in that trouble" (TS, March 9, 1931, p. 30).

Another relevant example comes from a series of articles about the inquest into the shooting of Drew Thor Carlsen by a police officer during a standoff with police while he was holding his former friend (and ex-girlfriend's boyfriend) hostage (TS, May 3,
1983, p. A14; May 4, 1983, p. A19; May 5, 1983, p. D24; May 6, 1983, p. A3; May 7, 1983, p. A11; May 10, 1983, p. A1, A4; A7). Carlsen's inner turmoil at the time of the offence was discussed at length, along with how he felt betrayed by his friends, particularly the one taken hostage, and what a great friend and son he was. Aside from the Carlsen family lawyer, many of the sources were people who were close to Carlsen. The police officer's actions in shooting him were questioned repeatedly; all other courses of action that should or might have been taken were considered. Carlsen's death was attributed to the "Old West style showdown" blamed more on the police behaviour than on Carlsen's. Descriptions of Carlsen included one friend stating "'You couldn't have a better friend in the world than Thor Carlsen,' 22-year-old Peter Tatulis told the inquest yesterday. 'He was the kind of guy who would give you the last nickel in his pocket or the shirt off his back" (TS, May 5, 1983, p. D24). His parents described him as "a warm generous youth who hardly resembled the angry gunman who fired more than 100 shots before he was killed" (TS, May 6, 1983, p. A3) and his family's lawyer added he was "normally a warm and sensitive teen" (TS, May 7, 1983, p. A11). The portrayal of Carlsen as a victim succeeds largely because of the use of more Carlsen-friendly sources than police sources.

These few depictions of young people which are inconsistent with the more prevalent narratives of responsibility and othering serve as exceptions which prove the rule. By singling out specific circumstances where young people who break the law can be seen as weak, vulnerable or pitiful, newspapers suggest to their readers that these cases are exceptional and that the majority of youths are not like that. It negates vulnerability as a common characteristic of youth.

In sum, clearly, these various designations used in referring to young people who come into conflict with the law do not all have the same significance. Becker (1963: 33), borrowing from Everett Hughes, defined "master status" as one which would "override all
other statuses and have a certain priority.” This notion aids us in assessing the great disparity between referring to an individual as juvenile delinquent, murderer or thief, and calling him or her a boy, girl or young person. Of even greater import is Becker’s warning about the impact of labelling people with a deviant master status: “Treating a person as though he were generally rather than specifically deviant produces a self-fulfilling prophecy. It sets in motion several mechanisms which conspire to shape the person in the image people have of him” (1963: 34). Labelling theorists are particularly concerned about the effects of labelling young people, as the consequences are long term. Sadly, out of 1937 articles examined, only two referred to the young people as ‘human beings.’

C) Representations of victims of youth crime

This section explores the representations of victims of youth crime in the coverage and considers their influence on portrayals of youthful offenders and their crimes. When victims are presented as credible, the result is often that the offender appears less credible. Discussed in the following pages are the narrative themes that emerged from the texts concerning victims. Like those of offenders, portrayals of victims tended to be dichotomized into good and bad. Certain characteristics and/or actions of the victims were emphasized in an attempt to depict them as deserving or undeserving of sympathy. The news reports frequently used the experience and impact of victimization in order to sensationalize the story; however, victims themselves were infrequently quoted to represent their own experience.

i) Deserving and undeserving victims

The construction of victims as ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ of sympathy (‘innocent’ and ‘culpable’) has been highlighted in some of the media research literature,
as have the problems associated with those constructions, particularly in the area of
violence against women (see, e.g., Benedict, 1992; Madriz, 1997; Meyers, 1997; see
also Adamoski, 1995, on 'deserving' and 'undeserving' families in terms of the welfare
state; Gans, 1995, on the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor). I observed such
constructions in the coverage studied here. It is noteworthy, too, that the constructions
of victims as deserving featured prominently among those stories which received front-
page coverage, while the constructions of victims as non-deserving were hardly ever
front-page material. The areas where distinctions between deserving and non-deserving
victims are generally made revolve around certain attributes of the victims and their
behaviour, as well as the (lack of) credibility of the accused.

First, the characteristics of the victims described in the statistical analysis (age,
gender, race and class) were also used in distinguishing between those victims who
were portrayed as deserving of sympathy and those who were not. The 'deserving'
victims were more often very young or very old. Such victims would be referred to as
poor/pauvre or little/petit and allusions were occasionally made to martyrdom. On the
other hand, a girl who was older and/or more mature than her attacker could be
portrayed as undeserving of sympathy, as in this example:

...Malcolm Armstrong, a boy of 16 years, sat in the prisoner's dock, charged with
an assault on Ismea Plunkett, in the Township of Vaughan. Miss Plunkett is a
girl of 17 years of age, and of average size. Armstrong is slight.
Justice MacMabon in his address to the jury said the case of Joseph and
Potiphar's wife\textsuperscript{101} had been quoted. [...] He told the jury to give the prisoner the
benefit of the "slightest" doubt. (TS, January 14, 1903, p. 9)

Such depictions appear to tie in to the victims' perceived (lesser) vulnerability. However,
in most cases, women, disabled and ill people were more generally portrayed as
deserving victims because of this apparent helplessness.

\hspace{1cm}\textsuperscript{101} Note: Refers to a biblical story in which Potiphar's wife set out to seduce Joseph, a servant of
the family. When Joseph refused to "do wrong," Potiphar's wife falsely accused him of rape.
For women, in particular, conformity to gendered stereotypes of innocence, purity and vulnerability featured prominently in news reports. For example, the case of the murder of Stephanie Lysyk is a perfect illustration of the victim deserving of sympathy. In February 1959, The Toronto Star ran three articles about the murder of a 31-year-old woman in a boarding house in the middle of the night, with the prime suspect being a young man who was also a boarder there, Charles Edward "Johnny" Bell (TS, February 17, 1959, p. 1, 3; TS, February 18, 1959, p. 1; TS, February 19, 1959b, p. 1). The victim, Stephanie Lysyk, was believed to have been struck on the head with a pop bottle and to have died as a result of strangulation.

The dominant portrayal of the victim in this case typifies the characteristics of the sympathetic victim who is sure to garner the compassion of readers. The first two articles were accompanied by multiple photographs of the victim and of sources quoted in the article as well as one of the boy charged with her murder. The articles described her as a nice, quiet, hardworking girl. The articles, accompanied by photographic evidence, emphasized her beauty.

This representation of the victim demonstrates that, as with offenders, victims’ conformity to gender norms plays a large part in determining who is and is not conceived of as credible and deserving of sympathy (see also Chapter 9). In addition, mothers and pregnant women appeared to possess this ‘untouchable’ quality, whereby some offences against other women were not portrayed as carrying as much weight as offences against mothers. Mothers were typically described in terms of their children, thus making the children victims by proxy. In contrast, men were not shown as vulnerable and their behaviour was often described in such a way as to ward off any sympathy for their victimization. For example, abusive or very strict fathers were not depicted in a positive light when they were the victims of some kind of vengeful violence on the part of their children or step-children. In one article, the deceased male victim is
described as “the bearded 200 pound architect” (emphasizing the victim’s masculinity, adulthood, size, and professional status) and it is twice reported that the defence contends “The four [accused] youths were caught up in a tragic situation that could have been avoided if the two men [one of whom is the victim] had acted in a more reasonable manner” (TS, December 14, 1967b, p. 28; December 15, 1967, p. 27). Together, these statements serve to blur the victim-offender boundaries which are usually much more defined in the coverage.

In terms of race, whiteness was occasionally associated with sympathetic victims, being directly raised in a few cases, but usually conveyed through photographs. Stereotypes of beauty were also present in these depictions. For example, in the story mentioned above, Stephanie Lysyk was a beautiful blond woman with blue eyes and this information was repeatedly pointed out in the first two articles about her murder. In fact, the first article featured a very large photograph of her lovely face on the front page and the caption underscored that she was “a good-looking blue-eyed blonde.” The headlines and sub-headlines of the first two articles reiterated her beauty and blue-eyed blondness four times and this information was repeated four more times in the article texts (TS, February 17, 1959, p. 1, 3; TS, February 18, 1959, p. 1).

Racial and ethnic minority group victims were portrayed as deserving of sympathy only when the type of offence against them was one explicitly motivated by racism. The same was also sometimes true of homosexual victims. For example, a series of articles in La Presse addressed some attacks by a group of skinhead youths in Montréal’s so-called gay village. A number of gay, Black and Arab victims were mentioned. One of the victims was featured in a photograph, with his shirt unbuttoned in order to display the bandages on his chest. He also had a bandage above one eye. He was quoted in the photo caption and in the article text as saying “Ça peut arriver à
In the days that followed the initial reports, other items addressed the question of these attacks. One headline read "Les tribunaux doivent être plus sévères à l'égard des jeunes agresseurs racistes" (PM, January 16, 1991, p. A16). Another article quoted the judge stating "Je m'inquiète beaucoup, a dit le juge Polak. Si leur mission dans la vie est d'attaquer les gens de couleur, je suis inquiet. Je suis moi-même immigrant," a ajouté le magistrat, qui est d'origine néerlandaise (PM, January 17, 1991, p. A11). Furthermore, racial minority and homosexual victims were rarely, if ever, featured among the front-page stories, even when they were portrayed as victims – a trend which is consistent with the findings of Wortley (2002) and Henry and Tator (2002).

Racial minority and homosexuality, however, were generally characteristics used to portray victims as undeserving of sympathy. When mention of these traits was entirely irrelevant to the story, it can be argued that bringing up such information contributes to the process of 'othering' (Henry & Tator, 2002; Meyers, 1997; van Dijk, 1991) and, thus, makes the victim appear less deserving of sympathy. For example, it was unclear why the bolded terms below were included in the news coverage:

A Currie, a young lad from the West End, was summoned to court this morning on a charge of throwing stones at a Chinaman. (VP, April 16, 1907, p. 10)

Headline: "DUTCH YOUTH DIES FOLLOWING FIGHT" ... It is alleged by police that the youths got into a fight with Bosch [victim], a Hollander, who has been in Canada only a year, and his companion, B. Rhenenger, who is being held at North Bend as a material witness. (VP, July 25, 1927, p. 22)

Recherche pour le meurtre crapuleux du fils d'un homme d'affaires d'origine vietnamienne [...]
... s’en serait violemment pris au jeune Vietnamiens...\textsuperscript{105} (PM, January 15, 1991, p. A9)

As far as the socio-economic status of victims goes, the indicator most frequently used in portrayals of victims as deserving and undeserving was occupation. However, when certain occupations were portrayed as more deserving of sympathy, it was due not to their economic status but rather to two other factors: the perceived greater vulnerability of people exercising those occupations or the ideological perception of them as ‘untouchable.’ These occupations were messengers, taxi drivers, police officers, prosecutors, judges, military personnel, teachers, students, and clergy.

Offences against victims who knew the offenders or had a relationship with them (particularly family, friends or relationships of trust like a babysitter or a teacher) tended to be portrayed as more odious, except in cases where a young person was retaliating against an abusive parent or step-parent. Information about such a relationship was often highlighted, as was the case in these three headlines:

BEAT UP HIS OWN FATHER GETS TWO MONTHS IN JAIL (TS, April 4, 1939, p. 36)

ROBS PAL TO DANCE BUT LANDS IN CELL (TS, April 27, 1939b, p. 39)

Babysitter charged (VP, July 10, 1987, p. 18)

Individuals who were in the public eye, typically members of the middle and upper classes, and their families were also portrayed favourably. Victims such as the daughter of Vancouver multi-millionaire Jim Pattison, the niece by marriage of Winston Churchill, boxer Buddy Pearson, actors Sal Mineo and Richard Niquette were featured in the sample and portrayed as victims worthy of mention. There was generally much attention paid to this special status of the victims in the coverage, although such

\textsuperscript{105} Translation: Sought for the foul/villainous murder of the son of a Vietnamese businessman [...] seems to have violently attacked the young Vietnamese...
information may not have been of the greatest significance in terms of reporting on the
offence, as evidenced in bold in the excerpts below:

Here is the story police give about the death of Pearson, who won prominence in
tournaments throughout the Pacific Northwest while boxing for the
Police Mutual Benevolent Association: ... (VP, March 5, 1955b, p. 2 – with
boxing pose photo of Pearson on p. 1)

Pearson, a boxer for about seven years fought here often and in other
Pacific Northwest centres. He won many titles and in 1952 captured the
Canadian amateur flyweight championship. (VP, March 7, 1955, p. 8)

Trois ans et un jour après que l’acteur Sal Mineo eut été poignardé dans
le garage de son immeuble, un ancien livreur de pizza [...] a été trouvé coupable
du meurtre. [...] Sal Mineo avait été mis en nomination pour des Oscars, à la suite de
sa participation à Rebel Without a Cause et Exodus. Il avait été la vedette
de films comme Dino, Crime in the Streets et Giant.106 (PM, February 15,
1979b, p. A3)

An eighth person has been charged in the kidnapping last month of the
daughter of millionaire businessman Jimmy Pattison. [...] Pattison, 62, is the former chairman of the Expo 86 world’s fair in
Vancouver. (TS, January 12, 1991, p. C20)

Other descriptions of deserving victims included respectable, innocent, nice,
popular, quiet, unassuming, hardworking, polite, and sober. Such characteristics were
generally emphasized a great deal, repeated within articles and from one article to the
next when there was a follow-up. One example portraying a victim as deserving of
sympathy concerned a 10-year-old boy who was shot while riding his bicycle. Two
articles, one in each of the anglophone newspapers, described the victim as “the nicest
and most inoffensive lad you could meet” and quoted a neighbour as stating “It’s not as
though young Steve was a showoff or anything. Nobody had a bad word for him. I think

106 Translation: Three years and a day after actor Sal Mineo was stabbed in the garage of his
apartment building, a former pizza delivery person [...] was found guilty of his murder. [...] Sal Mineo had been nominated for Oscars, following his involvement in Rebel
Without a Cause and Exodus. He had starred in films such as Dino, Crime in the Streets, and Giant.
it's just sad that it was him. It could have been anybody walking on the street at that time" (VP, May 30, 1983b, p. B1; TS, May 30, 1983, p. A11).

Conversely, imputations of victims' bad character often served to discredit them and depict them as perhaps, if not deserving of their victimization, at least less than blameless. For instance, in the extensive coverage, discussed above, of the 1907 murder of Amédée Carrier with his own pocket knife discussed above, the shift between portrayals of Carrier as an innocent or culpable victim was premised on imputations about his character. Some reports painted him as the poor, little, innocent child victim who had no enemies and was practically the sole support of his mother (PM, April 8, 1907b, p. 12; PM, April 13, 1907c, p. 16), while others made him out to be an unpleasant, difficult young man whose mother had intended to send to reform school (PM, April 5, 1907b, p. 9).

In sum, certain characteristics of victims were highlighted in the coverage and served to convey the notion that they might be more (or less) deserving of sympathy. In the case of victims who were less deserving, the focus was sometimes on their behaviour or their role in bringing about the circumstances which led to their victimization, as discussed next.

ii) The narrative of victim precipitation

Among the representations of victims which cast them in an unfavourable light were a set of narratives suggesting that the victim was somehow not entirely blameless in their own victimization. Such implications were drawn on the basis of the victims' personal characteristics, behaviour, lifestyle, gang membership or involvement in other criminal activities and the circumstances of the crime.

Victims who were shown to be unintelligent (i.e. having been duped), lacking credibility (i.e. providing incomplete accounts of their victimization) or mentally
challenged were not portrayed sympathetically. For example, in reference to a victim of indecent assault (originally rape), *La Presse* indicated "La victime était une adolescente de 15 ans manifestement faible d’esprit"\(^{107}\) (PM, November 20, 1963b, p. 15). The reporter also justified the depiction of the victim as undeserving of sympathy by quoting the defence counsel's contention that "il y avait eu, de la part de la victime elle-même, un ‘certain consentement’"\(^{108}\) (PM, November 20, 1963b, p. 15).

Behaviours that were used to cast victims in a negative light included drinking, fighting, involvement in crime and/or membership in a gang. People who died or were seriously injured as the result of an altercation or street fight or gang rivalry were hardly ever portrayed as sympathetic victims.

For example, in 1999, both English-language newspapers reported that a 13-year-old had been found guilty of manslaughter, in Alberta, for the shooting death of his 11-year-old friend, Tyler Onstine, during an unsupervised birthday party for the 16-year-old brother of the victim. The presence of alcohol and firearms at the party was the central focus in both newspapers. Both articles described the events as stemming from “macho-ism” and “horseplay” that got out of hand. One article quoted the judge as saying that the younger boys’ horsing around escalated into a standoff where they were at either end of a room with guns pointed at each other. The judge’s assertion that “I believe it was their ultimate show of macho-ism” was reported in both papers (VP, September 16, 1999, p. A34; TS, September 16, 1999, p. A2). Consequently, this discussion of the behaviour of the victim implies that the roles of victim and offender could easily have been reversed.

In some cases, the victims’ role in their own victimization is depicted as falling just short of having caused it. A father whose child has been killed would normally be

\(^{107}\) Translation: The victim was a 15-year-old adolescent, manifestly feeble-minded.

\(^{108}\) Translation: there had been some consent on the part of the victim herself.
portrayed in a sympathetic manner, as also a victim of the situation. However, the coverage on the death of Tyler Onstine imputed blame for the circumstances described as leading to his death (access to alcohol and firearms as well as lack of supervision) onto the father (VP, September 16, 1999, p. A34; TS, September 16, 1999, p. A2). As such, in both articles, the father ("a widower raising his children alone") was portrayed as more blameworthy than deserving of sympathy over the loss of his young son. Both articles reported that the father had given the boys liquor and left them alone, and that the gun that killed the son was one of many owned by the father. Both articles were accompanied by photos of Tyler Onstine, which convey the innocence of his childhood. However, The Toronto Star article was also accompanied by a much larger photo of the father leaving court. The latter photograph does not convey innocence or sadness or anything which might induce a sympathetic reaction from readers.

Victims who were themselves offenders were susceptible to unfavourable portrayals as well. The coverage tended to focus as much on their offending behaviour as on their victimization, whether the two were related or not (see also Perloff, 2000). For example, one headline read "Cocaine dealer jailed 2 years in slaying of fellow trafficker" (TS, December 8, 1995, p. A33). According to the article, the victim was killed during an altercation about some drugs being transacted between the victim and the offender.

Clarke [victim], also known as Black Bill, had a record for violent crimes and had slashed Roberts [offender] so badly with an X-acto knife on May 26, 1994 [more than one month prior to Clarke’s death], that she has “horrific, disfiguring scars” on her chest, Ontario Court Judge Edward Then noted. (TS, December 8, 1995, p. A33)

In another article, where it is specified that the "investigators are working on the theory the killing was personally motivated," not gang-related, the victim is referred to as “Chanh Thong Vo, whom police described as a small-time thug" (TS, December 21, 1995, p. A6).
Another factor affecting a victim's blameworthiness comprised circumstances, such as being present in a dangerous place. In an article about a shooting in a bar, the victims who were shot are portrayed as 'innocent' (read: not the intended victims), but are not depicted as being without blame as evidenced in the headline “Les dangers des bars-salons – Cliente abattue 'par erreur'”\(^{109}\) (PM, August 25, 1975, p. A3). This headline indirectly ascribes blame to the victim for having placed herself in harm's way. The quotes around “par erreur” also draw attention to the fact that, although she was not the intended victim, she would not have been shot had she not been in the bar. Also, referring again to the shooting death of Tyler Onstine discussed above, one article reported “The judge said there was a lesson to be learned about keeping weapons and alcohol at home,” and

Defence lawyer Shawn Beaver took up the theme outside court.

“"I think (Fowler [the judge]) clearly would like to know why young children were left alone with guns, ammunition and liquor."

[...] A knife and gun collector, Onstine [the father] had at least 16 guns in the house, including two under his bed.

"His home is a veritable arsenal of guns, ammunition and knives," Fowler said. (TS, September 16, 1999, p. A2)

Both articles stressed the defence lawyer's contention that “Without guns, ammunition, alcohol and parental absence, this young victim would be alive today” (VP, September 16, 1999, p. A34; TS, September 16, 1999, p. A2).

The narrative of victim precipitation is constructed through the use of language describing victims as culpable by virtue of their characteristics, their behaviour, their involvement in criminal activity and their role in the circumstances of the crime as culpable. This tactic is illustrated in the examples quoted above.

In sum, portraying victims as either blameless or blameworthy, rather than in a more neutral or nuanced manner, serves to simplify the story. It provides a clear

\(^{109}\) Translation: The dangers of bar-lounges – A [female] client killed 'in error'
distinction between ‘good guys’ and ‘bad guys.’ While such depictions are obviously simplistic, their sheer prevalence indicates that they evidently serve a purpose. Such portrayals tend to enhance the drama of crime reporting, as do the emotional narratives also found in these reports.

iii) Emotional narratives

Emotions provoked by violence and psychological consequences of violence were used in the coverage as well. Examples of terms found in the coverage include fear, shock/choc, horror/horreur, pain (painful memories), grief, cauchemars, incompréhension, panique, inquiet, and colère. Such emotions applied not only to the direct victims of crime but to members of society as a whole, who become indirect witnesses to the crime through renditions produced in the media. The excerpts below are some examples of emotions provoked by violence at a more general level, in terms of how violence affects us all, directly or indirectly.

Pauvre Mlle Lanctil! En répétant cette phrase, la concierge transpire encore de peur. Elle a aperçu la vieille dame étendue sur la civière, les yeux hagards. "Elle avait le visage de quelqu’un qui a vu l’enfer." [...] Le destin a voulu qu’elle survive. À son âge [64 ans], Mlle Lanctil aurait peut-être préféré mourir plutôt que de continuer à vivre en faisant des cauchemars à chaque nuit. (PM, July 15, 1987, p. A5)

Headline: "Security agents and fear pace school corridors"

... The 1.1 million students who started classes here [New York] this week reflect the numbers and mood of the rest of the country: Public school and private school enrolment is at a record high (53.2 million nationwide) – and so are the number of metal detectors, surveillance cameras, bomb-sniffing dogs and zero-tolerance policies on teen clothes, backpacks and Web sites deemed dangerous by adults.

110 Translations: nightmares, lack of understanding, panic, worried, anger
111 Translation: Poor Miss Lanctil!

Repeating this sentence, the janitor is still sweating with fear. She saw the old woman laying on the gurney, her eyes haggard. "She had the face of someone who has seen hell." [...] Destiny wanted her to survive. At her age [64 years old], Miss Lanctil may have preferred to die rather than to go on living having nightmares every night.
"Littleton had an impact on everything we do in schools throughout this country," says New York Police Chief James Lawrence. "It's on our minds no matter what we do." [...] But post-Littleton hysteria has washed across American schools like a flood, leading to more complaints about constitutional violations and civil rights abuses.

"There really has been a backlash," says Amy Weil of the American Civil Liberties Union. "There's just a heightened sense of fear... it's over-arching. It's contagious." (TS, September 11, 1999, p. A25)

Emotional narratives were more frequently constructed from the point of view of victims. While it is important to consider crime victims' complex range of emotional reactions, we must also examine the extent to which such reactions might be exploited in attempts to sensationalize news about youth crime. Victims of crime (including indirect victims such as family or relatives of the direct victims) did not tend to be very frequently used as sources. In fact, only 5.5% (106 of 1937) of articles in the sample drew on victims as sources and only 8.0% (106 of 1317) of articles in which at least one victim was mentioned gave those victims a voice. The Toronto Star appears to have utilized victims as sources somewhat more frequently than did the other two newspapers. While part of this difference may be attributed to the greater frequency of police/court columns in The Toronto Star, this is not a complete explanation as the majority of articles in which victims are used as sources were not categorized as "police/court columns," but as "news." No temporal trends of significance appear in terms of the use of victims as sources.

The infrequent inclusion of victims as sources leads me to conclude that, overall, the victims' experiences were not entirely sensationalized. Nonetheless, instances did occur where the emotional narratives were very compelling and the exploitation of victims' experiences was evident. I have divided the discussion of emotional narratives relating to victims into three parts: immediate reactions (during the offence or immediately after), short-term reactions (shortly after the offence, once some of the
impact is realized) and long-term or lasting effects (reactions which seem not to be attenuated by time).\footnote{112 See Box 10 in Appendix F for a list of examples of terms used in describing each type of reaction.}

First, some of the emotions which were felt at the time of the offence, and later recounted by victims or witnesses to the victims' emotional states, can be illustrated through the following examples:

Michael Wright, 18, went through five minutes of terror Wednesday at the hands of a youth gang in the Dunbar district. (VP, November 14, 1963, p. 6)

No one was hurt in the wild, five-minute shooting spree that sent panic-stricken students scurrying for cover at Trochu Valley school earlier in the week. (VP, January 17, 1991, p. 32)

In photo caption: “At right, boy’s father looks on in shocked state.” (TS, February 20, 1959a, p. 3)

The use of such language conveys to the reader what it felt like to be there at the moment the crime occurred, what the victim and/or onlookers experienced. In contrast to the distancing of the reader from the offenders, as detailed above, the use of emotional narratives in the coverage of victims is likely to promote reader sympathy for the victims.

The next group of emotions described are what I have referred to as the short-term reactions – those which follow the victimization closely, but are more linked to the victims' realization of the impact of the offence upon them. The following excerpt is a commonplace depiction of emotional narratives of victims:

Headline: "Vicious gang attack on son leaves family reeling in fear"
... lying on the ground surrounded by a gang of teenage thugs, was consumed by a single thought: "I am going to die." [...] 
She [victim’s mother] found him, swathed in bandages, his head swollen.
As she took his hand, he opened one eye and shed a tear. She sat with him through the night and the next day, relieved that at least he was alive. "He was safe, no one could get him."
[...] who grew up in the neighborhood. "This isn't where I was raised.
Who are these strangers? How dare they? [...]"
Johns stayed in hospital for two days. He mended well. But he's scared. "I'm scared of groups of people, if I hear laughter. Almost a little paranoid. I'm scared of people using violence, especially my friends using violence to correct the situation, to even it out."

His brother drives by the place where Johns was attacked. He was horrified that his brother's blood lay on the street for a week. He wonders if the attackers ever return there. (TS, January 6, 1991b, p. A1, A10)

Here again, the emotional narrative generates sympathy for the victim and his family and enmity toward the offenders. The choice of emotive language serves to create a connection with the readers, who can vicariously experience the drama of victimization without enduring it first-hand (see also Surette, 1998b).

Some of the emotional narratives surround reactions which last over the long term, which stay with the victims and can be reignited easily. Accounts such as the two below illustrate the type of long-term impact of crime on victims that were described in news reports.

Headline: "Rage flares in court as two escape murder rap"

Two men charged with first-degree murder in the slaying of a convenience store clerk have been convicted of lesser charges, leaving the victim's grieving family outraged.

"They're going to get out and go after one of your children next," the jury was told yesterday by a member of the family of Horacio (Ross) Diogo, who died of a gunshot wound to the head on Feb. 23, 1993. (TS, December 10, 1995, p. A3)

Sub-headline: "Many students from kindergarten to high school, no longer feel safe thanks to bullies"

... It was part of two years of bullying that destroyed her son's self-esteem, his mother says. [...] Today, Thomson-Colero says her son, who has had intensive speech therapy, is happy in Grade 1 at school.

But she wonders if there will be long-term damage. (TS, September 28, 1999a, p. D1)

The emphasis placed on the lasting impact of crime through emotional language such as those quoted above also enhances the drama of crime and victimization. This is the third way in which emotional narratives are woven into the coverage of youth crime and violence. The main purpose of the emotional narratives is undoubtedly to
sensationalize stories in order to render them more newsworthy and more appealing to readers. However, such representations are problematic on a number of levels.

One item in the sample was a reproduction of a letter to Santa Claus written by an eight-year-old boy whose father, a school principal in London, England, had been stabbed to death while attempting to protect a student who was being attacked by a “gang of youths.” The child’s letter states that he wants his “daddy” back, instead of the telescope originally requested. He writes “I need my daddy to help me to stop my mummy and sisters from crying” (TS, December 11, 1995, p. A3). The impact of the handwritten letter with its childish drawings is powerful. One could hardly remain unmoved by a visual such as this. And one would be hard pressed to disagree, in the face of this ‘evidence,’ with the British government “considering tougher penalties for carrying knives in public” (TS, December 11, 1995, p. A3). There, in essence, lies the trouble with such emotional narratives. They serve to trump other considerations (practical, legal or humanitarian, for instance) in advancing what should be done about problems such as youth crime.

The use of emotion instead of fact or reason contributed to the creation of an image of the credible victim (and by implication the blameworthy offender). The hierarchy of victims created through narratives about gender, race, class and sexuality is reinforced through emotional narratives about the impact of the crime on victims and/or their families and friends.

This chapter has addressed the qualitative findings relating to the representations of acts and actors directly involved in youth crimes. A narrative of fear emerges from the coverage that has a decidedly sensationalistic and alarmist tone. Parallel to the shift in coverage post-1950 discussed in Chapter 5, I noted a shift in how the media depict young people, which is increasingly unsympathetic as time wears on.
As for the portrayals of victims, these tend to rely on stereotypical dichotomies which describe victims as either deserving or undeserving of sympathy, based on specific characteristics or behaviours of the victims. The following chapter delves into the explanations provided within the coverage in order to account for youth crime.
CHAPTER 7 - EXPLANATIONS OF YOUTH CRIME

This chapter summarizes the thematic analysis regarding causation of youth crime as it is presented in the print news media. In order to situate the following discussion for the reader, I begin with an examination of my findings in comparison with the existing research in this area. I then briefly outline some key criminological paradigms which will be contrasted with the explanatory frameworks used in the news. The bulk of the chapter reviews the key themes and sub-themes which explain youth crime in my sample: individual defect, social defect, inter-group conflict and inadequate laws and law enforcement. These themes are consistent with those found by others who have examined explanations of crime in the media (e.g., Barlow et al. 1995, cited in Welch et al., 1998; Ericson et al., 1991; Welch et al., 1998).

A) Explaining crime in the media

Like other researchers (e.g., Dussuyer, 1979; Ericson et al., 1991; Graber, 1980; Hall et al., 1978; McManus & Dorfman, 2002), I found that causal explanations do not feature prominently in crime news coverage. The 793 news items coded as providing some sort of speculation about the cause(s) of crime represent just over 40% of the sample.\footnote{Although I reported in Chapter 5 that approximately 85% of sources provided secondary knowledge (i.e. explanatory), many articles included multiple sources providing such knowledge, which left just over 40% of the articles providing no explanations.} Although this proportion is considerably higher than what others have found (ranging from 5% to approximately 35%), it nonetheless speaks to the considerable inattention paid by the media to explaining crime.

While my concern in this chapter is how the media account for youth crime, the fact that the majority of the articles provide no explanation warrants consideration. What does the lack of explanation convey to the reader? Does it sometimes reinforce the idea
that (violent) crime is random and/or senseless, therefore, unpredictable (see also Best, 1999)?

For example, the media presentation of acts, and especially serious violence, as senseless/motiveless often occurs even when an explanation is readily at hand. For instance, Marc Lépine, the shooter in the Montréal Massacre of 1989, left a note declaring that he hated feminists and the women engineering students were all feminists, but analyses of media coverage show that his killings were depicted as senseless and motiveless (see, e.g., Eglin & Hester, 2003). While some of the theories and explanations mentioned in this chapter may appear to be derived as much from common sense as from social science, some explanations in the news coverage drew from neither. I am referring here to explanations so banal that I question whether they ought to even have been reported. The absence of explanation or the emphasis on trivial/ random/ spontaneous explanations was quite typical of news coverage (see also, e.g., Ericson et al., 1991; Golding, 2001; Schissel, 2006). Because one effect of such coverage may be to create anxiety and fear in readers (Acland, 1995), I did include those explanations within the 793 items examined in this chapter for explanatory frameworks.

This trivialization process happened more frequently than I had anticipated. In several cases, a very minor incident was portrayed as having been a trigger for an act of serious violence — for instance, children killing their parents over a reprimand made, two brothers beating their younger brother to death because he wanted to follow them, a boy who brutally beat his friend because the friend’s mother had called him a “bad boy,” students killing a teacher over bad grades they had received, a girl who stabbed her landlady because the woman had given her kittens to the Humane Society, a brother killing his sister(s) over a fight about which television program they were going to watch and a boy who stabbed his half-sister over an argument about a radio program. These
were some examples of newspaper sensationalism at its 'best,' quite in keeping with the theme of randomness highlighted in Chapter 6 as well. These completely inadequate explanations made grave situations somehow worse. We must question the validity of including such preposterous explanations, even when the journalists were giving the perpetrator a voice in such instances.

Two of the newspapers reported on one story about a brother and sister who allegedly paid a hitman $60 to kill their father. The reason reportedly given to the police for this act was that the father was strict and would not let them "do anything they wanted, like smoke pot" (TS, February 21, 1979, p. A1). Reports on cases of murder between family members often employed this type of inflammatory, irrational explanation totally negating any complexity in the relationship between victim and offender.

In contrast, in some cases, it was specifically stated that there was no excuse for the behaviour, that the offenders themselves did not know why they had done it, or the acts were qualified as 'senseless.' Such 'non-explanations' revealed more about the specific situation than the broader context. They did not appear to be reflections on the offenders' life circumstances or mental health; they seemed more to address the absence of any motive for serious and violent criminal acts. For example, one article described an assault on a 23-year-old man by a group of young people as a "senseless attack," "unprovoked assault," and "senseless brutality." The reporter suggested that the victim had been beaten "for no apparent reason" and quoted the victim himself as saying "It was foolish of me to ask what they'd said. I should have recognized that I was asking for trouble" (TS, January 6, 1991b, p. A1, A10).

While crimes committed for financial gain typically fall within the utilitarian descriptions associated with the Classical School (gains vs. costs), the same is not true when robbery is a motive for murder. In the sample, robbery was mentioned several times as a motive for murder. Contrasts were often made between the minuscule gains
made from a crime and the potential or actual harm done to a victim to emphasize the senselessness of such acts, ignoring that the offenders had presumably expected to get more money than the small sums they obtained. Take, for instance, the headline "Boys confess Killing Woman, 59, for $8" (TS, February 10, 1959a, p. 2).

The absence of explanation within the coverage, or deployment of non-explanations describing crime as 'senseless,' is further evidenced by the lack of substance and analytical depth which is characteristic of many of the explanations found in the sample. Explanations were typically tacit, evoked by key words, inferences, and stereotypes. Analytical and probing explanations are inconsistent with media imperatives for simplification and dramatization.

While crime is a complex phenomenon, newspapers do not typically treat it as such. They tend to focus on the individuals involved and on specific incidents. Occasionally, news reports consider environmental factors, though mostly as they relate to individuals on whom they are reporting. Very rarely do the newspaper explanations question the broader socio-political structure and economic forces that shape society and their effect on definitions of and responses to criminal behaviour. The same is true of coverage in all three newspapers in the sample. Particular attention was given to distinctions between La Presse and the two anglophone newspapers because of Québec's different philosophies on youth justice, but few variations were found.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, Ericson et al. (1991) suggest that reporters find explanations are boring and hinder their goal of simplification. The authors also point out a number of reasons for why the news media downplay explanation, such as the need for dramatization, the focus on individuals and specific events, and the use of sources who may offer explanations which serve to protect the legitimacy of their organization rather than shed light on the problem. Hall et al. (1978: 118) further argue that it is not because of the complexity of the crime problem or of the relationship
between crime and environment that explanations are evaded. It is because we cannot truly engage with the complexity of the issue without questioning the existing order of society. When analysis threatens to push past our ideological boundaries, it is curtailed by pre-existing, often stereotyped, images which can offer an explanation without challenging the dominant social order.

Although the list of potential explanations for deviant, criminal and violent behaviour seemed practically endless at first, I found that this apparent diversity obscured the fact that many of the explanations in all three newspapers, other than the superficial ones mentioned above, fit into the conventional paradigms of either positivist or classical criminology. When the coverage did offer explanations, these were overwhelmingly rooted in ideas about crime that do not challenge the status quo (i.e. ideas that emanate from classical and positivist criminology) and which centre on rationality/irrationality. The news items typically portrayed offenders as rational actors who made bad choices due to particular circumstances or as irrational individuals whose 'defect' must be identified and treated. The findings with respect to explanations are thus in line with those discussed in previous chapters in terms of decontextualization and simplification. The media tend to present youth crime in an individualized and depoliticized manner.

A notable lack of differentiation existed in terms of gender-specific explanations. Feminists have critiqued criminological theories for their traditional tendency toward gender-blindness (see, e.g., Heidensohn, 1985; Messerschmidt, 1993), and the same critique applies to explanations provided within the news coverage. With few exceptions, the same theories were used to account for girls' and boys' offending. This shortcoming is addressed in greater detail in Chapter 9.

The remainder of this chapter examines the broad narratives used in the news items to explain youth crime, highlighting parallels with the major criminological
paradigms where relevant. Before delving into these narratives, I review some of the key theoretical concepts which will aid the reader in appreciating the relationship between theory and explanations offered in the print media.

**B) Criminological paradigms**

Classical criminology assumes crime to be a choice made by a rational individual after weighing the potential costs of committing the crime against the potential gains (Vold & Bernard, 1986; Williams & McShane, 2004). Within this perspective, individuals are believed to be hedonistic and will pursue crime if it serves utilitarian goals and if the risk of detection and punishment seems minimal to the potential offender. As such, the individual is then thought to be fully accountable and responsible for his or her actions. Within this perspective, inadequate laws and law enforcement are seen as leading to crime and crime is seen as a legal problem.

Positivism assumes that criminal behaviour is caused, not chosen. Positivists seek explanations for criminal behaviour in the individual (biological and psychological causes) and/or in his or her environment (sociological causes). They believe that some pathology or defect exists within the individual and/or the environment which can explain behaviour (Vold & Bernard, 1986; Williams & McShane, 2004).

Therefore, classical criminology presupposes that crime is committed for one basic reason (i.e. the lack of deterrence) whereas positive criminology assumes a diversity of individual and social 'pathologies' which lead to crime. Although both paradigms incorporate certain aspects of the broader social context, the explanations they offer are generally divorced from the socio-structural context.

In terms of youth crime specifically, both paradigms present additional considerations. As the news articles I examined all pertained to youth criminality and deviance, these paradigms' views on youth warrant consideration.
Youth was considered, in the neo-classical perspective, as a factor which
diminished the individual's capacity to effect a rational choice. The neo-classical
perspective modified the classical paradigm by suggesting that certain individuals had a
diminished capacity to effect fully rational choices. Such was the case for minors and
'mental defectives' in particular. The neo-classical perspective also placed added weight
on particular conditions such as aggravating and mitigating circumstances of an offence
which affect an individual's responsibility. As well, past criminal record was seen as
impacting an individual's accountability for his or her actions.

Positivists also saw youth as particularly problematic. In fact, in 1842, Adolphe
Quételet, a statistician and one of the precursors of the Italian Positive School, noted
that "Of all the causes which influence the development of the propensity to crime, or
which diminish that propensity, age is unquestionably the most energetic" (Quételet,
1968/1842: 92).

Among the positivist explanations available which might account for young
people's greater 'propensity for crime,' those which were evident in the newspaper
sample discussed below include

- Lesser moral development: Lombroso (1895) had in fact compared women to
  children due to their purportedly shared lack of moral development, thus making
  them more prone to criminality. Kohlberg (1984) also discussed moral development
  and its implications in relation to criminality.

- Thinking errors: One theory text describes the contemporary cognitive theory of
  Walters and White which links faulty, irrational thinking to criminal behaviour.
  "Lifestyle criminals appear to have similar thought patterns to those of early
  adolescents and, thus, have little conception of responsibility and self-discipline"
  (Williams & McShane, 2004: 45).
Low self-control: Gottfredson and Hirschi linked crime to low self-control. "Self-control is defined as 'the idea that people also differ in the extent to which they are vulnerable to the temptations of the moment'" (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990, as cited in Williams & McShane, 2004: 276).

Positivist explanations in the news coverage were dominant throughout the twentieth century, but classical explanations were never entirely excluded at any time in that period. In fact, both types of theories run through the sample. The two latter decades of the study period were also characterized by an upsurge in the use of classical formulations about crime in the coverage. In the late 1970s and 1980s, rational choice theories emerged drawing heavily on the classical and neo-classical concepts. These theories, as well as the news coverage, began to downplay the rational calculation of costs and benefits as central to the choice to engage in crime, portraying crime instead as largely opportunistic.

Although the positive and classical paradigms represent the overwhelming majority of actual explanations used in the news coverage examined, other rationales were alluded to, albeit rarely. While a great number of critical perspectives on crime and deviance exist (interactionism, Marxism, feminism, postmodernism and left realism, to name only a few), the majority of which have been elaborated in the latter half of the twentieth century, their popularity outside of academia (and arguably also within academia) has been rather limited. Of the many critical perspectives, I only observed two of them to any degree in the explanations provided within the news items studied. The coverage generally excluded other critical explanations and concepts.

The first concept derived from critical perspectives is that of inter-group conflict. Conflict theories in general interrogate societal struggles between groups having different values, goals, power and/or resources. Society is seen as fundamentally based upon these conflicts which result in certain groups in society being disadvantaged.
Although the coverage did address a number of inter-group conflicts, it did so in a way that depoliticized the conflicts, which is not consistent with conflict theories.

The second aspect of critical approaches to which I would direct the reader’s attention is how the nature and enforcement of laws are questioned. In particular, we must here consider the potential abuses of power by individuals who are vested with state power in the exercise of their duties, such as police and correctional officers. The news coverage occasionally raised such questions, but in doing so it always focused on individuals rather than the system.

In sum, the theoretical perspectives discussed above are seen as informing, to varying degrees, the narrative explanations found in the press coverage of youth crime which are detailed below.

C) Individual defect

Many of the explanations provided in the coverage focused on some kind of individual defect. This includes pathologies or conditions that render individuals either temporarily or permanently irrational (Positive School), as well as situations in which individuals make rational decisions to do bad things (Classical School). Schissel (2006) and Welch et al. (1998) report a prevalence of such individualized explanations as well. Many explanations that focus on individual defect centre on mental defects (mental disorder, low intelligence, psychological trauma), flawed personalities (bad character, greed, laziness), youthfulness (poor judgment, inexperience, pursuit of independence) and intoxication.

i) Mental disorder

Mental disorder is one of the most prevalent examples of explanations that focus on individual defect. In the positivist paradigm, mental illness constitutes a form of
individual pathology. Within the neo-classical perspective, it is considered a factor in
diminishing individual responsibility for criminal behaviour. Both standpoints assume
that the 'normal' (mentally healthy) individual is fundamentally different from the
'abnormal' (mentally ill) individual. Although such dichotomies are typically quite
reductionist, they are ubiquitous in the news coverage.

Inferences about mental disorder were virtually always focused on the individual.
Explanations involving mental disorder did not tend to examine social conditions which
bring about or exacerbate such problems. Rather, the defect of the individual served as
a reference point for understanding the specific criminal incident.

Mental disorder as an explanation was highly prevalent in the sample. This is a
good example of the simplification of crime phenomenon. Mental disorder, or even the
hint of it, seems to offer newspaper reporters the 'cop-out,' the rationale that allows them
to stop looking for another reason or the answer to the 'why' question. In contexts where
news reporting resources are limited, easy answers may be the ones which are favoured
(see, e.g., Hall et al., 1978). Mental disorder, it seems, explains the unexplainable to a
certain extent, a clear case of individual pathology. The reliance on mental disorder in
such a way is in keeping with the media representations of mental illness found by Wahl
(1995) which tended to be stereotyped, offensive, and inaccurate.

Several articles made brief or even single word references to some sort of mental
disorder to explain the acts of a young person for which no other explanation was
elaborated. For example, the only clue to an explanation in an article about a young
man who barricaded himself in his parents' home and threatened police was the word
'forcéé'\textsuperscript{114} in the headline (PM, December 18, 1995b, p. A3). The sources most
typically cited in the explanations revolving around mental disorder were 'psy'

\textsuperscript{114} Translation: deranged
professionals. For example, one article bearing the attention-grabbing headline "Boy had sex fantasy over slain sisters, trial told" reported the opinions of three such professionals heard in court. Dr. Elliott Barker, psychiatrist at the Oak Ridge Mental Health Centre at Penetanguishene, said "the youth's principal mental illness was schizophrenia characterized by delusions and a split between thinking and feeling" (TS, February 2, 1979, p. C17). A psychologist at the same institution reportedly "said tests indicated Durward was unpredictable, withdrawn and severely depressed." In addition, another psychiatrist "said all his colleagues agree that Durward did not understand the nature of his actions."

Rarely in the newspaper coverage did I see any attempt at exploring or contextualizing mental disorder (see also Wahl, 1995). For example, mental illness was assumed to be something beyond control, which removed blame from the usual sources (the individual and/or his or her family). In very few cases did the writers of news items evince any effort at understanding why a young person was or became mentally disordered. The sources of mental illness, when they were discussed, were frequently sensationalistic – for example, sexual or physical abuse, past trauma, brainwashing, hypnosis, or heredity. In 1923, the two English-language newspapers carried the story from the United States about an uncle who purportedly hypnotized his nephew into killing his sister-in-law (the boy's step-mother). Some of the headlines read "Charge Hypnotized Boy Slew Woman Under Medium's Spell" (TS, October 13, 1923, p. 1) and "Astrologer in court on a murder charge" (TS, October 15, 1923, p. 3) with the subheading "Cripple Assumes Responsibility for Slaying by Hypnotized Boy." In 1987, The Toronto Star reported that a judge had sentenced to probation a young man found guilty of sexually molesting his brother and sister.

115 The Mental Health Centre Penetanguishene is a psychiatric hospital in Penetang, Ontario. Oak Ridge is the forensic division housing mentally disordered offenders.
Judge Grant Campbell said Tuesday that the therapy was an opportunity to 'intervene in an inter-generational cycle of abuse' within the boy's family. The judge ordered the province to pay for the counseling, mainly because the youth is an alleged victim of sexual abuse by his step-grandfather. [...] The youth was 'programmed, modeled and trained' by the step-grandfather, Campbell said. (TS, July 16, 1987, p. H1)

When mental illness was suggested as an explanation, it was usually mere speculation on the part of the reporter, or what one might expect the reader to infer. This speculation usually took the form of a mention that an accused offender would undergo a psychiatric evaluation or that a defence strategy would hinge on proving that the accused was not fit to stand trial or not guilty by reason of insanity. Clearly, being examined by a psychiatrist or using an insanity defence is a far cry from being mentally ill; however, the inference is that the explanation resides within the purview of mental disorder. In that sense, I feel that the inclusion of this type of information constitutes an element in the explanatory framework employed by newspapers for understanding certain youth crimes.

For example, in 1999, all three newspapers reported on the stabbing death of 81-year-old Pearl Rushford Lamarre of Chambly, Québec. The five accused were aged 13 to 15 years old. Each newspaper made allusions to mental health issues for one of the accused. The Province and La Presse (VP, September 23, 1999, p. A37; PM, September 23, 1999a, p. A3; PM, September 25, 1999a, p. A3; PM, September 28, 1999, p. A4) mentioned that one of the youths was undergoing a psychiatric evaluation, while The Toronto Star speculated by quoting Pierre Poupart, a Montréal youth centre co-ordinator: "Is there one person in the group who's mentally ill and drew the others into the affair? Were drugs involved? What happened, exactly? We don't know yet" (TS, September 23, 1999, p. A3).

Aside from mentions of psychiatric examinations, the more substantial explanations focusing on an offender's mental health tended to be concentrated during
the height of the positivist psychiatric influence (Menninger, 1968; Menzies, 1989; Scull, 1977; Szasz, 1970) in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s with a slight resurgence in the late 1990s surrounding a few high profile murders committed by young offenders, where reporters mentioned psychiatric examinations and quoted various types of experts, including psychiatrists and youth workers.

Mental disorder, as a discourse of disease or as a legal defence, was one of the key explanations used in accounting for behaviour by focusing strictly on the defect of the individual. As far as news coverage is concerned, mental disorder appears to be a neat and tidy individualized explanation which is unchallenging and easy to understand.

ii) Character flaws

The more recent tendency to move away from mental illness, except in extreme cases, has not brought an end to individualized explanations and focus on inherent 'defects' (also noted by Golding, 2001). Such individualized foci can also take the shape of statements made about the individual's personal attributes, their 'personality,' their values or morals. As seen in Chapter 6, representations of young people have increasingly provided characterizations such as vicious, dishonest, heartless, predisposed to violence, espousing racist ideologies, disrespectful of others and of the law, immature, irresponsible, cold-blooded, 'super-predators,' self-indulgent, and sadistic. Such character flaws were not seen as mitigating their behaviour, as was the case with mental illness, but were rather offered merely as an explanation. In fact, such portrayals are consistent with an increase in responsibilization of youth for their behaviour.

Although it was present throughout the sample, this type of characterization seemed to have become more common in the 1990s. This time frame is consistent with the more recent trends within the two paradigms. Classical criminology has become
increasingly marked by the neo-liberal focus on choice and individual responsibility whereas the positivist focus has been more and more on risk assessment (Denney, 2005; Feeley & Simon, 1992). Although I found virtually no mention of 'risk' vocabulary, the notions associated with risk assessment and risk factors were quite apparent; however, these risks were not discussed in terms of treating those 'affected' individuals, instead they were assessed in terms of how best to protect society from them. And overwhelmingly, reporters discussed the protection of society through discourse that individualized responsibility and vilified individuals such that more repressive responses seemed the logical solution (see also Beck, 1992; Denney, 2005; Hollway & Jefferson, 1997).

In 1995, La Presse ran an article from the wire service Agence France-Presse bearing the headline "La violence des jeunes fait trembler l'Amérique" (PM, December 28, 1995, p. A2). The first paragraph reads

"Certains experts annoncent une «nouvelle génération de super-prédateurs» tuant sans motif ni remords, et le FBI souligne la montée alarmante de la délinquance juvénile : l'Amérique est de plus en plus inquiète de la violence de ses adolescents qui a plus que doublé ces dix dernières années." (PM, December 28, 1995, p. A2 – emphasis added)

In that paragraph alone, the bolded terms give an indication of the tone of the entire article. The language conveys that the situation is alarming and worrisome, a claim which is bolstered through references to statistics and quoting of experts. The theme of fear is dominant from start to end of the article with a number of anxiety-inducing terms, claims that youth crime and violence are increasing in frequency.

116 Translation: Youth violence makes America shake with fear
117 Translation: Certain experts are announcing a "new generation of super-predators" who kill without motive or remorse, and the FBI underscores the alarming rise in juvenile delinquency: America is more and more worried about the violence of its teenagers which has more than doubled in the last ten years.
severity and involving younger offenders who have no respect for human life and kill for any reason.

The alarmist tone of the article is backed up by law enforcement and academic experts lending their credibility to the concept of "super-predator" youths:

Les adolescents, estime James Fox, criminologue de l'Université de Northeastern, près de Boston, expert reconnu en matière de délinquance juvénile, peuvent être beaucoup plus dangereux que les adultes. « Ils tueront plus pour des raisons triviales, un blouson, une paire de baskets, une allure louche. Pour eux le meurtre n'est plus un tabou. » [...] Un autre expert, John Dilulio de Princeton, prédit « l'arrivée de super-prédateurs, des adolescents qui portent une arme de façon routinière, qui n'ont absolument aucun respect pour la vie humaine, et tuent par instinct, sans raison intelligible ».\textsuperscript{118} (PM, December 28, 1995, p. A2)

In addition to the use of experts to lend credibility to the concept of the super-predator, the article provides statistical evidence of the 'problem' of youth violence, for example, teen violence has more than doubled in the last 10 years, there has been a constant increase in the number of criminal acts involving youth, the suggestion that 10000 youths could be arrested for murder in 2005 if the increase continues at the same rate, etc. Although providing some background about the rapid expansion of the youth population (though not in a format that is compatible with contextualizing the rate of increase in youth crime), the article quotes the explanation for the increase in violence given by Senator Joseph Biden: the increase in drug use and access to firearms.

Furthermore, anecdotal evidence serves to further bolster the claims of experts and statistics. About a third of the article is a series of five paragraphs listing different cases of very young offenders and their very violent crimes committed for reportedly

\textsuperscript{118} Translation: Adolescents, says James Fox, criminologist at Northeastern University near Boston, renowned expert on the subject of juvenile delinquency, can be much more dangerous than adults. "They will kill more for trivial reasons, a jacket, a pair of sneakers, a dirty look. For them, murder is no longer taboo." [...] Another expert, John Dilulio from Princeton, predicts: "the arrival of super-predators, adolescents who routinely carry a weapon, who have absolutely no respect for human life, and kill out of instinct, without an intelligible reason."
simplistic and trivial reasons. This part of the article, though providing only anecdotal evidence, lends the impression that such examples are commonplace and typify the problem of youth violence.

Within these constructions of deeply disturbed and disturbing individuals, we also find the 'bad apple' metaphor. 'Bad apples' are rotten and it is feared that their decay will affect the 'good apples' around them. The 'bad apple' metaphor is a further method used in individualizing pathology and blame. A graphic illustration of this metaphor was used to explain a riot at a girls' industrial school in Vancouver in 1939. On the second day of coverage, the sub-headline read “Blame Unruly Inmate for Reform School Fight.” The author of the article asserted “It is understood that one girl's unruliness caused the outbreak which developed into mass hysteria, which for a short time was beyond the control of the staff” (VP, April 19, 1939, p. 1).

In another article on that day, about the need for a borstal school for girls similar to the existing one for boys, the reporter stated “According to officials of the Child Welfare Association, the disturbance at the Industrial School was led by three girls who are allegedly 'of a very bad type'” (VP, April 19, 1939, p. 11). By individualizing the responsibility for the problem onto one or a few girls, reporters and their sources (a resident of the district, the assistant superintendent of the school, government officials as well as officials of the Child Welfare Association) managed to deflect attention away from the industrial school itself.

The move away from the psychiatrically and legally defined labels of mental disorder toward depictions of flawed character tends to extend the field of those considered 'defective.' Although experts certainly lend greater credence to the notions of character flaws, the number of sources who can attest to 'individual defect' is also broader. In sum, the focus on character flaws is, above all, a further means of limiting the explanatory framework to individuals.
iii) Easy money

The Classical School concepts of hedonism, rational choice and utilitarianism are central to understanding the 'money motive' in the news coverage. In a capitalist society, the focus on money is not subject to any depth of questioning. For example, while the link between money and capitalism seems an obvious one, the news coverage never raised the question whether capitalism itself is criminogenic. Be it out of need for food, clothes, and shelter or simply out of desire for a variety of material possessions and activities, people need money. And young people who are unemployed or underemployed often have access to very little money while at the same time being targeted within our consumerist society. Corporations expend considerable effort and resources in order to transform children and youth into consumers. Yet, the news reports did not portray this monetary motive as a consequence of the young offenders' position within the social order, but merely as an effect of their individual circumstances. Furthermore, character flaws such as greed or laziness are implicit in portrayals that suggest crime is an 'easy' way to acquire money or goods. Therefore, while the need or desire for money is easily understood by most, it is not generally portrayed as a valid motive for crime. The lure of easy money was periodically shown to be just a trap, leading to the downfall of those who fell for it. In the article about the woman who had engaged in white slavery,119 people who knew her were quoted as saying that she has amassed a small fortune of $50,000 through this shameful occupation120 (PM, April 23, 1907, p. 1). In a more recent article about a beauty pageant in a Peruvian prison, interviews with the female prisoners from around the world revealed that "[l]ured by the promise of easy money, they came to Peru to smuggle cocaine" (TS, September 25, 1999, p. A30).

119 In original: "la traite des blanches"
120 In original: "honteux metier"
Occasionally, a specific need or desire was given as a motive for theft or robbery, such as in the headlines “Clothes yearning gets lad jail term” and “Must Return Garb Got With Stolen Money” (TS, March 26, 1931, p. 46) as well as “Robbs pal to dance but lands in cell” and “Lad Gets Suspended Sentence – Fifty-cent Theft” (TS, April 27, 1939b, p. 39). In the latter article, the youth “admitted he stole 50 cents to take his girl to a dance.” In another article, a police officer said the youth admitted he stole because “he needed money with which he could eat” (TS, June 30, 1947, p. 2).

In other more recent cases, rather than stealing money or objects to sell, young people were reported to steal objects they wanted to have for themselves such as expensive clothing and video game systems. One headline reported “Youth gets 50 stitches after fight over coat” (TS, December 17, 1995, p. A3), after the youth had accused someone of stealing his Tommy Hilfiger jacket worth $300. Accompanying the article was a photo of the young man displaying the extensive cut to his face, as mentioned in Chapter 6 in relation to discussions about injuries within the narratives relating to violence. Another item from Hancock, Texas, with the headline “Boy, 13, with rifle wounds driver” reported that the boy had been attempting to stop a truck on the Interstate. “He told one of his little brothers that he was going to try to get a truck (filled) with Nintendos, so everybody would have some toys for Christmas,” said a Hudspeth County police official” (TS, December 27, 1995, p. C8).

Additionally, portrayals of those who bought property they knew (or should reasonably expect) to be stolen suggested that such behaviour was encouraging youth crime and sources condemning this practice were cited. For example, in an article about boys stealing golf balls, the headline read “Golfers who buy balls make boys criminals” (TS, October 20, 1923b, p. 2). In another article about various cases appearing in court, the judge reportedly agreed with the defence lawyer’s contention in suggesting that the stolen property fence was much more to blame than the two boys before him. He stated
Aside from stealing, prostitution was also a behaviour in which some youths engaged for the promise of money. In the trial of four men and one woman accused of procuring, one article reported on the testimony of one girl (G.) who was caught up in the prostitution ring. She testified that the pimps threatened to kill her family. She described how she wanted to leave home because she did not get along with her mother and was happy for the offer to come live with this group of acquaintances. Although she chose the path which led to it, she was first coerced into stripping, then into working as an escort, turning all income over to her “boyfriend” who said he was “saving for their future.” She had sexual relations with her boyfriend-pimp and with the leader of the group of pimps. She said she was threatened with genital mutilation and assault at the hands of both men (PM, September 8, 1999, p. A14).

The next article reported the testimony of two other young women who had been in the prostitution ring. They also testified that their pimps had first recruited them as girlfriends, then made them strip and then “escort.” The group had taken all money from them as well. They also had to sleep with the leader “in order to avoid problems.” The girls were all led to believe that they would make lots of money by working for the group. They told the court that the girl who had testified the previous day (G.) had been beaten to a pulp when the leader found out the girls were trying to get rid of him. The beating administered to G. was described by one of the others as follows:

_Thadal a frappé G. avec un tableau, jusqu'à ce qu'il cède; ses trois complices ont donné des coups de tournevis à la jeune femme, alors âgée de 18 ans. Ils l'ont battue pendant plus d'une heure._

121 Translation: "It is evident, he said, that these little (or small-time) hoodlums would not have continued to steal at the same pace as they did if they had not been assured of continually finding an outlet for their loot.

122 In original: "sauvagement battue"
“Elle avait l’air de peser 150 livres quand je l’ai quittée, tellement elle était enflée,” a dit M.\textsuperscript{123} (PM, September 9, 1999, p. A5)

Factors other than money were clearly at play in the dynamics of this situation; however, it was the monetary aspect that the reporter emphasised, detailing how much money they had earned and how the pimps had taken it from the girls (PM, September 8, 1999, p. A14; September, 9, 1999, p. A5).

While the ‘money motive’ may not be the most sensational, it was quite prevalent. The depiction of young people as willing to break the law to acquire what they need or desire is consistent with the other types of ‘individual defects.’ By placing the focus on the individual and their actions, we can ignore the broader social context which induces consumerism from a very young age.

iv) The defect of youthfulness

Age is, of course, the issue at the heart of debates about whether youth should be treated separately from adults or not. As the news articles examined all related to criminality and deviance of youth, I thought it appropriate to consider the particular ‘defect’ that is youth. As discussed above, youth was considered, in the neo-classical perspective, as a factor which diminished the individual’s capacity to effect a rational choice. However, positivists also saw youth as particularly problematic due to their underdeveloped morality, intelligence and/or self-control. The youthful characteristics portrayed as explaining crime included having poor judgment, being inexperienced and misguided, and the typical youthful pursuits of independence, freedom or thrills.

Often, situations which had started out all in good fun (games even) could lead to unfortunate, and even disastrous, consequences. This outcome would then be

\textsuperscript{123}Translation: Thadal hit G. with a board until it broke; his three accomplices hit the young woman, then 18 years old, with a screwdriver. They beat her for more than an hour. She looked like she weighed 150 pounds when I left her, because she was so swollen,” said M.
explained as an effect of young people's poor judgment or inexperience at handling difficult situations. I observed this reasoning in cases where people were shot or stabbed 'by accident,' where situations escalated and got out of hand, where the individuals panicked, and where behaviour led to unintended consequences.

In such cases, the youths involved were often referred to as foolish, stupid, macho, ignorant, having weak minds, or being impulsive. Some examples of these images included a brief article from La Presse in 1911 where boys placed dynamite in the basement of a school and the reporter stated "Les enfants semblent avoir agi sans discernement"\(^{124}\) (PM, May 10, 1911, p. 3). In another story reported by The Toronto Star, a game of boys playing soldier ended with the death of one of the boys when a wire pierced his neck (TS, October 4, 1923, p. 13; October 11, 1923, p. 32).

Other examples of poor judgment and inexperience as explanations involved young women who tried to conceal a pregnancy or birth, who tried to obtain an illegal abortion, who committed infanticide or who abandoned their babies. Reports showed such women as desperate and incapable of handling their situation (for instance, how to tell their parents). In 1947, The Province ran a photograph of a young woman who was reported to have said she strangled her baby because the infant cried so much and she did not know how to take care of it (VP, June 25, 1947, p. 12). Another example was a report on a Statistics Canada study on victims of homicide which asserted that babies under one year of age were at higher risk of being murder victims than any other group in society. At one point, the article stated "Statistique Canada ajoute qu'une partie de ces incidents [homicide infantile] sont attribuables à des infanticides, où une jeune mère

\(^{124}\) Translation: The children seem to have acted without proper judgment.
In fact, the legal definition of infanticide assumes a temporary mental defect ("disturbed mind") that 'causes' irrational behaviour (see Backhouse, 1991; Kramar, 2005; Osborne, 1987).

Also in keeping with the factor of poor judgment, the news coverage tended to portray youth as misguided. This image closely parallels the official discourse on juvenile delinquency under the Juvenile Delinquents' Act which stated that "every juvenile delinquent shall be treated, not as a criminal, but as a misdirected and misguided child, and one needing aid, encouragement, help and assistance" (JDA, 1908). Beyond the mistakes and errors in judgment, news accounts explained young people's misbehaviours as 'a call for help,' attention-seeking, and motivated by personal problems that they might be facing. Examples included one article with the headline "Kidnap is hoax boy, 12, feared report card" (TS, March 19, 1955a, p. 7) and one article on the Star Fresh Air Fund, which is used to send troubled and delinquent youths to a summer camp, where the camp director was quoted as saying "We had a (15-year-old) kid last year who wanted attention and he'd get it by doing the most outrageous things. He'd throw food at people, spit on the floor or pick fights with the counsellors. It was his way of saying 'help'" (TS, July 6, 1987, p. A2).

Another factor associated with young people's choices to engage in criminal or deviant behaviour is the quest for freedom and independence. I more often found news reports describing young runaways as seeking freedom and independence than as running away from a bad home life. Typically, reporters implied that the worst thing runaways were trying to escape was parental control, as was the case of the young

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125 Translation: Statistics Canada adds that part of these incidents [infantile homicide] is attributable to infanticides, where an anguished young mother attempts to hide a pregnancy by killing the newborn.
woman referred to as G. in the articles about a prostitution ring discussed above.

Accounts of some cases in the 1960s and one case in 1907 portrayed young people as running away to get married without parental consent. In one such case, a reporter dubbed the couple as “les tourtereaux” \(^{126}\) (PM, April 24, 1907, p. 16).

Reporters repeatedly relied on clichés about the generation gap and inter-generational misunderstandings. In the earlier years of the sample, reports suggested that runaways were not seeking freedom so much as they were going off to look for work; however, portrayals of parents’ anxieties were the same regardless of their children’s motivation for running away. Since the 1960s, the image of runaways has rested much more on this idea that they are seeking freedom from the various constraints under which they live, mostly their parents and sometimes also small town life. For example, in a letter to the columnists of Teen-age dateline titled “Runaway teenager sadder, wiser after LSD trips,” the writer stated that she enjoyed the freedom of being away from home and experimenting with drugs (TS, December 6, 1967, p. 72). In the 1970s, much ink was used by The Toronto Star in the discussion of ‘transient youth,’ referring to youths who travelled across Canada during the summer months, sometimes also dubbed ‘runaways.’ For example, one article bearing the headline “Runaways ‘not angry’ at parents” explained as follows the youths’ motivations:

Collins said that when young people fight with their parents and leave home they are not saying their parents are wrong.

"And they’re not angry," he said. "They are saying that they agree their father should be able to live by his own set of rules. But they don’t understand why they can’t find their own rules to live by." (TS, May 3, 1971, p. 57)

Other articles emphasized parents’ lack of understanding of the reasons why their children chose to hitchhike cross-country as well as children’s lack of understanding

\(^{126}\) Translation: the love birds
about their parents’ good intentions. They also highlighted the tension created by parental rules and children’s need for independence.

Another corollary of the so-called freedom-seeking youth runaways was the idea that youths were abusing the welfare system in order to ‘stick it’ to their parents (see Martin, 2002). For example,

[Ontario Minister of Social and Family Services] Wells said, however, the amendments will give local welfare officers discretionary powers to investigate cases – which they cannot do now. This would ensure that teenagers are not just ‘thumbing their noses’ at their parents and leaving home to live on welfare. […] Those who deserve welfare will still qualify, said Wells. But the teenagers who are leaving home only because of the availability of welfare support will be cut off, he said. (TS, May 21, 1971, p. 5)

In the follow-up to that story, other commentators mentioned that ease of access to welfare enticed young people to leave home (TS, May 27, 1971b, p. 3; May 28, 1971, p. 1). However, further follow-up suggested that “Teens under 18 say cutoff in welfare won’t drive them home” (TS, May 29, 1971, p. 14).

Only a few articles actually delved into the risks faced by street youth and how bad a home situation might have to be for them to willingly face those risks. A feature article on a home for teen/unwed mothers and girls in crisis discussed the problems at length. It started from the general: “And for many, that crisis is an untenable home life; a situation so bad that they prefer to take their chances on their own” (TS, May 7, 1983, p. A13) and went into specific cases. One case discussed was that of a girl who came to Canada from Trinidad to be with her mother and stepfather. The stepfather treated her poorly, heaping racial slurs on her and physically abusing her to the point of breaking four ribs; but she withdrew assault charges at her mother’s request. She went from foster home to foster home, where she was mistreated as well. She was in and out of court on a regular basis for different types of crimes.

She floated through the days high on acid or hash or alcohol, forgetting about school, trying to forget about her family. […] Professionals who have worked
with her say that what Deborah needs most of all is a normal, loving family environment. But it's very rare for children's aid societies to place anyone over 16 in a foster home. (TS, May 7, 1983, p. A13)

The latter explanation was atypical of portrayals of runaways in general. This account related more to those about deviant families discussed below, serving as a contrast between explanations focused, respectively, on 'pathological' families and characteristics of youth which are implicitly transitory, therefore not pathological but normal.

Thrill seeking was another factor which was described as motivating misbehaviour when youths pursued fun and excitement or relief from boredom (see, e.g., Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958).

As discussed below, lack of proper recreational activities was a factor that purportedly contributed to some youth crime; reports described youth with too much free time on their hands as more likely to get into trouble. For example, an article reporting on the conviction of three teenaged boys for joyriding stated

"These boys come from good homes in town," said crown Attorney Fred Malone. "They are not the usual type of car thief we have in our courts. It is just a case where the devil finds work for idle hands to do." [...] "I have known the youths for many years and they have not given us much trouble. They are good boys, but they are a little mischievous," stated Sergt. Robert Weatherup. (TS, April 14, 1939b, p. 8)

Also, the enticement of the prohibited was mentioned as one reason for certain types of crimes. Several of the acts reported in the sample were qualified as mischief and pranks, and the reporters suggested such motives as curiosity, a dare, boredom or the context of a celebration such as Hallowe'en. For example, a lawyer defending two youths accused of stealing a car was quoted as saying in court "They may have had too much Hallowe'en spirit. That is probably what made them do this foolish thing" (TS, November 8, 1935, p. 3). This is not to say that the acts explained were all benign; much to the contrary, this type of explanation was used for a wide variety of offences.
ranging from petty theft, vandalism and minor assaults to train derailments, arson and homicide. For example,

Headline: “8-year-old gunman gets 2 with a shot”
Sub-headline: “Fires .22 Fusillade to Relieve Boredom”
Taking “pot shots” with his older brother’s .22 calibre rifle to relieve his boredom an eight-year-old boy upset the Park Ave. residential section yesterday.
A policeman and the apartment building’s superintendent were slightly wounded while hunting the source of the mysterious fusillade. [...] found Bobby Jones, son of a physician, having a grand time from his ninth-floor window. (TS, April 5, 1939, p. 27)

An article in La Presse announced “Les jeux avec la dynamite prennent brusquement fin” (PM, October 26, 1951, p. 3) and told of all the fun the boys had had at watching their stolen dynamite explode. Another article described the boy accused of stealing cars as “ce même délinquant, un férur des autos de marque Oldsmobile” (PM, November 6, 1963b, p. 58) and reported that he only stole the cars because he enjoyed Oldsmobiles so much. In an Ann Landers column, a reader writes

Dear Ann Landers: I am still in tears after reading about an incredible incident that occurred here in Silsbee, Texas. Please help me understand it. Eleven children between 8 and 14 years of age chased a quarter horse into a barbed wire fence and beat the animal to death with sticks. According to the county probation officer, the kids were bored and looking for some mischief they might get into. Mischief? When we were kids, mischief was wrapping a few hundred sheets of toilet paper around some bushes in the neighbors’ yard. Torturing an animal was unthinkable. This crime has outraged our town.” (TS, December 3, 1995, p. E2)

Despite the reader’s (and Ann’s) redefinition of the situation, the headline of the column nonetheless read “Bored kids beat horse to death.” Another article with the headline “Heists just summer fun for bored teens” reported on a string of armed robberies to which four teenage girls from an affluent suburb of Houston, Texas, admitted (VP, September 9, 1999, p. A40).

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127 Translation: Dynamite games end abruptly
128 Translation: this same delinquent, who is keen on Oldsmobile cars.
Characteristics associated with youthfulness were therefore a further way in which crime was explained by concentrating on an individual 'defect.' The focus on the individual here again belies the aversion to examining the broader social context of young people's lives.

v) Alcohol and drugs

Reporters used intoxication so often to explain criminal behaviour that it warranted its own category in this analysis. They rarely discussed drunkenness as an explanation prior to the 1930s (see Ajzenstadt, 1992, 2002). They began to make use of it with much more frequency in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, with a few more references in the 1970s and 1980s and several in 1999 surrounding a couple of incidents of youth violence. The Province mentioned intoxication from illegal drugs once in 1911, but there were no other allusions to illegal drug use as a cause of misbehaviour until 1955. In La Presse all but one mention of intoxication from illegal drugs were confined to the 1990s and half of those were part of two in-depth series on drug problems in high schools (1991) and drug problems in general (1995). In the two English-language newspapers, 1967 and 1971 in the sample were years where I detected several acknowledgements of problems caused by illegal drugs. This time frame coincided with a period where various sources increasingly expressed concerns about 'hippies' and youth counter-culture, with drugs being part of that picture. In The Province, coverage on illicit drugs tapered off after those two years and only came back into force in the late 1990s. The Toronto Star continued to employ this explanation with regularity until the end of the sample years. These findings are in contrast to those of McManus & Dorfman (2002) who found that the influence of alcohol and drugs was infrequently used as an explanatory framework. Other methods of intoxication revealed during the same time period included 'sniffing'
products such as gasoline, paint thinner, nail polish remover, solvent and glue as well as improperly ingesting asthma drugs.

Reports did not portray being under the influence of substances such as alcohol or drugs as justifying or excusing criminal behaviour, but they did present it as a reasonable explanation of behaviour, especially when it came to young people who were unaccustomed to the effects of alcohol. Although the formulations changed slightly over time, the influence of intoxicating substances was a recurring theme throughout the sample period.

In one case, The Province printed three articles about the murder trial of a young man who fatally stabbed another "during a drunken brawl" (VP, February 20, 1959b, p. 1). The reports described both the accused and the victim as highly intoxicated at the time of the incident (VP, February 17, 1959a, p. 15; VP February 19, 1959a, p. 1; VP February 20, 1959b, p. 1). The final article reporting on the young man's acquittal of the murder charge reported "O'Grady was apparently not accustomed to liquor, which had quite an effect on him, he said" (VP, February 20, 1959b, p. 1). The reporter also quoted the judge's advice to the accused: "Don't drink. It doesn't do a man much good, particularly if you can't handle it" (VP, February 20, 1959b, p. 1).

Inasmuch as most of the references to intoxication indicated diminished capacity due to the influence of substances, they could be related to the classical view that rational choices might be affected by intoxication. Given that individuals chose to consume such substances, they were generally held accountable for their behaviour; intoxication only helped to account for the behaviour. However, in the few cases where intoxication was seen as part of a broader pattern of behaviour and was linked to addiction, the positivist paradigm became the stronger explanatory framework with its notions of individual pathology and disease and the need for therapeutic treatment.
Aside from intoxication as an explanation for behaviour, reporters brought up other factors, especially relating to drugs. Reports suggested that the ease of access to illegal drugs in high schools, for example, was a reason for the proliferation of drug use and abuse among young people. This too was in keeping with neo-classical notions of opportunity. The opening paragraph of an article in The Toronto Star, for example, quoted a 15-year-old Grade 11 student stating "Any kid who wants to get high can do it any time he wants to. If he doesn't have the buck to score some dope, he can always find a buddy to take up with, no problem" (TS, May 3, 1983a, p. 10). The article quoted the same student further, about how easy it was to "get a buzz on," and then bolstered his views by reporting that "His assessment of the availability of drugs – and particularly cannabis – may sound like an overstatement, but it is borne out by more than a dozen other York region teens interviewed by The Star" (TS, May 3, 1983a, p. 10).

The notion of gateway drugs, i.e. that the use of 'soft' drugs leads to experimentation with 'hard' drugs, was also mentioned in several articles, by experts on addiction, former addicts and young people themselves. For example, an article about a 'born-again addict,' Christ Stathis, who was visiting schools to warn students about the dangers of drugs explained to a "rapt group of students how smoking cigarettes and drinking beer in Grade 7 in his hometown of Albuquerque [sic], New Mexico, led to the use of marijuana, LSD and eventually heroin" (TS, May 10, 1983, p. 10).

Additionally, the coverage emphasized the idea that drug addicts will commit other crimes for utilitarian purposes, either in order to obtain money to 'feed their drug habit' or in the course of drug trafficking. The headline "Addicts steal $10 million a day, N. Y. drug probe told" (TS, December 14, 1987, p. 48) illustrated this conception well. The same article reported "The committee was also told that gangsters are recruiting children to peddle drugs in Harlem, and that young girls are hired to package drugs in uptown 'dope factories.'" The born-again addict mentioned above told students that "To
support his habit, [he] became an enforcer for a drug dealer. He began carrying a gun as he helped the dealer collect debts" (TS, May 10, 1983, p. 10).

Therefore, alcohol and drugs were another negative influence upon young people which newspapers used as an explanation for involvement in crime. The portrayal of the negative impact of alcohol and drugs was not limited to the effects of intoxication on behaviour, but also included the ease of access to illegal drugs and the other crimes committed in relation to the drug trade.

In sum, the various explanations grouped under the theme of 'individual defect' have in common their focus on the individual, if not directly blaming him or her, at least attributing the situation to their individual characteristics rather than to any social factors. Such explanations do not breach the ideological boundaries of questioning the social order and serve to maintain the image of the criminal as other, different and/or responsible to some degree.

D) Social defect

The print media's tendency to focus on defects that are inherently individual could ultimately offer only a limited explanatory framework. Common sense dictates that there must be at least some other possible explanations when it comes to crime and deviance. One of the major trends in criminological theory throughout the first half of the twentieth century was the positivist examination of the effect of social and environmental factors on crime causation (Williams & McShane, 2004).

It is the framing of those other possibilities which reveals even further the narrow scope of the explanations found in the news coverage. News reports considered 'pathological' social and environmental factors mostly in terms of how they can negatively influence individuals to engage in crime.
The characteristics often associated with youth such as poor judgment and inexperience, with the consequence that they are frequently misguided, make them particularly susceptible to the influence exerted by a bad environment. In addition to the portrayals of family, reporters looked for explanations about delinquency to other elements composing young people’s environment such as community, social conditions, media, peers and adults.

i) The family

The spectrum of causes revolving around the family is the most developed explanation in the entire sample. Despite the wide array of different considerations available (academic, ‘common sense’ or other), family seems to be one area that is inevitably considered. Even when other causes were obvious, speculation on whether the family situation had somehow contributed to the young person’s behaviour was often present as well. Explanations revolving around the family fit into the two dominant theoretical paradigms. Positivism looks for ‘pathology’ within the family and family situation whereas the classical perspective considers notions of blame and responsibility.

One distinction clearly drawn in the articles examined here was that between good and bad family, as though there were no shades of grey between the two polar opposites. The first image I want to consider here is that of the so-called good family. Examining this image allows for a better subsequent comparison with the constructions of so-called bad families.

In the coverage, ‘good’ families are composed of “respected citizens,” “well-known residents,” people in military service, people in esteemed professions, and stereotypical nuclear families. ‘Good families’ typically conform to the traditional patriarchal familial ideology (Eichler, 1997) and parents within those families are
representatives of hegemonic masculinity and femininity. Chapter 9 develops the themes of gender and family in greater detail; therefore, some of the family-focused explanations are elaborated there rather than here.

The image of the good family is fairly clear and fits well with the prevalent stereotypes of gender and family. However, much of youth crime is explained as being the result of a youth's membership in a 'bad' family. A 'bad' family acquires meaning only through implicit or explicit comparison with a 'good' family.

Families who fail to teach proper values, who fail to set a proper example and provide moral guidance for their children, who fail to adequately supervise and discipline their children, and who fail to provide an acceptable home environment (due to poverty, alcoholism, marital breakdown or other reasons) are strongly criticized. These indicators of 'pathology' within the family are commonly found in theoretical formulations within the positivist perspective. Nevertheless, these indicators are incorporated into news coverage as common sense (albeit with moralistic undertones). Reporters will generally make seemingly neutral comments about families which leave room for interpretation as to the (un)fitness of the parents. But in other cases, such as reports containing direct quotes by judges or Crown attorneys and letters to the editor, the comments about 'bad' families can be overtly condemnatory. Blaming parents was also a popular explanation in the media found by Klein and Chancer (2000) and McManus and Dorfman (2002).

So-called broken homes, where parents are separated or divorced, were frequently targeted. For example, in an article on a correctional school for boys, the journalist reported that about 30% of the students at this school came from single parent homes and a certain percentage from separated families (PM, May 17, 1983, p. A5). The journalist did not contextualize that information, however, in terms of the overall proportion such families represent in society. In a profile of a young man extradited to the US to serve a life sentence, the columnist wrote "Indeed his whole life has been one
of trouble. He comes from a broken home. His mother is divorced; his father was just last week arraigned in court on false pretences charges" (TS, February 2, 1959b, p. 21). Schissel (1997a, 2006) has also noted this media focus on single-parent families, particularly those headed by women.

This discussion of the failings of the family brings us back to the notion of responsibility. The idea that individuals are responsible and accountable for their behaviour is a fundamental tenet of the Classical School. The critiques brought by the Neo-Classical School are particularly relevant here in terms of youth as a mitigating factor. Given that youth, in the current Canadian context at least, have not been considered fully criminally responsible for their acts since 1908, blame may be (justifiably or not) placed elsewhere. Furthermore, parents are often a favoured scapegoat, particularly when they are seen as less than adequate in fulfilling their parental duties. Parents were in fact liable to prosecution under the JDA for contributing to delinquency.

The media’s attribution of blame toward families for the juvenile delinquency of their own children as well as delinquency in general is often headline-generating news, as seen in the following headlines:

- Places blame on parents if children delinquent
  Undesirable home life big cause, says St. Louis Truant Officer (TS, November 9, 1935, p. 1)

- Parents to blame, says Hamilton Court – Juvenile crime jumps (TS, April 28, 1939, p. 25)

- Negligent parents held to blame for delinquency (VP, June 4, 1947c, p. 6)

- Truants’ parents face arrest (TS, September 30, 1999, p. A21)

Reporters vilified ‘irresponsible’ families and inept parents in much the same way as the broken homes discussed above with respect to social pathology. If the law diminished a youth’s responsibility, reporters still individualized the blame in that they attributed it to the individual family unit.
Permissiveness of parents is one of the more recent favourites in terms of bad parenting, emerging in the second half of the twentieth century. Distant, preoccupied parents who do not pay enough attention to their children represent another more contemporary image of bad parenting that leads to delinquency. This representation replaced the earlier focus on non-existent or inadequate supervision. In the earlier part of the sample, parents' disrespect for the law was seen as one cause of juvenile delinquency as was bad parenting in general, although reporters did not clearly define what constituted bad parenting. Accounts often portrayed immigrant parents as particularly inept. Comments such as these made by Judge Mott\textsuperscript{129} of the Toronto juvenile court provide a fitting illustration: "I often find that the children who pass through this court are often better fitted to cope with life than their parents are," explained the judge to The Star. "This is particularly true of foreigners" (TS, July 12, 1927, p. 13). Also, other sources, such as social workers, portrayed immigrant parents as not understanding the importance of school and leisure activities and their role in preventing delinquency, thus making their children more vulnerable to negative influences.

We can plainly see the nature versus nurture debate playing out in the explanations that newspapers favour in accounting for youth crime. If there is not something inherently wrong with the individual, then the family must be to blame somehow. The newspapers mentioned other environmental influences, though to a far lesser extent than that of the family.

\textsuperscript{129} Judge Hawley Mott took the helm of Toronto's Juvenile Court in 1920 (Hogeveen, 2003). He appears to have been influential in charting the course of the court and youth justice in Ontario more generally. He was frequently quoted in The Toronto Star for comments made in court as well as for recommendations for the improvement of juvenile justice.
ii) Pathological environment and social conditions

News accounts occasionally framed the failings of the family within a wider perspective that included other elements comprising a young person’s environment such as the school, the community and the church.

Headline: “Says environment shapes boy’s life”
Sub-headline: “More vital than heredity, D. B. Brankin tells Credit men”
“Parent, boy, church, public school and community have all failed in their influence on the life of the boy who comes to our home at Coquitlam,” declared Mr. David B. Brankin, superintendent of Boys’ Industrial School in speaking to Canadian Credit Men’s Trust Association, Wednesday at luncheon in Hotel Georgia.

“Environment is more powerful than heredity,” Mr. Brankin said in explaining that where all five factors have properly functioned, the boy has no inclination to violate the law. (VP, March 19, 1931, p. 14)

Other accounts also mentioned inadequate social services, inadequate foster care, slum housing and housing projects as having a strong bearing on young people’s involvement in crime. For example, in 1963 both of the English-language newspapers reported on a study done by the Canadian Education Association about academic underachievement by children living in slum areas. The headlines “Poverty blights city core, ruins youth – report” (TS, November 7, 1963, p. 1) and “Crime linked to slums” (VP, November 8, 1963, p. 19) are telling.

This type of attention to environment represents a somewhat more complex and contextualized understanding of social problems such as youth crime. However, as I have indicated in Chapter 5, simplified explanations are much more dominant. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that explanations incorporating the broader environment of an individual were not frequently found. Although these explanations take more account of the environment, they still reside firmly within the purview of sociological positivist explanations as the social structure is not called into question. The more immediate environment of the youth was considered in terms of how it might affect the individual’s behaviour and cause delinquency.
When environmental factors were used, reporters typically portrayed the school as failing in its educational or disciplinary capacity. Other commentators such as politicians and religious leaders blamed schools and communities more generally for the lack of appropriate supervised activities for the young people's leisure time, the amount of which had been growing since the 19th century as child protection laws were enacted to compel school attendance and prohibit child labour (see, e.g., Gaffield, 1982; Joyal, 1999; Peikoff & Brickey, 1991; Smandych, 2001a). Particularly in the earlier portion of the century, perhaps up to the 1960s, community leaders suggested that youth who were not kept busy in healthful pursuits would get into trouble.

Also in the earlier portion of the twentieth century, the church formed a significant part of some young persons' environment. Religious leaders and individuals whose opinions were printed in the newspapers decried the diminishing influence of the church in the lives of young people as directly linked to immorality and crime. That such laments were more frequent in the anglophone newspapers was surprising, given the strong influence of the Catholic Church in Québec (Gossage, 2003).

Although rarely, certain commentators did make strong cases in demonstrating the effects of social conditions upon youth. This was especially the case during and following the two world wars when reporters represented upward trends in crime statistics as attributable to the wars. Reports specifically linked youth problems to such factors as the absence of fathers and brothers for combat, the absence of mothers for paid labour, and the instability brought about by rapid change.

Despite the empathetic reference to social conditions which had led families to fail in the control of their children, editors and news writers did not call into question underlying assumptions about 'normal' and 'deviant' families. They continued to portray deviant families as 'causes' of delinquency, describing families' shortcomings as the result of individual failure or failure due to social factors beyond their control.
Social conditions relating to poverty were another causal factor associated with youth crime. High unemployment rates in general, and among youth in particular, insufficient welfare payments, economic recession, lack of legitimate job opportunities and lack of job training for youth in a society that was sometimes described as becoming increasingly materialistic were understood to be problematic. For example, when asked by judges why they had committed theft or robbery, young people would answer that they were unemployed, that they had tried to find ‘honest work’ but without success, that they were broke, and that they needed the money to buy food or clothes. Sources from various backgrounds, including judges, police, social workers and politicians, also acknowledged this link between economic hardship and crime. And it is particularly interesting to see how explanations around strain produced by war and economic crisis are redeployed at different moments in history when ‘anomic’ conditions exist.

In sum, the press coverage presented ‘pathological’ social conditions as factors leading to delinquency and it portrayed crime as a rational response to those social conditions. This representation is in keeping with sociological positivist explanations which assume that the offender is not fundamentally different from the non-offender, but that his or her social environment is ‘pathological.’ This combination illustrates how classical and positive explanations are not mutually exclusive, despite the fact that they are usually portrayed as such. Different weight can be attributed to each part of the explanation (rationality/pathology), depending on one's perspective.

iii) Media influences

Another sub-theme, this one highly prevalent in the news coverage as well as in the criminological literature, is young people’s susceptibility to influence (see, e.g., Agnew, 2005; Akers, 1985; Bell, 2003; Bibby, 2001; Flannery et al., 1999; Holman, 1995; Tanner, 1996; Wooden & Blazak, 2001). Youthful immaturity is seen as a factor
rendering them more impressionable. Coverage consistently portrayed young people as more likely to imitate other offenders and to emulate what they see in various forms of media.

The imitation of real or imaginary criminal individuals or actions repeatedly served as a panic button about the youth generation. The portrayal of these innocent, vulnerable, gullible, impressionable young minds suggested they were highly apt to be moulded by the malevolent, vile, destructive, immoral images they encountered in the various forms of media. The influence of the media – be it movies, television, comic books, magazines, crime novels, or video games – was one particularly potent target of moral panics. Excessive violence in the media was also found to be a popular media explanation for youth crime by Klein and Chancer (2000) and McManus and Dorfman (2002).

The earliest of these media-blaming campaigns detected in the sample was in relation to theatre attendance. In 1907, just prior to the implementation of the JDA, The Toronto Star ran an uncommonly lengthy article titled "Would bar plays depicting crime," which recounted arguments made in a municipal committee meeting regarding a motion to appoint a censor on theatrical performances. Sources repeatedly made causal links between theatre attendance and youth crime and immorality:

"Legislation may be passed at the next session of the Legislature prohibiting the attendance of minors at the theaters unless accompanied by guardians or parents," said Inspector Archibald.130 "This will stop boys either borrowing, begging, or stealing to get into the theater. I know a number of cases when the ruin of boys and girls can be traced directly to the theaters."

A Girl's Mania.
Inspector Archibald then told of a mother who had brought her 13-year-old daughter to him to place in the Industrial School because of her mania for theater attendance. Allured by the posters on the signboards, the girl had stolen

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130 Inspector David Archibald of the Toronto Police Department was one of the main opponents of the JDA and of the establishment of a juvenile court in Toronto that he felt would "coddle a class of perverts and delinquents who require the most rigid disciplinary and corrective measures to ensure the possibility of their reformation" (Jones & Rutman, 1981: 118).
money from her mother to get to the theater and had become partially demoralized. The inspector advised the mother to take better care of her daughter and gave her another chance. Shortly after, however, the girl was found on the streets by a policeman at 2 o'clock in the morning and was brought to the police station. She was sent to the Industrial school when it was found she had become a moral degenerate. […]

"I have consulted judges who have told me that they have had people before them who attributed their downfall to the theater," said Ald. Graham. (TS, April 27, 1907, p. 8)

A subsequent moral panic surrounding the influence of a media form was a scare about the effects of comic books in the 1930s and 1940s (Adams, 1995; Brannigan, 1986; Swainger, 1998, 2003). This alarm appears to have been paralleled by concerns about crime magazines (Strange & Loo, 2004; The Culture of Cities Project, McGill Research Team, n.d.b). It was also during this period and afterwards that the newspapers contained several warnings about the noxious impact of crime comics and magazines on young people. For example, one article reporting on the work of a United States senate sub-committee on juvenile delinquency suggested many causes for juvenile crime; however, it singled out obscene publications as one of the greatest dangers for youth (PM, March 11, 1955, p. 6). Another article reported

Raising the matter in the Senate throne speech debate, Senator Vaillancourt blamed 'these obscene magazines – this cheap dirty literature – which teach sensual pleasure and display crime and immorality' for 95 per cent of Canada's juvenile delinquency. (VP, February 26, 1959, p. 1)

Swainger (1998) highlighted similar sentiments in relation to the Alaska Highway "crime comic murder" of a farmer from the northeast Peace region of British Columbia by two youths aged 11 and 13. While concern over crime comics predated this November 1948 incident, according to Swainger, the murder fuelled the moral panic and eventually led, under the moral entrepreneurship of Kamloops Conservative Member of Parliament E. Davie Fulton, to the enactment of legislation essentially banning crime comics (see also Adams, 1995).
Concerns about the influence of the media were not limited to crime comics and magazines; they extended to the mainstream media as well. In a guest opinion on "Crime and Its Cure," J. J. Kelso stated "Sensationalism and widespread publicity given to these daring hold-ups convey the suggestion to weak minds of similar exploits and thus the evil continues to grow" (TS, March 2, 1931, p. 6).

More recently, an article about rowdy crowds at high school basketball games mentioned a few violent incidents and described measures being taken to address the problem. The focus was on one incident where a coach had had a bench thrown at him after a game, receiving a concussion and gash requiring five stitches to close. The coach subsequently quit boys' basketball in favour of girls' basketball and volleyball. However

He remains concerned about the poor sportsmanship surrounding male basketball - at every level. He singled out a recent NBA game where Toronto Raptor Oliver Miller had to be restrained by teammates from tossing a chair at a referee.

"This is the sort of thing we try to combat," said Earthy. "There's no question guys like Dennis Rodman are role models. Kids see them do it and say 'Why can't we?'" (TS, December 14, 1995, p. NY6)

One editorial cartoon summed up the central ideas contained in contemporary discourse. The first vignette had a man behind a counter with his finger at the ready on a cash register, wearing a hat with a big M like McDonald's on it; the sign above him read McExplik. He was asking the man on the other side of the counter if he could help him. The man asked "Pourquoi la violence chez les jeunes?". In the second vignette the man behind the counter answered "C'est à cause du Nintendo, de la télé, du

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131 J. J. Kelso was a reporter, described by many as one of Canada's leading child savers (see Chapter 2). He was the founder of the Toronto Humane Society in 1888 and the Toronto Children's Aid Society in 1891.
132 Translation: the French word "explique" translates to explain.
133 Translation: "Why youth violence?"
Another example of a media-blaming campaign related to this purported link between video games and youth violence. Video games became one of the favoured targets of moral panic after the shootings at Columbine High School. Nineteen ninety-nine was the year in the sample in which I observed the most links made between video games and youth crime and violence, although a few references were made in other years. In 1999, the portrayals of video games suggested that they warp young minds, and turn them into killers unable to distinguish between shooting up the fantasy world of a video game and shooting up the real world of the school cafeteria. The author of a guest opinion stated

The argument that it was video games that turned Harris and Klebold into mass murderers got an endorsement recently from David Grossman, a retired U.S. army colonel. In a recent address to the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, Grossman argued that some video games have given kids well-honed shooting skills and turned killing into the sort of "conditioned response" one would normally only acquire through intensive combat training. (TS, September 7, 1999, p. A19)

So, over time, we can see that the negative influence of the media has been a recurring theme in various forms. How ironic that the print news media should be the ones pointing out the shortcomings of other media! In any case, from the early concerns about the theatre, comics and magazines to the more contemporary focus on video games, different forms of media have been given ample consideration when it comes to explaining crime among young people.

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134 Translation: “It is because of Nintendo, TV, heavy metal, internet, drugs...”
135 Translation: “It is also because of globalization and because traditional values have gotten lost...”
iv) The influence of significant others: peers and adults

The other area of concern around the perceived malleability of young people was that they would more easily be led into crime by other people (including their peers, adults who would take advantage of them or a crowd scenario getting out of hand). The influence of peers, in particular, is well documented in the research literature, especially within the context of youth subcultures (see, e.g., Bell, 2003; Bibby, 2001; Cohen, 1955; Flannery et al., 1999; Miller, 1958; Wooden & Blazak, 2001).

The imitation of others, be they peers or individuals whose crimes have garnered attention in the news, was one area of concern. This apprehension was occasionally raised as an objection to the incarceration of juvenile offenders, as the formation of criminal associations was seen as particularly threatening to their rehabilitation. News reports portrayed the co-housing of young offenders with other, perhaps more experienced, criminals as apt to lead to further criminal involvement, as suggested by the idea that prisons are schools of crime. For instance, one article in The Province reported an announcement that Ontario would be adopting a system of segregating prisoners according to age and criminal record. "In making the announcement, Mr. Nixon [provincial secretary] said it was recognized that youths in these institutions are susceptible to the influence of the older prisoners" (VP, November 9, 1935, p. 16).

In several cases, reporters quoted sources saying about a particular group of youths who had committed a crime (or crimes) together that individually they were just fine, but as a group they tended to get into trouble. This was the case, for example, when reporters quoted young people who knew the youths accused of killing Pearl Rushford Lamarre commenting "c'étaient des garçons comme les autres, mais qu'ils
faisaient des mauvais coups quand ils étaient en gang"\textsuperscript{136} (PM, September 25, 1999a, p. A3). This was also the case in explanations that drew on the 'bad apple' metaphor, explained above, where sources described one 'bad' youth as causing other 'good' youths around him or her to behave badly.

In general, accounts depicted youths as being easily led into crime by their peers because they would strive to fit in, they might succumb to peer pressure, they were keeping bad company, they were part of a 'gang' or they were showing off.

Reports also suggested that young people could be led into crime more easily by those who were older than them due to influence, coercion, recruitment and training or being duped. For example, in the case of Toronto's "first girl-bandit" back home from jail after serving time for a robbery committed with her brother-in-law, it was reported that "Kathleen was described by the trial judge as a 'dupe' but she was sentenced to Mercer reformatory for two years" (TS, March 9, 1931, p. 30). The following headlines also exemplified this idea that youth are susceptible to being led into crime by adults:

"5 ans de pénitencier à 2 bandits qui faisaient voler leur jeune frère"\textsuperscript{137} (PM, February 13, 1959, p. 46)

"Led 17 youths – crime teacher jailed" (VP, August 29, 1975, p. 6)

One gender-specific version of the explanation that bad adults lure youth into vice and crime revolved around the recruitment of young women and girls into the sex trade. Portrayals of men (and adult women) involved with young women and girls in the sex trade (generally referred to as 'child prostitutes') were especially virulent. Reports depicted the young women and girls as particularly vulnerable, exploited, threatened, intimidated, while portraying the men as villainous, exploitive, threatening, intimidating, manipulative, selfish, lazy and perverted. Morality offences were one area where the

\textsuperscript{136} Translation: they were boys like any other, but they did bad tricks when they were together in a gang.

\textsuperscript{137} Translation: 5 years in penitentiary for 2 bandits who made their young brother steal
coverage made no semblance of objectivity. One early example of this bias referred to
the practice of white slavery\textsuperscript{138} (PM, April 23, 1907, p. 1). Portrayals of pimps and johns
referred to them as creeps, perverts, predators, pedophiles, deviants, and "johns lusting
for control." The following example illustrated the way in which pimps were described:

[Sgt.] Knox [head of the Metro police task force on juvenile prostitution]
said pimps are expert at "pushing the buttons that turn juveniles on.

"These kids are scared and vulnerable and the pimps will give them
whatever they need for a couple of days – and then they’ll ask for the payback."
The girl, a "fairly normal kid turned bad," could prove easy prey, her mother said.
(TS, July 29, 1987a, p. A2)

Accounts of the various methods used in convincing girls to partake in
prostitution and related activities were typically very vivid and the coercion used against
them (e.g., physical force, sexual assault, blackmail, extortion) was strongly
emphasized. For example, one headline reported "Held prisoner say three girls, charge
3 men" (TS, February 26, 1959, p. 2) and the next day’s follow up added details such as
these “The girls said they had been threatened with a straight razor and told they would
be disfigured if they did not obey orders from the men with whom they were living" (TS,
February 27, 1959, p. 8).

Reporters used particular terms, especially verbs such as push, prey, force, and
coerce, in constructing the coercive acts used by pimps as illustrated in the following
examples:

Headline: “Pimp gets 9 years in jail for exploiting two teens”
A high-living pimp has been sentenced to nine years in prison for
exploiting and abusing two young prostitutes, one of whom earned $250,000 in
13 months of selling her sexual services.
Society finds the conduct of people like Mitillal Lall ‘repulsive and
abhorrent,’ Mr. Justice H. Ward Allen said yesterday in Ontario court, general
division. [...] Allen found that Lall, 33, was motivated by ‘greed and sexual gratification’
as he used the prostitutes, one aged 18 and the other aged 13, to make money
for him.

\textsuperscript{138} In original: "la traite des blanches"
The judge said Lall enjoyed ‘nice cars, fine clothes and expensive parties’ as a result of the cash he took from the teenagers. ‘You wanted control of these children or young women’ and maintained it by threats and assault, Allen said. He also found that Lall sexually assaulted a 14-year-old who refused to work as prostitute for him.” (TS, January 31, 1991, p. A7)

Headline: “Law would jail pimps who prey on young” Pimp convicted of forcing teenagers into prostitution would be jailed for a mandatory minimum of five years […]. individuals who coerce children under 18 to sell their bodies on the street. [...] “But there is universal agreement that targeting juveniles to become prostitutes is just about as low as you can get,” a source said. (TS, December 14, 1995, p. A3)

Constructions of pimps are not central to the point I am making here. However, we can see that from such portrayals of the pimps taking advantage of young women and girls emerges an image of young sex trade workers as particularly susceptible to exploitation. So, as was the case with the depictions of negative media influences, the image of young offenders in the coverage suggested that they are also uniquely vulnerable to the untoward influences of individuals around them, whether friends or foes.

In sum, this section reviewed the key influences on young people as they were represented in the print news media: the family, the environment and social conditions, the media, peers, and the adults in the lives of young people. Each of these bad influences, while explaining the behaviour of young people, also served to construct the image of youths as easily influenced, lacking judgment and vulnerable to exploitation.

E) Inter-group conflict

A considerable amount of coverage in the sample surrounded fights between groups or gangs. However, relatively little attention was given in the coverage to the cause of the fights when compared to the other explanations detailed above. The conflicts which the media did attempt to explain tended to be based on class, race or
age, and the media explained them in ways that erased and depoliticized the conflicts by attributing them to other causes such as bullying, personal slights, etc.

i) Youth fights, gang conflict and bullying

Various conflicts between individuals or groups of youths represented one such type of inter-group conflict. Reports tended to describe these conflicts as situations triggered by an incident, argument or fight. In some cases, reporters portrayed the problems as being of an escalating nature, for example tension between 'gangs' from different neighbourhoods leading up to a series of street fights in Vancouver in 1947 (see below). They often explained some of those behaviours as acts of revenge, retaliation for some perceived slight. This was the case, for example, in reports on acts of aggression linked to gang rivalry, drive-by shootings; such was the implication of the headline “Rivalité entre gangs de rue à l’origine des deux meurtres de dimanche dernier?” (PM, December 19, 1995a, p. A11).

Reporters typically did not acknowledge these fights as class-based. For example, in 1947, The Province reported on a number of street fights that were taking place in Vancouver, predominantly pitting boys from wealthier neighbourhoods such as Kerrisdale and West Point Grey against young men from the East End (a primarily working-class neighbourhood) (VP, June 9, 1947a, p. 1, 2; VP, June 10, 1947, p. 1, 2 – all bold emphasis added). Accounts emphasized the threatening nature of the fights, by employing terms such as those I have highlighted in the following excerpts: “adolescent ‘gang warfare’;” “Police […] warned that conditions in some areas are ‘growing worse’;” “planning a ‘monster battle’;” “Conditions are growing steadily worse;” “averted battle;” “threatened fracas;” “I think the police are to be congratulated on the

139 Translation: Rivalry between street gangs the origin of the two murders last Sunday?
work they did in preventing more trouble." Reports also raised alarm by depicting the fights as escalating in frequency ("the ‘fightingest' weekend") and by underscoring the numbers of youths involved ("six of us to six of them," 50, 100, between 250 and 300, "the large crowd had gathered"). Reporters also linked the fights to one another by explaining that one fight was retaliation for an earlier fight, suggesting a continuum between the series of fights.

I noticed some links with conflict theorist William Chambliss' ‘Saints and Roughnecks' (1973). In particular, that the fights opposed upper-middle and lower-class youths brought this work to mind. The more favourable image of the wealthier youths evidenced in Chambliss' work was not a central feature of the overall coverage in my sample, but was evidenced in this article on the court appearances of the affluent youths. The judge's comments were reported as follows:

**NOT HOODLUMS**

"I do not like to class these young men as ordinary hoodlums or hooligans," said the Magistrate, "but they are almost getting into that class when they hang around street corners and accept challenges to fight from young men from other districts.

"Only a few such instances and we are going to have some riots here.

"[...] Of course, you can't put old heads on young shoulders. You young men have a lot to learn.

"One thing they have to learn is they can't settle civic difficulties by fists."

(VP, June 10, 1947, p. 1)

So, while a critical analysis of the news coverage might indicate that class power differentials were at play in how reporters portrayed the groups of youths, it was clearly not the focus of the explanation offered in the news coverage. The reporters' explanations were much more in line with the dominant classical and positive views. Either the youths were freely choosing to engage in the fights (e.g.: retaliation), or they were exhibiting the low self-control and poor judgment that are characteristic of youth.

This type of explanation involving escalation of tension between groups or individuals leading up to a fight also took the shape of a lengthy experience with bullying
leading up to a striking culmination, such as the shootings which took place in high
schools in Littleton, Colorado, and Taber, Alberta, among others, in 1999. One article in
the sample reported “The accused shooter, now 15, was reportedly bullied and harassed
by classmates at W.R. Myers, often coming home in tears” (TS, September 2, 1999, p.
A3), while a guest column written by high school student Dawn Yow commenting on the
Columbine shootings stated

Driven to the point of insanity after being mercilessly taunted, humiliated,
harassed and degraded every single day, it takes just one more little spark to set
it all off. After all, human beings are not wired for abuse.
Eric [Harris] and Dylan [Klebold] rose from their former humiliation and turned the
tables on those who ostracized them.” (TS, September 14, 1999a, p. F2)

Such explanations clearly drew from the positivist paradigm with their focus on the
psychological effects of bullying on an individual and a virtual silence regarding the
broader context in which bullying can occur (see Morrison, 2007). The concept of
‘bullying’ itself covers a multitude of behaviours and obscures what are, in many
instances, racist/homophobic/class-based motivations for the ‘bullying.’

ii) Racially motivated conflict and the denial of racism

While racism was far from being a key explanatory framework, I have
incorporated discussion of a few examples of explanations relying on race. The reason
for this inclusion is the erasure of race which has been noted in the coverage (see
Chapters 5 and 6). The use of race and racism as an explanation is consistent with
those previously discussed findings.

Racism was infrequently mentioned as a factor affecting youth crime, except in a
few instances where racial tensions led to conflicts between two groups. And even in
those cases where racism seemed a fairly obvious explanation, there would usually be
an authoritative source (such as a judge, a police officer, a teacher) included in each
article to state that the conflict was not due to racism, but merely to the encounters
between two groups of kids who just did not get along. In one case, the judge acquitted both (French Canadian) accused, stating that it was unclear who had hit whom first. The reporter added

After dismissing the two suspects, judge Desbois deplored the uproar surrounding this trial: “It was a fight between two groups of young people,” he said. “The previous Saturday, five Jews had knocked out a French-Canadian. Saturday, the 25th, the French-Canadians came back in numbers and, this time, the Jews were beaten. This was not a racial quarrel, but ‘a quarrel about dancing and young girls’. Some young people hit each other, and that is all.”

The previously mentioned 1995 stories (two articles and a letter to the editor) in The Toronto Star about violence at Pickering High School, the news items were replete with careful language such as [emphasis added in all] “They allege South Asian students suffer racism at school,” “perceived racism,” “the parents’ allegations,” “parents’ accusations” (TS, December 10, 1995, p. A2), “perceived racially motivated violence” (TS, December 19, 1995, p. A8), and “racist accusations” (TS, December 30, 1995, p. B3). A photo of several people in a classroom meeting accompanied the first article and there was a board near the back of the room. The word RACISM with a circle around it and a diagonal bar running through it graced the sign. There was another smaller photo of “Natasha Fatah: Student leader” who appeared to be from a racial minority group.

The first article started by stating that the students and parents were fed up with violent incidents at the high school which they blamed on a group of individuals with white supremacist beliefs. This part of the article quoted one student and one South Asian parent. Then, the reporter cited Detective John McLean of the Durham Region

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140 Translation: After dismissing the two suspects, judge Desbois deplored the uproar surrounding this trial: “It was a fight between two groups of young people,” he said. “The previous Saturday, five Jews had knocked out a French-Canadian. Saturday, the 25th, the French-Canadians came back in numbers and, this time, the Jews were beaten. This was not a racial quarrel, but ‘a quarrel about dancing and young girls’. Some young people hit each other, and that is all.”
Police as saying "There are two groups of individuals at the school who don't see eye to eye with each other. It has nothing to do with the color of their skin or their ethnic origin" (TS, December 10, 1995, p. A2). In response to parents' and students' claims that a "local street gang calling itself the Pickering Village Klan" was the source of the problems, Detective McLean responded "A lot of groups of kids pick a name for themselves. Because they say 'Klan,' do we draw the inference it's the Klux Klan?" (TS, December 10, 1995, p. A2). This formulation clearly suggests that the detective does not draw that inference.

The second article reported that the South Asian parents attended a meeting of the school board to express their concerns and were not allowed to speak. "We came here and we've been totally refused like we're aliens," said Kulwant Singh. His son was one of five South Asian students charged and suspended after a violent incident at the school on Nov. 24" (TS, December 19, 1995, p. A8). The third item, a letter to the editor from a teacher at the school, started with the headline "Racist' accusations unfair to students and community." An illustration of four faces, two white, two black, accompanied the letter. The letter suggested that racist accusations were unfair and blamed the problems on "a few irresponsible teenagers" who are "probably not racist" (TS, December 30, 1995, p. B3).

Another example where racism, as well as homophobia, might have been addressed as a broader issue, but was instead restricted to an individual focus was in the previously cited articles about skinheads in Montréal. Over four consecutive days in 1991, La Presse reported on a series of violent crimes against racial minorities and people perceived as gay in Montréal's 'gay village' by young people believed to be skinheads (PM, January 14, 1991, p. A3; January 15, 1991, p. A6; January 16, 1991, p. A16; January 17, 1991, p. A11, January 17, 1991, p. B2). Throughout the coverage, the focus remained on the individuals and their group's racist philosophy. The reporter gave
little consideration to what kind of social conditions foster such racist and homophobic ideologies.

These examples, again, can be seen as illustrations of the tendency to rely on an individualistic micro-level explanation (tension between two specific groups) when a more complex macro-level explanation is available (systemic racism at the societal level). An exception to this micro-focus would be some reports of interracial violence in the United States, generally involving white and African-American people. For example, in 1935, The Toronto Star and La Presse reported that two young 'negro' boys had been lynched by a mob of 700 "white folks" in Texas, because the boys had been accused of assaulting and murdering a (presumably white) 19-year-old schoolgirl (PM, November 13, 1935, p. 3; TS, November 13, 1935, p. 25). In 1959, The Toronto Star recounted that in Delaware "A Negro family moved into the all-white suburb of Collins Park yesterday, touching off several outbreaks in which two white women were injured" (TS, February 25, 1959, p. 29). Although in the American stories the racial motivation was undeniable, it is interesting to note that neither article depicted the African-American victims as the primary targets. In the case of the lynching, the boys' alleged attack on the schoolgirl made her the principal victim and, in the case of the family moving to an all-white suburb, the focus is on the injured white women (whose injuries likely resulted from their being among the crowd surrounding the house). Accordingly, while racially motivated violence might invite a link with a critical explanatory framework, there was very little evidence of such a link in the coverage.

As a side note, coverage occasionally described immigrants as particularly crime-prone, because they purportedly did not know, understand or respect Canadian law. For example, an article on the report of the Grand Jury of the Spring Sessions in Toronto quoted "With the constant growth of the foreign population of Canada, there is a necessity of impressing upon strangers the fact that the laws of the land are adequate
for the protection of both person and property" (TS, April 4, 1907, p. 1). However, as stated earlier and in keeping with van Dijk’s (1991) analysis, racist commentary was usually implicit, typically not making direct allusions to a person’s race, but providing information that could probably serve no other purpose than to suggest race to the readers. On the whole, coverage tended to omit race, which may in fact be fortunate given the poor treatment it was given whenever it was covered. As seen in Chapter 6, implications about race embedded in some of the coverage served to construct racialized people as credible ‘criminals’ or as victims undeserving of sympathy.

iii) Intergenerational conflict

Another example of group conflict occasionally found in the coverage was what several writers characterized as intolerance toward youth in general. Peter Clough, a columnist for The Province, took to task a co-op housing board which was attempting to evict a woman and her two sons over complaints made against the woman’s oldest son. Clough sarcastically described the boy’s ‘offences’ which included ‘giving attitude,’ melting candle wax on the curb, barking at a dog and “most heinous of all, that he spray-painted three crocuses with glow-in-the-dark orange” (VP, September 1, 1999, p. A4). The author suggested that in most circumstances, such incidents would blow over; however, in this instance, members of the co-op board would not let it go. They were intent on evicting the family with no appeal process available. He concluded “Christine has written her MLA requesting a review of the act to create an arbitration process. But then no one can legislate common sense – let alone tolerance” (VP, September 1, 1999, p. A4).

Coverage also portrayed rebellion and resistance to authority, the stamp of youth, as a source of their misconduct. The three newspapers reported on protests and
riots from around the world on non-political issues of importance to young people (for example, appearances by celebrities, sports incidents, the price of movie admissions).

On the other hand, the papers also reported on youth political protests, such as protests against war and riots on politically significant days or issues. In September 1999, The Province and La Presse printed two stories each on student protests in Montréal, where students took to the streets and bridges, causing major traffic problems and clashes with police, to protest the teacher boycott of extra-curricular activities as part of their job action, along with provincial cuts to education funding (PM, September 22, 1999, p. A1, 2; PM, September 24, 1999a, p. A3; VP, September 22, 1999, p. A24; VP, September 23, 1999, p. A36).

There is clearly a difference between rioting over political and non-political issues. We get glimpses of a critical explanatory paradigm in those articles discussing the involvement of youth in political struggles against groups or forces more powerful than themselves. This was especially the case in portrayals of students protesting war and disputing cuts in education funding. Reporters depicted the students against the war as genuinely interested in making the world a better place. The predominant image of the students objecting to cuts in education funding was that of a traffic nuisance; however, their representation was also that of pawns in a struggle between the government and the teachers' union.

Certain types of youth, namely hippies and punks, were more likely than others to be portrayed as acting out of rebellion. The variations in this respect may have depended on the socio-political climate of the times or on who the writer of a particular item was, as different writers could sometimes describe rebellion as a somewhat endearing characteristic of normal youth that would pass with time (testing of boundaries) or as more troublesome (pushing of boundaries). For example, in a guest column titled "Punk teenagers deserve a break from most adults," freelance writer Diana
Aspin admitted that her own son was a "skateboard freak" and his appearance raised some eyebrows. She fondly recounted an incident where her son was accosted by a stranger who disapproved of his appearance and she commented on the need for more tolerance from adults towards the "boundless energy" and "rebellion" of youth (TS, July 21, 1987, p. 4, Neighbors insert).

Other articles, however, reported derogatory comments made by police and politicians about youths arrested at sit-ins, for example. This portrayal of youth rebellion was also exemplified in an editorial cartoon printed in The Province which had a school principal looking out the door of his office. On his desk was a newspaper with the headline "Watch for teens exhibiting 'unusual behavior' – experts." The bubble over his head said "Sigh!" as he looked at students passing by with odd hairdos, clothing and piercings (VP, September 8, 1999, p. A20).

The generation gap was not a major explanatory theme for youth misconduct. It was more of a cliche, occasionally drawn upon to account for differences of opinion where youthful behaviour was pushing, if not crossing, the boundaries of the law.

iv) Provocation and victim precipitation

In addition to the instances of victim precipitation mentioned in Chapter 6 based on characteristics of the victim, their behaviour, lifestyle, gang membership or involvement in other criminal activity, there were a few cases where unrequited love, obsession and jealousy were portrayed as the provocation for acts of serious violence. Newspapers mainly used provocation and victim precipitation to explain situations where feelings (those of the offender or of the victim) were not returned: unrequited love or unwanted homosexual advances. Such explanations were not dominant in the sense that they did not account for many crimes in the sample. However, in cases involving violence between members of actual or purported couples, this explanatory construction
was commonplace. This finding is not surprising given the highly sensationalistic value of the sex-violence combination.

Since all of the offenders in such instances were young men and the victims were mostly young women or homosexual men, I discuss this sub-theme in more detail in Chapter 9.

**F) Inadequate laws and law enforcement**

Chapter 8 deals exclusively with representations of law and justice as well as what should be done with young people who break the law. Therefore, I confine myself here to portrayals of law and justice that were part of an explanatory framework. A great many sources in the coverage proffered the argument that inadequate laws and law enforcement either caused, promoted or exacerbated youthful involvement in crime, thus constructing crime as a legal problem rather than a social problem. Such representations are in keeping with the Classical School's focus on the law and the functioning of the criminal justice system. Although the Classical School considered severity, certainty and celerity of punishment as key factors, it is especially severity (or lack thereof) which received coverage in the sample. The notion of deterrence underlies many of these explanations; however, the term itself is not used very often, and usually only by criminal justice officials.

One theme that we often see reported in present day news about young offenders is that the law is not harsh enough (too 'soft'), fails to make youth accountable for their actions, and allows them to 'get away with murder,' figuratively and, in some cases, literally (see also Schissel, 2006; Smidych, 2001b: xv). It is in fact this type of critique that the drafters of the Youth Criminal Justice Act tried in part to address. As the introduction to a Department of Justice document titled “Canada's Youth Criminal Justice Act: A New Law – A New Approach” stated “The Government of Canada is working to
establish a renewed youth justice system — one that commands respect, fosters values such as accountability and responsibility and makes it clear that criminal behaviour will lead to meaningful consequences” (Department of Justice, 2003). This purported laxity of the law governing youth criminal behaviour, however, is not only a contemporary critique. This type of discourse has been present at various moments throughout the twentieth century to critique both the Juvenile Delinquents Act and the Young Offenders Act. It has even been used to condemn the Youth Criminal Justice Act (although the disapproval of the latter Act falls outside of the period covered by my sample).

The successive reproaches of the JDA and YOA arguably have been successful in pushing youth justice in the direction of adult justice. For example, one letter to the editor from a mother whose son had been quite severely beaten by a group of young people elicited a response from another reader. The mother had sarcastically thanked the youths for not killing her son. The reaction letter was titled “The law spoils young offenders.” It said that the mother had addressed her letter to the wrong people, as those youths would not read the newspaper. She should address it to politicians who had crafted a law (YOA) that let young offenders off the hook for violent behaviour. “It is about time we started teaching our children that if they break the law they and they alone are responsible for the consequences” (TS, January 20, 1991b, p. D3).

Aside from the perceived laxity of the law governing young offenders, the lower age limit of 12 years in the definition of who is a young offender has also been subject to criticism for several decades. The condemnation of the failure to criminalize under-12-year-olds came from a great many commentators, including some within the criminal justice system. For example, in a story about extensive vandalism done to a church by two 11-year-old boys, the headline read “Boys smash church, leave path of blood,” and was followed by the sub-headline “11-year-olds are too young to be charged.” In the middle of the article was an inset quote stating "I feel these youngsters were fully aware
of what they were doing," a quote which was attributed in the article to Sergeant Jim Grimley of the Durham Region police. The article also reported the following words from Sergeant Grimley: “But they cannot be charged because they're too young – the Young Offenders Act kicks in at age 12” and “This is another example of why police would like to see the minimum age for charges lowered to 10" (TS, September 1, 1999, p. B3).

The concluding paragraph of this article reported an unrelated case of two 11-year-olds who had bludgeoned a cat to death. “Police dispensed their own justice, making them bury the cat before they took the boys home to their parents” (TS, September 1, 1999, p. B3).

As discussed previously, the coverage repeatedly suggested that more experienced criminals were likely to seek out younger criminals to perform certain acts for them because the youths would not be as easily detected or would not be subject to the same level of legal sanctions if caught. For example, an editorial in 1967 spelled this contention out quite clearly:

Police officials are aware that gangs of youthful offenders frequently count on a minor’s immunity to publicity. Those under 18 are chosen to commit the overt act, the actual breaking and entering, the direct commission of offence. Sometimes, police believe, younger boys are encouraged to assume blame for offences of older youths. If secrecy means enough to youthful lawbreakers to make them try to elude publicity, it seems reasonable to suppose that publication of names of offenders might be a deterrent. (VP, December 29, 1967, p. 4)

In fact, those pushing to toughen the laws governing youths and to lower the age at which a young person becomes criminally responsible often cited this very reason. In the editorial quoted above, the author argued that publicizing juvenile delinquents’ identity would serve as a deterrent. Some reformers of the JDA had suggested allowing children to be charged criminally at the age of 10 (TS, May 26, 1971a, p. 69), as did those who wished to reform the YOA, and critics have already attacked the YCJA for failing to lower the minimum age from 12 (see, e.g., The Toronto Star, February 3, 2000, p. 1; The Ottawa Citizen, May 30, 2001, p. A9).
Aside from the content of the law, reports also hinted that the weak enforcement of the law was likely to promote criminal behaviour among youth. The term 'mollycoddling' was a recurrent favourite in the English-language newspapers. Various sources, ranging from individuals without affiliation to community organizations to law enforcement and criminal justice personnel, frequently decried the so-called laxity of the youth system, painting a picture of youth detention as enjoyable, therefore ineffective, and even counter-productive. For instance, a letter to the editor of The Toronto Star in 1955 described prison terms as "a holiday" and suggested that there would be much less crime if the cat o' nine tails were used (TS, March 31, 1955, p. 6). More recently, a reporter quoted a grandmother attending court as saying "I think they should bring back caning. That would smarten them up. No one gets a licking these days. They don't have respect for anybody, not for the police, their parents or their teachers" (TS, September 10, 1999, p. B5). Also, in a 1991 article under the headline "Stiff terms advocated for young killers," the opening paragraph stated

Young killers won't be deterred by "reward sentences in a group home with an open door and tax-paid trips to Wonderland," an advocate for stiffer sentences for child criminals [Gordon Domm, co-ordinator of the Citizen's Coalition Favoring More Effective Criminal Sentences] says. (TS, January 10, 1991, p. A9)

The article later added

Domm, who was an Ontario Provincial Police officer for 28 years before retiring, blames what he calls the "soft approach" and "the permissive society that started in the 1950s" for increasing youth crime. Young people are dealt with less harshly because of "schemers and dreamers" who blame the problem on "everything from TV to thumb-sucking," he said. (TS, January 10, 1991, p. A9)

In other cases, the law was criticized for being unjustifiably harsh or useless and, thus, equally ineffective in prohibiting unwanted behaviours. This was the case in particular with respect to the laws restricting or banning the use of substances such as alcohol and marijuana. For example, in 1983, The Province covered a raging debate around the legal drinking age, presenting various sides on the issue through news
reports, letters to the editor, and editorials quoting concerned parties such as the Downtown Eastside Residents’ Association, a professor of pediatrics at the B.C. Children’s Hospital, the BC Hotels’ Association and the president of Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD). Various points of view presented included that the current age limit was poorly enforced, so changing the law would not have the intended effect; that young people did not receive sufficient information on their responsibilities with respect to alcohol consumption; that young people could vote at 18, serve in the military at 18 and be charged criminally at 18; that drinking and driving had increased since the drinking age had been lowered to 18 and it would save lives to raise the drinking age; and that adults set a poor example for youth with respect to drinking and driving. The Toronto Star had raised some discussion of these issues in earlier years, but none of the articles in the sample from La Presse addressed the problem of drinking and driving. A few articles made similar points made about marijuana, particularly in terms of the legalization/decriminalization debate. Some expressed concerns that legalization would lead to increased use of the drug and various problems associated with that (TS, February 9, 1979, p. A4; PM, December 29, 1995, p. A1, 2).

The perceived inadequacies of the law also extended to portrayals of the justice system. News writers and some criminal justice personnel emphasized the negative impact on young people of going through the criminal justice system instead of being ‘given a chance.’ They drew attention to the idea that youths would be saddled with a criminal record ‘for the rest of their lives.’ These ideas are associated with labelling theory which had begun to develop by mid-century. Examples of the negative impact of labelling included a report in The Province in 1955 which stated

[Miss E. D. Le Sueur, former Vancouver policewoman] said mishandling of juvenile offenders is the cause of a major part of current crime. […] “Crime records given them in their youth prevented them from obtaining decent jobs and practically forced them into a life of lawlessness.” (VP, March 29, 1955, p. 10)
Judges would occasionally make mention of their concerns about saddling young offenders with criminal records, but criminal records tended to be used more often as justification for severe sentences imposed on repeat offenders. The latter is more in keeping with the classical views on accountability and aggravating factors.

Another explanation revolving around an inadequacy in the law which provided greater opportunity for crimes to occur involved descriptions of gun violence. Access to firearms was one of the more recent explanations used in the newspaper coverage to explain behaviours, most notably gun-related deaths. Writers usually mentioned accessibility of firearms in conjunction with other causes, such as gangs, drugs and alcohol, lack of supervision and situations with triggers and escalation of tension or frustration. Various news items mentioned examples of accidents or mishandling of firearms by young people, usually with this underlying idea that guns should not be in the hands of youths. For example, an article on an incident where a boy riding his bicycle on the street was shot from the window of a home reported the following police comment: "I don't think they [the shooter and his friend] ever thought he would hit him [the victim]. And I don't think that they realized that if he hit him what damage it would do" (VP, May 31, 1983, p. B1).

With respect to the use of firearms in the so-called school shootings, for many commentators, access to firearms was the key factor in explaining the tragedies, regardless of bullying and video games and a variety of other factors suggested (see, e.g., Klein & Chancer, 2000; McManus & Dorfman, 2002; Muzzati, 2004). Two rather critical articles in The Toronto Star, one a column and one a guest opinion, challenged the portrayal that was being made of video games as a cause of the shootings and suggested that access to firearms had played a much greater role. For instance, columnist William Burrilll offered a sarcastic comment on this hysterical reaction against video games, among other targets, contrasting lack of adequate gun control (as a cause)
and various other factors that had been touted as ‘causes’ of the school shootings. He made statements such as

People: It is NOT the guns. It’s the video games that should be banned forever. [...] Guns don’t kill people. Pong kills people. And don’t even get me started on the evils of Pac Man. [...] [Republican House Whip] DeLay also quite rightly pointed a pinkie at all you pinko moms who actually work, abandoning your kids to the mind-warping, killer-spawning hell known as day care. [...] Although video games are the worst culprit, Hollywood movies, nursery rhymes, fairy tales and even baseball are also to blame for subversively churning out killer-kids.

Hollywood movies like The Basketball Diaries, Heathers or The Matrix all depict shooting-spree youths wearing trenchcoats to cover their arsenal. Now some fools say guns should be banned due to this but look at the common denominator.


One of the reasons, I would argue, that it has been so easy for the media to link various incidents of gun violence in the collective imagination has been the argument that the explanation for such violence is the ease of access to guns. An article titled "Tueries: l’Amérique impuissante" was accompanied by an illustration bearing the title "Folie meurtrière aux Etats-Unis," which was a map of the U.S. with six dots identifying cities where the most deadly shootings had occurred in the last 17 years, with dates, names of killers, number of people dead and a big gun in the corner (PM, September 17, 1999, p. C10). This type of report tends to negate the vast differences which may exist between a shooting in a school, a church, a workplace or a home. This contrast was further exemplified following a shooting “rampage” on people in a church in Texas, when an editorial cartoon in The Toronto Star titled “American Roulette” portrayed a gun at the centre of a “roulette wheel” where the circle periphery listed

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141 Translation: Killings: America powerless
142 Translation: Killing frenzy in the United States
school, office, church, street and home as the locations where the gun might stop (TS, September 19, 1999, p. A14).

In addition to portrayals of inadequate laws as criminogenic, the news reports also raised questions about the sufficiency of law enforcement. By calling into question the manner in which the law is enforced, newspapers can draw attention to abuses of power by those who are vested with state authority in the exercise of their duties. This practice again might have allowed us to draw certain parallels with a critical paradigm within criminology, where attention is paid to the role of social control agents. However, this did not tend to be the case.

I found several articles which highlighted the deleterious effects of misconduct by criminal justice personnel. I observed instances of this discourse with respect to racist harassment by police in certain neighbourhoods and physical or sexual abuse by police or guards in custody facilities. For example, a report on a hearing resulting from a claim that guards at Oakalla had abused prisoners (accused in the murder of a prison guard) quoted the judge as saying “It would be scandalous if prisoners cannot be kept safely in custody in a prison. It is the sworn duty of the custody officers to keep them safely and not use excessive force” (VP, August 21, 1975a, p. 36).

In another article, this one about a police officer found guilty of assault on a handcuffed teenaged suspect following a car chase, the judge stated that while the police officer may well have been frustrated by the suspect’s behaviour, the assault was premeditated. “Il a eu le temps de réfléchir et il ne s’est même pas arrêté au premier

143 A prison in Burnaby, BC.
coup de poing. Une fois l'individu arrêté, il a aggravé la situation, alors que le travail du policier est de maintenir la paix," a noté le juge. 

Through these and other examples, it became evident that in the media context not all instances where abuses of power were revealed could be linked to critical criminological perspectives. In very few instances was the focus on systematic causes of misconduct among social control agents. The more typical approach was to focus on individual 'bad apples' who are seen as unrepresentative of their profession.

Media reports portrayed inadequacies of the law and of law enforcement as potential explanations for youthful misconduct, though they rarely adopted a position that would suggest systemic problems. The tendency in the coverage was to ascribe blame to individuals and specific circumstances rather than examining the broader socio-political context.

In sum, the findings revealed in this chapter highlight a paucity of explanations for youth crime in the coverage. When explanations are provided, they tend to fall into the categories of individual defect, social defect, inter-group conflict, and inadequate laws and law enforcement. The first two explanatory themes were dominant and were consistent with the key criminological paradigms. These explanations were also in keeping with the tendency of newspapers to simplify and decontextualize crime news by narrowly focusing on individuals and incidents, rather than on societal forces and contexts.

In many, if not most instances, the explanations provided in the coverage stemmed from the language choices of the news writers themselves rather than from any sources they chose to quote in their reports. Writers frequently merely inferred

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144 Translation: "'He had time to think and he did not even stop at the first punch. Once the individual was arrested, he aggravated the situation, although it is the police officer's job to maintain the peace,' noted the judge."
explanations without elaborating their discussion. Authoritative sources within the criminal justice system, particularly police and judges, provided some of the explanations found in the coverage. Although writers quoted other professionals or experts infrequently, they tended to portray such sources as highly credible and quoted them extensively when they did use them. Individuals without affiliation also had their opinions about the causes of crime expressed in the newspapers, particularly through the venue of letters to the editor. It was rather rare for offenders to be given a voice in order to explain their own wrongdoing, although this practice did occur at times.

Perhaps the most telling of the findings presented in this chapter, however, is that the majority of the news reports offered no explanation for youth crime whatsoever. What this absence conveys to the reader can only be surmised at this point. There is nonetheless great relevance in questioning this lack of explanation.

The discussion of the causes of crime is necessarily linked to a consideration of what should be done about crime (see Ericson et al, 1991; Hall et al., 1978). That is the subject of the following chapter.
CHAPTER 8 – REACTIONS TO YOUTH CRIME AND REPRESENTATIONS OF JUSTICE

[Constable Steve] Fullerton said the growing menace of serious juvenile crime has prompted the Mounties and the city of Surrey to hire two counsellors who will work out of RCMP headquarters to help deter youths from progressing to serious crimes. (The Province, March 1, 1995, p. A5)

With the constructions of youthful offending and its causes necessarily came portrayals of how such offending was being or should be addressed. Depictions of reactions to youth crime typically fit into the major paradigms previously discussed: classical and positivist criminology. In addition to portrayals of responses at a more general level, representations of actors involved in the responses (typically police, lawyers, judges and correctional personnel, as well as parents which are discussed in Chapter 9) were quite prominent in the news coverage examined. The various images of reactions and reactors form the basis for what are considered to be representations of justice at a more abstract level.

As with the explanations for youthful offending discussed in Chapter 7, there were few distinctions in the depictions of how young male and female offenders, respectively, were being or should be handled (see also Chapter 9). However, the English/French distinction was more evident in the material examined in this chapter than in any of the previous ones. While La Presse kept pace with the English-language newspapers in terms of sensationalism, simplification, decontextualization and individualization, it adopted a more moderate tone with respect to what should be done with youthful offenders.

I have divided this chapter into two parts. The first part of the chapter looks at ongoing debates in the media about what is being done and what ought to be done about youthful offending, examining the link with dominant criminological paradigms (see also Barlow et al., 1995, in Welch et al., 1998). First, I consider the treatment and
rehabilitation ideals which target the ‘defective’ individual discussed in Chapter 7, as well as prevention efforts aimed at the general population which are linked to the sociological explanations discussed under the heading of ‘social defect’ in Chapter 7. I then discuss portrayals which are more reflective of the classical model, emphasizing deterrence, just deserts and individual responsibility, and responses that are linked to the inadequate laws and enforcement explanations. The second part of the chapter discusses assessments made in the coverage about the administration of youth justice. I analyze depictions of justice in terms of policing, sentencing and law reform. While the latter are not as revealing about media representations of youth per se, they are quite enlightening with respect to the implications of each paradigm and the shifts between the two over time.

A) Paradigmatic responses to youth crime

Just as the explanations for youth crime offered in the press coverage tended to fall within the dominant paradigms of classical or positive criminology, so too did the typical responses to youth crime discussed in the news. Portrayals of how youthful lawbreakers were or should be dealt with overwhelmingly adopted one of two perspectives: responsibility or pathology. Competition between the two paradigms was evidenced, however, by the considerable overlap within time periods and even within single articles. The legal framework underpinning many of the responses was, of course, inspired largely by classical ideas, but the legalistic discourse in the coverage took different shapes (emphasis on the rule of law, legal rights, deterrence through punishment, criminal responsibility, severity of punishment), which also overlapped at various moments. The positivist perspective gained appreciable influence during the 20th century with the implementation of the JDA in 1908 and the growth of the helping professions (Donzelot, 1979; Garland, 1985; Guay, 1984; Laplante, 1989, 1995; Strong-
Boag, 1982; Trépanier, 2004). This growing impact was displayed in discussions of scientific and individualized treatment and prevention methods.

Thus, we see in the coverage a certain degree of tension between what the newspapers referred to as the 'punitive' model (classical) and the 'rehabilitative' model (positivist). While the two perspectives were interwoven throughout the study period, there were definite shifts with respect to which model was favoured over time. During the earliest decades of the century, the classical approach was dominant in terms of responses. The tone in the coverage was unquestioning of authority and legal responses to youth crime were portrayed as 'just deserts' in all three newspapers. Nonetheless, during this same period, the 'child-saving' movement was gaining influence, as reflected in the welfare model of the JDA and its notions of protection, prevention, and the best interests of the child (see Bala, 1997; Bell, 2003; Carrigan, 1998; Corrado & Markwart, 1992; Myers, 2006). Therefore, even though the classical approach was dominant in terms of how responses were framed in the coverage at that time, we could also see important threads of positivist thought as the latter paradigm was becoming more influential (see Chapter 7). This apparent contradiction can be explained by the considerable overlap between the two perspectives at any given moment and, more importantly, by the fact that it was not typically the same sources who commented on explanations and on responses.

By mid-century, the dominance of paradigms had shifted such that the coverage of responses came to favour the positivist model. Much more attention was paid to 'root causes' of youth crime and how best to prevent youth crime by addressing these 'causes.' Also, the importance of utilizing 'proven methods' was stressed. Nevertheless, this shift did not preclude calls for more stringent approaches to youth crime as well. The classical model continued to exert a strong presence in the coverage throughout this increased attention to rehabilitation in the second half of the century.
The following quote, taken from an article titled "Le Centre Berthelet - 4, Une prison ou un milieu thérapeutique?" 145 clearly illustrates the challenge to the JDA ideology during the 1970s and the tension between the two approaches that could be displayed within a single article:

Quels qu’aient été les ministres titulaires, quelle qu’ait été leur couleur, une guerre froide s’est toujours poursuivie. La Justice voudrait que les établissements [institutions pour jeunes délinquants] relèvent d’elle, tout comme les juges et la Cour de bien-être. A l’inverse, le MAS [Ministère des Affaires sociales], lui, voudrait étendre sa juridiction à la Cour et aux juges. Au point de vue de la cohésion du système, le litige gagnerait à être tranché dans un sens ou dans l’autre. Il n’est certes pas indifférent cependant que l’arbre tombe d’un côté ou de l’autre. Les tenants de chaque partie défendent âprement leur position respective. C’est le concept “prison” versus le centre de traitement.

En attendant, ces luttes intestines ont des répercussions graves pour les enfants. Le MAS n’ose pas s’aventurer trop loin dans la rééducation à long terme qui implique un investissement considérable dans du personnel spécialisé.

A quelques exceptions prés, les juges voient dans le Centre Berthelet une ressource importante... pour agir avec celerité![...] La conception du juge demeure punitive: au délit doit correspondre une punition. Un juge a affirmé: “Ce garçon a fait un délit qui mérite la privation de sa liberté.” A Boscoville, il aurait un peu de liberté. Par conséquent, le juge ne l’enverra pas à Boscoville mais à Berthelet.

C’est donc dire que la sentence du juge est basée sur la nature du délit, au strict point de vue judiciaire, et ne tient pas compte de la cause profonde de la mésadaptation sociale et du traitement qui serait approprié.146 (PM, August 21, 1975, p. C2)

145 Translation: The Berthelet Centre - 4, a prison or a therapeutic environment?

146 Translation: No matter which ministries have been responsible for the portfolio, no matter their colours, a cold war has always persisted. Justice would like the establishments [institutions for juvenile delinquents] to report to her, and the same for judges and the welfare court. Conversely, the MSA [Minister of Social Affairs], for his part, would like to extend his jurisdiction to the Court and judges. From the perspective of system cohesion, it would be good if the dispute were resolved, one way or another. However, it is not immaterial for the decision to go one way or the other. Supporters of either side defend their respective positions fiercely. It is the concept of the “prison” versus the treatment centre.

In the meantime, these internal wars have grave repercussions for the children. The MSA doesn’t dare to venture too far into long-term rehabilitation which entails a considerable investment in specialized personnel.

With few exceptions, judges see in the Berthelet Centre an important resource... for acting with celerity!

The judge’s conception remains punitive: an offence must correspond to a punishment. One judge stated: “This boy has committed an offence which warrants the loss of liberty.” At Boscoville, he would have a bit of liberty. Consequently, the judge will not send him to Boscoville but to Berthelet.

This is to say that the sentence of the judge is based on the nature of the offence, from a strict judicial point of view, and it does not take into account the root cause of the social maladaptation and the treatment that would be appropriate.
The period leading up to the eventual enactment of the YOA in the early 1980s included reports about certain concerns raised regarding the JDA’s ability to achieve its rehabilitative ideals and to respect the legal rights of young people. Such concerns were reflected in the replacement of the welfare-oriented JDA with the modified justice model of the YOA (see Bala, 1997; Bell, 2003; Carrigan, 1998; Corrado & Markwart, 1992; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001; Myers, 1999, 2006).

However, a neo-liberal focus which was more hard-edged soon overtook this framing of responses according to the earlier liberal classical approach that focused on legal rights. In the last two decades of the century, the shift returned the (neo-)classical model to dominance and calls for tougher and more punitive laws to better control youth became commonplace, in keeping with the rise of neo-conservative social values which paralleled the neo-liberal focus on the market as the solution to social problems (see also Martin, 2002). A neo-conservative focus on the protection of society through harsher crime control measures (crime control model of juvenile justice) replaced the focus on liberal ideas around individual rights (justice model). Characteristic of this period were enormous criticisms (direct and indirect) levelled at the YOA which many commentators (reporters, editors, law enforcement and criminal justice sources as well as readers) perceived as too lenient. They described treatment programs as ‘mollycoddling’ and the youth justice system as ‘a joke.’ The successive amendments to the YOA and the later enactment of the YCJA also reflected this neo-conservative trend (see Bala, 1994, 1997; Bell, 2003; Boyle et al., 2002; Corrado & Markwart, 1994; Doob & Cesaroni, 2004; Hogeveen, 2001; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001; Hylton, 1994).

The sample newspapers did not represent the two paradigms in the same ways. While all three papers generally followed the shifts described above, the balance between the classical and positive responses was much more even in La Presse than in the other two newspapers. Even in the last two decades when calls for the ‘get tough’
approach were multiplied, La Presse continued to adopt a more moderate position and
to discuss treatment programs among the range of acceptable responses to youth crime.
Overall, the two English-language newspapers favoured the neo-classical law-and-order
discourse more, while La Presse favoured the treatment approaches. This distinction
accords with Québec's unique approach to juvenile justice. This finding is, however,
surprising in light of those illustrations presented earlier which suggest that La Presse
was equivalent to the English-language newspapers in terms of sensationalism,
simplification, decontextualization and conventional explanations for deviant and criminal
behaviour. This similarity may be due to the fact that La Presse operates under the
same organizational imperatives as the anglophone newspapers when it comes to the
type of coverage generated. However, when reliance on authoritative sources is key, as
it is in the discussion of responses, those sources in Québec are more likely to provide
statements which are in keeping with Québec's approach to youth justice, while sources
in the other newspapers do likewise for their respective provinces.

In the next two sections, I explore these two paradigms of responses to youth
crime in greater depth. First, I examine the theme of justice through treatment and
rehabilitation of the individual offender which is the main thrust of the positivist approach
to crime focusing on the defective individual, as well as the social welfare and prevention
aspects geared at a more societal level, which also form part of the positivist paradigm.
Then, I review the classical and neo-classical views on justice which place greater
emphasis on deterrence, just deserts and individual responsibility.

i) Treatment and rehabilitation of the 'defective' individual

Narratives relating to ideals of rehabilitation were present throughout the sample,
and were especially concentrated in the 1950s to the 1970s. These were ideals such as
treatment, counselling, prevention, education, leisure programs and probation. These
principles were integral to the work of the child savers (Gaffield, 1982; Houston, 1982; Laberge, 1985; Matters, 1984; Myers, 1999; Rooke & Schnell, 1982; Schlossman, 1977; Strange & Loo, 1997) and, in Canada, of individuals such as J.J. Kelso, founder of the Toronto Children’s Aid Society, R.W. Scott, the Senator who originally introduced the JDA in Parliament, W.L. Scott (son of R.W. Scott), president of the Ottawa Children’s Aid Society and principal drafter of the JDA, and Frank T. Sharpe of the Toronto Big Brothers Movement (Bell, 2003; Hogeveen, 2001; Leon, 1977; Myers, 1999; Sharpe, 1927, 1930; Trépanier, 1991). These individuals, along with many others, were often quoted as advocating prevention, rehabilitation and a ‘more humane’ approach to youth justice. In fact, J.J. Kelso was a journalist who published a number of items in various newspapers, including one in my sample. The following excerpt illustrates a number of the concepts central to the rehabilitation model for addressing youth crime, including expertise, classification, curative treatment and indeterminate sentences:

Social reformers of wide experience are unanimous in the recommendation that the county jail system should be changed and that all convicted persons should be sent to central clearing houses for diagnosis of their mentality, etc., and classification for further curative treatment. The modern prison of the future will be either a self-supporting industrial farm or a vocational training school. Under this plan sentences would be indeterminate and early release would depend entirely upon the patient’s response to kindly influences. When returned to the community he should have the benefit of a well-organized follow-up department that would support and encourage him in his efforts at rehabilitation. (TS, March 2, 1931, p. 6)

Perhaps the central contention in claims about the rehabilitation model’s superiority was that it is a model derived from the scientific approach. This approach was portrayed as ‘modern’ and, by inference, other methods were obsolete. This modern scientific approach dictated that individuals should be classified according to their treatment needs (psychiatric, disciplinary or vocational, for example) and directed to specialized institutions tailored to those needs. Along with the increased need for classification came the emphasis on specialization. News reports suggested that
treatment should be delivered by experts with extensive training in the best scientific methods for handling the different types of youthful offenders.

Politicians, judges and trained professionals were the most prominent sources quoted in the elaboration of this narrative around specialized classification and treatment of delinquents. This reliance on authorities is in contrast with the trend which saw these types of sources comment infrequently in terms of the explanations for youth crime. Politicians, judges and professionals did not tend to discuss why youths committed crimes but rather what should be done about youthful offending and how best to do it.

Although the 'get tough' approach overtook the rehabilitation model in the latter decades of the twentieth century, reports continued to underscore the need for evaluation and treatment quite regularly. Furthermore, La Presse reported in 1971 on the position of the youth representatives on the committee studying Bill C-192, which was intended to replace the JDA, but never made it to its second reading (Parliamentary Research Branch, 2000/1986). The youths’ position was summed up in the following paragraph:

"L'esprit du bill ne repose pas sur la réhabilitation, n'est pas représentatif de la jeunesse d'aujourd'hui et ne reconnaît pas le fait que la responsabilité des actes des jeunes est du ressort de la société et non pas des jeunes," lit-on dans le mémoire.147 (PM, May 29, 1971, p. H15)

Confidence in the rehabilitation model expressed by certain sources in the coverage was at times excessive. This may be a rhetorical approach in discussing reforms where whatever is proposed is always presented as more humane, effective and economical than existing programs or policies (see, for example, Ericson, 1987). I found various news items where police, prosecutors, judges and/or politicians put forth the idea that treatment could and should be mandated by the courts and treatment advocates

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147 Translation: "The spirit of the bill does not rest on rehabilitation, is not representative of today's youth and does not recognize the fact that the responsibility for the acts of young people lies with society and not with young people," the memoir reads.
occasionally argued for criminalization/institutionalization in order to effect treatment. Little consideration was given to the argument that imposing treatment ran counter to the therapeutic model or that treatment was tied to indeterminate sentences either in the community or in an institution. The following quote is illustrative:

But he [prosecutor Hank Goody] said “the community would be best served by getting help for” Jason Clattenberg.

Mr. Justice Harry Keenan told Clattenberg he was “a very lucky man” that the crown had chosen to be so compassionate in the case.

Consequently, the judge said, he was suspending the passing of sentence and ordering Clattenberg to take treatment as required “for alcohol abuse and other personality disorders.” (TS, January 27, 1991, p. A15)

An even darker side of the positivist rehabilitation model showed itself when it came to those individuals whose ‘defect’ is perceived to be genetic. Inherently ‘defective’ individuals can be identified and rendered non-threatening through sterilization in the interests of social defence and also in the interest of improving the ‘race’. Academic work exists on the eugenics movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (McLaren, 1990; Menzies, 1998; Rafter, 1992, 1994; Théorêt, 1987). I also found evidence of such ideas in the sample. Some examples were particularly enlightening about the context of the 1930s. For instance, The Toronto Star quoted the Reeve of Newmarket as stating “If we are forced to keep such children in our shelters instead of having them admitted to Orillia, we should at least have the right to sterilize them and protect our social order” (TS, November 14, 1935a, p. 1).

At a more general level, the coverage also reflected a firm belief in the rehabilitative model. The news portrayed this approach not only as superior for dealing with young offenders at the sentencing phase of the judicial process, but also as a model that should influence the very philosophy of youth justice. Reports demonstrated this.

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148 The Orillia Asylum (for Idiots, a.k.a. Orillia Hospital) was Ontario’s key provincial institution for mentally disabled people throughout the late 19th and entire 20th century (as part of the Huronia Regional Centre in the late 20th century) and was persistently overcrowded despite several expansions (see Simmons, 1982 for a detailed history of Orillia).
perceived superiority in two ways. First, they depicted the law itself as a reflection of the
tenets of this model and showed how it served to inform judges in their disposition of
youth cases. Second, they constructed the greatest benefit of the rehabilitation model
as its capacity for the prevention of youth crime based on the scientific knowledge of the
causes of crime, therefore offering a more effective, humane and economical approach.

As mentioned above, the JDA was based on the principle, influenced by the child
saving movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, that the court
should act 'in the best interests of the child.' The idea that children needed 'saving'
made its way into the newspapers as well as other spheres of influence. In 1907, the
year before the enactment of the JDA, The Toronto Star ran an article reporting on the
presentment of a grand jury on the state of a number of public institutions. With respect
to a children's court, the article recounted that

The jury is strongly in sympathy with any movement that would place in wise,
competent hands the special work of dealing with delinquency among children.
The presentment states that "with the constant high pressure incident to
magisterial duties in a city like Toronto, special facilities ought to be provided for
the careful handling of youthful delinquents, the more so as the chances for
reformation diminish not only with the passing years, but with every conviction.
Many of the criminals now in penal institutions might doubtless have been
respectable citizens had more thought been given to the saving of the child than
to the mere vindication of the law." (TS, April 4, 1907, p. 1)

On April 5th, 1907, The Star reported that Hon. R.W. Scott had introduced a bill
on the previous day which would create separate courts for juvenile offenders, based on
the principles that children are different from adults, that probation is the best means for
reforming delinquents and that adults should be held criminally liable for contributing to
delinquency in their children (TS, April 5, 1907, p. 1). The juvenile delinquent was to be
viewed as a 'misguided child' and treated in accordance. This was the basis for
instituting a separate child justice system; children should not be treated as adults. The
news coverage of court proceedings also reflected this official discourse. There were
few cases where reports were permitted on proceedings of the juvenile courts, since the
public was not admitted to such proceedings. As explained in Chapter 5, there were nonetheless reports on crimes committed by youths of juvenile court age and on court proceedings in police, county, and women's courts involving juvenile-aged offenders.

Despite the strong support for the rehabilitative model found in the coverage, some reports from the 1970s onwards questioned its benefits, as well as the overreliance on experts and the infringement of young people's legal rights in the name of treatment described as being 'in their best interests.' For example,

He [Toronto lawyer Martin Peck] said that social workers are more concerned with treating the juvenile's needs, than determining the legal niceties of his guilt, according to the charge. [...] “A juvenile in the name of rehabilitation can be incarcerated for an indefinite period which can be four times as long as could an adult tried in an adult court,” said Peck. (TS, August 7, 1975, p. E2)

The Toronto Star reported extensively on these and other complaints made by Peck about the irregularities in procedure which may be hidden from public view by the secrecy surrounding juvenile court proceedings. These complaints were consistent with the due process critiques of the treatment approach, including the focus on young people's legal rights and the dangers of indeterminate sentencing. As a result of the Toronto Star report, Judge Kechin Wang allowed Star staff writer Farrell Crook to spend the day in juvenile court to observe and discuss with him these proceedings. Crook was also permitted to report on what he had heard and seen, except for any identifying information. Here are some excerpts from his detailed report printed in the newspaper:

His case typifies what juvenile court workers mean when they say that juvenile court is not just a court in which to prosecute young criminals, but a place of authority for children in trouble who need to be given some direction in their best interests. [...] One of the pressures on juvenile court judges, which they recognize but resist, is the compulsion to make a finding of juvenile delinquency so that the court can step in and help the youngster. It is a fact of life around juvenile court that police don't bring someone in on a charge of juvenile delinquency unless the police think the child is in a troubled situation. [...]
Once a child has been found to be a juvenile delinquent, Wang told The Star, the court turns its mind to determining what is in the best interest of the youngster. That generally means a report on the youngster's home and school situation, his personality and problems. The judge needs to know whether it's best to: Place the child on probation, leave him at home, or place him in a group home or send him to training school. (TS, August 30, 1975b, p. F1)

The news coverage of court proceedings in cases involving young people who did not fall under the jurisdiction of the JDA also reflected this official discourse. Reports on some of the youngest people accused in adult court within each of the provinces from which newspapers were sampled (16 and older in Ontario; 17 and older in British Columbia; and 18 and older in Québec) also contained these same ideas of 'helping' and 'saving,' as in this excerpt:

Magistrate Browne made it quite clear this morning, when the hour struck for passing sentence upon 20-year-old Archie Sinclair, nicknamed "the cat burglar," on charges of burglary and theft, that his worship's desire was not to destroy, but if possible, to save a youth for an after life of usefulness. [...] "I don't think I care to send this boy to the penitentiary. He's very young." [...] "A penitentiary term for a boy of his age is too often the beginning of the end," said Magistrate Browne. "After all, it is better to save than destroy. I have decided to send him to the Ontario Reformatory for eighteen months and for an indeterminate period not to exceed two years less one day." (TS, March 19, 1931, p. 2)

The stories which most emphasized the 'humanitarian' aspect of the rehabilitation model were those reporting on young people facing the death penalty in Canada or elsewhere, prior to its abolition in 1976 in Canada. I found few examples in the sample discussing the death penalty (in Canada or elsewhere) after 1976. Writers and sources argued that young people, by virtue of their young age, inherently had potential for rehabilitation and should thus not be sentenced to death. For instance, in 1951, 17-year-old Francis Sykes was sentenced to death for the murder (repeatedly referred to as "sex-slaying", VP, October 3, 1951, p. 1; VP, October 4, 1951, p. 1; VP, October 4, 1951, p. 33) of a 13-year-old girl. Despite the gruesome details provided in
the coverage of the case, Sykes' young age earned him some level of support as seen in the following excerpt:

"There can be no good in carrying out this [death] sentence," it [the petition] read. "Society is admitting defeat if this sentence is carried out. No boy is a hopeless case at 17. He deserves a second chance at life." (VP, October 15, 1951, p. 2)

The coverage included the same sentiments when it came to transferring young offenders to adult courts. Although many also suggested that the sentences (dispositions) available under the JDA and YOA were not sufficiently severe, others continued to contend that it was better to keep young offenders in youth court due to the severity of sentences they could face in adult court. The following passage clearly illustrates this ambivalence:

The maximum sentence he could receive under the Young Offenders Act is three years in "secure custody" at a facility for youths, a sentence his own lawyer said is too short for murder. [...] "My view is that if the penalty provision were greater under the (Young Offenders Act) the judges would feel less concerned, from a public perception point of view, about not transferring youths to adult court," Moldaver[^149] said yesterday.

Psychiatric assessments show the youth is "salvageable," but if he were put into an adult prison to serve a 25-year sentence "there is no doubt in my mind that he would be destroyed as an individual," Moldaver said. (TS, July 24, 1987a, p. A16)

This discussion illustrates the consistent belief among adherents of the positivist model of treatment/rehabilitation that if the model was deficient in practice, it was due to lack of resources, facilities and services in which such treatment could take place, not to the inadequacy of the model itself. Coverage also emphasized the need for suitable facilities by describing what such institutions should resemble, as in the following illustration, describing plans for a central prison in Burnaby, BC:

[The plans] provide for what must be regarded as a model institution of its character, embracing all the most modern ideas in prison architecture as regards security of detention, perfect sanitation, good ventilation and conditions

[^149]: Michael Moldaver is presumably the youth's defense lawyer, but is never specifically identified as such in the article.
favourable to reformation rather than purposeless punishment. (VP, May 20, 1911, p. 2)

Certain institutions, such as the frequently mentioned English Borstal system, were profiled as exceptionally promising, well-run and successful in their rehabilitation mission.

England has adopted the Borstal system, by which delinquent youths between the ages of 16 and 21 are given treatment calculated to convert them into good citizens. In these institutions they are treated mentally and physically, educated and given vocational training, and kept under restraint by the honor system. (VP, November 27, 1935, p. 10)

The Province frequently quoted Warden Hugh Christie who ran Oakalla Prison Farm in Burnaby, BC, from 1952 to 1962. His tenure at this institution was characterized as the “rehabilitation era” in one book telling the history of that prison (Andersen, 1993). Despite important problems such as overcrowding, Christie’s attempts at reforming the institution were newsworthy and received positive press coverage as illustrated in the following excerpt:

Headline: “Young rebels taste new life in bold Oakalla experiment”
Bread and water diet, the standard punishment routine of prisons around the world, has been eliminated at Oakalla Prison Farm.
For five years positive measures have been gradually replacing the paddle, the billie, the punitive get-tough approach. [...] Today diagnosis and treatment select the individual treatment to suit the patient. [...] On first hearing, this new approach at Y.O.U. [Young Offenders’ Unit] sounds idealistic and bookish. I spent a little time in the unit and felt it working. [...] But about 65 per cent of them [the boys] have benefited in the four years this program has functioned and they haven’t returned to any prison. (VP, February 27, 1959, p. 1, 2)

Such accounts of programs considered successful in terms of rehabilitation typically did not make any mention of the difficulties associated with administering treatment in prisons (see, e.g., Laplante, 1985, 1989).

While many of the programs discussed above specifically targeted individuals perceived to be somehow ‘defective’ or needing help, other programs were more general in scope and, according to reports, were geared toward providing better environments in
which youth could develop. The influence of sociological positivism is underscored below in the discussion of prevention programs targeting some of the 'social defects' leading to crime described in Chapter 7.

Reports often repeated that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," suggesting that a proactive approach was better than rehabilitation efforts after the fact. For example, a lengthy report on Frank Sharpe, that read somewhat like an obituary, titled "PIONEER OF ‘BIG BROTHERS’ FRANK T. SHARPE DIES AT 51" stated "He was an apostle of prevention. His whole creed was built around prevention rather than redemption" (TS, November 25, 1935, p. 19, 21). Another illustration of the immense value attributed to prevention in news coverage was the following excerpt from an article encouraging readers to contribute to the United Welfare fund which helped organizations involved with youth:

Youths’ health, morale and character are the bone and sinew of Canada’s national defence. Protecting and befriending youth, counselling youth – pointing the way to citizenship and community responsibility – the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the reclamation of youth in trouble, they [agencies supported by the United Welfare fund] believe is part of our civic duty.

[...] Don’t take a chance on losing even one of Canada’s future leaders. Let’s make sure they all get a chance and the best way to do that is to give to the United Welfare fund and through it help these agencies to carry on their work next year: [list of agencies]. (TS, September 28, 1943a, p. 3)

Some of the main types of prevention programs discussed in the news items included education, structured leisure activities, job training and programs for youth, housing and better funding for families. References to advocacy for such programs include excerpts such as this one:

_Le sous-comité [du sénat américain] a spécifiquement demandé au gouvernement fédéral de prévoir des dépenses pour améliorer les écoles, l’habitation, le soin des enfants et la santé mentale. Il dit qu’un dollar dépensé aujourd’hui pour prévenir la délinquance juvénile pourrait sauvier $2 demain en_
However, as idealized as may have been some of the views on rehabilitation and the potential of all young offenders, some commentators also recognized that in some instances rehabilitation would not be possible. In those cases, reports depicted society’s inherent right to protect itself as holding a higher priority than the best interests of the young person, which the following examples demonstrate:

“You made a brutal assault, and there is no question of societies’ [sic] right to protect itself from men who have forfeited their liberty as you have.” (TS, March 4, 1931a, p. 1)

“Society must be protected,” Magistrate P. J. Bolsby said. “You’re too young to destroy your future.” (TS, November 23, 1963a, p. 41)

The discourse of ‘rights’ provides a fitting segue into the next section on the classical model of punishment where the concerns about individual rights confront society’s rights and the perceived need to ‘get tough’ with young offenders.

ii) Deterrence, just deserts and individual responsibility

As previously discussed, the Classical School suggested that punishment would produce deterrence through certainty, celerity and (proportional) severity of punishment for any given crime. The notions of individual rights and responsibilities took on great significance within this model. This emphasis on minimal use of criminal law and not on severity of punishment reflected the softer liberal side of the paradigm. Arguments against labelling individuals as criminals, which tended to be found in the first half of the century, also echoed this milder version of classicism. The other side of those arguments has come from a harder edged discourse, which emerged in the latter part of

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150 Translation: The [American Senate] sub-committee specifically asked the federal government to plan expenses for the improvement of schools, housing, child care and mental health. It said that one dollar spent today to prevent juvenile delinquency would save $2 tomorrow by avoiding the damages caused by theft and the cost of imprisonment.
the century, emphasizing deterrence through more stringent law enforcement and
tougher sentences. This neo-liberal view accentuates the individualization of
responsibility and accountability, whether the target of blame is the young person or his
or her parents. Parents, within the neo-liberal framework, become responsible and
accountable for their children’s misdeeds— if not legally, then at least morally. Thus,
responsibility remains individualized rather than being reframed as a collective problem
(see Chapter 9).

This section explores in detail the various media portrayals of responses to youth
crime that fit within the (neo)classical criminological paradigm. The coverage typically
referred to this approach as the ‘punitive model.’ Punishment was described sometimes
as ‘purposeless,’ but much more frequently as ‘deserved.’ In this section, I consider
portrayals of general deterrence, specific deterrence, individual responsibility and rights,
and calls for action based on the idea that law enforcement and punishment should be
more severe.

The concept of general deterrence suggests that the punishment of an individual
for wrongdoing serves the greater good by showing others what will happen to them if
they engage in crime. The coverage emphasized this concept when prosecutors were
quoted asking judges for ‘exemplary sentences,’ as in the following case:

Crown Attorney Norm Matusiak said the teenager’s sentence should convey a
message to all teachers and students that they are protected by society. [...] "The youth was found guilty of committing a serious act of violence and
community deterrence has a place in his sentencing," Matusiak said. (TS, July
29, 1987, p. E10)

Reporters also quoted judges in relation to general deterrence when the latter provided
reasoning for the sentences they imposed, their degree of severity or the message they
wished to send:

"La population de cette ville ne veut pas des gangs et des batailles de
bandes... Je veux faire comprendre clairement ce qui attend les jeunes gens qui
participent à de batailles de bandes et particulièrement ceux qui, comme vous, utilisent des armes.

"Les autres doivent savoir que les gens d'Ottawa pourront vaquer à leurs affaires sans craindre un tel sort." (PM, February 4, 1959, p. 39)

General deterrence included words of warning provided in the coverage as well. Reports of judges' sentences portrayed them as 'warnings to others' and judges occasionally made cautionary comments in court for the explicitly stated purpose of getting reported in the news, as illustrated in the following example:

Bad boys who are in the habit of breaking windows in vacant houses should take warning from the fate of young Hays, who was yesterday convicted of breaking several large plate-glass lights in Dr. Hall's new residence on Sixth street. (VP, January 22, 1903, p. 6)

Reports often made direct links between a crime and a sentence, typically in headlines. Such allusions related to the idea that punishment was certain, that it could not be escaped. They also suggested that certain crimes corresponded to certain punishments. The following examples illustrate these connections made in news coverage:

It was the first time Dolly had ever appeared in any court for over imbibing but the fine of ten dollars or ten days was tacked on just the same. (TS, July 18, 1927, p. 18)

Headline: "Peines de 7 et 8 ans pour vol à main armée de $19"

...En prononçant sa sentence, le tribunal devait faire remarquer que si les décisions des juges ne devaient pas être motivées par un désir de vengeance quelconque, il fallait tout de même que les accusés soient punis adéquatement pour les crimes commis. (PM, February 27, 1959, p. 12)

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151 Translation: "The population of this city wants nothing to do with gangs and gang fights... I want it to be clearly understood what awaits young people who participate in gang fights and particularly those who, like you, use weapons.

"The others must know that the people of Ottawa can go about their business without fearing a similar fate."

152 Translation: Sentences of 7 and 8 years for armed robbery of $19

... In pronouncing its sentence, the tribunal remarked that if the decisions of judges should not be motivated by some desire for vengeance, the accused must all the same be adequately punished for the crimes committed.
There were a number of instances where the coverage constructed punishments as 'fitting the crime.' Punishments associated with serious and violent crimes, such as death sentences (hanging/pendaison, electric chair, death penalty, l’échafaud, la potence\textsuperscript{153}), life imprisonment, stiff or lengthy imprisonment terms or even trial as adults were repeatedly discussed. Despite the enormity of such sentences, they were portrayed as taken-for-granted and fitting the crimes committed, as the following headlines and excerpts illustrate:

Headline: “La pendaison pour deux jeunes bandits”
Deux jeunes bandits envisagent, aujourd’hui, la mort du haut d’un échafaud pour le meurtre d’un policier à False Creek le 26 février dernier.\textsuperscript{154} (PM, June 6, 1947a, p. 17)

Killed to frame rival lover, teenager gets life (TS, July 4, 1987, p. A8)

In some instances, the young age of the offenders prompted questions about whether leniency might be exercised as an exception, as in this example: “Le jeune homme, qui n’avait que 17 ans au moment du meurtre, a été condamné au pénitencier à vie. En raison de son jeune âge, il a échappé à la potence”\textsuperscript{155} (PM, November 2, 1963a, p. 55).

Characterizing leniency as an exception, however, also serves to confirm harsh punishments as the norm befitting violent crimes.

The coverage expressed resistance to the positivist rehabilitation/treatment model exemplified by the JDA with an emphasis on severity (broadly defined) as the way to achieve deterrence. This was done through suggestions such as stiffer sentences, the elimination of non-public disposition of youth offenders, an increased surveillance of public spaces, etc. For example, one editorial headline asked “Would publicity deter

\textsuperscript{153} Translations: the scaffold, the gallows
\textsuperscript{154} Translation: Two young bandits to be hanged
Two young bandits contemplate, today, death from the scaffold for the murder of a police officer at False Creek on last February 26.
\textsuperscript{155} Translation: A young man, who was only 17 at the time of the murder, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Because of his young age, he escaped the gallows.
juvenile criminals?" (VP, December 29, 1967, p. 4). In arguing for publicity, the editor quoted the former governor of Vermont who had said: "Publicity is a deterrent to crime and in some instances brings retribution to parents who so often are primarily responsible for such delinquency [...] The public should know how our juvenile courts, our probation and enforcement officers are functioning." The editor then followed this statement up with his own argument:

Trying juveniles in secret has removed the deterrent effect of publicity. Whatever publicity's psychological disadvantages it is reasonable to suppose it would have more effect on juvenile offenders than upon any other class. And it would have maximum effect in urban areas where the individual would otherwise enjoy a degree of anonymity denied in a small town. (VP, December 29, 1967, p. 4)

One letter to the editor advocated the re-introduction of stocks, to deter crime through the threat of ridicule: "What could be more ridiculous than for a youthful criminal to stand in a public place for say two hours each day for one week with head and hands fast in 'the stocks?'" (VP, June 4, 1947, p. 4).

Another method of deterrence discussed in the coverage was increased surveillance, or at least the perception thereof. One wire service item reported that a school board in Paris, Tennessee, had installed a new video camera system on school buses transporting elementary school students with impressive results in improved discipline on all buses (although only one bus had an actual camera at any given time) (VP, January 21, 1991, p. 11). A report on the School Watch program at David and Mary Thomson Collegiate Institute in Scarborough also argued that it exercised deterrence. The Toronto Star published a lengthy report titled "Keeping schools safe" (TS, December 12, 1995a, p. E1, E2). The sub-heading read "Students are serious about keeping their halls and classrooms trouble-free. And they're getting results." The article detailed the program philosophy and procedure (which were based on the concepts of Neighbourhood Watch and Crime Stoppers – both derived from classical criminological ideas). The caption below a picture of a school hallway, where a vice-
principal and a student featured prominently, told us that the program "encourage[s] good citizenship" (TS, December 12, 1995a, p. E1). In sum, the students bore the onus of responsibility for keeping the school safe just as, within the neo-classical paradigm, the duty of keeping the community safe belongs to its residents.

The news coverage also focused on the deterrent effect of capital punishment. Competing views on this issue were often bolstered by 'evidence' of a deterrent effect or lack thereof, as seen in the two examples below:

Men and women are still hanged for murder, though it has been proved satisfactorily that the death penalty is not a deterrent to murder. (TS, November 6, 1935, p. 1)

Headline: "DEATH SENTENCE NEEDED CHIEFS TELL COMMITTEE" The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police today again pressed the joint parliamentary committee on capital and corporal punishment to recommend the retention of both. [...] Contrary to evidence presented by authorities on criminology, Chief Shaw contended that the death sentence did act as an effective deterrent against homicide. (TS, March 31, 1955, p. 45)

Another way in which the idea of general deterrence entered the news coverage was through testimonials, typically about abuse of alcohol or illegal drugs and sometimes about running away from home. These first-person accounts often appeared in advice columns, where the author specifically stated that they were telling their story to help others avoid the mistakes they had made.

Dear Ele and Walt: I'm writing this letter so some kids my age will wise up like I did. I'm only 14 years old. I've run away twice. Both times I stayed in the Haight-Ashbury. I've taken LSD seven times and I don't know how many times I've smoked pot. [...] I have finally decided it's not worth it. To ruin anyone else's life or my own by doing something that is just a passing fad. I hope that this changes some minds about drugs. My mind is changed. – Yours truly, Much Wiser. (Teenage dateline – TS, December 6, 1967, p. 72)

Coverage also included testimonials intended to deter youths from crime in other ways – for example, through stories about former offenders who had 'turned their life around' and were on individual campaigns to educate young people (see Cavender,
1981 on the Scared Straight program in the U.S.), as well as more general campaigns by police or other organizations to 'teach lessons.'

Headline: “POUR LES CONVAINCRE DE S'ÉLOIGNER DE LA DROGUE”
“Le sergent Bishop a rencontré 100 000 jeunes en six ans” [...] Multiplicant les exemples, relatant des anecdotes tirées de sa carrière, M. Bishop explique les effets nocifs des drogues sur le cerveau, l'irréversibilité des dommages. « Touchez surtout pas à la mescaline qu'il [le pusher] t'offre, c'est toujours du PCP, une drogue qui tue les chevaux. » 156 (PM, May 4, 1983, p. A1, A2)

Specific deterrence differs from general deterrence in that it is aimed at preventing recidivism of the individual offender. As with general deterrence, coverage on specific deterrence often took the form of warnings from judges, but warnings directed at the specific offenders about the consequences that future offences would have for them individually. For example, quotes such as the following convey the admonitions given to young people in court:

Magistrate Browne, after long deliberation, showed mercy in the form of two years probation, but he warned that any misdemeanour during that period would involve a sentence of four years. (TS, March 25, 1931, p. 2)

C'est alors que le juge Fontaine a rappelé aux jeunes gens qu'ils ne comparaîtraient qu'une fois dans leur vie pour un premier délit. “Vous aurez par la suite un dossier judiciaire, qui demeurera toute la durée de votre vie. Si vous revenez devant les tribunaux, ce sera pour vous la prison ou le pénitencier. Vous n'aurez pas une deuxième chance, ne l'oubliez pas.” 157 (PM, March 3, 1955, p. 21)

Another way in which the concept of specific deterrence entered the news coverage was through discussions about ‘teaching a lesson’ and ‘learning a lesson.’ The coverage suggested that stern lectures and well-measured punishments were

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156 Translation: TO CONVINCE THEM TO STAY AWAY FROM DRUGS
Sergeant Bishop has met 100,000 youths in six years [...] Multiplying his examples, telling anecdotes taken from his career, Mr. Bishop explains the harmful effects of drugs on the brain, the irreversibility of the damages. “Especially don’t touch the mescaline that he [the pusher] offers you, it is always PCP, a drug that kills horses.”

157 Translation: That is when Judge Fontaine reminded the young people that they would appear only once in their life for a first offence. “You will then have a criminal record, which will stay with you during your entire life. If you come back before the tribunaux, it will be prison or the penitentiary for you. You will not have a second chance, don’t forget it.”
inherently useful if they taught youths that crime does not pay and that the law must be respected. Reports such as those below often seemed to bolster the perceived efficacy of the courts in carrying out specific deterrence by teaching youths a lesson:

The lad returned the money to Mr. Corley at the close of yesterday's court.

"And I hope the experience will be a lesson to you," said his Worship.

"It will," was the earnest reply. (TS, April 3, 1907, p. 11)

Sub-headline: "Two days in prison straightened him out"

The important part of John A. Sweeney's sentence was the two days he spent in jail before being sentenced.

In court yesterday, Magistrate Robert Taylor was told Sweeney, 17, of St. Clarens Ave., had disliked his two pre-sentence days in jail so much he needed no more convincing to keep out of trouble. (TS, December 7, 1967, p. 52)

The English-language news coverage on young offenders repeatedly discussed the use of corporal punishment, be it by parents, by teachers or by the courts. La Presse rarely covered this issue, with the possible exception of a cartoon of a father about to spank his son. The central consideration in the anglophone coverage on corporal punishment tended to be whether or not it served a deterrence function. This question was considered at the level of both general deterrence and specific deterrence. In terms of general deterrence, the debate centred on the availability of corporal punishment among a spectrum of potential disciplinary measures:

Headline: "Return of the strap urged to deter unruly students"

... "I must emphasize that the strap was not being used at all regularly at the time [before it was banned].

"It didn't have to be used to be effective. Students knew it was there and that was enough." (TS, August 14, 1975, p. A6)

In terms of specific deterrence, the news coverage included discussion about the effects of corporal punishment on the individual child or youth. For instance,

Opponents of corporal punishment argue that beating awakens sadism in the teacher and is degrading to the pupil. Said one: "No respectable educationist

158 The cartoon, however, was less about corporal punishment than it was about the "irony" of children's rights usurping the authority of the father.
would now defend the continued use of corporal punishment. It is a relic of the bad old days when practical psychology was an unknown quantity."

Teachers of long experience, however, are not so certain that "tanning" – as the boys call it – can be dispensed with entirely. "Some boys," said Henry Jackley, principal of a London elementary school, "can be exceedingly cruel to others and can only be touched through their hides." (VP, June 26, 1947, p. 12)

Beyond considerations of deterrence, the classical perspective also focuses largely on the issue of responsibility, considering it primarily at the individual level with variations produced by aggravating or mitigating factors. We, of course, consider age to have an impact on individual responsibility and typically do not hold youths to the same standards as adults. However, changes in recent years have pushed youth responsibility more and more in the direction of adult responsibility, perhaps reconceptualizing the 'defect' that is youth (see Chapter 7). For example, the YCJA (2002) renders youths of 14 and older liable to receive adult sentences for serious violent offences. The news coverage of this legislation brought up and reinforced the issue of individual responsibility in a number of ways, illustrating the ongoing resistance to a separate youth justice system in the late 20th century.

The question of age was central to this issue of individual responsibility in the sample. One area considered was the possibility of sending a young offender to adult court. In such cases, it was typically characteristics of the offence, and not of the offender, which defined this heightened degree of responsibility. This was especially the case in the last two decades of the twentieth century. The following examples illustrate reasoning provided in the coverage for sending youths to adult court:

Headline: Court sends youths, 16, to trial as adults"
Two 16-year-old "clean cut and respectable" youths could face 25 years in prison without hope of parole as a result of a recent Ontario Court of Appeal decision.

The appeal court ordered the two high school students to be tried in adult criminal court for first-degree murder, although they were juveniles when they were charged.

The court, in reasons released yesterday, accepted an argument by the Ontario attorney-general's office that the pair should be tried in adult court.
because of the serious nature of the charge, and because a third accused will be
tried in adult court. (TS, May 17, 1983b, p. E8)

Any person who is old enough to intentionally maim or kill somebody is old
enough to go to trial as an adult and receive a harsh penalty. (Letter to editor –
TS, January 20, 199b1, p. D3)

It was also more characteristic of the anglophone newspapers to define the
individual's degree of responsibility primarily in relation to the act committed. A previous
criminal record was one typical way that the degree of responsibility was brought to the
fore. The coverage would point out distinctions in the sentences received by youths with
and without prior criminal records. Discourse suggesting that punishment was fitting and
deserved as discussed above also bolstered the individualization of responsibility.

In contrast, La Presse tended to accentuate the youth of the individual in
considerations of their responsibility as exemplified here:

Malgré les pressions exercées auprès des autorités gouvernementales
pour que l'adolescent accusé du meurtre de leur vieille mère, Ida Ruby, soit
traduit devant un tribunal d'adultes, les membres de la famille viennent
d'apprendre que leurs revendications ont échoué.
En rejetant hier la requête présentée par le ministère public, le juge Jean-
Paul Braun, de la Cour du Québec, Chambre de la jeunesse, a dit que le
pénitencier était une solution néfaste pour le jeune prévenu de 17 ans.159 (PM,
December 21, 1995b, p. A6)

The coverage in the sample occasionally raised another issue around age and
responsibility in reference to youths who were too young to be held criminally
responsible, therefore, those to whom the youth legislation did not apply. The question
of age jurisdiction of the youth court has been an ongoing subject of debate in relation to
both the upper and lower limits of responsibility. This point appears to have been at
issue in the news coverage with respect to the JDA, the YOA and towards the end of the

159 Translation: Despite the pressure exerted upon government authorities so that the adolescent
accused of the murder of their elderly mother, Ida Ruby, would be tried in adult court, the
members of the family have just learned that their demands have failed.
In rejecting the petition presented by the public minister, Judge Jean-Paul Braun, of The
Court of Québec, Youth Division, said that the penitentiary would be a harmful solution for the
young 17-year-old accused.
sample what would eventually become the YCJA. The following example illustrates such critiques:

Sub-headline: “11-year-olds are too young to be charged”
... “At 11 years of age, I feel these youngsters were fully aware of what they were doing and should be held responsible,” [Durham Region police Sergeant] Grimley said.

“This is another example of why police would like to see the minimum age for charges lowered to 10.” (TS, September 1, 1999, p. B3)

In addition to the focus on individual responsibility of young people, there were instances in the coverage where the responsibility shifted onto the parents for a variety of reasons. Blaming parents is convenient for the purposes of simplification in that it allows the classical model to retain its significance even in the face of cases where individual responsibility is tenuous. Blaming parents is, in a way, an extension of the individualization of responsibility, which is necessary to the criminal justice model proposed by the classical school.

The first way in which blame accrued to parents in the coverage was through the suggestion that they were responsible for keeping tabs on their children in order to ensure the latter were not getting into trouble (see also chapter 9). The following examples illustrated different ways in which parents' inadequate supervision was blamed for their children's misdeeds throughout the twentieth century:

She [the mother] intimated that she could not be responsible for keeping him away from the stock yards. “I can't follow him around,” she said.

“But what do you want us to do with him? Do you want us to send him away for a year or so?” asked the court. (TS, August 9, 1919, p. 28)

I think these problems all stem from the fact that most of these delinquents have distant, pre-occupied parents. Make it your business to know what your child is doing every moment of every day! Talk to their friends. Something has to be done about this. (Talk back – VP, September 1, 1999, p. A21)

The coverage also attributed the blame to parents suggesting that they were responsible for socializing their children and for presenting good role models for their children to follow as illustrated in the following example:
Furthermore, coverage implicitly placed responsibility on parents by implying that they needed to ensure that their children would refrain from engaging in adult activities such as drinking, smoking, having sex, collecting welfare and living away from home as illustrated here:

Few of us have not been touched by the death of young people, either in the immediate family or among friends. Some of them were drunk and that, combined with their lack of driving experience, was deadly. There may have been other factors, including permissiveness. Their parents allowed them to drive when they knew they were going to a party. They may have been affected by hearing their parents boast how their lawyers put one over on the judge and got them off a drunk driving charge.

But would raising the drinking age have made any difference and saved their lives?

The statistics might prove it but if young people want beer or booze they can get it as the under-age are doing now.

Surely, education and more education is the answer to the problem for youth and parents, not raising the drinking age. (VP, May 13, 1983b, p. A4)

The fact that I found less evidence of parent-blaming in La Presse than in the other two newspapers may suggest a lesser tendency in the Montréal publication to individualize blame. This distinction would be consistent with findings reported earlier in this chapter that La Presse was more balanced in its portrayals of both classical and positivist models of justice and did not subscribe to the 'get tough' discourse found in the anglophone newspapers in the later part of the century.

In contrast to the discourse of responsibility was another set of narratives which placed significance on the rights and privileges of youth. This sub-theme included discussions on the various ages at which different aspects of 'youth' change to 'adult'
status (i.e. drinking, driving, working, paying taxes, voting, military service, criminal responsibility) and the arbitrariness of such attributions to specific ages.

The narratives around the rights and privileges of youth also included discussion of the protections from which young offenders benefit under the law, such as not being identified and having access to alternatives to incarceration. Reports often presented information about rights and protections for young offenders in the form of ostensibly factual information about the law as illustrated below:

Le juge nous en [sic] encore déclaré que son enquête se ferait à huis-clos. Il nous a dit que le code criminel a été amendé il y a une couple d'années de manière à forcer les magistrats à tenir les enquêtes à huis-clos pour les accusations de meurtre contre les enfants mineurs.\textsuperscript{161} (PM, April 12, 1907, p. 14)

The Etobicoke couple cannot be identified because their son faces charges under the Young Offenders Act. (TS, January 16, 1991, p. A2)

Some articles put the information about special protections for young offenders in supportive language, suggesting that young offenders should receive extra protections because of their young age; for instance, "Le juge Lactaré Roy a demandé que leurs noms ne soient pas rendus publics afin de leur permettre de continuer leurs études et de se réhabiliter. Ils ont 15 et 20 ans"\textsuperscript{162} (PM, March 4, 1955, p. 5). Other news items, however, did not represent the special protections for youth in a supportive manner, as in this example: “The maximum sentence he could receive under the Young Offenders Act is three years in 'secure custody' at a facility for youths, a sentence his own lawyer said is too short for murder” (TS, July 24, 1987a, p. A16).

In most cases, I found that the presentation of information about the law was neutral in itself. For instance, reporters frequently added that the identity of the accused

\textsuperscript{161} Translation: The judge again declared to us that his inquest would be conducted in camera. He told us that the criminal code was amended a couple of years ago to compel magistrates to hold inquests in camera for accusations of murder against minor children.

\textsuperscript{162} Translation: Judge Lactaré Roy asked that their names not be made public in order to allow them to continue their studies and to rehabilitate themselves. They are 15 and 20 years old.
could not be disclosed and gave information about the potential maximum sentence under the YOA, such as "The maximum term is three years under the Young Offenders Act" (TS, January 25, 1991, p. E8). While such statements are legally accurate, they potentially served to evoke outrage in some readers in relation to the lenient treatment of young offenders.

Furthermore, these facts might have appeared innocuous had it not been for the stark contrast with coverage during the years when the JDA governed youthful lawbreaking. The coverage rarely provided background information about the JDA at all, which may be an artefact of the closed juvenile courtrooms and proceedings under the JDA. As such, the inclusion of this type of background information in the 1980s and 1990s would appear to be harbouring an implicit criticism of the YOA, the suggestion that the identity of the accused would be released were it not for the YOA, that the YOA did not allow for sentences fitting the severity of the crimes committed.

Further findings relating to representations of responses to youth crime were found in portrayals making assessments of policing, judging and law reform. These images of justice are discussed in the last three sections of this chapter.

**B) Assessments of the administration of justice**

i) Police and the press

While it is not the main objective of this chapter to examine the images of police and law enforcement pervading the news coverage, those images are revealing in that they serve to construct ideas about the role that police do and should play in response to youth crime. Those images also serve to augment or diminish the credibility of police action, which consequently may affect the importance of the police role in shaping images of youth crime and young criminals.
a) Catching the bad guys: guns, chases and good sleuthing

As discussed in the literature review, ample research evidence exists to support the view that the police and the media maintain a relationship that can be mutually beneficial (see, e.g., Ericson et al., 1989; Fishman, 1981; Sacco & Fair, 1992; Welch et al., 1998). Although the relationship between the police and the media surely underwent many transformations over the course of the study period, it was difficult to ascertain these changes based on the available data. The police were a dominant news source throughout the study period, but were quoted less frequently in La Presse than in the anglophone newspapers (see Chapter 5). There are a number of other ways in which my research demonstrated this mutually beneficial relationship. The first was through the presentation of police work as exciting, dangerous and yielding of results. While the use of firearms is relatively rare in police work (see, e.g., Griffiths et al., 1999), it is not unusual at all in media representations of police. Also, the tedium of police work was never in evidence in the coverage. Frequent representations of police chases of presumed criminals 'caught in the act' suggested that such pursuits were routine police work. Finally, the use of clever tactics and techniques to foil offenders or discover their identity was a common portrayal as well.

A number of articles portrayed police chasing down suspects, be it on foot or in their police cruisers. Accounts of such chases depicted police work as exciting and dangerous and also brought to mind the idea that police routinely risk their lives at work.

The depiction of police officers and their use of weapons tied into the image that officers regularly place their lives in danger in the course of their duties. Over a quarter of the articles referring to police emphasized to varying extents the use of service revolvers through descriptions of firing warning shots or shooting fleeing suspects as well as in a number of photographs of police pointing their service revolvers at suspects
lying on the ground or with their arms up against a wall. A few cases highlighted other professional risks faced by police.

I found the majority of articles focusing on police use of firearms concentrated in the last 30 years of the sample and much more in the English-language newspapers than in *La Presse*. The shift over time in depictions of firearm use was not only quantitative, but also qualitative. For example, discourse in the earlier part of the sample took for granted the risks to police officers and their justifications for using their weapons as in these excerpts:

Four shots were fired by Motorcycle Officer Tom Keightley early today in preventing two youths from escaping from a gasoline service station at Eastern Ave. and Leslie St. [...] Turning the gun toward them through an open window he told them he would shoot if they made any further attempt to escape. He took out his handcuffs and put them on the pair through the window. When help arrived he still had his gun on them. (TS, October 5, 1951, p. 25)

Const. I. V. Bailey was forced to fire a warning shot into the air to hold back a mob which threatened Const. D. A. Dunn. (VP, March 26, 1955, p. 2)

*Il faut que les juges épaulent les représentants de la Couronne et les policiers. Ceux-ci risquent leur vie tous les jours. Si nous ne les avions pas, ce serait la loi de la jungle.*

However, the last three decades witnessed far more questioning of police use of force. The coverage placed greater emphasis on the damages caused by abuse of police power and the tendency was to present at least two sides of situations where some suggested that police force might have been avoided. For example, in 1975, The Province featured a front-page article with the headline “Youth shot dead in scuffle with policeman” (VP, August 14, 1975, p. 1, 9). The article recounted a lengthy high speed car chase of a suspect ending in a struggle between the suspect and the Vancouver officer in which “the policeman’s service revolver went off.” The article reported the

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163 Translation: Judges must back up the representatives of the Crown and police officers. These [people] risk their life every day. If we did not have them, it would be the law of the jungle.
Vancouver deputy police chief saying that his officer followed "normal procedure" during the pursuit. However, about a quarter of the article was taken up by recounting a completely unrelated incident involving the same officer four years earlier. The earlier incident also concerned a car chase and the officer's patrol car struck a civilian vehicle killing the wife of a prominent businessman. The part of the article relating to the shooting incident added information such as

   Another Richmond officer said the officers who witnessed the shooting saw no indication that the youth was armed.
   "And from the investigation so far there is no evidence the suspect went for a weapon when he was stopped," the officer said.
   He said it appeared Musgrave had his gun drawn when he approached the car. (VP, August 14, 1975, p. 1, 9)

The article also raised questions about jurisdiction and a potential inquest. This example was consistent with the tendency, discussed below, of individualizing blame when reporters or their sources questioned police behaviour. The focus was typically on one or a few 'bad apples.' Consequently, placing the spotlight on certain individuals did not bring any discredit to the institution of policing.

However, in terms of the use of force, some of the articles did go beyond the 'bad apples' scenario. For example, in the previously mentioned case chronicling the inquest into the shooting death of hostage-taker Drew Thor Carlsen (see Chapter 6, section B iii)), The Toronto Star reported that he had been shot by an officer when he stepped out onto the balcony and refused to drop his rifle, instead aiming it at police. Each article presented the police perspective: they were in fear for their lives, they should have shot sooner, they could not let him return to the hostage in the house. But, also in each article, the lawyer acting on behalf of the Carlsen family and a consultant hired by the family presented a different perspective and questioned police actions: the police made themselves a target by leaving their 'cover' to confront the teen, they should have backed off, the emergency response was too slow, the senior officer should have...
commenced negotiations with the teen immediately, the police should have secured the perimeter, they should have contacted the youth's parents, the police were negligent, they did not follow proven procedures for such situations (TS, May 3, 1983, p. A14; May 4, 1983, p. A19; May 6, 1983, p. A3; May 7, 1983, p. A11; May 10, 1983, p. A1, A4; p. A7; May 15, 1983, p. F6). The outcome of the inquest was a lengthy list of proposals for future handling of hostage situations (TS, May 10, 1983, p. A1, A4).

The following excerpts further illustrate this recent tendency to question the actions of police, especially when using firearms:

Rien de comparable avec l'affaire Alan Gosset, ce policier qui, dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, a causé involontairement la mort du jeune Noir Anthony Griffin.

Pourtant cette triste histoire a permis de s'interroger personnellement sur le racisme, sur nos attitudes et sur celles des policiers sujets à interpeller de plus en plus des suspects d'ethnies différentes.

De graves lacunes ont alors été soulignées dans la formation des policiers et des solutions [sic], quoique imperfectes, ont été appliquées. De l'information a été largement diffusée et, à l'embauche, on tient compte d'un ratio pour "les autres." Et c'est tant mieux.164 (PM, January 17, 1991, p. B2)

The other aspect of police work involved in 'catching bad guys' which received much coverage in the articles examined was what might best be described as 'good sleuthing.' The portrayal of police detection work as fruitful took many shapes: investigation of reported crimes, patrolling and catching offenders in the act, rapid response to calls, 'crackdowns,' undercover operations, 'stakeouts,' calls for help from the public, examination of forensic evidence, logic, deduction and, occasionally, trickery.

164 Translation: It is nothing compared to the Alan Gosset affair, this officer who, in the course of his duties, involuntarily caused the death of the young Black Anthony Griffin.

Nevertheless, this sad story did allow us to question ourselves personally about racism, about our attitudes, and about those of police officers liable to question more and more suspects from different ethnic backgrounds.

Serious gaps were then emphasized with regard to police training and solutions, although imperfect, were applied. Information was largely broadcast and, upon hiring, we now take into account a ratio for "others." And so much the better.
The phrases typically used demonstrated a direct link between police work and the results reported. The following headlines and sub-headlines were examples:

CAUGHT BY PRINTS, GIVEN TWO YEARS [...] Clever Work by Local Detectives Led to His Arrest (TS, May 1, 1911, p. 7)

_Courant de voler dans un garage_ (PM, February 19, 1959, p. 3)


The idea that officers in their routine patrols would happen upon crimes in progress and halt them was frequently suggested in the coverage. This implication, of course, conveyed the image of police as proactive instead of reactive, as principally involved in crime fighting, as opposed to maintaining public order or other non-crime related tasks. Such a representation is inconsistent with the RCMP's own assessment of its role (RCMP, 2003).

RCMP research suggests that rapid response to calls, follow-up investigation of crime incidents and random motorized patrols do not increase the effectiveness of police work in most instances. Furthermore, the research shows that criminal incidents comprise about 15 to 20% of calls for service received by most police forces (RCMP, 2003). In contrast, the media depicted the police as more proactive and the patrols as effective, as seen in the following excerpts:

Noticing a car travelling rapidly south on Granville street, without lights, Sergeant MacAulay overhauled it. It developed that it had been stolen from the 1200-block... (VP, July 13, 1927, p. 22)

Headline: 5 suspects pris sur le fait ... _Les agents spéciaux Aimé April et S. Thomas, de l'auto-radio 329, patrouillaient dans l'ouest de la ville, lorsqu'ils aperçurent les cinq individus devant les magasins Grovers, au 160 ouest, rue Ste-Catherine._ (PM, February 13, 1959b, p. 3)

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165 Translation: Surprised while stealing from a garage
166 Translation: 5 suspects caught in the act

... Special Agents Aimé April and S. Thomas, of radio-car 329, were patrolling in the west of the city, when they caught sight of five individuals in front of the Grovers stores, at 160 West Sainte-Catherine Street.
Although the coverage never actually argued that it was a habitual practice for patrol officers to happen upon a crime in progress, neither did it ever suggest that this might be an unusual event. As such, it is not clear whether such reports might be interpreted by the reader as happenstance, as proof of the usefulness of patrols or as newsworthy because of their rarity. Nonetheless, it is clear that the reports do not cast doubt on the usefulness of patrols.

Other aspects of police work which appear of great interest to the media deal with the more technical aspects of investigations: following leads, clues, evidence, interrogations and undercover work. This too is in contrast with the reality of police work where

Most crimes are solved on the basis of information provided by the victim or witnesses to the officer who first responds to the call. Crimes are seldom solved by subsequent investigation, with perhaps less than 3% of all cases cleared, solved by this means. (RCMP, 2003, n.p.)

Again articles included information about investigations in such ways as to demonstrate the competence of police and the direct links between their approaches to crime problems and the solution of crimes:

A la suite du 1er et du 2e vol, le chef Paiement entreprit des recherches qui provoquèrent finalement la découverte du butin volé, que l'escarpe avait dissimulé dans un champ voisin. Il décida alors de surveiller cet endroit nuit et jour et sa patience fut finalement récompensée lorsque, lundi soir, le voleur s'amena avec un autre lot de marchandises.\(^\text{167}\) (PM, September 30, 1943, p. 7)

Police Sunday found a hunting knife, believed to be the murder weapon, and the dead woman's empty purse near where her body was found.

The knife was found after police used power saws to cut down a section of bush. (VP, December 27, 1967, p. 23)

\(^{167}\) Translation: After the first and second thefts, Chief Paiement undertook investigations which finally resulted in the discovery of the stolen loot, that the professional thief had concealed in a neighbouring field. He decided to watch the place night and day and his patience was finally rewarded, Monday night, when the thief showed up with another lot of merchandise.
An RCMP officer who posed as a dope peddler and two rookie city policemen were credited Tuesday with providing cases against 68 persons suspected of trafficking in narcotics. [...] 

Deputy police chief Tom Stokes said the raids were a result of four months of undercover work in a joint RCMP and city police operation. The policemen involved were identified as Wayne Melymick and Ken Winn. (VP, May 19, 1971, p. 27)

While the greatest benefit for the police accruing from the relationship they sustain with the media is surely the favourable portrayal of the police in the media, the coverage also gave evidence of another facet of the relationship. The media serve as an intermediary between the police and the public. They can provide important means for police to disseminate information about cases to a broad audience, which can at times be useful in furthering police work and seeking the collaboration of the public. There were a number of news items where the police were reportedly seeking assistance from the public.

Overall, representations of the work of police in apprehending offenders tended to be more favourable than not. Police were generally presented as competent authorities. In some cases, portrayals of police went beyond approval to outright praise. Such depictions are the subject of the following sub-section.

b) Everyday heroes and credible sources

As far as the representations of individual officers are concerned, these were generally quite positive and often exaggeratedly so. In contrast to the few instances discussed below where reports singled out individual officers as 'bad apples,' accounts of public commendations of police officers by judges or other officials were frequent. The coverage presented many police officers as hardworking, devoted, brave, competent, authoritative, tireless and clever. I believe the coverage of such characteristics of police has certain repercussions, such as unquestioning acceptance of their authority, expansion of the police role in the criminal justice process and enhanced
credibility of police as news sources. These representations, again in contrast to the representations of 'bad apples,' tend to reflect favourably not only on the individual officers singled out for praise, but also on the police institution as a whole.

The praise that was repeatedly heaped upon police in the news coverage on young offenders was initially noted during the data collection phase and is still surprising in light of my pre-conceived notion that police tend to be criticized quite a bit in the news. However, it is consistent with the important role played by police as news sources. And, as noted previously, the more recent coverage in the sample was sometimes less favourable to police than earlier coverage. There was more ambivalence and, when praise was given, it was somewhat less transparent than the overt adulation seen in early 20th century reports. For instance, a couple of articles reporting on a hold-up in a Montréal restaurant in 1931 stated that the police had rounded up a number of suspects to bring before the victim who was hospitalized in critical condition. The first article reported that the victim identified one of his attackers out of the group shown to him, but the police were not releasing the name of the suspect until they caught his companion who remained at large. Nonetheless, the article concluded "L'escouade spéciale des hold-up a donc fait un travail rapide couronné déjà d'un entier succès"\(^{168}\) (PM, March 24, 1931, p. 1).

This and other examples of these favourable portrayals of police tended to represent the reporters' own assessments as seen in the following excerpts:

\[
\text{La justice, disons-le, n'a rien épargnée depuis la première heure de l'assassinat pour jeter pleine lumière sur cette macabre affaire. Le bureau du procureur-général a mis en campagne deux de ses plus habiles limiers, le chef McCarthy et le détective Sylvain.} \quad [...] \\
\text{Aujourd'hui, l'incident du jour, c'est l'arrivée du CHEF K. P. McCASKILL de la police secrète provinciale.}
\]

\(^{168}\) Translation: The special hold-up squad has therefore done quick work already crowned with complete success.
Le fameux limier va se mettre incessamment à la besogne, en allant, ce matin, interroger la petite Alexina dans son cachot. […]

La population entière des districts de Québec et de Bellechasse peut compter que ce fameux policier, à qui tant de meurtriers doivent déjà leur châtiment, ne se reposera pas avant d'avoir, avec le concours de ses collègues, le chef McCarthy et le détective Sylvain, arraché de l'ombre où il se cache le véritable assassin du petit Amédée Carrier.169 (PM, April 15, 1907a, p. 1)

Cette arrestation fait le plus grand honneur au détective L. G. Crevier, du Pacifique, et au détective Pigeon, de la Sûreté. Crevier surtout, travaillait à découvrir le coupable depuis le premier de mars. On ne s'imagine pas les difficultés qu'il a éprouvées.170 (PM, May 31, 1911, p. 16)

In other instances, reporters would quote sources praising the actions of officers.

There were a variety of sources used, but those more typically seen were high ranking police or government officials and judges, as in the following example:

Toute la bande n'avait été arrêtée qu'après deux jours d'habiles et patientes recherches des agents Longpré et Labelle, arrestations qui leur ont valu les félicitations du capitaine Alphonse Morin.171 (PM, August 20, 1919, p. 17)

Moreover, testimonials from the public also appeared. In one instance, a letter to the editor signed "PARENT" read

To the basic question: "Do the police deserve our respect?," the answer in my judgment is a resounding yes. The RCMP is a source of great national pride, and with less glamour but no less devotion, metropolitan and district police forces throughout the country are doing a day to day job no less important and praiseworthy. (VP, November 30, 1963, p. 4)

169 Translation: Justice, we must admit, has spared nothing since the first hour of this assassination to shed full light on this macabre affair. The office of the attorney general put to work two of its most able detectives, Chief McCarthy and Detective Sylvain.

Today, the incident of the day, is the arrival of Chief K. P. McKASKILL of the provincial secret police. This first-rate detective will get to work very shortly, by going, this morning, to interrogate the little Alexina in her cell. […]

The entire population of the districts of Québec and Bellechasse can count on the fact that this first-rate police officer, to whom so many murderers already owe their punishment, will not rest until having, with the help of his colleagues, Chief McCarthy and detective Sylvain, pulled from the shadows where he is hiding the true assassin of the little Amédée Carrier.

170 Translation: This arrest brings the greatest honour to Detective L. G. Crevier, of the Pacific, and to Detective Pigeon, of the Sûreté. Crevier, especially, had been working to discover the guilty party since the first of March. We cannot imagine all the difficulties he experienced.

171 Translation: The whole gang had only been arrested after two days of skilful and patient investigation by Agents Longpré and Labelle, arrests which brought them congratulations from Captain Alphonse Morin.
In addition to heaping praise upon individual officers or groups of officers, the coverage also constructed police in general as heroes for children and youth to admire and respect. It was suggested that such constructions, among other things, also played a role in the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Various writers and sources (especially police sources) repeatedly argued that youth would keep out of trouble if only they respected the police and saw them as friends instead of enemies. The coverage tended to portray the positive police-youth relationship as geared around police programs for youths such as the Deputy Auxiliary Police in Los Angeles where youths could receive the benefits of police training, the availability of plainclothes youth bureau officers, regular school visits by police officers, and affiliations with other youth organizations.

Furthermore, coverage about the police showed them as being involved not only in delinquency prevention, but also in delivering a bit of justice in their own right. Further evidence of the importance of police to the delivery of criminal justice in an informal manner took the form of occasional reports on the exercise of police discretion through 'stern warnings' and on-the-spot 'punishments.'

Overall, portrayals of police helped to enhance the perception of their integrity and credibility. Many articles gave officers' full names, as well as their ranks, and occasionally their badge numbers, station and/or police body of affiliation. These favourable depictions of police appear to support the argument that a symbiotic relationship prevails between the police and the media. The benefit drawn by police from this association is evident in the foregoing discussion. The advantage for the media derives from the maintenance of access to the police as the latter are a very significant and constant source of news. As mentioned in Chapter 5, police were the most frequently used source in the news items studied. However, the level to which the media relied on police as sources was not fully elucidated by the earlier information about the use of police sources compared to other potential sources, such as lawyers,
judges, offenders, victims, and experts. I pointed out the quantitative variation, but an important qualitative difference existed as well. When police were used as sources in a news item, they were quoted extensively and repeatedly throughout the article. This was not true of any other type of source, except judges. It was not uncommon to find articles which contained a number of paragraphs beginning or ending with “Police say/said/warn/allege/claim/charge...,” “Constable... told the court...,” and quoting RCMP, SQ, OPP or city police spokespersons.

Moreover, we must consider that reporters did not only avail themselves of police as sources of factual information about crimes that had occurred. Police opinions were present in the sample as well and the credibility conferred upon police sources privileged their opinions, even when the opinions of police were in complete contradiction to the views of actors directly involved in a situation. For instance, Detective McLean brushed aside the previously discussed accusations by Pickering High School students and their parents that the school handled incidents of violence differently based on the race of the aggressors.

[Detective] McLean said in his dealings with the school he has found the staff and principal to be fair in dealing with problems in the school’s diverse population.

“They’re extremely fair and unbiased when it comes to incidents in the school.” (TS, December 10, 1995, p. A2)

This illustration again brings to mind Becker’s hierarchy of credibility. Which view will the reader find more credible: racial minority parents who have a self-interest in portraying their children as victims or the seemingly neutral police officer? The problem is not that police views are routinely printed, but rather that they are typically portrayed as inherently more credible.

Also, in certain circumstances, it may be beneficial for police officers to portray specific situations as being out of control. This was the case particularly in reports on illicit drugs and street gangs. It can serve the interests of the police for the public to be
informed that a problem is beyond the control of the authorities. Police calls for more resources may consequently be perceived as credible. For example, in relation to the circulation of illegal drugs, police admitted some of the challenges they faced:

York Region's teenagers can easily get marijuana and cannabis, educators and law enforcement officials say - and there is little that can be done to cut off the supply.

"There's just so goddamn much of it," Deputy Chief Darrell Burbine says of cannabis in particular.

"The police are not really equipped to stem the tide. It looks like a losing battle." (TS, May 3, 1983b, p. 10)

Another example of a problem portrayed as being beyond the control of the police occurred in the last sample month in 1999, when students in Montréal staged massive protests, blocking bridges, as mentioned in Chapter 7.

Des milliers d'élèves de niveau secondaire outrés par la remise en cause de leurs activités parascolaires ont pris d'assaut deux des principaux ponts de la métropole hier, plongeant du coup le réseau routier dans le chaos, sous le nez des policiers.\(^\text{172}\) (PM, September 22, 1999, p. A1)

In the same article, police admitted they had been taken by surprise. Two days later, more protests were reported. The photograph accompanying the article was of an officer wearing a helmet, dragging a youth in a choke hold. The caption read "Les membres du SPCUM, débordés par les débrayages spontanés des élèves du secondaire, sont intervenus de façon musclée au centre-ville pour mettre un terme à une manifestation distincte regroupant des cégépiens et des étudiants.\(^\text{173}\) (PM, September 24, 1999a, p. A3). Although such an image might normally lead to criticism of the police intervention, within the context of the previous report, accompanied by other

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\(^{172}\) Translation: Thousands of high school students outraged by the calling into question of their extracurricular activities stormed the main bridges of the metropolis yesterday, instantly sending the road system into chaos, right under the noses of the police.

\(^{173}\) Translation: Members of the MUC [Police Service], overloaded by the spontaneous strikes of high school students, intervened in a strong-armed manner downtown to put an end to a separate demonstration bringing together college and university students.
photographs of hundreds of students lined up in the streets, the only term the reporter used in qualifying the depicted police behaviour was "musclée."\textsuperscript{174}

In contrast to the many overwhelmingly positive representations of police in the coverage, there were a few portrayals of police which were more critical. These are the topic of the following sub-section.

c) And then they were bad...

As mentioned above in relation to police use of firearms, recent portrayals of police have not been uniformly favourable. Even so, unfavourable portrayals were very few in number and it would thus be precarious to generalize. Nevertheless, it is evident that views critical of the police were practically absent in the first half of the sample and those I found were concentrated in the 1980s and 1990s. Also, articles questioning police actions which resulted or may have resulted in the death of a teenager were present in series. In May 1983, for instance, The Toronto Star ran seven stories about the shooting death of Drew Thor Carlsen by police during a hostage situation, which I have already discussed in detail (see Chapter 6, section B) iii) and Chapter 8, section B) i)), and The Province ran five stories about the teenage son of a Solidarity supporter in Warsaw who was said to have been beaten to death by Polish police. It is interesting to note that the portrayal of the York Regional Police as inept in the Carlsen case was not nearly as unfavourable as that of the Polish police who were shown as brutal, vindictive, and intimidating (VP, May 16, 1983, p. A1; May 17, 1983, p. A3; May 20, 1983, p. A3; May 25, 1983, p. D11; May 26, 1983, p. A3). Perhaps this divergence represented an implicit ‘othering’ of the Polish police, which served to paint ‘our’ police in a better light. As such, the portrayal of the Polish police may have been more closely tied into a narrative about communism than about police abuse of power.

\textsuperscript{174} Translation: strong-armed
One of the earliest articles describing police misconduct appeared in The Toronto Star in 1967 under the headline "Police kicked, punched sit-in hippies" (TS, December 5, 1967a, p. 8). The article recounted the eye witness testimony of a Globe and Mail reporter at the trial of 30 people charged with creating a disturbance. Police behaviours reported include hitting "both boys and girls, using fists and judo chops and dragging them by their feet along the road," slapping a girl across the face and knocking her down, repeatedly kicking an individual in the ribs, lashing out and striking people in the face as they were loaded into the police wagon, tearing off a girl’s blouse and making a lewd comment to a boy who was trying to help this girl (TS, December 5, 1967a, p. 8).

More recently, in January 1991, La Presse reported that police had harassed professional football player Tommy "Sugar" Kane when the latter returned to visit his mother in the neighbourhood where he had grown up: La Petite Bourgogne (PM January 12, 1991b, p. A2). The reporter based the article entirely on the accounts of Kane and his lawyer, which, while certainly plausible, could easily have been verified with police sources. No indication was given in the article that the reporter had sought such corroboration.

In December 1995, articles in La Presse potentially implicated the police in the suspicious death of a young woman named Hélène Hurtubise. Although police actions could not be clearly linked to her death, police officers were the last people to have seen her alive. Also, prior misconduct of the police in relation to the young woman was a central focus of the reports, although the primary topic was the inquest into her death. Questionable police behaviours which received serious scrutiny in the reports included joking about her around the police station, meeting with her in an abandoned lot in the

\[175\]  Translation: Little Burgundy (note: this is one of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Montréal).
middle of the night, asking to see her breasts, and possibly following her around in police cruisers (PM, December 2, 1995, p. A6). In one article, the reporter asked

> Les policiers de la GRC ont-ils abusé de leur pouvoir, ont-ils commis des manquements professionnels, ont-ils profité de la vulnérabilité de la jeune fille? […]

> L'agent Gérard Thériault, superviseur, a reconnu avoir demandé à la jeune fille de montrer ses seins lors d'un entretien en pleine nuit dans la voiture de police. Il voulait savoir si elle était une «agace» ou si elle était sérieuse dans ses avances. Ce commentaire en dit long sur l'état d'esprit qui animait plusieurs policiers du poste de Delson.\textsuperscript{176} (PM, December 2, 1995, p. A6)

These few negative depictions of police were far outnumbered by the many positive representations discussed above. As such, the overall image of police that emerges from the coverage on youthful offending is a favourable one, which is certainly influenced, at least in part, by the mutually beneficial relationship that exists between the police and the media.

Although there were more representations in the sample of police than of any other actors in the criminal justice system, representations of justice which serve to assess the administration of justice also include evaluations of justice in sentencing — in other words, the portrayals of judges and the sentences they pass.

\textbf{ii) Assessing justice in sentencing}

> "I am not here to dispense justice. I am here to dispose of this case according to law. Whether this is or is not justice is a question for the legislature to determine." — Sir Thomas W. Taylor, Chief justice of Manitoba, 1887-1899 (as cited in TS, February 10, 1979, p. 10)

Representations of justice took many forms. The concept of 'justice' was at times an abstract notion, not exactly equated with fairness and based upon changeable

\textsuperscript{176} Translation: Did the RCMP officers abuse their power, did they commit professional misconduct, did they take advantage of the young girl's vulnerability? […]

Agent Gérard Thériault, supervisor, admitted having asked the young girl to show him her breasts during a night time interview in the police car. He wanted to know if she was a "tease" or if she was serious in her advances. This comment reveals a lot about the frame of mind of several officers at the Delson station.
criteria. Readers could assess the perceived 'justice' of a sentence in news reports in a number of ways. News items frequently described sentences as either lenient or severe, quoting both judges themselves and other observers of the justice process as well as including the reporters’ own assessments. In addition, readers could also assess justice through descriptions of the proceedings and of the judges’ demeanour or words. Portrayals of judges in the first seven decades were generally favourable and emphasized their paternalistic qualities. In the last two or three decades, less attention was paid to judges in the coverage. Media treatment of judges thus does not directly parallel portrayals of police. The latter were generally favourable throughout but with a few criticisms emerging in the last decades studied. Just as portrayals of police reflected on the justice system, portrayals of judges also served to depict justice under a certain light.

First, the portrayal of sentences as lenient or severe resulted from either the judges describing the sentences as such or from others’ assessments being reported. Reports conveyed judges’ assessments as in this typical example: “If I were lenient with boys on probation, the whole fabric of the probation system would fall to the ground. […] The lads are exceedingly lucky that I have not passed a severe sentence” (TS, October 20, 1923a, p. 2).

Second, in other instances, headlines included the description of a sentence as either lenient or severe:

Quatre jeunes gens de Lachine bénéficient de la clémence du tribunal177 (PM, October 27, 1951, p. 3)

No leniency for drug sellers judge tells court (TS, February, 7, 1979, p. C12)

Third, articles and headlines sometimes described sentences while quoting no specific source for making this assessment. As such, one can argue that these

177 Translation: Four young people from Lachine benefit from tribunal’s clemency
assessments belonged to the author of the article (see Ericson et al. 1987, 1989, 1991 on journalists inserting their own views into their stories). For example, reporters described sentences as severe, strict, stern, heavy, too severe, weak, lenient and merciful.

Fourth, reporters quoted specific individuals involved in the justice process, or simply observers, in making some evaluation of the judge's sentence. For instance, a sentence of five years and 20 lashes imposed upon a 16-year-old "bandit" reportedly provoked a strong reaction from the Toronto Big Brothers association. The article which quoted this organization used the terms "too extreme," "a terribly extreme sentence," "quite severe," "stiff sentence," "absolutely wrong" and "too severe" in describing the sentence (TS, March 26, 1931, p. 1, 3). In another example, following the guilty plea and subsequent sentencing of Kip Kinkel on four counts of murder and 26 counts of attempted murder, the father of one of the victims stated "This is the best resolution of the case" and one victim added "Sounds like there's enough years -- he'll probably die in prison. [...] What more could we ask for?" (TS, September 25, 1999, p. A24).

In a letter to the editor titled "Suspended sentences appalled me," the writer asked "If the judge was hauled off his bench and given the same treatment, would there be a difference [in the sentences]?" (TS, August 23, 1975, p. B3). Other commentators included prosecutors and defence attorneys, people on the street and public personalities giving their views on sentences handed down by the courts.

In addition to representations of sentences, judges as individuals and assessments of their behaviour in court were also rendered in the news items as

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178 The Toronto Big Brother Movement was integrally tied to the Toronto Juvenile and Family Court through the first half of the 20th century, providing probation officers for the Court, among other things (Chunn, 1992).
indicators of 'justice.' As noted above, throughout the first 70 to 75 years of the twentieth century, coverage typically portrayed judges in a paternalistic manner, as wise father figures (see also Donzelot, 1979). This image was, of course, in keeping with the mandate of judges under the JDA and welfare model of juvenile justice. Such depictions cast an equally favourable light on judges who were merciful with young people in their courts and on judges who were sterner as the latter were seen as being strict 'for the youths' own good' or to help them become 'good citizens.' In the last 25 to 30 years of the sample, such portrayals shifted. The coverage paid less and less attention to judges and emphasized the paternal qualities of judges with decreasing frequency. These latter representations were also in keeping with the shift in dominant models of justice at that time – emphasizing individual rights and responsibilities – where the judge no longer played the role of helping the child, but rather that of a neutral arbiter interpreting the law.

In the earlier portion of the sample, the coverage tended to give particular weight to judges’ paternalistic behaviour, occasionally emphasized such conduct more than the actual sentence passed. Reporters used terms such as the following to qualify the words of judges directed at young accused: “the fatherly and benign words” (TS, January 12, 1903, p. 1), “a good lecture” (VP, April 5, 1907, p. 7) and “d’excellents, judicieux conseils” (PM, February 6, 1959a, p. 42). In one example, the reporter described a judge's behaviour as follows:

“Après lui avoir servi une verte semonce, le juge Blain tenta de faire comprendre à l’accusé qu’une fois qu’il aura purgé sa peine, il devra reprendre le droit chemin, s’il veut se réhabiliter et devenir un bon citoyen, ‘quelqu’un’ dans la société.” (PM, February 14, 1959b, p. 10)

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179 Translation: excellent, judicious advice
180 Translation: After having given him a sharp reprimand, Judge Blain attempted to make the accused understand that once he had purged his sentence, he would need to get back on the straight and narrow, if he wants to rehabilitate himself and become a good citizen, “somebody” in society.
The newspapers’ construction of judges’ conduct towards young people typically allowed the reader to surmise the judges’ intentions. For example, one article recounted the outcome of the case of a juvenile appearing in court for charges relating to thefts of motor cars:

In passing sentence [suspended sentence with 10 strokes of the strap] his worship gave the boy some sound advice and pointed out the error of his way. When the boy expressed his willingness to receive the punishment, which he admitted he deserved, the magistrate said: “I just want to make you think and the strap sometimes helps boys to think.” (TS, March 13, 1931b, p. 32)

Other examples of comments about judges which contributed to this image of the wise fatherly judge included the following: Headline: “*Le juge indulgent pour ces 2 prévenus*” (PM, March 20, 1931, p. 3 – emphasis added), “In silence, more eloquent than words, Mag. Browne looked the boy up and down” (TS, March 19, 1931, p. 2); and “You will have a hard life ahead of you if you don’t straighten up, son” declared his worship” (TS, September 30, 1943, p. 2 – emphasis added).

Statements such as the following made about young people leaving court and appearing ‘chastened’ also served to portray the efficacy of judges: “‘If you ever come back here again the punishment will be ten times as severe,’ his worship told the boys, both of whom seemed quite chastened” (TS, July 6, 1927, p. 1).

The coverage also emphasized other aspects of judges’ behaviour such as their perceived leniency or lack thereof. Assessments of leniency typically came from statements not attributed to any source other than the journalist him or herself and without specifying the criteria for such assessments. Although occasional comments suggested that judges had been too lenient, the reports generally portrayed leniency as a neutral evaluation of the sentence (i.e. not the reporter’s personal opinion). The judge’s justification for a sentence often followed statements about leniency. For

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181 Translation: Judge *indulgent* for these 2 accused
example, excerpts such as the following conveyed this image about leniency in sentencing: "En faisant acte de clémence, le juge avait pris en considération certaines circonstances..."\(^{182}\) (PM, March 3, 1955, p. 21), "This is as lenient as I possibly can be for persons guilty of robbery" (TS, December 1, 1967, p. 26) and the headline "Un juge se montre clément à l'endroit d'un trafiquant d'héroïne réhabilité\(^{183}\) (PM, August 21, 1975, p. C9).

In much the same way, reporters commented on or provided information about the severity of judges as though it were a neutral assessment. For example, they described judges' addresses to accused using the following terms: "a scathing rebuke" (VP, April 20, 1907, p. 1), "sèvères remontrances\(^{184}\) (PM, July 20, 1927, p. 10), "sternly reprimanded" (TS, March 30, 1931c, p. 30), and "une sévère semonce\(^{185}\) (PM, April 15, 1939a, p. 49). In each of the articles quoted here, the severity of the judges was not being explicitly criticized or commended, but merely reported as though it were just another fact of the proceedings. Whether such formulations implicitly criticized or commended the judges is unclear.

Reporters also depicted the behaviour and discourse of judges in other ways which demonstrated strictness and lack of sympathy such as in this example:

"Enlevez vos mains de vos poches et tenez-vous droit," a lancé le magistrat au jeune homme, dès que le substitut au procureur de la Couronne, Me Rachel Boivin, eut expliqué la raison de la comparution.

"Pourquoi ne vous êtes-vous pas présenté?" a poursuivi le juge Mercier sur un ton sévère. [...] 

"Je vous ai dit d'enlever les mains de vos poches," a repris le juge Mercier sèchement...\(^{186}\) (PM, December 12, 1995, p. A16)

\(^{182}\) Translation: In acting with clemency, the judge had taken into consideration certain circumstances...

\(^{183}\) Translation: A judge is lenient with a rehabilitated heroin dealer

\(^{184}\) Translation: severe remonstrances

\(^{185}\) Translation: severe reprimand

\(^{186}\) Translation: "Take your hands out of your pockets and stand up straight," the magistrate instructed the young man, as soon as the deputy Crown Counsel, Ms. Rachel Boivin, Q.C., had explained the reason for the court appearance.
Journalists also quoted judges referring to themselves as severe. For example, one court column quoted Magistrate Clare Morrison telling two youths accused of assault: "I have no sympathy or compassion for someone who puts the boots to another" (TS, December 23, 1967, p. 13) and "Magistrate J. Sauvé and Crown Attorney R. Mercier angrily blasted parents of young delinquents [...] I can assure you that I am going to be very severe" (TS, February 14, 1959, p. 49).

Portrayals of judges and their sentences were only part of the ways in which news items represented 'justice.' Coverage also raised concerns regarding the adequacy of the legislation and policies in place and how these might be altered to better address issues around juvenile delinquency.

iii) The push for law reform

What I have termed 'the push for law reform' encompasses much more than strictly law reform. It includes calls for action ranging from vague claims that 'something must be done' to demands for tougher laws and stricter law enforcement. This political push comes from actors outside the criminal justice system as well as those working within it such as police (individuals and associations) and judges. The inclusion of these imperatives in the news items further circumscribes the issues surrounding youth crime. Such coverage invites readers not only to view issues from a narrow perspective (that crime is a legal problem), but also to consider only a limited range of solutions that might be appropriate for addressing those issues (legal solutions instead of social ones). Such representations were consistent with similar findings in the research literature which suggest that news reports offer only a limited number of views on the solutions to crime.

"Why didn't you show up?" continued Judge Mercier in a severe tone of voice. [...] "I told you to take your hands out of your pockets," repeated Judge Mercier dryly...
problems (see, e.g., Ericson et al., 1991; McManus & Dorfman, 2002; Welch et al., 1998).

By far the bulk of such coverage appeared in the last 20 to 30 years of the sample and almost exclusively in the English-language newspapers. In fact, I rarely found calls to 'get tough' with young offenders and to 'crack down' on problems before the 1970s and even more seldom in La Presse. In La Presse, the only reports that suggested a tougher approach were reports about youth crime in the United States, with the exception of one case about racist attacks perpetrated by young skinheads in Montréal. The latter also included calls for more education, which could prevent racist attitudes in the first place.

Moreover, one article in La Presse discussing the toughening of the law was about the opposition to such an approach by the Association des directeurs de police du Québec. The following excerpt illustrates the views expressed:

L’Association des directeurs de police du Québec (ADPQ) ne croit pas que les jeunes présumément impliqués dans le meurtre crapuleux d’une octogénaire de Chambly devraient être traduits directement devant un tribunal d’adultes, risquant ainsi de passer une grande partie de leur vie en prison.

[...] Même si on déférait les jeunes contrevenants devant un tribunal pour adultes et qu’ils étaient envoyés au pénitencier, est-ce que nous empêcherions un événement tragique comme celui de Chambly de se produire? Envoyer des jeunes en prison, c’est juste punitif et non préventif,” a précisé M. Langlais, directeur de la police de la Haute Saint-Charles, dans la région de Québec.

Pour sa part, le directeur général de l’ADPQ, Lorrain Audy, qui assistait à l’entrevue, a souligné que le système judiciaire pour adultes n’est pas un exemple. « Si on applique ce système aux enfants, quelle sorte de monde allons-nous faire? Actuellement, la loi des jeunes contrevenants vise la réhabilitation et nous voulons qu’elle demeure. Nous ne pouvons pas tous les réchapper, et il ne faut pas penser non plus qu’il n’arrivera jamais des écarts. Avant de commencer à crier au loup, il faut regarder au juste ce qui s’est passé. [...] Avec le projet de loi, un jeune de 13 ans accusé d’un meurtre sera traduit presque automatiquement devant un tribunal pour adultes. Ça n’a aucun sens, c’est un enfant!” a précisé M. Audy, ex-membre de la direction de la

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187 Translation: Québec Association of Police Chiefs

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While these views expressed by high ranking police officials are representative of the dominant position on youth justice in Québec, they are highly inconsistent with opinions found in the English-language newspapers and, even less so, with views of law enforcement personnel in English Canada. What is particularly striking is that these thoughts were expressed following a highly publicized murder committed by three youths. Typically, in the English-language print media, repressive views, not their opposite, tended to receive greater emphasis following high profile crimes.

In terms of the range of such responses, the news coverage usually included the vague suggestion that 'something must be done' in the same types of circumstances as the calls to 'get tough.' The only difference between these two perspectives was that the former did not specify the exact type of action to be taken. However, implicit throughout these vague calls for action was the idea that more stringent action, not less, was needed. For example, one article concluded “Said the magistrate before passing sentence: ‘For the protection of society, the law and of this court, trafficking must be stopped’” (VP, December 7, 1967, p. 43). The article did not specify how trafficking might be stopped; however, the headline pointed out “Two jailed for running drug...”

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188 Translation: The Québec Association of Police Chiefs (QAPC) does not believe that the young people presumably implicated in the foul/villainous murder of a Chambly octogenarian should be automatically sent to trial in adult court, thus risking spending a large part of their lives in prison. [...] Even if we referred the young offenders to an adult court and they were sent to a penitentiary, would we prevent a tragic event like the one in Chambly from happening? Sending young people to prison is merely punitive, not preventative,” specified Mr. Langlais, police chief of Haute Saint-Charles, in the region of Québec.

For his part, the general director of the QAPC, Lorrain Audy, who was also present during the interview, emphasized that the judicial system for adults is not an example. “If we apply this system to the children, what kind of world will we create? Right now, the young offenders law aims at rehabilitation and we want it to remain. We cannot save them all, and we should not think that there will never be deviations. Before we start crying wolf, we should look at exactly what happened.

[...] With the bill, a 13-year-old youth accused of a murder would almost automatically be tried in adult court. It makes no sense, it is a child!” specified Mr. Audy, former executive member of the MUC police, who has also been deputy minister of public safety.
factory." Another example where the specific action to be taken was not spelled out, but suggested in the headline “Paddle, 7 Years For Dope Trader,” read

“It has become obvious since the war that there has been a substantial increase in quantity of drugs illicitly brought into this province and the Dominion,” declared his lordship. “No traffic is more damnable unless possibly it is that of living on the avails of prostitution. We must wake up to the peril which confronts us all and do our utmost to stamp it out with a firm hand before it is too late. The courts owe it to the country.” (VP, June 27, 1947, p. 6)

An article about racial violence in a Toronto area housing project reported that

“Police and politicians must take immediate steps to halt the outbreaks of violence, said Winston Ali, president of the Carnival Development Association which organizes the annual Caribana parade” (TS, August 14, 1975b, p. B1). The nature of the 'steps' to be taken was not clearly specified – only who should be responsible for taking action.

One vox-pop column inviting readers to comment on the availability of handguns, following an incident where a teenager had pointed a gun at a police officer, provided a panoply of suggestions ranging from banning guns and constant parental supervision to lengthy periods of detention and rehabilitation (VP, September 1, 1999, p. A21).

Generally speaking, however, the calls for action were quite specific about the ways in which law enforcement, sentencing and the law itself should be strengthened. Zero tolerance policies against drugs or bullying in schools, the need for more police presence and the vigorous prosecution of those who break the law are some examples of suggestions made in the coverage for toughening law enforcement. For instance, one article about security in schools at the beginning of the 1999-2000 school year following the shootings at Columbine High School in April 1999 pointed out the increased level of "metal detectors, surveillance cameras, bomb-sniffing dogs and zero-tolerance policies on teen clothes, backpacks and Web sites deemed dangerous by adults" and that "An increased police presence was demanded by parents across the country, says [New York Police Chief James] Lawrence, who meets annually with America's urban police
chiefs to discuss school safety” (TS, September 11, 1999, p. A25). Another article titled “Schools urged to get tougher” began with a quote from Detective Sergeant John Muise of Ontario’s Office for Victims of Crime: “All schools need to have zero tolerance for verbal, racial, sexual and physical harassment...” (TS, September 28, 1999a, p. D3).

Such articles gave little attention to the pitfalls of zero tolerance policies, who is affected by them and how that impact is felt by those around them (see, e.g., Casella, 2001; Morrison, 2007).

In respect to the crackdown on ‘squeegees’ in Ontario in 1999 (for a full discussion of the Ontario anti-squeegee legislation, see Hermer & Mosher, 2002), La Presse reported that, if the Harris government’s bill was passed into law, ‘squeegees’ who refused to abide by the law could find themselves in jail (PM, September 21, 1999, p. C21). Of the entire sample of news items collected (n = 1937), the one ranked fourth highest in terms of the amount of space taken up by the story, headlines and accompanying photos was a 1999 article in The Toronto Star about ‘squeegee kids.’

The article spanned nearly two full pages of the newspaper. On the first page of the coverage, under the headline “Squeegee kids: In your face,” were two inset quotes:

‘I would not exclude jail,’
- Attorney-General Jim Flaherty

‘They can all kiss my ass.’
- Squeegee kid Rooster

(TS, September 18, 1999, p. B1). The article reported warnings from Mayor Mel Lastman about “a final crackdown on the squeegee ‘problem’” and Attorney-General Jim Flaherty’s revelation that the government was considering “instant arrests, even jail.”

The article further reported

Flaherty likes the American way – the hard line – a combination of tough legislation, and even tougher police enforcement. [...] The hardline approach worked [in New York]. After just two months, their numbers were knocked down by two-thirds, police reported at the time. (TS, September 18, 1999, p. B1, B3)
However, although the article seems to include views more favourable to the tough stance against 'squeegee kids,' it surveyed a vast number of perspectives. The headline on the second page of coverage read "The hard line fizzled in Montreal" and the end of the article explained that the measures adopted in Montréal – increased police presence and fines, which went unpaid – only caused a displacement of the problem to different areas or different activities, such as drugs and prostitution. On first glance, this example would appear to serve as a caveat against the harsh approach. However, the example's positioning at the end of the article, and the suggestion that the approach "fizzled" because it was not enforced as strongly as in New York may have actually lent greater support to Ontario's adopting an even tougher procedure. The New York approach was said to have been modelled on Kelling's "broken windows hypothesis." The article quotes Kelling along with his critics. The tension between the different perspectives serves as an illustration of the neo-liberal policies which increase the numbers of street people, especially youth, and the state's tendency, in response, to intensify the surveillance of public spaces to keep the marginal out (see, e.g., Hermer & Mosher, 2002; Martin, 2002; O'Grady & Bright, 2002).

Letters to the editor of The Toronto Star about 'squeegee kids' followed that article. Two were printed on September 27th offering opposite opinions. The letter positioned on top was titled "Squeegee kids are terrifying" and the author was supportive of the Harris government's tough stance on squeegee kids and removing them from the streets "before it's too late" (TS, September 27, 1999a, p. A15). Underneath that letter was another which compared 'squeegee kids' to telemarketers who phone your home to offer you services you do not need or want. The writer of this letter suggested that

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189 The "broken windows hypothesis" suggests that maintaining order and responding to petty crime are as important to fighting crime as investigating serious and violent crimes. The hypothesis posits that if broken windows are left unrepai red, soon all the other windows will be broken. See Wilson & Kelling (1982).
perhaps "no thanks" would be an adequate response to both problems (TS, September 27, 1999b, p. A15).

Other examples of reports about the strengthening of police presence and law enforcement included a story in The Toronto Star about the Miami police chief's decision to make a show of force. Two photographs topped the article, one of a police dog and one of an officer driving a patrol car. The photo caption read

WAR ON CRIME in Negro district of Miami, Fla., has been escalated by Police Chief Walter Headley who has warned that police dogs will be used to hunt down hoodlums and shotguns will be carried in police patrol cars. The decision came after a Christmas weekend in which there were 58 violent crimes in the Negro district. (TS, December 28, 1967, p. 15)

The article also reported on civil rights groups who were opposed to the Chief's approach and planned to take action to prevent him from enforcing such "arbitrary action." However, the article also included extensive quotes from the police chief and his supporters such as the Greater Miami Crime Commission. The wire service writer quoted these sources making statements such as "if it takes a show of force to bring peace, we are for it" and "when the looting starts, the shooting starts" (TS, December 28, 1967, p. 15).

Ann Landers\(^{190}\) also offered opinions favourable to the police in a number of columns as did many writers of letters to the editors and to columnists. These writers often advocated more police presence in the interests of stopping youth crime.

In other instances, various sources directed their calls for action more at the court level. I found quite commonly suggestions to the effect that, when individuals were caught and brought to court, they should be punished to the full extent of the law. Judges themselves made such recommendations as did prosecutors as well as other

\(^{190}\) Ann Landers was a syndicated advice columnist (Esther Pauline Friedman Lederer) whose columns regularly appeared in North American newspapers from 1955, when she replaced the previous writer of the Ask Ann Landers column, until her death in 2002.
parties. Calls for tougher sentences were frequently reported and emphasized in headlines.

Aside from judges, others also called for more stringent sentencing, and often made disparaging remarks about the sentences being imposed and their perceived lack of effectiveness. For example


Finally, the coverage also included other calls for action in the form of implications that the existing laws were not sufficiently harsh to punish the offences committed. The leniency of juvenile legislation has been a recurring theme in the news coverage since the enactment of the Young Offenders Act. However, such was not the case in my media sample prior to the 1980s, despite the extensive research literature indicating that the JDA had also been subject to critique for being too lenient, not respecting youth's legal rights and discriminating against female youths, among other perceived weaknesses (see, e.g., Bala, 1994, 1997; Bell, 2003; Carrigan, 1998; Chunn, 1990; Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001; Matters, 1984; Myers, 1999, 2006; Reitsma-Street, 1998; Théorêt, 1991). Only a few accusations of 'mollycoddling' appeared prior to the 1980s. This is an interesting finding given that classical ideas about justice remained dominant in the early 20th century and continued to be present throughout the century. A possible explanation may be the relative lack of coverage on the JDA, compared to coverage on the YOA, which may stem from the fact that the court reporting in the earlier part of the sample centred on police/magistrate's courts.

In much the same way as many sources considered sentences handed down as not tough enough, some sources (particularly politicians, police, prosecutors and other concerned individuals) pointed out that even when judges punished young offenders to the full extent of the law, the Young Offenders Act did not allow for the type of severe
sentences that certain advocates desired. In terms of the YOA, longer sentences were a key issue repeatedly raised in the coverage. For example, one article twice incorporated (in its first and last paragraphs) variations on the following quote from Gordon Domm, co-ordinator of the Citizen's Coalition Favoring More Effective Criminal Sentences (see also Chapter 7): “Young killers won’t be deterred by ‘reward sentences in a group home with an open door and tax-paid trips to Wonderland’” (TS, January 10, 1991, p. A9).

One article in The Toronto Star reported on a protest against the YOA staged on a day when three youths were appearing in court on attempted murder charges for a severe beating which had left another youth in a coma. The article recounted “Angry protesters demanding changes to the Young Offenders Act waved banners outside the Newmarket courthouse yesterday, as three youths charged with beating a teen into a coma made a brief appearance on attempted murder charges” (TS, September 10, 1999, p. B5). Accompanying the article was a photograph of the protesters in which we could clearly read part of one of the banners stating: “The unintended offspring of the Young Offenders Act: Affluent, educated 17-year old beats a 15-year old boy into a coma and laughs about it in court.”

As discussed above, it was not uncommon during the YOA era to see suggestions that youths' identities should not be protected, that youths should be tried as adults for serious crimes, that harsher/longer penalties were required and that the minimum age should be lowered. For example, when legislators tabled the bill to replace the Young Offenders Act, critics were reportedly upset that the minimum age had not been lowered to 10. One Canadian Press article, versions of which appeared in The Toronto Star and The Province, related that
B.C. Reform MP Chuck Cadman\textsuperscript{191} says provincial systems for under-12 offenders vary too widely. "They have to be brought under some uniform system and the one that is uniform across the country is the criminal justice system," he said from Biggar, Sask.

His party's aim, he added, isn't to incarcerate children, unless they're a serious public safety concern, but to get them into a system that will look after them. (VP, September 28, 1999b, p. A21)

In December 1995, The Toronto Star and The Province both told of the stabbing to death of a British school principal outside his school while he was trying to protect a student who was being attacked. As mentioned previously, a large reproduction of the principal's 8-year-old son's letter to Santa asking for the return of his father dwarfed the Toronto Star article. After an account of the events, the article proceeded to state that

The killing sparked outrage in Britain and yesterday the government was considering tougher penalties for carrying knives in public.

"If we think there is advantage in stiffening the law, then that is something we will do," Home Secretary Michael Howard said in an interview.

The killing came amid growing concerns about discipline in Britain's schools. (TS, December 11, 1995, p. A3)

The Province gave an account of the story in one sentence three days later: "The British government said yesterday it planned to increase the penalty for carrying dangerous knives after a London school headmaster was stabbed to death by a gang of youths" (VP, December 14, 1995b, p. A42).

Stories such as this one, especially the version accompanied by the boy's letter to Santa, raise important concerns about how the news represents law reform.

Portraying single incidents as part of larger trends is often alarmist. Portraying single incidents as warranting legislative change is simplistic. Such a framing of the issues

\textsuperscript{191} Chuck Cadman was the Member of Parliament for the constituency of Surrey North, BC, from 1997 to 2005. Following the 1992 death of his son, Jesse, in a random street attack, Cadman and his wife founded a group called CRY (Criminal Responsibility and Youth). His entrance into politics was largely the result of his desire to toughen up the Young Offenders Act. He was initially elected to Parliament in 1997 under the Reform Party banner and then again in 2000 as a member of the Canadian Alliance. After failing to secure the Conservative Party nomination in his riding for the 2004 election, he ran as an independent and won by a large margin. Mr. Cadman received much media attention during his political career, especially in relation to his position on youth justice issues.
with a neat and tidy solution allows readers to ignore the broader issues surrounding youth violence. It also legitimates, rather than calling into question, the potential of law reform for bringing about social change.

The various portrayals of responses to youth crime presented in this chapter – both the representations of what is being and what should be done, as well as assessments about the justice system – are central to understanding the significance of examining media constructions of youth crime and justice. The media play an important role in shaping the image of youth crime that informs a large segment of the public. They also frame the responses deemed appropriate within a relatively narrow perspective, where certain legitimated sources are given a voice, while offenders themselves and those working with them are almost completely ignored. Analysis of the image of justice in the coverage also demonstrates how, particularly in the last decades of the twentieth century, the media largely perpetuate the status quo while also fuelling reforms that are repressive in nature.

Chapters 6 through 8 have outlined the thematic findings relating to representations of offences, offenders, victims, explanations and responses to youth crime in a general way. Chapter 9 revisits some of these themes paying closer attention to gender distinctions observed within the coverage.
CHAPTER 9 – A GENDERED ANALYSIS OF THE PORTRAYALS OF YOUNG OFFENDERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

He [Rev. J. S. Henderson] declared people wondered what was wrong with the girls and boys of to-day, but he said that it was a wonder more of them did not go wrong, when the homes of to-day were taken into consideration. The curfew was rung to bring the children in off the streets, but he thought a curfew should be rung to bring mothers in off the streets at 4 o’clock in the afternoon, and to bring fathers in off the streets at 8 o’clock in the evening. The children could not be right till the homes were right. (VP, April 1, 1907, p. 10)

As stated in Chapter 1, gender analysis is one area that has been lacking in the existing research literature on youth, crime and justice. For that reason, I have adopted a feminist lens in my analysis of the themes identified in chapters 6, 7 and 8. One of the research questions specifically targeted gendered representations of offenders. A qualitative thematic analysis of gender in the news items revealed that gender is constructed in the news accounts not only in relation to the young people in conflict with the law, but also through representations of families, and particularly parents, of these young people. The key thematic areas explored further in this chapter are the gendered representations of offences, offenders and victims, the gendered explanations for youth crime and portrayals of parents’ roles in reacting to and preventing delinquent behaviour.

It is important to note the ideologies at work in these gendered portrayals of young offenders and their families. In particular, there are ideologies of gender (based on assumptions about the differences between women and men and linked to the construction of hegemonic masculinity and femininity), familial ideologies (assumptions about the ideal family) and the ideology of equality (assumptions about the equality of women and men).

In the coverage, we see individuals and their behaviours being constructed largely based on their fit or resistance to hegemonic gender role expectations. Boys’ misbehaviour, for the better part of the 20th century, was portrayed with a rather tolerant ‘boys will be boys’ attitude, which shifted within the neo-liberal context of the 1980s and
1990s. Also, in the second half of the study period, heterosexuality played a more prominent role in the portrayals of boys. On the other hand, girls' misbehaviour was portrayed as more of a departure from the gendered role expectation. This discrepancy between the treatment of boys and girls has also been noted in historical research suggesting that a sexual double standard existed under the JDA, whereby girls' misbehaviour was almost invariably sexualized (through status offences such as sexual immorality, incorrigibility, desertion, etc.) no matter what they did, while boys were more likely to be charged with Criminal Code offences or status offences other than sexual morality even if they were engaging in pre-marital sex (see Chunn, 1990, 1992, 1997; Myers, 2006; Sangster, 2002a, 2002b; Théorêt, 1987, 1991). Gender ideology also extended to portrayals of parents whose roles were circumscribed by both gender and familial ideology.

As discussed in Chapter 2, starting around the 1970s a shift occurred in dominant familial ideology from the Patriarchal Model to the Individual Responsibility Model (Eichler, 1997). Thus, for much of the 20th century, familial ideology was premised on the assumptions that a nuclear family based on heterosexual marriage and a gendered division of labour was the highest and only acceptable form of family; more recently, familial ideology has been based on the assumptions of the nuclear family form based on a union (marriage or not) of a couple (heterosexual or same-sex) who share a non-gendered division of labour (see Eichler, 1997; Fox, 1993; Luxton, 1997; Martin, 2002).

This shift in familial ideology postulates a greater equality between the spouses but, as is the case with the ideology of equality, the assumption of equality is not necessarily accompanied by substantive equality. The establishment and entrenchment of formal gender equality in the late 20th century (e.g., the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982) has meant that equality between the sexes is assumed, although
gender still influences the constructions of young offenders and their families, perhaps without being acknowledged as such.

A) Representations of offences, offenders and victims
i) Offences

The dominant theme of fear and its related sub-themes of random and predatory crime and the overrepresentation of violence, discussed in Chapter 6, were not significantly differentiated in terms of gendered representations. The theme of fear was largely developed through the news discussions of a purported spread of the youth crime problem, particularly through the involvement of younger offenders and offenders reportedly becoming increasingly violent. I would have expected the coverage to extend the theme to girls' alleged increased involvement in crime and particularly this mythical notion of the new violent young female, 'the nasty girl,' as documented by Schissel (1997a, 2006), Barron and Lacombe (2005) and Chesney-Lind (1999, 2003). However, there was no evidence of this increased attention to girls' violent crime in the news items I sampled.

Nonetheless, the coverage on girls was marked by other significant distortions in terms of over-reporting in both a quantitative and qualitative sense. First, according to official statistics the proportion of news-items relating to girls is higher than the proportion of crimes committed by girls. Overall, 18.2% of stories about specific crimes (n = 1549) involved at least one female offender. In general, the rates of female offenders in official statistics hover closer to 10%. However, the proportion of female offenders among all offenders in the sample is lower (13.1% of n = 2573). One explanation for the slight overrepresentation of girls in the news coverage may be that

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192 Myers (2006: 137) suggests that girls represented 10 to 20% of youths appearing in Juvenile Court between 1914 and 1945; however, juvenile cases are not the ones primarily found in my sample.
such stories are more newsworthy given that they are more unusual. On the other hand, while we might then also expect stories of girls' violence to be more prominent, such is not the case. Stories about girls' violence are proportionate in numbers to all stories about girls, with the exception of the extensive coverage in 1907 of the murder of Amédée Carrier whose sister was initially charged with the crime.

The second distortion in the coverage relates to morals offences and minor offences by girls. Such transgressions appear to be judged more harshly than those by boys, as evidenced by the over-focus on girls' sexuality (see also Chunn, 1990, 1992, 1997; Iacovetta, 1998; Myers, 2006; Sangster, 2002a, 2002b; Théorêt, 1987, 1991) and the blaming of girls for crimes committed by boys (see also Benedict, 1992; Madriz, 1997; Meyers, 1997). I discuss both of these tendencies below.

Third, girl offenders were repeatedly singled out in groups of wrongdoers, often for no specific reason other than that they were girls. For example, one headline read “UNE FILLETTE DE QUINZE ANS AIDE DES INDIVIDUS A VOLER DES AUTOMOBILES” (PM, August 15, 1919, p. 11). In a report on a street fight involving 250 to 300 young people, the journalist pointed out that those figures “include[ed] a number of girls” (VP, June 10, 1947, p. 1). In an article about a gang of youths who committed robberies, the headline highlighted “Seven girls in gang helped rob stores” (TS, April 28, 1939, p. 25). A very lengthy story on a massive riot in Montréal over the suspension of hockey star Maurice Richard described a crowd of about 10,000 as having been out of control resulting in the game needing to be cancelled after the first period. The author pointed out “There were some girls in the throng” (TS, March 18, 1955, p. 1).

193 Translation: “A 15-year-old girl helps individuals to steal cars”
Together, these forms of over-reporting of girls’ offences seem to point to the conventional notion that any deviation is greater when committed by a female. And this exaggeration, then, provides another frame against which to analyze the perceived “problem” of violent girls, as discussed in the following section on gendered representations of offenders.

ii) Offenders

The depictions of the young offenders themselves presented important variations according to gender. In the articles analyzed here, I observed a delineation of the good boy/bad boy and good girl/bad girl dichotomies. These characterizations are largely morality laden and tied up with the individuals’ fit with conventional gender norms. Representations of youthful offenders were gendered in terms of the youths’ current and future roles as family members (daughters and sons, future mothers and fathers) and in terms of their future roles as citizens, again with different expectations in evidence for young women and young men (see also Sangster, 2002a, 2002b; Strong-Boag, 1988). Discussion of sexuality and offences of a so-called sexual nature also played a role in constructing gendered images of male and female young offenders.

a) Boys will be boys

In terms of familial ideology, the expectation was that children were to be trained to emulate their respective same-sex parent. There were, however, some important distinctions between the roles expected of boys and girls. Within the patriarchal model, for boys, it would usurp the authority of the father for a son to play the father role prematurely. The idea that ‘boys will be boys’ is very much part of hegemonic masculinity, especially the assumptions that boys will sow their wild oats because it is natural for them do to so and that they will grow out of it. Therefore, this shoulder-
shrugging attitude is dominant with regard to much of boys' wrongdoing (see Messerschmidt, 1993; Strong-Boag, 1988), as in this example:

'These boys come from good homes in town,' said Crown Attorney Fred Malone. 'They are not the usual type of car thief we have in our courts. It is just a case where the devil finds work for idle hands to do.' (TS, April 14, 1939b, p. 8)

The troublemaking characteristics of boys were naturalized and thus mostly shrugged off as insignificant since they were recognized as behaviours which boys would grow out of when they became men. Often, coverage suggested that blame did not lie entirely with the boys, but displaced it onto others, particularly mothers and/or victims.

There was an exception to the 'boys will be boys' view and that was for boys whose fathers were absent for whatever reason. In the case of boys whose fathers were dead, were off at war, or had deserted the family, the coverage conveyed the expectation that boys should take on the fatherly role, act like a man, be in charge of the household, help their mother financially, and above all, not get into trouble. Portrayals of boys who did not display characteristics of manliness, if their family situation required it of them, were negative. This was especially the case in the first half of the twentieth century with the two World Wars and the Depression, and before stronger legislation was enacted against child labour, as the following example illustrates:

Turning to the young prisoner, the magistrate said: 'I don't think you're much good. I understand there are two sisters trying to keep the home together. All you do is to get yourself into scrapes and bring disgrace upon your family. If you were the son you ought to be, you'd be working. It's a year since you worked. Shovel any snow this winter?' (TS, March 16, 1931, p. 2)

The construction of male young offenders as future men and upstanding citizens (see also Sangster, 2002a, 2002b) also slanted the coverage of their offences. Boys who displayed 'manly' qualities were favourably portrayed, as in these two examples:

It was a memorable incident, and the jurymen were also moved to tears. It was during Goodspeed's rigid cross-examination, which was being borne with manliness and straightforwardness by the chubby-faced lad. His Honor was so
impressed with the boy that he interrupted the proceedings to express his belief in the prisoner's truthfulness, his manly actions, and his wonderfully patient and reserved mien. (TS, January 12, 1903, p. 1)

The boys delighted his worship's heart by manfully admitting their guilt without any excuses. (TS, July 9, 1927, p. 29)

In one instance, a boy and two companions had been following two couples around because one of the couples included a girl the boy had been "taking out." In the altercation that followed, the boy died as a result of the punch he received. The boy who threw the fatal punch was portrayed as above reproach and possessing hegemonic masculine traits:

Mr. Gould, in his plea for dismissal, pointed out the accused had done "no moral wrong," that he "behaved in a very gentlemanly way and showed saint-like patience" after the two couples had been annoyed by the three followers for three-quarters of an hour." (VP, June 7, 1947, p. 23)

It is only very recently that the connection between masculinity and machismo was recognized at all. As discussed in Chapter 6, in a story reported by the two English-language newspapers, a judge expressed his discontentment at having to sentence a 13-year-old boy for the killing of an 11-year-old boy. The homicide occurred at a birthday party for an older brother where the dead boy's widowed father left several teenaged boys unsupervised with alcohol and several firearms in the house. The articles reported the judge's attribution of the escalation from horsing around to an armed standoff as 'their ultimate show of macho-ism' (VP, September 16, 1999, p. A34; TS, September 16, 1999, p. A2).

b) Heterosexuality and the construction of masculinity

The construction of masculinity in accounts of boys' offending also drew on the concept of normative sexuality, heterosexuality being a central assumption of hegemonic masculinity (Burke & Burtch, 1996; Collier, 1998; Connell, 2005; Kinsman, 1996, 2004; Maynard, 1989; Messerschmidt, 1993; Setliff, 1999). Heterosexuality was predominantly
constructed through accounts of violence against women and crimes committed by boys but blamed on girls or women – particularly ‘sexual offences.’ In certain cases where the male youth was several years older than the girl or girls, he may have been impugned as unmanly for taking advantage of a young girl. This was the case, for instance, for pimps living off the avails of teen prostitutes. In one example, two young men were charged with abduction for stowing away two girls on a boat. The judge reportedly told the accused

If you had the least manly instinct about you you would have advised them to go home. It was at least your duty to report the matter to the captain. I have no hesitation in believing that you took the girls for your own evil purposes. Do you mean to tell me that during the entire round trip you attended to all the wants of these girls and yet did them no harm? I cannot believe that story. The object you had in the whole affair was the satisfaction of your lustful minds. [...] It is a most contemptible act on the part of men of your age, and I do not wonder that girls are going astray, while such wretches as you are going about. (VP, April 20, 1907, p. 1)

Homosexuality was also a part of the construction of gender in the accounts of boys’ offending. While there was not a single mention of lesbianism in portrayals of girls’ offending (see also Kinsman, 1996: 333 on the invisibility of lesbians in mainstream media), in the depictions of offences committed by boys, the theme of homosexuality was raised several times in the sample during the period from 1950 to 2000. Sensitivity over the issue of homosexuality was expressed in different ways over time – for example, reports on crimes committed while fighting off homosexual advances, homosexual assaults in prison, male prostitution and AIDS, and, more recently, hate crimes against gay men, and homosexual assaults on children. In 1963, The Toronto Star reported on the trial of a 16-year-old boy accused of bludgeoning a man to death, then stealing his car and money and bragging to friends that he had gotten the car and money from a “queer.” The reported testimony of the accused at trial was that he had hit the man to defend himself from repeated sexual advances. Upon sentencing the youth to life imprisonment, the judge was quoted as saying that everyone felt sympathy for...
him, even though the law had to be enforced (TS, November 29, 1963, p. 27). Setliff (1999: 175) reports on a similar case from 1950 where the coverage in Hush Free Press\textsuperscript{194} was very sympathetic to an offender who claimed he had been "defending his honour" by fighting off "a homosexual attack."

In 1975, the two English-language newspapers reported on a prison escapee who had been interviewed and said that he had fled the prison because he had been repeatedly homosexually assaulted there. In 1987, The Toronto Star police column reported on a crackdown on male prostitution resulting in several arrests. The justification given for the increased attention to male prostitutes by police was "concern over the spread of AIDS" (TS, July 10, 1987, p. A3). In the 1990s, the focus on homosexuality expanded to include crimes committed by male prostitutes (such as murder and theft from johns). While there were only a limited number of mentions of gay boys and young men in the sample, it is worthwhile to underscore, as others have done (see, for example, Higgins & Chamberland, 1992; Kinsman, 1996; Maynard, 1992; Setliff, 1999), that the media play a key role in perpetuating existing stereotypes about homosexuality.

Overall, reporting on boys' crimes and misbehaviour painted a generally tolerant portrait, perhaps more so between 1900 and 1970 and less so in recent decades, when the constructions of youth have tended to draw on the image of young offenders as violent and predatory. Trouble is a naturalized part of boyhood and youth in the portrayals examined here, which stands in stark contrast to the portrayals of girls examined below.

\textsuperscript{194} Setliff (1999) describes Hush Free Press as the oldest and most popular of the weekly tabloids published in Toronto in the post-World War II period.
c) The good girl image

While some would argue that there is growing concern in recent times about violent girls and that girls are constructed as "becoming more like boys" in their offending (Artz, 1998; Pearson, 1997), I did not find evidence of this shift in the news coverage sampled (Barron & Lacombe, 2005, also deconstruct 'the nasty girl' image). Many also argue that such images of girls are constructed primarily in the media and are not reflected in official data on crime. Therefore, it seems relevant to examine images of girls from a historical perspective in order to elucidate contextual factors which may aid us in understanding the evolution of these images over time (see also Jackson & Tinkler, 2007).

In terms of the ways in which girls were portrayed, we see a very different picture from that of boys. I suggested above that, with some exceptions, boys were not expected to take on the fatherly role too early as this would usurp the paternal authority. On the other hand, it was quite helpful for the mother if her daughters began 'mothering' early. Historians of motherhood and women's work have demonstrated the link between the socialization of girls and their projected 'natural' roles as wives and mothers (see, e.g., Arnup, 1990, 1994; Baillargeon, 1999; Razack, 1990; Strong-Boag, 1988). The coverage conveyed the notion that good girls participated in child care and household responsibilities; played with younger siblings, entertained them, and cared for them; baked Christmas cookies with their mothers; and were present to offer support to their mothers in difficult times. Furthermore, good girls abided by the authority of their father and were not promiscuous. Therefore, it should be clearly understood that girls may 'play' mother, but they should not 'be' mothers. Ussher (1997) has pointed out the contradiction between constructions of women, which are largely associated with sex, and constructions of femininity, which are largely associated with chastity.
I found discussions of girls as mothers in several reports on young girls who had committed infanticide, abandoned their babies or had abortions, as well as more general reports on unwed teen mothers and their ‘mistakes’ and on the prevalence of venereal disease and abortions among girls and young women. Reports often highlighted the evident distress of many of these young women, as in this example from Burlington, Wisconsin:

In photo caption: "admitting that she strangled her 3-week-old daughter because the infant cried so much and she didn’t know how to take care of a baby. The young mother told police “I killed the baby and I want to be sent to the electric chair.” (VP, June 25, 1947, p. 12)

La Presse also contained several references to infanticide, babies found in the snow, or in the river. In a report, mentioned in Chapter 7, on children and youth as the largest group of victims of homicide in society, it was suggested that a portion of the incidents were infanticides committed by upset young mothers trying to hide their pregnancy by killing the newborn baby (PM, December 20, 1995, p. A14).

These portrayals and others emphasized girls’ mental or emotional inability to become mothers despite their physical ability to give birth. In some instances, attention was brought to efforts to train the girls with the requisite skills they would need in their lives as mothers. For example, in an article describing the work of the Vancouver Detention Home for Juveniles, the Superintendent, Mr. Keys says

They [the inmates] help to plan the meals, decorate the rooms, and more generally better the school.

Mr. Keys concluded that every attempt is made to ‘make the girls that came to the Detention Home better mothers than their own were.’ The Detention Home is another attempt to break the chain. (VP, October 16, 1951, p. 20)

In most examples concerning girls as mothers, there was no direct implication that these were ‘bad girls,’ or that they could not be redeemed through proper training and attention, as seen in the following excerpt:

Headline: "Unwed high school mothers keep up with their studies."
The girls and their work seem typical of any high school. Some practise typing, others answer a teacher's question about an English novel, still others study bookkeeping.

But in fact, the girls are untypical and their school is unique. The girls, most from 14 to 16, are all pregnant and unmarried. [...] 'We are encouraging the girls and their parents - because after all we're dealing with children - to see the responsibilities involved here,' said Mrs. Goodman. 'Through it all is the subtle business of thinking this through and preventing it from happening again.'

The school has been attacked by critics who charge it will encourage immorality.

However, Mrs. Goodman says the girls are neither promiscuous nor immoral, but children who made a mistake because they were confused. (TS, November 7, 1963, p. 46)

Overall, the coverage suggested that girls who engaged in 'bad' behaviour were not necessarily 'bad' girls, but there needed to be some rational explanation for their behaviour in order to preserve the good girl image. For example, a good girl might have been led astray, but if she returned to the family home, to the protection of her father and to the mother-in-training tasks, her 'good' character was considered intact (or at least salvageable). Much more attention was paid in the coverage to runaway girls than boys, as it seems the perceived risk to a girl's character and reputation linked to running away was far greater than that to a boy's (see also Myers, 2006). The following examples highlight the focus placed on girls' character within the news depictions:

Again were enacted the happy scenes of former years when Kathleen amused little brothers and sisters with original stories written in her high school exercise book. Dolls were her hobby, and she made them by the score. It was the same happy Kathleen, despite the long confinement in the reformatory with women of all classes and crimes as companions.

[Mother insisting that her daughter has not been affected by her jail stay. She is] a good girl and she is determined to forget all that has happened. [...] [Father:] Kathleen was not to blame. She did not know what it was all about. The noose is too good for that devil who got her mixed up in that trouble. But that is past now and we will take care of her. (TS, March 9, 1931, p. 30)

In a Teen-age dateline column noted earlier (see Chapter 8), a girl wrote a letter to the columnists about running away from home and taking drugs. She concluded

Since then I have thought about my future and what I had had interests in. I've talked to many of my relatives. They've made me realize that by taking drugs I was really going to mess myself up. I've read all I could on drugs. I've
thought about how groovy it was to take drugs. I've also thought about how I'd feel if I got married and had a child born with a birth defect. It would be my fault. I have finally decided it's not worth it. To ruin anyone else's life or my own by doing something that is just a passing fad. (TS, December 6, 1967, p. 72)

And finally, in an article about reforms to the ministerial jurisdiction of training schools, the situation of one girl whose parents declared her unmanageable and had her sent to training school was profiled. The article discussed plans to move training schools from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Corrections to the Ministry of Community and Social Services or Health, so as to avoid the co-housing of "criminals" and "non-delinquents." The article concluded

But for the Robinsons, all of this will be worth it. 'I never realized Joan would have to live with hard-core cases,' said her mother. 'She's been threatened with a knife and has had to share accommodation with young people who have criminal values. 'Joan was difficult to handle, but she wasn't a bad girl. We want her home again.' (TS, August 29, 1975, p. E1)

So, Joan wasn't a bad girl, in contrast to other girls in the home. The definition of 'bad girl' certainly shifted frequently.

The lack of facilities addressing the specific needs of young women was emphasized. But this was also the case, in different contexts, in relation to the lack of adequate facilities for boys. In a few instances, judges expressed reluctance to send young women to jail because they were female; but this was not a general trend. Judges also occasionally expressed reluctance to send young men to jail, but the reasoning provided was their youth.

d) The bad girl image

'Bad' girls were defiant, incorrigible, promiscuous, and generally unmanageable. Therefore, their character and reputation were not portrayed as salvageable, as was the case of deviant girls discussed above who preserved the good girl image despite their misbehaviour. Bad girls were usually also shown as bad daughters. Promiscuity, in
particular, played a key role in depictions of girls. Helen Benedict (1992) in her book *Virgin or Vamp: How the Press Covers Sex Crimes* showed that the press depicted women victims of sex crimes in one of two ways: as pure, innocent, virginal victims, or as sexy, provocative, manipulators of men. Close parallels can be drawn with the portrayals of young women in my sample, be they offenders or victims of crimes. The coverage of girls fell into a clear dichotomy of good girls/bad girls based largely on their perceived level of promiscuity. Barron and Lacombe (2005), Myers (1999, 2006) and Lacovetta (1998) also noted the central role played by sexuality in the criminalization of girls. The following excerpts exemplify the depictions of girls perceived as promiscuous:

Headline: "Conduite chez ses parents"
La jeune fille, à la suite d'un second mariage de son père, s'était vue dans l'impossibilité de rester avec sa belle-mère, et avait dû quitter le toit paternel. Malheureusement, livrée à elle-même, et privée de la direction de ses parents, à un âge si tendre, elle n'a pas tardé à donner les signes d'une perversité précoce.\(^5\) (PM, January 2, 1903a, p. 7)

In some cases, cutting remarks were levelled at these young women by judges or other commentators and quoted verbatim in the news coverage, as in the following examples:

Headline: "Deserves horsewhip court informs girl"
Sub-headline: "Tells her she has broken the hearts of parents and brothers"
A scathing denunciation of the life led by a 20 year old girl since leaving her home in the country was made by Magistrate Patterson in the women's court to-day when Gladys Sprung appeared on a charge of keeping an improper resort.

'This woman has been in jail for 10 days,' complained defense counsel. 'She deserves to be in jail for 10 years,' retorted her worship. 'This is the worst case that has come before me for a long time. The girl has been living in the depths of degradation. She had a good home and a fine mother and father, but she chose to come to Toronto and disgrace them all. It probably does not matter to her that she has broken the hearts of her parents and four brothers.'

\(^5\) Translation: Returned to her parents'
The young girl, after her father's second marriage, found it impossible to stay with her stepmother, and had to leave the paternal home. Unfortunately, left to her own devices, and deprived of parental guidance, at such a young age, she did not take long to show signs of precocious depravity.
'You haven't even the grace to feel ashamed of yourself,' continued her worship, addressing the girl, who didn't look in the direction of the bench. 'Take that smile off your face,' she added sharply. 'What you deserve is a good horsewhipping and two years in Mercer reformatory. It is the most willful, deliberate case of badness I have heard in a long time.' (TS, July 19, 1927, p. 26)

She [Mrs. Buda Brown, MLA Vancouver-Point Grey, Social Credit] said: 'At the present girls' industrial school in Vancouver, the girls are usually the worst kind. The girls that g [sic] there have much less respect for discipline, or authority, or for people.

DISCIPLINE NEEDED

'When boys on motorcycles roar around, and the girls are allowed to talk or yell out their particular type of language from windows, or out on the grounds, then I claim discipline has not been a definite part of their program.' (VP, February 19, 195913, p. 1)

The consequences of being a 'bad girl' were often spelled out in vivid terms. For example, in an Ann Landers column titled "Doomed runaway wishes she'd listened to parents," the girl wrote

I've spent the last four years as a runaway living on the streets of Los Angeles. I was never happy at home. I didn't like it when someone in my family told me what to do. I fought with everybody. I wish I had listened. Now I realize they were trying to help me because they loved me. [...] Actually I shouldn't say it's a miracle [that I'm still alive] because my luck ran out. I just saw a doctor and was given a death sentence. I'm now 18 years old, I'm seven months pregnant and I have AIDS. (TS, January 27, 1991, p. D5)

La Presse reported on the previously noted case of Hélène Hurtubise, the young woman who was found drowned after her car had gone into the river under mysterious circumstances in December 1995 (see also Chapter 8). She was described as troublesome; it was reported that she often made calls to police or ambulance for false alarms, that she purposely broke traffic regulations in order to be stopped by police, that she followed police cruisers around, that she flirted with police officers, that she bragged about having sexual relations with police officers, and that she fantasized about having sex while wearing handcuffs. It was also reported that make-up and condoms were found in her car when it was pulled up from the river and that she was wearing her t-shirt inside out. The mother purportedly admitted that her daughter was no angel, but if her
daughter had problems, the police certainly were not acting appropriately either. The reporter stated that the police officers gossiped about Hélène extensively and followed her around needlessly; moreover, one officer in particular, who was the last person to have seen her alive, admitted he had asked to see her breasts. The coverage continued for three days and on the last day the headline told us that the officer in question had passed the polygraph test. The circumstances of the girl’s death remained a mystery. Her reputation was irredeemable, but the image of the police officer was somewhat rehabilitated (PM, December 1, 1995, p. A5; December 2, 1995, p. A6; December 20, 1995, p. A5).

Another article detailed the sexual double standards that face high school girls, citing a range of experts on the topic. The attention-grabbing headline, photograph, inset quote and caption provided none of the critical perspective that was found in the article. The headline read “Good girls can get a bad rep” and appeared below a photograph of a presumably young female chest, cut off at the neck and breast, wearing a camisole-tank top with ‘angel’ written at breast level, a bra strap partly showing, and a small chain. The inset quote stated ‘I better be careful. I don’t want to be called a slut’ and the following caption appeared alongside the photograph:

NO EASY ANSWERS: Some of the rules on dating, flirting and experimenting with sex have changed, but several authors say that, despite the approach of the new millennium, the playing field is startlingly similar to that of the 1950s. All kinds of girls are susceptible to having unpleasant labels bestowed upon them. (TS, September 4, 1999, p. L5)

An article about MP Randy White, who claimed to have helped a mother to abduct her 15-year-old daughter from the street “to free her from the clutches of drug

196 Randy White was a Member of Parliament from 1993 to 2006 representing ridings in British Columbia. He was first elected in 1993 under the banner of the Reform Party, then as part of the Canadian Alliance and finally with the Conservative Party of Canada. Justice issues were a key focus of Mr. White’s political work, for which he received considerable media attention due to his populist ‘tough on crime’ stance.
dealers," quoted several comments he made which were unrepentant, defending the righteousness of his actions, and defying authorities by suggesting that any charges laid against him would serve as publicity in a campaign to raise the age of consent. "He said the girl was addicted to drugs, dealing drugs and living with at least five men over age 30 and 'there was sex involved'" (VP, September 20, 1999, p. A4). The girl was reported to be living in "a group facility to help troubled teens."

In contrast to this case, another series of articles reported on a young man (20 years old) who was also "kidnapped" by his parents in order to be returned to a strict drug rehabilitation program (TS, May 22, 1983a, p. A1, 14; TS, May 22, 1983b, p. A14; TS, May 22, 1983c, p. A14; TS, May 25, 1983, p. A5). Although in this case the young man, legally an adult, was considerably older than the girl in the Randy White story, he was referred to as a boy and his parents' feelings played a central role in defining the problem, as with the girl. While in the case of the girl, the abduction was portrayed as entirely justifiable on the basis of her drug problem and the fact that she was having sex, the abduction of the young man was depicted as entirely unjustifiable, despite his drug problem, and his behaviour was not sexualized in any way. Again, the distinction may hinge more on the age difference, but I expect that gender considerations also factor into the divergent representations.

In addition to these fairly overt considerations of girls' sexuality, there was also rather extensive description made of their physical attributes, which was not so much the case in the articles about boys. The description of "pretty blonde" or "blue-eyed blonde" was often used to highlight the incongruence between the girl's "wholesome" appearance and the nature of any deviant acts she might have committed, as in this example: "Dolly Rackley, blonde little girl who looked about seventeen, stared at the magistrate with frightened eyes as clerk read out the charge of being drunk that faced her. The court was rather surprised at the charge" (TS, July 18, 1927, p. 18). In another
article, a girl who had been falsely accused in a mugging was described as “slim and pretty” and “sweet 16” (TS, February 17, 1979, p. A2). Similarly, a mother who feared her runaway daughter would turn to prostitution was quoted as saying “She is also a delicate 14-year-old who looks 12 and I think that, should someone convince her she could be sexually alluring by being a prostitute, she might just go for it” (TS, July 29, 1987a, p. A2). The description of another runaway stated “Cassie looked the image of innocence at 14. Her pretty auburn hair was neatly styled, her dark eyes were clear, her pixie-like grin gave no hint of restlessness” (TS, July 11, 1987a, p. F4). Girls’ physical attributes were also highlighted in headlines such as the following:

'I'd pay her fine,' says pastor of pretty student (TS, June 25, 1947b, p. 2)

Buxom Buffalo blonde gets break (TS, December 28, 1967, p. 21)

But in other cases, the physical description served to cast a more negative light on the girls, as did the discussions of their sexuality mentioned above. For example, some girls were said to appear older or more mature than their actual age. An article in La Presse in 1903 reported that two girls ran away and took the train from Sherbrooke to Montréal to visit one girl’s brother in prison. The girls’ clothing was described as “des plus négligés” and their appearance “annonçait plus que de la précocité”\(^\text{197}\) (PM, January 28, 1903, p. 1). In an article on the coroner’s inquest into the previously discussed murder of Amédée Carrier where his sister was the prime suspect, the reporter described the sister as having “rien dans sa contenance générale qui attire la sympathie”\(^\text{198}\) (PM, April 8, 1907b, p. 12).

In sum, in addition to the characterizations of young offenders discussed in Chapter 6, we can conclude from the foregoing discussion that conventional gender

\(^{197}\) Translation: most neglected; foretold of more than precocity.

\(^{198}\) Translation: nothing in her general countenance that would attract sympathy.
norms feature prominently in the depictions of both male and female youths who come into conflict with the law.

iii) Victims

As discussed in Chapter 6, representations of victims also varied greatly according to the victims’ consistency with conventional gender norms. Women who fit the dominant model of femininity, along with other seemingly ‘helpless’ individuals, were much more likely to be portrayed as victims deserving of sympathy. Men were much less likely to be portrayed as vulnerable. In cases where there existed a suggestion that a female victim might be less than entirely innocent, blame was easily shifted onto the victim for her own victimization.

While some representations of sexual offences depicted the male offenders as unmanly and predatory, the second, and much more prevalent, portrayal of sexual offences was to cast blame on women, particularly those who had been victimized by such offences. In the article quoted above, where the judge chastised the men involved for lacking ‘manly instinct’ and pursuing ‘the satisfaction of [their] lustful minds,’ the two girls who were stowed away by these men were described as follows:

Myrtle Ellis was the first witness, and as the slim girl, only fourteen years of age and hardly looking that, mounted the stand a murmur of horror went over the crowded courtroom. Unabashed, however, and with a confidence in her manner which told of a knowledge of life even beyond her years the girl told how on last Monday she had played ‘hookey’ from school in the afternoon and loafed about the C. P. R. depot, joining Ida Bell after school [...]. Ida Bell, the other girl, then gave her testimony. Though younger than her partner in the escapade she is larger and much more mature in appearance. (VP, April 20, 1907, p. 1)

It was in fact quite frequent that girls were either directly blamed or indirectly cast in a negative light, thus perhaps suggesting that they were not the most blameless of victims, as in this report: “The magistrate ‘stated that many young girls, 15 and 16, were
waiting about the military encampments, and picking up soldiers, sailors and airmen with
unfortunate results" (VP, September 16, 1943. p. 1).

The following example was more explicit in attributing blame to the victim:

Headline: “Magistrate blames girl, but convicts abductor”

Magistrate K. M. Langdon apologized yesterday for convicting a 21-year-old carnival worker of abducting a 14-year-old girl whom he described as more mature than her abductor.

‘If the court had the power it would dismiss this charge,’ he told Andre Bellemere of Quebec city, giving him a two-year suspended sentence.

He said the criminal code does not allow him to take into consideration the girl accepted an invitation to hitch-hike to Montreal, and therefore the carnival worker ‘will be saddled with a criminal record of this enormity for his lifetime.’

Magistrate Langdon said the girl and her parents must bear most of the blame for the girl’s disappearance for seven weeks. (TS, December 19, 1967, p. 22)

The sample also contained an in-depth report on teen dating violence, where extensive space was devoted to quotes about the young women who endured such relationships and why they did so, while relatively little space was accorded to the boys’ behaviour and why they hit their girlfriends.

The case of Stephanie Lysyk, a 31-year-old blonde and blue-eyed murder victim, initially also a suspected rape victim, stands out among those of female victims in the sample for it illustrates aspects of representations of both undeserving and deserving victims. Initially, there was an attempt to follow the common theme of casting doubt on the victim’s innocence. The first day of coverage (when rape was suspected) included a sub-heading telling the reader that “Beautiful Blonde Slain, Had Lots Of Boy Friends.”

This was essentially an inaccurate account of what was said by sources in the article, as one person reportedly told the reporter that the victim had “lots of boy friends,” but several others indicated that she was actually a very quiet person who rarely went out. The next day (when the possibility of rape was denied), police confirmed that she had not gone out much with men (TS, February 17, 1959, p. 1).

Subsequent coverage of the case shifted, portraying Lysyk as a true innocent, the epitome of the deserving victim. Although she was 31 years old, she was constantly
referred to as a “girl” in all three articles, emphasizing her innocence. Throughout the various articles, she was described as “Quiet Girl,” “a quiet, friendly girl,” “the nicest girl you’d want to meet,” “a very nice girl,” “a very quiet and unassuming girl, well liked by everyone who worked with her,” “a very fine person,” “almost the sole support of her widowed mother in Winnipeg” (TS, February 17, 1959, p. 1, 3), “Neat, Clean and Meticulous,” “quiet, neat and retiring,” and someone who “didn’t drink or smoke” (TS, February 18, 1959, p. 1). One article recounted:

She kept her one small room and her few belongings as spotless as any Ukrainian-Canadian housewife. When she went to bed last night she pulled on an old pair of soft cotton gloves over her hands so her hand lotion wouldn't stain the bedclothes. (TS, February 18, 1959, p. 1)

The portrayal of Stephanie Lysyk is a clear illustration that, as with offenders, victims’ conformity to gender norms plays a large part in determining who is and is not conceived of as credible and deserving of sympathy.

Portrayals of victims as undeserving are also discussed below in relation to the explanation of victim precipitation.

**B) Explanations of youth crime**

In Chapter 7, I explored the various explanations of youth crime offered in the coverage. The key explanatory scheme which bore considerable gender differences was that of the negative influence of the family. Other explanations that require gendered analysis include mental disorder, the susceptibility to negative influences, provocation and victim precipitation

i) Family

Despite the wide body of criminological and sociological literature that exists on the causation of youth crime, family seems to be one area that is invariably considered in the news. And much of this discourse adopts a perspective of pathology and
individual failure with respect to the family, giving far less weight to broader socio-economic contextual issues (see Hil & McMahon, 2001). Furthermore, it is the family’s conformity to familial ideology and its members’ conformity to hegemonic masculinity and femininity which determine whether a family is portrayed as a positive or a negative influence on the young persons within it (see also Lacovetta, 1998; Menzies, Adamski & Chunn, 2002; Myers, 2006; Sangster, 2002a, 2002b). I turn now to representations of mothers and fathers as less than adequate parents, and the reliance of news outlets on stereotypical gender norms in making those determinations.

a) Fathers who are less than they should be...

The coverage cast a negative light on fathers who were alcoholic (or spent the family’s money on alcohol or other disreputable activities) or who were absent too often to assert their paternal authority. For example, one article played up a father’s appearance in court while drunk against the importance of placing his children under “proper control” (VP, April 16, 1907, p. 1). Another single father (a widower) appearing in court for “asserting his paternal authority” too strongly while intoxicated was chastised by the judge when he asked what would happen to his youngest daughter if he went to jail. The judge responded “You don’t seem to care much. You will be remanded in custody” (TS, August 2, 1919, p. 20). The ponderings of another judge were quoted verbatim: “I often wonder if the fathers realize their responsibility. Two of these boys are handicapped by home conditions. Their fathers have ignored them. It is the duty of the father to train the boy to be a decent citizen” (TS, November 29, 1935, p. 3). In contrast, not much attention was paid to drunken fathers in La Presse.

Images of fathers in particular, and men more generally, who failed in their duties as protectors of women and children were very harsh. As mentioned in Chapter 7, reporters tended to portray pimps and johns of teen prostitutes as failing to fulfil their

In contrast, the shift to the individual responsibility model of the family within the neo-liberal context of the 1980s and 1990s places a different emphasis on the father's role. Within this conception of the family, both parents are seen as formally equal (although they may not be equals in terms of division of labour within the home). While attention was drawn to absent fathers in the earlier articles, they tended to be ignored in the later items. Reports referring to single-mother-headed households typically made no mention of the fathers of the children involved. Nevertheless, such families tended to be portrayed as criminogenic with all sorts of inferences made about the inadequacy of single mothers. As such, despite the shift in dominant ideology, ideas about the 'natural superiority' of the nuclear family persisted in the news representations of young offenders' families.

b) Working moms

Mothers who worked outside the home had one strike against them, as illustrated in the quote below from an Ann Landers column where a 16-year-old sister worried about her 13-year-old sister who was friends with a girl who was "a big flirt" and more "experienced," and who met "bad boys." The older sister wanted to step in and tell her sister not to do this. Ann advised that it was the parents' place, not hers, to tell her sister what to do.

It is your obligation, however, to let Mother know that your sister is running in bad company, since Mother works, and has no way of knowing these things.
Perhaps if your mother were aware that her young daughter was meeting hoods after school, instead of coming home, she'd quit her job, or work part-time and keep here [sic] eye on her family. In the long run, it will be far more rewarding than the extra few dollars she can earn on the outside. (TS, February 26, 1959, p. 37)

Only quite recently has this portrayal of working mothers begun to change somewhat. While earlier articles tended to depict working mothers as less than adequate, in the 1980s and 1990s, mothers working outside the home tended to be taken for granted and not to warrant particular attention, in keeping with the egalitarian individual responsibility familial ideology of the late 20th century (Eichler, 1997). For example, an article appearing in both anglophone newspapers discussed a program of in-school suspensions. This program was considered superior to the out-of-school suspensions since the latter tended to penalize the parents who would have to stay home from work. No particular attention was drawn to mothers; it was simply assumed that both parents would be engaged in paid employment (VP, January 11, 1991, p. 44; TS, January 22, 1991, p. C1). Another example was part of a highly sarcastic column, noted earlier, about the various causes attributed to the Columbine school shootings (see also Chapter 7). Mocking those who persisted in suggesting that mothers should stay home, the columnist referred to “all you pinko moms who actually work, abandoning your kids to the mind-warping, killer-spawning hell known as day care” (TS, September 30, 1999, p. J3 – italics in original).

In keeping with the shift in dominant ideology from the patriarchal to individual responsibility model, mothers may take on added roles and responsibilities within the family, while presumably sharing the traditional maternal roles and responsibilities with their partner. While the practical reality of families is often far different from the equal sharing of productive and reproductive labour (see Cossman & Fudge, 2002), the assumption of equality results in a belief that mothers are able to perform both their traditional mothering role and their new breadwinner role, while maintaining discipline
over the children, with or without the support of a spouse. Examples abound showing that expectations of single mothers are high within the neo-liberal context, while no concomitant questions are raised about the fathers of the children.

Individual family responsibility for the welfare of its members is buttressed through state-implemented fiscal measures (e.g., tax cuts) centred on individual families rather than state-supported social policies (such as a national daycare program). The more contemporary version of the argument about prevention saw a much lesser role prescribed for the government. The following quote emphasizes the diminished role for government characteristic of the neo-liberal era, where the accent is placed on helping citizens to help themselves rather than count on the government for help:

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Headline: “Supporting the family better for kids than daycare program”

... Cutting taxes so that parents can spend more time being parents and raising better kids runs counter to the federal government's current philosophy of spending a gazillion dollars on bigger and better daycare centres or creating new programs for children. But the benefits of raising children in intact homes with parental supervision and guidance can't be denied and the government should do all it can to make sure that such "preventive" measures can exist. (VP, September 22, 1999, p. A22)
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The 'broken family' has always been considered 'deviant,' but in the age of the egalitarian family, mother-headed households have increasingly been singled out as 'bad' families for children, meaning that the coverage tends to hold poor single mothers in low-paid work or on social assistance accountable for their children's bad behaviour (see also Schissel, 1997a, 2006).

c) Single moms

In part, the focus on single mothers reflects the reality that the majority of lone parent families are headed by women. Portrayals of single mothers, particularly in the last few decades of the century, tended to concentrate on mothers who were divorced or separated and did not depict them favourably (for some reason the same standard did not apply to the other half of those broken up couples: the fathers!). Single mothers,
hardworking as they may be, were usually not portrayed as adequate parents, a finding that duplicates Schissel's assessment of contemporary coverage (1997a, 2006). However, this was usually an inference dependent upon what was said and unsaid. For example, there were two articles on a young girl who cut class, took her mother's car to go joyriding with some friends and ended up in a horrible accident which caused her death and severe injuries to some of the other girls. In both articles, including the one reporting on the girl's funeral, much was made of the fact that the mother was a single parent, that she was on a rare business trip out of town when this accident happened, and that she had left her children with a "responsible adult" while away (TS, May 23, 1983, p. A6; May 27, 1983, p. A5). While never explicitly stated, it can easily be inferred from the articles that such an accident resulted from the single mother being out of town.

In another article about a single mother whose daughter ran away from a group home where the mother had been "forced" to place her, the mother's occupation as a computer systems analyst was mentioned twice and her salary of $35,000 was noted as well (TS, July 29, 1987a, p. A2). Again, on the surface, no blame was placed on the mother. However, the emphasis placed upon her salary, presumably distinguishing her from "single moms on welfare," accentuates the commonality of problems faced by single mothers raising teenagers.

In addition, the children of single mothers were portrayed as unruly and out of control. Reports tended to represent the single mother's ability to discipline as lacking. In an article bearing the headline "Mom a 'victim' in gang warfare," we can see this allusion made without being manifestly written. A photo of the mother and her son, larger than the headline and text together, accompanied this article. The mother had big circles under her eyes, a Las Vegas t-shirt and a bad hair dye job. The son had a shaven head, a moto cross t-shirt and a hostile facial expression. The article told us that
the son had been knifed during a rumble and that the mother had had enough. The family was being kicked out of their housing co-op.

But the 42-year-old unemployed secretary who's surviving on welfare admits the family is partly to blame for its troubles. Her 17-year-old unemployed son Kelly wears his hair cropped like a marine drill sergeant as a member of a Skinheads gang. He and his friends stomp around in army boots. (VP, July 12, 1987, p. 5)

The neighbours complained about loud noises at night, swearing, underage drinking and harassment. They claimed to have nothing against the mother, but were not prepared to put up with such disturbances. This representation is entirely consistent with Schissel's findings (1997a, 2006).

In contrast, earlier portrayals of single mothers tended to be of widows and, as such, were steeped in sympathy and pity. For example, the mother of Amédée Carrier, the 12-year-old boy whose sister became the prime suspect in his death, was portrayed as doubly-victimized as she was a widow and was now deprived of her sole support, her son. Sons of widowed mothers were strongly rebuked by judges for causing their mothers more grief by bringing them to court.

Overall, the coverage on young offenders and their families presented a simplified version of the lives of families with teenagers. The challenges of raising adolescents were usually not addressed beyond some cliché references to 'the generation gap.' Families who fit the traditional image were portrayed in a favourable light, even when they had problems or when the children from those families engaged in delinquent behaviour. The superiority of the nuclear family was never questioned. Families who did not fit the stereotype were portrayed in negative ways or in seemingly neutral terms which allowed room for the readers to draw their own conclusions, based on contrast with the dominant familial ideology. For example, an article about a young man who escaped from a Kitchener jail, purportedly following homosexual attacks on him, quoted the mother of the escapee making a few comments about the situation. The
article noted "The mother has been separated from her husband for four years and the husband has custody of their children" (TS, August 22, 1975, p. A10), although this information was entirely irrelevant. The presentation of families in such a way is not helpful, informative or accurate. It is important to challenge and deconstruct these images as they only serve to perpetuate stereotypes and myths about family, race, class and gender.

In sum, the representations of parents varied considerably over time following the shifts in dominant familial ideologies noted earlier. The most pronounced of these transformations concerned working and single mothers. Portrayals of working mothers in the earlier portion of the sample suggested that they were neglecting their roles as housewives and mothers, whereas later images did not focus on working mothers in such a way. The transformation in depictions of single mothers was even more pronounced, going from sympathetic portrayals of widows in the earlier half of the century and turning to demeaning images of divorced or separated mothers held increasingly accountable for their children's wrongdoings in the neo-liberal context of the late twentieth century. Despite considerable temporal variations, few distinctions were noted between the three newspapers. The images of family were fairly consistent in both the anglophone and francophone newspapers, with the possible exception of the depictions of drunken fathers which were not as prevalent in La Presse as in the anglophone coverage.

ii) Mental disorder: Troubled girls

As mentioned in Chapter 7, mental disorder was another common explanatory framework. Mental problems were sometimes used in media representations as a means of mitigating the negative impact of a girl's misbehaviour. For example, an article about a girl who had admitted she was a German spy during WWI reported that "It is
believed the war unsettled her mind or that she fell into the hands of Germans in Toronto who used her to their own ends" (VP, June 15, 1915, p. 5). Thus, rather than being portrayed as a truly evil young woman, the image of this young offender was more that of a troubled girl.

In another article about a girl who had faked a hold-up, Dr. John Hunter of the Board of Education said

[She] has confessed that her story was the result of an hallucination brought on by nervous trouble, to which she has been subject for some time. [...] As her parents are much worried on her account, I wish to state in the strongest terms that she is no more responsible morally for what has happened than you or I. I have known her since a small child and she is of the highest character. (TS, June 30, 1915, p. 3)

Once again, we see the use of mental disorder in the coverage in such a manner that the girl's 'good girl' image is preserved, despite her involvement in bad behaviour. But when used as an explanation for boys' misconduct, mental disorder did not have the same tenor. There was rarely any inference that mentally disturbed boys were in fact 'good boys.'

iii) Susceptibility to negative influences of others: Silly girls

Another way in which youthful misbehaviour in general, but girls' misbehaviour more particularly, was explained in the coverage was an emphasis placed on their naïveté and the fact that they could be easily led. Following a riot at the Girls' Industrial School in Vancouver, the assistant superintendent Miss Peck "expressed surprise at the size of the outbreak. 'Most girls in the home are good,' she said, 'but they are too easily led. Then there are one or two always making trouble'" (VP, April 18, 1939, p. 1) (see also Chapter 7). The follow-up on the next day read

Headline: "Say mass hysteria caused girls' riot"
Sub-headline: "Blame Unruly Inmate for Reform School Fight"
Mass hysteria – common in girls’ schools – was responsible for the outbreak in the Girls’ Industrial School in Vancouver which resulted in the escape of ten inmates and the arrest of eighteen others yesterday. [...] It is understood that one girl’s unruliness caused the outbreak which developed into mass hysteria, which for a short time was beyond the control of the staff. (VP, April 19, 1939, p. 1)

One article about a 14-year-old girl who had run away with a man the same age as her father and who was found 16 months later, seven months pregnant, and returned home to her parents, surrounded a large photo of the happy family. The article centred on the man’s ability to “con” the girl and her family into trusting him. The girl was presented as small-town, naïve and trying to put her experience with the man all in the past. Having interviewed her, the author reported “I just want everything to be normal. In fact, I’ve already got my eye on another guy,’ she says laughing” (TS, July 11, 1987a, p. F4).

While portrayals of boys also suggested that they were easily led due to their young age, girls’ susceptibility to influence was depicted in a fashion more consistent with the stereotype of the silly girl. The difference was subtle, but the implication was that boys would grow out of their poor judgment, but girls would not, thus relying on stereotypes of girls as irrational, emotional and less morally developed than boys.

iv) Provocation and victim precipitation: Blaming the girls

In various ways, girls and homosexual men were often indirectly blamed for the offences of boys – for example, boys fighting over a girl or incidents stemming from unrequited love, not to mention the blaming of victims for sexual offences committed against them as discussed above. Rejection, obsession, and jealousy led young people, predominantly young men, to commit serious acts of violence against their rivals and/or against the young women who were seen as not returning their ‘affection.’ An
explanation characteristic of this type surfaced when journalists used jealousy to account for the behaviour of boys whose former girlfriends were seeing someone else.

For example, in a very lengthy article reporting on a violent escape from prison by three young men, the mother of the youngest of the three was contacted for comment:

"I don't know what makes [my son] act the way he does," she said. "He wrote to me from Montreal after he had been released from Burwash. He had been going around for years with a girl from Cornwall and in his letter he asked me to write to her. She replied saying that she had been married for two weeks and asked Alex to please return the photographs of her which he always carried around. I told Alex about her letter last Tuesday and I'm afraid that it preyed on his mind so much that he got desperate." (TS, March 2, 1931b, p. 2)

There were a number of reports of offences committed by boys in reaction to a real or perceived slight from a former girlfriend (see also Klein, 2005). In an article bearing the headline "Killed to frame rival lover, teenager gets life," the young woman's (apparent) infidelity was noted more explicitly, although it was not clear in the article whether the "rival lover" was truly a rival or just perceived as such. The article stated

A teenager was sentenced yesterday to life in prison for murdering his girlfriend's father in a bid to incriminate the young woman's new lover. [...] Spinks [killer], who had been staying with Druiett [victim] and his daughter, Laura Christine, in Petrolia since October 1986, was "infatuated" with the young woman and grew jealous when she started sleeping with another young man, according to a statement agreed to by both the crown and defence lawyers.

The crime was "a cold-blooded murder of a father figure" and designed to "set up" Laura Druiett's other lover, Crown Attorney Don Vale said. (TS, July 4, 1987, p. A8)

The references to "the young woman's new lover" and that "she started sleeping with another young man" and that the victim was "Laura Druiett's other lover" suggest infidelity on the part of Laura Druiett. However, the article never stated that Laura Druiett and the accused had ever been lovers.

In other instances, the news reports included references from various sources suggesting that girls more generally were trouble for boys. In an article about a boy who
set out with a gun to see a girl after having had a fight with her and a fight about her with his mother, the boy was said to have changed his mind on the way and thrown away the gun. The article then went on

Magistrate Browne called the prisoner to the stand, where he said he had been keeping company with the girl.

His worship heard this in silence; then, giving the young man an owl-like look, said 'She's not the only girl.'

The young man didn't answer. He was mascot for the 204th Battalion, Magistrate Browne's battalion. His father, too, was in the same company and had six brothers in the service of the empire.

'I don't think there was any serious intent,' remarked his worship, placing the young man on probation for two years.

'Keep away from that girl. Try to pick another,' advised the magistrate.

(TS, March 20, 1931, p. 2)

In another article, where a judge was reportedly advising a young man about the gravity of his offence, the discussion that ensued between the judge and the accused revolved around the latter's comment that he was unemployed and his girlfriend did not understand him. Unemployment would seem like the logical explanation for the crime of breaking and entering with which he was accused, but the explanation that was reported in their discussion centred on "women" (PM, May 1, 1971b, p. C5).

At a more general level, reporters even called girls' manner of dress into question as a source of trouble for (presumably) boys:

Headline: "'Immoral dance frocks' are criticized by League"

...The C.W.L. turned thumbs down on 'immoral dance frocks, bathing and playing suits, which are often occasions of grave sin not only for the wearer but for many others.' (TS, October 17, 1951, p. 28)

Most of what the media commonly referred to as 'provocation' was generally not what would be considered such in the legal sense of the word. However, in common sense discourse, acts which are perceived as having somehow been provoked are more easily understood even if they cannot be legally forgiven. Overall, such explanations draw more from the classical perspective as the 'love' motive appears to help explain the
clouded judgment under which the offender was operating. The concept of rational calculation is evident in several of the articles as is the notion of choice.

From 1959 to 1983, reports of one case of assault, two murders and one prison escape explained these acts as having stemmed from the so-called provocation of homosexual advances, either resisting or fleeing them. While reporters did not use ‘provocation’ in the legal sense, this explanation did gain offenders a certain measure of sympathy. For example, the last of five articles in the sample on the murder trial of Glen Seip reported

Glen John Seip, 16, put his head in his hands and wept yesterday when a jury found him guilty of murdering Ronald John Grigor, 30-year-old bank accountant, last July.

His mother and a girl friend also broke down when chief Justice J.C. McRuer ended the nine-day trial by sentencing Seip to life imprisonment. […]

He told the Foxley St. youth everyone felt sympathy for him, 'but the law must be enforced against those who commit violent acts.' […]

Seip had testified he struck Grigor with a wrench while defending himself from homosexual advances in Grigor’s Shelborne Ave. apartment. (TS, November 29, 1963, p. 27)

In 1975, both The Toronto Star and The Province ran a similar story discussed previously (the former had the by-line “Special to the Star,” the latter was attributed to the Canadian Press wire service) on a young man who had escaped from Burtch Correctional Centre near Brantford, Ontario, after complaining that he had been homosexually assaulted. The central focus of both articles was on views of the young man's mother. Both headlines suggested that the mother was pleading for her son to turn himself in: “Mother of Kitchener escaper says he should give himself up” (TS, August 22, 1975, p. A10) and “Turn yourself in, mother tells ‘Jerry’” (VP, August 22, 1975, p. 5). However, in both articles, the mother’s views reflected her ambivalence on this issue:

Jerry's mother said her son should be “put somewhere with people his own age, away from homosexuals, in a place where guards could make sure he comes to no harm.”
"And if he can't give himself up under those arrangements, I think he should stay right where he is (unlawfully at large) because no one deserves to get molested... There's far too many of them bastards (homosexuals) around."

(VP, August 22, 1975, p. 5)

Again, these explanations fit within a classical view on crime. The reports suggested that the crimes had been committed following a rational assessment, on the part of the offender, that the purported homosexual advances or attacks were potentially worse than the punishment resulting from the crimes committed to escape them.

These different gendered explanations for youthful misbehaviour serve to paint an image of boys and girls that is steeped in stereotypes and that reinforces these very stereotypes in terms of what society expects of its young people.

C) The role of parents in reactions to youth crime and representations of justice

Red-haired Pam now permits the six boys to bath and feed her 3-months-old baby Tammy. Her black-haired young husband Jim, who studied in a seminary for two years while considering entering the priesthood, is an expert woodworker and has a full array of power tools in the garage where he instructs the boys in woodworking. He serves as their counselor, disciplinarian and guide. (TS, May 8, 1971, p. 20)

In Chapter 7, I discussed the ways in which the press cited 'bad' families as an explanation for youth crime. In the previous section of this chapter, I outlined the specific failings of parents and the ways in which these failings tie into gender norms. In Chapter 8, I touched briefly upon the role of the family in terms of reactions to youth crime. Families serve as both an explanation and a solution to youth crime: ‘bad’ families ‘cause’ crime, but ‘good’ families prevent crime. ‘Bad’ families deviate from, but ‘good’ families embrace, the nuclear ideal.

In this last section of Chapter 9, I turn to the portrayals emphasizing the attributes of ‘good’ parents in relation to youth crime prevention and draw attention to the gendering of these images in keeping with the others discussed in this chapter. As with the representations of young people, parents' aptitude or lack thereof was indicated in
the coverage through their discussion of their fit with stereotypical gendered roles within the family and conformity to hegemonic familial ideology.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there has been a shift in dominant ideology over the course of the twentieth century from the patriarchal model to the individual responsibility model of the family (Eichler, 1997). Given the central role attributed to the family by explanations of as well as responses to youthful offending, it is essential to situate representations of offenders and their families within those models. In particular, the roles and responsibilities ascribed to the different family members help to contextualize these gendered images.

i) Good fathers and hegemonic masculinity

In the earlier part of the century, the patriarchal norms of the male breadwinner providing for his wife and their children while exercising his authority over them dominated the coverage relating to fathers. Under these ideological conditions, the value of a father was judged by his ability not only to provide for and protect his family, but also, ultimately, to control them. Providing, protecting and controlling are all attributes associated with hegemonic masculinity in our patriarchal society (Burke & Burtch, 1996; Connell, 2005; Messerschmidt, 1993).

From the 1970s on, very little material could be found in the news articles about fathers and their roles within the family. Accordingly, it is not entirely clear what the shift in dominant ideology from the patriarchal model to individual responsibility model meant for the news constructions of hegemonic masculinity. It is apparent, however, that the media did not give the same attention to fathers’ responsibilities for their children as they had done prior to this shift.

In the context of the patriarchal family, the coverage typically shows the good father as the head of the household, the authority figure, without whom children
presumably cannot be kept in line. The coverage portrayed fathers as being in control of
and responsible for the other family members. Articles presented fathers in certain
circumstances as justified in using physical force to assert authority over their children
(more so in the earlier portion of the century; later articles were more inclined to adopt
an anti-corporal punishment stance). For example, a cartoon from La Presse in 1967
highlights the conflict between the growing sensitivity around corporal punishment and
how it is portrayed as usurping the paternal authority. The child who is laid across his
father’s lap, about to be spanked, looks up and says “Je voudrais d’abord consulter mon
avocat!” (PM, December 14, 1967, p. 12).

The father’s occupation is frequently used in the coverage to denote the family’s
socio-economic status. For example, in an article from The Province in 1907, the
offenders are described as “sons of some of the best known residents of the fashionable
Capitol Hill” (VP, April 4, 1907, p. 19) and more attention is given in the article to who
their fathers are and what they do than to the offences the boys have committed. The
father’s role in the care of the children is described in the coverage as providing
guidance and direction for their thoughts and actions, teaching fairness and respect.
The father is the role model for his sons and teaches them to prepare to take on this role
when they are grown. He is the provider of the home; references are made to the
father’s home, the paternal residence. Whereas the father’s role is described as being
important to the prevention of juvenile delinquency, it is not portrayed as entirely
essential to the family. Evidence from wartime coverage in the first half of the century
seems to create the image that the home can in fact function without the father;
nevertheless, newspapers tended to associate problems that occurred at these times
with paternal absence.

199 Translation: “I would first like to consult with my lawyer!”
The following example, drawn from an editorial titled "Where Dad Fits In,” illustrates the role of the ideal father and provides a contrast with the role of mother which I detail next:

A boy’s greatest friend may be his mother, but a boy’s greatest need is his ‘dad,’ and a mother should use every effort to create the consciousness of the mutual need of father and son. It is so easy for her to absorb all the love of her boy without realizing how selfish and how wrong is her attitude. A boy needs a hero to worship and [...] be made to see in his father the potentialities of every hero in history or fiction. ‘Us men’ camaraderie, which a mother can create, but may never share, is a finer thing and a more needful thing to the development of her boy than all the love and color she can give to his life. (VP, March 24, 1931, p. 6)

ii) Mother love and hegemonic femininity

The coverage on youthful offending paid much more attention to the role of mothers than to fathers. The depictions suggested that a mother’s role is more essential when it comes to caring for the family. Within the patriarchal model, coverage relating to the good mother focused on the full-time housewife and stay-at-home mother who cared for her own children. The characteristics associated with hegemonic femininity within this context included caring, nurturing, patience, tolerance, selflessness, vulnerability, avoidance of conflict, compliance, emotionality, passivity, dependence and submission to the patriarch (Brownmiller, 1984; Ussher, 1997).

In the coverage, the mother’s responsibilities within the family were more related to the functioning of the household and such activities as the preparation of meals, the running of errands and the supervision of children. The mother also tended to be more associated than was the father with the setting of a religious example and teaching right from wrong. Coverage frequently outlined her qualities and virtues and tended to emphasize the emotional side. The mother personifies the love that is essential to normal healthy human development. The mother’s first loyalty is to her children. While newspapers distinguished the father predominantly by his occupation, they identified the
mother primarily by the names and ages of her children. The mother was the role model for her daughters and taught them to prepare to adopt a similar role when they had grown.

In one article, the defence counsel was reported to have told the judge that one of the boys charged was from a good family. The magistrate then asked “What do you mean by good family?” To which the lawyer replied “His mother can look after him. I offer no apology for him” (TS, March 9, 1931, p. 2). This is not the greatest clarification; however, it does provide a clue as to one element of a ‘good family’: a stay-at-home mother. This image is quite consistent with the dominant patriarchal model of the family prevailing at that time.

Another illustration of the construct of the ‘good mother,’ emphasizing her altruism and unconditional love of her family, was demonstrated in an article about a boy who had shot his mother. The dying mother was described as follows: “The mother, as she lay bleeding and dying upon the floor, put her arms around her son, talked to him quietly and tenderly, pointed out the wickedness of his deed, and in the same breath forgave him” (TS, January 15, 1903, p. 4).

However, mothers are equally subject to reprobation if their children’s behaviour is reproachable. For example, judges’ most biting comments were often quoted as in this case: “To the mothers who appeared in court, Judge Donald Menzies said: ‘Their conduct shows an utter lack of training’” (TS, June 28, 1947, p. 1).

Also, despite the shift over time to a more egalitarian ideology of the family, mothers continued to be portrayed as primarily responsible for child care and attending to the emotional development of their children. For example, in a lengthy article on bullying in schools which included a total of 11 different sources providing personal testimonials about the impact of bullying on children, two male sources were used, both male students and victims of bullying. All the other non-professional sources, aside from
the victims themselves, were mothers, aunts and grandmothers, discussing how the children in their lives had been affected by bullying (TS, September 28, 1999a, p. D1, 3).

A further example of the value of the stay-at-home mother within the patriarchal model came from an article reporting on three recommendations made by a US Senate sub-committee on juvenile crime, the third of which was to improve social security so that mothers who worked outside the home would have enough money to stay home and take care of their children (PM, March 11, 1955, p. 6). It was not uncommon for the assumption to insert itself into the coverage prior to the 1970s that the only reason for which mothers would work outside the home was financial need.

Stereotypical views of how mothers should handle their children persisted after the earlier-discussed shift in dominant familial ideology, particularly among those known to hold staunchly conservative views such as certain politicians as well as advice columnists Ann Landers and Abigail Van Buren (a.k.a. Dear Abby). In response to a single mother of five whose eldest daughter was described as skipping school, lying, smoking, running away and refusing to cooperate, Abby recommended that the mother “try love,” “Open your arms and your heart, and make her feel secure, worthwhile and loved. [...] Be calm and forgiving. [...] Every child needs love, but those who defy authority and break their mothers’ hearts need it even more”200 (VP, May 29, 1983, p. B7). This advice was in contrast to the more stereotypically male approach of ‘getting tough’ which was becoming more popular at that time.

In sum, portrayals of youthful offenders and their families, as well as of victims, are part of a broader narrative that serves to produce and reproduce gender stereotypes and dominant ideologies about the family. These gendered representations run through

200 As seen in DEAR ABBY by Abigail Van Buren a.k.a. Jeanne Phillips and founded by her mother Pauline Phillips. © 1983 Universal Press Syndicate. Reprinted with permission. All rights reserved.
the various themes analyzed in this dissertation and contribute to the construction of 
youthful offending found in the press.
CHAPTER 10 – DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

From the foregoing detailed examination of the data analysis, certain themes and patterns of significance emerge. This chapter outlines those themes and patterns which are relevant to answering the research questions elaborated in Chapter 4. The first part of this chapter serves to conclude the analysis. The second part of the chapter considers the implications of the research.

A) Discussion of findings

i) Why youth crime is news

The first research question interrogated media interest in youth crime news and the variations over time in relation to the amount of coverage on youth crime. Crime news appears to occupy a key place in newspapers with many youth crime news stories occupying the front page and most youth crime stories appearing near the front of the newspaper. As Roshier (1973) argues, crime news is news because people are more likely to read crime news than other types of reports.

Evidence of the importance of crime news stories can be seen in the relationship between the media and the police, the main source of crime news stories. The importance that both the media and police attribute to their mutual relationship attests to the significance of crime news (see Ericson et al., 1991; Fishman, 1981). Also, as Bell (2003: 30) aptly points out “Both the police and the media have a vested interest in crime – it ensures their job.” This research presents further evidence, consistent with the existing literature, that the police are the primary definers of crime news.

That crime news is news is undeniable; however, there are certain types of crimes that are more newsworthy than others. Interpersonal crime fits many, if not most, of the newsworthiness criteria discussed in Chapter 3. As Hall et al. (1978: 67-68) point
out, "Any crime can be lifted into news visibility if violence becomes associated with it, since violence is perhaps the supreme example of the news value 'negative consequences.'"

Nonetheless, youth crime news is easily relegated to lesser importance when other more 'newsworthy' stories are available. For example, it was not uncommon to find reports of youth crime, including homicides, at the back of the classified section. Youth crime news, it appears, can readily serve as filler, since it is easy to position on a page, with most articles occupying very little space. I have not seen this finding paralleled elsewhere in the research literature. Youth crime news may feature less prominently than adult crime news because of limitations on reporting about youth crime and the generally less 'newsworthy' crimes that youth commit (according to official statistics and self-reports). This conclusion is clearly speculative as the research did not examine adult crime news.

Newsworthiness is not an intrinsic characteristic of youth crime. Rather it is judged in comparison to the pool of available stories on any given day. A youth crime story which might normally feature on the front page on a slow news day can be relegated to the back pages by a major event or incident. Despite its lesser significance in comparison to other news stories, however, youth crime news is still a worthwhile source of news due to the relative ease of producing such stories; few sources are needed and most are easy to access. The imperatives of daily newspaper publication require a steady stream of news as major planned events or sudden incidents do not happen every day.

In terms of the variations in the amount of coverage on youth crime over time, as seen in Chapter 5, these variations are not explained by parallels with levels of societal concern or with variations in official youth crime rates. The periods where I found high levels of youth crime news coverage do not mirror the periods of intense concern over
youth issues identified in the academic literature. The research literature highlights a number of periods in the first half of the twentieth century when deep social anxiety existed over youth issues, including youth crime issues. Although a relationship between societal concern and the reporting of news about youth undoubtedly exists, their connection does not appear to be proportional; an increase in one does not necessarily correlate to an increase in the other.

The level of coverage does not appear to be a reflection of the official crime rates either. According to Carrigan (1998), the first half of the twentieth century was characterized by fairly constant increases in the level of youth crime brought to the attention of the police and the courts. In my sample of news coverage, however, the intensity of news coverage in the first half of the century is extremely uneven. In the last two or three decades, some researchers argue that the level of officially recorded youth crime has been stable or on a slight decline (Department of Justice, 2004a; Doob, Marinos & Varma, 1995) and/or that perceived increases are mostly the result of increases in minor offences (Bala, 2003; Canada, 1997). In contrast, the amount of coverage in the sample from the late 1970s to the end of the study period steadily increased.

Therefore, the coverage of youth crime in the print media is neither a reflection of the reality of the types and nature of offences known to the police, nor a manifestation of societal concerns about youth and youth crime in particular. We also see that the amount of news coverage in the second half of the century was far greater than in the first half. As I argued in Chapter 5, such an increase is consistent with the notion that the print media have increasingly focused attention upon ‘backstage’ behaviour since the 1950s as a reaction to competition with visual forms of media. This contention is further evidenced by the coincidence in time of a qualitative shift in the discussion of violence in
the press, the increased use of alarmist discourse, the emphasis placed on 'vulnerable' victims and increasingly unsympathetic portrayals of young people who break the law.

ii) Let's make this simple...

The second research question addressed the ways in which the coverage portrayed youth crime and violence over time. As found by a number of other researchers in this area, representations of youth crime were simplistic and decontextualized.

Simplification and individualization appear to be key themes in the coverage of youth crime news. These themes were observed in a number of ways. First, certain features of the stories themselves revealed the minimalist approach to reporting on youth crime. Second, the tendency to dichotomize portrayals and paint in broad strokes of white or black, good or bad, also was an indication of the tendency to simplify. Third, despite the large number of explanations and solutions offered for youth crime, we see that the vast majority of the themes relating to crime causation or appropriate solutions fell into relatively narrow explanatory and response frameworks, largely parallel to the two dominant criminological paradigms, Classical School and Positivism, in addition to being focused on the individual.

The quantitative analysis of numerous variables exposed the inclination to provide a strict minimum of information in reporting on youth crime. For example, most stories were very brief – newspapers allotted to headlines about 30% of the space taken by text, few articles offered analytical types of reporting and most articles were not followed up with subsequent reports. The predominance of local crime news and the focus on incidents as opposed to issues were also evidence of this micro-level treatment of youth crime news.
A large number of news items (40%) incorporated no acknowledged sources outside of the reporter him or herself and the majority of the rest incorporated only one. When reporters cited sources, they tended to rely upon them to provide 'just the facts,' typically primary and secondary types of knowledge. Far fewer individuals were given the opportunity to provide evaluative and recommendation types of knowledge. This limitation is another indication of the tendency to shy away from the exploration of issues and the development of more complex stories.

I also observed a focus on crimes, motives and methods that are fairly easy to understand. Interpersonal violence represented over 40% of the crimes discussed in the news items sampled. Common sense motives such as love or money were also prevalent among those found in the sample, as were explanations focusing on the family. In contrast, I found very little in terms of white-collar crimes, crimes of the state against citizens, or police brutality. While these topics were not a central focus of this study, they were present in small numbers, suggesting the possibility of their existence. Others have also shown that these types of crimes do not represent a large part of crime news reporting and that they constitute 'blind spots' in media coverage (Box, 1983; Graber, 1980; Hackett & Gruneau, 2000; McMullan, 2006). In contrast, the sample studied by Ericson et al. (1991) contained much more in terms of what would be considered 'white-collar crime.' This discrepancy may be linked to the fact that these authors did not focus specifically on youth crime.

The different means of paring down stories to provide minimal information, background and context serve to convey an image that crime is a simple problem and, by implication, warrants simple solutions. Suggestions that tougher measures are needed were commonplace.

Sources who would offer a counter-perspective were typically not included in the coverage. This observation brings to mind the question raised by others (e.g., Barak,
about the dynamics that exist between academics and the news media. It would appear that reporters solicit the input of certain academics more often than others. Chomsky (1992) and Chunn and Menzies (2006) also make this argument. They suggest that sources who offer non-mainstream views cannot meet the journalistic criterion of concision because they need to be able to contextualize and provide evidence to support what they are saying. Sources who offer ‘commonsense’ views do not have to contextualize (nor do they have to provide evidence of what they assert). Is the reason for the over-accessing of certain academics that they are sought out because they are known to provide quotes that are consistent with the simple version of the story being written? Are academics who provide more complex views not as useful to reporters operating within the constraints of news production routines? Do the academics who offer more complex perspectives avoid media contact because they know from experience that their views will not be accurately portrayed in the news media? Is it a combination of these reasons and others? This dissertation does not answer these questions; it only highlights them and their significance in considering the implications of this research. Doyle and Lacombe (2003) have shown that experts can play a role, in collaboration with the media and the criminal justice system, in scapegoating certain individuals through the creation of an institutionally-legitimated discourse surrounding ‘deviant’ individuals as ‘different.’ As such, we are faced with the paradox that experts can either serve to deconstruct crime myths or perpetuate and extend them further.

One of the clearest reflections of the tendency to simplify crime news is the dichotomization of boys and girls and their parents as good or bad, and of victims as deserving or undeserving of sympathy. The coverage tends to make these categorizations premised on dominant ideologies about gender, sexuality, family, age, race and class. At the same time, the coverage omits much about the social
background of young offenders which might have helped the reader acquire a more balanced perspective. The coverage also tells us very little about the victims of crime, despite the fact that the experience of victimization tends to get dramatized.

As Kappeler & Potter (2005: 23) point out, the four elements that make up a good story (a distinct deviant, an innocent victim, a virtuous hero and a threat to traditional norms and values) also form the basis for the perfect crime myth. It would appear that crime stories that combine these elements will be more likely to find their way into the news than stories that do not. The great proportion of stories involving interpersonal crimes is evidence of this distinction. Incidentally, such stories tend to receive more lengthy coverage than those concerning business or public property victims. They also feature larger headlines and are more likely to be accompanied by photographs. The privileged place occupied by police in the coverage also supports the creation of crime myths because police typically feature in the 'virtuous hero' role.

As others have found as well (e.g., Barlow et al. 1995, cited in Welch et al., 1998; Ericson et al., 1991; Welch et al., 1998), the coverage canvassed in this dissertation primarily contained explanations about youth crime and actual or proposed responses that fit within the dominant paradigms. Reports tended to place a large focus on individual explanations, either blaming individuals for their wrongdoings or portraying them as somehow ‘defective’ or as ‘bad apples.’ When journalists examined social explanations, it was usually in terms of their effect on the individual, not on society. They paid very little attention to the broader social structure and its impact. Clearly, structural explanations are more complex and difficult to explore in 30 lines or less.

Overwhelmingly, the coverage framed portrayals of responses to youth crime within the parameters of responsibility (i.e. accountability and deterrence) or pathology (i.e. treatment and prevention). Within the very narrow range of solutions envisaged, the
typical direction was to be more repressive, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth
century.

I found very little exploration of social responsibility. The coverage rarely
considered, but occasionally mentioned, although derisively, the idea that the way we
operate as a society has an impact on all people but especially vulnerable people, such
as youth. Others (e.g., Glassner, 1999; Males, 1999, 2001; Schissel, 1997a, 2006) have
also pointed out this absence within the coverage.

iii) Boys will be boys, good girls will be chaste

The third research question addressed variations in the coverage according to
gender, in particular, but also the related features of race, class, age and ethnicity. As
seen in Chapter 9, depictions of ‘bad boys’ and ‘bad girls’ differed considerably and
ideologies of gender, family and equality underpin much of the discourse. While the
‘boys will be boys’ colloquialism was dominant in the coverage about boys throughout
most of the century, higher standards of conduct applied to girls. The news reports
largely tied girls’ ‘goodness’ or ‘badness’ into their perceived level of promiscuity,
associating the characteristics of chastity and obedience with ‘good girls,’ while
emphasizing any misbehaviour by girls far more than was the case with boys.

For offenders and their parents, as well as victims, conformity with gender norms
was a key feature in determining whether the person would be presented as credible
and deserving of sympathy or not. Other features which entered into play in the
presentation of offenders and victims as more or less credible and/or deserving of
sympathy were age, race, ethnicity and class. Articles sometimes provided irrelevant
information about offenders, their families, or victims which suggested a tendency
toward ‘othering’ of certain groups of individuals within the coverage in an implicit or
coded manner. This trend too is consistent with the existing research literature on
representations of race in the media (e.g., Henry & Tator, 2002; Jiwani, 1993; van Dijk, 1991; Wortley, 2002).

iv) Québec's 'distinct' approach

The fourth research question came from the research literature reviewed in Chapter 2 which suggests that Québec’s approach to youthful offending is different from that of English-Canada. I wondered whether such a distinction would manifest itself in how the French-language print media covered youth crime in Québec.

On the whole, the two anglophone newspapers published more stories about youth crime than did *La Presse*. While I would explain part of the difference with The Toronto Star by the presence of daily court columns in the latter at various moments in the study period, The Toronto Star published considerably more stories than *La Presse* overall, so this explanation is probably only partial. In contrast, The Province, which was a smaller newspaper throughout the sample period, and particularly after the shift to tabloid format, also published more stories than *La Presse*. Furthermore, The Province was on strike during one of the sampled months, but it still provided 86 more news items in the 24 months sampled than did *La Presse* in 25 months sampled. Therefore, the amount of available space in the newspaper does not appear to be a factor in explaining the presence of more or less youth crime news.

As I have stated above, print media coverage of youth crime did not tend to reflect the reality of youth crime in any substantive way. There is, however, one area of 'reality' that is replicated in the portrayals. Throughout the study period, the newspaper coverage of youth crime paralleled the prevailing models of youth justice. Although these models may not represent social reality, in the sense that they may not be agreed upon by the general population, they are nonetheless a formulation of the official
discourse which shapes the handling of youth crime problems in society at any given
time.

These prevailing models of youth justice are represented in the coverage as they
change over time from the welfare model of the JDA, to the modified justice model of the
YOA and through the crime-control-oriented amendments to the YOA leading to the later
enactment of the YCJA. And the differences observed between the three newspapers
were consistent with the current models within their respective provinces over time. In
particular, this contrast is most evident in the last twenty years of the sample when the
anglophone provinces became more crime-control oriented, in keeping with the shift in
the prevailing youth justice model at the federal level. During the same period, the
coverage from La Presse was markedly different, demonstrating much more opposition
to the 'get tough' approach advocated in the other two newspapers studied. This
distinction is consistent with Québec's resistance to the move to toughen up the YOA
and, later, to the YCJA.

It is surprising that La Presse relies on the same types of simplistic,
decontextualized and sensationalistic reporting as do the anglophone newspapers, with
the same tendency to individualize and depoliticize problems, yet arrives at different
conclusions in terms of what should be done about the problem of youth crime. It is in
this sense that I would suggest that there is a significant parallel between the
representation of youth justice that is conveyed in the three newspapers and the 'reality'
of youth justice in their respective provinces. These similarities would indicate that
official sources are much more influential in the coverage than would be suggested by
the frequency with which they are actually quoted. The newspapers appear to reflect the
official discourse in this regard. There are of course variations. For instance, police and
professionals were quoted far less often in La Presse than in the anglophone
newspapers and La Presse favoured defence lawyers slightly, while the English-
language papers gave a slight preference to prosecution sources. These variations may be a reflection on whose voices play the largest role in shaping the coverage.

Another difference noted in the coverage between the anglophone and francophone newspapers was the relative inattention to alcohol in *La Presse* compared to the two anglophone newspapers. This was the case both in portrayals of fathers appearing in court drunk and in portrayals of alcohol as a factor contributing to youthful delinquency. Reasons for this discrepancy may be investigated in further research.

v) The fear factor

Although it was the fifth question posed, the issue of moral panics was a key concern that prompted me to engage in this research. Given the nature of reporting on youth crime that I had observed in the late 1990s (e.g., coverage of the murder of Reena Virk and of the Columbine High School shootings), I wondered whether such treatment was characteristic of news reporting on youth crime in general or whether the coverage was uncharacteristically alarmist and fear-mongering.

Fear is a dominant theme in the reports on youth offences throughout the sample. News of the increasing frequency of youth crime, the spread of the problem (e.g., to suburban or rural areas), the increasing level of violence observed (e.g., more lethal use of force, increasing involvement of firearms), the involvement of younger offenders, recurring referrals to the problem as an epidemic or crime wave and emphasis on random and predatory acts all fostered this narrative of fear. Such discussions were entirely consistent with the moral panics literature.

Furthermore, there was considerable inattention to explanations for youth crime in the coverage. The majority of the articles offered no explanations at all and many of the articles that did offer explanations focused on trivial accounts or described the acts as 'senseless,' therefore having no justification. One cannot help but wonder what the
impact of such a void is. Does the absence of explanation not contribute to the fear factor surrounding youth crime?

In addition, I found the media techniques highlighted within the moral panics literature to be much more prevalent in the late twentieth century. This trend would suggest that there were in fact circumstances particular to the end of the twentieth century (neo-liberal state) which fostered a particularly alarmist discourse on youth in the media.

Some might suggest that it is normal for newspapers to target fears, since a normal reaction to fear is to seek more information on how to protect oneself, as frightened people will read more newspapers. On the other hand, an equally plausible reaction to fear is avoidance, which would not necessarily serve the interests of newspapers. However, many of those elements of stories which are used to construct a narrative of fear around youth crime are the very elements which make the story newsworthy in the first place: the prominence of violence, the focus on the rarest and most spectacular acts, the focus on the dramatic, the emphasis on negative consequences and the fit within a recurrent theme (e.g.: epidemic or crime wave).

Within the framework of media production, the most newsworthy stories are those which are most likely to provoke a fear reaction in the audience, to provide a misleading and distorted image of youth crime and to be most detrimental to the image of young people in society.

vi) Media images and public confidence in youth justice

The final research question was a consideration of the implications of the type of coverage found on young offenders. While is it difficult to answer this question by examining only newspaper depictions and not the policy-making process, this research suggests certain implications and points to areas for future research.
Given the previous discussion about the simplification of youth crime news, it would be precarious to argue that the media offer a realistic portrait of youth crime. Not only is youth crime simplified, it is decontextualized, and the media focus predominantly on the rarest and most spectacular of events and frame them within the conventional paradigms of explanation and response to crime.

The question of audience interpretation is key here: if the audience understands media accounts as representations of the rarest and most spectacular events, then the coverage does reflect that reality to a certain degree. However, if the audience understands the news as a depiction or sampling of reality, though perhaps somewhat distorted and sensationalized, then the media do not reflect reality and instead foster a misleading image of crime in society. Although audience interpretation has not been a subject of this study, it is clearly an area that warrants further investigation in light of these findings (see also Graber, 1980).

I would argue that media fuelled the discontent around the YOA that led to its eventual replacement with the YCJA. If there is a crisis in confidence in the youth justice system, when the public's main source of information about the youth justice system is the media, it seems ludicrous to argue that the media have not played a role in the development of that lack of confidence. As previously mentioned, the Department of Justice website suggested that the YOA was repealed and replaced with the YCJA in an attempt to regain public confidence in the youth justice system (Department of Justice, 2003).

B) Implications and conclusion

In closing, it seems appropriate to comment on the contribution of this research to the existing field of knowledge as well as on the implications of the study for future research, education, policy and newsmaking criminology.
i) Contribution to the field of knowledge

This dissertation offers a detailed analysis of the images that the print media convey of youthful offending, and it situates those images within their socio-historical context. It also provides a longitudinal portrait not previously available in the research literature and it allows for comparison between French and English coverage. Studies on the situation in Québec are often done in isolation from anglophone perspectives and research done in English Canada typically excludes Québec. Parallel analysis of both realities yields noteworthy results.

In this research, I have also raised some important contradictions with the existing research literature on crime in the media, the most significant of which is the relatively frequent inclusion of explanations – albeit simplistic, conventional and decontextualized explanations – for youth crime. The research further points out the co-existence of classical and positive explanations in the media coverage throughout the twentieth century, and in particular the fact that (neo-)classical ideas were more prevalent than might be assumed in the media coverage of youth crime and deviance in the early 20th century.

I have also discussed potential effects of the coverage on youth crime and violence. However, this discussion is only speculative, as I have not assessed media impact in this research, nor can media impact be assumed from studies of media content (see Doyle, 2006). Nevertheless, the research suggests areas for further investigation based on knowledge of the content of news coverage.

This study also highlights the importance of studying discourse because of its potential impact on policy. When fear and anxiety fuel policy reform and these feelings are largely unfounded because they are based on misinformation, this situation is a cause for concern (see also Barron & Lacombe, 2005; Doyle & Lacombe, 2003).
Ironically, while the news media may foster reform, I have also highlighted the role of the media in perpetuating the status quo through everyday reinforcement of ideological discourse around gender, age, race, class, sexuality, morality and family, to name only a few areas.

In addition, groups who work to improve the lot of young people, especially those youths who come into contact with the law, may find in this research empirical evidence to support their positions. This research helps further the aims of those who seek to restrict media coverage on young offenders by pointing out how contemporary portrayals of youth, in particular, tend to vilify them and cast them in the role of ‘other.’ It also provides support to those who wish to reform the law and our approach to dealing with young offenders. By showing how fear of youth is constructed, this study makes it easier to find ways to address those fears in a manner more constructive than the repression of young offenders. I hope to help promote a more realistic image of young people who break the law by providing socio-historical context against which to analyze contemporary images.

ii) Implications for future research

One of the conundrums of research is that it often raises more questions than it answers. Limitations on the scope of this research project imposed restrictions on what could be investigated. These excluded areas are nonetheless worthwhile areas of study.

The sample covered the years 1901 to 2000, with the last year sampled being 1999. At the time of designing the research, this time frame brought the sample up to the current time. As the research ends, this period is no longer ‘current’ and the 2002 enactment of the YCJA is not included in this study. As such, one possible direction of future research might be to update this project to include the coverage from 2000 to the
present (see Schissel, 2006). Such a study from 2000 to the present could presumably be undertaken with far greater ease than was the case with the cover-to-cover searches employed in this dissertation. Computerized databases can be utilized for far greater speed and efficiency. The caveats associated with those databases must nonetheless be acknowledged: the researcher must rely on the decisions of those charged with indexing the material in terms of what is included and excluded, such decisions may change over time and from one index to another, and search terms must be carefully chosen in order to exclude irrelevant material (see Best, 1999: 189-195).

At the same time as legislators put forth amendments to toughen the YOA, sensational media coverage surrounding a number of crimes committed by young people also marked the 1990s. Examples surrounding visible minority youth gangs, violent girls and the media-named 'school shootings,' for instance, were abundant. Throughout this period, we also witnessed the increasing concentration of media ownership, leaving us, at the start of the twenty-first century, with a limited number of media perspectives from which to draw our daily news information on crime as well as other topics. In spite of this limitation, media retain a basic pedagogical role in informing and shaping public views on crime and justice – a role which is strongly evidenced in the research literature (see, e.g., Altheide & Snow, 1979; Ericson et al., 1991; Schissel, 2006). For this reason alone, it is very pertinent to study media representations and consider their potential influences.

Another potentially rewarding subject for future research would involve a discussion with crime reporters from the newspapers examined in the study (The Province from Vancouver, The Toronto Star and La Presse from Montréal). This research could be conducted through semi-structured interviews which would examine challenges faced by reporters in the daily reporting of crime, and youth crime in particular, which may impact the quality of coverage that is produced (Chibnall, 1977;
Ericson et al., 1987; Fishman, 1981; Hackett & Gruneau, 2000; Hall et al., 1978; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). This research might reveal variations in the amount of freedom and autonomy individual reporters exercise in their coverage of a story, as well as in the level of reliance on stories taken from wire services. I hope that such a discussion might lead to a greater involvement of the academic community in enjoining print media to offer more contextualized and adequate news stories. By better understanding the needs and pressures of journalists, academics may then be better prepared to assist the information gathering process in ways that are meaningful to both professions. Some of the public concerns about youth crime may in fact be alleviated by a better quality of information. This, in turn, may encourage a move away from the reactionary responses to youth crime which have been dominant in recent years.

As my research did not examine audience reception of the news messages, this topic could also be examined in future research. Media effects studies necessarily begin with a consideration of media content. This study could provide the background against which to consider public images of youth, youth crime and justice, and an analysis of how audiences construct those images. As pointed out by others (e.g., Graber, 1980; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991; Surette, 1990), media impact is cumulative, so it would seem to be much more relevant to examine knowledge, opinions and attitudes built up over time rather than immediate reactions to a specific piece of coverage. On the other hand, Doyle (2006) has argued that interpretive studies of specific segments of the audience might better inform us on the influence of crime stories.

iii) Education, policy and newsmaking criminology

Other implications stemming from this research include a reconsideration of the importance of critical reading skills in the media audience. Learning to critically analyze news media content is a skill that must be routinely taught to young people. A quick
internet search reveals several promising educational projects aimed at teaching students about newspapers. However, these appear to be isolated initiatives brought into the classrooms by innovative teachers. Such skills are necessary to an informed citizenry and, as such, warrant dissemination on a much broader scale.

Education of this nature should be continued into higher education. My experience with undergraduate students in the last year of their studies has shown me that such skills cannot be taken for granted and critical minds need to be developed and cultivated.

We cannot discuss implications for education without touching upon the pedagogical role of the media. While it is fair enough to acknowledge that newspapers are a business and that the pursuit of profit is their primary goal, this objective does not justify discounting their public service obligation to inform the public. In fact, in the pursuit of their business objectives, the law affords the media certain rights and freedoms which serve them particularly well. I am referring here to the freedom of the press, in particular. Such protections are premised on the fact that the media have a public duty in a democratic society. As such, civic responsibility should at least hold equal priority to making money.

If newspapers are unable to self-regulate in improving the quality of the information they provide, governments need to hold them to higher standards. As Miller (1998: 17-21) aptly points out, Canada's daily newspapers are failing us in seven main areas:

1. Newspapers behave as if they're serving themselves, not us. […]
2. Newspapers treat us as customers, not as neighbours. […]
3. Newspapers add to complexity, they don't resolve it. […]
4. Newspapers have no vision of their own future. […]
5. Newspapers pander to our lowest instincts; seldom do they cultivate our highest ones. […]
6. Newspapers are imperfect mirrors. […]
7. Newspapers don't have a mission that is worthy of our support. […]

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Finally, I have been intrigued by the newsmaking criminology literature. I have also read and heard about the conundrums faced by those academics who attempt to engage with the media in order to put forth more accurate information about crime and justice, only to find themselves disappointed when they see their words and ideas distorted or wholly excluded in favour of snappier 'sound bites.' Despite these difficulties, it nevertheless behooves academics to share their research with the public, as academics also benefit from certain protections in carrying out their duties. Regulations protect their intellectual freedom. Tax dollars fund much academic research. Researchers also have a responsibility to their research participants. Universities should serve as resources for their communities.

A thought-provoking panel I attended at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association included speakers such as Karen Sternheimer, Amy Xiaoping Liu, Steven Ortiz and Mike Males discussing their challenges in communicating with the media. They suggested several concrete ways that academics could prepare to better communicate with the media including: communicating to students and getting students involved in communicating with the media, tailoring discourse to the audience, condensing the information, planning for appropriate timing of press releases, verifying that what you have said has been well understood and will be accurately quoted, developing communication skills of patience, consistency, respect, confidence, being engaging and engaged, being concise, avoiding jargon, avoiding flippant responses, avoiding arrogant attitudes, avoiding dry, dull discourse and being prepared with key points to get across.

Also, Greek (1997) has pointed out the utility of the internet as a tool for communicating to a broader audience without having to go through the intermediary of the news reporter. As these technologies advance and invade ever larger parts of our lives, we cannot negate the importance of the internet as a tool in the dissemination of
knowledge. Greek offers sound advice on how to exploit the internet to ensure that the message does not get lost in cyberspace.

I would like to make one last point before ending. Criminologists who do not study the phenomena of crime are often asked "Why is what you are studying considered criminology?" (see also Chunn & Menzies, 2006). The answer to such a question seems self-evident to me, but I have heard it asked often enough that I wish to answer it here.

First, we have to keep in mind that criminology is an inter-disciplinary field of study that involves such diverse areas as biology, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, law, philosophy, women's studies, history, and political science.

Second, and more importantly, the very objects of criminology – crime, criminals, violence, and the variety of other phenomena studied by criminology, such as crime rates, crime patterns, policing, victimization, legal processes and corrections – are socially constructed. How those phenomena are formulated is at the heart of criminology; if we do not understand how they are constructed, what meaning can any study of these phenomena have? What matters is not the reality of the criminal event, but rather how that reality is built and represented. I am reminded here of a quote in the introduction to the book Cultural Criminology Unleashed where Ferrell et al. (2004: 7) argue that "in a world where power is increasingly exercised through mediated representation and symbolic construction, struggles over power and control become cultural in nature."

The media therefore play a very powerful role in the construction and representation of young people in conflict with the law. Understanding those processes is central to criminology's ability to truly comprehend youth crime and justice.
## APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY OF YOUTH LEGISLATION AND REFORM PROPOSALS, 1901-PRESENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Acts, amendments, proposals, reports...</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Children’s Protection Act (BC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>An Act to amend the Children’s Protection Act (Ont.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1906</td>
<td>Announcement of a Bill dealing with juvenile delinquency during Throne Speech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1907</td>
<td>An Act respecting Juvenile Delinquents introduced to Senate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1908</td>
<td>Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA) came into force</td>
<td>Applied to those under 16 years of age, but older than 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>First juvenile court opened in Montréal – <em>La cour des jeunes délinquants de Montréal</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Amendment to JDA allowing provinces to fix own maximum age between 16 and 18 years old</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Amendment to JDA adding “guilty of sexual immorality or any similar form of vice” to definition of juvenile delinquency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Revised Statutes of Canada came into force, JDA revised and consolidated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>QC extended definition of “juvenile” to age 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td><em>Loi concernant la fréquentation scolaire obligatoire</em> (QC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Declaration of the Rights of the Child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td><em>Loi de la protection de la jeunesse</em> (QC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Department of Justice started examination of JDA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Department of Justice Juvenile Delinquency in Canada report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Children and Young Persons Act proposed</td>
<td>“rejected because of provincial objections” (Bell, 2003: 50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Training Schools Act (BC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Bill C-192 – Young Offenders Act proposed to replace JDA</td>
<td>Failed to reach third reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Young Persons In Conflict with the Law (YPICL) proposed to replace JDA</td>
<td>“provincial concerns over costs and jurisdiction” (Bell, 2003: 50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Acts, amendments, proposals, reports...</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td><em>Loi 24 – Youth Protection Act (YPA) (QC) came into force</em></td>
<td>JDA minimum age at the time was 7 years old; YPA limited criminal responsibility to those 14 or older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Bill C-61 – Young Offenders Act proposed to replace JDA, first reading</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Young Offenders Act (YOA) enacted to replace JDA</td>
<td>Applied to those 12 to 17 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>YOA came into force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Uniform maximum age under YOA came into force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Revised Statutes of Canada</td>
<td>Technical and procedural changes (Bell, 2003 citing Sapers &amp; Leonard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Bill C-12 amendments to the YOA</td>
<td>Raised max for 1st and 2nd degree murder to 5 years less one day and changed parole eligibility for youths transferred to adult court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Bill C-19 (previously C-37) – An act to amend the YOA came into force</td>
<td>Raised max for 1st degree murder to 10 years, raised max for 2nd degree to 7 years, automatic transfer to adult court for 16 and 17 year olds charged with serious personal injury, emphasis on rehabilitation for minor offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 1996</td>
<td>Federal/Provincial/Territorial Task Force on Youth report</td>
<td><em>A Review of the Young Offenders Act and the Youth Justice System in Canada</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 1997</td>
<td>Renewing Youth Justice, 13th report of the Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Bill C-68 debated, reintroduced as Bill C-3, debated, referred to Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Bill C-3 reintroduced as Bill C-7 following 2000 federal election, final reading</td>
<td>Applies to those 12 to 17 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>YCJA enacted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Acts, amendments, proposals, reports...</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>YCJA came into force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


For more details on content of above acts, amendments, proposals and reports, see also: Bala, 1997, 2003; Kirvan, 1995; McGuire, 1997; Reitsma-Street, 1993; Smandych, 2001a, 2001b; Trépanier, 1981, 1990.
APPENDIX B: YEARS AND MONTHS SAMPLED

1903 – January
1907 – April
1911 – May
1915 – June
1919 – August
1923 – October
1927 – July
1931 – March
1935 – November
1939 – April
1943 – September
1947 – June
1951 – October
1955 – March
1959 – February
1963 – November
1967 – December
1971 – May
1975 – August
1979 – February
1983 – May
1987 – July
1991 – January
1995 – December
1999 – September
APPENDIX C: CODING MANUAL

Quantitative codes for SPSS analysis

VARIABLES:

1. **Item number**: enter up to 4 digits, number indicated on article
2. **Headline**: type as much of headline as will fit into space
3. **Paper**: enter name of newspaper from which article was drawn. Use:
   1. *La Presse*
   2. *The Province*
   3. *The Toronto Star*
4. **Day**: enter day of the week article was published. Use:
   1. Monday
   2. Tuesday
   3. Wednesday
   4. Thursday
   5. Friday
   6. Saturday
   7. Sunday
   8. Weekend/Weekly
5. **Date**: enter date using date/month/year – dd/mm/yyyy
6. **Year**: re-enter the year of publication
7. **Page**: enter the page number, including section letter when it applies
8. **Number of days published that month - #**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>The Province</th>
<th>The Toronto Star</th>
<th>La Presse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. **Section**: enter the section in which the article was found. Use:

1. **Front news**: section A or first ¼ of newspaper (see chart below)
2. **Other news**: outside section A or first ¼ of newspaper (see chart)
3. **Opinion**
4. **Business**
5. **Life** (includes: Women's, Family, Entertainment, Food, young street)
6. ** Classified**
7. **Regional** (include neighbourhoods here)
8. **Comics**
9. Special (weekend magazines, clip and send section for troops in WW2, various inserts)
10. **Other** (such as religion, sports)

**Code as Front news if on page one to...**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>PM</th>
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<tbody>
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**Table:**

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>1959</td>
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<td>1963</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>1971</td>
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<td>1975</td>
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<td>1979</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>1987</td>
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<td>1991</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10. **Front page coverage**: indicate whether the item received coverage on the front page of the newspaper. Use:
   1. No
   2. Yes, referral, text only
   3. Yes, referral, text and photo
   4. Yes, whole story
   5. Yes, part of story
   6. Not applicable

11. **Front page of other section**: indicate whether the item received coverage on the front page of one of the sections other than the front. Use:
   1. No
   2. Yes, referral, text only
   3. Yes, referral, text and photo
   4. Yes, whole story
   5. Yes, part of story
   6. Not applicable

12. **Item-source**: indicate the source to whom/which the article is attributed. Use:
   1. Reporter (by-line with a reporter’s name, or from the paper’s bureau in another city, or signed editorial cartoons)
   2. Wire service (Canadian) – (News Services, CP, Southam, Sterling)
   3. Wire service (other) – (AP, UPI, Reuters, Scripps-Howard News Services, Agence France-Presse)
   4. Other publication
   5. Citizen(s)
   6. Organization
   7. Other, special
   8. None indicated
   9. None indicated, with city by-line
   10. Police or courts column (specified as such, including Jocko Thomas column TS)

13. **Gender of item-source**: indicate the gender of the item-source reported at #10 above. Use:
   1. Male
   2. Female
   3. Both
   4. Don’t know
   5. Not applicable

14. **Young offender(s)’s age**: indicate the age of the young offender(s) discussed. Use:
   1. Unclear/not specified (if article makes no mention of the age, it is acceptable to indicate the age if another article on the same day mentions the age)
2. Youth in general (if article pertains to crime as a general issue, crime statistics, parents…)
3. Under 12
4. 12 to 16
5. 17
6. 18 to 20
7. Adults (21 and over), co-accused, conspirators, principal offenders
8. Not applicable (if article pertains to policies, laws, institutions, facilities, judges, services…)

15. Presence of photographs: indicate whether the article is accompanied by visuals. Use:
   1. No
   2. Yes, photographs
   3. Yes, illustrations
   4. Yes, photos and illustrations
   5. Not applicable

16. Number of photographs/illustrations - #

17. Source of photographs
   1. Individual affiliated to paper
   2. Individual not affiliated to paper
   3. Wire service
   4. Other publication
   5. File photo
   6. Reader
   7. Other, specify
   8. Not mentioned

18. Sources depicted: indicate whether individuals used as sources in the article are also portrayed in the photograph(s).
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know
   4. Yes and no

19. Size of article text: Enter the number of lines of text of single-column width taken up by the text of the article. Lines that span two or more column widths count as two or more lines.

20. Size of headline: Enter the equivalent number of lines of text that could fill the space taken up by the headline. Take into account the font size of the headline and the number of column widths it spans.

21. Size of photo(s)/illustration(s): Enter the equivalent number of lines of text that could fill the space taken up by the photos and/or illustrations, including captions and extra space around them. If there is no photo, enter 0.

22. Genre: identify the type of article. Use:
   1. News (include all types of news, "hard" and "soft")
2. Analysis/feature, special reports, series  
3. Column (other than police or courts)  
4. Police or Courts column  
5. Editorial, guest op-editorial  
6. Letter to editor  
7. Cartoon/comic  
8. Photo/graphic  
9. Other, specify  

| 23. Geographical focus: Identify the geographical focus of the article. Use: |
|---|---|
| 1. Local (metropolitan area surrounding city of newspaper) |
| 2. Provincial (same province as newspaper) |
| 3. Regional (i.e. neighbouring province) |
| 4. National (other provinces, national issues) |
| 5. International (US) |
| 6. North American |
| 7. International (other) |
| 8. Other, specify |
| 9. Not applicable |

| 24. Focus of story: Identify the main focus of the article. Use: |
|---|---|
| 1. Specific incident |
| 2. Multiple incidents |
| 3. Incident(s) linked to larger, ongoing issue |
| 4. General crime issue |
| 5. General criminal law issue |
| 6. General social issue |
| 7. Other, specify |

| 25. Follow-up: Identify if the article is linked to others. Use: |
|---|---|
| 1. Not follow-up: Item is not or does not appear to be following up a previous story (appears to be a new story) |
| 2. Follow-up certain: Item is following up previous story in sample |
| 3. Follow-up likely: Item is likely following up previous story not in sample |
| 4. Similar items in sample linked: Item reports separate incidents, but revisits similar incident in sample |
| 5. Similar items out of sample linked: Item reports separate incidents, but revisits similar incident not in sample |
| 6. Reaction to other story |
| 7. Don't know |

| 26. Coverage in other newspapers: Identify which, if any, newspapers also printed a news item on the same story. Use: |
|---|---|
| 1. Printed only in this paper |
| 2. Also in PM |
| 3. Also in TS |
| 4. Also in VP |
| 5. Also in both other papers |
| 6. Don't know |
27. **CJS level of involvement:** identify the level of CJS involvement with which the story is concerned. Use:
   1. Drama/actual events
   2. Police investigation
   3. Charges laid/arrest
   4. Court appearances/inquest
   5. Sentencing
   6. Post-sentence
   7. Law reform
   8. CJS general: conditions, additions, policies, statistics, etc.
   9. Not applicable

28. **Type of offence:** If applicable, indicate the type of offence (string variable), e.g.: theft, rape, vandalism, etc.

29. **Offence 1:** if one or more offences are listed above, classify the most serious or, for offences of comparable seriousness, classify the one discussed with most prominence, or for court columns, the first one mentioned, into one of the Criminal Code categories below. Note: for attempts, use the codes below with .1 after (e.g.: attempted robbery is coded 10.1) and for accessories, use the offences codes appended with .2 (e.g.: accessory to serious assault is coded as 5.2).

   **Criminal Code categories**
   1. **Homicide** (1st and 2nd degree murder, capital and non-capital – attempted murder should be coded as 1.1 and accessory after the fact to murder should be coded as 1.2)
   2. **Other homicide** (manslaughter, infanticide)
   3. [category eliminated]
   4. **Common assault**
   5. **Serious assault** (aggravated assault, sexual assault, assault with a weapon, causing bodily harm with intent, torture, assault on a peace officer)
   6. **Criminal negligence** (criminal negligence causing death or bodily harm, abandoning a child, neglect in child birth, concealing dead body)
   7. **Other offences against the person and reputation** (counselling, aiding suicide, dangerous driving, failure to stop at scene, impaired driving, uttering threats, kidnapping, abduction, hostage taking, abortion, bigamy, libel, public incitement of hatred, suicide (pre-1985)...)  
   8. **Theft**
   9. **Possession of stolen property**
   10. **Robbery, extortion**
   11. **Break and enter** (possession of B&E instrument, burglary)
   12. **Other offences against the rights of property** (forgery, false pretences, false cheques)
   13. **Fraudulent transactions relating to contracts and trade** (fraud, personation with intent, unlawful use of military uniforms or certificates, intimidation...)
   14. **Mischief** (vandalism, interfering with road safety, toy guns, train derailed)
For offences by offenders (repeat offence code above except:

35. N/A (there is no offender OR there is no second type of offence


36. **All same** (all offenders committed same offences together, those mentioned for offender 1)

30. **Offence 2**: If more than one offence are mentioned, code as offence 2 the second most serious or the second most prominent in the article or the second offence listed in a court column. If there is no second offence, code Offence 2 as 35: N/A.

31. **Violent offence**: are any of the offences reported of a violent nature?
   1. Yes
   2. No

32. **Recode Offence 1**: automatically generated conversion of the Criminal Code categories above into the following categories:
   1. Murder (above codes 1, 1.1, 1.2, 2)
   2. Other violent (above codes 4, 5, 5.1, 5.2, 7, 7.1, 7.2, 10, 10.1, 10.2)
   3. Property (above codes 8, 8.1, 9, 11, 11.1, 12, 13, 26)
   4. Other minor offence (above codes 14, 23)
   5. Other serious offence (above codes 6, 15, 15.2, 16, 17, 18, 18.1, 38)
   6. Law & order (above codes 19, 20, 20.1, 21, 28, 29)
   7. Morals (above codes 22, 22.2, 24, 25)
   8. Drugs/Alcohol (above codes 30, 31, 39)
   9. YOA/JDA/juvenile (above codes 32, 33)
   10. Other, unclear (above codes 34, 37)

   Leave blank if above codes 35 or 36.

33. **Recode Offence 2**

   NOTE: for variables 34 to 51, choose the three most prominent or, failing that, the first three offenders mentioned in article. Offenders include those who have committed the offence, whether or not they are known, those who are suspected or accused of committing the offence, whether directly stated or inferred. If only one offender is mentioned, code him/her as #1 and then code the other two as not applicable (4,8,4,4,4,4,8,4,4,4 for #42-51 below). If no specific offenders are mentioned, code all three as not applicable. If more than three offenders are mentioned, keep a journal of the additional offenders not entered into SPSS. If a group of undifferentiated offenders are mentioned, code as one offender.

34. **Offender #1 – Offence**: Using the Criminal Code categories above, associate the primary offences with the specific offenders. If there is only one offender, Offence 1 above should be identical to Offender #1 – Offence here.

35. **Offender #2 – Offence**: Proceed as above for Offenders 2 and 3. If all offenders were involved in the same offence together, code only Offender #1 – Offence with an offence category and record code 36 for Offender #2 and #3 – Offences. If there is only one offender, code Offender #2 and #3 – Offences as 35 (not applicable).

36. **Offender #3 – Offence**

37. **Offender #1 - Gender**
   1. Male
   2. Female
3. Don't know
4. Not applicable

38. **Offender #1 - Age**
   1. Unclear/not specified (if article makes no mention of the age, it is acceptable to indicate the age of another article on the same day mentions the age)
   2. Youth in general (if article pertains to crime as a general issue, crime statistics, parents...)
   3. Teenager, teen, adolescent, juvenile (but no age specified)
   4. Adult co-accused (21 and over)
   5. Adult contributing to delinquency of minor, charged under JDA
   6. Adult accused, other
   7. Not applicable (if article pertains to policies, laws, institutions, facilities, judges, services...)
   8. Not applicable (no offenders #2 & #3)
   9. 7 to 9 years old
   10. [category eliminated]
   11. 10 or 11 years old
   12. 12 years old
   13. 13 years old
   14. 14 years old
   15. 15 years old
   16. 16 years old
   17. 17 years old
   18. 18 years old
   19. 19 years old
   20. 20 years old

39. **Offender #1 - Race/ethnicity**
   1. Not indicated
   2. Stated
   3. Implied
   4. Not applicable
   5. Evident in photo

40. **Offender #1 - Potential indicators of social class**
   1. Not indicated
   2. Address, street, neighbourhood (including “no fixed address”)
   3. Profession, occupation mentioned
   4. Not applicable
   5. Favourable comments on individual or family (e.g.: well respected, well known, esteemed...)
   6. Unfavourable comments on individual or family/family situation (e.g.: drunken father, single/widowed mother...)
   7. Comment on appearance (e.g.: clothing...)
   8. Other

41. **Offender #1 - Used as source**
   1. Yes
   2. No
3. Don’t know
4. Not applicable

42. Offender #2 - Gender
43. Offender #2 – Age
44. Offender #2 - Race/ethnicity
45. Offender #2 – Potential indicators of social class
46. Offender #2 – Used as source

47. Offender #3 - Gender
48. Offender #3 – Age
49. Offender #3 - Race/ethnicity
50. Offender #3 – Potential indicators of social class
51. Offender #3 – Used as source

NOTE: for variables 52 to 69, choose the three most prominent or the first three victims mentioned in article. Victims include persons or businesses targeted or harmed by an offence, as well as any family member of the victim for whom the impact of the offence is mentioned (e.g. family of murder victim). If only one victim is mentioned, code him/her as #1 and the code 4,8,4,4,4,5,4,8,4,4,4,5 (not applicable) for the other two. If no specific victims are mentioned, code all three as not applicable. If more than three victims are mentioned, keep a journal of the additional victims not entered into SPSS.

52. Victim #1 – Gender
   1. Male
   2. Female
   3. Don’t know
   4. Not applicable (code as not applicable if victim is a business)

53. Victim #1 – Age
   1. Not indicated
   2. Child (under 12)
   3. Youth (12-20)
   4. Adult (21-64)
   5. Senior (65+ or if old age emphasized)
   6. Business (no individual singled out)
   7. Public property (no individual singled out)
   8. Not applicable

54. Victim #1 - Race/ethnicity
   1. Not indicated
   2. Stated
   3. Implied
   4. Not applicable (code as not applicable if victim is business)
   5. Evident in photo

55. Victim #1 – Potential indicators of social class
   1. Not indicated
   2. Address, street, neighbourhood (including “no fixed address”)
   3. Profession, occupation mentioned
   4. Not applicable (code as not applicable if victim is business)
5. Favourable comments on individual or family (e.g.: well respected, well known, esteemed...)
6. Unfavourable comments on individual or family/family situation (e.g.: drunken father, single/widowed mother...)
7. Comment on appearance (e.g.: clothing...)
8. Other

56. Victim #1 – Used as source
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Don't know
   4. Not applicable

57. Victim #1 – Also offender
   1. Offender #1
   2. Offender #2
   3. Offender #3
   4. No
   5. Not applicable
   6. Victim also offender, but not one listed above

58. Victim #2 – Gender
59. Victim #2 – Age
60. Victim #2 - Race/ethnicity
61. Victim #2 – Potential indicators of social class
62. Victim #2 – Used as source
63. Victim #2 – Also offender

64. Victim #3 – Gender
65. Victim #3 – Age
66. Victim #3 - Race/ethnicity
67. Victim #3 – Potential indicators of social class
68. Victim #3 – Used as source
69. Victim #3 – Also offender

70. Number of sources other than journalist - #

NOTE: for variables 71 to 91, choose the three most prominent or the first three sources mentioned in article. If only one source is mentioned, code him/her as #1 and then code 25,3,3,3,3,3,13, 25,3,3,3,3,3,13 (not applicable) for the other two. If no specific sources are mentioned, code all three as not applicable. If more than three sources are mentioned, keep a journal of the additional sources not entered into SPSS. For more detailed explanations of source categories, see Ericson et al. (1991: 186-199).

71. Source #1 - Type of source
   1. Journalist of organization
   2. Other Journalist (if item-source is codes as 2-7)
   3. Police (and fire department)
   4. Lawyer – Crown
   5. Lawyer – Defence
6. Courts
7. Corrections
8. Other legal participant – offender
9. Other legal participant – victim
10. Other legal participant – witness
11. Other legal participant – other
12. Public administration (including military sources and Statistics Canada)
13. Other government sources
14. Private corporation
15. Political or activist organization (e.g.: ethnic associations, civil liberties associations, MADD, professional associations...)
16. Community organization or NGO (e.g.: John Howard Society, Big Brothers...)
17. Individuals without affiliation
18. Individual professionals – community, social workers, psychologists, coroner, doctor, Children's Aid Society, etc.
19. Individual professionals – schools, teachers, principals, etc.
20. Academic experts – criminologists
21. Academic experts – 'psy' fields (e.g. Addiction Research Foundation)
22. Academic experts - other
23. Unspecified
24. Don't know
25. Not applicable

NOTE: For variables #72-76, #79-83 and #86-90, refer to Ericson et al. (1991: 32-35, 204-214) for a full discussion of types of knowledge.

72. **S#1 Types of knowledge – Primary** (factual, what?)
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not applicable
   4. Don't know

73. **S#1 Types of knowledge – Secondary** (explanatory, why?, giving reasons)
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not applicable
   4. Don't know

74. **S#1 Types of knowledge – Tertiary** (descriptive, how?, what was it like?)
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not applicable
   4. Don't know

75. **S#1 Types of knowledge – Evaluation** (moral, good or bad?, include implicit and explicit types of knowledge provided)
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not applicable
   4. Don't know
76. **S#1 Types of knowledge – Recommendation** (what should be done?, include implicit and explicit types of knowledge provided)
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not applicable
   4. Don’t know

77. **S#1 Source context**: in which context was the information obtained from the source?
   1. Author (source is author of item)
   2. Interview
   3. Official meeting (e.g. court proceedings)
   4. Citizen’s meeting
   5. Statement/press release
   6. Drama/actual events
   7. Document
   8. Media report (reported in other media)
   9. Location signifying organizational context
   10. Location not signifying organizational context
   11. Other, specify
   12. No information
   13. Not applicable
   14. Don’t know

78. **Source #2 - Type of source**
79. **S#2 Types of knowledge – Primary**
80. **S#2 Types of knowledge – Secondary**
81. **S#2 Types of knowledge – Tertiary**
82. **S#2 Types of knowledge – Evaluation**
83. **S#2 Types of knowledge – Recommendation**
84. **S#2 Source context**

85. **Source #3 - Type of source**
86. **S#3 Types of knowledge – Primary**
87. **S#3 Types of knowledge – Secondary**
88. **S#3 Types of knowledge – Tertiary**
89. **S#3 Types of knowledge – Evaluation**
90. **S#3 Types of knowledge – Recommendation**
91. **S#3 Source context**

92. **Actors not used as sources**: (see Bailey and Hackett, 1997: 31 about the importance of sources): Record the presence or absence of “People or groups who are mentioned or talked about in the news item, but who are not otherwise ‘accessed’ - i.e. they are not given a chance to speak for themselves in the form of interviews, quotes or paraphrases.”
   - Note 1: This should be understood to mean people or groups who could be consulted but are not (i.e. not someone inaccessible like a celebrity or a foreign official, but someone from a large group of which any number of people could have been reached for comment; including women, criminals, aboriginal people, immigrants, etc.).
• Note 2: This should also be restricted to people who might take a different position from that presented in the article.
• Note 3: A person/group who was contacted but "declined to comment" should not be included here.
• Note 4: If the item quotes or refers to another article having appeared in the newspaper, the author of that article should be included here.
• Note 5: This does not include third parties discussed in advice columns or letters to the editor.
• Note 6: Note here, if applicable, when fictitious people are quoted as a stylistic technique to represent a group without actually seeking that group's opinion, i.e. author conveying own opinion but making it seem as not his/her own.

1. Yes, offender not quoted
2. Offender not quoted, but "denies guilt" or "protests innocence," etc.
3. Offender not quoted, but pleads "not guilty"
4. Offender not quoted, but pleads "guilty" or confession reported
5. Yes, other (e.g. victim)
6. No
7. Not applicable
8. Don't know

93. **Headline accurate:** Does the headline adequately reflect the main thrust of the article?

1. Yes, if the headline represents the general theme/focus of the item
2. No, if there is no connection between the headline and the item or if the link is remote, i.e. this could include the most tenuous of relationships
3. Partly, if two or more sides are presented in the article but one is favoured in the headline
4. Not applicable, if there is not a headline or if the headline is generic (i.e. columnists' name, comics, courts columns...)
5. Don't know

**NOTE:** for variables 94 to 115, indicate whether the article should bear further qualitative analysis for each of the media techniques or themes mentioned by including elements of a narrative relating to the themes or key terms that warrant closer consideration.

94. **Use of series** of incidents (listing, box score technique)

1. No
2. Yes

95. **Speculation on causes** of youth crime

1. No
2. Yes

96. **Othering** (use of irrelevant info, e.g. passing mention of race not related to offence)

1. No
2. Yes
97. **Provocative/potentially inflammatory terms or images**
   1. No
   2. Yes

98. **Descriptors applied to young offenders & acts**
   1. No
   2. Yes

99. **Violence**
   1. No
   2. Yes – significant description, including focus on injuries, use of weapons, etc.
   3. Yes – some mention

100. **Descriptors applied to JDA, YOA, etc.**
    1. No
    2. Yes

101. **Reference to law governing behaviour (JDA, YOA, etc.)**
    1. No
    2. Yes, General information on law
    3. Yes, Law as limitation to reporting
    4. Yes, Law as limitation to investigation
    5. Yes, Law as limitation to sentencing
    6. Yes, Law as satisfactory
    7. Yes, Other mention

102. **Theme – family**
    1. No
    2. Yes

103. **Theme – police**
    1. No
    2. Yes

104. **Theme - moral panic**
    1. No
    2. Yes

105. **Theme – gender**
    1. No
    2. Yes

106. **Theme – military, social responsibility**
    1. No
    2. Yes

107. **Theme – morality**
    1. No
    2. Yes
108. Theme – crime
   1. No
   2. Yes

109. Theme – justice
   1. No
   2. Yes

110. Theme – response (suggestions about what should or should not be done to deal with young offenders, e.g.: education, employment...)
   1. No
   2. Yes

111. Theme – race/ethnicity
   1. No
   2. Yes

112. Theme – drugs
   1. No
   2. Yes

113. Theme – guns
   1. No
   2. Yes

114. Theme – gangs
   1. No
   2. Yes

115. Other possible themes
   1. No
   2. Yes
### APPENDIX D: TABLE OF 1ST OFFENCE CATEGORY, DETAILED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder 1 or 2</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted murder</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory to murder</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other homicide</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple assault</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious assault</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted assault</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal negligence</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other offences against the person</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted offence against the person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory to offence against the person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted theft</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession stolen property</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery, extortion</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted robbery</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B&amp;E, possession of instruments</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted B&amp;E</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other property</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraudulent transactions</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mischief</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted arson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruelty to animals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other attack on property</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public order</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted offence against public order</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escapes</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other against admin. law and justice</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual, morals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorderly conduct</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling-related</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution-related</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conspiracy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs-possession</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs-trafficking</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOA-related</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JDA-related</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not clearly specified</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicious shooting or other deadly behaviours</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol-related</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1572</strong></td>
<td><strong>81.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No specific offence</strong></td>
<td><strong>365</strong></td>
<td><strong>18.8</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1937</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E: NARRATIVES AROUND TRENDS IN LEVEL OF CRIME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pap.</th>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Trend</th>
<th>Dir.</th>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>April 30, 1907, p. 16</td>
<td>L'état d'immoralité qui règne</td>
<td></td>
<td>Immorality</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>May 11, 1911, p. 8</td>
<td>Worse today</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Children's manners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>March 3, 1931, p. 9</td>
<td>Augmente, hausse continue</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Criminality</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>March 5, 1931, p. 1</td>
<td>Alarming increase</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Crime, JD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>March 6, 1931, p. 2</td>
<td>epidemic</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>shoplifting</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>March 13, 1931a, p. 32</td>
<td>epidemic</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Petty thievery and shop-breaking</td>
<td>Cobourg and vicinity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>March 21, 1931, p. 3</td>
<td>Tide of crime</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Nov. 29, 1935, p. 3</td>
<td>Becoming too common</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Stealing cars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>April 28, 1939, p. 25</td>
<td>Juvenile Crime jumps, upswing</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>April 29, 1939, p. 30</td>
<td>Petty crime wave</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Petty crimes</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>One boy = wave?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 10, 1943, p. 3</td>
<td>Increases rapidly, increased more than 17%, a regular wave, the rapidly increasing JD, rampant throughout the world</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD, sabotage</td>
<td>US, around the world</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Sept. 16, 1943, p. 1, 2</td>
<td>Not increasing</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Sept. 18, 1943a, p. 18</td>
<td>Not increasing</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

201 Interpretation: In the Dir. column: + refers to an increase; ++ refers to a marked increased; = refers to stability, not increasing; - refers to a decrease. JD refers to juvenile delinquency; VD refers to venereal disease.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pap.</th>
<th>Yr</th>
<th>Trend</th>
<th>Dir.</th>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Sept. 18, 1943, p. 30</td>
<td>Uprising not as great as alarmists say</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>increase</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Sexual immorality and promiscuity (girls)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Sept. 24, 1943, p. 13</td>
<td>Big rise, sharp increase</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 24, 1943, p. 35</td>
<td>Highest, wartime increase, sharpest increase, tendency to decline after 1941</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 28, 1943a, p. 3</td>
<td>Sharp upward trend, to stem the tide</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Sept. 29, 1943, p. 8</td>
<td>L’augmentation...au cours du présent conflit</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>June 9, 1947a, p. 1, 2</td>
<td>Conditions growing worse</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Street fights</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>June 25, 1947b, p. 2</td>
<td>Wave of</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>June 27, 1947, p. 6</td>
<td>Substantial increases</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>March 2, 1955a, p. 1, 2</td>
<td>Reign of terror</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Armed robbery</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>Latest outrages, have turned to invading private homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>March 4, 1955, p. 1, 2</td>
<td>Holds fast pace set in Black Feb., heading for a new record</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>March 10, 1955, p. 1, 2</td>
<td>Holdup toll grows</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Holdups</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>March 11, 1955, p. 6</td>
<td>Endiguer ce fléau, augmentait à un rythme honteux, empêcher une plus grande multiplication...dans les années à venir, si le rythme d'augmentation se continue</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap.</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Offence</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>March 14, 1955, p. 4</td>
<td>Vicious crime wave</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Holdups</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>March 19, 1955, p. 6</td>
<td>The present crime wave</td>
<td>++</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>March 26, 1955, p. 2</td>
<td>Delinquency down, declined nearly 14%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Roman Catholic boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>March 28, 1955, p. 6</td>
<td>Problème aigu, le problème est grand</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>March 29, 1955, p. 10</td>
<td>Crime wave</td>
<td>++</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Feb. 13, 1959a, p. 3</td>
<td>Une vague de</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Vols à main armée et de vols avec violence</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Feb. 13, 1959, p. 10</td>
<td>Jumps for 9th year, increased 150%</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Feb. 17, 1959, p. 21</td>
<td>La vague</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Des vols de ce genre</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Feb. 21, 1959, p. 3, 19</td>
<td>Recrudescence?, recrudescence marquée</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD, vols à main armée</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Feb. 25, 1959, p. 27</td>
<td>Assumes the proportion it has today</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Feb. 28, 1959b, p. 22</td>
<td>Les vagues successives ... qui s'abattent... depuis des mois (pour ne pas dire des années)</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Vols à main armée</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Nov. 13, 1963, p. 2</td>
<td>Qui pullulent depuis près de trois semaines, un raid de plus à leur actif</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Vols à main armée</td>
<td>Province of Québec</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Nov. 13, 1963, p. 27</td>
<td>Régime de terreur sévissant, il n'est question que de crimes et de crimes de nos jours, un déluge, personne n'y est plus en sécurité</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Vols avec violence</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Nov. 13, 1963a, p. 1, 2</td>
<td>Two more schools</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Nov. 18, 1963, p. 1</td>
<td>Arson wave, arson outbreak, the wave of school fires</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap.</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Offence</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Nov. 19, 1963, p. 3</td>
<td>La vague de crimes (2x), un véritable état d’urgence (2x), menace sérieusement de s’étendre à toute la province</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Vols avec violence</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Nov. 20, 1963, p. 14</td>
<td>Spreading at an alarming rate, more and more teenagers</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>VD</td>
<td>BC, USA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Nov. 30, 1963, p. 4</td>
<td>Becoming more prevalent</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Lawlessness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Dec. 18, 1967, p. 7</td>
<td>Épidémie</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>De vols armés</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>May 12, 1971, p. A3</td>
<td>Diminution des arrestations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mtl-subway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>May 12, 1971, p. D6</td>
<td>Une réalité qui n’existait tout simplement pas il y a à peine quelques années</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>L’usage de drogues</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td>schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>May 27, 1971b, p. A19</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Senseless killing</td>
<td>USA (MS)</td>
<td>Black-white killings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Aug. 13, 1975, p. A19</td>
<td>Rate rising, up 144%, up 246%</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD, violence</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Aug. 25, 1975, p. A4</td>
<td>Now a major crime problem, on the rise, skyrocketing rate</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Aug. 30, 1975, p. F1</td>
<td>Keeping number in check, it is really a decrease</td>
<td>= or</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>May 3, 1983b, p. 10</td>
<td>Trying to stem the tide</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>May 18, 1983, p. G12</td>
<td>Devient un problème urgent</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>L’abus de l’alcool</td>
<td>Province of Québec</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>July 29, 1987b, p. A2</td>
<td>Apparent increase, doesn’t think there has been a decrease</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Teen prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap.</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Offence</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Jan. 17, 1991, p. E6</td>
<td>An upsurge, potential for more to come, don’t want to push the panic button but...</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Youth violence, gangs</td>
<td>Durham region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Jan. 17, 1991, p. N1, N2</td>
<td>On increase, increasingly violent crime, no question crime has gone up</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Violent crime, youth gangs, crime in general</td>
<td>York region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Dec. 19, 1995a, p. A11</td>
<td>Le phénomène grandissant, de plus en plus présent, d’avis que la situation va empirer si aucun mécanisme...</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Gangs de rues</td>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Dec. 28, 1995, p. A2</td>
<td>La montée alarmante, de plus en plus inquiète, plus que doublé, l’augmentation constante, indicateur inquiétant</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>JD, youth violence</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Sept. 1, 1999, p. A21</td>
<td>Just keeps getting worse</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 2, 1999, p. A3</td>
<td>It’s getting scary</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Young people killing each other</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 10, 1999, p. B5</td>
<td>It’s getting to the point where you know people who have been victims of heinous crime.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 20, 1999, p. A1, 6</td>
<td>An alarming jump</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>Teen drinking, drug use and nighttime “hanging out”</td>
<td>Toronto schoolyards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap.</td>
<td>Yr</td>
<td>Trend</td>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>Offence</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Sept. 23, 1999a, p. A3</td>
<td><em>La pointe de l'iceberg, de plus en plus de manifestations de violence, augmente.</em></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>footnote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Nombre d'adolescents accusés est demeuré stable depuis de nombreuses années</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 23, 1999, p. E5</td>
<td>More frequent and more violent</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>School fights</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Sept. 24, 1999b, p. A3</td>
<td><em>Cela demeure un cas isolé, La violence est un phénomène universel</em></td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Youth murder</td>
<td>Chambly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Sept. 25, 1999a, p. A3</td>
<td>Alarmist portrayal of youth violence (statistics misinterpreted), augmented le plus vite, doublé</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>Province of Québec</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls' violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Sept. 25, 1999c, p. A3</td>
<td><em>Combien...pas tellement, je crois!</em></td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>Province of Québec</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 28, 1999, p. D1, 3</td>
<td>No longer feel safe, more violent, more likely to involve weapons, more girls are involved, a serious increase, a serious and growing problem</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Bullying</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TS</td>
<td>Sept. 30, 1999, p. J3</td>
<td>Several such rampages over the last year</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>School shootings</td>
<td>US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F: DETAILED VOCABULARY LISTS (CHAPTER 6)

Box 1: Vocabulary portraying increases in youth crime

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disease vocabulary</th>
<th>Water vocabulary</th>
<th>Synonyms for increase</th>
<th>Qualifiers for increase</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epidemic</td>
<td>Wave</td>
<td>Jump</td>
<td>Alarming/Alarmante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing worse</td>
<td>[To stem the]</td>
<td>Upswing</td>
<td>Rapidly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spreading</td>
<td>tide of crime</td>
<td>Rising</td>
<td>Sharpest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outbreak</td>
<td>Casting about</td>
<td>Uprising</td>
<td>Wartime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A new breed</td>
<td>Epidemique</td>
<td>Big rise</td>
<td>Substantial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A social disease</td>
<td>Vagues successives</td>
<td>A new record</td>
<td>At an alarming rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rampant</td>
<td>qui s'abattent</td>
<td>Grow</td>
<td>Apparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>More</td>
<td>À un rythme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneezing</td>
<td>Un flot d'armes</td>
<td>Spreading</td>
<td>honteux(^\text{205})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold</td>
<td>La pointe de l'iceberg</td>
<td>Soars</td>
<td>Marquée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A rash</td>
<td></td>
<td>Up surge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{Fléau}^\text{202})</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gone up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplication</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{Problème aigu}^\text{202})</td>
<td></td>
<td>More frequent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recrudescence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Augmentation(^\text{204})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravages</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grandissant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Recrudescence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Montée</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>De plus en plus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plus que double</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hausse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{202}\) Translations: scourge, multiplication, acute problem, upsurge/outbreak, ravages

\(^{203}\) Translations: to dyke up, successive waves beating down, downpour/deluge/flood, a wave of weapons, the tip of the iceberg

\(^{204}\) Translations: increase, growing, upsurge/outbreak, rise, more and more, more than doubled, rise/increase

\(^{205}\) Translations: at a shameful rate, marked, constant

Box 2: Vocabulary used to characterize offences (qualifiers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaningful information</th>
<th>Unnecessary information</th>
<th>Inferred judgments</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deliberately</td>
<td>Serious</td>
<td>Horrible/affreux,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planned</td>
<td>Grave</td>
<td>Horrendous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Strange</td>
<td>Dastardly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatal</td>
<td>Bizarre</td>
<td>Sordid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

202 Translations: scourge, multiplication, acute problem, upsurge/outbreak, ravages

203 Translations: to dyke up, successive waves beating down, downpour/deluge/flood, a wave of weapons, the tip of the iceberg

204 Translations: increase, growing, upsurge/outbreak, rise, more and more, more than doubled, rise/increase

205 Translations: at a shameful rate, marked, constant
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dangerous</th>
<th>Peculiar</th>
<th>Pathetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unprovoked</td>
<td>Desperate</td>
<td>Terrible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prémédité(^{206})</td>
<td>Disruptive</td>
<td>Repulsive, Disgusting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De façon dangereuse</td>
<td>Random</td>
<td>Cowardly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sombre drame(^{207})</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Audacieux</td>
<td>Vicious, Sadistic,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Astucieuses</td>
<td>Savage, Brutal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maliciously, Cruel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The worst imaginable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heinous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Incredible, Unthinkable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frightening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Totally outrageous</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drama</td>
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<td>Grisly</td>
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<td>Senseless</td>
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<td>spectaculaire</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Wild</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Tragic</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sad/ triste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bloody rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Odieux(^{208})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Révoltante</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Infâme</td>
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<td>Crapuleux</td>
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<td>Gratuit</td>
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<td>Impitoyable</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Estomacqué</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{206}\) Translation: premeditated, in a dangerous way
\(^{207}\) Translation: dark/sombre/murky drama, audacious/daring/bold, shrewd/astute/clever
\(^{208}\) Translations: odious, revolting, vile/loathsome, foul/villainous, abominable, gratuitous, merciless/pitiless/ruthless, unacceptable, demented, macabre, shameful, stunning, mysterious, depredation, unspeakable, flabbergasted
## Box 3: Vocabulary evoking violence – 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifiers of violence</th>
<th>Weapons signifying violence</th>
<th>Contexts of violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence/violent</td>
<td>Armed</td>
<td>Terrorism in the schoolyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deliberately</td>
<td>Knife-wielding</td>
<td>Gang warfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatal</td>
<td>Bottle-wielding</td>
<td>War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous</td>
<td>Gun-wielding</td>
<td>Danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious</td>
<td>Rifle-toting</td>
<td>Reign of terror/ règne de terreur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave</td>
<td>Rifle</td>
<td>String</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicious</td>
<td>Firearm/arme à feu</td>
<td>Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savage/sauvagement</td>
<td>Revolver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic</td>
<td>Weapon/arme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutal</td>
<td>Pistol/pistolet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragic (tragedy)</td>
<td>Machine gun/mitrailllette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(tragedie)</td>
<td>Blunt/sharp instrument/object</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spree</td>
<td>Club/gourdin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odieux²⁰⁹</td>
<td>Stake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crapuleux</td>
<td>(Kung-fu) stick/baton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baseball bat/bâton de baseball</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bullet/balle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ammunition/munitions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arsenal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cartridge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sawed off) shotgun/carabine (tronquée, tronçonnée)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gun/fusil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Handgun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gunman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marksman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rifleman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meat axe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Razor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hatchet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Butcher, hunting, boning)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knife/couteau (de cuisine)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bladelame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cleaver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bayonet/bayonnette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hammer/marteau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manche de cric²¹⁰</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garcette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hache</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Projectile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canif</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poignard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁰⁹ Translations: vile/loathsome, foul/villainous
²¹⁰ Translations: car jack handle, small braided rope used to punish children, axe, projectile, pocket knife, dagger
**Box 4: Vocabulary evoking violence – 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Murder-related vocabulary</th>
<th>Violent action words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder/meurtre (and their derivatives, e.g.: premeditated murder, hammer-murder, a cold-blooded murder, shotgun murder, folie meurtrière)</td>
<td>Shoot/tirer (à bout portant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kill/tuer (and their derivatives, e.g.: shot and killed, the double killing)</td>
<td>Fire (as in a gun, to open fire, presser la gachette)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death/mort (and their derivatives, e.g.: shot to death, beaten to death, brought him to his death, stabbing death, found dead, bludgeoning death)</td>
<td>Beat/battre (e.g.: beaten into unconsciousness, severely beaten, beating to death with a hammer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slay (and its derivatives, e.g.: sex-slaying, pistol slaying, knife slaying, slayer, kidnap-slaying)</td>
<td>Club, Bludgeon, Flog, Slug, Blackjack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manslaughter</td>
<td>Pistol whip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatal acts (e.g.: fatal stabbing, fatal shooting)</td>
<td>Punch/coup de poing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td>Wound/blesser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matricide</td>
<td>Hit/frapper, Slap/gifler, Smack, Bang, Strike/asséner un coup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infanticide</td>
<td>Bash (as in bash someone’s head in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massacre</td>
<td>Hazing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangulation</td>
<td>Bully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shallow grave</td>
<td>Abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assassiner (and its derivatives)</td>
<td>Attack/attaquer/assaillir, Pounce on/se lancer sur, Ambush, Tackle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abattu</td>
<td>Hurl or toss (bombs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fratricide</td>
<td>Stab/poignarder/planter un couteau (dans le dos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parricide</td>
<td>Cut, Hack, To knife, Slash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hécatombe</td>
<td>Rob, Hold up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodies/corps (e.g.: the partly clad body)</td>
<td>Purse snatch, Mug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thrash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Torch, Burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swarm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stomp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rape/violer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Force/forcer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fight, Scuffle, Battle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shove/bousculer, Push/pousser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Threaten/menacer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Terrorize, Torture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bombard, Pelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong-arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Draw (a knife, a gun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strangle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

211 Translation: killing frenzy
212 Translation: assassinate, knock down/shoot/kill, fratricide, parricide, slaughter/hecatomb
213 Translation: point blank
214 Translation: pull the trigger
215 Translation: to stick a knife (in the back)
Knock (as in to the floor, knocked out, knocked down)/ assommer
Bully
Ill-treat
Jump on
Kick
Assault
Sexually assault
Sexually molest/molester
Brutalize/brutaliser
Sodomize/sodomiser
Sexually abuse
Riot, Rampage
Outrage

Box 5: Vocabulary evoking violence – 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Blood-related vocabulary</th>
<th>Consequences of violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A path of blood</td>
<td>Wound (and its derivatives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pool of blood</td>
<td>Broken (bones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A stream of blood</td>
<td>Fracture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A trickle of blood</td>
<td>Numbers of stitches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood shed</td>
<td>Bruises/contusions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A blood-soaked field</td>
<td>Lacerations/lacéré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covered with blood/ couverte de sang</td>
<td>Abrasions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloody/ensanglanté</td>
<td>Cuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of blood</td>
<td>Hurt/blessé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleeding/saigner</td>
<td>Paralyzing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se termine dans le sang</td>
<td>Black(ened) eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Hemorrhage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une sanglante affaire</td>
<td>Crawled for help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une transfusion de sang</td>
<td>Bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maculé de sang</td>
<td>Remains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un bain de sang</td>
<td>Bodily harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souillé de sang</td>
<td>Pain/douleur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épanchement sanguin</td>
<td>Suffered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

216 Translation: to gravely offend
217 Translations: ending in blood, a bloody affair, a blood transfusion, stained with blood, a blood bath, soiled with blood, an effusion of blood

416
Box 6: Age-related terminology designating individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diminutive terms</th>
<th>Terms emphasizing youth</th>
<th>Terms de-emphasizing youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boy</td>
<td>Young, youth/jeune and</td>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>their derivatives</td>
<td>Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>(youngster, youthful,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lad</td>
<td>young people/ jeunes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap</td>
<td>gens, jeune homme²¹⁹)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kid</td>
<td>Adolescent/adolescent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mere</td>
<td>Teenager</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>School boy, girl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little/petit</td>
<td>Pupil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fillette²¹⁸</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garçonnet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Box 7: Legal terminology designating individuals

Juvenile delinquent/jeune délinquant
Young offender/jeune contrevenant
Accused/accusé/prévenu/inculpé
Presumed/présumé
Suspect
Prisoner/prisonnier(ère)/détenu
Inmate
Offender
Convict
Minor/mineur

²¹⁸ Translations: little girl, little boy, mischievous child/kid, small child.
²¹⁹ Translation: young man

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**Box 8: Shifting characterizations of young people who break the law**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early twentieth century: Naughtys</th>
<th>Mid-twentieth century: Troublesomes</th>
<th>Late twentieth century: Evils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wayward</td>
<td>Cocky</td>
<td>Cruel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incorrigible</td>
<td>Swaggering</td>
<td>Evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errant</td>
<td>Hoodlums</td>
<td>Vicious, Brutal, Savage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonest</td>
<td>Rebels</td>
<td>Monsters/monstres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mischievous/esiègle</td>
<td>Undisciplined</td>
<td>Dangerous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made a stupid mistake</td>
<td>Irresponsible</td>
<td>Menacing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pranksters</td>
<td>Sexual immorality</td>
<td>Cold-blooded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoughtless</td>
<td>Promiscuous</td>
<td>Maniacs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foolish</td>
<td>Lacking respect for authority</td>
<td>Cowardly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Un moment d'égarément mental</em></td>
<td>Toughs</td>
<td>Mindless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not appreciating the seriousness</td>
<td>Unremorseful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of the situation</td>
<td>Chip on their shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bullies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Senseless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mob mentality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Like an animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Disrespectful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spoiled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indifferent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bragging/S'est vanté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not appreciating the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seriousness of the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Super-prédateurs</em>²²¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Aucun respect pour la vie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>humaine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Crapuleux</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²²⁰ Translation: a moment of mental distraction.

²²¹ Translations: super-predators, no respect for human life, foul/villainous
### Box 9: Offence-related designations of youths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most commonly used terms</th>
<th>Other terms used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gang member</td>
<td>Addict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thief/voleur</td>
<td>Drug fiend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglar/cambrioleur</td>
<td>Speed freak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandit/bandit</td>
<td>Drug dealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murderer/meurtrier</td>
<td>Alcoolique(^{222})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slayer</td>
<td>Toxicomane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killer</td>
<td>Narcomane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal/criminel</td>
<td>Vagabond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoodlum/voyou</td>
<td>Cagoulard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thug</td>
<td>Rapist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assailant, attacker/agresseur</td>
<td>Molester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunman</td>
<td>Sex offender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooter</td>
<td>Arsonist/incendiaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robber</td>
<td>Torcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold up man</td>
<td>Fire bug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandal</td>
<td>Mugger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squeegees, squeegee kids</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Box 10: Describing reactions to criminal victimization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate reactions</th>
<th>Short-term reactions</th>
<th>Long-term or lasting effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terror</td>
<td>Traumatized</td>
<td>Sadness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>Crying</td>
<td>Loss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panic/panique</td>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>Grief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shock/choc</td>
<td>Pain</td>
<td>Hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hysteria</td>
<td>Relief (that the outcome was not worse)</td>
<td>Emotional scars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indignation</td>
<td>Nightmares/cauchemars</td>
<td>Outrage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affliction</td>
<td>Ébranlé(^{223})</td>
<td>Lack of understanding/ incompréhension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquiet</td>
<td>Colère</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Révolte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{222}\) Translations: alcoholic, drug addict, drug addict, vagrant, hood

\(^{223}\) Translations: shaken, panic, anger, revolt


http://www.parl.gc.ca/committees352/iulia/reports/13_1997-04/chap1-e.html and


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LEGISLATION CITED


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Young Offenders Act, R. S. C., 1985, c.Y-1.


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VP, April 4, 1907, p. 19, No author, Ten-year-old boys form Raffles gang.
VP, April 5, 1907, p. 7, No author, Boys sentenced to the reformatory.
VP, April 16, 1907, p. 1, No author, Heavy sentence for youthful bandits.
VP, April 16, 1907, p. 10, Special, "A Currie, a young lad...."
VP, April 20, 1907, p. 1, No author, Two year sentence for abducting girls.
VP, April 22, 1907, p. 6, Editorial, Protect the youth.
VP, May 3, 1911, p. 18, No author, Halfbred girl free.
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VP, June 15, 1915, p. 5, No author, Believed war has unhinged her mind.
VP, July 13, 1927, p. 22, No author, Youths charged with theft of automobile.
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VP, November 9, 1935, p. 16, Canadian Press, Younger prisoners to be separated in Ontario.
VP, November 28, 1935, p. 1, 18, Police/court column, Seven-year sentence cut to four.
VP, April 14, 1939, p. 8, No author, Youth lacks spirituality, P.-T. A. told.
VP, April 18, 1939, p. 1, No author, 18 girls held after reform school battle.
VP, April 19, 1939, p. 1, Daily Province Staff Correspondent, Say mass hysteria caused girls' riot.
VP, April 19, 1939, p. 11, No author, Ask 'Borstal' home for younger girls.
VP, September 16, 1943, p. 6, A., Boys the worst problem.
VP, September 18, 1943a, p. 18, McKelvie, B. A., No child crime wave.
VP, September 18, 1943, p. 30, No author, 'Gang' spirit seen in youths.
VP, September 24, 1943, p. 13, Canadian Press, Big wartime rise in figures for juvenile crime.
VP, June 4, 1947, p. 4, Frost, S. T. Letter to editor, Re-introduce the stocks?
VP, June 4, 1947c, p. 6, No author, Negligent parents held to blame for delinquency.
VP, June 7, 1947, p. 23, No author, Court reduces murder charge.
VP, June 9, 1947a, p. 1, 2, No author, 10 held in gang 'war' here.
VP, June 10, 1947, p. 1, 2, No author, Youths warned fined $10.
VP, June 25, 1947, p. 12, No author, "Eighteen-year-old Mrs. Frances ...."
VP, June 26, 1947, p. 12, Cribbens, N., Canadian Press, Schoolmasters divided - Caning boys burning issue in Britain.
VP, June 27, 1947, p. 6, No author, Paddle, 7 years for dope trader.
VP, October 15, 1951, p. 1, No author, Group asks life term for Sykes.
VP, October 16, 1951, p. 1, 2, No author, Juvenile delinquents receive first-aid.
VP, March 2, 1955a, p. 1, 2, No author, Two more private homes raided.
VP, March 5, 1955b, p. 1, 2, No author, Boxer dies in fight on street.
VP, March 14, 1955, p. 4, No author, Sunday sermon - Sinful Christians to blame also in
city's crime wave.

VP, March 19, 1955, p. 6, Batten, H. M., Letter to editor, Too many toy guns.


VP, March 29, 1955, p. 10, No author, Ex-policewoman's cure for crimes: 'Put Magistrates behind jail bars.'

VP, February 17, 1959a, p. 15, No author, Arm twisting preceded fatal stabbing.

VP, February 18, 1959a, p. 1, No author, Chinese grocer attacked, robbed.

VP, February 19, 1959a, p. 1, No author, Prosecutor suggests charge be dropped.

VP, February 19, 1959b, p. 1, McCallum, G., At girls' school - Discipline, not 'glamor' urged.

VP, February 20, 1959b, p. 1, No author, Employer says his job is waiting - Youth acquitted by jury of murdering B.C. sailor.

VP, February 24, 1959a, p. 25, No author, Youth set fires, can't trust self.

VP, February 24, 1959b, p. 25, No author, Loud radio scares off molester.

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VP, December 27, 1967, p. 23, No author, Christmas 'not too good' for dead woman's family.

VP, December 29, 1967, p. 4, Editorial, Would publicity deter juvenile criminals?

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VP, August 14, 1975, p. 1, 9, No author, Youth shot dead in scuffle with policeman.

VP, August 21, 1975a, p. 36, No author, Convict trio thanked for their 'patience.'

VP, August 22, 1975, p. 5, Canadian Press, Turn yourself in, mother tells 'Jerry.'


VP, July 12, 1987, p. 5, Chin, D., Mom a 'victim' in gang warfare.


VP, September 1, 1999, p. A21, Abraham, Browne, Buchanan, Kavanagh, Opinions, Talk back - We asked you.
VP, September 8, 1999, p. A20, Borgman, J., Editorial cartoon, "Watch for teens exhibiting 'unusual...."
VP, September 22, 1999, p. A22, Martinuk, S., Supporting the family better for kids than daycare program.

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TS, January 14, 1903, p. 9, No author, A difficult position.
TS, January 15, 1903, p. 4, No author, Boy shot his mother.
TS, April 3, 1907, p. 11, Police/court column, Bellboy set free.
TS, April 4, 1907, p. 1, 3, No author, The grand jurors went far afield.
TS, April 5, 1907, p. 1, Special to The Star, Courts for kids provided in bill not to be pressed.
TS, April 27, 1907, p. 8, No author, Would bar plays depicting crime.
TS, May 1, 1911, p. 7, No author, Caught by prints, given two years.
TS, May 11, 1911, p. 8, Editorial, Children's manners.
TS, June 30, 1915, p. 3, No author, Dr. Hunter explains Miss Wheatley's case.
TS, August 2, 1919, p. 20, Police/court column, Father 'corrects' girl, says he had the right.
TS, August 9, 1919, p. 28, Police/court column, Six months for youth is this mother's plea.
TS, October 4, 1923, p. 13, No author, A wire, piercing neck, kills 12-year-old boy.
TS, October 11, 1923, p. 32, No author, Most unusual accident killed twelve-year-old.
TS, October 13, 1923, p. 1, Special to The Star by United Press, Charge hypnotized boy slew woman under medium's spell.
TS, October 15, 1923, p. 3, Special to The Star by United Press, Astrologer in court on a murder charge.
TS, October 20, 1923a, p. 2, Police/court column, To fail on probation shuts door to mercy.
TS, October 20, 1923b, p. 2, Police/court column, Golfers who buy balls make boys criminals.
TS, October 31, 1923, p. 3, Police/court column, Took aged port.


TS, July 9, 1927, p. 29, Police/court column, Jail for disobeying order of the court.

TS, July 12, 1927, p. 13, No author, Declare children morally improved.

TS, July 18, 1927, p. 18, Police/court column, "Yes, she was drunk" she was also sorry.


TS, March 2, 1931b, p. 1, 2, Special to The Star, Trio batter Barrie guards but soon put back in jail.

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TS, March 4, 1931a, p. 1, Special to The Star, Prison breakers smile as bench imposes term.

TS, March 5, 1931, p. 1, No author, Fast pace causes crime.

TS, March 6, 1931, p. 2, Police/court column, Shoplifting epidemic rouses ire of bench.


TS, March 9, 1931, p. 30, Special to The Star, Toronto girl-bandit dismisses her past.

TS, March 13, 1931a, p. 32, No author, Coburg - Alleged thefts solved with arrest of four.

TS, March 13, 1931b, p. 32, No author, Lake Shore - Order boy strapped for theft of cars.

TS, March 16, 1931, p. 2, Police/court column, Gray-haired mother pleads for her son.

TS, March 19, 1931, p. 2, Police/court column, Crime doesn't pay 'cat burglar' learns.

TS, March 20, 1931, p. 2, Police/court column, Started to see girl with loaded pistol.

TS, March 21, 1931, p. 3, No author, Will classify youths who break the law.

TS, March 25, 1931, p. 2, Police/court column, Two widows obtain leniency for sons.

TS, March 26, 1931a, p. 1, 3, No author, Big Brothers to discuss sentence on young bandit.

TS, March 26, 1931, p. 46, No author, Orillia - Clothes yearning gets lad jail term.

TS, March 30, 1931c, p. 30, No author, Burlington - Four lads caught.

TS, November 6, 1935, p. 1, 8, Halton, M. H., Still jail 10,000 yearly for debt.

TS, November 8, 1935, p. 3, Police/court column, Lads who took car must pay $150 bill.

TS, November 9, 1935, p. 1, 2, Knowles, R. E., Places blame on parents if children delinquent.

TS, November 13, 1935, p. 25, No author, 'White folks, don't do this' pleads boy of lynch mob.

TS, November 14, 1935a, p. 1, 2, No author, Would sterilize child defectives in York County.

TS, November 25, 1935, p. 19, 21, No author, Pioneer of 'Big Brothers' Frank T. Sharpe dies at 51.

TS, November 29, 1935, p. 3, Police/court column, Young auto thieves placed on probation.

TS, April 4, 1939, p. 36, Police/court column, Beat up his own father gets two months in jail.

TS, April 5, 1939, p. 27, Associated Press, 8-year-old gunman gets 2 with a shot.

TS, April 14, 1939b, p. 8, No author, New Toronto - Should indict councillors joy riders' lawyer says.

TS, April 27, 1939b, p. 39, Special to The Star, Robs pal to dance but lands in cell.

TS, April 28, 1939, p. 25, Special to The Star, Seven girls in gang helped rob stores.

TS, April 29, 1939, p. 30, No author, Lure of tower bridge leads to delinquency.

TS, September 10, 1943, p. 3, Special to The Star, U.S. boys, 9 and 10 derail troop train.

TS, September 17, 1943, p. 2, Police/court column, Youth is jailed.
TS, September 24, 1943, p. 35, No author, Juvenile crime highest during 1941, aid now urged.
TS, September 28, 1943a, p. 3, No author, Juvenile crime can be halted by aid to fund.
TS, June 9, 1947a, p. 1, Special to The Star, 3 Windsor youths, 19 Ailsa Craig suspects.
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TS, October 5, 1951, p. 25, No author, Fires 4 shots nabs youths in service station.
TS, October 17, 1951, p. 28, Canadian Press, 'Immoral dance frocks' are criticized by League.
TS, March 19, 1955a, p. 7, No author, Kidnap is hoax boy, 12, feared report card.
TS, March 31, 1955, p. 6, E. H., Letter to editor, Wants lash used.
TS, March 31, 1955, p. 45, Star Staff Correspondent, Death sentence needed chiefs tell committee.
TS, February 2, 1959b, p. 21, Berton, P., Kenneth Brymer's experiences on a chain gang.
TS, February 14, 1959, p. 49, Canadian Press, 'Cocky swaggering' - Court cracks down on teen hoodlums.
TS, February 17, 1959, p. 1, 3, No author, Jobless youth, 18, sought in murder of 'nice blonde.'
TS, February 19, 1959b, p. 1, No author, Pals in Regt. to pay for youth defence.
TS, February 20, 1959a, p. 1, 3, Special to The Star, Farm youth holds parents, reporters police at gun-point.
TS, February 26, 1959, p. 2, No author, Held prisoner say three girls charge 3 men.
TS, February 26, 1959, p. 37, Landers, A., Dear Ann: "I'm 16 and writing about..."
TS, February 27, 1959, p. 8, No author, Asks Spadina probe - Arrest two girls, 14.
TS, November 7, 1963, p. 46, Goodman, M., Unwed high school mothers keep up with their studies.
TS, November 23, 1963a, p. 41, Police/court column, Two boys snatch purse, then buy car.
TS, November 29, 1963, p. 27, No author, Boy of 16 breaks down when sentenced to life.
TS, December 1, 1967, p. 26, Police/court column, Robberies reduced while 3 were in jail.
TS, December 5, 1967a, p. 8, No author, Police kicked, punched sit-in hippies, court told.
TS, December 6, 1967a, p. 36, Police/court column, Orderly stole from unconscious patients/ Third time unlucky for purse-snatcher/ Arrested man got more than he
gave.

TS, December 6, 1967, p. 72, Dulaney, E. & W., Teenage Dateline: Runaway teenager sadder, wiser after LSD trips.

TS, December 7, 1967, p. 52, Police/court column, Policeman commends youths he arrested/ Gang loses a leader/ Life on the outside wasn't so good/ Two days in prison straightened him out.

TS, December 14, 1967b, p. 28, No author, Boy killed man with stick in self defence, court told.


TS, December 19, 1967, p. 22, Special to The Star, Magistrate blames girl, but convicts abductor.

TS, December 23, 1967, p. 13, Police/court column, Teen fight 'mean, cowardly.'


TS, May 3, 1971, p. 57, No author, Runaways 'not angry' at parents.

TS, May 8, 1971, p. 20, Frayne, T., Boys with problems may lose home because of neighbors' objections.


TS, May 26, 1971a, p. 69, No author, Free vote ruled out on juvenile law reform.


TS, May 27, 1971b, p. 3, No author, Don't 'load the dice' against welfare teens rights group urges.


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TS, August 7, 1975, p. E2, Cook, F., Lawyer fights for juveniles' rights.


TS, August 14, 1975, p. A6, Crawford, T., Return of the strap urged to deter unruly students.

TS, August 14, 1975b, p. B1, No author, Police chief says trouble is economics.

TS, August 22, 1975, p. A10, Special to The Star, Mother of Kitchener escaper says he should give himself up.


TS, August 29, 1975, p. E1, No author, Plan to keep delinquents and unruly children apart.

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TS, February 9, 1979, p. A4, Vynak, C., Legal pot called ploy to get youth vote.
TS, February 10, 1979, p. 10-12, Skene, W., A question of mercy.
TS, February 17, 1979, p. A2, Blatchford, C., She's sweet 16 - and wrongly accused as a violent mugger.
TS, May 3, 1983, p. A14, Maychak, M., I should have shot him sooner says officer who killed youth.
TS, May 11, 1983a, p. A17, Scrivener, L., 'I was framed,' Sikh tells shooting trial.
TS, May 12, 1983b, p. D23, No author, Sikh wasn't close to officer, trial told.
TS, May 17, 1983b, p. E8, Cook, F., Court send youths, 16, to trial as adults.
TS, May 22, 1983c, p. A14, Kessel, J., Anguished dad says he would do almost anything to save son.
TS, May 25, 1983, p. A5, Special to The Star, Toronto man says he was held by rope in drug program.
TS, July 4, 1987, p. A8, Special to The Star, Killed to frame rival lover, teenage gets life.
TS, July 21, 1987, p. 4, Aspin, D., Punk teenagers deserve a break from most adults.
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TS, December 19, 1995, p. A8, Murray, M., Board won't hear violence queries.


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PM, January 2, 1903a, p. 7, No author, Conduite chez ses parents.
PM, January 28, 1903, p. 1, No author, Deux petites aventurières.
PM, April 5, 1907b, p. 1, 9, No author, Qui est le meurtrier de ce jeune garçon?
PM, April 8, 1907b, p. 1, 10, 11, 12, No author, Qu'as-tu fait de ton frère?
PM, April 12, 1907a, p. 1, 9, No author, Le meurtre de La Tremblade.
PM, April 12, 1907, p. 14, No author, Le meurtre de La Tremblade.
PM, April 13, 1907c, p. 32, 16, No author, Les défenseurs.
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PM, April 23, 1907, p. 1, No author, La traite des blanches.
PM, April 24, 1907, p. 16, Dépêche spéciale à La Presse, Tourtereaux en fuite.
PM, April 30, 1907, p. 16, No author, Deux ans de pénitencier.
PM, May 10, 1911, p. 3, No author, Jeunes dynamitards.
PM, May 19, 1911, p. 1, Dépêche spéciale à La Presse, Un père rend son fils meurtrier.
PM, May 31, 1911, p. 16, No author, Un porteur de faux messages.
PM, August 15, 1919, p. 11, No author, Une fillette des quinze ans aide des individus à voler des automobiles.
PM, August 20, 1919, p. 17, No author, Le chef seul de la bande a été condamné.
PM, July 20, 1927, p. 10, No author, Jeunes tapageurs sévèrement punis.
PM, March 3, 1931, p. 9, No author, La criminalité augmente, au Canada, d'après le rapport de la statistique fédérale.
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PM, November 13, 1935, p. 3, No author, 2 jeunes nègres pendus à la branche d'un chêne.
PM, April 15, 1939a, p. 49, No author, Un voleur de 17 ans mis au pénitencier.
PM, September 29, 1943a, p. 3, 27, Envoyé spécial, Acquittement de R. Bolduc et A.
Bigras.
PM, September 29, 1943, p. 8, Editorial, Criminalité juvénile.
PM, September 30, 1943, p. 7, No author, Volé 3 fois par le même individu.
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PM, March 3, 1955, p. 21, No author, On n'est accusé pour la première fois qu'une fois.
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PM, February 6, 1959a, p. 3, 42, Police/court column, 125 cas de réhabilitation devant le juge W. Lazure.
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PM, February 19, 1959, p. 3, No author, Surpris en train de voler dans un garage.
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PM, February 27, 1959, p. 12, No author, Peines de 7 et 8 ans pour vol à main armée de $19.
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PM, November 13, 1963, p. 27, Police/court column, La Justice s'émeut: "Il faut mettre un frein au régime de terreur sévissant dans notre ville."
PM, November 19, 1963, p. 3, No author, "La vague de crimes crée un véritable état d'urgence" - le juge Claude Wagner.
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PM, December 11, 1967, p. 51, Agence France-Presse, Un camarade d'école avoue...
avoir enlevé et tué le petit Emmanuel à coups de gourdin.

PM, December 14, 1967, p. 12, Police/court column, Les tribunaux - "Je voudrais d'abord...."

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PM, December 18, 1967, p. 7, No author, S'agit-il de vol ou d'une perte d'équilibre?

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PM, February 9, 1979, p. D12, No author, Trois jeunes Indiens suspectés de meurtre.


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PM, January 12, 1991b, p. H7, Hétu, R., Tommy a un message précieux à livrer.


PM, January 15, 1991, p. A9, Laroche, M., Après avoir tenté de se suicider un jeune de se suicider, un jeune de 19 ans est inculpé de meurtre.


PM, December 2, 1995, p. A6, Gagnon, M., Bien curieuse d'affaire que celle d'Hélène H.

PM, December 6, 1995, p. A1, 2, Bisson, B., Une totale indifférence.

PM, December 8, 1995, p. A7, Bisson, B., Affaire Tootpe: un adolescent s'est vanté de son "exploit."

PM, December 8, 1995, p. A8, Bisson, B., Le témoignage du fils Tootpe met à mal la
version des jeunes coaccusés.
PM, December 19, 1995a, p. A11, Laroche, M., Rivalité entre gangs de rue à l'origine des deux meurtres de dimanche dernier?
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PM, September 22, 1999, p. A1, 2, Thibodeau, M., C'était le chaos sur les ponts.
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PM, September 24, 1999a, p. A3, Thibodeau, M., Nouveaux affrontements à Montréal.
PM, September 24, 1999b, p. A3, Gagnon, M., Chambly en état de choc.
PM, September 25, 1999a, p. A3, Desjardins, C., « Priez pour les jeunes, afin qu'ils puissent découvrir que la vie est belle ».
PM, September 25, 1999c, p. A3, Charbonneau, J.-P., Les tribunaux pour adultes ne sont pas faits pour les jeunes.