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School Violence - The Anatomy of a Moral Panic

by
Julie Ann Keith, B.A., Honours

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
May, 1998
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and Research acceptance of the thesis

School Violence - The Anatomy of a Moral Panic

submitted by Julie Ann Keith, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
May 24, 1998

Abstract

This thesis presents findings from an exploration of school violence in Canada, as a moral panic. An increase in Canadian print media coverage of school violence, during the 1990s, was observed. This increase was explored using Stanley Cohen's 1972 model of a moral panic as a framework for analysis. Criticisms of the literature on moral enterprise were taken into account by attending to both process and context in this analysis.

An examination of coverage patterns, between 1988 and 1995, and headlines revealed signs of a moral panic around school violence. Examination of complete articles, for three newspapers - the *Toronto Star*, the *Globe and Mail*, and the *Calgary Herald* - and alternative sources to print media, including the 1993 *General Social Survey on Personal Risk*, revealed evidence of moral panic.

Information in the print media coverage, as well as the alternative sources, helped to contextualize the moral panic, that is explain why it arose between 1988 and 1995. Three key observations were made. There was convergence of youth and school violence. There were budgetary restraint and resource limitations, suggesting reasons for appropriation of the panic. There was evidence to suggest that the police presence in the schools was a community policing rather than a strictly law enforcement presence.

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School Violence - The Anatomy of a Moral Panic

Chapter 1 Introduction

In the Spring of 1994, the *Young Offenders Act (YOA)* had been in effect for ten years. In the years preceding that tenth anniversary the *YOA* was a source of increasing debate. It continues to be (*Canadian News Disk* and *Canadian Business and Current Affairs*, 1988-1995). Debate has centred on whether or not the Act is tough enough, particularly with respect to violent youth. Arguments have been and continue to be influenced by tragic, yet isolated incidents which have generated petitions supporting tougher sentencing, as illustrated by the following passage from "Young offenders and the law" (*Globe and Mail*, April 15, 1994: A16).

The YOA has been shadowed by controversy from its inception. In particular, violent crimes, often involving other young people as victims, have received widespread attention and have prompted scores of petitions calling for tougher sentences.

In Scarborough, Ont., a huge public outcry arose when a 14-year-old who had killed a husband, wife and child in 1985 received a three-year sentence, the maximum then available for those tried in youth court.

The killing in Calgary of a 13-year-old boy in 1992, several killings in suburban B.C. communities in the 1990s, and last month's drive-by shooting in Ottawa that killed a passer-by - all involving charges under the Young Offenders Act - have kept public anger boiling.

Headlines in Canadian newspapers communicated the call for a tougher response. These included: "Adult court urged for kids" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, April 21, 1993: B2); "MP's bill tough on young offenders" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, May 13, 1993: A16); "Bill could get tough with young criminals" [private member's bill put forward by John Nunziata] (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, May 13, 1993: D9); "Court backs tough stand on

youth" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, May 20, 1993: A1); "Top court rules teens must be sentenced differently" (*Montreal Gazette*, May 20, 1993: B1).

Imported American images, definitions and response strategies have strongly influenced Canadian perceptions, even though the experiences of the two countries differ greatly (FCM, 1994: 2). For example, American films, emphasizing youth violence, particularly in the form of gang violence, were distributed across Canada, during this period (*Cinemania*, 1996). Examples include: *Colours* (1988), depicting gang violence in Los Angeles; *Boyz N the Hood* (1991) about a teenager's lessons on the streets of Los Angeles; *American Me* (1992) about a Hispanic-American teenager whose involvement in gang activity results in his incarceration, where he is trained as a criminal; and *Bound by Honour* (1993), about a young Chicano gang member who also finds himself in prison and involved in gang wars within the prison walls, where an alliance between the blacks and Hispanics aims to crush the power of the whites (*Cinemania*, 1996).

Unfamiliar terms began to appear in news articles - terms like swarmings, drive-by shootings, gangs, girl-gangs, killer kids, teenage bandits, alley boys, weapon-toting or -packing youth, and youth violence.

Summits and conferences on youth violence and youth gangs were organized and attended by a wide range of professionals including police, teachers, social workers, and lawyers. For example, as reported in "Summit seeks strategy to curb youth violence" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, December 4, 1993: A13), a summit on youth violence was held in December of 1993 in Winnipeg. A police officer addressed an audience at the Learned Societies Conference in June of 1993, on the topic of youth gangs (Coppie, 1993: 2).

It was against this backdrop of youth violence, that a related issue surfaced. A new term was added to the growing lexicon of justice terms - 'school violence'. It was during the early nineties when media coverage on this topic became common in Canada. Like the articles about the *YOA*, the school violence articles often called for harsh measures such as the introduction of a policy of 'zero tolerance' in Canadian schools. This is illustrated by "Zero tolerance urged [by Ontario Minister of Education, David Cooke] for violence in schools" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, November 26, 1993: A2). This emergence of 'school violence' in the headlines of Canadian daily newspapers can be understood in two ways: as an indication of a new problem and a valid cause for concern arising from the extension of youth violence into the schools; or as a case of moral panic. A definition of "moral panic" is provided by Waddington (1986: 245):

The notion of 'moral panics' has become firmly established in the conceptual apparatus of criminologists. It is used to explain public anxiety about, and official reaction to, increases in the reported rate of specific offences.

...

To describe an expression of public and official anxiety as a 'moral panic' suggests that the scale of this response is disproportionately greater than the scale of the problem. There may, indeed, be a problem, but it is one which, in a moral panic, becomes overblown by media exaggeration and hyperbole. Consistent with media hysteria, the official reaction tends to be more severe than it need be.

The moral panic model was selected for the analysis of school violence in Canada because an initial search of the *Canadian News Disk* and the *Canadian Business and Current Affairs Full Text* CD-Roms indicated that this topic did appear to have caused considerable public anxiety. Official, often extreme, responses were evident, such as 'sending school bullies to jail for a lesson' (*Montreal Gazette*, January 17, 1993: D7) and

'banning students for life' (*Toronto Star*, November 2, 1993: A1,A24). The language and content of many headlines seemed to exaggerate the subject. Headlines included "When school grounds turn into battlegrounds" (*Globe and Mail*, September 20, 1993: A10) and "Schools turn into bloody battlefields" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, November 4, 1993: A5).

In Chapter Two, the Theoretical Framework and Literature Review chapter, articles by Petrunik (1980) and Paternoster and Iovanni (1989) are found to be useful with respect to selection of a framework for analysis. Articles by Taylor (1982) and Brannigan (1984) emphasize the importance of distinguishing between and attending to both process and context in analyses. A discussion of interactionist work where the focus is on process is followed by a discussion of Cohen's (1972) structured framework for process analysis. This in turn is followed by a discussion of work, including Cohen's, which goes beyond process to attend to context. This chapter shows how Cohen's model of a moral panic, rooted in earlier interactionist work provides a framework for the analysis of topics like school violence, and how this model can be extended by considering and incorporating the contributions and critique of other sociologists. Chapter Three, the Methods chapter, notes the influence of Petrunik (1980) in the selection of a research approach, outlines three research objectives, and details how three data sources were used in the exploration of school violence as a moral panic in Canada. The Findings and Discussion are presented in Chapter Four. This chapter documents and elaborates on findings from the analysis. Chapter Five, the Conclusion, summarizes the results of this exploration and identifies other topics of interest for further research.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Interpretive Work Within the Labelling or Societal Reaction Perspective

Petrunik (1980) and Paternoster and Iovanni (1989) discuss the origins of labelling theory, note the contributions of the root traditions, note the premature demise of labelling theory, and call for work to continue under this umbrella. Their reviews lay the groundwork for the selection of moral panic as the framework for the analysis of school violence.

With respect to the labelling perspective, Petrunik (1980: 214) notes the key contribution to be a move away from positivism:

The sociologists identified with labelling theory (notably Becker, Lemert, and Kitsuse) argued for a turning away from the traditional positivist concerns with original causes of deviance in favor of a concern with the creation, interpretation and use of rules and typifications and the response of self, significant others, formal agents of social control and the community or society in general to perceived departures from the rules.

The interpretive approach is said to entail the analysis of "the process of individual and collective definition", through the interpretation of words, deeds and categories, while attending to situational, cultural and historical context (Petrunik, 1980: 215-216). Petrunik re-directs researchers away from the secondary deviance concerns of labelling and back to the methods of the interpretive tradition. He promotes (1980: 216,226) the method of analysing historical and contemporary documents, with some limited hypothesis testing to be used as a checking out mechanism.

Like Petrunik, Paternoster and Iovanni (1989) recognize Becker's work on rule creation and enforcement as a key contribution, noting specifically Becker's attention to the role of political and economic power. Paternoster and Iovanni cite (1989: 361) Becker who asked:

Who can, in fact, force others to accept these rules and what are the causes of their success? This is, of course, a question of political and economic power....

Paternoster and Iovanni note (1989: 363) "the role of political and economic power in creating delinquency statutes or rules surrounding delinquent conduct" as one of four labelling hypotheses identified within the conflict and symbolic interactionism traditions. It is this interest in the emergence of social issues, and the role of individuals in that process, which links the labelling perspective and moral panic.

The Literature on Moral Enterprise and Moral Panic

The body of literature on moral enterprise and moral panic fits within the societal reaction or labelling perspective. This body of work attends to the process of the creation of categories of deviance and analyses how the words and deeds of people acting either individually or in groups may result in changes in law. The research underlying this body of literature illustrates how the application of the interpretive method of analysing contemporary and historical documents, including media coverage, reveals the role of individuals/groups in deviance category and rule creation.

In this chapter, Cohen's (1972) model of moral panic is presented as a framework for interpretive analysis of the creation of and response to school violence as an emerging social issue. The decision to use Cohen's model arises from a consideration of Taylor (1982) and Brannigan's (1984) reviews of the literature on moral enterprise and moral panic as well as from an examination of Cohen's own writing (1972; 1985) in this area. Taylor and Brannigan's reviews reveal how research conducted during the 1950s, 1960s

and 1970s on moral panic can be seen as building blocks to a more complete framework for analysis and to the development of a theory of moral enterprise.

Recalling Petrunik's discussion of the interpretive approach (1980: 215-216), what Taylor and Brannigan argue is that the earlier work on moral enterprise focused exclusively on process - words and deeds - and failed to adequately consider context. It is only in later work, such as Cohen (1972) and Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, and Roberts (1978) that attention turned to the issue of the context within which moral enterprise is launched and may be successful in terms of rule creation.

Cohen's approach is found to be appropriate because it not only considers process and context, but provides a more structured framework for process analysis. Before elaborating on Cohen's model, attention is given to earlier work with a focus on process.

Interactionist Work - A Focus on Process

In examining some of the early work on moral enterprise, the roots of Cohen's more structured moral panic framework are revealed. The work of Becker, Sutherland, Dickson, and Gusfield illustrates the efforts of people, acting either alone or in groups, in the creation of categories of deviance and laws.

With respect to the literature on moral enterprise, Becker's work is fundamental. Taylor speaks (1982: 123,124) of the "continuing truth" of the following passage from

Becker's 1963 *Outsiders*:

[S]ocial groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular persons and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender".

When one consults Becker directly, the following passage (1963: 14) is key: "whether a given act is deviant or not depends in part on the nature of the act (that is, whether or not it violates some rule) and in part on what other people do about it". The societal reaction to the behaviour became an important focus of attention.

Becker's focus on process (1963: 129-157) can be summarized as follows. Becker uses a "legal model" to examine the movement from more general values to specific rules, a process which requires the aid of a "moral entrepreneur" who "sees to it that the movement takes place". Becker distinguishes between the rule creator - "the person who [makes] it his business that the rules [are] deduced" - and the rule enforcer "who [makes] it his business to see that application and enforcement of the rules take place", as two types of moral entrepreneur. He also distinguishes between the "crusading reformer" as a rule creator interested in the content of the rules, and who often operates with humanitarian concerns, and the "expert", a rule creator who is called upon by the crusading reformer to draw up the actual rules. Becker notes the narrow self interest of certain actors who "may not be interested in the content of the rule, but only in the fact that the existence of the rule provides him with a job...."

In addition, Becker emphasizes (1963: 145-146) the important relationship between the media and the individual rule creators, in the process of moral enterprise.

Wherever rules are created and applied we should expect to find people attempting to enlist the support of coordinate groups and using the available media of communication to develop a favorable climate of opinion. Where they do not develop such support, we may expect to find their enterprise unsuccessful.

While noting the importance of "the circumstances in which [the moral entrepreneur] appears" as a key concern, Becker fails to develop this idea in his work. This is the omission that Taylor (1982) and Brannigan (1984) note in their reviews when they refer to the failure to look outside of the process, to context, in order to understand the causes of moral enterprise (Taylor, 1982: 130) or to explain why change is sought (Brannigan, 1984: 16).

Another example of research on moral panic is presented by Dickson (cited in Taylor, 1982: 127) who studied the creation of the Marijuana Tax Act. Dickson's analysis of the process underlying the creation of this law focused on the role of an organization, rather than an individual in the process of moral enterprise. Dickson showed how the Federal Bureau of Narcotics was able to persuade the public that "there was a job to be done" in the battle against marijuana. The Bureau was able to solicit political and financial support for its work through its actions.

Gusfield provides another important analysis of a moral crusade. He examined how the Women's Christian Temperance Union worked to promote prohibition. Taylor

summarizes (1982: 129) Gusfield's contribution:

In this sense, "laws" (and therefore also "crimes") are the social (and symbolic) accomplishments of particular interest groups, rather than being abstractly "democratic" accomplishments spoken of by politicians, and rather than being an expression of a "general will," or the general needs of the social system (spoken of by functionalist sociology).

A further example of the importance of process is presented by Sutherland (cited in Brannigan, 1984: 9-10). He outlines the three-phase process underlying the creation of the sexual psychopath laws in the United States.

First, the laws are typically enacted after a state of fear and newspaper hysteria following several sex crimes committed coincidentally in quick succession. ...

The second element in the development of these laws is the state of continued civic agitation in the community, fed by news coverage of related sex crimes in other areas and other times in history, and of sex-related behaviours and morality....

The third phase in the development of these sexual psychopath laws, according to Sutherland, was the creation of committees to study "the facts" of the sex crimes and "the facts" of sexual psychopathology. ...

In his analysis of the creation of these laws, Sutherland (cited in Brannigan, 1984 9-10) notes how there was a need to explain a number of isolated incidents occurring in U.S. communities. These incidents became linked in the media creating a situation of hysteria. Medical experts came forward to interpret the facts as a new criminal category, based on the identification of these crimes as a form of disease. The media are recognized not only as valuable sources of words and deeds to be analysed, but as key players in the creation of public hysteria.

Cohen's Model of a Moral Panic - A Structured Framework for Process Analysis

While the work of Sutherland, Becker, Dickson and Gusfield is important in its examination of the process underlying the creation of categories of deviant behaviour and specific laws, and the role of individuals/groups in this process, this body of work fails to provide a detailed framework for further research. Sutherland's work comes closest in this respect. His three-phase process relating to the creation of the American sexual psychopath laws (cited in Brannigan, 1984: 9-10) is seen as a clear precursor of Cohen's (1972) more precise five-stage process model of moral panic. Both Sutherland and Cohen use print media coverage as a key source of information in their analyses, see the media's role as central in the process of deviance and rule creation, and note the key role played by experts. It is Cohen's framework that is applied in this analysis of school violence.

Cohen's model incorporates earlier interactionist work but extends it by focusing more precisely on the analysis of media coverage as contemporary documentation, and by providing a framework for systematic analysis which may be applied by others. This is one of Cohen's key contributions.

Cohen (1972) outlines five stages of a moral panic and elaborates on the key elements of each stage in light of the moral panic surrounding the Mods and Rockers - rival British youth groups in the early 1960s. That is, while his work focuses on a specific group and the reaction to that group's behaviour, the example of the Mods and Rockers becomes a means of conveying more general ideas about the five-stage process of moral panic which can be used as a framework for other research. Returning to Waddington's (1986: 245) definition of moral panic, Cohen maps out how "the analysis

of public anxiety about and official reaction to increases in the reported rate of specific offences" might be undertaken through an examination of media coverage, in order to determine if the "problem" has been "overblown by media exaggeration and hyperbole", and if the "official reaction tends to be more severe than it need be". A brief discussion of each stage in Cohen's structured model follows.

Stage One - The Subject Emerges

During the first stage, the subject of the moral panic emerges. Cohen states (1972: 9):

A condition, episode, person, or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; Sometimes the object of the panic is quite novel and at other times it is something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight.¹

Stage Two - The Inventory is Constructed

During Cohen's second stage (1972: 9), the nature of the threat "is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media". This is referred to as the 'media inventory', by Cohen. He discusses (1972: 31-40) three key elements of the media inventory: exaggeration and distortion, prediction, and symbolization. By exaggeration and distortion, Cohen points to the 'over-reporting' of an initial event. Over-reporting may take the form of abuses of language, misleading headlines, the repetition of false stories, and 'putative' content, whereby the definition of the deviant is not founded in his or her objective behaviour. By prediction, Cohen refers to the potentially 'disastrous' assumption made in media reports that 'what has happened is inevitably going to happen again'. By

symbolization, Cohen speaks of how certain words take on a symbolic power in the media inventory².

Cohen (1972: 44) summarizes the cumulative effect of the media inventory as follows:

Built into the very nature of deviance, inventories in modern society are elements of fantasy, selective misperception and the deliberate creation of news. The inventory is not reflective stock taking but manufactured news.

Stage Three - Diagnoses and Solutions are Pronounced

In Cohen's third stage (1972: 9), "the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions". The images in the media inventory are said (Cohen, 1972: 49,50) to be "crystallized into more organized opinions and attitudes" by "right-thinking people", as society attempts to make sense out of what has happened. These 'right-thinking' people are referred to as 'moral entrepreneurs' in the literature.

Cohen speaks (1972: 49-64) of three categories of themes: orientation, images and causation. With respect to the theme of orientation, Cohen finds that deviance is often evaluated from four emotional or intellectual positions³: behaviour is perceived as if it were a disaster; deviance is seen as certain or likely to recur - there is a prophecy of doom angle; behaviour is discussed in terms of what it must be leading to - referred to as the it's not so much what happened angle; or behaviour is associated with other behaviours - the it's not only this angle. With respect to the theme of images, Cohen finds evidence of 'spurious attribution', where 'auxiliary status traits' are attributed and

where there is guilt by association.

With regard to the theme of causation, behaviour is interpreted in four ways: as a sign of the times (related to social malaise); as a disease infecting people; as cannibalistic (seen as planned although it was disorganized); or as resulting from boredom due either to society having failed to provide the young people with interests, opportunities, outlets; or to youth's chronic restlessness - their need to seek kicks due to greed, hedonism, ungratefulness.

Cohen also speaks (1972: 65,66) of differential reaction, whereby the mass media response is more extreme and stereotypical than public opinion.⁴ Cohen consults other sources of opinion, external to the media, in order to 'test' media statements.

Stage Four - Ways of Coping Are Evolved or Resorted To

In Cohen's (1972: 9) fourth stage, "ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible". Cohen talks (1972: 77-87) about sensitization and control culture as mechanisms of amplification of deviance, which occur at this stage.⁵ Sensitization is said to 'entail the reinterpretation of neutral or ambiguous stimuli as potentially or actually deviant'. Cohen speaks of 'net widening', how other deviants are 'drawn into the sensitizing net'; how youth who would generally not be targeted become targets for social control; how non-criminal behaviour is reacted to with official police and court action.

Three common elements of control culture are discussed: diffusion⁶ being the supplementation or replacement of the 'emergency rescue system' by agents from the

suprasystem; escalation⁷ being the use of 'elaborate and excessive precautionary measures', justified by the belief that the situation will get worse; and innovation⁸ being the introduction of new methods of social control, possibly including legislative changes.

Stage Five - The Panic Passes or Has an Impact

In Cohen's fifth stage (1972: 9), the panic may 'pass over and be forgotten except in folklore and collective memory' or it may have a more serious long-lasting impact, such as legal or social policy changes.⁹

Cohen adds (1972: 173-174) two important footnotes. First, Cohen speaks of "the supposed 'inevitability'" of the process. He argues that there is 'no technical reason why the process should not be broken or re-routed at different points'. In his second footnote, Cohen argues that while he has emphasized the negative or unintended consequences of law enforcement and social control, this does not mean that intervention can never be successful or positive. The five stages of Cohen's Model are summarized below, in Figure 1.

In his later work (1985), Cohen may not explicitly use the term moral panic when he speaks of school violence, however the stages and key elements of his 1972 model are clearly evident. Cohen refers to the emergence, in the 1970s, of the condition or problem of school violence, speaks of a form of sensitization (soft delinquents and 'at-risk' youth) and notes escalation, diffusion, and innovative reaction to the problem by the formal control system, which 'penetrated' the schools implementing hard and soft measures.

Figure 1. Cohen's Model of a Moral Panic: Five Stages
(Cohen, 1972: 9,31-40,49-65,77-87).

In their contribution to a book on *The manufacture of news*, edited by Cohen and Young, Hall et al. discuss (1981: 335-337,352,353) the three-stage process of news production. This process complements Cohen's structured framework. In stage one, newspapers identify the news categories to be covered on a regular basis. Crime is seen (Hall et al., 1981: 352) as a key category or source of news. In the second stage, newspapers order stories within these categories, according to news values. Violence is said (Hall et al., 1981: 353) to hold a special status as a news value. That is, violent stories are ranked higher on the list than non-violent stories. In stage three, stories are contextualized or made comprehensible to the assumed audience. The media are said (Hall et al., 1981: 340-344) to be "cued in" to specific news topics by institutional

spokesmen - experts called primary definers - who are "regular and reliable institutional sources". The media, through this relationship with the primary definers, become themselves secondary definers who transform or code items in the language of the public, or the public idiom. Hall et al. note (1981: 344) differences across papers:

[E]ach paper's professional sense of the newsworthy, its organisation and technical framework (in terms of numbers of journalists working in particular news areas, amount of column space routinely given over to certain kinds of news items, and so on) and sense of audience or regular readers, is different.

Stage three of Cohen's model can be understood as the point at which the primary definers' viewpoints are translated, made more available to the public, naturalized (Hall et al., 1981: 345). Hall et al. note the key relationship between the media and institutions of crime control. The latter are said (Hall et al., 1981: 355-356) to be the primary definers largely because crime is less open to competing and alternative definitions.

Headlines are said (Hall et al., 1981: 346) to invest the story with "dramatic news value". This statement coincides with Cohen's discussion of exaggeration and distortion through abuses of language in the media inventory.

Hall et al. note (1981: 347-348) how the media, through editorials, also present their own views. This is accomplished by taking the public voice (voicing what the public is supposed to think). This would appear to be most evident in Cohen's media inventory stage where fragments of information are used to exaggerate, distort and predict, and where headlines and text fail to attribute diagnoses and solutions to specific definers or experts.

The importance of counter-definitions is also noted by Hall et al. (1981:

349,350,351). Of key importance is whether there are other organized and articulate sources and whether they are powerful enough to be heard without being labelled as extremist. Hall et al. also note how structured forms of communication such as the media can be taken for granted. Great effort is required to ask if there are other views or other questions to be asked. They find that while the media do seek out information which the primary definers do not wish to share (alternative perspectives), the tendency is toward the reproduction of the dominant ideology.

Beyond Process - A Focus on Context

In describing his model, Cohen emphasizes the importance of looking at the process of moral panic. He moved beyond this, however, to add a consideration of the social context within which such processes take place. He refers (1972: 178) to the need to explain societal reaction, to go beyond process or "outside the machine" because the media are one-dimensional. The salience of considering the social context has been noted by a number of researchers. For example, Taylor (1982) and Brannigan (1984) argue that the early literature on moral enterprise focused on the process of category and rule creation and failed to adequately consider the issue of the context within which moral enterprise is launched and moral panic is generated.

Taylor refers (1982: 129-132) to this consideration of context as looking "beyond moral enterprise". He cautions against attributing too much power to groups and individuals. Alternately, he refers to the "force of circumstances". Brannigan distinguishes (1984: 16) between "the process by which a call for change is undertaken"

and consideration of "why such a change is sought".

Referring to context, Cohen states (1972: 203-204): "The argument is not that there is 'nothing there' ... but that the reaction to what is observed or inferred is fundamentally inappropriate." He argues (1972: 198) that a consideration of the appropriateness of the reaction requires 'putting the stages in some context'. He places (1972: 192) the moral panic surrounding the Mods and Rockers in context in order to give some of the reasons for the reactions to these youth and to illustrate how the 'problem' that emerged symbolized something far more important. To Cohen (1972: 177) the "crucial question to ask is ... why the reaction took the particular form and intensity it did at the particular time." This is the question that completes the model .

Cohen uses the example of the Mods and the Rockers in the early 1960s to illustrate that it is at times of change in social and economic structure that moral panic is often generated.¹⁰ He speaks (1972: 191) of the need to understand the panic in terms of those "lower order processes" peculiar to the phenomenon under consideration (the Mods and the Rockers, for example) and in terms of a higher level of generality - "abstract principles which can be applied to the sociology of moral panics ... or ... to a theory of the societal reactions to deviance". Similarly, Pearson notes (1983: 107) how periods of moral panic can be tied to periods of change when youth become 'scapegoats'. He notes the failure to tie increases in crime to material conditions (1983: 146, 157), to increased police vigilance (1983: 142-144), or to changes in law¹¹ (1983: 224). He argues (1983: 35-36) that public opinion must be mobilized around an issue, in order for panic to arise.

Hall et al. (1978) provide one of the key examples of analysing the context of a moral panic. This involved an analysis of the moral panic that arose around 'mugging' in Britain during 1972/1973. One of their contributions was to situate the moral panic within the context of a broader law and order campaign over an alleged increase in violence.

Hall et al.'s distinction (cited in Taylor, 1982: 140-141) between three types of moral panic: discrete moral panics, crusades, and altered sequence, is relevant to a discussion of context. Discrete moral panics are exemplified by Cohen's 1972 work. In the case of crusades, "individual moral panics are connected by moral entrepreneurs, in order to produce a speeded-up sequence." In the case of altered sequence, official response is said to be prepared in advance and articulated within a law and order campaign.

Hatt, Caputo, and Perry (1992: 248) identify four key elements of a law and order agenda in the work of Hall et al..

- 1/ support for more extensive law enforcement practices;
- 2/ the introduction of increasingly harsher and more punitive measures;
- 3/ the manipulation of public fear of crime; and
- 4/ an ideological emphasis on individual responsibility, traditional values, morality and the sanctity of the family.

Taylor (1982: 139, 140) notes how Hall et al. found, in their investigation of mugging, that 1) statistical evidence used to support the alleged increase in violence was "weak and confused"; and 2) that while street robberies were not new, the media and the judiciary were instrumental in convincing the public that this was a new type of crime - mugging - exported from the United States. The failure to substantiate the threat of

mugging with solid statistical data, and the interpretation and linkage of certain incidents as a new form of crime, served to manipulate public fear.

Caputo notes (1987: 130-131) that the law and order response is characteristic of one of three criminal justice perspectives. He notes two main models: welfare and justice. He also cites (1987: 131) Empey who outlines two versions of the latter: utilitarian and just deserts perspectives. The welfare perspective and lobby are said to emphasize rehabilitation through treatment. The justice - just deserts perspective and rights lobby are said to focus on criminal behaviour and on punishment as just desert. The justice - utilitarian perspective and law and order lobby focus on punishment as deterrence. Interpreting this, response to behaviour perceived as criminal can be seen along a continuum from welfare / needs oriented, through justice / consequences oriented, to justice / punishment oriented. Response is seen to become harsher and more punitive as one moves from welfare to utilitarian.

Finally, Cohen notes that there are recurring periods of moral panic. He begins by saying (1972: 9): "Societies appear to be subject every now and then, to periods of moral panic" and later states (1972: 204): "More moral panics will be generated and other, as yet nameless, folk devils will be created ... because our society as presently structured will continue to generate problems for some of its members - like working-class adolescents - and then condemn whatever solution these groups find". Cohen points out that the moral panic surrounding the Mods and Rockers represents just one example.

The notion of the cyclical nature of moral panics is apparent in the work of Pearson (1983). Pearson's historical analysis of street violence and disorder in Britain

shows how this behaviour extends across generations. He speaks (1983: 12) of 'abundant continuities' and states (1983: 237):

Historical myth proposes that our contemporary problems are a break with the past. Historical realism shows that they are not.

He notes a recurring tendency to attach new labels, such as 'hooligan', 'garrotting', and 'pistol gangs' to youth crime (Pearson, 1983: 103,106,129), and to respond with punitive measures, such as 'birching', longer sentences, or 'flogging' (Pearson, 1983: 104,143).

Cohen's Model of a Moral Panic - Extended

Cohen's model of a moral panic is extended by the work of others. Figure 2 shows how the stages and key elements of Cohen's (1972) model align with: the key elements of a law and order agenda (Hall et al., cited in Hatt et al., 1992: 248); the three criminal justice perspectives noted by Caputo (1987: 130-131); and the three types of moral panic identified by Hall et al. (cited in Taylor, 1982: 140-141). It is this extended model which serves as a framework for analysis of school violence as a moral panic undertaken in this thesis.

Figure 2: Cohen's Model of a Moral Panic - Extended

Chapter 3 Methods

Three Research Objectives

The purpose of this thesis is to examine whether or not a moral panic occurred around the issue of school violence in Canada during the 1990s. The specific research objectives are outlined below.

Research Objective One - To Explore Evidence of the Process of Moral Panic

One objective of this thesis was to determine if there was evidence of the 'process' of moral panic with respect to school violence in Canada during the early 1990s. This was pursued using an extended version (see Figure 2) of Cohen's model of moral panic as the structured framework for analysis. Overall patterns, stages and key elements, differences between 'media inventories', and counter-definitions were of interest. The role of political and economic power was considered by listening to the voices in the 'media inventory'.

Research Objective Two - To Confirm/Test Specific Media Statements

A second objective was to confirm/test specific statements from the "media inventory" by consulting other sources (including books, journals and government documents, as well as *General Social Survey* personal risk, or victimization, data) for counter-definitions or alternative perspectives. Content and data analysis techniques were employed. Petrunik (1980: 216) argues that such limited 'testing' serves as a "checking out" mechanism during analyses.

Research Objective Three - To Explore Evidence of Context

A third objective, contingent upon finding evidence of the process of moral panic surrounding school violence, was to consider the "context" within which observed moral enterprise and moral panic was launched. Here, "metaphorical content" of newspaper articles and editorials - words and deeds - was of particular interest in terms of helping to contextualize or understand the emergence of, and reaction to, school violence as a social issue.

Three Sources of Data

Three sources of data were employed in this analysis of school violence in Canada: a constructed news database, recent applied research (including books, journals, government documents), and the *General Social Survey, Cycle 8* on Personal Risk.

Canadian News Database

A Canadian news database was constructed and was analysed a) using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) on the Unix network at Carleton University; and b) using content analysis (*Calgary Herald*, *Toronto Star*, and *Globe and Mail* only).

To build the news database, searches of the *Canadian News Index* and *Canadian Business and Current Affairs (CBCA)* index were conducted using CD-Roms available at the Ottawa Public Library. Specific key words were used in order to compile a list of articles. The keywords were: 'education school violence' (a keyword pattern applied

previously in hard copy periodical and CD-Rom indexes), 'young offender', 'juvenile delinquent'¹², 'risk', 'law and order', and 'politics' (with contextualization in mind).

A flat text file was built (in ascii format) containing one record for each article listed in the searches. Appendix A summarizes how each headline was coded, and lists all data fields.

Each headline was examined and coded in terms of the moral panic stage it reflected (field 21). If a headline referred to a specific incident, it was coded as an 'emergence' headline (stage 1). Headlines were coded as 'media inventory' (stage 2) when they contained broad generalizations, statements reflecting stereotyping, exaggeration and distortion through abuse of language. Media inventory headlines could not be linked to any particular group or person and were, therefore, attributed to the media, as secondary definers. Headlines coded as stage three reflected opinion, diagnoses, and recommended or supported solutions (both punitive and rehabilitative). These headlines often indicated the defining group or person. Opinion, diagnosis and solution statements reflecting alternative viewpoints or appearing to challenge other views were coded as stage 3. The themes of orientation ('disaster', 'prophecy of doom', 'it's not so much what happened', and 'it's not only this'), images, and causation ('sign of the times', 'disease', 'cannibalism' and 'boredom') were characteristic of stage 3 headlines. Headlines were coded as stage 4, ways of coping, when they reflected implemented solutions, decisions taken regarding response, and the outcome of specific judicial and other proceedings. Where headlines noted an incident, but referred to how it was handled or processed, these were coded as the later stage, stage 4. Headlines reflecting sensitization, the re-interpretation of neutral

stimuli, were coded as stage 4, as were headlines reflecting the control culture responses of diffusion (e.g., police in schools), escalation (e.g., metal detectors), and innovation (e.g., SchoolWatch). Headlines reflecting the submergence, disappearance or waning of the 'problem' were coded as stage 4. No headlines were coded as stage 5, as it was difficult, based on headlines alone, to determine if the phenomenon had passed or made a lasting impact. That is, it was difficult to ascertain if the process was complete or if it had been re-routed.

Headlines were also examined and coded (field 22) in terms of three criminal justice perspectives noted in Caputo (1987: 130-131). Where headlines reflected a welfare tone, with references to the root causes of behaviour or to rehabilitation through treatment, they were coded as 1, welfare. Headlines which focused on specific criminal behaviour and punishment of that behaviour as a just desert, were coded as 2, justice - just deserts. Where headlines reflected either a call for or the implementation of harsh measures in response to behaviour, they were coded as 3, justice - utilitarian. These headlines reflected a law and order tone. For example, words like 'get tough' and 'zero tolerance' pointed to a harsh or punitive response. Where the tone or perspective could not be determined, the headline was coded as 9.

Recent Applied Research - Books, Journals and Government Documents

Searches were performed at the Carleton University, the University of Ottawa, and the University of Toronto Libraries. In addition, collections at the Ottawa Public Library and the National Library were accessed. Internet searches were also performed on the

World Wide Web. The aim was to obtain a cross-section of opinion with respect to the nature, the possible causes of, the perpetrators of, incidence of, and response to school violence. This information was used to 'confirm/test' specific media statements.

General Social Survey - Cycle 8 - Personal Risk

A third source of data was the Canadian *General Social Survey - Cycle 8 Personal Risk* data. While the *GSS8* did not survey younger children and youth under the age of fifteen years, it did survey youth aged fifteen and older. These data provided an opportunity to confirm/test observations made during media content analysis regarding topics such as weapons possession and victimization. They permitted a comparison of accounts given in the 'media inventory', by definers, to accounts of victimization from youth in one age group. It is important to note also that the *GSS8* was conducted in 1993, the year when the greatest increase in the media coverage of school violence was observed. These data provided a valuable source of information on the nature and incidence of victimization, for at least one age group. Appendix B provides a brief overview of the *General Social Survey, Cycle 8*.

Four Research Steps

Research Step One - To Examine Overall Coverage of School Violence and Young Offenders¹³

The first step was to examine the overall pattern of youth violence and school violence articles appearing between January 01, 1988 and December 31, 1995. This was the period covered by the *Canadian News Index* and the *Canadian Business and Current*

Affairs services at the time of the search, for both young offender and school violence articles. Of interest was whether or not coverage changed over time, and whether or not peaks in coverage were evident. Crosstabulations were generated and the results were charted. This analysis looked at cumulative coverage for twelve news sources¹⁴, for each year over the eight year period. Results were compared to findings from other Canadian research.

The second step was to examine the school violence and young offender coverage by news source, for each year in the eight year period. Once again, changes and peaks in coverage were of interest, and crosstabulations were generated and results were charted. This allowed a comparison of coverage patterns for the twelve sources and across regions. It also facilitated selection of newspapers for more detailed analysis. It was believed that changes in coverage might signal cycles of moral panic.

The next step was to examine if the overall coverage of school violence reflected the stages of Cohen's model of moral panic: emergence, media inventory, diagnoses and solutions, ways of coping, and waning or impact. During construction of the Canadian news database, school violence headlines were examined for indicators of each stage and were coded accordingly. The reader is referred to the section 'Three Sources of Data' and to Appendix A, for details on how coding proceeded; and to Figure 1 which summarizes the stages of Cohen's model. A chart was generated to show which proportions of school violence headlines mapped to each stage.

This was followed by an examination of how the overall coverage of young offenders and school violence reflected criminal justice perspectives. During database

construction, all headlines were examined for indicators of three criminal justice perspectives identified (Caputo, 1987: 130-131) in the literature: welfare, justice - just deserts, and justice - utilitarian. The reader is referred to the section 'Three Sources of Data' and to Appendix A, for details on how coding proceeded. Figure 2 shows how these three criminal justice perspectives align with Cohen's model of a moral panic. This variable is referred to as 'article tone' and is considered as an indicator of the harshness of response. Once again, a chart was generated to show which proportions of headlines (this time young offender and school violence) mapped to each perspective.

Research Step Two - To Perform Detailed Content Analysis Using Selected Papers

Once completing this 'birds eye view' of the coverage, certain papers were selected for more detailed content analysis, based on their patterns of coverage and their usefulness in terms of exploring differences across papers and regions. As an initial step, charts were generated to show which proportions of school violence headlines mapped to each moral panic stage, by paper. Next, the headlines and text of the articles were examined in order to explore 'signs' of the five stages and the key elements of Cohen's (1972) model - that is signs of the process of moral panic. A table was prepared for each selected paper, to facilitate analysis. In these tables, school violence headlines were charted by month (column) and by year (row). Each headline was first coded according to the stage to which it appeared to map, when the news database was created. Each headline code was further qualified to show how it mapped to each stage. The intent was to create a visual summary of 'signs' of the stages and key elements of Cohen's model. This

refinement of coding was carried out as follows:

Process Analysis Tables - Refinement of Coding

<u>Code</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	Headlines mapped to stage 1 - emergence - were not re-coded. These reflect possible triggering incidents of discrete moral panic (Cohen, 1972: 9).
2	Headlines mapped to stage 2 - media inventory - were re-coded to capture how they resulted in a 'stylized stereotypical presentation' of the nature of the threat (Cohen, 1972: 31-40):
2a	Exaggeration and distortion: over-reporting through abuses of language and misleading headlines, in particular.
2b	Prediction: the assumption that what has happened will happen again.
2c	Symbolization: where certain words take on a symbolic power
3	Headlines mapped to stage 3 - pronounced diagnoses and solutions and differing opinions - were re-coded to capture how they mapped to this stage (Cohen, 1972: 49-66):
3a	Opinion statements.
3b	Diagnoses pronounced and attempts to understand.
3c	Solutions pronounced.
3d	Differing opinion or alternative views.

Code **Description (Cont'd)**

Each of the above (stage 3) codes was further qualified by one of the following suffixes reflecting themes noted by Cohen (1972: 49-64), where applicable:

1	Orientation - disaster.
2	Orientation - prophecy of doom.
3	Orientation - it's not so much what happened.
4	Orientation - It's not only this.
5	Images - Auxiliary traits.
6	Images - Guilt by association.
7	Causation - Sign of the times.
8	Causation - Disease.
9	Causation - Cannibalistic (seen as planned).
10	Causation - Resulting from boredom.
4	Headlines mapped to stage 4 - ways of coping, as well as disappearance or waning - were re-coded to show how they mapped to this stage (Cohen, 1972: 77-87):
4a	Ways of coping - control culture - diffusion: supplementation by agents from the suprasystem.
4b	Ways of coping - control culture - escalation: elaborate and extensive precautionary measures.
4c	Ways of coping - control culture - innovation: the introduction of new methods of social control, including changes in rules or law.
4d	Sensitization: the re-interpretation of neutral or ambiguous stimuli as potentially or actually deviant.

<u>Code</u>	<u>Description (Cont'd)</u>
4e	Disappearance or waning: signs that a cycle of panic might be coming to an end. <i>Note:</i> Signs of alternative perspectives were also noted.
*	Indicates that the article covers the situation in the United States.

Category 3 and 4 headlines were further qualified through **bolding** to indicate signs of a law and order agenda: that is, support for more extensive law enforcement practices; the introduction (or proposal) of increasingly harsher and more punitive measures; the manipulation of public fear of crime; and an ideological emphasis on individual responsibility, traditional values, morality, or the sanctity of the family (Hall et al., cited in Caputo et al., 1992: 248). Also, where symbolization was noted in headlines mapped to stages other than stage 2, media inventory, these headline codes were underlined. These were considered to be examples of the manipulation of public fear of crime, through symbolization.

Headlines were coded to indicate the definers of opinions, diagnoses, solutions or alternative views; and those involved in the delivery and operation of implemented ways of coping. These included the 'right thinking' people and the 'socially accredited experts' referred to by Cohen (1972: 9) and the 'institutional spokespersons' and 'experts' referred to as 'primary definers' by Hall et al. (1981: 342). A list of all definers/deliverers reflected in the headlines was prepared. Codes were assigned to each and then each headline was further qualified. Where no definer could be determined, the definer was assumed to be the media, as secondary definer. Hall et al. (1981: 343) state that the

media through their relationship with primary definers become themselves secondary definers who transform or code items in the public idiom. Each year in the table was assigned two rows. The top row for each year contains the headline codes qualified to show how each mapped to Cohen's stages. The bottom row for each year contains the definer/deliverer codes corresponding to each headline shown in the top row. A legend on each table summarizes the codes used.

After completing a more detailed analysis of the school violence headlines, to explore 'signs' of the process of moral panic, the complete articles were reviewed in order to seek 'evidence' of the process of moral panic, that is, evidence of linkage between incidents and opinions, diagnoses, solutions, and ways of coping that were more severe than they needed to be - cycles of moral panic. Evidence of moral entrepreneurship or the appropriation of campaigns was explored.

Research Step Three - To Explore Alternative Views

The next step was to 'confirm/test' observations made during media content analysis. This was done by consulting other sources (including books, journals and government documents) and by accessing *General Social Survey, Cycle 8 - Personal Risk* data. The *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)* was used to analyse the *General Social Survey* data. The focus was on responses from youth in provinces corresponding to the papers selected for detailed content analysis. Frequencies were examined. Responses to relevant *General Social Survey, Cycle 8 (GSS8)* questions were noted for four groups of youth aged fifteen through seventeen: male full-time students,

male part-time students, female full-time students, and female part-time students. Seventeen was selected as the upper age boundary because youth falling within the jurisdiction of the Young Offenders Act are youth aged twelve through seventeen years of age. Only cases where the main activity was 'going to school' were selected, as the focus of the analysis was on school violence.

Research Step Four - To Contextualize Evidence of Moral Panic

During media content analysis, attention was given to what Cohen refers to as 'metaphorical content' (Cohen, cited in Taylor, 1982: 134). In step four of the research, such content is examined and discussed briefly in light of information from other sources (including books, journals, government documents). Consideration of 'metaphorical content' was essential in order to contextualize observed 'evidence' of moral panic - to arrive at some understanding of why the panic arose.

Chapter 4 Findings and Discussion

To state that a situation of discrete moral panic (Hall et al., cited in Taylor, 1982: 140) has arisen requires that there be evidence of the process of moral panic - that is, evidence of the stages and key elements of Cohen's model: over-response to isolated incidents, the offering of opinion, diagnoses and solutions by individuals and / or groups and the implementation of measures or ways of coping that are more extreme than required, as a result of moral enterprise or the appropriation of such campaigns. In keeping with the four research objectives stated earlier, analysis entailed an examination of overall patterns of coverage, content analysis of headlines and articles from selected papers, consideration of alternative views, and an exploration of context. This analysis sought evidence of moral panic.

4.1 Overall Print Media Coverage - Signs of the Process of Moral Panic

Increased Canadian Media Coverage - Emergence of the Problem of School Violence

Recent reviews of Canadian print media suggest that the school was acknowledged as a site of violence post 1970¹⁵ in Canada (Gabor, 1995; Mathews, 1995; Walker, 1994). Gabor, for example, (1995: 28) graphs print media coverage of school violence between 1988 and 1994. Gabor's graph indicates that coverage of school violence issues increased dramatically in 1993 and 1994 (projected number for end of 1994). While numbers shown for 1988 through 1992 ranged between approximately 10 and 30 articles, there was a significant increase in coverage the following two years, when numbers ranged between about 80 and 110 articles. Walker (cited in Mathews, 1995: 1) also reports a significant

increase in media stories concerning youth violence and violence in schools in the 1990s.

When Canadian news listings for the year 1977 (earliest available year) were searched using the hard copy *Canadian News Index*, no articles on the topics of weapons possession or use, or assault on school property by youth were found. This suggested that there may have been no school violence; that schools may have chosen to handle violent incidents internally; or that there was no media attention to the issue at that time. On the other hand, a more recent search, using the *Canadian News Disk* and *Canadian Business and Current Affairs Full Text (CBCA)* CD-ROMs, revealed an increase in coverage. Refer to Figure 3 which graphs school violence and young offender coverage¹⁶ for the period 1988 through 1995, for the twelve newspapers covered. When the same keywords used in the hard copy search were issued (education school violence), 638 article titles were returned for the twelve newspapers. The findings of Walker and Gabor were replicated. There had been a notable increase in print media coverage of school violence, since 1977

While the school violence coverage peaked in 1993, at 230 articles, the young offender coverage peaked in 1994 (at 276 articles). With respect to both topics, article counts jumped considerably between 1991 and 1992. Overall, counts of articles indexed as school violence-related moved from a low of 2 articles in 1988, to 8 articles in 1989, to 18 articles in 1990, to 17 articles in 1991, to 64 in 1992, to 230 in 1993. Counts then began to decrease in 1994, first to 198 that year and then to 101 in 1995.

The overall pattern of coverage warranted further investigation as it could be an indicator of moral panic. The 1993 peak in school violence coverage was of particular

interest. This was also the only year when school violence article counts exceeded young offender counts. The next step was to determine if coverage patterns varied across newspapers and regions.

Figure 3: School Violence and Young Offender Print Media Coverage (1988-1995)

Closer examination of coverage across newspapers and years revealed that coverage jumped between 1992 and 1993 for most indexed papers. In the *Vancouver Sun*, *Calgary Herald*, *Montreal Gazette*, *Toronto Star*, *Globe and Mail* and *Halifax Daily News*, counts of school violence articles exceeded counts of young offender articles in 1993. For the *Vancouver Province* only 3 school violence articles were indexed, all for the year 1995. For the *Edmonton Journal*, only 4 school violence articles were indexed, all for the year 1995. No young offender articles were indexed for either of these papers. In 1994, 6 school violence and 10 young offender articles were indexed for the *Canadian Press*, while in 1995, 9 school violence and 26 young offender articles were indexed for

this source.

The greatest change in coverage was noted for the *Calgary Herald*, the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Toronto Star*. It was interesting that while the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail* are both Toronto newspapers, there was less coverage of school violence in the *Globe and Mail* than in the *Toronto Star*. This suggested possible differences in the 'primary definers', the 'sense of the newsworthy', the 'technical framework' and the 'audiences' (Hall et. al. 1981: 344) of these two dailies. Figure 4 charts coverage from 1988 through 1995 for all indexed sources, with the exception of the *Vancouver Province*, the *Edmonton Journal*, and the *Canadian Press*, for which coverage was minimal.

Figure 4: School Violence Coverage (1988-1995) by Paper by Year

Few Reported Incidents in National Headlines

The patterns of coverage shown for each paper, in Figure 4, demanded further investigation in order to determine if they reflected an actual change in incidence or signalled possible moral panic. The 1993 increase in coverage across newspapers was of particular interest. To investigate whether this increased coverage related to specific incidents, headlines were analysed in terms of Cohen's stages of moral panic. The reader is referred to Figure 1 which summarizes the characteristics of each stage. Headlines were analysed in terms of these characteristics, and mapped to stages accordingly. Figure 5 shows the percentages of 'school violence' headlines which reflected each stage.

Figure 5: Percentage of School Violence Headlines (1988-1995) Reflecting Each Moral Panic Stage

Overall, 9 per cent of all school violence headlines reflected the emergence stage, that is related to specific incidents (possibly triggering incidents for discrete moral

panic).¹⁷ Overall, 13.4 per cent of the headlines corresponded to the media inventory stage, being characterized by key elements such as exaggeration, distortion, and prediction.¹⁸ Just over half of the headlines (52.5 per cent) reflected stage three, with diagnoses and solutions being pronounced, often reflecting orientation themes such as disaster, and at times revealing differences of opinion.¹⁹ About one quarter of the headlines (25.2 per cent) reflected stage four, referring to ways of coping, sensitization, and control culture.²⁰

Headlines Reflected a Justice - Utilitarian Criminal Justice Perspective

Each school violence and young offender headline was examined in terms of which criminal justice perspective it seemed to reflect (referred to as the tone): welfare, justice - just deserts, or justice - utilitarian (Caputo, 1987: 130-131). Figure 6 shows the percentages of headlines reflecting each criminal justice perspective.

Figure 6: Percentages of School Violence and Young Offender Headlines (1988-1995) Reflecting Each Criminal Justice Perspective

Almost half of the headlines (46%) for which the tone could be coded²¹ reflected a justice - utilitarian perspective, signalling a possible law and order tone and punishment as deterrence focus.²²

4.2 Three Papers - Signs and Evidence of the Process of Moral Panic

Three observations made regarding the overall coverage of young offender and school violence signalled possible moral panic, and justified a more detailed content analysis of headlines and articles. First, school violence seemed to emerge as a news category after 1977. There was a gradual increase in coverage of school violence between 1988 and 1993, when counts peaked. A noticeable increase between 1992 and 1993 was observed in most newspapers. Second, a mapping of school violence headlines to Cohen's stages of moral panic revealed that less than ten per cent of the headlines seemed to reflect actual incidents. The majority (seventy-five per cent) could be mapped to stages three and four indicating that there appeared to be a great deal of debate regarding school violence, and that steps were being taken in response to this category of deviance, even though there appeared to be few incidents. Third, a mapping of school violence and young offender headlines to three criminal justice perspectives (as outlined in Caputo, 1987: 130-131) appeared to reflect a justice - utilitarian tone, indicating a punishment as deterrence focus and a law and order mood.

Analysis proceeded with a focus on selected newspapers. Two of the newspapers which showed the greatest change in coverage were selected: the *Calgary Herald* and the *Toronto Star*. The *Globe and Mail* was also selected because this permitted a comparison

of coverage by two different Toronto papers. Different patterns of coverage had already been noted between these two papers. There were fewer school violence articles in the *Globe and Mail*

The first step was to explore the school violence headlines from these three papers for 'signs' of the process of moral panic. The second step was to review the text of school violence articles for 'evidence' of the process of moral panic.

Signs of the Process of Moral Panic in the Headlines

Charts were generated and tables were prepared to facilitate analysis. Figures 7 through 9 show how school violence headlines mapped to the stages of Cohen's model, for the three selected papers. Figures 10 through 12 show how school violence and young offender headlines mapped to three criminal justice perspectives (as outlined by Caputo, 1987: 130-131), for the three papers. Tables 1 through 3 chart the coverage of school violence by year and month, and code each headline in terms of the stages and key elements of Cohen's model; and in terms of the definers and deliverers of solutions. All charts appear below. These are followed by a discussion of signs of process.

School Violence Headlines Mapped to the Stages of Cohen's Model of Moral Panic

Figure 7: Percentages of *Calgary Herald* School Violence Headlines (1988-1995) Reflecting Each Moral Panic Stage

Figure 8: Percentages of *Toronto Star* School Violence Headlines (1988-1995) Reflecting Each Moral Panic Stage

Figure 9: Percentages of *Globe and Mail* School Violence Headlines (1988-1995) Reflecting Each Moral Panic Stage

School Violence and Young Offender Headlines Mapped to Criminal Justice Perspectives

Figure 10: Percentages of *Calgary Herald* School Violence and Young Offender Headlines Reflecting Each Criminal Justice Perspective

Figure 11: Percentages of *Toronto Star* School Violence and Young Offender Headlines Reflecting Each Criminal Justice Perspective

Figure 12: Percentages of *Globe and Mail* School Violence and Young Offender Headlines Reflecting Each Criminal Justice Perspective

Tables 1 through 3 were prepared to facilitate process analysis of the *Calgary Herald*, *Toronto Star*, and *Globe and Mail* school violence headlines. School violence headlines for each of the three papers were charted by month and year. Two rows were used for each year. In the top row, each headline was coded to reflect the stage to which it mapped and to show how it reflected that particular stage. In the bottom row, each headline was coded to reflect the definers (primary and secondary) or the deliverers of implemented solutions. The reader is referred back to the Methods chapter for details regarding row one coding. With respect to row two, all school violence headlines for the three papers were reviewed and a list of definers/deliverers was prepared. The descriptors were grouped and codes were assigned as follows:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Definers/Deliverers</u>
1	Educators/Schools
2	Principals/Vice-Principals
3	Teachers
4	Counsellors
5	Students
6	Boards
7	Trustees
8	Candidates
9	Parents
10	Police
11	Judges
12	Provincial Politicians (Ministers/Leaders)
13	Federal Politicians (Ministers/MPs)
14	Letters/Editorials/Opinion Columns
15	Forums/Conferences/Symposiums/Meetings
16	Task Forces/Working Groups
17	Other Groups
18	Polls/Studies/Surveys
19	Reports/Briefs
20	Experts/Researchers/Sociologists/Psychologists/Criminologists
21	Secondary Definers (Media)
22	Cooperators/Partners

Tables 1 through 3 should be read in the following manner:

October 1992 for the *Calgary Herald* provides an example.

1992	3a	3a
Headline	2ab	3a
Codes	3a	3a
<hr/>		
1992	7	8
Definer/	21	8
Deliverer	14	8
Codes		

The top three rows (above the line) are qualified headline codes, which map to Cohen's model. The next three rows (below the line) are the definer/deliverer codes corresponding to each qualified headline code.

Readers are referred to the table legend. The first 3a code corresponds with definer/deliverer code 7. This pair of codes indicates an opinion from the trustees group. The second 3a in the top row corresponds with code 8 below the line and this pair indicates an opinion from the candidates group. Code 2ab in the second line, **bolded** to indicate law and order, corresponds with code 21 and indicates a media inventory statement characterized by exaggeration and distortion, as well as prediction, where the media are identified as secondary definers. Code 3a in the second line corresponds with 8 below the line - another opinion from the candidates group. The first 3a code in the third line corresponds with code 14 below the line, indicating an opinion statement from a letter, editorial, or opinion column. The last 3a code in this line corresponds with code 8 below the line - another opinion from the candidates group.

Table 1 - *Calgary Herald* Process Analysis

Table 1 - Calgary Herald Process Analysis

Legend: Headline Codes (school violence: headlines coded in terms of how they appeared to reflect the stages and key elements of Cohen's (1972) model of Moral Panic):

1 Incident (possible triggering incident of moral panic)

2 Media Inventory: 2a Exaggeration and Distortion 2b Prediction 2c Symbolization

3 Diagnoses and Solutions Pronounced and Differing Opinion: 3a Opinion 3b Diagnoses Pronounced 3c Solutions Pronounced 3d Differing Opinion

Code 3 suffixes: 1 Orientation - disaster 2 Orientation - Prophecy of Doom 3 Orientation - It's not so much what happened 4 Orientation - It's not only this 5 Images - Auxiliary Traits

6 Images - Guilt by Association 7 Causation - Sign of the Times 8 Causation - Disease 9 Causation - Cannibalistic 10 Causation - Resulting from Boredom

4 Ways of Coping: 4a Control Culture - Escalation 4b Control Culture - Diffusion 4c Control Culture - Innovation 4d Sensitization 4e Disappearance or Warning / Alternative Perspectives

5 Panic Passes or Has an Impact

• United States Story.

Law and Order: **bolded** codes (indicating support for more extensive law enforcement practices; the introduction [or proposal] of increasingly harsher and more punitive measures, the manipulation of public fear of crime; or an ideological emphasis on individual responsibility, traditional values, morality, or the sanctity of the family (Hall et al., cited in Caputo et al., 1992: 248)). Underlined codes (indicating signs of symbolization in stages other than the media inventory - indicating manipulation of public fear of crime, through symbolization)

Legend: Definer / Deliverer Codes (identifying sources of opinion, pronounced diagnoses and solutions, differing opinion, and deliverers of implemented solutions). 1 Educators / Schools 2 Principals / Vice-Principals 3 Teachers 4 Counsellors 5 Students 6 Boards 7 Trustees 8 Candidates 9 Parents 10 Police 11 Judges 12 Provincial Politicians (including Ministers and Leaders) 13 Federal Politicians (including Ministers and MPs) 14 Letters / Editorials / Opinion Columns 15 Forums / Conferences / Symposiums / Meetings 16 Task Forces / Working Groups 17 Other Groups 18 Polls / Studies / Surveys 19 Reports / Briefs 20 Experts / Researchers / Sociologists / Psychologists / Criminologists 21 Secondary Definers (Media) 22 Cooperators / Partners.

Month/ Year/Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1990 Headline Codes						2a			3c	2c 3b1 2ab 3b1 3c3 4a/4c 4c 3a7 4c*		4c
1990 Definer/ Deliverer Codes						21			1	21 2 21 2 9 9/10 5 21 7		11

Table 1 - Calgary Herald Process Analysis (Cont'd)

Month/ Year/Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1991 Headline Codes	1										3b5 4c e 4c	
1991 Definer/ Deliverer Codes	21										2 22 3	
1992 Headline Codes					1 3d 4c	2b		3a	3a 3a 2ab 3a 3a 3a		4c	4b*
1992 Definer/ Deliverer codes					21 5 5	21		3	21 15	7 8 21 8 14 8	22	1
1993 Headline Codes	3a 2a	3a 1 1/3a	2be 3a6 4c	3c8 3c8 3a 2a 4c 3a 3a 1 3a 3a	3b9 3b5 3a 4c 3a6 4 2a 3c 3a	3b5 4 2a 3a 3b1	3a	3a1 2c 2ab	1 4c 4c 1 3a 4c 4c 4c	4c 3a2 4a	3a 3a2 1 3a 3b5 3d 3b10 3c 2c 2ab	2 4c 3d
1993 Definer/ Deliverer Codes	3 21	14 21 9	21 17 5/10	6 16 14 21 7 7 21 21 14	21 19 9 5/10 21 11 21 20 14	1 11 21 21 19	8	15 21 21	21 1 5/10 21 1/5 9 9 9	9 20 10	9 4 21 14 5 5 20 21 16 21 21	21 1 14

Table 1 - Calgary Herald Process Analysis (Cont'd)

Month/ Year/Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1994 Headline Codes	4c	3b7 3b5 3b/c2	3a	3c	4c 3c6	3d 3b10 3d 3d	3b1,5 3d 3d	3b/d5	3a7 3c	1 3c5	3a	4b 3c1
1994 Definer/ Deliverer Codes	7	21 1 3	15	1	5 13	5 21 14 21	18 21 21	1	14 1	21 14	14	1 21
1995 Headline Codes	3a 3c 4b 4 3a	1			3b5	3a 3b	4c	4c 3c	4c 3d	3a 3a 3a 3b 3bd	3b	3c 4c 3b7
1995 Definer/ Deliverer Codes	17 14 1 11 21	21			10	7 20	6	14 21	22 8	8 14 8 12 21	16	21 20 1

Table 2 - Toronto Star Process Analysis (Cont'd)

Month/ Year/Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1989 Headline Codes				2a	2a	3c1						3c 2b
1989 Definer/ Deliverer Codes				21	21	1						1 21
1990 Headline Codes				2bc 2a 3c		1				2bc		
1990 Definer/ Deliverer Codes				21 21 1		21				21		
1991 Headline Codes				2a		2a 3b			2ab			
1991 Definer/ Deliverer Codes				21		21 1			21			
1992 Headline Codes	2a			2ac* 4c		4b			3c	3b1,5 3a 3a		
1992 Definer/ Deliverer Codes	21			21 3		1			1	10 13 5 17		

Table 2 - Toronto Star Process Analysis (Cont'd)

Month/ Year/ Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1993 Headline Codes		3a* 3a		2b 4c	1 3a	3c6		3c		<u>4c</u> <u>3a</u> <u>3d</u> 1 <u>3c</u> <u>3c</u> <u>3c</u> <u>3c</u> <u>4a/c</u>	<u>4c</u> <u>3d</u> <u>3c</u> 3a <u>3c</u> <u>3a</u> <u>3c</u> 2b <u>3c</u> <u>3b7</u> <u>4c</u> <u>3d</u> <u>3c</u> <u>4c</u> <u>4c</u> 2	<u>4c</u> <u>4c</u> <u>3d</u> <u>3c</u> <u>3c</u> 3a <u>3c</u> <u>3a</u>
1993 Definer/ Deliverer Codes		9 15		21 5	21 18	16		15		12/1/10 7 14 21 7 19 14 10 1 14 19 10 10 10 1/10 15 5/10 5 12 6 12 21	6 5 6 5 5 6 10 14 21	6 6 5 6 10 14 21
1994 Headline Codes	<u>4c</u> <u>3d</u> 3a4 3c	4c 3a 4c <u>4c</u> <u>3c6</u> 2c 2a 4c	4c <u>3a</u> 3c <u>3c</u> <u>4c</u> <u>3a</u> <u>3d</u> 3b35* 3c 3a <u>3a</u>	<u>3c</u>	<u>3c</u>	3a <u>4c</u> 4 <u>4c</u> <u>4c</u>		3d 3b5 3c 4c	2ab 3a 4c <u>4c</u> 2c 4c	1 3a 3a 2c <u>3c1</u> 3c	4 1 3a 3a 3a 3a 3a 3a 3a 3a 3a 3a	
1994 Definer/ Deliverer Codes	6 6 16 21	1 21 11 12 12 21 21 1	6 14 21 21 12 14 16 15 6 12 14	12	9	14 12 6 6 6		9 18 5 6	21 21 6 6 21 21	21 21 21 21 12 6	1 21 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8	

Table 2 - Toronto Star Process Analysis (Cont'd)

Month/ Year/ Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1995 Headline Codes	3d 4 1 3c 3c 2abc 3a4	3a 1 4 3b 3d	3b	3a	3c	4c 4c	4c 4c		4c			4c
1995 Deliverer/ Deliverer Codes	2 1 21 21 6 21 21	20 21 1 17 18	16	15	12	6 6	6 9		1			1

Table 3 - *Globe and Mail* Process Analysis

Table 3 - *Globe and Mail* Process Analysis

Legend: Headline Codes (school violence headlines coded in terms of how they appeared to reflect the stages and key elements of Cohen's (1972) model of Moral Panic)

1 Incident (possible triggering incident of moral panic)

2 Media Inventory: 2a Exaggeration and Distortion 2b Prediction 2c Symbolization

3 Diagnoses and Solutions Pronounced and Differing Opinion: 3a Opinion 3b Diagnoses Pronounced 3c Solutions Pronounced 3d Differing Opinion

Code 3 suffixes: 1 Orientation - disaster 2 Orientation - Prophecy of Doom 3 Orientation - It's not so much what happened 4 Orientation - It's not only this 5 Images - Auxiliary Traits

6 Images - Guilt by Association 7 Causation - Sign of the Times 8 Causation - Disease 9 Causation - Cannibalistic 10 Causation - Resulting from Boredom

4 Ways of Coping: 4a Control Culture - Diffusion 4b Control Culture - Escalation 4c Control Culture - Innovation 4d Sensitization 4e Disappearance or Waning - Alternative Perspectives

5 Panic Passes or Has an Impact

• United States Story.

Law and Order: **bolded** codes (indicating support for more extensive law enforcement practices, the introduction [or proposal] of increasingly harsher and more punitive measures; the manipulation of public fear of crime; or an ideological emphasis on individual responsibility, traditional values, morality, or the sanctity of the family (Hall et al., cited in Caputo et al., 1992: 248). Underlined codes (indicating signs of symbolization in stages other than the media inventory - indicating manipulation of public fear of crime, through symbolization)

Legend: Definer / Deliverer Codes (identifying sources of opinion, pronounced diagnoses and solutions, differing opinion, and deliverers of implemented solutions): 1 Educators / Schools 2 Principals / Vice-Principals 3 Teachers 4 Counsellors 5 Students 6 Boards 7 Trustees 8 Candidates 9 Parents 10 Police 11 Judges 12 Provincial Politicians (including Ministers and Leaders) 13 Federal Politicians (including Ministers and MPs) 14 Letters / Editorials / Opinion Columns 15 Forums / Conferences / Symposiums / Meetings 16 Task Forces / Working Groups 17 Other Groups 18 Polls / Studies / Surveys 19 Reports / Briefs 20 Experts / Researchers / Sociologists / Psychologists / Criminologists 21 Secondary Definers (Media) 22 Cooperators / Partners.

Month/ Year/ Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1991 Headline Codes		<u>3a</u>						<u>3b1</u> <u>3b1</u>				
1991 Definer/ Deliverer Codes		16						3 18				

Table 3 - *Globe and Mail* Process Analysis (Cont'd)

Month/ Year/ Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1992 Headline Codes						2a		3c 3b	2a			
1992 Definer/ Deliverer Codes						21		20 3	21			
1993 Headline Codes				4c					3b7 3b3* 2a 3b1	<u>3a</u> <u>4c</u> <u>3c</u>	<u>4c</u> 2ab	4c 4c
1993 Definer/ Deliverer Codes				5					21 21 21 18	14 12/1/10 10	6 21	5 5
1994 Headline Codes	3d <u>3c</u>		<u>3c1</u> <u>4c</u> 3d		2abc 2abc 2ab 4c* 4c 4c	4c <u>4c</u>			3c6	2ab <u>3c</u>		
1994 Definer/ Deliverer Codes	21 3		12/3 12/3 5		21 21 21 5/10 1/10 2	12 6			19	21 12		

Table 3 - *Globe and Mail* Process Analysis (Cont'd)

Month/ Year/ Code Type	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.
1995 Headline Codes		1		<u>4c</u> 4a	4b 3c	3b/c 10 3b/c 5			4c			
1995 Definer/ Deliverer Codes		21		6 10	6 12	20 21			5/10			

Three observations suggested that processes of moral panic may have been under way, following examination of Figures 7 through 12 and Tables 1 through 3. First, there was a gap between incidents and incidence. Second, cycles of moral panic were evident. Third, there was an indication of a law and order approach in the headlines.

A Gap Between Incidents and Incidence

Figures 7 through 9 show that approximately 80 per cent of the headlines in each paper mapped to stages three and four. About 10 per cent of *Calgary Herald* headlines, 15 per cent of *Toronto Star* headlines, and 19 per cent of *Globe and Mail* headlines mapped to stage 2. About 8 per cent of *Calgary Herald*, 6 per cent of *Toronto Star*, and 2 per cent of *Globe and Mail* headlines mapped to stage 1 - emergence - revealing possible triggering incidents of moral panic. Hence, while there were few incidents noted in the headlines, there appeared to be considerable coverage of diagnoses of and proposed and implemented solutions for school violence. This signalled possible moral panic in these three papers.

In Tables 1 through 3, code 1 refers to the actual incidents (possible triggering incidents of discrete moral panic) mapped to stage one of Cohen's model, while codes 2a through 2c correspond to stage 2, media inventory, headlines. For the *Calgary Herald*, there were ten headlines mapped to stage one. For the *Toronto Star*, eight headlines mapped to stage one. For the *Globe and Mail*, only one headline mapped to this emergence stage.²³

Reported incidents appeared to be isolated, occurring some time apart. Also, the

fact that there was only one *Globe and Mail* headline mapped to stage one, while eight *Toronto Star* headlines were mapped to this emergence stage suggested bureaucratic differences between these two Toronto papers, as well as differences in terms of primary definers. While some headlines provided information about the nature of the incident (e.g., fire arms or knives were involved), others were vague with respect to the nature and severity of the incident (e.g., girls charged). While one should not underplay the seriousness of certain incidents (those involving the use of weapons, for example) it is important to note that over the eight year period (1988-1995) very few school violence incidents appeared to have been reported in the press, based on indexed headlines.

In the *Calgary Herald*, between June of 1988 and December of 1993, there were 15 headlines mapped to stage 2. These media inventory headlines included statements of exaggeration (through abuses of language) and prediction. In the *Toronto Star* there were 21 media inventory headlines, appearing between February of 1988 and January of 1995. Seven of the *Globe and Mail* headlines appearing between June of 1992 and October of 1994 could be mapped to stage two. The language and content of the stage two media inventory presented school violence as a situation out of control; one of alarm, madness, which was getting worse and becoming increasingly difficult to handle. Few actual incidents had been reported in the headlines and yet crime was erupting, rebels were terrorizing students in battle grounds and schools were stretched to meet the rise. There was a gap between 'incidents' and 'incidence'; and there was a certain vagueness in the headlines for those specific incidents reported. This signalled possible moral panic.²⁴ It is also important to note that while coverage of school violence incidents began in 1988

for the *Toronto Star*, it was not until 1992 that incidents were noted in the *Globe and Mail*. This suggested that this type of story may have been ranked higher on the list of newsworthy topics by the *Toronto Star* than the *Globe and Mail*.

Cycles of Moral Panic

Tables 1 through 3 indicate that there was clustering of articles, the densest clustering being noted for the years 1993 and 1994. In 1988 through 1992, headline counts gradually increased and in 1995 they began to diminish. According to the headlines, the densest clustering was not accompanied by an increase in incidents of school violence. There was a 'checker boarding' of incidents, opinion, diagnoses, proposed solutions and implemented solutions. The clustering and the patterns within clusters varied across papers. In all papers there were periods (one to several months) of silence on the topic. This suggested what Cohen (1972) referred to as broken or possible re-routed processes, and warranted further investigation. Each paper also had long periods (months of continuous coverage) of school violence, suggesting more complete cycles of moral panic. For example, in the *Calgary Herald*, one cycle appeared to run from August of 1992 until February of 1995. In the *Toronto Star*, one cycle appeared to run from October of 1993 until June of 1994. In the *Globe and Mail*, cycles appeared to be much shorter. In the *Calgary Herald*, there were 136 articles indexed as school violence-related. These appeared between June of 1990 and December of 1995. In the *Toronto Star*, 143 school violence articles appeared from February of 1988 to December of 1995. There were nineteen breaks in coverage. In the *Globe and Mail*, there were only 43

school violence articles. The articles appeared within a shorter period of time, from February of 1991 to September of 1995 and there were eleven breaks in coverage.

There was also a 'checker boarding' of definers/deliverers (shown in the second row for each year of Tables 1 through 3). These included people from powerful organizations - politicians, police and trustees, for example. There were experts - educators, teachers and sociologists, for example. There were also people with alternative views - editorialists and students, for example. Many of the individuals and groups who came forward as definers were instrumental in the delivery and operation of solutions. When the three papers were compared in terms of stage 3 definers, and stage 4 deliverers and operators of solutions, differences were noted across papers. Table 4 summarizes this information, showing headline counts against each definer/deliverer category, by paper. That is, while each paper illustrated Cohen's model in terms of stages, key elements and participation, those who cued the media in to school violence and made their views accessible (Hall et al., 1981) differed across papers, as did those who implemented and participated in ways of coping. The key participants in the *Calgary Herald* were seen to be: the media as secondary definer (36 headlines); boards, trustees and candidates (13 headlines); letter writers, editorialists, and opinion column writers (12 headlines); and educators and schools (11 headlines). The key participants in the *Toronto Star* were: boards, trustees and candidates (31 headlines); educators and schools (15 headlines); the media as secondary definer (11 headlines); and provincial politicians (10 headlines). The key participants in the *Globe and Mail* were: the media as secondary definer (7 headlines); and boards (4 headlines). It was interesting to note that students were seen

as sole definers/deliverers/operators in 7 *Calgary Herald*, 6 *Toronto Star*, and 4 *Globe and Mail* headlines. Police were seen as sole definers in 2 *Calgary Herald*, 2 *Globe and Mail*, and 5 *Toronto Star* headlines. The most noticeable difference was that politicians appeared to play a key role in the *Toronto Star* coverage.

The clustering of articles, the patterns of headlines reflecting Cohen's stages, and the mixture of definers and deliverers/operators suggested that processes of moral panic may have been under way.

Table 4 - Definers, Deliverers and Operators According to Headlines						
Definer/Deliverer	<i>Calgary Herald</i>		<i>Toronto Star</i>		<i>Globe and Mail</i>	
	Stage 3 Counts	Stage 4 Counts	Stage 3 Counts	Stage 4 Counts	Stage 3 Counts	Stage 4 Counts
Educators/Schools	6	5	6	9		
Police	1	1	4	1	1	1
Principals/Vice-Principals	3		1			1
Boards	1	1	5	14		4
Task Forces/Working Groups	3		4		1	
Reports/Briefs	1		2		1	
Teachers	3	1		1	3	
Federal Ministers/MPs	1	1				
Polls/Studies/Surveys	1		3		2	
Letters/Editorials/Opinion Columns	11	1	8		1	
Secondary Definers	36		9	2	7	
Judges		4		1		
Experts/Researchers/Sociologists/Psychologists/ Criminologists	4	1	1		2	
Provincial Politicians (including Ministers and Leaders)	1		6	4	2	1
Trustees	2	3	2			

Table 4 - Definers, Deliverers and Operators According to Headlines						
Definer/Deliverer	<i>Calgary Herald</i>		<i>Toronto Star</i>		<i>Globe and Mail</i>	
	Stage 3 Counts	Stage 4 Counts	Stage 3 Counts	Stage 4 Counts	Stage 3 Counts	Stage 4 Counts
Educators/Schools/Police				1		1
Educators/Police				1		
Students/Police		3		1		2
Forums/Conferences/Symposiums/ Meetings	3		5			
Provincial Politicians/Teachers					1	1
Provincial Politicians/Schools/Police				1		1
Educators/Students	1					
Students	4	3	5	1	1	3
Parents	4	4	4	1		
Candidates	6		10			
Parents/Police		1				
Cooperators/Partners		3				
Counsellors	1					
Other Groups	2		2			

In Tables 1 through 3, alternative views (code 3d) and signs of waning (code 4e) were also apparent, although rare. The former (3d) suggested that media response might have been more extreme than public opinion. The latter (4e) suggested that apparent cycles might have been coming to an end. Of particular interest were indications that students had alternative views.²⁵

Indication of Law and Order in the Headlines

There was indication of a law and order mood or agenda in the school violence

headlines. Figures 10 through 12, included earlier, show the proportions of headlines mapping to each criminal justice perspective. In the *Calgary Herald*, 42 per cent of those headlines which could be coded in terms of tone reflected a justice - utilitarian perspective. In the *Toronto Star*, 44 per cent reflected this tone, while in the *Globe and Mail*, 36 per cent did. With respect to a welfare tone, 37 per cent of *Calgary Herald*, 30 per cent of *Toronto Star*, and 32 per cent of *Globe and Mail* headlines reflected this perspective. Tables 1 through 3 show the distribution of media inventory, proposed solution and ways of coping headlines. Codes reflecting a law and order tone have been **bolded** and/or underlined. The reader is referred back to the Methods chapter for details regarding coding.

Headlines suggested that public fear of crime was manipulated (Hall et al., cited in Hatt et al., 1992: 248) through orientation statements, through the use of powerful images, and through the symbolization of 'violence'. In terms of orientation, stage three headlines often reflected the themes of 'disaster', 'prophecy of doom', 'it's not so much what happened', and 'it's not only this' (Cohen, 1972).²⁶

With respect to images, headlines mapped to stage one revealed little information regarding the perpetrators (or the victims) of school violence. The reader is referred back to 'A Gap Between Incidents and Incidence'. Analysis of headlines mapped to stages two through four provided some additional information and revealed that images, at times powerful, of these youth were presented. Table 5 summarizes the nature of 'school violence' according to descriptors used in the headlines. Headline counts are shown for each descriptor, by paper and by moral panic stage to which the headlines were mapped.

Where headlines reflected two descriptors, they were counted as half-headlines (.5) against each descriptor.

The word bully appeared in 9.5 headlines. Words like rowdy, wild, hooligan, brat, thug and ruffian appeared in 10 headlines. There were 3 references to gangs. Words like tough, wayward and disruptive appeared in 4 headlines. References to danger, unsafeness and fear in 7 headlines, and to combat or war in 4 headlines were image forming with respect to victims and perpetrators. The most powerful images, however, came from the 27 headline references to weapons.²⁷ Contrasted with the 5 actual weapon-related incidents (2 knife and 3 gun-related incidents) noted in the headlines for the eight years of coverage for these three papers, the stage two through four headlines presented powerful images of weapon-toting youth - images which did not appear to be substantiated.

In addition, a linkage or association of school violence with broader young offender and youth violence issues also served to manipulate public fear.²⁸ There were powerful images of what might come to be. Some headlines referred to the situation in the United States.²⁹ Headlines appeared to measure the progress of deterioration or disaster, perhaps against the situation in the United States.³⁰ These images were questioned when headlines which referred to safeness in schools were observed.³¹ Other headlines pointed to exaggeration in the media and signalled possible moral panic. These represented the rare attempt to present alternative views.³²

With respect to the nature of school violence, Table 5 indicates that the term 'school violence' was applied to incidents ranging from scaring someone away, to

vandalism, to extortion, to murder. That is, a variety of incidents were categorized and indexed as school violence. The term 'violence' was, however, often used in the headlines without qualification. This resulted in the word 'violence' taking on a power through its association with words like combat, war, madness, and murder, which appeared throughout the media coverage. Distortion resulted from this abuse of language. This vague, yet powerful, reference was evident in articles mapped to stages two through four. Ninety-eight of the 322 school violence headlines (30 per cent) in these three papers used the word 'violence' without qualification.³³ As stated by Hall et al. (1981: 346; and cited in Hatt et al., 1992: 248), these headlines invested the story with dramatic news value, used the supplementary news value of 'violence' to ensure continued newsworthiness, and served to manipulate public fear of crime.

Table 5 - Nature of 'School Violence' According to Headline Descriptors				
Headline Descriptors	<i>Calgary Herald</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	Row Totals
Safe				
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	3.5	1		4.5
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		1.5		1.5
Nature could not be determined				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	1	2		3
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	34	34	2	70
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	10	6	2	18
Unsafe/Danger Causing				
Stage 1 - Emergence	1		1	2
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	.5	.5		1
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	1.5	1	1	3.5
Charge / Arrest (reason unspecified)				
Stage 1 - Emergence	1	2		3
'Violence' (nature unspecified)				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	4	7	5	11.5
Stage 3 -Diagnoses/Solutions	22.5	25.5	11	59
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	7.5	15.5	5.5	29.5
'Crime' (nature unspecified)				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		1	.5	1.5
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	2	1		3
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	2		1.5	3.5
Harassment/Scaring Away				
Stage 1 - Emergence	1			1
Bullying				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	1	1		2
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	4.5	2	1	7.5

Table 5 - Nature of 'School Violence' According to Headline Descriptors (Cont'd)				
Headline Descriptors	<i>Calgary Herald</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	Row Totals
Rowdiness/Wildness/Bratishness/Hard Knocks/Thugishness/Ruffianism				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	1	1	2	4
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	2	2		4
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	1	1		2
Trouble/Problem/Misbehaviour/Disruptive Behaviour/Waywardness/Toughness				
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	1			1
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	2	1	1	4
Aggression				
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	1			1
Gang Behaviour				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		5		5
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions		1.5	1	2.5
Young Offender behaviour (unspecified)				
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	2.5	3	2	7.5
Madness				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	1			1
Fear / Shock Invoking				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	3	1		4
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		1		1
Terrorizing				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		1		1
Fan / Mob / Sports Violence				
Stage 1 - Emergence		1		1
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		1		1
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions		2		2
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		2		2

Table 5 - Nature of 'School Violence' According to Headline Descriptors (Cont'd)				
Headline Descriptors	<i>Calgary Herald</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	Row Totals
Vandalism / Ransacking				
Stage 1 - Emergence		1		1
Conflict/Confrontation/Dispute/Un-peaceful/Unfair Play/Tense Situations				
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	3	1	3	7
Fight/Scuffle/Clash/Brawl				
Stage 1 - Emergence	3			3
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	1			1
Abuse (Teacher)				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		1		1
Attack				
Stage 1 - Emergence	1	1		2
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	5			5
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	1			1
Assault				
Stage 1 - Emergence	1			1
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		1		1
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions		1		1
Sexual Assault				
Stage 2 - Diagnoses/Solutions		1		1
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		5		5
Battle / War				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	1.5		1	2.5
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		1		1
Hate Motivated Behaviour/Racism				
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping			1	1

Table 5 - Nature of 'School Violence' According to Headline Descriptors (Cont'd)				
Headline Descriptors	<i>Calgary Herald</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Globe and Mail</i>	Row Totals
Weapons (type unspecified)				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory	1	1.5	2	4.5
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	5.5	1.5		7
Weapons - Knives				
Stage 1 - Emergence		3		3
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		1		1
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions		1		1
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		1		1
Weapons - Guns/Ammunition				
Stage 1 - Emergence	3			3
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		1	1	2
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		1		1
Weapons - Multiple				
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions			1	1
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping		2		2
Theft				
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		.5		.5
Stage 3 -Diagnoses/Solutions		1		1
Extortion / Crook Behaviour				
Stage 1 - Emergence			1	1
Murder/Killing/Slaying				
Stage 1 - Emergence		1		1
Stage 2 - Media Inventory		.5		.5
Stage 3 - Diagnoses/Solutions	1			1
Stage 4 - Ways of Coping	2			2
Column totals by paper	136	143	43	322

A variety of solutions were pronounced and ways of coping were evolved or resorted to (Cohen, 1972) in response to what appeared to be few incidents. Support for more extensive law enforcement, a sign of law and order (Hall et al., cited in Hatt et al., 1992: 248) was noted in many of the solutions called for by definers. These included what Cohen refers to as the control culture responses of diffusion and innovation. Examples of diffusion and innovation included the move of the police into the schools, the implementation of programs like Crime Stoppers and School Watch, and the establishment of hot-lines. Students and staff became the eyes and ears of the law, partnering with the police. In Tables 1 through 3, code 3c represents pronounced solutions and codes 4a, 4b and 4c represent ways of coping - diffusion, escalation, and innovation, respectively. Support for more extensive law enforcement practices, in the form of pronounced solutions, was observed in headlines from the three papers.³⁴ There was also evidence of the stage four control culture measures of innovation and diffusion³⁵, as well as escalation³⁶. Differing opinion, possibly countering measures considered too extreme, was also noted.³⁷

One observation, when examining the headlines for these three papers, was that many of the ways of coping were of a "soft" nature - solutions to be operated by the youth themselves - mediation, SchoolWatch, Crime Stoppers. This raised the question: if the problem was as severe as indicated in the media inventory, should children and youth have been tasked with social control, and possibly have been placed in danger? Differing opinion, noted in some headlines, suggested that the problem may have been overblown. The implementation of "soft" measures reinforced the view that the reaction

may have been more severe than required.

The introduction of increasingly harsher and more punitive measures (pronounced and actual), another sign of a law and order agenda (Hall et al., in Hatt et al, 1992: 248), was seen in the headlines.³⁸ It is important to note that while few incidents were reported in the headlines, harsh measures were proposed and often implemented. The powerful images created in the media inventory and the symbolization of 'violence' were responded to with policies, rules, and programs that would affect all youth, to control a category of behaviour that did not appear to have been clearly defined.

An ideological emphasis on values, morality and the sanctity of the family, another sign of a law and order agenda (Hall et al., cited in Hatt et al., 1992: 248) was noted in the headlines for these three papers. The 'sign of the times', 'disease' and 'resulting from boredom' causation themes were noted.³⁹

Evidence of the Process of Moral Panic in the Articles

Tables 1 through 3 were useful in terms of showing that there were 'signs' of the process of moral panic. There was clustering of articles, indicating possible complete or broken cycles. Headlines could be mapped to the stages of Cohen's model. Although headlines reported few incidents, a mixture of definers participated. The participation of powerful individuals and groups suggested that moral enterprise or the appropriation of campaigns may have occurred. There were signs of a law and order campaign. It was necessary to review complete articles to find additional evidence of moral panic.⁴⁰

Toronto Star Evidence

A review of the 143 *Toronto Star* articles indexed as school violence revealed evidence of broken or re-routed processes (Cohen, 1972: 173) as well as a complete cycle of moral panic.

Toronto Star Broken or Re-Routed Processes

Coverage between February of 1988 and August of 1993 consisted of sixteen clusters of articles - brief bursts of panic, broken or re-routed processes. That is, during this period, there were no complete cycles, triggered by a specific incident, and resulting in harsh measures which impacted large numbers of students. Six observations reflecting moral panic were made during analysis of these earlier articles. A brief discussion of each follows.

Media Inventory - Misleading Headlines

There were a number of misleading *Star* headlines between February of 1988 and August of 1993 (about 40 per cent of 33 headlines). These dramatic headlines, which told a very different story from the text they introduced, manipulated fear through exaggeration, distortion, prediction, and symbolization. Intermittent U.S. stories (about 9 per cent of 33 headlines) reflected the 'it's not so much what happened' theme.⁴¹

Weak Evidence

Through exaggeration and distortion, and the symbolization of violence, misleading

headlines pointed to crisis while few actual incidents were noted in either the headlines or the complete articles. The reader is referred back to the section 'A Gap Between Incidents and Incidence' for a discussion of headlines. That is, while these early articles did note incidents not referred to in the headlines, they did not support claims of disaster made in article titles. That is, they failed to support statements like "when children take weapons to school", "violence on the rise" or "school violence escalating" with specific examples. In the eight articles which specified incidents (about 24 per cent of 33 articles), only seven specific incidents were included. Two were intruder incidents, one occurred 'near' a school, and one was an out-of-province example. There were conflicting statements - 'increasing violence' and 'isolated incidents' - and vague statistics.⁴²

Unclear Nature of School Violence

In addition to the symbolization of violence, in often misleading headlines, these early articles told of a range of behaviours characterized as 'violent'. This term was equally applied to threats, bullying, assault and weapon-related incidents. As the media inventory continued and the momentum built, the nature of the incidents referred to, often not supported by examples, became more severe. Early coverage focused on intruder incidents at schools and sports events, while later articles stressed weapons. There was often convergence of youth and school violence. The latter point is illustrated by references to 'street kids' and examples of incidents which occurred off of school property.⁴³

Causation Statements

There was also evidence of the causation theme in these earlier articles (9 per cent of 33 articles). The moral barricades were manned. Older, better times were recalled and old-fashioned values were invoked. There were 'sign of the time' statements about "deep seated problems" and parents who just did not have the time or did not care. The problem was deflected to the family.⁴⁴

The New 'It's Not Really This' Theme

Misleading headlines and lead-in statements about school violence were often used to introduce other topics like youth violence and limited resources. This was observed in 33 per cent of 33 articles. That is, a new 'it's not really this' theme could be added to those identified by Cohen.⁴⁵

Solutions Reflecting Control Culture - Escalation and Diffusion - and Harsh Response

Pronounced solutions often reflected support for extreme means, such as "zero-tolerance", diffusion, innovation and escalation - hiring more police resource officers, installing more classroom telephones and metal detectors, training school staff to spot potentially dangerous situations, and implementing SchoolWatch - as well as formal processing through the courts. These solutions were observed in 21 per cent of 33 articles. They included U.S. escalation, diffusion, and innovation solutions. The 'definers', who pronounced these solutions, included school board and teachers' association spokespersons, police, and the media.⁴⁶

Despite weak evidence, the fact that the nature of violence was not clearly understood, and rare expressions of differing opinion (in 6 per cent of the 33 articles)⁴⁷, these articles formed a 'backdrop' to the more complete cycle which followed. Results from a *Star* poll of 1,007 adults, conducted by Environics Research, indicated that there was considerable public concern. About 70% of those polled were concerned about school violence; 90% were very or somewhat concerned about discipline in schools; 70% believed that problems could be traced to problems in the home and in society. It was unclear whether these concerns were raised due to awareness of school violence through personal experience or through media coverage of the issue.⁴⁸

Toronto Star Complete Cycle of Moral Panic

When the articles appearing between October of 1993 and December of 1995 were examined, evidence of the three types of moral panic noted by Hall et al. (cited in Taylor, 1982: 140-141) was seen. However, the articles most clearly illustrated discrete moral panic, the five stages and key elements of Cohen's (1972) model.

Between October of 1993 and December of 1995, a complete cycle of discrete moral panic was observed in the *Toronto Star*, one that did result in substantial changes in rules. Two brief "summer" breaks in coverage were noted, one in July of 1994 and one in August of 1995.⁴⁹ Otherwise, the 'production of news' about school violence was steady (see Table 2). A detailed discussion of the words and deeds of all definers and deliverers of solutions is beyond the scope of this thesis. A brief discussion of six

observations reflecting a complete cycle of discrete moral panic follows.

Triggering Incident

The panic was triggered in the fall of 1993 by a knife-point attack on a fifteen-year-old female Scarborough student. The incident had apparently been handled internally at the victim's request. Mike Harris raised the incident in the Ontario Legislature, insisting that mandatory reporting of 'violence' be implemented, and demanding to know what action the Minister of Education, David Cooke, was taking "in the wake of the incident".⁵⁰

About one year later, a second incident added only temporary momentum to the then waning panic. Two guidance counsellors were shot at Brockton High School. It was later revealed that an adult student had been charged with the offence.⁵¹

Immediate Control Culture Response

Cooke conceded that the incident raised in the Legislature had prompted him to write a letter to Ontario's almost 200 boards, ordering them to report all acts of violence to the police. Cooke's failure to define the term 'violence' (symbolization), or to discuss the frequency of incidents, distorted the situation.⁵²

Weak Evidence

A gap between incidents and incidence continued to be observed throughout this period. Only five headlines in the complete cycle included references to specific

incidents. The reader is referred back to "A Gap Between Incidents and Incidence" for the initial discussion of headlines. Complete articles revealed other incidents and general incidence statistics (See Table 6), but failed to support the orientation of disaster. While 11 of the incidents (slightly less than 27 per cent) involved knives, some appeared to be cases of youth violence which occurred off of school property, or incidents perpetrated by intruders. Colourful language manipulated fear. For example, two articles noted that students as young as nine years of age were being 'disarmed'⁵³. These articles did not, however, give any detail regarding nature or frequency. Other incidents were cited, without details.⁵⁴ None of the articles which provided statistics, or referred to an increase in incidence, attributed any of the increase to Cooke's, 1993 order⁵⁵ for all incidents of 'violence' to be reported to the police. This would most certainly have impacted the number of incidents being recorded.

Table 6 - Incident Summary for <i>Toronto Star</i> Complete Cycle (According to Complete Articles)			
Nature of Incident	Count	Nature of Incident	Count
Bullying, harassment	2	Fighting or brawls (One incident resulted in concussion and expulsion for life)	5
Bullying (with extortion)	1	Gang invasion (American report)	1
Vandalism	4	Multiple charges (27 charges against 1 youth)	1
Knifing, slashing (One was the incident that triggered the complete cycle; One was sports [basketball] related; one occurred 'near' a school; two were attempted stabbings where one was perpetrated by an intruder; one occurred in a parking lot.)	9	Incidents (no details mentioned)	1

Table 6 - Incident Summary for <i>Toronto Star</i> Complete Cycle (According to Complete Articles) (Cont'd)			
Nature of Incident	Count	Nature of Incident	Count
Robbery (one perpetrator had a knife)	1	Bolt used as a weapon	1
Theft following 'roughing up'	1	Bench thrown (Sports incident: bench thrown at a coach)	1
Assault and cutting with a switchblade	1	Carrying ammunition (and a concealed knife)	1
Threat (perpetrator had a knife)	1	Carrying a knife	1
Assault (kicking, slapping, scratching)	2	Shooting	1
Assault	2	Pointed a gun	1
Mob violence (with assault with a weapon)	1	Provided statistics (Statements failed to attribute any increase to Cooke's order that all incidents be reported)	3

Moral Enterprise, Debate and Differing Opinion

When Mike Harris raised the Scarborough incident in the Legislature, he facilitated the renewal of the Scarborough Board's campaign for zero-tolerance. Key Scarborough definers were Trustee William Davis, Superintendent Robert Heath, and Board Chair David Horrox. They used 'prophecy of doom' statements, and weak, often anecdotal evidence, to distort the situation, and were successful in implementing and applying a policy of zero-tolerance in Scarborough which could see students expelled for life. They also sought the repeal of a recent amendment that restricted suspensions to a maximum of twenty days. During their campaign, they used statements of causation, placing blame on the family. Throughout the coverage, they claimed that zero-tolerance was effective, without providing statistical evidence.⁵⁶

David Cooke was another key definer. He reacted to the debates and to public

pressure with a blend of 'justice' and 'welfare' responses, appearing to target different audiences. While he initially challenged zero-tolerance, he eventually supported it. By failing to challenge the Scarborough diagnosis and solution, he appeared to support the extreme variety of zero-tolerance implemented there, even though others challenged both the diagnosis and solution. Statements of differing opinion were observed in about 30 per cent of the 110 articles, although these views were often buried.⁵⁷ Cooke's statements reflected a 'sign of the times' tone and he used the media as an authoritative source. The 'it's not so much what happened' theme was evident, as he referred to the U.S. situation in order to justify his solutions. These included the reporting of all incidents of 'violence', a term not clearly defined, to the police; the reporting of all incidents to the Ministry of Education; and the noting of expulsion and suspension for violent acts on student records - which could be transferred to new schools/boards - and would be kept for at least three years. This control culture response affected all students.⁵⁸

The police were also important definers, although some officers expressed differing opinions. One officer in particular, Detective Muise - of the East Toronto Street Crime Unit - was often quoted as an expert. He diagnosed the situation as one of crisis, particularly with respect to weapons. He argued that special police expertise was required, noting that police were visiting schools more frequently; and that educators were in denial, did not understand the problem, and were not adequately trained. Traditional tools like conflict resolution, mediation and suspension were said to be inadequate. In his 'sign of the times' statements, however, Muise referred to youth violence more broadly, and provided examples where incidents occurred away from schools.⁵⁹

The 'it's not so much what happened' theme was evident in about 4 per cent of the 110 articles. Canadian police were watching the U.S. closely, were listening to U.S. experts, and were predicting a Canadian crisis if action was not taken - the 'prophecy of doom' theme. The number of weapons in the hands of youth was said to be "unbelievable". Isolated incidents were linked, that is school violence was portrayed as if it were organized - evidence of causation - cannibalism. Budget cuts would affect police efforts to combat increasing violence. As the situation worsened, police would not be equipped to handle it. References to "the startling number of offences", the "epidemic" of violence, and principals who "[did] nothing but" deal with the problem were exaggerations. Police supported the Scarborough approach to zero-tolerance, as a response.⁶⁰

Others, like Stuart Auty, Head of the Safe Schools Task Force, challenged the Scarborough solution, but did not dispute the diagnosis. He too noted the "increasing use of guns and knives", and argued that conflict resolution was no longer appropriate, despite weak evidence.⁶¹

Media Inventory - Misleading Headlines

In addition to the broken or re-routed processes which preceded this complete cycle, misleading headlines were observed (about 3 per cent of headlines). According to Cohen's model, these serve to manipulate public fear. Abuses of language, like "crime erupting", reflecting exaggeration and distortion buttressed the Scarborough campaign for zero-tolerance.⁶²

Signs of Waning

Even before implementing its zero-tolerance policy, the Scarborough Board claimed that the policy was having a positive effect. No figures supported its claim of reduced violence. It was interesting that the Board's statement coincided with Cooke's announcement to establish programs for expelled youth. This suggested that one of the Scarborough Board's goals may have been to pressure the Ministry into setting up such programs.⁶³ In 1994, Scarborough Board officials continued to claim that zero-tolerance was effective as a deterrent, but provided only anecdotal evidence.⁶⁴ The issue of school violence re-appeared briefly in January of 1995, when schools were said to be "stretched to meet the rise in violence" ⁶⁵, but waned again later that year when four Scarborough students who had been expelled "for life" were re-admitted to school, after Horrox was defeated by Diane Williams, as new Chair.⁶⁶ Other boards echoed that schools were safe and that incidence was decreasing. Some police supported this, arguing that the public perception had been distorted.⁶⁷

Globe and Mail Evidence

A review of the 43 *Globe and Mail* articles indexed as school violence revealed a similar pattern to the *Star* reporting. Coverage indicated broken or re-routed processes (Cohen, 1972: 173-174) and a complete cycle of moral panic.

Globe and Mail Broken or Re-routed Processes

Coverage between February of 1991 and September of 1993 consisted of 5 clusters of articles. A discussion of four observations reflecting moral panic follows.

Weak Evidence and Unclear Nature of Violence

In addition to the one incident noted in the headlines (the reader is referred back to the section 'A Gap Between Incidents and Incidence') articles (33 per cent of 12 articles) did identify five other incidents. None of the articles supported claims that violence was increasing. Incidents appeared isolated.⁶⁸ While some articles noted an increase in physical and verbal assaults, and some stressed an increase in weapons offences involving students, others emphasized that the problem related to intruders and young offenders. Some articles restricted the discussion to bullying behaviour. That is, 'violence' translated into a range of behaviours, some perpetrated by students and some by outsiders. Evidence was often anecdotal.⁶⁹

Misleading Headlines and the New 'It's Not Really This' Theme

The new, 'it's not really this' theme, was encountered. That is, youth and school violence often converged. School violence headlines and incidents were often used to introduce the topic of youth violence and young offenders. This was observed in 33 per cent of the 12 articles.⁷⁰ One misleading headline, of the 12, used language to distort and exaggerate the issue school violence.⁷¹

Causation Statements

The 'causation - resulting from boredom' theme was observed, in about 42 per cent of the twelve articles. Increased incidence was linked to teen-agers' lifestyle, particularly too much television, and a lack of structure. Blame was placed on the family and on a diseased society.⁷²

Solutions Reflecting Control Culture - Escalation and Diffusion - and Harsh Response

Responses targeted bullies, intruders, and young offenders. For example, according to one of twelve articles, the police reported having received approval to begin a joint pilot with the North York schools, to respond to bullying behaviour - evidence of diffusion.⁷³ Recommendations from the Ontario Secondary School Principals' Task Force on Orderly School Environments included a call for amendments to the Trespass Act, suggesting from the very beginning that the problem related to intruders rather than students.⁷⁴ There were calls from the Ontario Teachers' Federation and the Principals' Task Force, for amendments to the Young Offenders Act, to permit access to information about young offenders. This harsh response was a challenge to the Young Offenders Act which provided some protection for young offenders, through confidentiality. The aim was to protect the majority, rather than focus on the rights of the individual. This signalled a focus on repeat offenders and young offenders returning to school, more specifically.⁷⁵

Media Inventory - Exaggeration and Distortion

'Media inventory' statements like "when school grounds turn into battlegrounds"

served to manipulate public fear, in about 16 per cent of twelve articles.⁷⁶ Early *Globe* coverage also served as a 'media inventory backdrop' to the more complete cycle which followed, despite differing opinion regarding the perpetrators, incidence, and nature of school violence, expressed in about 83 per cent of the twelve articles.⁷⁷

Globe and Mail Complete Cycle of Moral Panic

The *Globe and Mail* coverage of school violence between October, 1993 and September, 1995 was similar to the *Toronto Star* coverage in many ways. In particular, there was evidence of discrete moral panic. There were fewer articles, however, and fewer misleading headlines, in the *Globe*. *Globe* coverage focused less on the Scarborough campaign for zero-tolerance and the debates surrounding that campaign, than the *Star*. Alternative views were more pronounced and more national, in the *Globe* coverage.

A complete cycle of discrete moral panic was observed in the *Globe* coverage between October of 1993 and September of 1995. Coverage in this paper was interrupted briefly at different points, but was quite steady, otherwise (see Table 3). There was clear evidence of the stages and characteristics of moral panic, including differing opinion which failed to halt the cycle. Again, a detailed discussion of the words and deeds of key definers is beyond the scope of this thesis. Analysis is restricted to a discussion of five observations reflecting a complete cycle of discrete moral panic.

Triggering Incident and Immediate Control Culture Response

The same single incident noted in the *Star* triggered the cycle of moral panic observed in the *Globe*. Debate in the Legislature regarding this incident was reported, as was Cooke's immediate, control culture, reaction - his order to Ontario boards to report incidents of violence to the police.⁷⁸

Weak Evidence

The cycle proceeded despite weak evidence of increased incidence and a failure to clarify the term 'violence' (symbolization). Only one incident had been noted in the *Globe* headlines. The reader is referred back to the section 'A Gap Between Incidents and Incidence'. Three articles (of a total of 31) listed only 3 additional specific incidents. The diagnosis of crisis was not supported. Definers' statements exaggerated and distorted the situation. Incidents appeared isolated and atypical, some occurred off of school property, and others related to intruders.⁷⁹ While one more serious incident was noted, this failed to support an orientation of crisis.⁸⁰

When the *Globe* noted an increase in incidence in 1993, it also failed to attribute any of this increase to Cooke's order that boards report all acts of 'violence'. Where statistics were provided, there was often confusion (this was evident in 16 per cent of the 31 articles).⁸¹ Anecdotal information manipulated fear.⁸² There was also evidence (in about 7 per cent of the 31 articles) of the convergence of youth and school violence.⁸³

Moral Enterprise, Debate and Differing Opinion

The key definers in the *Star* were also vocal in the *Globe*. Articles indicated that the Scarborough Board implemented its policy of zero-tolerance, largely due to the campaigning of David Horrox, Board Chair. Although the Education Act permitted expelled students to reapply to other schools, Horrox stated that Scarborough did not want these youth, that schools were not hospitals or drug clinics, and that not every 'kid' could be saved - their fate was a societal question.⁸⁴ *Globe* coverage⁸⁵ also suggested that Horrox was pressuring the Ontario government to establish province-wide programs, and that this was one of his aims when he launched his campaign.⁸⁶ In March of 1994, Horrox claimed that zero-tolerance was working, providing only anecdotal evidence.⁸⁷

As early as November, 1993, Cooke appeared to show support for the Scarborough variety of zero-tolerance. He stated at a meeting of the Safe Schools Task Force: "[w]e have to break the psychology ... zero[-]tolerance is the rule".⁸⁸ The *Globe* also showed how Cooke blended 'welfare' and 'justice' responses, targeting different audiences. Following the passage of the Scarborough policy, Cooke called for all suspensions and expulsions to be noted on student reports which were to be shared across boards. He also directed schools to implement zero-tolerance measures by September of 1995.⁸⁹ A March, 1994, article stated, however, that Cooke's office was trying to dissociate itself from the use of the term 'zero-tolerance' and was replacing the term with 'zero violence'. His office was moving away from 'punishment' toward 'rehabilitation' and was looking at what could be done for students who had jeopardized their right to an education.⁹⁰

The *Globe* also relied upon law enforcement 'definers', including Detectives Muise

and Lynch. Police appeared to react quickly to the Legislature debate about the triggering incident. Muise stated that "up to 80 per cent of violent crimes in Toronto schools" were not reported. He argued that school officials "didn't realize the extent of illegal activity ... unfolding in school halls and yards" and that the police had special expertise to deal with the new problem. He stated that schools did not report incidents because they feared enrolment might be impacted. Muise diagnosed the problem as 'worse than statistics showed' and escalating. Lynch agreed that schools were in denial, particularly with respect to weapons offences, a claim supported by a 1994 Federal report, which stated that "knives [had] become the weapons of choice". Both officers predicted a crisis unless principals involved police. The police presence was unclear, however. References to arresting youth on school property reflected a law enforcement - deterrence role, while references to anti-violence lectures and to a police presence aimed at reassuring the public that schools were safe reflected community policing.⁹¹

A law and order tone, in terms of 'morality' was evident in one article of 31. A York Region Superintendent stated:

"[T]here is little teachers and school administrators can do about the proliferation of these [violent] images [that children see repeatedly] - any more than they can forestall the collapse of the family unit under the stress of divorce rates and the general transience of society. ... Forever, teenagers have sought an identity and something to differentiate themselves from their parents.... Now that society's standards are breaking down, we are seeing them go to more extreme things. There is a lessening of standards and expectations and morals."⁹²

This complete *Globe* cycle proceeded despite expression of alternative diagnoses, pronounced solutions, and ways of coping.⁹³ *Globe* journalists questioned Cooke's control culture response to the triggering incident.⁹⁴ There was also more national coverage of

perspectives and ways of coping.⁹⁵ This was observed in about 48 per cent of the 31 articles.

Signs of Waning

In 1994, survey findings indicated that the problem appeared to be waning. Task Force survey results of 1,440 teachers, principals, secretaries and custodians at 700 Ontario schools indicated that about 95 per cent said they personally felt safe in their schools.⁹⁶

Media Inventory - Language

The complete cycle proceeded in part because of 'media inventory' content in the headlines and articles: exaggeration, distortion, and symbolization. References to the situation in the United States conveyed the 'it's not so much what happened' message.⁹⁷ This was noted in about 7 per cent of the 31 articles.

Calgary Herald Evidence

In the *Calgary Herald* coverage, there were six clusters of articles and five breaks within the June, 1990 to December, 1995 period examined. A review of the 136 articles revealed two complete cycles of discrete moral panic. The first cycle of discrete moral panic commenced in September of 1990 and continued until November of 1991, when signs of waning were noted. There was then a long gap in the coverage. It was not until May of 1992 that the issue of school violence resurfaced, again as a result of a specific

incident (see Table 1). Seven observations, reflecting complete cycles of moral panic are discussed below.

Calgary Herald Complete Cycles of Moral Panic

Pre-Panic Coverage

Three months prior to the triggering of the first cycle, an isolated article provided a June, 1990, 'snapshot' of the situation. Even though its misleading headline, "Teacher shock..." suggested crisis, the text of the article reflected a 'welfare' perspective with respect to causation and response to 'violence'. There was, however, also an emphasis on the family in terms of causation, and indication of the 'manning of the moral barricades'.⁹⁸ Coverage of the second triggering incident was accompanied by an article reporting findings from a fall, 1991, survey. Results indicated that the majority of students felt safe in school at the beginning of the 1991/92 school year.⁹⁹

Triggering Incidents

An attack on two Annie Gale junior high school teachers, by fifteen youth who were not students at that school, triggered the first cycle. This first incident was followed by a second incident, of revenge, at James Fowler high school. A teacher who attempted to intervene was slapped.¹⁰⁰

The second cycle was triggered, in May of 1992, by the fatal stabbing of a student, Ryan Garrioch, outside a school. A fifteen-year-old was charged with first degree murder.¹⁰¹ In 1995, the waning panic gained momentum when an incident in Lacombe

sparked greater debate regarding bullying.¹⁰²

Weak Evidence

During the first cycle there was weak evidence of increasing incidence. That is, while the orientation was one of disaster, there were few new incidents, and references to these were often vague.¹⁰³ Over-reporting of the initial or triggering incidents accompanied other weak evidence of increasing incidence (in about 40 per cent of the 15 articles).¹⁰⁴ There was evidence of the causation - 'cannibalism'¹⁰⁵, 'sign of the times'¹⁰⁶ and 'disease'¹⁰⁷ themes. These causation themes were noted in 33 per cent of the 15 articles.

Evidence presented in the second cycle was also weak. Many articles reiterated the Annie Gale/Ernest Morrow and Garrioch incidents (about 21 per cent of the 121 articles)¹⁰⁸, but there was no support for the diagnoses of crisis and increased incidence. On at least three occasions, a passage similar to the following one appeared:

The violence issue in Calgary has been simmering for two years following reports of students bringing weapons to school, and an attack on two teachers by teenagers. It exploded last fall when 13-year-old Ryan Garrioch was stabbed to death in a Bowness schoolyard.¹⁰⁹

The Garrioch incident was recalled in five of ten articles covering the public school board election in 1992, where school violence was one platform. Few new incidents were raised in these articles.¹¹⁰ The triggering incidents were recalled in at least two articles which provided only anecdotal evidence.¹¹¹ There were other examples of anecdotal evidence.¹¹² There was no support for claims of 'madness', 'war', 'rising violence', 'plague', 'alert', to

list a few of the image-forming words from the headlines.¹¹³ Cited incidents appeared isolated. Only five incidents were noted in about 4 per cent of the 121 articles.¹¹⁴ Some were incidents of youth as opposed to school violence, although they were "falsely" reported as the latter. This was observed in about 5 per cent of the 121 articles.¹¹⁵ Conflicting information was released. This was noted in three articles.¹¹⁶ There was further evidence of the causation-cannibalism theme, in one article in this cycle.¹¹⁷

Moral Enterprise, Debate and Differing Opinion

During the first cycle, key definers included educational professionals, board chairs, police, and parents. In 1990, Chuck Rose, principal of Ernest Morrow junior high school, called a meeting to alert parents and became a key definer. He continually used 'media inventory' language to convey crisis, often recalling the triggering incidents. He also applied the term 'violence' to a range of infractions, some non-violent, and used youth violence examples. He accused other educators of being in denial. Coverage suggests that Rose sought the reinstatement of his resource officer by convincing the public of a school 'violence' crisis, when, in reality, he faced issues of 'risk'.¹¹⁸

Unlike Rose, principal Doug Mirtle focused on verbal, rather than physical or weapon-related incidents, as a 'sign of the times', yet called for a tough response. In causation statements, he referred to the "breakdown of the family unit" and to "[l]atch-key kids" and 'manned the moral barricades'. Reflecting the 'prophecy of doom' orientation, Mirtle joined Rose in predicting disaster, suggesting that serious injury or death would result if steps were not taken.¹¹⁹

Differing opinion was expressed during the first cycle (in about 26 per cent of the 15 articles). Gary Tushingham, a public school superintendent challenged the diagnoses and solutions offered by definers like Rose. He believed that issues of 'risk' were of greater concern to many than 'violence'. This was echoed by other definers, who also indicated that there was confusion between 'behavioral problems' and 'violence' (sensitization), and that there were 'turf wars'.¹²⁰ When some parents were considering moving their children to other schools, other parents' comments reflected uncertainty.¹²¹ Students were said to be settling their own conflicts, using an innovative measure imported from the United States - conflict resolution.¹²² This suggested that the issue of school violence had been overblown as softer measures were being implemented.

During the second cycle, many of the cycle one definers re-surfaced, and new spokespersons came forward to diagnose the situation and pronounce solutions. Definers included educational professionals, candidates for the public school board election of 1992 and the civic election in 1995, police, university professors, parents who were organizing to press for harsh measures, and the Alberta Minister of Education, Halvar Jonson.

Immediately following the triggering incident, bullying, behaviour once ignored became a cause for concern, as many sought an understanding of the Garrioch incident.¹²³ According to one article of the 121, some youth believed that drugs, 'rough play', bullying and intimidation were part of school life - reflecting a 'sign of the times' theme.¹²⁴ A series of articles indicated that school violence became an issue in the fall 1992 school board elections.¹²⁵ School violence was also an issue in the 1995 civic election.¹²⁶ Police and other definers spoke of new crimes, noting weapons offences in particular, despite

weak evidence. This was noted in 2 per cent of the 121 articles.¹²⁷ School and youth violence converged. This was observed in about 3 per cent of the 121 articles.¹²⁸

During the stage three coverage, the 'manning of the moral barricades' was evident. School board representatives and candidates, teachers, and experts participated.¹²⁹ The 'causation - resulting from boredom' theme was also evident.¹³⁰ Both themes were noted in about 3 per cent of the 121 articles.

The 'it's not only this theme' was also observed, signalling appropriation of the school violence issue by professionals including teachers, psychologists, and guidance counsellors.¹³¹ Definers appeared to appropriate the school violence campaign to support their demands for additional resources. This was observed in about 6 per cent of the 121 articles.

The second cycle proceeded despite differing opinion expressed by professionals, parents, and students (in about 24 per cent of the 121 articles). Weak evidence was criticized¹³², as was the nature of 'violence' and the orientation of crisis.¹³³ Some referred to changing severity of incidents, rather than increasing incidence.¹³⁴ Causation statements were also challenged.¹³⁵ The harsh response of zero-tolerance was countered¹³⁶ and there was evidence of non-control culture response.¹³⁷ There was also indication that the police presence in the schools was not a law enforcement presence.¹³⁸

Evidence of Control Culture - Diffusion, Innovation and Escalation - and a Harsh Response

In terms of pronounced solutions, during the first cycle, board definers, including the Chairs of both the Public and the Catholic Boards, Rita Dempsey and Shirley

Valentine, believed it was time "to have police move into junior high schools", indicating support for more extensive law enforcement practices, however it was unclear if they wanted a law enforcement or community policing presence. Comments from police definers, like Chief Borbridge, indicated support for both strategies. This was observed in 13 per cent of the 15 articles.¹³⁹ In one article, board spokespersons showed support for U.S. solutions.¹⁴⁰ Another article indicated that parents considered moving their children to other schools. This suggested that the problems were perceived to be district-specific.¹⁴¹

In terms of response, the December, 1990, sentencing of a youth involved in the initial incident, reflected both a 'justice' and a 'welfare' response, but was seen as harsh by the youth's lawyer, who indicated that this was the youth's first offence. The judge, wishing to "denounce this behaviour in the strongest possible terms", sentenced the boy to two months in custody, one hundred hours of community service, and an anger-management course. Dick Hehr, President of Alberta's Teachers' Associations was said to "welcome the ruling".¹⁴²

In the second cycle, while complete articles reflected a blend of 'welfare' and justice responses, headlines had a 'justice' tone, including words like 'hard line', 'strict', 'tougher' and 'zero-tolerance'. Recommendations included safety and security 'values' in curriculum, teacher training, and expanding programs like Crime Stoppers and BlockWatch. Police were considering requests to expand the school force, according to one article.¹⁴³ An escalation response, in the form of surveillance cameras, was also considered by boards, as noted in another article.¹⁴⁴

Parents also considered or took innovative action, joining groups, transferring their children to other schools, including religious schools, or choosing home schooling. This was observed in about 6 per cent of the 121 articles)¹⁴⁵ The Public School Board responded with new guidelines, one requiring parents of expelled students to enrol in family counselling or anger management courses before their children would be reinstated. This was observed in about 4 per cent of the 121 articles.¹⁴⁶

In December of 1993, Calgary trustees considered, and in January of 1994 approved, a tough policy of zero-tolerance sanctioning expulsion in response to a broad range of infractions, including stealing, defiance of authority, use of obscene language, possession of weapons, threatening, sexual harassment, and assault. The Calgary response differed from the Toronto response by targeting both parents and students, and by broadening the range of infractions subject to zero-tolerance.¹⁴⁷ One article tied the tough measure requiring parents to get help directly to the Garrioch incident, stating that: "[t]he killing shocked many people. So the school board has changed its rules about violent students".¹⁴⁸ By 1995, an increase in suspensions was linked to greater vigilance; that is, to a recently implemented zero-tolerance policy. Among the reasons given for suspension were foul language, failing to complete school work, fighting and carrying weapons to school. A minority of students, however, were said to be involved in behaviour resulting in suspension.¹⁴⁹ Articles continued to promote zero-tolerance.¹⁵⁰ That year, Calgary police appeared to use an isolated incident to press for expansion of SchoolWatch. Only ten per cent of schools had implemented a program to date and police were disappointed.¹⁵¹

Media Inventory - False Stories, Misleading Headlines and Abuse of Language

In the fall of 1990, 'media inventory' articles fuelled the first cycle of panic. This was noted in about 13 per cent of the 15 articles.¹⁵² Articles in the second cycle were also characterized by media inventory exaggeration and distortion. This has been noted in 2 per cent of the 121 articles.¹⁵³ In addition (in about 11 per cent of the 121 articles), false reports¹⁵⁴, misleading headlines¹⁵⁵, and references to the situation in other provinces¹⁵⁶, as well as the United States¹⁵⁷ manipulated public fear.

Signs of Waning

As early as October, 1990 there was indication the problem was waning, but no supporting statistics were provided.¹⁵⁸ The notion that the problem was 'waning', in 1991, was supported by the failure of a new incident to spark further debate in the media.¹⁵⁹ This stage one article, which broke a period of silence in cycle one coverage, failed to revive the debates in the media. In fact, the topic 'submerged'. It later became 'more visible' when, as noted above, Rose recalled fall, 1990, incidents as if they were new in order to gather support for resource officers.¹⁶⁰

The second cycle was seen to wane in the summer of 1994 with the publication of survey results indicating students felt safe.¹⁶¹ In January of 1995, new reports of incidents were qualified with information to reduce fear.¹⁶² By May, the panic resurfaced, however, with the publishing of a federal report on weapons.¹⁶³

4.3 Other Sources - Competing Perspectives

To determine if the problem had been exaggerated and distorted and if "the scale of [the response to school violence was] disproportionately greater than the scale of the problem" (Waddington, 1986: 245) it was necessary to consult alternative sources to print media. These provided a way to 'test' or 'check out' media coverage (Petrunik, 1980: 216).

Alternative sources such as books, journals, government documents and consultation notes reflected debate. *General Social Survey* (1993) data provided an opportunity to examine victimization data related to a sub-set of youth, those aged fifteen through seventeen years. Findings supported information provided in alternative sources and resulted in a somewhat clearer understanding of 'what was going on'.

Books, Journals, Government Documents and Consultation Notes

Day, Golench, MacDougall, and Beals-González note (1995: 12) that Canadian literature on the topic of school violence is "not prolific and data are based largely on impressionistic reports and formal and informal surveys of school personnel". Nevertheless the information provided in reviewed studies, surveys, reports and consultation notes indicates that print media coverage exaggerated and distorted the situation with respect to the orientation, nature and incidence, perpetrators, and causes of school violence. Media coverage also failed to reflect or discuss the full range of response options and police initiatives.

Orientation

While recent research material and consultation feedback recognize (Mathews, 1995: 9-10; Day et al., 1995: 13; Gabor, 1995: iii,11,18; FCM, 1994) that infractions categorized as school violence do occur, the orientation is generally one of cautious, hopeful 'concern' as opposed to 'disaster' or 'crisis'. While there is the perception that the situation has worsened within the past ten years, the sense of 'crisis' conveyed in the media inventory is not apparent.¹⁶⁴

Nature and Incidence

Bonta and Hanson (1994: 3) stress that incidents that attract public concern are generally those defined as criminal under the Criminal Code. Their statement echoes Hall et al. (1981: 3) on the ranking of violent stories, in terms of news value. Bonta et al. list (1995: 42) the categories of violent crime used in the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) system. These appear as Figure 13, below.

Violent Crime Categories within the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) System	
Homicide	
First Degree Murder	
Second Degree	
Manslaughter	
Infanticide	
Attempted Murder	
Assault	
Aggravated sexual assault	
Sexual assault with weapon	
Sexual assault	
Assault level 1 (no physical injury)	
Assault with a weapon or causing bodily harm level 2 (minor injury)	
Aggravated assault level 3 (major injury requiring medical attention)	
Unlawfully causing bodily harm	
Discharging firearm with intent	
Assault police officer	
Assault other peace officer	
Other assaults	
Other sexual offences	
Abduction	
Of person under 14	
Of person under 16	
Abduction contravening custody order	
Abduction no custody order	
Robbery	
Firearms	
Other offensive weapons	
Other robbery	

Figure 13: Violent Crime Categories within the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) System (Bonta et al., 1995: 42).

These categories reflect the American definition of a 'crime of violence', provided by Black (1990: 371):

Crimes of violence include voluntary manslaughter, murder, rape, mayhem, kidnapping, robbery, burglary or housebreaking in the nighttime, extortion accompanied by threats of violence, assault with a dangerous weapon or assault with intent to commit any offense punishable by imprisonment for more than one year, arson punishable as a felony, or an attempt or conspiracy to commit any of the foregoing offenses.

Analysis of 1988-1995 media coverage of school violence indicated that articles focused on offences that fell within the category of criminal behaviour, and that these stories were often repeated. This focus, in addition to the unqualified use of the word 'violence', served to distort the issue of school violence. Article texts often revealed that a broad range of infractions were being associated with 'violence'. School boards were encouraged to report incidents they perceived to be 'violent' in nature.

Alternative sources increase readers' understanding of the range of behaviours perceived as 'violent' and reveal that the most frequently encountered school infractions are non-criminal in nature. Infractions like vandalism and graffiti, bullying, ostracization, and verbal abuse have been associated with the term 'violence'. In addition, the convergence of youth and school violence, observed in the print media, was also apparent in other sources. This is illustrated by references to intruders and "gang activity in and around schools" (Mathews and Ryan, 1994: i; 1995: 9). Gabor states (1995: 12) that while bullying should not be ignored or minimized:

Overall responses across the country reveal that there is a lot of threatening behaviour, but it doesn't always result in physical violence.

Mathews and Ryan (1994: i; 1995: 9) and Gabor (1995: 12) summarize feedback

from focus group participants who believed that the nature of school violence was changing. That is, school violence was not 'new' but was constantly being redefined.

Gabor identifies (1995: 12,19) the six most and least frequent responses from police and school boards to the question: "What are the most serious infractions in schools?". Findings have been summarized below, in Table 7.

Table 7 - The Most Serious Infractions in Schools According to Police and School Boards (Gabor, 1995: 12,19)		
	Police	School Boards
Six Most Frequent Responses	Verbal abuse / threats	Bullying / intimidation
	Bullying / intimidation	Verbal abuse / threats
	Disorderly behaviour	Disorderly behaviour
	Property damage / vandalism	Assaults on students
	Assaults on students	Property damage / vandalism
	Stealing or other illegal acts	Stealing or other illegal acts
Six Least Frequent Responses	Robbery / extortion	Assaults on staff
	Racially motivated / hate crime	Violence by intruders
	Assaults on staff	Robbery / extortion
	Gang activity	Racially motivated / hate crime
	Violence by intruders	Gang activity
	Weapons in schools	Weapons in schools

While weapons offences were prominent in the media inventory, they appeared in the 'least frequent responses' list and were at the bottom of that list for both police and school boards. That is, while weapons offences were of concern, they were the least

frequently mentioned infractions for both groups. Assaults on staff and intruder incidents were also in the least frequent responses list. They, too, had been prominent in the media coverage. Also, infractions not officially defined as 'violent' were perceived to be so by police and teachers. This reflected a trend to criminalize certain behaviours.

Other Canadian research reflects the tendency for educators to perceive non-criminal infractions as violent and to re-define the term 'violence'. Day et al. cite (1995: 14-17) Ontario and Manitoba research indicating an increase in verbal assault. In particular, they report that 95 per cent of surveyed Ontario principals, teachers and caretakers felt safe in their schools, but that only 68 per cent felt as safe as they had five years earlier. Safety concerns were listed in descending order: trespassers, verbal assault, working alone, school architecture, physical assault, weapons, and the lack of personal alarms and portable communicators. Again, weapons and physical assault were lower on the list of concerns than other, non-criminal infractions, and there was further evidence of convergence of youth and school violence. Day et al. also cite a 1991 Ontario Teachers Federation (OTF) survey which reported a 150 per cent increase in 'major' incidents which included biting, kicking, punching, and the use of weapons; and a 50 per cent increase in 'minor' incidents, such as verbal abuse. As no base line figures were provided, it was difficult to interpret the urgency of the 150 per cent increase in 'major' incidents. It was also unclear what proportion of 'major' incidents involved kicking as opposed to weapons. The report also noted an increase in 'trespassing'.

Focusing on incidence in particular, Day et al. state (1995: 19) that because so much data is based on the perceptions of teachers, incidence is difficult to determine.

They remark that only a few student surveys have been conducted and they link teachers' perceived level of school violence to two variables: teacher confidence and administrative support:

The greater the sense of personal self-efficacy to manage behaviour problems and the higher the perceived support from the school and the school board, the lower the level of perceived violence.

Day et al. also cite (1995: 20,21) research that challenged the media view of crisis. Rodgers (1993) claimed that school violence had actually declined and West (1993) argued that school violence in Canadian schools was "low key" in comparison to the United States.

Walker also cites (1994:3) Canadian research on the nature and incidence of school violence. A 1994 Ottawa Board of Education *Interim Report* indicated that 96 weapon-related incidents and 55 other incidents (mainly physical confrontations) had occurred in Ottawa schools in 1992-93. It is unclear whether the weapon-related charges were for possession of 'potential' weapons, and whether the physical confrontations were level 1, 2 or 3. Walker also reports that 2700 Toronto school board students were suspended in 1993 - half for verbal and physical abuse, four per cent for weapons use (mainly guns and knives). It is unclear what proportion were physical as opposed to verbal assaults. It is also unclear what proportion of the 108 weapons offences (4 per cent of 2700) related to 'potential' weapons. Walker reports that Canadian Chiefs of Police attending a 1993 conference reported that violence was a 'major' concern and drew attention to 'weapons' in some schools. They promoted police resource programs as one key way of coping, and solicited financial support for such programs.

At a National consultation¹⁶⁵, while many educators, police and youth spoke of a range of infractions, others echoed the media's focus on weapons. For example, one representative from the Toronto Police commented that youth were "packing weapons", mainly knives, "for their own protection". His statement echoed media coverage, and contrasted with the lists of serious infractions documented by Gabor, and youth perceptions reported by Mathews.

Mathews et al. state (1994: i) that the "perceptions of students, parents and educators can vary widely when it comes to assessing the seriousness of any school violence problem". Mathews' later research exemplified (1995: 9,10,11,12) differences between youth and adult perceptions. The concern with drugs and weapons voiced by adults was absent from youth feedback.

While Metro Toronto police, Montreal principals (Walker, 1994: 3) and youth focus group participants (Mathews, 1995: 13) claimed that incidents often go unreported, youth also indicated (Mathews, 1995: 13) that students often handle minor incidents themselves, soliciting help from friends or siblings. This suggests that unreported incidents may have been minor in nature. Bonta et al. looked at General Social Survey (GSS), victimization survey data for 1988 and 1993. They report (1994: 17,18) that victimization rates, which capture crimes not reported to the police, changed little over five years. That is, they were not seen to be 'growing' or 'worsening'.

Bonta et al. (1994: 25) refer to a 'perceived increase in rates'. They link (1994: 2) the perception that crime is rising to the methods used to count violent crime and how the information is communicated to the public. They argue that problems with Uniform

Crime Reporting (UCR) data collection methods and with media coverage of gathered information distort the issue. After examining and comparing three methods for measuring crime: The UCR, victimization surveys, and self reports, they conclude (1994: 4) that the "different methodologies produce different results and herein lies the difficulty in assessing the actual incidence of violent crime". Non-violent crimes are said (1994: 6,7) to be under-represented in the UCR. In addition, official UCR rates are said (Bonta et al., 1994: 6,7,8; Begin, 1993: 9) to be impacted by the willingness of police to lay charges - discretion - as well as by the willingness of citizens to report crime to the police. These factors are in turn said (Bonta et al., 1994: 24,25; Begin, 1993: 10) to be impacted by policing practices, tolerance of specific behaviours, and changes in law that have altered the meaning of 'violent' crime. Sources indicate that minor acts of aggression, like school yard fights are increasingly being perceived as 'violent' and reported to police. A decade earlier these infractions rarely lead to criminal justice intervention. Once handled by schools, they were coming before the courts more and more often. Bonta et al. report (1994: 28) that level one assaults increased by 60 per cent between 1983 and 1990 while level three assaults decreased by 12 per cent during this period. Begin notes (1993: 1) that while there "is a commonly held belief that violent crime is rampant, especially among youth ... less than 15 per cent of all crimes committed by young people in 1992 were violence related". She reports (1993: 6) that between 1986 and 1991, the number of violent crimes against youth doubled - an increase due largely to minor assaults, where about one half of the 1991 charges against youth were for level one assaults. Begin also comments (1993: 6) that this 'perceived rate' of increase fuelled demands for a harsh response in terms of sentencing. This indicates that, when looking

at all recorded youth crime, a small proportion of offences were violence-related and this number had risen due to the re-interpretation of school yard fights as criminal.

Sources also report that the greater proportion of youth charges are for minor property offences. In 1991, theft under \$1,000.00 accounted for 42 per cent of youth charges (Winterdyk, 1996: 17; Day et al., 1995: 11; Begin, 1993: 7). In 1993, property offences - theft under \$1,000.00 - accounted for 54 per cent of youth charges (Begin, 1993: 7; Day et al., 1995: 9). Schissel reports (1997: 40) that "the majority of crimes teens are arrested and charged for are breaches of the YOA and defiance of the courts, minor acts of theft and vandalism, drug violations and minor assaults".

Perpetrators

In terms of perpetrators, while newspaper articles included images of battle grounds and battle fields, research reveals that a small proportion of youth was responsible for most acts. This perception echoes differing opinion expressed in media coverage.

Gabor summarizes (1995: 12, 19) responses from police and school board officials who were asked "What proportion of the student body is guilty of these behaviours in the school?". He finds (see Table 8) that while most believed that the problem was "confined to a small fraction of students, a fairly significant number saw misconduct as more widespread". It is important to note that this 'misconduct' included behaviour ranging from verbal abuse and vandalism to assaults and weapon offences. It is unclear what proportion of students were believed to be perpetrators of each behaviour identified in Table 7.

Table 8 Proportion of the Student Body Guilty of School Violence According to Police and School Board Officials (Gabor, 1995: 12,19)		
Proportion of the School Body Guilty of School Violence	Police	School Board Officials
Less than 5%	47%	56%
5 - 10%	37	35
10 - 25%	11	7
25 - 50%	3	1
Greater than 50%	1	0
No response	2	1
Total	100%	100%

A fact sheet on school violence (*FCM*, 1994) agrees, estimating that between two and five per cent of young people were perpetrators of violence, while fifteen per cent were 'on the fringe' or 'at risk'. Walker reports (1994: 3) that Ottawa Roman Catholic School Board teachers estimated that five per cent of students were involved in school violence. Mathews also supports this, stating (1995: 10) that:

[P]olice and educators acknowledged that most incidents of serious crime and violence in schools - such as stabbings, guns or weapons use, or assaults requiring hospitalization of the victim - were perpetrated by a small number of students.

With respect to perpetrator age, Gabor's survey results reveal (1995: 11,18) differences with respect to police and school board officials' perceptions. Police viewed violence in the under twelve group as less problematic than the over twelve group. Slightly more school officials than police considered violence perpetrated by youth under twelve a moderate to major problem. Hence, not only did police views differ with respect

to the nature of violence -weapons - they also differed with respect to perpetrators. Gabor notes that these differing perceptions may arise partially from the *YOA* which establishes an age boundary in terms of police jurisdiction.

With respect to youth violence more broadly, Day et al. cite (1995: 8) 1993 Statistics Canada data indicating that "based on court records, only 3 per cent of the Canadian population of adolescents aged 12 to 17 years were seen in youth court in 1992-1993". Winterdyk (1996: 15,17) reports that according to 1992-93 youth court statistics, almost 85 per cent of cases involved males. About two-thirds of criminal delinquent behaviour involved youth between 15 and 17 years of age. Nineteen per cent of offenders who appeared in court from 1990 to 1991 had five or more prior convictions.

Causation

In terms of causation, the review of print media coverage revealed the causation-boredom theme. Also, blame was placed on the family, and solutions voiced in the *Calgary Herald* called for family counselling as one intervention. Unlike media coverage, research revealed regional, and neighbourhood differences, situating the problem in the community, rather than the individual or the family. Mathews' (1995: 9,10) and Gabor's (1995: 11) research indicates that the problem varied with community size, location (rural versus urban), and population demographics; and varied by neighbourhood. Walker comments (1994: 4) that where neighbourhoods are affected by drugs, crime, and poverty, schools will experience similar problems. With respect to youth crime more broadly, Begin agrees (1993: 14) with Walker, commenting that "background factors" include:

unemployment, physical and sexual abuse and neglect, substance abuse, poverty, school failure, and dysfunctional families.

In sources other than print media, perpetrators are often referred to as 'youth at risk', a term that has been used to "identify specific groups of young people 'at-risk' of long term or chronic involvement with criminal justice or social service agencies" (Fisher, 1991: 1). Caputo and Ryan (1991: 12) and Maxson, Little and Klein (1988: 85) stress the importance of recognizing that youth may be victims and offenders, exploited and exploiters simultaneously. This concern was rarely¹⁶⁶ encountered in the media coverage. There are references in sources other than the media coverage to continua of risk and to the need for intervention (Mathews, 1995: 2,3; Simourd, Hoge, Andrews and Leschied, 1994: 448; Jarjoura, 1993: 159). For example, Jarjoura's work (1993) regarding school dropouts suggests that concern should lie not so much with preventing youth from dropping out, as with breaking the cycle of school violence. That is, dropouts who have a history of misconduct are seen to be at greater risk for later violent offending. Jarjoura's findings support intervention responses.

Response

Print media coverage of response was incomplete; it failed to inform the reader of the full range of options available and the debate surrounding implementation of these 'solutions'. Newspaper coverage emphasized reactive, 'justice' responses, which were exclusionary and punitive in nature, while alternative sources¹⁶⁷ revealed a continuum of response in terms of both the points of intervention and the nature of response.

Media coverage failed to clearly note that available and applied responses may be 'welfare' or 'justice', 'rehabilitative' or 'punitive'¹⁶⁸, 'inclusionary' or exclusionary'¹⁶⁹ or that intervention may be: 'pre-delinquent', 'pre-adjudication', or 'post-adjudication'.¹⁷⁰ It also failed to note the discretionary power of police¹⁷¹ or the fact that alternative measures may be invoked, once charges have been laid¹⁷². The needs and rights of youth were rarely discussed in the print media.¹⁷³ Inconsistency within, and across, provinces with respect to response was rarely noted.¹⁷⁴

While print media coverage emphasized 'exclusionary' response, other sources emphasize the implementation of 'inclusionary' responses within the school environment. These include conflict resolution and mediation, as well as anti-violence curricula, with the involvement of youth, education professionals and the police.

In a section on 'consideration for action' for schools, Gabor (1995: 34) states:

Early intervention with high-risk students and their families was probably the most frequently recommended preventive initiative. Other preventive initiatives mentioned frequently included the teaching of non-violent conflict resolution and training school staff to mediate conflicts.

Contrary to police views¹⁷⁵, focus group participants perceived (Gabor, 1995: 3) these measures to be effective for the larger proportion of perpetrators - those "youth involved in lower level misconduct such as bullying". Gabor's report echoed rare articles which indicated that elementary students were selected and trained in conflict resolution and mediation, solutions used in conjunction with more exclusionary measures.¹⁷⁶

Information distributed at the FCM National Consultation also suggests that there is a variety of reference material available to school boards on the topic of conflict management and mediation. For example, a catalogue lists conflict resolution and anger

management material in the form of videos, books and articles available to parents, other family members, individuals and groups serving youth, as well as youth themselves (Burnaby School District 41, 1992).

Bonta et al. cite (1994: 34,35) Olweus' 1991 report of "exemplary programs" which aim to instill pro-social values and to teach conflict resolution skills. As noted in a Solicitor General report (cited in Bonta et al., 1994: 35), these "programs have operated with little input from corrections", recognizing that a control culture response was not essential in many cases.

Begin (1993: 15) also reports that "[e]valuations of programs that focus on enriched child care, early education, improved parenting skills and reducing violence in schools have shown that it is prudent, from both an economic and social perspective, to assist children rather than punish offenders".

Codes of behaviour often encourage students to mediate. For example, one Ottawa area high school's code (A.Y. Jackson, 1994) recommends that students "resolve interpersonal conflicts and difficulties through discussions with the other person or through seeking assistance from school personnel". The Carleton Board "Safe Schools" policy encourages (1992: 2.(c)) schools within the Board's jurisdiction to use programs like conflict management. While the Ministers of Education in Ontario and Alberta urged schools to report acts to the police and hence initiate a control culture response, suggesting that 'inclusive', 'welfare' measures were no longer appropriate, these examples indicate that more 'inclusive' intervention measures are applied.

Alternative sources reveal differing opinion regarding response. For example,

Gabor's survey results indicate (1995: 33) that police support for expulsion was greater than school board support; that educators saw expulsion as a necessary 'last resort'. A greater proportion of police officers were said (1993: 13-24) to be in favour of being contacted, having the right to search lockers, expelling students, sending youth to boot camps, and using corporal punishment.

Alternative sources reveal an important debate not discussed in the print media - a debate surrounding being 'sentenced to school' and 'compulsory education'. The issue of compulsory attendance as a probation condition for young offenders is raised (CEA, 1990), and criticized. Even though school attendance is not compulsory after the age of 16, a probation order may specify attendance as a condition. Hence, students could be expelled from school and given a compulsory education order as a probation term, possibly for the same act. They may return to regular classes where they "can be disruptive and at times dangerous" (CEA, 1990: 18,19). Such orders may lie at the root of calls for the zero-tolerance response of expulsion.

The Nature of the Police Role

Media coverage was noticeably vague with respect to the police role in schools. Sources other than the media coverage provided a more complete picture of police activities, indicating that the police presence in the schools reflected three policing strategies: problem-oriented, community and law enforcement policing.

Alternative sources to print media reveal that school-liaison policing not only mirrors the broader policing strategies, but the unevenness of their implementation.¹⁷⁷

Gabor states (1995: 31):

The involvement of the police in school violence can range from the purely reactive one of responding to calls for service, to a full-time assignment in a school. Most police departments surveyed had some form of liaison program and favoured a role somewhere between these extremes.

Mathews also notes (1995: 15) this range, commenting that some forces were launching community-based approaches, while others provided reactive services only. Larger urban centres were found to offer a broader range of services. These included preventive education, drug awareness programs, street crime units, youth bureaux, school-liaison, SchoolWatch, victim support services, and assistance in the drafting of policies and procedures.

With respect to the application of problem-oriented policing, Gabor (1995: 31) states:

Backed by community policing approaches, more and more police are recognizing that problems are better solved where they are found. Successfully confronting and resolving violent behaviour in school is ideal.

A rationale for community policing initiatives is also provided by Gabor (1995: 34)

Active police liaison programs, where possible, are desirable because they cultivate more positive attitudes to the law and authority figures in general. They also assist the police in performing their enforcement functions.

In terms of proposed solutions, focus group participants at seven Canadian sites called (Mathews, 1995: 29,31) for community policing and problem-oriented initiatives. Police could establish student "hotlines"; coordinate surveys in schools and communities, attend community meetings and forums; log and analyse responses with the aim of determining needs; assist educators in defining codes of conduct; and coach or assist at

sporting events. Retired officers could assist in schools, as volunteers.

In terms of implemented measures, examples of problem-oriented and community policing are provided. Mathews et al. note (1994: i,ii,iv,1) how a pilot project brought East York school administrators and a Metropolitan Toronto police officer together to find solutions on an incident by incident basis. They also state (1994: i) that this "community based" project "puts [specially trained and non-uniformed] officers in closer contact with the public they serve".

Police and educators participating in Mathews' focus groups commented (1995: 16,17) on the importance of police presence in terms of visibility and normalization; visibility meaning a symbolic presence, where police as mediators and law enforcers send messages that violence is unacceptable and that intruders are not welcome (deterrence); and normalization in terms of showing officers as caring adults.

Officers attending the FCM (1994) Consultation spoke of their forces' initiatives. A Toronto officer stated that transferred students were counselled by police officers to refrain from associating with co-offenders and to distance themselves from their victims, the safety of other youth being of prime concern. A Port Moody officer reported that plain clothes officers were being assigned full-time to schools for periods of up to five years. Their role was to build rapport with students, to prevent visitor assaults and to deter drug dealers. They also participated as members of a Child and Youth Committee, and provided drug and alcohol counselling. Consultation attendees were informed that a youth gang contact line had been established in the province of British Columbia. A Nepean police spokesperson spoke of police participating in life skills programs, and

spending one half day per week in schools, in a youth mentoring role. A Toronto officer commented that his force's approach blended traditional law enforcement and education. An education program, undertaken by plain clothes officers, included start of the year presentations, lectures aimed to de-glamorize gangs and violence and to promote reporting of incidents to the authorities. Depending on the circumstances, officers were authorized to arrest students on school property in order to send a clear message to others that violence would not be tolerated (deterrence). The assignment of plain clothes officers and the use of arrest on school property by the Toronto police were subjects of debate at the FCM consultation.

A Sergeant with the Ottawa Police Youth Bureau explained¹⁷⁸ how eighteen officers were also assigned to Ottawa schools for a period of five years - nine plain clothes and nine uniformed officers. The plain clothes officers circulated between schools to meet with individual students; to counsel students, as required; to lecture to classes; and to speak at conferences. Uniformed officers were called in to perform a law enforcement role, as required.

These examples support Force's claim (1992: 118) that western provinces may be most willing to attempt community policing. These sources indicate that, contrary to images created in the print media, the police presence in the schools was not always in response to incidents. It was not only a law enforcement presence.

General Social Survey Data

An exploration of 1993 *General Social Survey, Personal Risk* data was valuable for the following reasons. This cycle of the *GSS* was conducted in 1993, the same year when coverage of school violence in the print media peaked (see Figure 3). Cycle 8 of the *GSS* allowed examination of victimization data for a random sample of youth aged 15 through 17, the group Winterdyk (1995: 15) reports were responsible for two-thirds of criminal delinquent behaviour, according to 1992/93 youth court statistics. As Bonta and Hanson state (1994: 15) victimization data capture those incidents which are often not reported to the police, and hence provide an important source of information. *GSS* data permitted exploration of victimization inside schools in terms of nature and incidence.

These data provided a youth perspective. Day et al. note (1995: 19) that much of the data on school violence emerges from surveys of teachers and that few student surveys had been conducted. In addition, these data reflect the experiences, perceptions and attitudes of a range of youth - not just 'respectable youth organizations', a term used by Cohen (1972: 70). Appendix B provides a brief overview of how Cycle 8 of the *General Social Survey* was conducted.

Specific cases were selected for 1993 *GSS* data analysis: those cases involving male and female youth aged 15 through 17 whose main activity was 'going to school'. Frequencies and tables were generated. Responses from full-time and part-time students were explored regarding protection from crime, satisfaction with personal safety from crime, and, with respect to the most recent infraction, the location, the nature, whether or not police were informed, and whether or not help was sought from another person or

organization. The focus was on youth from the provinces of Alberta and Ontario, where the *Calgary Herald*, *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* are published.

The weighted sample (see Appendix B) included:

249,455 Ontario male full-time students;
 84,767 Alberta male full-time students;
 220,606 Ontario female full-time students;
 58,684 Alberta female full-time students;
 5,137 Ontario male part-time students; and
 8,454 Ontario female part-time students.

There were no Alberta part-time students in the sample.

Findings and discussion follow for eight GSS8 questions selected for analysis:

1. *Obtained a Gun for Protection from Crime?*
 This question was problematic. It asked only if a gun had been obtained for protection, not if a gun had been obtained for other reasons.
2. *Routinely Carry Something for Self-Defence or to Alert Other People?*
 This question, selected to arrive at some understanding of youth perceptions of safety, was also problematic, as it did not permit separation of weapons carried for self defence, from other security devices such as alarms, whistles, or cellular phones.
3. *Satisfied with Personal Safety from Crime? - Somewhat or Very*
 This question was about perceptions of personal safety, more broadly.
4. *Number of Incidents that Occurred Within the Past Twelve Months?*
 This question was selected to arrive at some understanding of the frequency of victimization. This was important, as other questions related specifically to 'the most recent incident'.¹⁷⁹

5. *Location of Most Recent Incident?*
This question was selected to determine what proportion of 'most recent incidents' occurred inside school, as compared to the home or other locations.¹⁸⁰ This question was also problematic. While it was possible to examine victimization occurring 'inside school', it was unclear whether or not respondents included incidents occurring on school property, but not inside the school itself. Also, incidents which occurred on a sidewalk may have occurred adjacent to the school property.
6. *Nature of Most Recent Incident?*
This question was selected in order to explore the nature of the 'most recent' incidents which occurred 'inside school' specifically. Hence, only those cases where school was identified as the location of the 'most recent' incident were selected. Three questions about the nature of the most recent incident were actually used.¹⁸¹
7. *Did the Police Find Out About the Most Recent Incident?*
This question was selected because, in 1993, Alberta and Ontario police were encouraging youth and educators to report 'violent' acts to the police. School boards were also implementing policies and codes of conduct relating to the reporting of incidents. Respondents were asked whether or not the police found out about the most recent incident 'in any way'.
8. *Was Help Sought From a Person or Organization Other Than the Police?*
Like the preceding question, this one was selected because youth had been encouraged to report incidents in 1993.

Results support the view that the problem of school violence was overblown and distorted by the Calgary and Toronto print media.

Figure 14: Proportions of Alberta and Ontario Male and Female Full-Time Students Who Obtained a Gun for Protection from Crime.

Figure 15: Proportions of Alberta and Ontario Male and Female Full-Time Students Reporting That They Routinely Carry Something for Self Defence or to Alert Others

Figure 16: Satisfaction with Personal Safety from Crime (More Broadly) - Alberta and Ontario Male and Female Full-Time Students

**Table 9 - Proportions of Alberta and Ontario Students
Reporting One or More Incidents That Had Occurred Within the Past Twelve Months**

Number of Incidents within the past 12 months:	Alberta Male Full-Time Students	Ontario Male Full-Time Students	Alberta Female Full-Time Students	Ontario Female Full-Time Students	Ontario Male Part-Time Students	Ontario Female Part-Time Students
1 Incident	27.7%	48.6%	73.9%	28.2%	0%	0%
2 or More Incidents	72.3%	51.4%	26.1%	71.8%	0%	100%

Note: There were no Alberta part-time students in the sample. In Ontario, male part-time students reported that no incidents had taken place during the past 12 months.

Table 10 - Location of Most Recent Incident - Alberta and Ontario Students

Satisfaction with Personal Safety from Crime:	Alberta Male Full-Time Students	Alberta Female Full-Time Students	Ontario Male Full-Time Students	Ontario Female Full-Time Students	Ontario Male Part-Time Students	Ontario Female Part-Time Students
Inside School	18.4%	49.1%	19%	22.1%	0%	0%
Home	50.5%	16.5%	35%	52.5%	0%	0%
Other Locations	31.1%	34.4%	46%	25.4%	0%	100%

Note: There were no Alberta part-time students in the sample. In Ontario, male part-time students reported that no incidents had taken place during the past 12 months.

Figure 17: Nature of Most Recent Incident (Where Most Recent Incident Occurred Inside School) - Alberta and Ontario Male and Female Full-Time Students.

Legend:

We - Weapon
At - Attack
Pr - Property
na - Not Applicable
No - No

Figure 18: Proportions of Male and Female Full-Time Students Indicating Whether or Not the Police Found Out About the Most Recent Incident (Where It Occurred Inside School).

Figure 19: Proportions of Male and Female Full-Time Students Reporting That Help Was Sought from Another Person/Organization (Other Than Police).

Guns did not appear to be an issue in Alberta or Ontario. One hundred per cent of Ontario part-time, and Alberta and Ontario female full-time students replied 'no' to this question. While a small proportion of Ontario male full-time students (2.3 per cent) reported that they had obtained a gun for protection from crime within the past 12 months, it is unclear what proportion of these guns were firearms as opposed to pellet, air, or replica guns. One hundred per cent of Ontario part-time students reported that they carried something for self defence or to alert others. About 15 per cent of Alberta and about 10 per cent of Ontario male full-time students responded 'yes' to this question. With respect to female full-time students, a greater proportion of Ontario (49.2 per cent) than Alberta (14.7 per cent) students responded 'yes'. Once again, no distinction was made between weapons and security devices.

One hundred per cent of Ontario male part-time students were very satisfied with their personal safety. Of Ontario female part-time students, 61.1 per cent were very satisfied, while 38.9 per cent were somewhat dissatisfied. In Alberta, 92 per cent of male full-time students were satisfied with their personal safety from crime. About 26 per cent were very satisfied and about 66 per cent were somewhat satisfied, while about 8 per cent were somewhat dissatisfied. In Ontario, slightly less than 97 per cent of male full-time students were satisfied with their personal safety from crime. About 48 per cent were very satisfied and about 49 per cent were somewhat satisfied, while approximately 3 per cent were very dissatisfied. The greater proportion of male full-time students seemed to be satisfied or to feel safe. For female full-time students, regional differences were noted. In Alberta, about 86 per cent were satisfied. That is, 34.4 per cent were very satisfied,

51.8 per cent were somewhat satisfied, and 13.8 per cent were somewhat dissatisfied. In Ontario, approximately 69 per cent were satisfied with their personal safety. That is, 32.1 per cent were very satisfied, 37.1 per cent were somewhat satisfied, and 14.6 per cent were somewhat dissatisfied, while 16.2 per cent were very dissatisfied with their personal safety from crime.

All students, with the exception of Ontario male part-time students reported having been victimized at least once during the past twelve months. As noted above, incidents ranged from minor to more serious, and occurred at a variety of locations.

In Alberta, about 18 per cent of male and about 49 per cent of female full-time students' 'most recent' incidents occurred inside school. In Ontario, about 19 per cent of male and about 22 per cent of female full-time students' 'most recent' incidents occurred inside school. None of the part-time students' 'most recent' incidents occurred inside school.

Data regarding the nature of incidents reflect reports from Winterdyk (1996) and Begin (1993), indicating a high proportion of property offences. About two-thirds (66.7 per cent) of Alberta male full-time students' 'most recent' incidents which occurred 'inside school' were property offences, where neither a weapon nor an attack were applicable, suggesting that victims may not have been confronted by the perpetrator. Approximately one-third (33.3 per cent) of these 'most recent' incidents were attacks with a weapon, where no property was taken. It is important to emphasize that less than 20 per cent of the 'most recent' incidents were inside school and that less than one-third of this proportion involved a weapon where a weapon was defined as a gun or a knife, or

'something used as a weapon'.

In Ontario, 36 per cent of male full-time students' most recent incidents which occurred 'inside school' were attacks without a weapon, where no property was taken. It is important to emphasize that attacks include being hit, slapped, grabbed or knocked down, being shot, being sexually assaulted, or being beaten up - many incidents ranging from level one to level three assault (see Figure 13). Just as in Alberta, about two-thirds (64 per cent) of the most recent incidents were property offences, where neither a weapon nor attack were applicable.

For Alberta female full-time students, 58.3 per cent of 'most recent' incidents which occurred 'inside school' were attacks without a weapon where no property was taken. Once again, the definition of an attack included a range of infractions, some minor and some serious in nature. Of the 'most recent' incidents, 17.7 per cent were property offences where both a weapon and attack were not applicable; and 24.1 per cent were property offences where there was no weapon and no attack.

About 86 per cent of Ontario female full-time students' 'most recent' incidents which occurred 'inside school' appeared to be 'non-violent' in nature. That is, 47.3 per cent were property offences where neither a weapon nor attack were applicable; 21.8 per cent were incidents where no property was taken and where neither a weapon nor attack were applicable; and 16.6 per cent were incidents without a weapon, without attack, and without property being taken. The remaining incidents (14.4 per cent) were attacks without a weapon, where no property was taken. It is unclear what type of incidents comprised those without weapons, attack, or property being taken. This, coupled with the

fact that 30.8 per cent of this group were dissatisfied with their personal safety from crime, demanded further investigation regarding other types of crime.

For Alberta male full-time students, police were informed regarding about one-third of these 'most recent' incidents occurring 'inside school'. Help was not sought from another person or organization in 100 per cent of these cases. This suggests that many of the incidents may have been minor in nature, a view supported by the fact that 92 per cent of these students were satisfied with their personal safety from crime.

For Ontario male full-time students, police did not find out about these incidents in 100 per cent of the cases. Help was sought from another person or organization in almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of these cases, however. The fact that police were never informed, and the fact that 97 per cent of these students were satisfied with their personal safety from crime, suggest that the majority of the incidents may have been minor in nature.

For Alberta female full-time students, police did not find out about these incidents in 100 per cent of the cases. Help was sought from another person or organization in over half (55.6 per cent) of these cases, however. The fact that police were never informed, and the fact that 86 per cent of these students were satisfied with their personal safety from crime, suggest that the majority of the incidents may have been minor in nature.

For Ontario female full-time students, police were informed in about one-third of these cases. In slightly greater than one-third of these cases (36.3 per cent), help was sought from another person or organization.

The 1993 *GSS on Personal Risk* surveyed only a sub-set of young people. In terms of the nature of victimization and reporting patterns, this information was obtained regarding the 'most recent' incidents only. This is problematic as many of these young people had been victimized two or more times during the past twelve months. Despite these limitations, the data do lend support to the view that school violence had been exaggerated in the Calgary and Toronto print media. The greater proportion of young people aged 15 through 17 were satisfied (somewhat or very) with their personal safety from crime. These findings complement findings such as the Ontario Safe Schools Task Force results (*Toronto Star*, June 3, 1994: a1) indicating that about 95 per cent of principals, custodians, teachers and secretaries felt safe in school. Reflecting other sources, a large proportion of 'most recent' incidents (that had occurred inside school during the past 12 months) were property offences.

To summarize, analysis of print media coverage (*Toronto Star*, *Globe and Mail* and *Calgary Herald*) and a review of other sources (books, government documents, consultation notes, and *General Social Survey* data) revealed that processes of moral panic were under way, with respect to school violence. Despite a gap between reported incidents and incidence of school violence - weak evidence - print media coverage used false stories, exaggeration and distortion and the symbolization of 'violence' to depict a situation of crisis. Single incidents clearly sparked cycles of panic in which 'definers' came forward to diagnose the situation and to pronounce and implement harsh and punitive measures. This occurred despite rare attempts to challenge the panic. For example, some teachers saw the situation as one of less tolerance for certain behaviours.

rather than increased incidence. Some youth argued that their schools were safe and that the situation had been overblown.

Other sources also revealed evidence of a moral panic. While the media orientation was one of crisis, other sources reflected concern. While the print media emphasized criminal offences and symbolized violence by failing to qualify this term, other sources revealed more clearly how a range of infractions, many non-criminal, had come to be seen as violent. These sources also revealed that weapons and assaults were on the 'least frequent' list of infractions. Police were, at times, seen as responsible for perpetuating this concern with weapons and assault. Statistics provided in other sources were also problematic, however. It remained difficult to ascertain what proportion of infractions were minor in nature.

Variation in student, parent, educator and police perceptions was evident. Youth at times defined the problem differently. A scarcity of student surveys was noted, as was the call to seek out youth views more effectively. Competing views regarding incidence were revealed. Minor school infractions were seen to drive up rates of youth violence.

Challenging images of battlegrounds, alternative sources noted that a small number of youth were responsible for most acts. Police and school reports differed in terms of perpetrator age. The association of 'youth at risk' with 'violent' youth continued to be observed, in these sources.

While the causation theme was evident in the print media, other sources situated the problem in the community and emphasized 'background factors' like unemployment and poverty.

While media coverage emphasized punitive, exclusionary response, reflecting a law and order tone, other sources revealed the complexity of response in terms of points, participants, options, and debates. Print media coverage was vague with respect to the nature of the police role. Other sources revealed that three distinct policing strategies co-existed and had been implemented to varying degrees in different areas. The police presence was not always a law enforcement presence.

GSS8 data indicated that, regarding those Ontario and Alberta youth aged 15 through 17 years, the greater proportion were satisfied with their personal safety from crime. A large proportion of most recent incidents were property offences, rather than violent incidents.

4.4 Contextualization of the Panic

Cohen (cited in Taylor, 1982: 134) calls for the examination of the "metaphorical contents of newspapers, police, and judicial comments on troublesome youth"; and insists (1972: 177) that researchers "ask not why the behaviour is seen as deviant at all but why the reaction took the particular form and intensity it took at a particular time."

Contextualization of the moral panic around school violence entailed a return to the print media articles to re-examine coverage patterns and the comments made by 'definers', as well as a review of other sources. The aim was to gain some understanding of why the reaction took the form it took between 1988 and 1995.

During analysis, three initial observations related to context were made. First, there was convergence of youth and school violence. Second, the issue of budgetary

restraint and resource limitations was evident, suggesting reasons for appropriation. Third, the nature of the police presence in the schools was unclear. That is, print media coverage often failed to clarify if it was law enforcement or community policing.

The Convergence of Youth and School Violence

References to youth violence, young offenders and the Young Offenders Act often found their way into articles about school violence. Many cited incidents involved intruders who were not students. These observations introduced a new theme - the 'it's not really this' theme, meaning that the issue was not school violence, but youth violence more broadly. This 'leap' to youth violence was made by police, politicians and education professionals as 'primary definers', and by the media as 'secondary definers'. The reader is referred back to the section 'Evidence of the Process of Moral Panic in the Articles'.

This convergence may be partially explained by the fact that coverage of school violence between 1988 and 1995 was accompanied by considerable print media coverage of youth violence, young offenders, and the Young Offenders Act. The call for a harsh and punitive response to school violence reflected the call for a harsher response toward violent and repeat young offenders and toward their parents. The momentum of both campaigns (against school violence and young offenders) increased at election times.

While both topics were in the print media prior to 1992, school violence and young offender coverage increased notably that year (see Figure 3). Between February of 1988 and October of 1992, before campaigning commenced for the 1993 federal election, debates about the Young Offenders Act, diagnoses, and pronounced solutions

were observed in the print media.¹⁸²

A criminal justice platform emerged between October of 1992 and October of 1993. The Young Offenders Act, which was approaching its tenth anniversary had been a topic of debate since its implementation, but representatives from most political parties began to speak out on the Act in the months preceding the election of October, 1993. That is, as *Toronto Star*, *Globe and Mail* and *Calgary Herald* coverage indicate, federal politicians participated more directly as 'definers' commencing in October of 1992. Alternative views, although rare, continued to be expressed, countering the 'get tough' message seen in headlines preceding' the October 1993 election.

The criminal justice platform was observed in a number of articles. Coverage indicated that the law and order platform was useful to the Conservatives because it allowed them to divert voters' attention away from the economy, the GST and Free Trade, to an area where they had already introduced change.¹⁸³ The law and order climate was evident in the *Star*, *Globe* and *Herald* coverage.¹⁸⁴ While there were challenges¹⁸⁵ to the justice tone, and while some political messages blended 'justice' and 'welfare'¹⁸⁶, the strong law and order voice of Reform dominated the coverage.¹⁸⁷ Only the Reform Party called for a response impacting the parents of young offenders - a call to hold parents accountable for the actions of their children. The message of responsibility was directed at both youth, who should be treated as adults, and at their parents. In *The Blue Sheet* (Reform, 1995), the party outlines its statement of principles, said to have "remained largely unchanged since the party was founded in 1987" - evidence of law and order.

Analysis of print media coverage and other sources revealed four possible reasons

for emergence of the criminal justice platform. First, there was increasing public pressure.¹⁸⁸ Various groups supported the proposal to name young offenders. Families of victims of violence were organizing, and signing petitions, to press for a harsher response. A number of advocacy groups such as Canadians Against Violence Everywhere Advocating its Termination (CAVEAT) and the Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime were lobbying for change. Block Parents and BlockWatch groups also supported adult trials for young people, aged sixteen and older. While this pressure from advocacy groups was not observed in the *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* coverage, there was some indication, from polls, of a public call for justice. Almost fifty per cent of adults polled by Gallup called for adult trials for young offenders. "Amazing" growth in the issue of criminal justice reform was observed and fear was situated at the top of 64 trends.

Second, there was pressure from the police, who diagnosed increasing youth violence and pronounced solutions.¹⁸⁹ For example, Calgary police were frustrated by children under the age of twelve. They called for a crackdown on teenage crime. They spoke of escalating and changing crime, using 'media inventory' language. They supported work camps as a solution. The police call for a 'justice' response was appropriated by others, during the election campaign period.¹⁹⁰

Third, the Reform Party sought an issue that would set it apart from the other parties and saw the election as a time to launch¹⁹¹ its on-going¹⁹² campaign for law and order - appropriating and manipulating public fear of crime.

Fourth, there was an international justice tone or trend toward harsher measures.¹⁹³ Throughout the coverage, 'media inventory' images buttressed the campaign. During the 1980s and 1990s, articles portrayed youth as 'out of control', a 'special breed', and fear-invoking.¹⁹⁴ Articles reported an increase in violent crime, but failed to support this claim.¹⁹⁵ Public fear and anxiety continued to be fuelled by such reports, although they were challenged at times.¹⁹⁶ Following the October, 1993 election, 'media inventory' language, reflecting a 'sign of the times' tone, continued to be used in headlines to refer to a 'new breed' of youth.¹⁹⁷ 'Get tough' solutions continued to be pronounced and challenged.¹⁹⁸ Diagnoses of increasing violence were made by police and other 'definers'. These were also challenged.¹⁹⁹

Period of Restraint and Appropriation of Campaigns

Gabor's research reveals (1995: iii,16,23) that both police and school board respondents believed that the problem of school violence was more serious than it had been ten years earlier. Both groups believed that their resources were seriously inadequate.

Resource issues were also raised in the print media, with respect to education professionals and police. Spokespersons tied school violence and stress to limited resources, budget reduction and service cuts. The reader is referred back to the section 'Evidence of the Process of Moral Panic in the articles'.

Following a review of print media, and alternative sources, two observations helped to further contextualize the moral panic around school violence. First, during a

period of economic restraint, professionals came forward to emphasize their particular expertise and predicted that the school violence situation would worsen if further cuts were made, and unless steps were taken to fund initiatives and training.

Second, there was indication that teachers were not properly trained and that necessary inter-agency programs were not in place to respond to changes in law, within the first ten years of the YOA. With respect to the latter point, it is relevant to recall that Day et al. (1995: 19) link teachers' perceived level of school violence to two variables - teacher confidence and administrative support.

In line with this, the Canadian Education Association (CEA, 1990: 23,24) states that:

[S]ome boards think that [the Young Offenders Act] works well, particularly those boards that have indicated to us they do have in place more formal liaison systems, such as police liaison officers, resource officers, juvenile justice committees etc. ... [W]e saw that many boards remain unclear about certain areas of the legislation.... [T]he boards that felt most in control of the situation were boards that had taken the time to study the legislation and to do some planning before crises arose, i.e. they had written policies and procedures in place and had done in service with their staff....

Proudfoot, Hutchings, and Lawrence (1988) advise teachers to familiarize themselves with the Young Offenders Act. This suggests that the Act was not covered as part of teacher training.

There was a move toward community policing, as well as problem-oriented policing, during this period (1988 through 1995). Bayley notes (1991) that this move has been uneven and cites a number of reasons for this. The 'exportation' of policing strategies to the schools has also been uneven. One reason for this unevenness, cited

(1991: 17) by Bayley, is the availability of resources. Bayley states that police reported that calls for service were swamping Canadian police forces and impeding the move to community policing. Attendees at a 1991 symposium on community policing (PJR, 1991: 12) also spoke of rising calls for service, with no significant increase in personnel. In order to proceed with implementation of community policing, additional personnel and financial resources were required.

This lack of resources was echoed by Mathews (1995: 32,34) with respect to school-liaison policing. Gabor asked police how adequate their resources were to perform critical activities. Twenty-four per cent of police said that resources were seriously inadequate (Gabor, 1995: 16).

In response to Gabor's survey (1995), police indicated that the situation had worsened. The sense that the situation was worsening might be partially explained by the fact that police were previously not always contacted. In 1993, schools were encouraged, by police and by the Ministers of Education, to report all acts of violence to police, according to the print media review. Alternative sources indicate that the reporting of minor incidents increased during this period. The reader is referred back to the Section 'Other Sources - Competing Perspectives'. In addition, the implementation of initiatives like SchoolWatch meant that more victims and witnesses were coming forward with information and were reporting incidents. This would most certainly have generated more calls for service. In addition, police often provided youth violence examples, when consulted by the media regarding school violence. Their perceptions of school violence appeared to be influenced by their 'street crime' experiences.

This suggests that a sense of crisis was generated through the convergence of youth and school violence and through increased calls for service arising from the reporting of minor incidents. Police appeared to appropriate the school violence issue in order to solicit support for school liaison and resource officer programs.

Unclear Nature of Police Penetration of the Schools

The nature of the police presence in the schools was unclear, following a review of news articles appearing between 1988 and 1995. While print media coverage pointed to crisis and the need to involve the police, some articles suggested that police involvement was not of a law enforcement nature. The reader is referred back to the section 'Evidence of the Process of Moral Panic in the articles'.

One aim of community policing is to improve the police image in the eyes of the public served (Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994: 301-302; Kinsey, Lea and Young, 1986, and Cohen, 1985: 68). Other sources support this view, with respect to schools. For example, Mathews reports (1995: 10) that youth focus group participants believed that adults were not taking school violence seriously. He also notes that police and educators who participated in these focus groups commented (1995: 16,17) on the importance of the police presence in schools, both as a deterrence and in order to normalize the police role - to show them as caring adults.

General Social Survey data suggest that the police, particularly in Ontario, may have had a valid reason for launching school-based initiatives. *GSS8* data permitted an exploration of youth perceptions of police response. Young people aged fifteen through

seventeen years were asked to rate police response. Youth were asked the following question (GSS8: A15B):

Do you think your (local) police force does a good job, an average job or a poor job of promptly responding to calls?

Ratings from youth who reported having had contact with police as a victim of a crime could be compared to ratings from youth who reported not having had contact with police as a victim of a crime. Youth were asked the following question (GSS8: A19C):

During the past 12 months, did you come into contact with the police as a victim of a crime?

The proportions of males and females aged 15 through 17 (from Alberta and Ontario) who responded to the question and who rated police response as 'poor', are shown in Table 11.

Table 11 Proportions of Male and Female Youth Aged 15 through 17 Rating Police Response as Poor		
Gender/Contact with Police as a Victim of a Crime	Alberta	Ontario
Male - Contact	4%	0%
Male - No Contact	0	16
Female - Contact	0	7
Female - No Contact	2	17

Note: Contact indicates contact with police as a victim of a crime.

Seven per cent of Ontario females who reported having had contact with police as a victim of a crime gave a rating of poor. Also in Ontario, 17 per cent of females and 16 per cent of males who reported no contact with the police rated police response as poor. It is plausible that the police, particularly in Ontario, might wish to 'cultivate more positive attitudes' in response to such ratings. Their presence in the schools may have

been a community policing, rather than a law enforcement presence. Differences were observed, across provinces, which suggested that there may have been greater youth respect for police in Alberta than in Ontario.

To summarize, the moral panic surrounding school violence observed between 1988 and 1995 may be understood in terms of the 'it's not really this theme'; that is, as a reflection of a broader concern with youth violence and the response to young offenders. This issue was given a great deal of attention during the 1993 federal election campaign, the same year that school violence coverage peaked. Four possible reasons for the emergence of the criminal justice platform were observed: increasing public and increasing police pressure, the Reform Party's search for an issue that would set it apart from the other parties and its desire to launch its law and order campaign, and the international 'justice' climate.

References to inadequate resources suggested that the panic stemmed from frustration with the *YOA* (implemented within the past ten years) and professionals' inability to cope with changes such as the sentencing to school of young offenders. The panic may have been generated to justify resource funding during a period of restraint.

In addition, police may have exaggerated reports of school violence (evidence was weak) in order to seek funding for community and problem-oriented policing initiatives. *GSS8* data suggest that the police, particularly in Toronto, may have sought access to the schools to improve their image in the eyes of youth. Results also reflected that the Western police presence in the schools (as resource officers) may have already improved the police image in that province.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

This exploration of school violence as a moral panic began with an observation. A new print media category appeared to 'emerge into the limelight'. Coverage of school violence coincided with increasing coverage of youth violence. This coverage could be interpreted as the move of youth violence into the schools or as a moral panic. An exploration was undertaken using Cohen's structured model as a framework, one which could be extended by the work of others and one which responded to the criticisms in the literature on moral enterprise, by attending to both process and context.

When overall coverage was examined, three observations signalled moral panic and demanded further investigation. First, overall coverage patterns revealed that there had been a notable increase in media coverage of school violence since 1977. Coverage jumped considerably between 1991 and 1992, and peaked in 1993. This peak was of particular interest. In that year, school violence counts exceeded young offender article counts. Second, when headlines were analysed in terms of Cohen's stages of moral panic, less than ten per cent of all school violence headlines appeared to reflect the emergence stage, that is to relate to specific incidents. Three quarters of the headlines mapped to stages three and four, revealing a great deal of debate, as well as implemented measures, while there appeared to have been few incidents. Third, when headlines were analysed in terms of three criminal justice perspectives, a justice-utilitarian tone was observed.

Analysis then focused on three newspapers - the *Calgary Herald*, the *Toronto Star*, and the *Globe and Mail*. Again, three observations suggested that processes of moral panic were under way. There was a gap between incidents and incidence, there appeared to be cycles of moral panic, and there was indication of a law and order tone in the

headlines. Evidence of discrete moral panic was observed when complete articles were reviewed. Examination of alternative sources to print media, including the 1993 General Social Survey on Personal Risk, also revealed evidence of moral panic.

During analysis, three observations suggested why the reaction took the form it took between 1988 and 1995. Youth violence and the Young Offenders Act were common media topics at that time. School violence headlines often introduced this topic. There were reasons for appropriation of the issue of school violence by police and educators - budgetary restraint and resource limitations. The police were, during this period, moving toward community policing, and were seeking support for a variety of school-based initiatives.

Four recommendations for further research arose as a result of this exploration of school violence. First, a youth victimization survey should be conducted using a random sample of full-time students, and asking clear questions. While *GSS8* data were useful, many of the questions were problematic. Second, interviews should be conducted with law enforcement officers to determine the true nature of the police presence in the schools. It was unclear from both media coverage and alternative sources to what extent police were launching community policing initiatives or were performing a law enforcement role in the schools. Third, the role of other professionals, such as social workers, psychologists, and guidance counsellors might be explored. A great proportion of Ontario and Alberta young people aged fifteen through seventeen, respondents to the *GSS Personal Risk* survey, indicated that they had sought assistance from individuals or organizations other than the police, with respect to victimization. Fourth, the changing severity of infractions, noted by some definers, might be investigated.

This thesis contributes, in the tradition of labelling theory, to the body of research which examines the processes by which, and the context within which, social issues emerge, are acknowledged, and responded to. In particular it reinforces the need to critically examine the power of the media in terms of generating public anxiety over specific behaviour, and in terms of directing public and political attention toward certain issues and away from others.

Research conducted in this exploration of school violence as a moral panic confirms what Day et al. note (1995:12) - that Canadian literature is "not prolific" and that it consists largely of "impressionistic reports" and "surveys of school personnel". A series of interviews with teachers, principals, parents, trustees, police, and students would have been an invaluable source of information. Future projects should not only seek out alternate views, through interviews, but also focus more closely on the 'words and deeds' of the moral entrepreneurs who partner with the print media in situations where a moral panic may arise.

Appendices

Appendix A - Canadian News Database - Fields and Codes

Field	Field Name	Codes	Comments
1-4	Record Number	Not Applicable.	Record number in database.
5	Province Code	1 - British Columbia (BC) 2 - Alberta (AL) 3 - Saskatchewan (SA) 4 - Manitoba (MA) 5 - Ontario (ON) 6 - Quebec (PQ) 7 - New Brunswick (NB) 8 - Nova Scotia (NS) 9 - Prince Edward Island (PEI) 10 - Newfoundland (NF) 0 - Canadian Press	
6 - 7	Paper	VS - <i>Vancouver Sun</i> VP - <i>Vancouver Province</i> CH - <i>Calgary Herald</i> EJ - <i>Edmonton Journal</i> WF - <i>Winnipeg Free Press</i> OC - <i>Ottawa Citizen</i> TS - <i>Toronto Star</i> GM - <i>Globe and Mail</i> MG - <i>Montreal Gazette</i> HC - <i>Halifax Chronicle Herald</i> HD - <i>Halifax Daily News</i> CP - <i>Canadian Press</i> (Newswire)	
8 - 9	Day	dd	
10 - 11	Month	mm	
12 - 13	Year	yy	
14 - 19	Page	000000 (alpha numeric)	Leading zeroes (e.g. 0000a1 or 0a1a14).
20	Article Type	1 - School Violence 2 - Juvenile Delinquent 3 - Young Offender 4 - School Violence / Juvenile Delinquent 5 - Risk	Re-coded as 3 to capture juvenile delinquent and young offender articles together. Article titles returned from both school violence and juvenile delinquent searches. Re-coded as 1.

Field	Field Name	Codes	Comments
		6 - School Violence / Young Offender	Article titles returned from both school violence and young offender searches. Re-coded as 1.
		7 - Law and Order	Captured for purposes of contextualization.
		8 - Young offender and politics	Article titles returned from both young offender and politics searches. Re-coded as 3.
		9 - Politics	Captured for purposes of contextualization.
21	Moral Panic Stage	1 - Subject Emerges	Where a school violence headline reflected more than one stage, the latest stage was coded. For example, if the headline was about the handling of a specific incident, it was coded as 4. Cohen's 1972 model of a moral panic notes five stages.
		2 - Media Inventory	
		3 - Diagnoses / Solutions Pronounced	
		4 - Ways of Coping Resorted To / Amplification (Sensitization and Control Culture) / Waning	
		5 - Panic Passes or May Have an Impact	
		9 - Not Applicable	No headlines were coded as stage 5, as it was difficult, based on headlines alone, to determine if the phenomenon had passed or made a lasting impact. Only school violence articles were coded 1 - 4.
22	Article Tone (Welfare or Justice)	1 - Welfare (Rehabilitation through treatment; welfare lobby)	Tone refers to the criminal justice perspective of the article (Caputo, 1987: 130-131), as reflected in the headline only.
		2 - Justice - Just Deserts (Restrict focus to criminal behaviour, punishment as a just desert; rights focus)	
		3 - Justice - Utilitarian (Punishment - deterrence; law and order lobby)	
		9 - Not Applicable	
23+	Headline	Alpha Numeric	Actual article headline.

Appendix B - An Overview of the *General Social Survey, Cycle 8 - Personal Risk*

The user's guide for this public use microdata file states (Statistics Canada, 1994: 6-12):

The GSS 8-1 was completed for each telephone number generated in a sample. When a private household was contacted, all members of the household were enumerated and basic demographic information (e.g. age, sex and marital status) was collected for each household member. A respondent, 15 years of age or older was then randomly selected by the computer. ...

Data for Cycle 8 of the GSS was collected monthly from February 1993 to December, 1993 inclusive. The sample was evenly distributed over the 11 months to counterbalance seasonal variation in the information gathered. ...

The target population for the GSS was all persons 15 years of age and over in Canada, excluding:

1. residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories;
2. full-time residents of institutions. ...

The sample consisted of 10,385 people....

When a probability sample is used, as was the case for the GSS, the principle behind estimation is that each person selected in the sample 'represents' (in addition to himself / herself) several other persons not in the sample. For example, in a simple random sample of 2% of the population, each person in the sample represents 50 persons in the population.

For analysis of the adult information on the Personal Risk Screening Questionnaire a weighting factor, WGHT_PER was placed on the microdata file. This factor represents the number of persons in the population that the record represents. It refers to the number of times a record should contribute to a population estimate.

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Endnotes

1. The Mods and Rockers, two distinguishable groups already in existence, emerged as a threat after one specific incident, which occurred at Clacton during the Easter weekend of 1964. Cohen notes (Cohen, 1972: 29) that, out of boredom, the groups started scuffling: some youth roared up and down on their bikes and scooters, windows were broken, some beach huts were wrecked, and one boy fired a starter pistol into the air. The crowds, the noise, the general irritation, and the unprepared and undermanned police force rendered the weekend unpleasant, oppressive, and at times frightening.
2. In the Mods and Rockers media inventory, over-reporting of the initial Clacton incident was characterized by exaggeration of the seriousness of the events, and language such as 'riot', 'attack', and 'seige' which resulted in colourful, inaccurate images. Misleading headlines included words like 'violence', where the article's text did not include any reference to violence. One false story continued to be repeated in the press, although new evidence indicated that it was false. There was evidence of putative content. For example, articles referred to gangs where there was no evidence of structured gangs. There were predictive statements from police, tradesmen, and youth themselves. Symbolization was exemplified by words like 'Mod' which came to symbolize a certain status (Cohen, 1972: 31-40).
3. An example of the orientation disaster theme saw the Mods and Rockers referred to as "internal enemies who 'bring about disintegration of a nation's character'." Statements like "this thing has got worse and will get worse until we take some steps" reflected the prophecy of doom theme. Regarding images, several descriptive nouns were seen in media opinion statements. These included: louts, thugs, savages, ruffians, maniacs, hooligans, etc. With respect to causation, the sign of the times theme was evident in statements like "There is something rotten in the state of Britain and the recent hooliganism at Clacton is only one manifestation of it" (Cohen, 1972: 52,53,56, 62).
4. Specific to the Mods and Rockers study, Cohen finds (1972: 70) that while the media presented the Mods and Rockers as new, the public surveyed did not always see them in this way. While the younger group surveyed (20 - 39 years of age) was more likely to accuse the media of exaggeration and distortion, there were divergent youth views. 'Respectable youth organizations' were seen to denounce the Mods and Rockers.
5. Regarding the Mods and the Rockers, "more notice was taken of any type of rule breaking that looked like hooliganism and ... these actions were invariably classified as part of the Mods and Rockers phenomenon." One example of net widening was the 'rounding up' of youth sleeping on the beaches (Cohen, 1972: 78,83).
6. With respect to the Mods and the Rockers, examples of diffusion included the involvement of neighbouring forces and transport police on railway lines leading to the resorts (Cohen, 1972: 86).
7. During the Mods and Rockers panic, there were references to "those who had to be protected: innocent holidaymakers, old people, mums and dads, little children building sand castles and honest tradesmen", in order to justify measures (Cohen, 1972: 87).
8. With respect to the Mods and Rockers, one example of innovation was "restitution ... not simply through financial reparation but by supporting the 'work scheme' idea: this involved visible restitution (repairing broken windows or sweeping the streets) organized along para-military lines" (Cohen, 1972: 90).

- 9 In the case of the Mods and the Rockers, the phenomenon that had existed even before it was considered a threat was seen to pass or "wane" because "there was simply a lack of interest ... [because] other phenomena that were both new and newsworthy forced themselves into the public areas" (Cohen, 1972: 199).
- 10 Cohen places the process of panic within the context of changing styles of life in Britain. Mass teen culture emerged giving middle-class youth greater opportunity or more alternatives than older citizens had experienced and than working-class youth, who were forced to make things happen out of nothing (Cohen, 1972: 178,181,182). A public drama (Clacton) triggered the panic around these youth (Cohen, 1972: 190); that is, focused attention on groups who were already in existence, naming them and confirming their deviant identity (Cohen, 1972: 193,194). These youth became 'scapegoats'. Cohen comments that this "scapegoating and other types of hostility are likely to occur in situations of maximum ambiguity, noting that there was a "lack of clarity about what the Mods and Rockers had actually done" (Cohen, 1972: 193). The extreme exclusionary response "was as much to what they [the youth] stood for as what they did" (Cohen, 1972: 197).
- 11 As an example of the failure to tie increases in crime to changes in law, Pearson notes that when the school-leaving age was raised in 1972 from 15 to 16 years, the peak-age for known criminal offenders rose in response, indicating that the transition from school to work - or dole - rather than 'instinctual turbulence in adolescence, most usefully explained the phenomenon of 'peak age'.
- 12 It should be noted that articles falling under the category 'juvenile delinquent' were re-coded as 'young offender' articles in order to capture these as one type of article.
- 13 Overall coverage refers to media coverage captured and indexed by the *Canadian News Index* and the *Canadian Business and Current Affairs* services.
- 14 Analysis was restricted to those newspapers captured by the *Canadian News Index* and the *Canadian Business and Current Affairs* services. The newspapers are identified in Appendix A. It is important to note that not all Canadian papers are captured. Research, therefore, focused on these sources representing major Canadian cities.
- 15 Cohen states (1985: 79) that the school was acknowledged as a 'site where crime, delinquency, and violence take place' in the 1970s.
- 16 Where article titles were returned for both school violence and young offender or juvenile delinquency, these were counted only once in the database, as school violence articles. Juvenile delinquency articles were re-coded as young offender articles.
- 17 Examples of headlines mapped to stage 1 include: "Girls leg broken in 3 places during recess attack at school" (*Toronto Star*, February 16, 1988: a1,a7); and "Student 12, stabbed with penknife" (*Vancouver Sun*, December 15, 1992: a1,a16).
- 18 Examples of headlines mapped to stage 2 include: "Playgrounds of fear take over US Schools" (*Toronto Star*, May 14, 1989: h1,h2); and "Firearms and fear in Metro schools: Guns part of student life. Metro teens say" (*Toronto Star*, April 12, 1991: a1, a28).
- 19 Examples of headlines mapped to stage 3 include: "Educators want cops in schools" (*Calgary Herald*, September 27, 1990: a1,a2); and "Vancouver Mayor calling summit to make schools safer" (*Vancouver Sun*, January 31, 1992: b1,b8).

20. Examples of headlines mapped to stage 4 include "Communities are designing schools to discourage crime" (*Montreal Gazette*, March 11, 1991: b6); "Getting along: Students learn ways to handle conflict" (*Ottawa Citizen*, February 11, 1993: b1); and "Zero tolerance leading to 'silly' reactions" (*Ottawa Citizen*, May 10, 1994: b2).

21. Tone was coded for 42% of the young offender and school violence headlines only. In 58% of the headlines, there was insufficient information to code the criminal justice perspective, or tone.

22. A sample young offender headline with a 'welfare' tone is "MPs told to cut at the roots of crime: Social programs better than more police, prisons, experts tell committee" (*Ottawa Citizen*, February 26, 1993: a1). A sample young offender headline with a 'just deserts' tone is "Taking the joy out of joy riding" (*Toronto Star*, October 2, 1992: a27). A sample young offender article with a 'utilitarian' tone is "Young cons could enter work camps: Campbell" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, March 9, 1992: a3).

23. Incidents were noted in the following *Calgary Herald* headlines: "Trigger-happy student 'can't explain" (January 17, 1991: b4); "Ryan loathed violence: 'he was taught not to fight'" (May 13, 1992: a4); "Youths clash: N.W. students involved in bloody brawl" (February 18, 1993: b1); "Father defends youth's role in brawl" (February 19, 1993: b1); "Mistake delays teen's case [Garrioch case]" (April 15, 1993: b7); "Violent start to the school year: bullet narrowly misses student" (September 4, 1993: a1,a2); "Arrests close in [unspecified] attacks" (September 9, 1993: b1); "Girl scared away from school" (November 19, 1993: b5); "Adult student charged in [unspecified Toronto] shootings" (October 21, 1994: a3); "Assaults on students place Banff on alert: groups to meet teens, parents to combat violence" (February 24, 1995: a11).

Incidents were noted in the following *Toronto Star* headlines: "Girl's leg broken in 3 places during recess attack at school" (February 16, 1988: a1,a7); "Teen girls charged as police raid schools [charges unspecified]" (June 8, 1990: a1,a3); "Youth, 16, pleads guilty to schoolyard murder [Garrioch case]" (May 13, 1993: a15); "Thistletown student knifed [by 18-year-old] during debate in classroom" (October 14, 1993: a32); "Student stabbed near a school [by male who was not student at school]" (October 15, 1994: a3); "Basketball manager, girl 14, stabbed after school game: Two teenagers suspects in attack at Woburn C.I." (November 12, 1994: a23); "Basketball player, 17, charged in 'mob' violence at high school" (January 21, 1995: a6); "12-year-old student faces 27 [unspecified] charges" (February 14, 1995: a3).

An incident was noted in the following *Globe and Mail* headline: "Boy, 12 charged in 'reign of terror': Scarborough pupil accused of using violence to rob classmates of lunch money, candy and to extort test answers" (February 14, 1995: a9).

24. *Calgary Herald* media inventory headlines included: "Armed for combat: 'It used to be safe,' says attack victim" (October 5, 1990: b1); "Alarm raised over school weapons" (June 26, 1992: b1); "Bubble burst on notion of safe sanctuary" (October 11, 1992: a1,a2); "Youth violence on the rise" (March 2, 1993: a8); "Scared in school" (April 10, 1993: b8); "Students feel the fear" (May 21, 1993: a4); "Somebody's got to stop this 'madness'" (August 29, 1993: b1,b2); "School violence" (November 21, 1993: a2); and "Losing the war" (November 24, 1993: a4).

Toronto Star, media inventory headlines included: "Growing violence dark new chapter in school sports, organizers fear" (December 11, 1989: a2); "Teen violence: a growing menace" (April 3, 1990: a1,a7); "Rebels without a cause terrorize students" (April 4, 1990: a7); "Violence on rise: Teachers tread 'fine line' as school violence grows" (October 21, 1990: b1,b5); "Firearms and fear in Metro schools" (April 12, 1991: a1,a28); "School violence growing: Police say 40% of students in some classes admit they carry weapons" (April 1, 1993: ny3); "The violence in our schools" (February 26,

1994: a1); "Crime erupting in classrooms" (February 26, 1994: a4); "Violent students" (September 20, 1994: a22); and "Schools 'stretched' to meet rise in violence" (January 25, 1995: a6).

Globe and Mail media inventory headlines included: "The guns are drawn in school poetry: a frightening new word is cropping up in school children's creative writing" (June 8, 1992: a1); "When school grounds turn into battle grounds: Use of weapons by teens a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10); "Schools are turning into danger zones" (May 19, 1994: a1.a8); "Students arming in self-defence" (May 20, 1994: a6), and "Weapons, assaults on the rise" (October 21, 1994: a10).

25. In the *Calgary Herald*, alternative student views were evident in: "Violence no big deal with teens: forum" (November 20, 1993: b2).

In the *Toronto Star*, alternative student views were evident in: "Teens divided on tough violence policy" (November 3, 1993: a1.a7); "Lifetime ban not only way, youth leader tells trustees" (November 18, 1993: a30).

In the *Globe and Mail*, alternative student views were evident in: "Expulsion not answer, students tell educators" (March 7, 1994: a13).

26. In the *Calgary Herald* the 'disaster' orientation theme was observed in: "School violence rising: Meeting called by principal to alert parents to problem" (October 4, 1990: a1.a2); "Violence up in BC schools" (June 22, 1993: a2); "School violence conference called: Letters and calls from public prompt gathering" (August 14, 1993: b3); and "Crackdown urged on school violence" (December 14, 1994: a1.a2). The 'prophecy of doom' theme was noted in: "Kids will hurt from cuts to psychologists: Group" (October 28, 1993: b7); "We're [guidance counsellors] getting the message that we're not necessary" (November 11, 1993: b7); and "Teachers fear rise in violence: bill could give School Act teeth" (February 19, 1994: a1). The 'disease' orientation theme was noted in: "Schools plagued by weapons: 20% of students say they've been armed" (July 7, 1994: b1).

In the *Toronto Star*, a 'disaster' orientation was reflected in: "Gang fights, weapons force schools to emphasize old-fashioned values" (June 8, 1989: a2); and "School violence 'escalating': Teens using arms to solve problems, police say" (October 8, 1992: ny1). The 'it's not only this' theme was noted in: "Tory study stresses victims' rights: Justice tilted toward criminals, Task Force says" (January 22, 1994: a22). The 'it's not so much what happened' theme was observed in: "Future society will pay for youth poverty of today" (January 28, 1995: b2). Abuses of language were used to manipulate fear of crime, as exemplified by: "'Shaken' Cooke targets school violence" (October 22, 1994: a15).

In the *Globe and Mail*, the 'disaster' orientation theme was reflected in: "Women teachers say violence rising: Group calls on province for action" (August 15, 1991: a5); "Survey finds school violence increasing" (August 20, 1991: a6); "School violence worse than expected Ontario survey says: Report finds male and female pupils equally likely to be victims of harm" (September 28, 1993: a20); and "Violence puts schools on the spot: Ontario urged to set up special programs: schools seek new programs for banned violent students" (March 3, 1994: a1.a2). The 'it's not so much what happened' orientation theme was noted in: "Search for guns, knives, routine in many US schools" (September 20, 1993: a10).

27. Headlines creating powerful images related to weapons included: "When children take weapons to school" (*Toronto Star*, April 23, 1989: b4); "Gang fights, weapons force schools to emphasize old-fashioned values" (*Toronto Star*, June 8, 1989: a2); "Confiscated weapons attest to growing tide: Principals blame family breakdown for kids' emptiness" (*Calgary Herald*, October 5, 1990: b1);

"Principal paints violent picture: Weapons are common at school" (*Calgary Herald*, November 6, 1991: a11); "School violence 'escalating': Teens using arms to solve problems, police say" (*Toronto Star*, October 8, 1992: nyl); "Kids feel unsafe at school: One in five carry weapons, says education board report" (*Calgary Herald*, May 18, 1993: a1,a2); and "Schools plagued by weapons: 20% of students say they've been armed" (*Calgary Herald*, July 7, 1994: b1).

28. Examples of headlines linking school and youth violence included: "Even teen thieves, killers heading back to school" (*Toronto Star*, September 3, 1991: a1,a18); "Youth violence is on the rise" (*Calgary Herald*, March 2, 1993: a8); and "Schools need access to facts on young offenders, brief says" (*Globe and Mail*, September 21, 1994: a9).

29. US examples included: "Playgrounds of fear take over US schools" (*Toronto Star*, May 14, 1989: h1,h2); and "US schools struggle to combat rampant violence among students" (*Toronto Star*, April 19, 1992: f2).

30. Deterioration was measured in: "School violence worse than expected Ontario survey says: Report finds male and female pupils equally likely to be victims of harm" (*Globe and Mail*, September 28, 1993: a20).

31. Headlines reflecting safeness included: "Most city students feel safe" (*Calgary Herald*, May 13, 1992: a1); "No safer place to learn than Scarborough" (*Toronto Star*, December 4, 1993: b3); "Students feel safe, survey finds" (*Calgary Herald*, June 15, 1994: b5); and "Candidate says violence is rare" (*Calgary Herald*, September 29, 1995: b6).

32. Exaggeration was suggested by: "Schools safe, despite weapons: official says high profile tragedies have magnified problems" (*Calgary Herald*, August 24, 1994: b1); and "Don't expel students for being kids, schools told [Earls Court Child and Family Centre of Toronto]" (*Toronto Star*, February 24, 1995: np).

33. Examples of headlines which included the word 'violence' without qualification included: "Teen violence a growing menace: Violent teenagers a major problem in school system" (*Toronto Star*, April 3, 1990: a1,a7); "Violence on rise: Teachers tread 'fine line' as school violence grows" (*Toronto Star*, October 21, 1990: b1,b5); "US schools struggle to control rampant violence among students" (*Toronto Star*, April 19, 1992: f2); "Youth violence on the rise" (*Calgary Herald*, March 2, 1993: a8); "School violence" (*Calgary Herald*, November 21, 1993: a2); "School violence rising: Meeting called by principal to alert parents to problem" (*Calgary Herald*, October 4, 1990: a1,a2); and "Women teachers say violence rising: Group calls on province for action" (*Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1991: a5).

34. Headlines reflecting support for more extensive law enforcement practices, in the form of pronounced solutions included: "Educators want cops in schools" (*Calgary Herald*, September 27, 1990: a1,a2); "Charge 10-year-olds in criminal cases, task force proposes" (*Toronto Star*, June 4, 1993: a1); "Let police deal with violence in schools, Metro officer says" (*Toronto Star*, October 14, 1993: a3); and "Police urge schools to report all violence: 'slap on the wrist' approach drives kids to protect themselves, officer says" (*Globe and Mail*, October 18, 1993: a12).

35. Innovation and diffusion responses were observed in the *Calgary Herald*: "More cops to patrol schools: Parents to defuse violence" (October 5, 1990: a1,a2); "School violence decreasing with better cooperation" (November 7, 1991: b1); "School Watch puts onus on teens: Program relies on students to make their schools safer" (March 21, 1993: a3); "Block Watch adapted for schools: city police turn to students to monitor crime" (May 19, 1993: b3); "School Watch" may expand: program to fight crime may be a reality at Forest Lawn" (September 8, 1993: b1); "On the run: Const. Kevin McInnes

is a very busy man: part counsellor, part friend, and full-time cop" (October 29, 1993: b6).

Innovation and diffusion responses were observed in the *Toronto Star*: "Ontario schools ordered to report acts of violence to police" (October 5, 1993: a10); "Police schools combine forces to cut violence" (October 23, 1993: a17); and "Teens in Scarborough report violent students" (November 18, 1993: a1.a3). While all three are examples of innovation, the first raises questions about sensitization - the pull of more youth into the sensitizing net spoken of by Cohen (1972). Softer innovation was noted in the headline: "Playing fair" (April 19, 1993: b1.b2).

Innovation and diffusion responses were noted in the *Globe and Mail*: "Student conflict managers go looking for trouble" (April 15, 1993: c8); "Schools put peacemaking on curriculum" (December 22, 1993: a8); "Looking for trouble in the playground" (December 22, 1993: a8); "Educators police forced to join forces" (May 23, 1994: a5); "Policing (literally) the schools" (April 21, 1995: a24); and "Student Crime Stoppers gang up on violence: Young tipsters who call special hot-line are guaranteed anonymity, allaying fears of retribution" (September 11, 1995: a6). There was a reference to US control culture in the *Globe and Mail* headline: "Canadian officials grapple with safety concerns confronted long ago by administrators of US battle zones: Peacekeeping force patrols New York schools" (May 21, 1994: a3).

36. The control culture response of escalation (Cohen, 1972) was noted in the *Calgary Herald*: "In brief: Metal detectors in Philadelphia schools" (December 16, 1992: a12) reported US escalation. "Security review launched: Possibility of adding surveillance cameras examined by officials" (December 9, 1994: b1) reported Canadian escalation as a pronounced solution.

Escalation was noted in the *Toronto Star*: "Schools hand out 'panic buttons' to embattled staff" (June 5, 1992: a1); and "Security cameras touted for schools but boards reject use of guards, metal detectors" (October 26, 1994: a4).

Escalation was noted in the *Globe and Mail*: "Keeping an (electronic) eye on pupils" (May 15, 1995: a3).

37. Differing opinion, countering innovation and diffusion responses, was noted in the *Toronto Star*: "Police not solution to school violence" (December 23, 1993: ms3); and "Boards differ in treatment of violence at schools" (January 20, 1994: sd2).

38. *Calgary Herald* headlines reflecting the introduction of harsh and punitive measures included: "Hard line on violence: trustees accept strict rules to reinstall expelled students" (April 14, 1993: b1); "Schools promise hard line on violence" (September 5, 1993: a1); "Wayward students face tougher penalties: the hammer is about to fall" (December 8, 1993: b1); "Expel weapon-toting students" (October 30, 1994: a6); "Corporal punishment needed" (January 3, 1995: a6); "Judge condemns school violence" (January 13, 1995: b3); "Discipline crackdown in the works: but catholic school board has no plan to bring back the strap" (July 4, 1995: a1); "Shocks await back at school" (August 29, 1995: b1); and "Responding to school violence: the zero tolerance option" (December 9, 1995: a17).

In the *Toronto Star*, the following examples of headlines reflecting harsh and punitive measures were noted: "Tighten security, punish ruffians schools urged" (April 4, 1990: a7); "Charge 10-year-olds in criminal cases, task force proposes" (June 4, 1993: a1); "Schools consider tough policy on violence" (October 21, 1993: sd1); "Tough policy on violence may ban students for life" (November 2, 1993: a1.a2); "Guns, knives bring 'zero tolerance' to school" (December 1, 1993: a27); "First test for policy on school violence: Scarborough teen faces ban for life" (January 5, 1994: a1); "Changes to school suspension rules sought" (January 27, 1994: sd1); "Court clears way for lifetime expulsion" (February 2,

1994: a7); "Education system needs protection from violent youth" (February 22, 1994: a21); "Repeal rule on school suspensions, province urged" (March 4, 1994: a8); "Pupils' record to list violence, Ontario rules" (June 3, 1994: a1); "Ontario gets tough on school violence: School boards get 18 months to enact zero-tolerance plans" (March 6, 1994: a1,a5); "School board seeks longer suspensions" (March 22, 1994: a6); "Zero tolerance working, board says" (June 23, 1994: sd1); and "Tories tout boot camps for young offenders: Harris gets tough on law and order" (May 30, 1995: a1).

The *Globe and Mail* included the following headlines reflecting harsh and punitive measures: "Police urge schools to report all acts of violence: 'slap on the wrist' approach drives kids to protect themselves, officer says" (October 18, 1993: a12); "Record of violence will stick with students: Ontario boards to adopt policies on aggressive conduct as part of new measures for safer schools" (November 26, 1993: a10); "Zero marks for a new policy: a plan for zero tolerance disturbs those it is meant to serve" (January 6, 1994: a13); "Province gets tough on violence: schools required to have zero tolerance measures in place by September, 1995" (March 7, 1994: a13); "Educators police forced to join forces" (May 23, 1994: a5); and "Michael Harris, jailer" (May 31, 1995: a15).

39. In the *Calgary Herald*, the 'sign of the times' causation theme was seen in the headlines: "Violence mirrors social problems" (October 6, 1990: a1,a2); "Front line troops' feeling the pressure of changing times" (February 11, 1994: a15); "Violence reflects social values" (September 1, 1994: a6); and "Schools getting more troubled kids: problems plaguing students reflect what occurs in community" (December 20, 1995: b2).

In the *Calgary Herald*, the 'disease' theme was seen in the headline: "School board wants families of violent students to get help" (April 6, 1993: a1).

In the *Calgary Herald*, the causation theme, 'resulting from boredom', was seen in the headlines: "Teen violence blamed on US television: sociologist says US shows are leading culprit" (November 21, 1993: a5); and "TV violence fuels school bullying" (June 16, 1994: b1).

In the *Toronto Star*, while one headline appeared to blame parents for failing youth in need, another emphasized protection from youth, and youth responsibility: "Parents not there for violent youth, conference told" (November 18, 1993: a28); and "Education system needs protection from violent youth" (February 22, 1994: a21).

40. Henceforth, the *Toronto Star* may be abbreviated to the *Star*, the *Globe and Mail* may be abbreviated to the *Globe*; and the *Calgary Herald* may be abbreviated to the *Herald*.

Differences in data presentation for each of these papers reflect differences observed during the analysis. For example, for the *Toronto Star*, a table is used to summarize the nature of the incidents, because there were a greater number of incidents noted in this paper. Some sub-headings have been merged because the supporting articles reflected two moral panic characteristics, for certain newspapers. For example, 'Weak Evidence and Unclear Nature of Violence' is unique to the *Globe and Mail* Broken or Rerouted Processes section.

41. In one example of a misleading headline, "Boards, staff, students take aim at violence: Schools hit back at violence" (September 7, 1992: a1,a7) fear was manipulated, through symbolization, as the term 'violence' was not qualified. However, two important points surfaced in the article, which reported on a 'zero-tolerance' program launched at Humber Summit Middle School. First, the program was implemented at a school where there were no problems. Second, Detective Rasbach of Metro's street crime unit had been assigned to this school for a period of a year. It was interesting that the 'resident expert on teen violence' (as noted in an article of April 4, 1990: a7) had been assigned to a school

without violence when Metro high schools were said to be "plagued in recent years with knife fights, armed gangs squaring off against each other, robberies and vandalism" and when violent incidents were "occurring at an alarming rate in elementary schools too"

Other examples, reflecting sensitization, guilt by association, exaggeration, and causation-cannibalism included: "When children take weapons to school" (April 23, 1989: b4); "Playgrounds of fear take over US schools" (May 14, 1989: h1,h2); "Gang fights, weapons force schools to emphasize old fashioned values" (June 8, 1989: a2); "Growing violence dark new chapter in school sports, organizers fear" (December 11, 1989: a2); "Tighten security, punish ruffians schools urged" (April 4, 1990: a7); "Teen violence a growing menace: violent teenagers a 'major problem' in the school system" (April 3, 1990: a1,a7); "Schools aim to tame wildest kids: Class violence leads to lessons in easing anger, finding friends" (January 9, 1992: a2); "5 teens charged as police raid schools" (June 8, 1990: a1,a3); "Violence on rise: For students and teachers, school life is much tougher than in the past: Teachers tread 'fine line' as school violence grows" (October 21, 1990: b1,b5); "Firearms and fear in Metro schools: guns part of student life, Metro teens say" (April 12, 1991: a1,a28); "Schools hand out 'panic buttons' to embattled staff" (June 5, 1992: a1); and "School violence growing: police say 40% of students in some classes admit they carry weapons" (April 1, 1993: ny3).

42. "When children take weapons to school" (April 23, 1989: b4) conveyed a 'sign of the times' message about increasing violence, but also said that incidents were "isolated". "Growing violence dark new chapter in school sports, organizers fear" (December 11, 1989: a2) reported only one recent incident following the ejection of a spectator from a sports event. "Rebels without a cause terrorize students" (April 4, 1990: a7) reported an intruder attack on a student in class - an incident considered atypical by the principal. "Violence on rise: For students and teachers, school life is much tougher than in the past: Teachers tread 'fine line' as school violence grows" (October 21, 1990: b1,b5) noted two incidents - a teacher was kicked while trying to disperse students; and a youth was knocked out in a fight with a student. "Firearms and fear in Metro schools: Guns part of student life, Metro teen says" (April 12, 1991: a1,a28) reported, only one vague example, stating that a student 'shot out a window' at school, and cited incidents which occurred at malls, yet generalized about increasing violence. "School violence 'escalating': Teens using arms to solve problems, regional police say" (October 8, 1992: ny1) reported a fight 'near' a school. "Youth 16, pleads guilty to schoolyard murder" (May 13, 1993: a15) reported the guilty plea from David Fraser for the Calgary stabbing of Ryan Garrioch on school property, in 1992. "Standard behavior codes urged for all schools" (August 19, 1993: a9) reported that teachers were concerned about a 4.1 per cent increase in violence over the past year. The question was 4.1 per cent of what figure?

43. "Girl's leg broken in 3 places during recess attack at school" (February 16, 1988: a1,a7); "School bullies: parents, kids feel helpless" (February 19, 1988: a1) noted that a Toronto Superintendent did not have information to support an increase in bullying, but believed incidents of intruder violence against students were increasing. "When children take weapons to school" (April 23, 1989: b4) noted an "alarming increase in assaults", including assaults on teachers by students, but did not support this statement with examples, or indicate what proportion were verbal threats as opposed to physical assaults. A vague reference to trustees who were "grappling" with street kids and gangs suggested convergence of youth and school violence. "School boards struggle with abuse issue; boards of education strive to cope with issues of abuse"; "Schools seek policy on student assaults" (June 18, 1991: f1,f4) quoted an Ontario Teacher's Federation expert on the 'new' problem of student assault, a statement contradicted by other educators who spoke of fistfights being a common way of settling differences, in the past. "School violence 'escalating': teens using arms to solve problems, regional police say" (October 8, 1992: ny1) reported that, by October of 1992, weapons were considered to be a major problem for the police, but the article spoke of 'potential' violence, reflecting the 'it's not so much what happened' theme. Youth and school violence converged, as examples of off-school property incidents were provided.

44. "Gang fights, weapons force schools to emphasize old-fashioned values" (June 8, 1989: a2); "Growing violence dark new chapter in school sports, organizers fear" (December 11, 1989: a2); and "Violence on rise: For students and teachers, school life is much tougher than in the past; teachers tread 'fine line' as school violence grows" (October 21, 1990: b1,b5).
45. "When children take weapons to school" (April 23, 1989: b4) began with a vague reference to a classroom stabbing incident involving the use of scissors, but introduced the broader topic of youth violence, with police comments about increasing calls from parents and references to assaults occurring away from schools, street kids, and gangs. "Violence on the rise: For students and teachers, school life is much tougher than in the past: Teachers tread 'fine line' as school violence grows" (October 21, 1990: b1,b5) switched from fear and rumour about school violence to the topic of overcrowding, students having to share lockers, the library being full, the cafeteria being open for only three hours per day. Students were said to roam the halls because they had no place to gather. Other examples include: "Playgrounds of fear take over US schools" (May 14, 1989: h1,h2); "Gang fights, weapons force schools to emphasize old fashioned values" (June 8, 1989: a2); "Schools worry about right to expel thugs" (December 1, 1989: a25); "Teen violence a growing menace: Violent teenagers a 'major problem' in the school system" (April 3, 1990: a1,a7); "5 teens charged as police raid schools" (June 8, 1990: a1,a3); "Even teen thieves, killers heading back to school" (September 3, 1991: a1,a18); "Youth 16, pleads guilty to schoolyard murder" (May 13, 1993: a15); "MP's bill would prosecute offenders as young as 10" (May 13, 1993: a15); "Charge 10-year-olds in criminal cases, task force proposes" (June 4, 1993: a1); "Young Offenders Act has flaws, Lewis admits" (October 22, 1992: a7); and "School violence growing: Police say 40% of students in some classes admit they carry weapons" (April 1, 1993: ny3).
46. "Playgrounds of fear take over US schools" (May 14, 1989: h1,h2); "Tighten security, punish ruffians schools urged" (April 4, 1990: a7); "Rebels without a cause terrorize students" (April 4, 1990: a7); "School boards struggle with abuse issue: boards of education strive to cope with issues of abuse" (June 18, 1991: f1,f4); "US schools struggle to control rampant violence among students" (April 19, 1992: f2); "Teacher uses gentle weapons in school wars" (April 26, 1992: a1,a16); "Schools hand out 'panic buttons' to embattled staff" (June 5, 1992: a1); and "Standard behavior codes urged for all schools" (August 19, 1993: a9).
47. For example, in "When children take weapons to school" (April 23, 1989: b4), public school teachers reported that while the number of incidents wasn't increasing, the severity of incidents was "School violence 'escalating': Teens using arms to solve problems, regional police say" (October 8, 1992: ny1) indicated that students were divided on whether or not a problem existed in their schools. Some believed the atmosphere was less dangerous than it had been in the past.
48. "91% favour testing, poll shows" (May 29, 1993: a8) reported *Toronto Star* poll results indicating public concern.
49. This may have been explained by the fact that this was the summer period, when students were away from the schools.
50. "Ontario schools ordered to report acts of violence to police" (October 5, 1993: a10).
51. "Security cameras touted for schools, but boards reject use of guards, metal detectors" (October 26, 1994: a4); and "Student suspended following stabbing" (November 10, 1994: ny1).
52. "Ontario schools ordered to report acts of violence to police" (October 5, 1993: a10).

53. "Scarborough trustees target school violence" (October 14, 1993: a3); and "Schools to consider tough policy on violence" (October 21, 1993: sd1) noted that students as young as nine years of age were being 'disarmed'.

54. For example, in "Scarborough trustees target school violence" (October 14, 1993: a3) a junior high school principal reported that she had seized a knife and suspended a student. It was unclear how the knife came to be confiscated or how the youth intended to use it.

55. "Ontario schools ordered to report acts of violence to police" (October 5, 1993: a10).

56. "School violence alarms trustee" (October 7, 1993: a7); "Scarborough trustees target school violence" (October 14, 1993: a3); "Schools to consider tough policy on violence" (October 21, 1993: sd1); "Tough policy on violence may ban students for life" (November 2, 1993: a1.a2); "Teens divided on tough policy" (November 3, 1993: a1.a7); "Parents not there for violent youth, conference told" (November 18, 1993: a28); "Lifetime ban not only way, youth leader tells trustees" (November 18, 1993: a30); "Ontario vows war on school violence" (November 25, 1993: a1); "School violence down, parents told" (November 25, 1993: a15); "Board sets its policy on school violence" (December 2, 1993: br2); "First test for policy on school violence: Scarborough teen faces ban for life" (January 5, 1994: a1); "Boards differ in treatment of violence at schools" (January 20, 1994: sd2); "Changes to school suspension rules sought" (January 27, 1994: sd1); "Court clears way for lifetime expulsion: Scarborough student learns fate of hearing tonight" (February 2, 1994: a7); "Crime erupting in classrooms" (February 26, 1994: a4); "Schools fight back with peace plans" (February 27, 1994: a10); and "Repeal rule on school suspensions, province urged" (March 4, 1994: a8).

57. Differing opinions were expressed, but failed to halt the cycle. Often, statements were buried in articles characterized by dramatic headlines and abuses of language. In "Are the courts best place to handle bullies?" (October 11, 1993: a13), and "Don't expel students for being kids schools told" (February 25, 1995: a28), a sensitization message was conveyed.

In "Teens in Scarborough report violent students" (November 18, 1993: a1.a3), and "Officer urges students to snitch on bullies" (December 9, 1993: sd2) some police officers challenged the crisis orientation, by referring to the 'few' troublemakers. In "Ontario gets tough on school violence: School boards get 18 months to enact zero-tolerance plans" (March 6, 1994: a1.a5), and "No safer place to learn than Scarborough" (December 4, 1993: b3), students said that the issue had been overblown, sensationalized.

In "School violence growing: Police say 40% of students in some classes admit they carry weapons" (April 1, 1993: ny3), and "Schools 'stretched' to meet rise in violence" (January 25, 1995: a6), education definers pointed out convergence of school violence and youth violence and noted a lack of tolerance for once-tolerated behaviours. Convergence was also evident in "Back to school with pen, paper - and knives" (September 2, 1994: a1.a6), and "Crime erupting in classrooms" (February 26, 1994: a4).

In "An era ends as Jarvis bids goodbye to a legend" (September 17, 1994: e1) and "Woburn vice-principal ends 30 years in schools: Kids no different today, he says" (January 12, 1995: sc6), teachers noted that violence was not new and had not increased, but that troubled youth tended to stay in school longer.

In "Ontario gets tough on school violence: School boards get 18 months to enact zero-tolerance plans" (March 6, 1994: a1.a5), the term crime, which included vandalism, was used instead of violence.

In a number of articles, intruders were seen to be the main problem, rather than students and an

escalation response was emphasized. Articles included: "School bullies: parents, kids feel helpless" (February 19, 1988: a1); "School violence growing: police say 40% of students in some classes admit they carry weapons" (April 1, 1993: ny3); and "police not solution to school violence" (December 23, 1993: ms3).

Differences between Canada and the U.S. were revealed in "Show on school violence shot at city school" (February 2, 1994: a7).

"Police not solution to school violence" (December 23, 1993: ms3), and "Hungrier kids feared in schools" (September 28, 1995: a6) suggested that school violence deflected attention away from some key economic and welfare issues.

In some articles, the response of zero-tolerance was seen to be too harsh by some, including youth. Other pronounced solutions emphasized rehabilitation, prevention, conflict resolution, crisis management, communication skills, anger management, and softer, innovative approaches like drama. Articles included: "Ontario gets tough on school violence: School boards get 18 months to enact zero-tolerance plans" (March 6, 1994: a1.a5).

"Teens divided on tough violence policy" (November 3, 1993: a1.a7); "Lifetime ban not only way, youth leader tells trustees" (November 18, 1993: a30); "School violence" (November 10, 1993: a24); "Violent students" (September 20, 1994: a22); "Boards differ in treatment of violence in schools" (January 20, 1994: sd2); "Violent 4-year-olds to be sent to a special class" (June 24, 1994: a1.a28); "School boards unveil joint policy on violence: Approach aims to reduce conditions for violence" (June 29, 1995: os2); "School's goal to redeem 'tough kids': Pupils avoid expulsion in program" (February 2, 1994: a1.a7); "Schools fight back with 'peace' plans to keep halls safe" (February 27, 1994: a10); "Teach students to avoid violence, report says" (November 13, 1993: a30), and "Growing-up drama engaging audiences" (September 28, 1994: d4). "Teens divided on tough violence policy" (November 3, 1993: a1.a7) and "Loophole lets expelled students back into school" (November 11, 1993: sd1) indicated that Boards other than Scarborough would accept expelled students who later applied.

Articles indicating that the public was not always in favour of the Scarborough approach included: "Loophole lets expelled students back into school" (November 11, 1993: sd1); "It's time to study school boards" (October 16, 1994: a1); "School violence down, parents told" (November 25, 1993: a15); "Zero-tolerance needs work, parents say" (August 11, 1994: sd1); and "School trustees pay price for pay hike" (November 15, 1994: a1).

Articles indicated that, during the school board elections of 1994, while some candidates' platform statements reflected a law and order emphasis on the family, and harsh measures, others diagnosed schools as safe, and pronounced 'welfare' solutions. Articles included: "Many veteran trustees struggle to keep grip on their board seats" (November 15, 1994: e8); "Board incumbents dumped: experienced trustees lose in heated competitions" (November 15, 1994: e8); and four November 10, 1994 articles on pages br2, e6.e8 and sd4, summarizing platforms.

A community policing, rather than a law enforcement approach was reflected in "Police not solution to school violence" (December 23, 1993: ms3); "Crime erupting in classrooms" (February 26, 1994: a4); "Violent 4-year-olds to be sent to a special class" (June 24, 1994: a1.a28); and "Social skills training tackles violence in Peel classrooms: Region schools ahead of others, officials say" (July 20, 1995: ms1).

Surveyed school staff indicated that they felt safe in: "Pupils' record to list violence, Ontario rules" (June 3, 1994: a1).

58. "Ontario vows war on school violence" (November 25, 1993: a1); "Policy on school violence praised: boards to focus on strategies for intervention and prevention" (December 9, 1993: sd2); "Cooke won't 'abandon' violent students" (February 3, 1994: a6); "Education system needs protection from violent youth" (February 22, 1994: a21); "Schools fight back with peace plans" (February 27, 1994: a10); "Fed-up parents unite to end school violence" (May 23, 1994: a1.a6); and "Pupils' records to list violence, Ontario rules" (June 3, 1994: a1)

59. "Let police deal with violence in schools, Metro officer says" (October 14, 1993: a3); "Crime erupting in classrooms" (February 26, 1994: a4); and "Back to school with pen, paper and knives" (September 2, 1994: a1.a6).

60. "Educators need training on violence chiefs told" (October 21, 1993: a16); "Police, schools combine forces to cut violence" (October 23, 1993: a17); "Boards differ in treatment of violence in schools" (January 20, 1994: sd2); and "Zero tolerance working, board says" (June 23, 1994: sd1).

61. "All-party action against violence urged to restore safety to schools" (November 10, 1993: a5); and "Crime erupting in classrooms" (February 26, 1994: a4).

62. "Crime erupting in classrooms" (February 26, 1994: a4) began by describing a bullying incident, but did not give examples of more violent crime. Survey statistics, from 1991, were included. It was unclear what proportion of incidents was minor in nature. Other examples include: "Ontario gets tough on school violence School boards get 18 months to enact zero-tolerance plans" (March 6, 1994: a1.a5); and "Schools to target violence" (June 29, 1995: os2).

63. "Ontario vows war on school violence" (November 25, 1993: a1); "School violence down, parents told" (November 25, 1993: a15).

64. "Guns, knives bring 'zero tolerance' to schools" (December 1, 1993: a27); "First test for policy on school violence: Scarborough teen faces ban for life" (January 5, 1994: a1); "Suspension policy defended by Cooke" (March 23, 1994: a20); "Scarborough expels student for carrying ammunition" (June 14, 1994: a2); "Zero tolerance needs work" (August 11, 1994: sd1); and "Zero tolerance working, board says" (June 23, 1994: sd1).

65. "Schools 'stretched' to meet the rise in violence" (January 25, 1995: a6)

66. "Students' life ban lifted" (June 6, 1995: a2).

67. "School boards unveil joint policy on violence: Approach aims to reduce conditions for violence" (June 29, 1995: os2); "Social skills training tackles violence in Peel classrooms: Region schools ahead of others, officials say" (July 20, 1995: ms1); and "Schools to target violence" (September 29, 1995: ny4).

68. "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6) stated that a 17-year-old was accepted by the Separate Board after being expelled from the Etobicoke Public Board, for an incident involving a knife. "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6) reported that a 14-year-old was charged in January of 1991 with threatening a teacher with death, after the youth's parents were told of his attendance record. "Survey finds school violence increasing" (August 20, 1991: a6) noted two incidents. A first grade student broke the collarbone of another child at school, but showed no remorse. A 15-year-old boy with academic and social problems, who had been verbally abusive to a teacher and was high on drugs, smashed up the school office. "Coming to grips with the school of hard knocks: Lessons in fear - violence among children is on the rise in classrooms across Canada.

prompting educators to scramble in search of solutions" (April 15, 1993: c5) reported that a 16-year-old girl was afraid to go to school, fearful that two girls would beat her up. This case was said to be an isolated case, by educators.

69. "Fifth Column: Family: The days of shrugging over school bullies may be over, Vivian Smith says" (August 13, 1992: a16) indicated that schools had become less tolerant of bullying - partially explaining increased incidence of 'violence'. An eleven month jail term was given for one bullying incident. While one officer referred to bullying as a national problem, noting "the new tools of the bully trade" - tools which "can include knives and guns", and "new bullies in groups", he failed to identify what proportion actually 'were' arming themselves or 'were' involved in gang behaviour.

While the headlines: "Women teachers say violence rising: group calls on province for action" (August 15, 1991: a5); "Survey finds school violence increasing" (August 20, 1991: a6); and "Teachers want policy on violence: Guidelines sought on how to deal with aggression" (August 21, 1992: a8) indicated crisis, the complete articles revealed weak evidence. Only one in five schools had responded to the survey. The term violence, unqualified in the headlines, reflected a range of infractions. Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario survey results (1991) identified major incidents ranging from biting and kicking to the use of guns and knives, and minor incidents including assault and profanity. An "alarming" rise in physical and verbal assaults was noted, but it was unclear what proportion of incidents were verbal or minor in nature. Experts said that "figures were sketchy" and noted "a rise in anecdotal accounts of violence". The fact that few incidents had resulted in charges, suggested that the majority may have been minor in nature.

"When school grounds turn into battlegrounds: Use of weapons by teens a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10) had an 'it's not so much what happened' and a 'prophecy of doom' tone. One trustee said his board did not keep statistics, but he believed the situation was worse than it had been twenty years earlier.

"School violence worse than expected, Ontario survey says: Report finds male and female pupils equally likely to be victims of harm" (September 28, 1993: a20) reflected crisis, while the text suggested that the southern Ontario survey was flawed. Between 66 and 75 per cent of surveyed grade six to grade nine students reported they had either committed or knew someone who had committed acts of violence in school. Many students could have been aware of a single incident. Dr. Mathews, of the centre that conducted the survey, said the level of violence was higher than expected. Another expert, the Executive Vice-President of the Ontario Public Boards, reported that statistics were not kept, but argued that incidents, especially those involving weapons, appeared to be escalating; that violence was happening everywhere.

In "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6); "Coming to grips with the school of hard knocks: Lessons in fear - violence among children is on the rise in classrooms across Canada, prompting educators to scramble in search of solutions" (April 15, 1993: c5); and "When school grounds turn into battlegrounds: Use of weapons by teens a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10), the 'causation - cannibalism' theme, was evident. There was an attempt to link incidents which had occurred in different provinces and cities over long periods of time.

70. In the first *Globe and Mail* article - "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6), experts noted "more guns in the hands of young people". On more than one occasion, school violence articles cited Statistics Canada data regarding a rise of 34 per cent in violent crimes committed by children and teen-agers: "The guns are drawn in school poetry: A frightening new word is cropping up in school children's creative writing" (June 8, 1992: a16); "Coming to grips with the school of hard knocks: Lessons in fear - violence among children is on the rise in classrooms across Canada,

prompting educators to scramble in search of solutions" (April 15, 1993: c5); and "When school grounds turn into battlegrounds: use of weapons by teens a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10).

71. "The guns are drawn in school poetry: A frightening new word is cropping up in school children's creative writing" (June 8, 1992: a16) touched on student journals and poetry, but served to introduce the broader topic of youth violence. A reference to the 1990 Metro Toronto Police Report noted the proportions of specific offences (break-ins, robberies, attempted murders, and offensive-weapons charges) for which youth were responsible. A cited 1990 Decima study reported that ten per cent of teen-agers were "sufficiently worried for their safety to carry a knife for protection". These references reflected youth violence and perceptions of safety, more broadly. The article included examples of youth violence - off of school property. Journal accounts reflected youth, not school violence. Police comments reflected youth violence and manipulated fear. The only incident of school violence involved the use of pellet guns to hold up other students for their lunch money - a serious enough offence - but one buried within the context of, and associated with youth violence. One teacher's comments about vandalism and looting on Yonge Street clearly illustrated convergence.

72. "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6); "Coming to grips with the school of hard knocks: Lessons in fear - violence among children is on the rise in classrooms across Canada, prompting educators to scramble in search of solutions" (April 15, 1993: c5); and "When school grounds turn into battlegrounds: Use of weapons by teens a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10) reflected the causation - boredom theme. "The guns are drawn in school poetry: A frightening new word is cropping up in children's creative writing" (June 8, 1992: a16), related stress to a lack of structure. "Dealing with the brat factor" (September 15, 1992: a24) had a 'sign of the times' tone and blamed parents - in changing families, where both parents worked and did not supervise the children - for delivering "ill-mannered, over-stimulated, violent, undisciplined brats, addicted to television and video games, ill-disposed to learning, and unreceptive to the efforts of their teachers" to the schools. The notion of 'disease' was evident in "Fifth Column: Family: The days of shrugging over school bullies may be over, Vivian Smith says" (August 13, 1992: a16), which noted that many youth had lost faith in society's systems and institutions, just as adults had.

73. "Fifth Column: Family: The days of shrugging over school bullies may be over, Vivian Smith says" (August 13, 1992: a16).

74. "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6).

75. "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6); and "Survey finds school violence increasing" (August 20, 1991: a6).

76. "Reading, writing and violence: Back to school - gangs and drugs are a fact of life at some Toronto schools. The increasing use of firearms, which are cheap and easy to obtain, has added the possibility of death as well" (September 6, 1993: a6) manipulated fear. The article stated that 'back to school' meant a return to 'violence' for some. Fights were "being replaced by gang warfare". It was unclear if the 300 gun calls responded to by Metro police, during the previous year, were school-related incidents. "When school grounds turn into battlegrounds: Use of weapons by teens a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10) used images of war and weapons carried with textbooks to manipulate fear. References to the situation in the U.S. manipulated fear through the 'it's not so much what happened' theme. One headline - "Search for guns, knives, routine in many U.S. schools" (September 20, 1993: a10) - conveyed this message clearly.

77 "Dealing with the brat factor" (September 15, 1992: a24); and "Survey finds school violence increasing" (August 20, 1991: a6) downplayed the 'violence' message and stressed that a "sizeable minority" of youth were perpetrators. "Letters to the Editor: Violence in schools: Re School violence worse than expected, Ontario survey says (Sept. 28)" (October 1, 1993: a26) challenged results from a survey, as weak evidence. In "When school grounds turn into battlegrounds: Use of weapons by teens a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10), students stated that no or very few incidents of violence occurred at their schools. "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6) noted a "lack of alternative placements for students ... who need treatment". "Teachers want policy on violence: Guidelines sought on how to deal with aggression" (August 21, 1992: a8) linked increased violence to social and economic change, layoffs and unemployment. In "Women teachers say violence rising: Group calls on province for action" (August 15, 1991: a5); and "Teachers want policy on violence: Guidelines sought on how to deal with aggression" (August 21, 1992: a8), teachers called for policies and procedures to guide them with respect to violence. "Student conflict managers go looking for trouble" (April 15, 1993: c8) noted Manitoba elementary school conflict managers - student peers, as a way of coping. "Search for guns, knives routine in many U.S. schools" (September 20, 1993: a10) noted that Canadian trustees believed that "the issue of teens with weapons [had] been 'overblown'": that recently reported weapons incidents were isolated.

78. "Report school violence to police, Cooke urges" (October 5, 1993: a9).

79. "Schools are turning into danger zones: Bad students - Social workers and educators are alarmed as incidents become more impulsive and vicious: Violence in schools growing steadily worse" (May 19, 1994: a1,a8) reported that a Winnipeg high school principal was struck with a steel bar, by an intruder, while confronting twenty youth outside his school. He predicted serious problems if the 'trend' continued, but also referred to the incident as atypical. Examples included incidents like the shooting of a student at a house party. In "Students arming in self-defence: Class conflict: a look at school violence. Fear factor - The fact that nobody knows who carries a gun can push others into getting weapons" (May 20, 1994: a6), a mother's report that her son had been stabbed with a pen, in a classroom incident, reflected sensitization. There was evidence of the 'causation - cannibalism' theme in: "Task force looking at school violence" (February 2, 1991: a6), "Survey finds school violence increasing" (August 20, 1991: a6), "When school grounds turn into battlegrounds: use of weapons a problem, but far from epidemic, trustees say" (September 20, 1993: a10), and "Schools are turning into danger zones: bad students - social workers and educators are alarmed as incidents become more impulsive and vicious; violence in schools steadily worse" (May 19, 1994: a1,a8). Incidents which occurred in different cities over extended periods of time were linked. The situation was exaggerated and distorted through abuse of language in "Police urge schools to report all violence: 'Slap on the wrist' approach drives kids to protect themselves, officer says" (October 18, 1993: a12), which reported that students as young as nine years of age were carrying weapons, but failed to elaborate on the nature or incidence.

80 "Boy, 12 charged in 'reign of terror': Scarborough pupil accused of using violence to rob classmates of lunch money, candy and to extort test answers" (February 14, 1995: a9) stated that a boy was facing 27 criminal charges including sexual assault.

81. On at least three occasions, articles referred to a survey that "found between 66 and 75 per cent of Grade 6 to Grade 9 students had committed or knew someone who had committed acts of violence in school during the past nine months": "School violence worse than expected, Ontario survey says: Report finds female and male pupils equally likely to be victims of harm" (September 28, 1993: a20); "Police urge schools to report all violence: 'Slap on the wrist' approach drives kids to protect themselves, officer says" (October 18, 1993: a12), and "Crime and the classroom: Scrambling for cover as the violence spreads" (November 25, 1993: c8). The reported survey results were misleading, as a large proportion of students may have known or been aware of a single incident in their school. The

statistics were repeated despite criticism in: "Letters to the editor: Violence in schools: Re school violence worse than expected. Ontario survey says (October 1, 1993: a26). This appeared to reflect the repetition of false stories. In "Educators, police forced to join forces: Class conflict: A look at school violence: Fighting back - Many principals have worried that reporting crime will hurt their schools' reputations. That attitude is changing fast" (May 23, 1994: a5), the Manitoba Teachers Society and the Ontario Teachers Federation reported a 150 per cent increase in assaults on students, teachers and staff, but provided no base line figure. 'Sign of the time' statements were provided by experts. Detective Muise's comment that 80 per cent of incidents were unreported, was not supported by statistics. Educators were said to be in denial, by the police.

82. In one example, "Schools are turning into danger zones: bad students - social workers and educators are alarmed as incidents become more impulsive and vicious; violence grows steadily worse" (May 19, 1994: a1.a8). "[o]ne student estimated that three or four youths would be carrying concealed guns at the average high school on a normal day"

83. Convergence was noted in: "Schools are turning into danger zones: Bad students - Social workers and educators are alarmed as incidents become more impulsive and vicious; Violence in schools steadily worse" (May 19, 1994: a1.a8). This article noted that "many of the incidents that involve students take place outside school" and that the issue was "the bleed-over effect that causes an escalation in fear and weaponry in schools". Convergence was also observed in "Armed gangs fuel violence in schools: Police chiefs urged to work with teachers" (June 28, 1995: a2). A 'sign of the times' tone was noted. One officer stated: "[V]iolence among young people has changed. ... Youth today are quicker to take offence at a slight, whether real, or imagined".

84. "Zero marks for a new policy: A plan for zero tolerance against violence in high schools disturbs those it was meant to serve" (January 6, 1994: a13).

85. "Crime and the Classroom: Scrambling for cover as the violence spreads" (November 25, 1993: c8). "Report school violence to police, Cooke urges" (October 5, 1993: a9). "Violence puts schools on spot: schools seek new programs for banned violent students" (March 3, 1994: a1.a2). "Province gets tough on violence: schools required to have zero-tolerance measures in place by September, 1995" (March 7, 1994: a13); and "Fifth column: Education: Policing (literally) the schools" (April 21, 1995: a24).

86. According to "Violence puts schools on spot: schools seek new programs for banned violent students" (March 3, 1994: a1.a2). Horrox commented that: "there is a role for the provincial government here. We can only do so much by providing social workers and counselling. ... We cannot save them all. Some of them should not be in the school environment".

87. "Province gets tough on violence: schools required to have zero-tolerance measures in place by September, 1995" (March 7, 1994: a13).

88. "Report school violence to police, Cooke urges" (October 5, 1993: a9); and "Record of violence will stick with students: Ontario boards to adopt policies on aggressive conduct as part of new measures for safer schools" (November 26, 1993: a10).

89. "Record of violence will stick with students: Ontario boards to adopt policies on aggressive conduct as part of new measures for safer schools" (November 26, 1993: a10); and "Province gets tough on violence: schools required to have zero-tolerance measures in place by September, 1995" (March 7, 1994: a13).

90. "Report school violence to police, Cooke urges" (October 5, 1993: a9); "Record of violence will stick with students: Ontario boards to adopt policies on aggressive conduct as part of new measures for safer schools" (November 26, 1993: a10); "Zero marks for a new policy: a plan for zero tolerance against violence in high schools disturbs those it was meant to serve" (January 6, 1994: a13); "Province gets tough on violence: schools required to have zero-tolerance measures in place by September, 1995" (March 7, 1994: a13); "Ontario zeros in on hate in schools: new policy targets violence" (June 3, 1994: a9); "Cooke rejects U.S. answers in combatting school violence: Installing metal detectors, armed guards would be 'giving up' (October 22, 1994: a11); and "Program for violent students starting" (April 14, 1995: a4).

91. "Police urge schools to report all violence: 'Slap on the wrist' approach drives kids to protect themselves, officer says" (October 18, 1993: a12); "Crime and the Classroom: Scrambling for cover as the violence spreads" (November 25, 1993: c8); "Educators, police forced to join forces: class conflict: a look at school violence: fighting back - many principals have worried that reporting crime will hurt their schools' reputations. That attitude is changing fast" (May 23, 1994: a5); "Weapons, assaults on the rise" (October 21, 1994: a10); and "Armed gangs fuel violence in schools: Police chiefs urged to work with teachers" (June 28, 1995: a2).

92. "Students arming in self-defence: Class conflict: a look at school violence: Fear factor -The fact that nobody knows who carries a gun can push others into getting weapons" (May 20, 1994: a6).

93. In "Fifth column: Education: Policing (literally) the schools" (April 21, 1995: a24) a journalist examined the diffusion response and observed that police were stationed at Cedarbrae "because it was large and willing to participate", not because it was particularly violent. In addition, the assigned officer gave the impression that Cedarbrae was not a difficult school to police - a community policing assignment, rather than law enforcement. In the board where zero-tolerance had been promoted due to escalating violence, one of three schools where police were stationed appeared to be problem free. In "Educators, police forced to join forces: Class conflict: A look at school violence: Fighting back - Many principals have worried that reporting crime will hurt their schools' reputations. That attitude is changing fast" (May 23, 1994: a5) the police were accused of appropriating the school violence issue "to gain entry to the schools", and issuing "dubious statistics" to justify their presence and to gain support for initiatives.

With respect to the nature and scope of the problem, some Ontario definers, rather than noting a general increase in incidence, believed that certain incidents were becoming 'more vicious'. This was exemplified by the headline "Schools are turning into danger zones: Bad students - Social workers and educators are alarmed as incidents become more impulsive and vicious: Violence in schools steadily worse" (May 19, 1994: a1,a8). It was echoed in "School board sets policy to prevent violence: Expulsion of students not the key to stopping offences, Toronto trustees say" (June 24, 1994: a7), which quoted a Toronto Board Superintendent, who stated that "although the number of violent incidents in schools is not increasing rapidly, their severity is". "Students arming in self-defence: Class conflict: a look at school violence: Fear factor -The fact that nobody knows who carries a gun can push others into getting weapons" (May 20, 1994: a6) noted, despite the dramatic headline, that "the prevalence of guns is very much an unknown. School authorities say it is worrisome, but small. "Michael Harris, jailer" (May 31, 1995: a15) noted that most young people in Ontario facilities had committed property offences or violated probation. Violent offences were not seen to be the issue.

Ontario experts challenged the response of zero-tolerance. For example, in "Zero marks for a new policy: A plan for zero tolerance against violence in high schools disturbs those it was meant to serve" (January 6, 1994: a13), educators and social workers offered four sound criticisms of that response. It was seen as an overly harsh response to teens who often are the victims of violence themselves. The lack of specific schools for expelled teens with violent histories was noted, as was the fact that expelled

students would have difficulty finding work, without diplomas. They warned that denying troubled students an education, would lead to more violence, not less. Colin Maloney, of the Catholic Children's Aid Society said that: "the climate of zero tolerance for violence was translating into zero tolerance for troubled youths." These views were printed following the implementation of zero-tolerance, however.

Students expressed differing opinion. In "Record of violence will stick with students: Ontario boards to adopt policies on aggressive conduct as part of new measures for safer schools" (November 26, 1993: a10), for example, a lack of clarity with respect to violence codes and policies was noted by a past President of the Ontario Secondary School Students Association. In "Expulsion not answer, students tell educators" (March 7, 1994: a13), expulsion and zero-tolerance were challenged, and communication, counselling and 'a second chance' were recommended. One youth commented: "There's a difference between a fight in a phys-ed class and a fight outside with a knife - and they're being treated the same. I don't agree with that." In "Schools need access to facts on young offenders, brief says: Teachers, officials, parents unite on amendments to act" (September 21, 1994: a9) students disagreed with groups who argued that schools needed facts about violent young offenders to protect other students and to co-ordinate rehabilitation. Weagant, a lawyer, argued that some students would be "singled out for special disciplinary action".

94 According to "Report school violence to police, Cooke urges" (October 5, 1993: a9), *Globe* journalists asked Cooke if "police would find themselves responding to calls about minor schoolyard fisticuffs", as a result of his order to boards to contact police regarding all 'violent' incidents. Cooke apparently "refused to be drawn into responding to reporters" who questioned his control culture response.

95 The orientation of crisis, suggested by the headlines "B.C. teachers seek action on violence in schools: Federation urges parents, governments to act" (January 25, 1994: a6); and "Crime and the Classroom: Scrambling for cover as the violence spreads" (November 25, 1993: c8) was challenged in the text. The first article stated that the British Columbia Teachers Federation referred to 'gradually' increasing violence, and B.C. schools were said to still be "overwhelmingly safe", although the 'it's not so much what happened' theme was evident. In the second article, a Winnipeg trustee noted, "a lot of concern, a lot of innuendo, a lot of misinformation out in the community in terms of what's going on in schools".

With respect to school board response, "Crime and the Classroom: Scrambling for cover as the violence spreads" (November 25, 1993: c8), indicated that while the Scarborough Board was recommending a harsh policy of "zero-tolerance", the Winnipeg School Division was implementing "a simple communications strategy ... to reassure parents it [was] safe to send their children to school".

In terms of police response, "Educators, police forced to join forces: Class conflict: A look at school violence: Fighting back - Many principals have worried that reporting crime will hurt their schools' reputations. That attitude is changing fast" (May 23, 1994: a5) noted the 'recent' move of Ontario police into the schools, and compared approaches nationally. One key observation was that the police presence in schools outside of Ontario appeared to be a 'community policing' presence, while Ontario initiatives were more deterrence focused.

96 "Ontario zeros in on hate in schools. New policy targets violence" (June 3, 1994: a9).

97 The headline: "Crime and the Classroom: Scrambling for cover as the violence spreads" (November 25, 1993: c8) signalled crisis, through exaggeration and symbolization. In the article, statements like "metal detectors are a common sight, as are regular police patrols of school buildings" manipulated fear. The text inferred that Canada was already experiencing a crisis comparable to that of

the U.S. "Peacekeeping force patrols New York schools: Class conflict: A look at school violence: Blackboard jungle - Canadian officials grapple with safety concerns that were confronted long ago by administrators of U.S. institutional battle zones" (May 21, 1994: a3) depicted American schools as war zones. Canadian schools were said to be "grappling with" the "epidemic", the "unnerving dilemma" that American schools had already faced.

98. "Teacher shock: educator or social worker?" (June 23, 1990: c5) revealed an attempt to understand the root causes of the behaviour and to connect it to social and economic change. There was a 'child in need' focus. For example, definers were concerned that many young people were working as much as thirty hours per week in addition to attending school. 'Welfare' ways of coping were recounted. These included hiring more social workers for schools, implementing a mentoring program, purchasing computer equipment in response to literacy issues, raising funds to send disadvantaged students on field trips, and instituting mandatory physical education classes so that tension could be released regularly. One teacher's comments reflected the 'manning of the moral barricades': "The family is disintegrating and the fallout is on the kids".

99. In "Most city students feel safe at school" (May 13, 1992: a1), an assistant vice-principal believed the results reflected an improvement from the previous fall, when 75 per cent felt unsafe. The source of this statistic was unclear.

100. "Educators want cops in schools" (September 27, 1990: a1,a2)

101. "Ryan loathed violence: 'He was taught not to fight'" (May 13, 1992: a4)

102. "Bullies: School yard abuse can lead to life-long cycle" (August 31, 1995: n1); and "Bullied 'til he snapped: Task force wants to take the bite out of bullying: Violent incident sparks council to look for answers" (November 5, 1995: a1,a14).

103. For example, "Troubles weigh heavy on parents' minds: Some at meeting consider moving to different schools" (October 5, 1990: b1), reported results from a poll of 90 Grade eight students. Just over half of the students surveyed said they knew a student who carried a weapon. Twenty-three per cent said they had carried a weapon, while thirty-seven per cent said they had thought about doing so. Sixty-eight per cent said they would feel safer if police patrolled the area. These results were misleading. Half of the students could have known the same person who carried a weapon. Students may have brought 'potential' weapons, like pocket knives, to school. Students were not asked if they felt safe, only if a police presence would make them feel safer. Public fear was manipulated by this article.

104. Over-reporting of the cycle one triggering incidents was observed in: "School violence rising: Meeting called by principal to alert parents to problem" (October 4, 1990: a1,a2); "More cops to patrol schools: Parents to defuse violence" (October 5, 1990: a1,a2); "Troubles weigh heavy on parents' minds: Some at meeting consider moving to different schools" (October 5, 1990: b1); "Violence mirrors social problems" (October 6, 1990: a1,a2); "Judge jails teen for 'abhorrent' attack on teacher" (December 20, 1990: b1); and "Principal paints violent picture: Weapons are common at schools" (November 6, 1991: a1).

One article referred to the initial incidents as a "recent spate of violent incidents" which raised "concerns that many students are carrying weapons to protect themselves". There were no new reports, with the exception of a property incident. A pair of jeans had been stolen from a girl's locker and her father was considering moving her as a result of this 'minor' incident. This was evidence of 'sensitization'. A later article, suggested that there had been a rash of new incidents at Ernest Morrow, in November of 1991. In fact, principal Chuck Rose reiterated accounts of incidents from the previous

fall.

105. In one example, "Educators want cops in schools" (September 27, 1990: a1,a2), there was an attempt to link the two fall, 1990 incidents to others, including one sports-related incident from the previous year. Vague references to intruder incidents were made. "School violence rising: Meeting called by principal to alert parents to problem" (October 4, 1990: a1,a2) linked incidents, including the Annie Gale incident, at four schools.

106. For example, in "Educators want cops in schools" (September 27, 1990: a1,a2), the President of the Alberta Teachers' Association, Dick Hehr, commented that "[i]t seems these things are happening more often, and some steps have to be taken to ensure protection of schools". In "Confiscated weapons attest to growing tide: Principals blame family breakdown for kids' emptiness" (October 5, 1990: b1), principal Doug Mirtle referred to the "stark reality" and to the "fairly common" practice of confiscating weapons from elementary students, but provided no details regarding the number or nature of incidents.

107. For example, in "Violence mirrors social problems" (October 6, 1990: a1,a2), violence was said to "plague" Ernest Morrow. This "plague" image was an exaggeration, as no new incidents were reported, and the triggering incidents were repeated.

108. "More cops to patrol schools: Parents to defuse violence" (October 5, 1990: a1,a2); Troubles weigh heavy on parents' minds: Some at meeting consider moving to different schools" (October 5, 1990: b1); "Violence mirrors social problems" (October 6, 1990: a1,a2); "Principal paints violent picture: Weapons are common in schools" (November 6, 1991: a1); "Alarm raised over school weapons: Retiring teachers' union leader warns of 'scary situation'" (June 22, 1992: b1); "Fired teacher plans to run" (August 27, 1992: b4); "Violence on public agenda" (September 22, 1992: a11); "School violence rising: Meeting called by principal to alert parents to problem" (October 4, 1990: a1,a2); "Crime focus of ward concerns" (October 7, 1992: b2); "Bubble burst on notion of safe sanctuary" (October 11, 1992: a1,a2); "Team ready to fan out" (November 9, 1992: b1); "Parents hear form 'hard knocks' grad" (January 28, 1993: b1); "School board wants families of violent students to get help" (April 6, 1993: a1); "Scared at school" (April 10, 1993: b8); "Maybe parents can help reduce school fights" (April 15, 1993: n1); "Mistake delays teen's case" (April 15, 1993: b7); "Teen fantasized on killing" (May 13, 1993: a1); "United in grief: Stricken families reach out to others touched by violence" (May 19, 1993: b4); "Young criminals exempt" (May 20, 1993: a3); "Teen will be sent to prison for killing: Schools try to reduce violence after stabbing" (May 20, 1993: n1); "Students feel the fear" (May 21, 1993: a4); "Teen killer's sentencing postponed to July 20" (June 6, 1993: b3); "School violence conference called: Letters and calls from public prompt gathering" (August 14, 1993: b3); and "Victim's parents not invited to conference on school violence" (November 10, 1993: a8).

109. "Alarm raised over school weapons: Retiring teachers union leader warns of 'scary situation'" (June 27, 1992: b1); "Team ready to fan out" (November 9, 1992: b1); and "School violence conference called: Letters and calls from public prompt gathering" (August 14, 1993: b3).

110. The Garrioch incident was noted in: "Fired teacher plans to run" (August 27, 1992: b4); "Violence on public agenda" (September 22, 1992: a11), which included one new incident of harassment; "Crime focus of ward concerns" (October 7, 1992: b2); "Bubble burst on notion of safe sanctuary" (October 11, 1992: a1,a2); and "Team ready to fan out" (November 9, 1992: b1).

111. In one example, "Alarm raised over school weapons: Retiring teachers union leader warns of 'scary situation'" (June 27, 1992: b1), Dick Hehr warned that: "[V]iolence and the use of weapons is growing among young people, presenting a 'tremendously scary' situation for schools. You have kids coming to school with weapons.... And they're relatively easy to conceal, from what I'm told. They're relatively easy to get hold of". In a later example, "Team ready to fan out" (November 9, 1992: b1),

Bill Dickson, Deputy Chief Superintendent stated: "Regardless of the statistics, it becomes clear from talking to teachers that violent behaviour has increased. ... It is disturbing to me, listening to the stories, the extent to which there are weapons".

112. For example, in "Scared at school" (April 10, 1993: b8), a 17-year-old student noted that violent behaviour had become a "way of life", citing anecdotal evidence like incidents at the C-Train where youth gathered. Once again, youth violence seemed to be the real issue. In a second example, "Students say school is tougher" (November 20, 1993: b2), Halvar Jonson, the Minister of Education, "couldn't provide statistics" but noted that others had expressed concern to him of increasing incidence of violence.

113. "Somebody's got to stop this madness" (August 29, 1993: b1,b2); "Losing the war" (November 24, 1993: a4); "Teachers fear rise in violence: Bill could give School Act teeth" (February 19, 1994: a1); "Schools plagued by weapons: 20 per cent of students say that they have been armed" (July 7, 1994: b1), and "Assaults on students place Banff on alert: Groups to meet teens, parents to combat violence" (February 24, 1995: a11).

114. In "School violence conference called" (August 14, 1993: b3), a parent, reported that her 11-year-old daughter was beaten by another girl at school; "Girl scared away from school" (November 19, 1993: b5) reported that a 12-year-old girl had been attacked by a female classmate; "Discipline crackdown in works" (July 4, 1995: a1) reported a death threat on a teacher by a student; "Bullied 'til he snapped: Task force wants to take the bite out of bullying: Violent incident sparks council to look for answers - Lacombe" (November 5, 1995: a1,a14) told of a boy who was bullied until he stabbed a 16-year-old classmate. It also noted the repeated bullying of a 10-year-old on his school bus; and "Schools urged to start program: police disappointed that few principals opt to get involved" (December 5, 1995: b1) reported the beating of a junior high school girl by a group of female students, just off of school property.

115. Examples include: "Youths clash: N.W. students involved in bloody street brawl" (February 18, 1993: b1), and "Father defends youth's role in brawl" (February 19, 1993: b1); "Violent start to the school year: Bullet narrowly misses student" (September 4, 1993: a1,a2), and "School Watch may expand: Youth violence: Programs to fight crime could soon be a reality at Forest Lawn" (September 8, 1993: b1); and "Security review launched: Possibility of adding surveillance cameras examined by officials" (December 9, 1994: b1), and "Crackdown urged on school violence" (December 14, 1994: a1,a2).

116. For example, "Kids feel unsafe at school: One in five carry weapons says education board report" (May 18, 1993: a1,a2), and "Students feel the fear" (May 21, 1993: a4) indicated that 20 per cent of high school students carried 'anything from pocket knives to brass knuckles' during a 30-day period. Students were said to "pack a potential weapon for safety". This suggested sensitization. Neither the 30-day period, nor the sample were specified. The survey might have immediately followed the Garrioch incident. In July of 1994, despite new evidence - in "Students feel safe survey finds" (June 15, 1994: b5) - readers were reminded of the May article by "Schools plagued by weapons: 20 per cent of students say that they have been armed" (July 7, 1994: b1).

117. For example, in "Bullied 'til he snapped: Task force wants to take the bite out of bullying. Violent incident sparks council to look for answers" (November 5, 1995: a1,a14), there was an attempt to link incidents in the United States, Canada, Finland, and Britain.

118. In "School violence rising: Meeting called by principal to alert parents to problem" (October 4, 1990: a1,a2), and "Principal paints violent picture: Weapons are common in schools" (November 6, 1991: a1), Rose recalled the triggering incidents and distorted the situation. He stated that the day the

resource officer left, 27 incidents were reported. No specific details were provided, however Rose did list some of the incidents dealt with by the school counsellor during the first six weeks of classes. Four students had not eaten in days. Two students were apprehended on prostitution charges. There were three attempted suicides. Three students had checked into a detox centre. One weapon had been brought to school. Six major fights or rumbles had been averted. There were two disclosures of sexual abuse. With the exception of the fights and rumble, and the weapons incident, these appeared to be issues of 'risk', not 'violence'. This reflected the 'it's not only this' theme, as well as 'sensitization'. It was unclear if the abuse disclosures related to school offences. Rose's account of a "particularly tough day" in 1990 revealed a mixture of events including the vandalism of two staff vehicles in the parking lot. Rose reported that a suspended student had murdered another on the C-train - evidence of convergence of youth and school violence.

119. "Confiscated weapons attest to growing tide: Principals blame family breakdown for kids' emptiness" (October 5, 1990: b1); and "Violence mirrors social problems" (October 6, 1990: a1,a2). In the first article, Mirtle stated that "[i]n junior and senior high, they're having sex parties on the weekends. That's the other part of what's going on".

120. In "Teachers helping to stem trouble: But schools still face other social ills with their students" (November 7, 1991: b1), Tushingham stated that: "[v]iolence in schools [was] a very very small per cent" of the problems teachers dealt with. He added: "They're dealing with kids who are coming to school hungry, or physically or mentally abused, who need all kinds of social support". His pronounced solution was "to provide greater resources to schools with problem children", possibly more school resource officers. In "Violence mirrors social problems" (October 6, 1990: a1,a2), one social worker commented that: "[t]oo often, teachers without appropriate training or time are having to act as social workers. Demands on teachers are astronomical and growing. ... Social workers need to work directly in schools".

121. For example, in "Troubles weigh heavy on parents' minds: Some at meeting consider moving to different schools" (October 5, 1990: b1), one parent stated: "I'm not sure if things have gotten so out of hand that it can't be resolved".

122. "Kids settle own conflicts" (October 6, 1990: a1).

123. "Schools try to stop aggression in its tracks" (May 17, 1992: a4) stated that "[t]he stabbing death of Ryan Garrioch ... raised questions about violent children". Aggression was said to be "more and more common", however no new incidents were cited.

124. "Students say school is tougher" (November 20, 1993: b2).

125. Election-related articles included: "Fired teacher plans to run" (August 27, 1992: b4); "Violence on public agenda" (September 22, 1992: a11); "Forum disappointingly ho-hum" (September 26, 1992: b2); "Trustees united in new busing policy" (October 1, 1992: b2); "Crime focus of ward concerns" (October 7, 1992: b2); "Bubble burst on notion of safe sanctuary" (October 11, 1992: a1,a2); "Higgins wins area support" (October 13, 1992: b2); "Question of the day" (October 15, 1992: a2); and "Team ready to fan out" (November 9, 1992: b1). The first article indicated that one candidate, Roberta MacDonald, had been fired from her teaching position, for speaking publicly about the Garrioch incident.

126. "Civic election '95: public school board: wards 8 & 9 - Judy Tilston" (October 17, 1995: b4), and "Civic election '95: public school board: wards 6&7 - Paul Adams" (October 17, 1995: b4) indicated that one candidate, Paul Adams, defended the board's handling of school violence using a zero-tolerance policy, and was elected. Another candidate, Judy Tilston who campaigned against

corporal punishment but supported zero-tolerance was also elected.

127. In "Block Watch adapted for schools: City police turn to students to monitor crime" (May 19, 1993: b3), with the publishing of vague survey results indicating that twenty per cent of students were armed, Sergeant Fritz 'noticed a big difference' in terms of incidence and stated that police were dealing with new crimes - sex offences and weapons - not encountered in the mid-seventies, when he joined the force. A University of Calgary professor, Claudio Violato, commented that while bullies had always been a problem, weapons were new. According to "Weapons in schools are a major concern for police" (May 16, 1995: b1), following the publishing of a federal report on weapons in schools, police were diagnosing weapons as "a major concern". Deputy Police Chief, Jim Graham warned that if steps were not taken, Calgary would inherit "the problems of other Canadian cities ... where there have been reports of weapons being found daily in schools". Without clear evidence of an increase in Calgary or crisis elsewhere, this served as a distortion.

128. For example, "Youth ID plan lauded" (February 20, 1993: b2); "Group sees young offenders move as positive" (March 5, 1993: b7), and "Young criminals exempt" (May 20, 1993: a3) indicated that, while there were no new reports of school violence, there was coverage of a "law-and-order" approach to sentencing young offenders. Parents, including the Garriochs, marched to show their support for harsher sentencing. Police Chief Gerry Borbridge supported the proposal to name young offenders who committed violent offences. According to "School violence conference called: Letters and calls from public prompt gathering" (August 14, 1993: b3), Halvar Jonson indicated that he was responding to lobbying - "a flood of letters and calls to government" and to a situation of "considerable concern" when he called for a conference on school violence. Typical of stage three activity, Jonson sought "a better understanding of the overall problem and some consensus on how it should be approached".

129. For example, "Bubble burst on notion of safe sanctuary" (October 11, 1992: a1) indicated that, during the public school elections in 1992, one candidate commented that violence "is not an education issue. ... It's a young offender issue, and a judicial issue, and a poor parenting and a society falling apart issue". In "Kids feel unsafe at school: one in five carry weapons, says education report" (May 18, 1993: a1.a2), the passage: "Fear of classroom violence and a breakdown in family values may be putting students under more stress than ever before, suggests a report to the Calgary Board of Education" was a sweeping moral statement. "Teachers fear rise in violence: Bill would give school act teeth" (February 19, 1994: a1), linking school violence to class size, included a comment from a teacher who noted that "the number of dysfunctional families is growing and the values commonly associated with the family are not as strong as they once were".

130. "Youths clash: N.W. high school students involved in bloody brawl" (February 18, 1993: b1), "Sociologist says U.S. shows are leading culprit" (November 21, 1993: a5); and "TV violence fuels school bullying" (June 16, 1994: b1) reflected the causation - boredom theme, particularly the influence of television.

131. In "Number of public school teachers on leave for stress soars" (June 3, 1993: b9), school violence was cited as one possible cause of stress leave. "School bullies prompt outcry" (June 12, 1993: b1) reported that, according to teachers and principals, "many younger teachers haven't been properly trained in discipline, and it's discouraged anyway". "Kids will hurt from cuts to psychologists: Group" (October 29, 1993: b7) reported that the President of the Alberta Association of School Psychologists commented that "[s]lashing the number of school psychologists ignores students' needs and will provoke violence in schools". In "We're getting the message that we're not necessary" (November 11, 1993: b7), guidance counsellors also voiced concerns about cuts and the impact these would have in terms of school violence. One guidance counsellor commented that cuts would mean "less time available for crisis intervention, less time to work with troubled and violent students". In

"School violence under attack" (November 21, 1993: a1.a2), Bill Dickson, Deputy Chief Superintendent "warned looming provincial cuts could make it tough to crack down on school violence". In "Front-line troops' feeling the pressure of changing times" (February 11, 1994: a15), teachers spoke out on budget cuts, arguing that they would "do less" even though the demands of the job had increased. "Teachers fear rise in violence: Bill would give school act teeth" (February 19, 1994: a1) linked violence to cutbacks in education, noting overcrowded classrooms as an issue.

132 According to "Task force misfired on violence" (April 7, 1993: b1), the task force report on school violence was criticized for raising public anxiety, and omitting evidence of a problem, while stressing open communication. "Hard line on violence: trustees accept strict rules to reinstate expelled students" (April 14, 1993: b1) noted that two trustees did not endorse the accepted task force recommendations, "because there was no documented proof of a serious problem with violence". In "Youth crime: SchoolWatch puts onus on teens: Program relies on students to make their own schools safer" (March 21, 1993: a3), Pamela Gaudette, of Calgary Social Services challenged the orientation of crisis, arguing that incidence must be kept in perspective. She stated that while "there are about 1,000 in trouble with the law ... the other 52,500 are okay. We have to ensure we don't come up with systems that penalize these kids". Survey results indicating that twenty per cent of students at one Calgary high school had, at one time, carried a weapon, were challenged in "Schools plagued by weapons: 20 per cent of students say that they have been armed" (July 7, 1994: b1); and "Weapons survey 'vague'" (July 8, 1994: b4). A principal called for clarification of the term 'weapon'. In fourteen years he had encountered only two weapons -- both BB guns. Calgary Health Services warned "against reading too much into" the survey which was "vague". A Liberal health critic was also "sceptical" of the survey results. In "Weapons in school are a major concern for police" (May 16, 1995: b1); "Sexual advances part of school life for girls" (May 16, 1995: b1); and "On school violence" (June 16, 1995: b1), survey results reported by a Calgary Research Institute for Law and the Family, indicating that 28 per cent of 962 junior and senior high school students polled carried weapons to school, were challenged by an assistant principal for "paint[ing] such broad strokes", and by youth who criticized the findings as "totally overblown", inaccurate, as "the bulk of ... fights occur off school grounds", "harsh" and "misleading", because the term 'weapon' was not defined. One student asked: "Is a butter knife classed as a weapon? Is being told to shut up considered victimization?" In "Schools are safe despite weapons" (August 24, 1994: b1); and "Candidate says violence rare" (September 29, 1995: b6) isolated, sensational incidents, like the Garrioch stabbing, were said to get "a lot of attention", to "magnify the school violence issue" and to give the impression "that there's more weapons than there really are".

133 In "Violence no big deal with teens: forum" (November 20, 1993: b2), 'risk' - AIDS, drugs, and suicide - was seen as the key issue, for youth. In "On the run: Const. Kevin McInnes is a very busy man: part counsellor, part friend, and full-time cop" (October 29, 1993: b6), the officer stated that "in comparison to what goes on out there outside the school, [school violence] is not a big problem". He added that only about three per cent of the 1500 students at the school where he worked as a resource officer were involved in 'crime'. He stated that while violence made news, problems such as drugs, theft and trespassing were far more common. This not only pointed to a small number of perpetrators, but suggested that many incidents were non-violent.

134 According to "Bubble burst on notion of safe sanctuary" (October 11, 1992: a1.a2), Sgt. Fritz stated: "[I]f the number of violent acts isn't increasing, the severity of the acts probably is". This view was echoed in "Violence no big deal with teens: Forum" (November 20, 1993: b2), by Deputy Chief Superintendent Bill Dickson, who stated that school violence had "been 'erratic' over the past three years ... but it's the nature of the incidents that is of major concern".

135 "School of hard knocks isn't new" (June 17, 1994: a4), an editorial, responded to causation - boredom statements. The writer noted that her own father had recounted numerous incidents of bullying that occurred during his youth, before the days of TV. In "Youths clash: N.W. high school

students involved in bloody brawl" (February 18, 1993: b1), "Losing the war" (November 21, 1993: a4), "Provincial policy will result in increased school violence" (December 23, 1993: a6), "Root of violence often left untouched" (June 17, 1994: b5); and "Zero-tolerance queried" (July 21, 1994: b11), there were rare attempts to link the issue of school violence to social and economic change.

136. "Violence on public agenda" (September 22, 1992: a11); and "Team ready to fan out" (November 9, 1992: b1) indicated that 1992 school board election candidates campaigning for harsh measures were defeated. In "Root of violence often left untouched" (June 17, 1994: b5); and "Zero-tolerance queried" (July 21, 1994: b11), a *Learners* speaker, Hanne MaWhinney argued that "a focus on punishment can move attention away from providing students with skills in problem-solving, conflict resolution, assertiveness and mediation". She believed that students were being expelled for minor, everyday incidents which could be handled in ways other than suspension or expulsion.

137. This was reflected in the following articles: "Schools try to stop aggression in its tracks" (May 17, 1992: a4); "Higgins wins area's support" (October 13, 1992: b2); "Question of the day" (October 15, 1992: a2); "Team ready to fan out" (November 9, 1992: b1); "Theatre of restraint: Play gives elementary students the skills to resolve schoolyard conflicts" (May 15, 1994: b6,b9); "Discipline crackdown in works" (July 4, 1995: a1); "Youth ID plan lauded" (February 20, 1993: b2); "Group sees young offenders move as positive" (March 5, 1993: b7); "Young criminals exempt" (May 20, 1993: a3); "Transferring troublemakers 'not the answer'" (May 22, 1993: b1); "Is a child capable of knowing what it means to be a murderer?" (May 23, 1993: a6); and "Candidates eye ward seats" (July 22, 1993: b8). Non-control culture measures were being considered and implemented, as early as 1992, although this was often downplayed. Peer conflict programs were promoted and implemented to promote self-esteem and to reduce aggressive behaviour linked to violence. Teachers were being trained to deal with incidents of school violence. Social workers were considered as a response. A play called 'Tag' targeted elementary school-aged children, to communicate conflict resolution skills. In 1995, the Catholic board promoted 'alternative to suspension' measures, directing each school to tailor its own solutions. Community-based solutions were promoted. Senior administrators opposed the exclusionary response of moving students involved in incidents to new schools. Proposals to name young offenders, and to harshen sentences for all young offenders in response to isolated cases like the Garrioch stabbing were challenged by individuals and the Supreme court.

138. "On the run: Const. Kevin McInnes is a very busy man: part counsellor, part friend, and full-time cop" (October 29, 1993: b6) suggested that school force expansion was a combined community policing and enforcement initiative. Thirteen resource officers had been stationed in Calgary high schools and were performing multiple roles as counsellors, friends, and full-time cops.

139. "Educators want cops in schools" (September 27, 1990: a1,a2); and "More cops to patrol schools: Parents to defuse violence" (October 5, 1990: a1,a2).

140. For example, in "Trustee applauds 'code of conduct': Detroit program could help relieve tense situations in Calgary schools" (October 7, 1990: b1), one trustee recommended that codes of conduct be defined and anti-violence prevention programs be implemented.

141. "More cops to patrol schools: Parents to defuse violence" (October 5, 1990: a1,a2); and "Troubles weigh heavy on parents' minds: Some at meeting consider moving to different schools" (October 5, 1990: b1). In the second article, a disaster tone was noted in the passage: "Ernest Morrow junior high parents are wondering whether they should pull their children from the southeast school, or stay put and try to quell an outbreak of violence there".

142. "Judge jails teen for 'abhorrent' attack on teacher" (December 20, 1990: b1).

143. "BlockWatch adapted for schools" (May 19, 1993: b3) indicated that a program for schools was created and implemented because "police alone [could not] deal with the problem of rising violence in Calgary schools.

144. "Security review launched: possibility of adding surveillance cameras examined by officials" (December 9, 1994: b1); and "Crackdown urged on school violence" (December 14, 1994: a1,a2).

145. "Transferring troublemakers 'not the answer'" (May 22, 1993: b1), and "School violence conference called" (August 14, 1993: b3) indicated that some parents joined or organized groups like FOCUS - For Our Children's Unconditional Safety. "Catholic schools bursting at the seams" (September 10, 1993: b1) noted that: "Recent reports of school violence in the public system may also have something to do with increased parental interest in the separate board". Some transferred their children from the public board to the catholic board in search of a "more 'value-oriented' education". "Faithless flocking to religious schools - non-observant parents seek wholesomeness" (June 22, 1995: 114) indicated that American and Canadian parents enrolled their children in religious schools where the environment "appeal[ed] to parents seeking morality and values for their children". This reflected a law and order climate. "These kids prefer no classes" (September 16, 1993: b2); "School bells ringing at home" (September 23, 1993: n1); "Escaping from school violence" (October 13, 1993: a6); and "Girl scared away from school" (November 19, 1993: b5) were about home schooling. One article reported a 41 per cent increase in the number of children taught at home from the 1991/92 to the 1992/93 school year. The figure grew from 819 in 1988/89 to 3,500 in 1992/93. Escalating school violence was cited as one reason for this change.

146. "Youth crime: SchoolWatch puts onus on teens: program relies on students to make their own schools safer" (March 21, 1993: a3); "School board wants families of violent students to get help" (April 6, 1993: a1); and "School violence conference called: Letters and calls from public prompt gathering" (August 14, 1993: b3); "Hard line on violence: Trustees accept strict rules to reinstate expelled students" (April 04, 1993: b1); and "Maybe parents can help reduce school fights" (April 15, 1993: n1).

147. "New bus fee plan passed" (January 26, 1994: b1) reported that a get-tough policy had been approved by the Calgary board. "Wayward students face tougher penalties" (December 8, 1993: b1); "Teachers fear rise in violence: Bill would give school act teeth" (February 19, 1994: a1); and "Discipline crackdown in works" (July 4, 1995: a1).

148. "Teen will be sent to prison for killing: Schools try to reduce violence after stabbing" (May 20, 1993: n1).

149. "Wayward students face tougher penalties" (December 8, 1993: b1); "Teachers fear rise in violence: Bill would give school act teeth" (February 19, 1994: a1); and "Discipline crackdown in works" (July 4, 1995: a1).

150. For example, "Responding to school violence: The zero-tolerance option" (December 9, 1995: a17) reported that such a policy had been considered and implemented in a number of Canadian schools, and reported the public call for: "more tangible and immediate solutions than those involving fundamental social change" - a call for formal policies, consequences for offenders and accountability for parents.

151. "Schools urged to start program: Police disappointed that few principals opt to get involved" (December 5, 1995: b1).

152. "Student violence has staff scared" (October 1, 1990: a14) was misleading. The article actually referred to Ontario workers (caretakers, teaching assistants and school bus drivers) who were "so afraid of the students, many of them fear coming to work". A complete reading of the article suggested that this fear was related to intruder incidents such as vandalism, as the text noted problems between four in the afternoon and midnight. "Armed for combat: 'It used to be safe' says one attack victim" (October 5, 1990: b1) used colourful language to create images of battle grounds. Although one incident, a schoolyard scuffle at Ernest Morrow involving two girls, was noted, information was mostly anecdotal. For example, the article stated that: "[w]hen the students gather during school breaks, they tell stories of gang activity, of students arming themselves for protection. Knives. Guns. Ernest Morrow students say these are the weapons of choice". Details were scarce. One boy made a key comment. He stated that he and his friends were not sure what had sparked increased violence that fall, but that "something happened over the summer". Rose also commented that "teachers have noticed a surge in aggressiveness among students this fall".

153. Headlines like "Somebody's got to stop this madness" (August 29, 1993: b1,b2) and "School violence under attack" (November 21, 1993: a1,a2) exaggerated and distorted the situation. In the second article, the 'war' theme was also evident in the text. Halvar Jonson, Minister of Education, stated: "We need to launch an initiative, a campaign, a war if you will on school violence", suggesting that the situation was out of control. Students, parents, teachers, administrators and police were said to have "spent two days huddled in small groups in search of solutions to the escalating problem", but no statistics were provided to support this claim.

154. "Youths clash: N.W. high school students involved in bloody brawl" (February 18, 1993: b1) was one example of a false report. It stated that two carloads of youth started a fight with another group of youths at William Aberhart high school, and that injuries were sustained from weapons. Statements from police and school board contacts referred to the incident as school violence and had a 'sign of the times' tone. The next day, in "Father defends youth's role in brawl" (February 19, 1993: b1), the same officer said that the incident "could've happened at a mall" and that it involved "teens from schools across the city and outcast youths who have no ties with any school". Another board contact commented that "the brawl did not involve rivalry between two schools, as suggested in some news reports ... that [the situation] developed between two individuals". He also stated that the board would review its policy regarding intruders.

Other examples include: "Violent start to school year: Bullet narrowly misses student" (September 4, 1993: a1,a2), and "'School Watch' may expand: Youth violence: Programs to fight crime could soon be reality at Forest Lawn" (September 8, 1993: b1); "Security review launched: possibility of adding surveillance cameras examined by officials" (December 9, 1994: b1), and "Crackdown urged on school violence" (December 14, 1994: a1,a2).

155. "Assaults on students place Banff on alert: Groups to meet teens, parents to combat violence" (February 24, 1995: a11) was one example of a misleading headline. The November, 1994 incidents were actually episodes of youth violence. A student had lured a former friend to a parking garage a few blocks away from the school and had beat him with a billy club. A second incident also occurred off school property. Two other students beat the victim of the first incident for approaching the police.

Other examples include: "Weapons in schools are a major concern for police" (May 16, 1995: b1); and "Schools getting more troubled kids, say officials: Problems plaguing students reflect what occurs in community" (December 20, 1995: b2).

156. "Violence up in B.C. schools, report says" (June 22, 1993: a2); "Teachers wounded in attack" (September 27, 1994: b1); and "Fan violence puts Toronto on defensive: Schools forced to take extreme action to ensure students' safety" (January 3, 1995: c3) were three examples. Weapons were

"becoming common, with knives and razors the preferred choice" according to a British Columbia report on school violence. A Toronto incident which resulted in the shooting of two guidance counsellors by an 'adult' student, who they confronted regarding his poor attendance, was covered in the *Herald*. Another Toronto incident, where a coach was stabbed at a North York basketball game, was reported.

157. Articles covering the situation in the United States delivered the 'it's not so much what happened' message. For example, "Probe planned" (December 16, 1992: a12) told of the installation of metal detectors in Philadelphia schools, in response to growing violence which often involved weapons.

158. In "Kids settle their own conflicts" (October 6, 1990: a1), an elementary school contact stated: "[n]ow that we're mediating, no-body fights any more". The reporter added "well, not quite, but something good is happening".

159. "Trigger-happy student 'can't explain" (January 17, 1991: b4) reported that a fourteen-year-old boy opened fire in a crowded rural school, using a handgun.

160. According to "Teachers helping to stem trouble: But schools still face other social ills with their students" (November 7, 1991: b1) when Rose's November 6 claims were challenged by Tushingham. Rose reported that "great strides" had been made during the past year. He stated: "Youth gangs have departed: vandalism is dramatically down: attendance is up. That didn't just happen. ... Teachers, parents and police have all pitched in to turn things around". "School violence decreasing with better co-operation" (November 7, 1991: b1) noted "[a] marked decrease in school violence over the last year coincides with improved relations between schools and police". In addition to school resource officers, tougher trespass legislation was noted as a successful response.

161. "Students feel safe survey finds" (June 15, 1994: b5); and "Zero tolerance queried" (July 21, 1994: b11) reported results from a survey of 160 students as they exited their school. Only 3 felt unsafe. The spokesperson was 'confident' the results were representative of the student body, and stated: "We heard so many negative things about schools, we wanted to see if we were out of touch. ... The results of this survey tell us the students don't need to fear for their safety."

162. "School trustees made empty gestures" (January 26, 1995: b1) noted that trustees were "shocked by ... new figures on weapons incidents", but was careful to note that many of the incidents involved pellet pistols and that there had not been an increase in real hand gun incidents. The article also noted that while 41 had been suspended for weapons, about 360 had been suspended for non-violent behaviour.

163. "Weapons in schools are a major concern for police" (May 16, 1995: b1).

164. Mathews' survey of 490 police departments and his focus group research (with youth participation) at seven Canadian sites, reveal the consensus that Canadian schools are still "relatively safe" (Mathews, 1995: 1.5,9,10). Gabor's 1995 survey of 250 police services and 260 school boards also detected (1995: 11.18) concern and the sense that the problem had worsened in the past ten years. It was, however, unclear if respondents meant worsening in terms of incidence or severity.

165. Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) National Consultation, held in Hull, Quebec, in February of 1994.

166. "Zero marks for new policy: A plan for zero tolerance against violence in high schools disturbs those it is meant to serve" (*Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1994: A13) referred to perpetrators often being victims of violence themselves and commented that zero tolerance for violence often translated into zero tolerance for troubled youth.

167. These alternative sources included: Mathews, 1995; Gabor, 1995; Canadian News Disk and CBCA Index, 1988-1995; Lundman, 1993: 17-20; Wong and Weagant, 1994: 29, 59-65; and Bala and Lilles, 1984: 2, 7, 21-23, 174.

168. Caputo notes (1987: 130-131) that an emphasis on a 'punitive', 'justice' response reflects a 'law and order tone'. This was dominant in media coverage.

169. Cohen (1985: 219) distinguishes between 'inclusionary' and 'exclusionary' social control, stating: [With]inclusion: deviants are retained, as long as possible within conventional social boundaries and institutions, there to be absorbed. Modes of coping with unruliness in the classroom may serve as a crude illustration of these alternatives. Exclusion leads to measures such as expulsion; separate classes, schools, or units for designated troublemakers; special diagnostic labels such as 'hyperactivity' with treatments such as drugs. Inclusion leads to measures such as unobtrusive techniques of assuring internal obedience; preventive conditioning by systems of reward and punishment aimed at all; deliberate extension of the boundaries of tolerance.

170. Lundman (1993: 17-20) refers to these three points of intervention. Predelinquent intervention aims to stop delinquency before it begins. Preadjudication intervention aims to divert young people from the criminal justice system, and to rehabilitate them. With respect to postadjudication intervention, Lundman notes (1993: 18, 19) three reasons for choosing a specific disposition: rehabilitation, incapacitation, and deterrence.

In terms of postadjudication response, Wong et al. note (1994: 59-65) a range of available youth court dispositions, which vary across provinces: open or secure custody, or a non-custodial disposition. Non-custodial dispositions include: absolute discharge; a fine not exceeding \$1000.00; restitution order for loss or damage to property or compensation for personal injury; restitution in kind or through personal service; a community service order; an order of prohibition, seizure, or forfeiture; and probation for a period not exceeding two years. Bala and Lilles also note (1984: 174) that a young person may be detained for treatment.

171. Bala and Lilles note (1984: 21) that contacted police may exercise discretionary power to not lay charges - a process called police screening, where officers may issue a warning, mediate, initiate a transfer to another school (an example of pre-trial diversion), or divert youth to social service agencies for assistance.

172. Once a charge has been laid, alternative measures may be applied, where available and when youth are eligible. Possible measures include: writing an essay, restitution, community service work, participation in a recreation program, involvement with Big Brothers or Big Sisters, or some form of counselling. While the perpetrator must acknowledge responsibility for the act committed, there is no formal record of conviction. This reflects an 'inclusive', 'welfare' response.

173. Alternative sources to print media emphasize rights and needs, as opposed to justice. For example, in a legal primer, teachers are advised to familiarize themselves with the *FOA*, in order to assist students who approach them. The potential problem of rights violation, rarely encountered in the media, is noted (Proudfoot and Hutchings, 1988: 153-154, 155-156). According to Gabor (1995: 24),

many police and school board focus group participants (61 per cent) voiced concern that the policy of 'zero tolerance' was in conflict with the *Y.O.A.* Youth may be expelled, suspended or transferred without due process and their school records may reflect incidents for the remainder of their high school attendance. These records may follow the youth from one school to another. This is an important point, as even when charges are laid, there is no criminal record when alternative measures are invoked.

174. Inconsistency across provinces is noted (Winterdyk, 1996: 46; Wong and Weagant, 1993: 29) with respect to the application of alternative measures. A CBC (1994) documentary noted inconsistency across Toronto area school boards with respect to police participation in response to school violence.

175. One police spokesperson in the *Toronto Star* argued that inclusive methods such as conflict resolution and mediation could not adequately address today's youth violence. This was noted in "Let police deal with violence in schools, Metro officer says" (*Toronto Star*, October 14, 1993: a3).

176. "Playing fair" (*Toronto Star*, April 19, 1993: b1,b2); and "Schools put peacemaking on the curriculum" (*Globe and Mail*, December 22, 1993: a1,a8).

177. A detailed discussion of policing strategies is beyond the scope of this thesis. The following, consulted, sources discuss and compare policing strategies: Rosenbaum and Lurigio (1994); Eck (1993); Forcese (1992); Bayley (1991); Kinsey, Lea, and Young (1986); and Cohen (1985).

178. Sergeant Brooks of the Ottawa Police Community Services Youth Bureau was interviewed in 1994.

179. Victimization questions captured information on a range of infractions perpetrated against the respondent at a variety of locations. Incidents included acts perpetrated by family and non-family persons. Acts included: deliberate damage to or destruction of property belonging to the respondent or someone in his or her household; an attempt to take or the actual taking of something by force or threat of force from the respondent; an illegal break-in or attempted break-in to the respondent's residence or another building on the property; the stealing of anything belonging to the respondent, from outside the home, their place of work, from school, from a public place, a hotel, vacation home, cottage, car, truck or while travelling; the stealing of a vehicle or part from a vehicle; the stealing of anything else belonging to the respondent; being attacked (hit, slapped, pushed, grabbed, shot, beaten); someone threatening to hit or attack the respondent; being threatened with a weapon; the forcing or attempt to force the respondent into sexual activity; being touched against his or her will in any sexual way (grabbing, kissing, fondling); and other crimes against the respondent which may not have been reported to the police.

180. The following categories were collapsed into the category 'home':

- inside the respondent's home;
- inside the respondent's home, on a farm;
- inside the respondent's home, in the garage;
- outside the respondent's home; and
- inside vacation property.

The following location categories were collapsed into the category 'other locations':

- other private residence;
- restaurant/bar;
- shopping mall;
- commercial building;
- hospital;

- sports facility;
- parking garage;
- sidewalk/street;
- rural area/park;
- and elsewhere.

181. Respondents were asked:

- whether or not the person(s) who committed the most recent incident had a weapon such as a gun or knife, or something he or she was using as a weapon, such as a rock or bottle;
- whether or not they were attacked in any way during the most recent incident. The GSS defined an attack to be anything from being hit, slapped, grabbed or knocked down, to being shot, sexually assaulted or beaten up; and
- if anything belonging to them or to their household was stolen during the most recent incident.

182. For example, in the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*, there were a number of headlines about the implementation of alternative measures in Ontario. Some headlines were about the 'leniency' of the legislation; some conveyed a 'get tough' message. Alternative views defended the new legislation and had a more welfare focus. *Calgary Herald* coverage at this time was similar to the *Toronto* coverage. That is, some headlines related to local issues, others criticized the legislation and called for harsher measures.

In the *Toronto Star*, during the broken or re-routed processes (February, 1988 through November, 1991), articles included: "Punish teen offenders with essays study says" (March 22, 1988: a1.a18); "Getting tough with teenage crime" (February 26, 1989: b1.b6); and "Teen lawbreakers: Therapy or cell?" (March 1, 1989: a28).

In the *Globe and Mail*, during the broken or re-routed processes (February, 1991 through September, 1993) articles included: "Criticism of Young Offenders Act unfair, law's defenders say" (February 9, 1989: a9); and "Tougher youth terms studied, Lewis says" (March 3, 1989: a9).

During the first *Calgary Herald* complete cycle (September, 1990 through November, 1991) articles included: "Jail more like community centre" (March 23, 1988: b1); "Offenders Act still under fire" (April 2, 1989: a1.a2); and "Teens 'laugh' at Young Offenders Act" (October 6, 1989: b8).

During the second *Calgary Herald* complete cycle (May, 1992 through December, 1995) the following articles appeared: "Young offenders: An act gone wrong" (July 12, 1992: a8); and "Young criminals taking a holiday" (July 13, 1992: b1).

183. "Taking issue with crime: With a federal election looming, politicians of all stripes are willing to take law and order into their own hands" (*Ottawa Citizen*, December 6, 1992: a4); "Blais ponders naming young offenders: Justice minister says the public wants more protection from violent teenagers" (*Ottawa Citizen*, February 19, 1993: a4); "Chretien nails down law and order plank" (*Ottawa Citizen*, April 23, 1993: a4); "Campbell vows to get tough with young offenders" (*Ottawa Citizen*, August 31, 1993: a3); "Election '93: Ask the leaders (Would you be willing to re-instate the death penalty?)" (*Calgary Herald*, October 18, 1993: a8); and "Election '93. Ask the leaders (What will you do about the spiralling increase in youth crime and will you make changes to the Young Offenders Act?)" (*Calgary Herald*, October 20, 1993: a12).

184. In the *Toronto Star*, in the latter half of the broken or re-routed processes (February, 1988 through September, 1993) articles included: "Young Offenders Act has flaws, Lewis admits" (October 22, 1992: a7); "Charge 10-year-olds in criminal cases, task force proposes" (June 4, 1993: a1); and "PM

pledges tougher law on young offenders" (August 31, 1993: a9).

In the *Globe and Mail*, at the end of the broken or re-routed processes (February 1991 through September, 1993, articles included: "Let parents pay for crimes by children, Manning urges" (August 6, 1993: a1,a6); and "The sins of their children" (August 10, 1993: a16).

In the *Calgary Herald*, during the second complete cycle (May, 1992 through December, 1995) articles included: "Manning suggests parents should pay for kids' crimes" (August 6, 1993: b8); "Reformers demand stiff jail time" (August 20, 1993: a16); and "Election '93: Ask the leaders (What will you do about the spiralling increase in youth crime and will you make changes to the Young Offenders Act?)" (October 20, 1993: a12).

185. "Public safety sells: Vote-hungry politicians climb on the anti-crime bandwagon" (*Ottawa Citizen*, January 12, 1993: a3); "Lawyers blast plan to try more children in adult court" (September 4, 1993: a1); "The issue: Crime: Figures don't back growing fear" (*Ottawa Citizen*, October 8, 1993: a4); and "MPs told to cut at the roots of crime: Social programs better than more police, prisons, experts tell committee" (*Ottawa Citizen*, February 26, 1993: a1).

186. For example, "Storm cloud hangs over vague stance on social policy" (*Ottawa Citizen*, June 19, 1993: b4), reported that Kim Campbell called for amendments that would toughen the YOA, for studies that would address the causes of crime, and for early intervention measures. These comments contrasted with Reform's strictly law and order message.

187. For example, in "Manning suggests parents should pay for kids' crimes" (*Calgary Herald*, August 6, 1993: b8), Manning proposed that parents should pay since they "allowed them to get out of control". He leaned toward greater support for victims and a harsher response toward offenders. In "Election '93: Ask the leaders (What will you do about the spiralling increase in youth crime and will you make changes to the Young Offenders Act?)" (*Calgary Herald*, October 20, 1993: a12), Reform called for the repeal of the Young Offenders Act and its replacement with legislation stressing the responsibility of young people to society, and the responsibility of parents to compensate victims.

188. "Try young offenders like adults, 48% say (Gallup Poll)" (*Toronto Star*, January 2, 1992: a11); "Young Offenders Act doesn't need major overhaul, minister says" (*Ottawa Citizen*, October 22, 1992: a5); "Taking issue with crime: With a federal election looming, politicians of all stripes are willing to take law and order into their own hands" (*Ottawa Citizen*, December 6, 1992: a4); "Public safety sells: Vote-hungry politicians climb on the anti-crime bandwagon" (*Ottawa Citizen*, January 12, 1993: a3); "Parliamentary committee hears conflicting views on youth crime" (*Ottawa Citizen*, January 19, 1993: a5); "Youth ID plan lauded (proposal to name young offenders)" (*Calgary Herald*, February 20, 1993: b2); "Group sees young offenders move as positive" (*Calgary Herald*, March 5, 1993: b7); "United in grief: Stricken families reach out to others touched by violence" (*Calgary Herald*, May 19, 1993: b4).

189. "Children under 12 frustrating police" (*Calgary Herald*, April 2, 1989: c1); "Police calling for crackdown on teen crime" (*Calgary Herald*, September 9, 1989: b1); "Police try to defuse 'walking time bomb': Young offenders identified to combat escalating crime" (*Calgary Herald*, June 13, 1990: b4); "Kids robbing other children 'for kicks', police say" (*Toronto Star*, September 20, 1990: a2); "Ferocious teen mob stuns cops: Calgary officers stoned, punched, kicked after dance" (*Calgary Herald*, April 2, 1991: a1,a2); and "Child crime increasing police fear" (*Globe and Mail*, July 13, 1992: a13).

190. For example, "Lewis urges adult court for repeat offenders" (*Ottawa Citizen*, December 29, 1992: a3) indicated that Solicitor General Doug Lewis noted police trouble with "repeat offenders who are laughing at the Act" and the YOA's "lack of deterrence". "Reform party boss kicks off provincial tour"

(*Ottawa Citizen*, January 13, 1993: a3); and "Manning tailors message to audiences" (*Ottawa Citizen*, January 14, 1993: a6) indicated that Preston Manning "won thunderous applause" and "drew whistles and foot-stomping cheers" from police for his proposed "crackdown" on young offenders. In "Blais ponders naming young offenders: Justice minister says the public wants more protection from violent teenagers" (*Ottawa Citizen*, February 19, 1993: a4), Blais commented that the Government was "contemplating" proposals like the Ontario police's to publish the names of some young offenders.

191 Tom Flanagan who was a senior policy consultant - "Reform softens at its peril" (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, August 13, 1993: 12) - for the Reform Party notes (1995: 15) that Manning began to address criminal justice issues in the Spring of 1992 and that Manning's "sudden interest seems to have been largely motivated by a desire to substitute something for the party's constitutional agenda, from which he was preparing to distance himself." Jim Cunningham, a *Calgary Herald* Reporter, states (1991: 4.7) that the Reform Party had the great advantage of being outsiders at a time when the public was angry at all insiders: that Manning knew the voters were "ready to rebel".

192. Post-election coverage indicates that the Reform campaign for law and order was not simply an election platform. After October 25, 1993, the Reform party continued to press for changes to the Young Offenders Act. One example was: "Tough law favored" (*Calgary Herald*, October 15, 1994: a9). In a newspaper-style document, *Do You Feel Safe?* (Reform, 1996), Reform continued to manipulate public fear using 'media inventory' headlines such as: "Violence reaches into homes". They linked geographically distant 1995 youth crimes - evidence of 'cannibalism'. Recalling a tranquil time in the past, this document stated: "our playgrounds, malls, schools and our homes don't feel as safe as they once did"

193. For example, "Public safety sells: Vote-hungry politicians climb on the anti-crime bandwagon" (*Ottawa Citizen*, January 12, 1993: a3) spoke of an international trend toward more punitive response, citing Britain's proposal to return to a system formerly known as Borstals. News from the United States reflected a law and order agenda there. "States get tougher with teenage criminals: Critics balk as U.S. legislators stiffen laws against youths" (*Ottawa Citizen*, December 14, 1993: c10) noted how a get tough response was being implemented in that country. The article began by listing a few isolated cases involving juveniles as perpetrators of violent crime, and stated: "As if the gunshots summoned them, legislators in Colorado, Utah, and Florida met in special sessions this fall and enacted measures making it easier to prosecute teenagers as young as 14 as adults. A half dozen other states took similar steps earlier this year, and many more are considering them".

194. "In the *Toronto Star*, during the broken or re-routed processes (February, 1988 through November, 1991), articles included: "Teen gangs out of control, angry parents say" (September 2, 1988: a1); and "A special breed of young lawbreakers" (November 6, 1988: b1.b6).

In the *Globe and Mail*, during the broken or re-routed processes (February, 1991 through September, 1993) articles included: "The swarm: It's a mistake to think of youth gangs as a short-lived summer fad. For gang members, violence is the truth" (August 8, 1989: 16-19); and "Raging angels" (March 6, 1992: d5).

During the first *Calgary Herald* complete cycle (September, 1990 through November, 1991) articles included: "Ferocious teen mob stuns ccps: Calgary officers stoned, punched, kicked after dance" (April 02, 1991: a1.a2); and "Teenage violence national disease" (April 4, 1991: a3).

195. In the *Toronto Star*, during the broken or re-routed processes (February, 1988 through November, 1991), articles included: "Violent crimes by youths rise 10% in 3 years figures show" (April 21, 1990: a12); and "Violent youth crime doubles" (October 17, 1992: a3).

In the *Globe and Mail*, during the broken or re-routed processes (February, 1991 through September, 1993) articles included: "Experts try to explain the surge in crimes by young people" (August 22, 1992: a7); and "Violent crime among minors doubles in past five years: Youth more apt than adults to be charged, study says" (October 17, 1992: a10).

During the first *Calgary Herald* complete cycle (September, 1990 through November, 1991) articles included: "Teen murder charges spiral" (April 27, 1990: a1); and "Youth court bogged down: lawyers and judges striving to speed up young offender cases" (September 30, 1990: a1.a2).

During the second *Calgary Herald* complete cycle (May, 1992 through December, 1995) articles included: "No end seen to spiral of teenage crime" (May 14, 1992: a1); and "Toll keeps mounting as violent youth spawn an epidemic of violence" (June 27, 1992: g4).

196. "Youth crime not soaring, study says" (*Toronto Star*, August 18, 1993: a2).

197. In the *Toronto Star*, during the complete cycle of moral panic (October, 1993 through September, 1995) articles included: "Report on young 'gangsters' faces challenges from experts" (March 10, 1994: a4); and "Murderous innocents: True stories of children who kill" (April 30, 1994: h14).

In the *Globe and Mail*, during the complete cycle of moral panic (October, 1993 through September, 1995) articles included: "Girl-gang violence alarms experts" (September 12, 1995: a10).

In the *Calgary Herald*, during the second complete cycle of moral panic (May, 1992 through December, 1995) articles included: "Minister targets teen cons" (December 29, 1992: a1); and "Killer kids" (July 19, 1995: a5).

198. In the *Toronto Star*, during the complete cycle of moral panic (October, 1993 through September, 1995) articles included: "Tories tout boot camps for young offenders: Harris gets tough on law and order" (May 30, 1995: a1); and "Study rejects boot camps for young offenders" (July 21, 1995: a12).

In the *Globe and Mail*, during the complete cycle of moral panic (October, 1993 through September, 1995) articles included: "Innovative programs strive to rehabilitate delinquents" (April 4, 1994: a5); and "Michael Harris, jailer" (May 31, 1995: a15).

In the *Calgary Herald*, during the second complete cycle of moral panic (May, 1992 through December, 1995) articles included: "Getting tough may be the answer, but tough on whom? Society can spend its money on more jails for young offenders, or it can step in before a kid becomes a criminal" (May 15, 1994: b3); and "Young offenders lining up to attend boot camp - Martin" (August 14, 1995: a3).

199. In the *Toronto Star*, during the complete cycle of moral panic (October, 1993 through September 1995) articles included: "Youth violence on rise, police say" (July 22, 1995: a4); and "Kids and crime: Is it on the rise?" (July 30, 1995: a1,a14).

In the *Globe and Mail*, during the complete cycle of moral panic (October, 1993 through September 1995) articles included: "No real rise found in serious violence by young people" (February 1, 1994: a7); and "Extreme violence by teens rising: Parental neglect seen as one cause" (April 7, 1995: a1,a12).

In the *Calgary Herald*, during the second complete cycle of moral panic (May 1992 through December, 1995) articles included: "No end seen to spiral of teenage crime" (May 14, 1992: a1); and "Critics say

don't panic: Statistics used selectively" (May 15, 1994: a13).

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