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Social Constructionism and Cultivation Theory in Development of the Juvenile “Super-Predator”

by

Elizabeth R. Jackson-Cruz

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Criminology
College of Behavioral and Community Sciences
University of South Florida

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Keywords: juvenile crime, violent crime, drug crime, super-predator

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated in honor of my mother Carol J. Cruz, my sister Yvonne V. Cruz, nephew Noah A. Ortiz, and in loving memory of my brother Jhamal Cruz. Your lives continue to inspire mine and always will.

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ABSTRACT

The myth of the "super-predator" offender was adopted by newspaper media in the mid-1990s characterizing "violent", urban, and minority juvenile offenders. The phrase originated from newspaper headlines of the 1980s and 1990s, but limited research has identified whether this construct predated DiIulio and Fox's crime surge prediction. This study sampled juvenile crime news items from *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* (N=2,008) 1985-1995 with defined search criteria of *juvenile actors*, "*violent" juvenile crime*, and/or *juvenile drug crime*. A descriptive analysis of the data determined reporting trends sought for a "period effect" caused by the publicity of the prediction and searched for the pre-existence of "super-predator" construct. Finally, a series $\chi 2$ test determined the statistical independence of "super-predator" offender, the victim, and crime characteristics, from variables of news article prominence. This study found support for identifiable trends in juvenile crime reporting, no identifiable "period effect" and mixed, but ultimately null findings, in pre-establishing the super-predator media construct. The $\chi 2$ test determined the statistical independence of "super-predator" offender, the victim, and crime characteristics, found some characteristics were statically independent of variables of article prominence, but that these relationships are weak.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

The "super-predator" hypothesis that predicted a surge of "violent" juvenile offenders during the mid-1990s, has been attributed to cultural and political responses that increased punitive sanctions. The "super-predator" construct was generated by the media overrepresenting "violent" crimes committed by Black and Latino male youths ages 14-17 (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 19-22; Fox, 1996/1997). These sensationalist stories and the "super-predator" construct was adapted by Dr. John DiIulio Jr., a professor of political science at Princeton University. He paired these dramatic depictions with data produced by Dr. James A. Fox, professor of Northeastern University. DiIulio and Fox predicted sharp increases in "violent" juvenile offending by early 2005, based on demographics of Black and Latino males entering their "high crime years" was projected to be larger than previous generations (Fox, 1996/1997; Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, p. 6, 1996; Krisberg et al, 2009). They predicted this cohort of minority males would commit a surge of predatory "street crime" as they entered their "high crime years" (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). These "street crimes" were described as "violent" and drug offenses, which were believed to be caused these youths' "moral poverty", which is defined as criminogenic environments and poor family socialization (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). The media and academics endorsed the prediction, inciting public and political discourses for preemptive punitive legislation focused on Black and Latino youths (Pizarro, Chermak, & Gruenewald, 2007; Rios, 2008). The "myth"

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associated with this hypothesis is that this generation of Black and Latino male youths would be capable of committing high rates of violent crime, consistent with high rates seen in the 1980s (Fox, 1996/1997; Blumstein & Wallman, 2006).

The stark difference in the hypothesis' predicted trend versus actual rates of violent juvenile crime is attributed to several "period effects" which imparted juvenile crime rates in the 1980s (Cook & Laub, 1998). High juvenile homicide rates of the 1980s were central to the super-predator hypothesis have been attributed as a byproduct of youths' increased access to firearms, and subsequent higher rates of fatal attacks involving firearms (Fox, 1996/1997; Cook & Laub, 1998; Zimring, 1998; Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). The prediction was thoroughly debunked in the early 2000s when the predicted increase in violent crime did not occur (Snyder & Sickmund, 2000), and violent crime rates began to fall in what became known as the "American crime drop" (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). The prediction was heavily criticized for racializing minority youths as social "threats", who could be managed with criminal sanctions (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996; Cohen, 2002). Despite the hypothesis' falsification, minority populations and their social conditions would produce "violent" juvenile offenders (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996), it persists as false criminal justice knowledge or "myth".

Despite the super-predator hypothesis' falsification, DiIulio and Fox's prediction generated reactive policy measures that subsequently shifted rehabilitative juvenile justice programs into increasingly punitive legislation in the following decades (Garrett, 2015; Myers, 2016). Instead of diverting these youths into rehabilitative programs, these changes in legislation increasingly waived juveniles into the adult system (Garrett, 2015; Myers, 2016). These changes are attributed to applying "war on crime" policies in the juvenile justice system, which has been characterized as the "war on youth crime" (Zimring, 1998). These policy changes, according to the Department

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of Justice Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (1999), resulted in African American juveniles being overrepresented in all stages of the juvenile justice system. These policy changes were paralleled by media outlets that characterized minority youths as violent offenders, as well as "unprecedented levels" of public concern about crime in the mid-1990s (Callanan, 2005).

Much has been done to disprove DiIulio and Fox's prediction and explore the super-predator hypothesis' contribution to the development of juvenile crime policies during the American crime drop. However, we are unaware of any research exploring the development and origins of the media's "super-predator" construct. An exploration of the development of the super-predator construct, independent of its mythicized reputation, may benefit current research exploring the influences of socially created news media institutions, on both public opinion and policy implementations. Previous studies have examined the effect of the "super-predator news frame" construct and its effect on the media's portrayal of youth violence, but they do not examine the development and pre-existence of the frame (Dixon & Azocar, 2006; Muschert, 2007; Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald, 2007). We currently know of no studies which examine the media's development of the "super-predator" construct, its prominence or prevalence in news media preceding DiIulio and Fox's prediction.

This study will begin with a literature review of the super-predator construct and research of DiIulio and Fox's prediction, followed by media research, its applications, and the methodology employed in this study. The review will address principle theories of *Social Construction* and *Cultivation Theory* as they relate to the development of the public's understanding of crime and criminal justice. This will be followed by a discourse of crime and media research, its development and the effects of crime media on influencing punitiveness. This review will conclude with the development of *moral panics* (Cohen, 2002), social responses to causes presented to the public by the

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media. As well as how a "panic" of violent juvenile crime was generated by the media "crime wave" dynamics, (Fishman, 1978). Fishman defines crime waves as media constructs which contribute to crime ideologies by preselecting news stories framing similar crimes under a common theme (1978).

The present study will help fill several gaps in the literature. First, by establishing the "super-predator" construct's pre-existence within print media, its subsequent "abandonment" and adoption by DiIulio and Fox. Second, by determining the prevalence and prominence of juvenile crime and drug offense articles before the public introduction of DiIulio and Fox super-predator cohort prediction. Third, to add to the growing body of on work the presentation of juvenile crime by the media, and the effect of firearms and gang involvement has on article prominence. Fourth, to build on the current empirical research of social construction and cultivation of the publics' conceptualization of juvenile crime. To accomplish these tasks this study will analyze the elements the "super-predator" constructs within the media as presented by DiIulio and Fox in three major metropolitan newspapers. Employing a quantitative content analysis of crime articles of violent juvenile crime in the years preceding and following the myths introduction and debunking.

This study has one primary research question. Is there evidence that the news media seized upon the concept of the super-predator and developed it in the years before DiIulio and Fox's adaptation of the construct? Considering that there is a degree of variation in print media's presentation of crime news based on its "newsworthiness" (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007), not all juvenile crime articles will receive equal or consistent degrees of attention.

This study employed a quantitative content analysis of a purposive sample of news items of juvenile drug and violent crimes in the years preceding "super-predator" hypothesis' introduc-

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tion. This study will examine the prevalence, prominence, characteristics of the articles, and establish if there are statistical differences between article prominence across juvenile offender, victim and crime characteristics. Data for the sample was gathered from articles published between 1985 to 1995 in three national newspapers, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*. The dependent variables of the study include measures of prominence and independent variables of the article, crime, offender and victim characteristics inspired previous research and *Body Count: Moral Poverty and How to Win America's War Against Crime and Drugs* (1996) are summarized in Table 1. Followed by analyses of the hypothesis, a presentation, and discussion of the results, and concludes with a discussion of the research implications and limitations of the study.

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CHAPTER TWO:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The "Super-Predator"

The media construct of the juvenile super-predator reportedly emerged from newspaper headlines in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 35; DiIulio, 1995; Southerland, 2015). The media depicted these offenders as hedonistic inner-city "youngsters" from "badland" neighborhoods who "murder, assault, rape, rob, burglarize, deal […] drugs, join […] gangs and create […] disorder" (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 27). These urban youths were minority males "plagued with idleness and […] hopelessness" (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 20; Fox, 1996/1997). The media employed this construct to frame violent crimes committed by inner-city youths who had been influenced and characterized by high crime rates attributed to the "crack" epidemic of the 1980s, and increased rates of juvenile crime and fatal incidents involving firearms (Fox, 1996/1997; Cook & Laub, 1998; Zimring, 1998; Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). The media's framing of these youths influenced criminologists and social scientist crime predictions that resulted in the creation of the super-predator hypothesis.

The super-predator cohort hypothesis predicted increased crime rates caused by these "juvenile super-predator[s]" and was introduced by Dr. John J. DiIulio Jr. in 1995 in an interview with *The Weekly Standard.* He and his co-authors then expanded on this sub-group of juvenile

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offenders in *Body Count: Moral Poverty and How to Win America's War Against Crime and Drugs* (1996) the following year. The "super-predator" hypothesis predicted minority male youths entering their teens in the late 1990s would cause drastic increases in violent crime rates. The prediction acquired notoriety in part to DiIulio's position as Acting Director of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives under the G.W. Bush administration during this period. It gained political and academic support from Dr. James A. Fox's research on juvenile homicide and victimization trends that bolstered the plausibility of their projected crime trends. Fox publicly predicted increases in juvenile homicide rates in *USA Today*, basing his predictions on anticipated social and demographic changes (Fox & Pierce, 1994). Fox later presented supporting research to the United States Attorney General (1996/1997), however, his prediction countered early findings of declining violent crime. Despite their public presentations of the prediction, neither DiIulio nor Fox clearly defined "super-predators", they described them as disadvantaged male youths from urban neighborhoods, and who lack adult supervision; ultimately, they are "under-socialized" youths (see also Bennett, DiIulio, & Walters, 1996; Fox, 1996/1997).

DiIulio and Fox predicted that these minority youths would generate a crime wave of robberies, rapes, homicides and other "violent" offenses as they entered their high crime years based on minorities' population increases (Fox, 1996/1997; Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, p. 6, 1996; Krisberg et al, 2009). This predicted wave focused on the incoming "baby-boomerang" cohort entering their "high crime" years and estimated to be 20% larger than the "boomers" (Fox, 1996/1997). This larger cohort would replace the baby boomer generation who were aging out of their high crime years (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006; see also Blumstein, Cohen, & Miller, 1980). The "baby-boomerang" cohort differed from "boomers" compositionally, with the population expected to have higher percentages of Black and Latino male youths (Zimring, 1998). This "boomerang"

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cohort of minority youths became targets of "war on youth crime" policies, which disproportionately affected them compared to their White counterparts (Zimring, 1998; Rios, 2008). These changes occurred even though *Uniform Crime Reports* narrated national declines in homicide and robbery rates during the mid-1990s (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006), which Fox cautioned as a plateau before the predicted spike (1996/1997). DiIulio and colleagues adamantly denied that race or low socioeconomic status was reflective of their hypothesis and claimed that there was "no racism in America or the criminal justice system" (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 45). Their argument centered on the concept of "moral poverty" that they defined as a lack of proper socialization caused by "broken homes" and growing up in criminogenic environments (Bennett, DiIulio, & Walters, 1996). This combination of conditions results in youths developing dispositions of "apathy", "lack of individual responsibility", and no "self-restraint" or self-control (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). These traits were proposed to cause deviant behaviors, such as drug and alcohol use, as well as contribute to juveniles' participation in violent crimes. They attributed minority youths, particularly Blacks, high rates of moral poverty caused by higher rates of family and community disorganization compared to Whites (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). *Body Count* recommends a variety of solutions to address moral poverty including increased sanctions, social programs, and increased religious participation among others.

Issues with the Super-Predator Construct

There are several complications with DiIulio and Fox's prediction as well as their implementation of the super-predator construct, foremost being the absence of a clear theoretical basis for conceptualizing moral poverty. In addition, DiIulio, Fox, and colleagues never clearly defined

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nor proposed an operationalization to test for the development or effects of "super-predator" characteristics or the causal effects of "moral poverty", (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). They instead cited vague concepts of "broken homes," "badlands neighborhoods," joblessness and a lack of religion, that was similarly referenced by Fox as urban "hopelessness" (1996/1997; Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald, 2007). The primary theoretical issues are the vague macro- and micro-level concepts of influence, creating a "black box" for the causes of super-predators' characteristics. This "black box" concept originates from mathematical theory, wherein the box is a "fiction" representing a concrete set of systems, which when stimulated results in a reaction (Bunge, 1963). More specifically "it is a model without intervening variables, without linking between variables, without internal structure or mechanisms; it is a model with no contents, a *black box* (Fraser, 1968, p. 221).

In the case of DiIulio's "super-predator" hypothesis, the black box of "moral poverty" is presented as a condition caused by a lack of proper socialization instigated by criminogenic environments and "family disintegration" (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p.28, 56). The "family disintegration" aspect of moral poverty focuses on single female heads of household and their associated high rates of joblessness, domestic violence and "godlessness" (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p.79). Criminogenic environments are more broadly defined as elements of social disorganization and juveniles' experiences of child abuse and neglect within the home. The combination of these components results in the condition of moral poverty or "low moral health" which is characterized by youths' "low self-control", substance abuse and criminal behavior. DiIulio, Fox, and colleagues synthesize various criminology and criminal justice theories, some of which are specifically macro or micro-level in their applications, the combination of which is limitedly

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integrated. Specifically, there are identifiable of elements from Akers' macro-level *Social Learning Theory and Social Structure* (2017) combined with the concept of low self-control from Gottfredson and Hirschi's *General Theory of Crime* (1990) which operates at the micro-level. They incorporate aspects from these and other works, but do not present an integrative theory with testable or operational features for their hypothesis. Despite the draw from various criminological theories, DiIulio and colleagues minimize facets of economic poverty, lack of social programs and racism as contributors to violent juvenile crime (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p.14).

DiIulio's predicted "super-predator cohort" affect (Cook & Laub, 1998) was debunked by criminologist researchers and theorists when the expected surge of violent juvenile crime never occurred. Barry Feld (1999) and Franklin Zimring (1998) were among the first to severely critique the prediction, especially as preemptive policy altered the landscape of the juvenile justice system within the decade. Zimring (1998) in response demonstrated that there were no long-term trends in juvenile violence, particularly crimes of homicide, aggravated assault or robbery as DiIulio and Fox had predicted. Though higher rates of assault during the 1980s and 1990s were found, these increases are attributed to changes in police discretion and reclassification, a conclusion also reached by Cook and Laub (1998). Further, Zimring and other researchers determined that increased rates of gun-related crimes greatly contributed to overall rates of fatal and violent crime incidents of the 1980s and 1990s (Cook & Laub, 1998; Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). This prevalence of firearms and involvement in the crack-cocaine trade possibly contributed to homicide rates among adults and juveniles seen in the mid-1980s to mid-1990s (see also Blumstein, 1995; Cook & Laub, 1998). This increase in firearm availability was employed as a contributing factor to the "super-predator" hypothesis' increased rates of juvenile homicide and violent crime (Fox, 1996/1997; see also Bennett, DiIulio, & Walters, 1996).

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Zimring's stance was supported by Philip Cook and John Laub's (1998) co-occurring research, their results determined there was no substantial evidence to support the claims of rising juvenile violent crime. Cook and Laub found that DiIulio's predicted super-predators "cohort effect", where this cohort would exhibit a surge in violent crime did not coincide with available data. Examining data from the *Uniform Crime Report* and the *National Crime Victimization Survey* they found that juveniles only contributed to a small fraction of violent crime, which suggests a period effect of violent juvenile crime. This "period effect" is characterized by the geographically specific areas these high rates of juvenile crime occurred, particularly inner-city neighborhoods at the epicenter of the crack epidemic (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010).

Additionally, Cook and Laub (1998) compared juvenile and adult offender arrest rates with data from the *Uniform Crime Report* and the *National Crime Victimization Survey*. Further analyses concerning race, gender, and crime type support that while juveniles committed higher rates of violent crime in the 1990s, this offending was less demographically concentrated than previously thought (p. 44). They concluded that juvenile crime rates over time were "muted" due to a decreasing juvenile population between 1975-1990, where the population of high-crime aged youth, ages 13-17, declined 21%. This "muting" was attributed to changes in the age ratios in juvenile murder arrests reported to the *UCR*, peaked in 1993 but were 20% lower than peak rates reported in 1985 (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006).

These rates were paralleled by declining homicide murder arrests in 25-30 age bracket, down 20% from 1985 (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006), and evidence of juvenile homicide rates experiencing varied increases and decreases from 1980 to 1996 (Zimring, 1998). This decline within the older age bracket is attributed the baby boomer generation aging out of their high crime years (see also Blumstein, Cohen and Miller 1980), paired with overall decreases in younger age

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brackets resulting in an aggregate decrease in homicide rates (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). This decline, known as the "American crime drop", has been consistent for both homicide and property crime for two decades (Gramlich, 2017/2018). These results were juxtaposed Fox's 1996 report, and 1997 update, to the then acting Attorney General that projected the annual number of "teen killers" to rise to 4,000 or more.

Changes in Juvenile Justice Philosophy

Politicians and the public reacted to the predicted juvenile crime wave by enacting reactive legislation with "get tough" policy (Robert, 2004; Pickett et al., 2012). DiIulio's "super-predator cohort" prediction and hypothesis is believed to have contributed to changes in policy, in particular, policies aimed at juvenile offenders which were enacted in the 1990s (see Snyder & Sickmund, 1995; Pickett et al., 2012; Southerland, 2013). These policies facilitated juvenile offender transfers to the adult system, divorcing juvenile justice from the 'child's best interests' rationality (see Snyder & Sickmund, 1995; Southerland, 2013). Courts across the US began emphasizing juvenile offender accountability in the late 1980s and early 1990s, this change in philosophy reduced juvenile offender protections (Pickett et al., 2012), and increased punitive attitudes despite falling crime rates (Fox, 1996/1997; Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). This violent cohort of youths was considered "mature enough to be processed and treated in the adult system", and new mechanisms and policies were created to support this shift (Robert, 2004, p. 164; Southerland, 2015; Myers, 2016). This punitive policy direction, juxtaposed to the earlier crime drop, is attributed to a "fear of crime" mentality caused by the media's hype of the "super-predator" prediction, facilitated by politicians and public figures (Zimring, 1998; Robert, 2004; Southerland, 2015; Myers, 2016).

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These shifts in the juvenile courts were parallel by increased punitive attitudes in the adult system, characterized by the implementation of mandatory minimums and "three-strikes laws" throughout the United States (Callanan, 2005). These changes in the adult courts affected juveniles as they were waived into the adult system, as youths entered adult correction facilities, facing life without parole and the death penalty as a result. (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010).

Juvenile Crime Media Research

Portrayals of juveniles are typically associated with "moral panics" in society, with crime media research of juveniles broadly separated into depiction youths as either victims or offenders (Cohen, 2002; see also Dixon & Azocar, 2006). The available research on the depiction of juveniles by the media is sparse; the following review will outline existing research that has contributed to studies of the "super-predator" media construct. The most comprehensive print media study we are aware of is Rhineberger-Dunn's study of the media's construction of juvenile delinquency in small city publications. Rhineberger-Dunn gathered reports in 2002-2006 (N=231) from five of the smallest metropolitan statistical areas within the United States, to determine how they constructed juvenile delinquency. Her study found that these small city publications more accurately portrayed juvenile crime victims, who were predominately female and sexual assault victimization the most prevalent violent crime of the sample. Her results add credence to the shared reporting practices that happen under crime wave dynamics (Fishman, 1978), though the generalizability of her findings are limited due to her small sample size (2013). She found that these articles reinforce three juvenile crime "myths" the juvenile super-predator, fear of juvenile offenders and innocent

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victims (2013). Rhineberger-Dunn's study benefits from looking at the persistence of these depictions in smaller communities and is a comparable foil for this study.

Danilo Yanich's study in contrast looked at the presentation of "KidCrime", specifically stories where juveniles were offenders or victims, within news broadcast (2005). The distinction of "KidCrime" is important because the category includes adults who committed crimes against juveniles (under 18 years old) (2005). Yanich then looked at three distinct aspects of these crime portrayals of a sample consisting of videotaped local television broadcasts. These broadcasts originated from 20 television markets in the United States, which yielded 1,739 crime stories for his analysis (2005). The findings established that juveniles were typically portrayed as victims and that generally juveniles and adults were portrayed similarly in aspects of the criminal justice process. Second, he found that 50% of "KidCrime" stories were homicides and were typically crimes involving close family members and people known to the youth. Third, he found that depictions of juvenile crime occurred at 500 times the rate of official statistics, drastically over-representing youth crime.

These studies support Pizarro, Chermak, and Gruenewald's (2007) study of the "super-predator" construct, that looked at the depiction of homicides committed by juveniles compared to adults in Newark, New Jersey between 1997 and 2004. They found support for two of their four research questions. First, they found moderate support for increased coverage of juvenile "super-predator" youths. Second, they found coverage always occurred followed juvenile homicide incidents that were multiple homicides. They did not find any support their third and fourth hypotheses, whether there was increased coverage juvenile gang and juvenile drug crimes respectively. Their additional findings were consistent with previous research which found crime rarity and

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“taboo” received more frequent coverage than more “domestic”, or common juvenile drug and gang crime (2007).

Neither Pizarro and colleagues, Yanich nor Rhineberger-Dunn’s specifically identify the origin of the media super-predator construct, their studies instead sample media artifacts following the media’s presentation of the crime surge hypothesis. Neither of these studies do not establish the construct or whether the construct is unique from general media depictions. Nor do we know of any studies that establish the super-predator reporting themes prior DiIulio and Fox’s hypothesis. As Pizarro and colleagues, Yanich and Rhineberger-Dunn’s sampling periods occur after the hypothesis presentation in the media as well as near or after its failure, we can adopt the position that their samples cross over the media construct and hypothesis’ anticipated juvenile offenders. After a certain point of exposure, the prediction and media construct conceivably co-developed and merged into the criminal justice myth of the “super-predator”. Which means the samples gathered for these studies may have already experienced co-development of construct media and the prediction.

The Origin of the Super-Predator Hypothesis

DiIulio, Fox and their colleagues have since admitted that both their positions and predictions were incorrect, and their borrowed construct and hypothesis have been thoroughly debunked (Becker, 2001; Southerland, 2013). Despite public and academic acknowledgment of the prediction’s shortcomings and inaccuracies, there have been lasting ramifications as a result of punitive “cure-all” legislation that responded to it (Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald, 2007). These policies aligned with the “get tough” movement of the 1980s and 1990s that responded to public “anxiety”

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and misconceptions that overestimated juvenile crime (Robert, 2004). These misconceptions and concerns allowed for the "juvenile super-predator" crime surge prediction to propagate and stimulate policy changes to prevent the expected spike in violent crime (Feld, 1999; Callan, 2005; Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald, 2007; Southerland, 2015).

DiIulio, Fox, and their supporters have subsequently recognized that policy implications produced from the super-predator prediction disproportionately impacted minority youths (Pickett et al., 2012). After the hypothesis was abandoned public and media attention shifted toward "war on terror" policy following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 (Griffin, et al, 2018). Consequentially, current legislators and policymakers must mitigate policy decisions of the 1980s and 1990s that continue to affect minority demographics (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Surette, 2011). This shift in public opinion has allowed support for rehabilitative policies to resurge in combination to rational policy responses to youth crime (Roberts, 2004; Krisberg et al, 2009). This shift has been possible according to Krisberg and colleagues due to community stakeholders and juvenile justice professionals recognizing the need for on evidence-based practices (2009). Despite this shift, there are many remnants from media coverages influence on communities' understanding of short and long-term crime trends that need to be addressed (Krisberg et al, 2009).

Media and Crime

Crime media has been found to have effect on readers perceptions of crime, criminal justice and victimization risk (Graber, 1980; Heath 1984; Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Krisberg et al, 2009), as consumers employ news media as reliable sources of second-hand institutional

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knowledge (see Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Public concerns regarding crime news and its effects on readers' perceptions began juxtaposed to the development of “graphic” and “dramatic” narrative crime reporting (Lotz, 1991). This emotional style of reporting employed personal narratives and explicitly described crimes, as a means to increase readership and generate sales, originated in the Victorian era (Lotz, 1991). This style was considered provocative and there were fears it would enflame the public. Despite the controversy, it was justified by publishers of the time as “mirroring” society thereby supporting concepts of deterrence (Lotz, 1991; Maneri & Ter Wal, 2005). The style was vilified by moralists and sociologist researchers of the time who dubbed it “yellow journalism”, that contributed to moral and social ills (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). The reporting style of “tabloid justice” eventually replaced yellow journalism in the 1990s, and this new style employed thematic elements of news reporting (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). Both styles transformed crime news reporting into an entertainment centered genre, with the latter benefiting increased news availability caused by technological advancements (Lotz, 1991; Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007).

This change in 1990s reporting lead to a new aspect of entertainment sensationalism, which helped to perpetuate misperceptions about race and crime, such as the super-predator media construct and subsequently the super-predator cohort prediction (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). As the construct was popularized by the media was then adopted, adapted and then developed by DiIulio and Fox into a juvenile crime trend prediction. DiIulio and Fox’s projection was publicized by the media with their support, it than spread and was exaggerated by the public’s attention. After the crime surge prediction’s failure, the construct and false “knowledge” concerning minority juvenile offenders persisted, adding to the *myths* of juvenile crime.

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Linda Heath's 1984 combined study found support that newspapers have an effect on readers' perceptions of crime and their "fear of crime" that she demonstrated with two studies, a quasi-experimental survey followed by a laboratory experiment. Heath found that fear of crime was significantly higher for crimes that were "random" and "local" than those that were not with women being more fearful than men in their own neighborhoods and "downtown" (1984). The second study, a laboratory experiment, sampled an equal number of male and female college students (N = 80), looking at the locale element of the quasi-experiment. The participants were presented with crime scenarios, that they were told were police reports or reporters notes, which they rated and took a current mood assessment scale for. Heath found that when presented with crime scenarios that were close to participants socially of geographically their moods of fear and anger were higher. The elements of local crimes contribute to consumers perceptions of elevated risks of victimization, the opposite is apparent when crimes reported occurring in more distant locales (Heath, 1984; Heath & Gilbert, 1996).

Variations in readers' perceptions of "fear of crime" reported by Heath indicates a "skew" of readers' opinions conflict with news media's depictions of crimes' prevalence, official statistics and criminal justice procedure (Davis, 1952; Hans & Dee, 1991; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981; Graber, 1980). Despite this, crime news was a newspaper staple well before early crime media research of the 1940s and 1950s (Garofalo, 1981). During this period researchers incorporated opinion poll panels with qualitative and quantitative content analysis of newspapers to establish the interrelated effects of crime news and consumer perceptions (Garofalo, 1981). F. James Davis' key study expanded on the effects of public opinions and crime news with limitations with his emphasis on ideological and moral opinions, simple methodology and technological re-

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straints (1952; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981). By the 1970s the research consensus supported that exaggerated representations of crime have an associated effect on consumer perceptions. But it was not until the 1980s that empirical research supported that crime news had no direct effects on crime rates (Heath, 1984; Heath & Gilbert, 1996; Graber, 1980).

Social Construction and Cultivation Theory

Within the body of literature, several theories have emerged to understand the effect of media content on consumers perceptions and knowledge of the world. The two primary theories of *Social Constructionism* and *Cultivation Theory* are employed in crime news and crime media research. The former is a sociological theory that explains the development of collective knowledge via symbolic reality as sources of collective knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The latter is the first macro-level mass communication theory of the twentieth century, which has reemerged as a viable mass media theory in studying the development of social norms (Potter, 2014).

The discussion of the media presenting a reflection of the "real world" was first introduced by Walter Lippmann's *Public Opinion* in 1921 (1965). Lippman presented the concept media images contributing to mental images of police officers and occupations (1965; Powers & Kasinsky, 1993). These presented images do not perfectly ascribe to "reality", but instead they subsidize shared "images" and perspectives shared between individuals (Powers & Kasinsky, 1993; Barak, 2013) Lippman's depiction is limited and was based on the premise that consumers have competent attitudes on public affairs when interpreting this "real world" reflection (Henrik Petersen,

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2003). His work inspired the theory of social constructionism produced by sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their *Social Construction of Reality* (1966). Social Constructionism attempts to explain how individuals create their version of reality via socialization and socially created entities. The theory proposes society as an "objective" and "subjective" entity that people utilize to create a symbolic reality, with many elements being shared and interpreted by various social groups. Objective reality is characterized by Berger and Luckmann as an "institutional world", which present individuals with "undeniable facts" (p. 77-78). Subjective reality, in contrast, consists of the processes of primary and secondary socialization through which an individual is integrated into society (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Serge, 2016). Primary socialization occurs in childhood as individuals learn and internalize social roles, and thus becomes a member of society (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 150). Secondary socialization occurs after primary socialization and consists of ''the internalization of institutional and institution-based sub-worlds'' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 158). These "sub-worlds" present different views of reality which individual's co-ordinate to make personal definitions of reality (Serge, 2016, p. 95). The combination of objective and subjective realities of society shape people's perceptions and knowledge over the course of their everyday life as they are continually exposed to them.

Social Constructionism proposes that social perceptions are collective, and then interpreted individually. These collectively produced perceptions from a social foundation of knowledge, themes, and archetypes of crime, victimization and the criminal justice system as they are perceived by groups and individuals (Vazquez-Figueroa, 1968; Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007; Segre, 2016). This "knowledge of society" consists of personal experiences, peer interactions, social groups, and social institutions, like the media (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Segre,

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2016; Surette, 2011). Individuals organize knowledge as either "experienced reality" events, personally experienced, or "symbolic reality" events not personally experienced, but believed to have occurred (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Segre, 2016). These events believed to have occurred come from interactions with peer and social groups and secondary sources such as the print and news "media". These elements fabricate a "social construct" of what individuals perceived as "real" as formed by everyday life, socialization, the use of language and knowledge (Segre, 2016).

Social constructionism within criminology interprets the development of collective knowledge and preconceived notions about media effects centered on three models of academic debate. They consist of the (1) hypodermic needle, (2) the limited effects and (3) the minimal effects models. The first is the *hypodermic* model suggests that there are immediate effects on individuals' perceptions of social conditions immediately after being exposed to content (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). The second is the *limited effects* model, in contrast to the hypodermic needle model, proposes that the media is a secondary source of information to "answer" individuals social and perceptual questions (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007; see also Surette, 2011). The limited effects model does not address how individuals compare their "knowledge" from symbolic and experienced realities to assess the media's socially constructed reality (Surette, 2011). The final model is the *subtle effects model* states that effects on individuals' perceptions caused by the media are neither immediate nor created by using media as a secondary source of knowledge (Surette, 2011). The *subtle effects* model is composed of the operant components of "agenda setting", "priming" and "framing" of events, the combination of which influences and presents perceptions of reality (see also Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007; Surette, 2011). Media "agenda setting" refers to the limited and predictable range of topics that are covered by media entities, which is done for a variety of reasons, though primarily to generate sales. The "priming" of media content

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is closely related to agenda setting and suggests that current issues and topics currently covered by news media affects how people in the news are thought of (see also Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). The last component of media "framing", states that the content and format of media coverage encourages individuals to adopt particular attitudes (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). The long-term effects of these models, if they hold true, is that the media can present perceptions of reality that incite people to perceive crime through emotional lenses, resulting in similarly emotionally driven public opinions and policy reactions.

The introduction of George Gerbner's cultivation theory in crime media research has allowed macro-level examination of mass communication entities as they contribute to social perceptions of crime and criminal justice. Cultivation theory examines mass media institutions, message systems, and employs cultivation analysis to determine how mass media contributes to the development of knowledge and public attitudes (1967; 1970; Gerbner & Gross, 1973; Gerbner et al., 1980; Potter, 2014). Theorized during the "Age of Television" (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999), cultivation theory has been applied to various media formats, under the assumption that media institutions promote facts, social norms and social values (Gerbner, 1970; Gerbner & Gross, 1976). It gained popularity after televisions' integration into American homes during the 1940s and 1950s and was applied to determine probable effects the technology had on viewers (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). Three facets of cultivation theory have developed since its conception (1) as a mass media theory produced and maintained by Gerbner, (2) a set operational practices that test the theory, or (3) a general socialization research that has generally ignored the theory (Potter, 2014). In crime media research, cultivation theory is utilized to study the perceptual effects of crime media and news effect on public and individual cultivation of crime and the criminal justice beliefs (Heath 1984; Barak, 2013; Potter, 2014).

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Social Constructionism and Cultivation Theory both predict and theorize that media institutions have an effect in developing individuals' and societies' collective knowledge. Applications of both theories in media research are predominately conducted at the macro-level to study societies' institutions and social artifacts, with both theories having limited success in micro-level applications. Social constructionism is a sociological perspective and is employed to broadly study of crime or criminal justice; it's a general theory of sociology focused on social origins and institutions (Parton, 2008). Social construction differs from cultivation theory by encompassing all social institutions individuals interact with in everyday life, categorizing them as primary or secondary socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Primary socialization consisting of family groups and immediate peers in early childhood, with the secondary pertaining to social institutions and sectors of the objective world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Segre, 2016; Vazquez-Figueroa, 1968). In contrast, cultivation theory is concerned with widely defined "media" including informational and entertainment outlets in its research body. This definition limits cultivation theory's applications beyond media constructed entities, unlike social constructionism which is used to study a variety of social entities. Both theories investigate the formation of long-term information, knowledge, and socially created "facts" adopted by individuals (Gerbner, 1967; Vazquez-Figueroa, 1968; Potter, 2014).

Influential Crime News Research

Combined empirical research of the two theories began in the 1970s and 1980s, beginning with investigations on the construction of youths and deviance in the British press (Cohen, 2002; Maneri & Ter Wal, 2005). This initial research was limited by both its ideology and methodology,

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but multiple hallmark studies were produced in decades during and preceding this period. Several key studies of social constructionism and cultivation theory include Davis' (1952) opinion poll and newspaper data analysis, as well as Jason Ditton and James Duffy's (1983) comparable study. Ditton and Duffy utilized British Crime Report data and trials in the Strathclyde Region of Scotland, identifying biases in crime reporting compared to official statistics (1983). Their results found that increased crime coverage correlated to collective perceptions of "fear of crime", that Linda Heath first proposed (1984; Heath & Gilbert, 1996). Later research replicated both Davis' then Ditton and Duffy's studies comparing their results to official crime statistics (Jones, 1976; Graber, 1980; Warr, 1980; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981). These studies expanded the working definitions of the research body and required more extensive quantifications of qualitative data. Overall, the research body has generated mixed results in correlating crime reporting to public opinions and perspectives of crime.

Doris *Graber's Crime News and the Public* (1980) employed methodology which improved upon previous applications drawing from multiple data sources and narrowing her research to emphasize how her data interacted with her study panel (Jacob, 1982). Graber collected data from longitudinal study panels and crime news from the Chicago metropolitan area establishing correlations between news presentation and public opinions of crime and criminal justice. Her research retested assumptions that high rates of media attention for unusual and violent crime news had an effect on individual perceptions (Graber, 1980; Newman, 1982). Her broad definitions and detail-rich analyses expanded employed a variety of media outlets, which included general content analysis of print and digital media, television audio and video content analysis and audience panel diaries and interviews (Graber, 1980). This data was collected daily and correlated crime media effects on consumers' perceptions of crime and criminal justice which produced a rich and diverse

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sample (Garofalo, 1981; Graber, 1980; Jacob, 1982). The results correlated with collective measures of the audience panel's perceptions of crime, the justice system and victimization (Graber, 1980). Graber's research confirmed assumptions that crime reports, and criminal justice information reported by newspapers and news channels were exaggerated, with noticeable variances between the two media types (Graber, 1980; Jacob, 1982).

Graber's study panel was unique in addressing perceptions of psychological and character defects as causes of criminality and was more susceptible to stereotyping than the media (Graber, 1980; Gordon, 1983). Her findings supported previous research which had yielded inconclusive empirical evidence of news media distorting perceptions of crime (Davis, 1952; Jones, 1976). She demonstrated individuals' perceptions of crime and victimization varied from news reports and official crime statistics (Graber, 1980; Newman, 1982). Graber's methods and conclusions have been criticized for avoiding global statements (Jacob, 1982) despite employing broad definitions of "criminal justice" (Garofalo, 1981). She also failed to fully explore of her data which incorporated various data collection methods of newspaper and television sampling as well as the diaries kept by her panel and other data sources employed (Gordon, 1983). Graber also failed to address her data's "skewness" caused by the panel's assumed representativeness, her s sample predominately consisted of white middle class which limits her results generalizability (Schiller, 1983).

Moral Panics

Dramatic presentations of crime and criminality create moral and ideological platforms as well as counter-movements, which increase the public's "fear of crime" (Heath, 1984; Heath & Gilbert, 1996). Heath explains, "fear of crime" as individuals and communities' perceptions of

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crime prevalence and their perceived risk of victimization (1984). These presentations attract "moral crusaders," activists who promote social panics in attempts to manage crime and deviant persons (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994, 2009; Cohen, 2002). This process is facilitated by "moral entrepreneurs" who attempt to gain social, political and or monetary status, through social causes which incite a public response to perceived problems (Cohen, 2002). These groups provoke emotional responses to garner support for their causes and implement policy and social changes against a defined "evil" (Cohen, 2002). The aforementioned campaigns target "folk devils", typically marginalized social groups, traditionally consisting of minorities, religious groups, juveniles, and others who become subject to increased legal and social controls (Cohen, 2002; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; 2009).

"Moral panics", coined by Stanley Cohen, are instigated by groups and the media to address reactions to the police, politicians, and other social issues (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994; 2009). Media outlets contribute to "panics" via "crime wave dynamics" in the news-making process, which generate perceptions of crime overabundance by presenting similar crimes under a theme (Fishman, 1978; Sheley & Ashkins, 1981; Garofalo, 1981; Maneri & Ter Wal, 2005). These themes create social "alarm" of the perceived overabundance of crime and victimization (Reiner & Reiner, 2002, p, 376), this alarm fuels social movements to address these issues (Cohen, 2002, p. 122). According to Cohen, a successful "panic" must address an issue of concern, have hostility towards persons in an amoral behavior and a consensus of a perceived "threat" (2002, p. 199). Moral crusaders and moral entrepreneurs garner support from the public to cause social and legal changes to address a given panic. Both represent sociological perspectives of moral struggles of groups and individuals of "interest" (Ben-Yehuda, 1986).

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Moral panics are in constant flux, changing with public opinion and creating social change, and are ultimately replaced by other social issues which are typically supported by policy (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994, 2009; Surette, 2011; Cohen, 2002). Juveniles were subject to a "panic" in the 1990s in response to increases in violent juvenile crime, validated as an extension of the US "war on crime" (Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996; Feld, 1999, 2003, 2007). The panic's opinions coincided with the publication of *Body Count: Moral Poverty and How to Win America's War Against Crime and Drugs* by DiIulio and colleagues in mid-1990, which elaborated on the "super-predator" hypothesis. The work predicted increased rates of violent juvenile crime and recommended conservative policy solutions (see also Zimring, 1998). This myth was debunked as the predicted wave of crime didn't occur, but the fear didn't abate (Sternheimer, 2015). It was simply replaced from the media's focal point by the "war on terror" panic generated from the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the early 2000s. Though the "super-predator" panic faded from the public attention, the policy and social changes associated with the myth persist within the criminal justice system.

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CHAPTER THREE:

METHODOLOGY

Research Hypotheses

The current study explores the development of the media "super-predator" construct of violent juvenile offenders that was adapted into DiIulio and Fox's "super-predator" hypothesis. The establishment of which will be done addressing the following four research questions. First, determining an identifiable trend of violent and drug-related juvenile crime articles. A key element of the hypothesis is increased juvenile crime; therefore, it is predicted that the frequency and word count of articles will be high. Second, ascertaining a "period effect" caused by publicity and media attention of the prediction. If present the expectation is that following the report the word count and frequency of violent juvenile crime reports will increase trends and averages of juvenile crime reports. Third, establishing the pre-existence of "super-predator" characteristics in juvenile crime reports in the years preceding the hypothesis' notoriety. Finally, determining whether "super-predator" offender, the victim, and crime characteristics as identified by DiIulio and Fox, are statistically independent of news articles' prominence.

These research questions and the study objective result in the following hypotheses:

$H_{0\text{-}1}$: There are no identifiable trends to violent juvenile crime and drug articles during the sampling period.

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H_1: There are identifiable trends to violent juvenile crime and drug articles during the sampling period.

$H_{0\text{-}2}$: There is no increase in juvenile crime news items in November 1995, in response to the publicity and popularity of DiIulio's super-predator hypothesis.

H_2: There is a "period effect" on juvenile crime news items in November 1995, in response to the publicity and popularity of DiIulio's super-predator hypothesis.

$H_{0\text{-}3}$: The "characteristics" of the juvenile super-predator construct are not present within news media before the presentation of the hypothesis in 1995.

H_3: The "characteristics" of the juvenile super-predator construct are present within news media before the presentation of the hypothesis in 1995.

$H_{0\text{-}4}$: Article prominence is not statistically different across offender characteristics.

H_4: Article prominence is statistically different across offender characteristics.

$H_{0\text{-}5}$: Article prominence is not statistically different across victim characteristics.

H_5: Article prominence is statistically different across victim characteristics.

$H_{0\text{-}6}$: Article prominence is not statistically different across crime characteristics.

H_6: Article prominence is statistically different across crime characteristics.

Data Collection and Coding

The data generated originated from articles from three major U.S. newspapers publications, who were chosen for their accessibility and sizable publication circulation. Articles published between 1985 to 1995 from three national publications, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Los An-*

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geles Times and *The New York Times*, were obtained from the electronic source *ProQuest*. A purposive sample of articles reporting on juvenile crime was produced via a systematic search of publications from January 1st, 1985 to December 31st, 1995. The sample of articles was reduced by employing document keywords of *juvenile* and *super-predator* (i.e. superpredator or super-predator or super predator), one or both of the keyword conditions had to be met to be included in the sample. The sample was then further restricted to articles which reported on *juvenile actors*, *violent juvenile crime,* and/or *juvenile drug crime*.

Juvenile Actors are defined as one or more juveniles (ages 17 and younger) committing a "violent" crime, as defined by DiIulio, or drug-related crime. As articles frequently report a crime incident with multiple offenses, the primary crime was coded for each article. Articles that referred to juveniles as accessories to adult crimes and those age 18 at time of publication were further excluded from the sample.

Violent juvenile crime is "street" crime as defined by DiIulio and Fox, consisting of homicides, robberies, theft, burglary, aggravated assault, sexual crimes, arsons, shootings, auto theft, and vandalism. While theft, burglary, robbery, and vandalism are typically characterized as property crimes, the DiIulio and the super-predator literature indicate that these offenses are committed by this sub-group. Definitions of these crimes come from Part I and Part II of the FBI's 2010 *Uniform Crime Report* to standardize these variables.

Drug crime is defined with the 2010 *UCR* drug crime definitions (including heroin, cocaine, marijuana, synthetic drugs, and other non-narcotics), with the addition of alcohol, a non-narcotic of interest. *Body Count: Moral Poverty and How to Win America's War Against Crime*

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and Drugs (1996) emphasized alcohol as a contributor to moral poverty and criminogenic environments and was therefore incorporated into the coding scheme. All articles which met this search and restriction criteria were selected and coded (N = 2,008).

Dependent Variables

Consistent with earlier examinations of newspaper crime reports, this study will measure story prominence with several dependent variables. Measures of prominence were coded with binary variables indicating if an article appeared on the front-page (0 = not front-page, 1 = front-page), and whether the article contained an image (0 = no image, 1 = image). Additionally, in line with previous research, a measure of the total number of words written for each identified article of a violent juvenile crime and/or drug incident was taken (Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald, 2007). This variable was used to generate the categorical variable of word length categories (1= Brief less than 100 words; 2= Short more than 100 less than 500 words; 3= Moderate more than 500 less than 1000 words; 4= Long more than 1000 less than 1500 words; 5= Lengthy more than 1500 words), that was also employed as a measure of article prominence.

Independent Variables

The independent variables used for these analyses are presented within Table 1 (see page 34). Measures to gauge the prevalence of super-predator characteristics were included based on DiIulio and Fox's prediction (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996) and previous crime media research. The independent variables employed for these analyses consisted of offender age, offender

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race, crime type, incident weapon (0 =none, 1 = firearm, and 2 = knife), the number of victims and victim injuries. These were developed from previous research (Graber, 1980) and the super-predator hypothesis as presented by DiIulio, Fox, and colleagues (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996; Fox 1996/1997).

Measures for crime severity were included to measure the seriousness of the offenses including a dummy variable which indicated the mention of firearms and categorical variables for mentions of illegal drug or alcohol use, as well as the known victim-offender relationship. Additional control variables were included to determine the frequency of themes related to the "super-predator hypothesis" and construct which were coded as a primary or secondary "phrase mentions". These themes were drawn from super-predator research and literature primarily Body Count: Moral Poverty (1996). The additional offender, victim, and crime incident and demographic variables were included as control variables as suggested by previous research (Graber, 1980; Yanich, 2005; Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald, 2007). These and other coded article features can be referenced within the newspaper codebook located in Appendix A.

Data Analysis

Hypothesis one, identifying trends in violent juvenile crime articles, will be answered through a graphing of the sample distribution of all three publications and their sums across the years of the sampling period. This will be accompanied by cross-tabulations of articles by year and "violent" crime types as well as violent crimes by named drugs, this will portray drug and violent crime characteristics of the sample. To conclude this testing a cross-tabulations of article prominence (font page position) and word length by year will be done.

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Hypothesis two degerming a “period effect”, will be answered by graphing the article distributions by month for 1995 for all publications and their sums. November of 1995 was when DiIulio first publicly supported the super-predator prediction and before major works were written to support the crime surge (Bennet, Walters, DiIulio, 1996; Fox, 1996/1997).

Hypothesis three establishing “characteristics” or news themes of the juvenile super-predator will be answered by generating frequency tables based on the sample data specifically the distribution of “phrase” variables (see Appendix A). “Phrase” variables refer to categorical variables phrase_1 and phrase_2 which identified super-predator themes that were derived from the research literature. The full list of phrases included can be referenced in Appendix A, and broadly separated as general super-predator themes and crime prevention themes. The most prevalent of the preselected themes as phrase_1 and the second as phrase_2 only one theme was observed only phrase_1 was employed. If none preselected topics fit a given article both phrase_1 and phrase_2 were coded as “none” or they were coded as “other/unknown” when an alternative theme was present. These primary and secondary phrase themes were distributed by frequency and year, and cross-tabulated to determine which themes coincided most frequently.

Hypotheses four, five and six, concerning the statistical independence of article prominence from offender, victim and crime characteristics variables respectively, will be determined with $\chi 2$ tests. Each characteristic will be tested with a $\chi 2$ for each measure of prominence which includes front-page position, the presence of an image and word length categories to determine if the categories are statically different from each other in regard to their prominences. An additional measure of Cramér’s V will be calculated to determine the strength of any associations between prominence variables and offender, the victim and crime characteristic variables. A Cramér’s V

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equals 0 when there is no relationship between variables and has a maximum value of 1, values of below .5 are considered weak, approximately .5-.6 medium and .7 or more strong (Gingrich, 2004).

Table 1. Super-Predator Independent Variables and Controls List

		New York Times (N=; Mean or %)	Los Angeles Times (N=; Mean or %)	Chicago Tribune (N=; Mean or %)		Totals
Mean Offender Age (years)		14.56	15.56	14.68		15.17
Offender Female		(N=10) or 5.29%	(N=42) or 3.94%	(N=84) or 13.82%		(N=136) or 7.30%
Offender Race						
	White	(N=19) or 9.18%	(N=39) or 3.36%	(N=5) or 0.78%		(N=63) or 3.14%
	Black	(N=21) or 10.14%	(N=6) or 0.52%	(N=8) or 1.26%		(N= 35) or 1.75%
	Hispanic	(N=1) or 0.48%	(N=27) or 2.33%	--		(N=28) or 1.40%
	Asian	(N=3) or 1.45%	(N=35) or 3.02%	(N=8) 1.26		(N=41) or 2.05%
	mixed	(N=4) or 1.93%	(N=2) or 0.17%	--		(N=6) or .30%
	unknown	(N=159) or 76.81%	(N=1,051) or 90.60%	(N=621) or 97.49%	(N= 1,831) or 91.37%	unknown
Firearm Present		(N=61) or 29.47%	(N=566) or 48.63%	(N=267) or 41.92%		(N=894) or 44.52%
Gang-Related		(N=16) or 7.73%	(N=246) or 21.13%	(N=87) or 13.66%		(N=349) or 17.38%
Percent Drug Crime		(N=10) or .50%	(N=56) or 2.79%	(N=15) or 0.75%		(N=81) or 4.03%
Controls						
Mean Victim Age (years)		21.96	24.7	24.59		24.43
Victim Female		(N=52) or 3.60%	(N=235) or 16.29%	(N=169) or 11.71%		(N=456) or 31.60%
Victim Race						
	White	(N=12) or 6.86/%	(N=17) or 1.82%	(N=14) or 2.71%		(N=43) or 2.64%
	Black	(N=9) or 4.35%	(N=19) or 2.03%	(N=2) or 0.39%		(N=30) or 1.85%
	Hispanic	(N=1) or 0.57%	(N=11) or 1.18%	(N=1) or 0.19%		(N=13) or 0.80%
	Asian	(N=4) or 2.29%	(N=49) or 5.24%	(N=6) or 1.16%		(N=59) or 3.63%
	mixed	(N=5) or 2.86%	(N=4) or 0.43%	--		(N=9) or 0.55%

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Table 1. Continued

	other	(N=3) or 1.71%	(N=2) or 0.21%	--	(N=5) or 0.31%
	unknown	(N=141) or 80.57%	(N=833) or 89.09%	(N=493) or 95.54%	(N=1,467) or 90.22%
VOR*					
	none/stranger	(N=134) or 64.73%	(N=681) or 58.66%	(N=300) or 47.24%	(N=1,115) or 55.67%
	friend/acquaintance	(N=63) or 30.43%	(N=216) or 18.60%	(N=164) or 25.83%	(N=443) or 22.12%
	unknown	(N=1) or 0.48%	(N=179) or 15.42%	(N=86) or 13.54%	(N=266) or 13.28%
Injuries					
	none	(N=48) or 23.19%	(N=337) or 28.95%	(N=153) or 24.02%	(N=538) or 26.79 %
	minor	(N=24) or 11.59%	(N=85) or 7.30%	(N=60) or 9.42%	(N=169) or 8.42%
	hospitalized/major	(N=41) or 19.81%	(N=186) or 15.98%	(N=130) or 20.41%	(N=357) or 17.78%
	fatal	(N=94) or 45.41%	(N=556) or 47.77%	(N=294) or 46.15%	(N= 944) or 47.01%

Super-Predator Independent Variables and Control List sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995
**Victim-Offender Relationship*

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CHAPTER FOUR:
RESULTS

Hypothesis 1: Identifiable Juvenile Crime Reporting Trends

The first null hypothesis is concerned with whether there are no identifiable trends to "violent" juvenile crime and drug articles during the sampling period. The alternative hypothesis is whether there are identifiable trends in article distribution during the sampling period. The data analysis will consist of graphing of the sample distribution of all three publications and their sums across the years of the sampling period. As well as cross-tabulations of articles by year and "violent" crime types, violent crimes by mentioned or named drugs, concluding with a cross-tabulations of article prominence (font page position) and word length by year will be done.

Graphs of the combined sampling totals for the publications, Figure 1 (see page 38), show a trend of the prevalence of juvenile drug (*UCR* definitions with the inclusion of alcohol) and violent crimes (as defined by DiIulio and Fox) news items, which include homicides, thefts, burglaries, robberies, sex crimes, arsons, shootings, auto thefts, and vandalism. While the trend is more discernible for the *Los Angeles Times,* all three publications experienced a general decline in a juvenile crime news item from the beginning of the sampling period until 1988. All three then began to experience a rise in news items followed by a noticeable dip in distribution in 1992. A

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gradual plateau in news items can then be seen until the distribution falls again in 1995. The results are potentially skewed by the larger proportion of articles from the *Los Angeles Times* compared to the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, these results coincide with the historical context of the sample and previous newspaper research.

This trend is visible in Table 2 (see page 39), where articles are charted by "violent" crime types, with low rates at the beginning of the sampling period, with certain crimes experiencing a sharp increase in articles in 1989 and 1990 (i.e. homicide, robbery/theft, assault, sex crimes, and shootings). The only consistent trend is the growing rates of homicides articles, which make up 46.8% (N=940) of the sample, other crime types experienced slight increases, but not as significantly as homicide articles. Despite this, these results may not be significant as homicide reporting typically occurs at a higher rate than other crimes, and homicides by youths typically receive coverage (Yanich, 2005; Pizarro, Chermak & Gruenewald, 2007; Rhineberger-Dunn, 2013).

Given the low number of articles that were categorized as a "non-violent" or a drug crime .035% (N=71), Table 3 (see page 39) was created to determine a correlation between drugs mention in crime articles and violent crime news items. The vast majority of the sample 92.38% (N=1855) of the articles did not mention drugs in any manner as either a drug crime, contributing to "violent" crime or being present in any way. Of those drugs accounted for, alcohol (N=41) which identified as an essential contributor to moral poverty and criminogenic environments was the most prevalent (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). Though it was matched by the combined prevalence of cocaine (N= 29) and "crack" cocaine (N=11), that was closely followed by marijuana (N=31). The mention of drugs within articles was more prevalent in "non-violent" news articles with 46.4% (N=71) of articles which mention drugs being "non-violent" news items.

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Finally, trends in article preeminence can be gauged from the percentage of articles with a front-page position of a publication by year in Table 4 (on page 40). The majority of articles 83.7% (N=1681) are not preeminent based on front-page position within the publication. While there is a noticeable increase in the distribution of front-page articles in 1989, this could simply be an inflated rate due to the increased of sampled articles during those years (see Figure 1). This lack of preeminence is also visible after organizing the sample by ranges of word length in Table 5, which indicates the majority of the sample 67.9% (N=1364), was between 100 and 500 words in length. With increases in "moderate", "long" and "lengthy" articles consistent with front -page position (see Table 4 on page 40) and total sample distributions (See Figure 1).

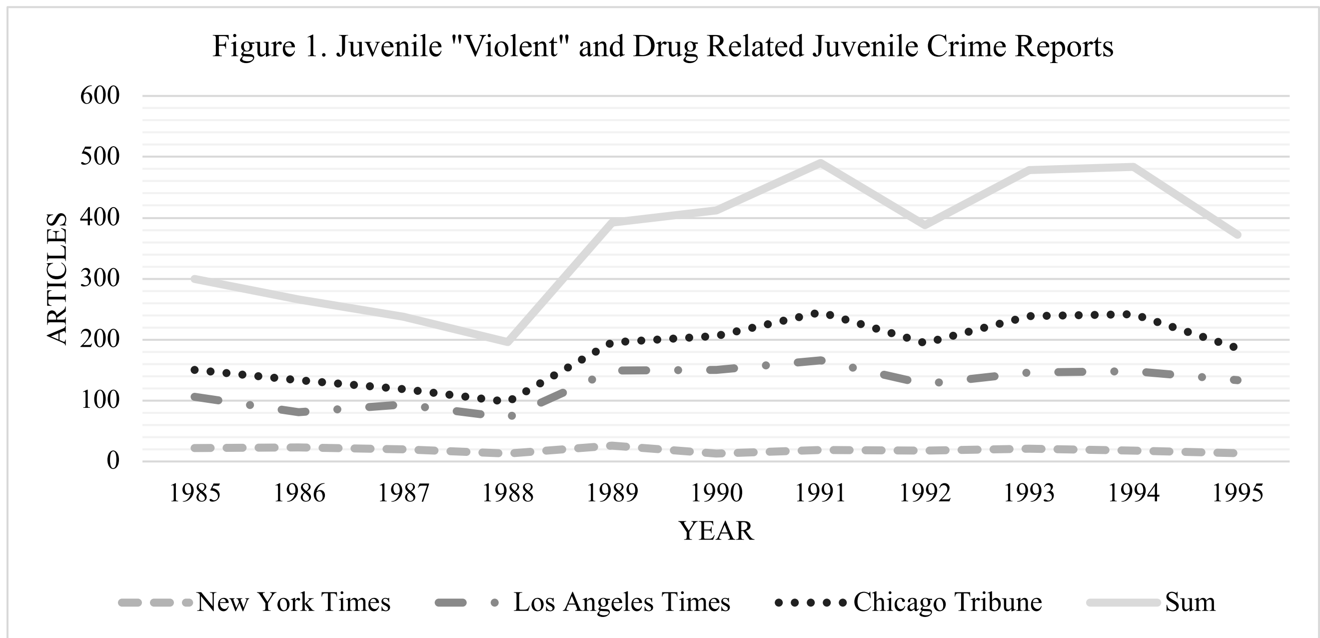

Figure 1. Juvenile "Violent" and Drug-Related Crime Articles 1985-1995

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Table 2. Distribution of Articles by DiIulio's Definition of "Violent" Crime

Year	none	homicide	robbery/theft/ burglary	assault	sex crime	arson	shooting	auto theft	vandalism	Total
1985	9	77	28	7	3	7	13	0	6	150
1986	8	54	21	7	0	11	21	0	11	133
1987	12	53	9	20	7	3	5	5	5	119
1988	7	40	9	12	7	2	10	5	6	98
1989	6	89	12	32	23	8	14	6	6	196
1990	10	97	21	22	13	10	22	8	3	206
1991	4	113	27	36	18	5	29	9	4	245
1992	3	89	21	26	11	5	19	15	5	194
1993	0	119	24	31	10	11	22	13	9	239
1994	8	110	28	22	6	4	39	8	17	242
1995	4	99	17	27	5	2	14	7	11	186
Total	71	940	217	242	103	68	208	76	83	2,008

Distribution of articles by "violent" crime type, with the inclusion of theft, burglary, robbery, and vandalism sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995.

Table 3. Distribution of Articles by DiIulio's Definition of "Violent" Crime and Mentioned Drugs

Drugs Mentioned	none	homicide	robbery/ theft/burglary	assault	sex crime	arson	shoot ing	auto- theft	vandalism	Total
none	0	889	206	236	97	66	206	75	80	1,855
marijuana	18	8	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	31
cocaine	20	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
crack	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
alcohol*	2	22	4	2	6	2	1	1	1	41
PCP	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
metham-phetamine	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
heroin	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
other	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	12
unknown	6	7	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	17
Total	71	940	217	242	103	68	208	76	83	2,008

Distribution of "violent" crime articles by drugs mentioned sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995.

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Table 4. Distribution of Articles by Front-page Position and Year

	Year											
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total
not front-page	126	119	101	88	154	163	211	166	207	192	154	1,681
Front-page	24	14	18	10	42	43	34	28	32	50	32	327
Total	150	133	119	98	196	206	245	194	239	242	186	2,008

Distribution of articles by front-page position and year sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995.

Table 5. Distribution of Articles by Word Length Categories and Year

Word Length Categories	Year											
	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total
Brief (less than 100 words)	8	10	2	2	6	15	19	10	9	2	9	92
Short (more than 100 less than 500)	96	89	87	65	114	149	173	132	170	162	127	1,364
Moderate (more than 500 less 1000)	40	31	23	25	59	38	44	42	47	59	46	454
Long (more than 1000 less than 1500)	4	3	5	6	10	3	8	9	9	14	4	75
Lengthy (more than 1500)	2	0	2	0	7	1	1	1	4	5	0	23
Total	150	133	119	98	196	206	245	194	239	242	186	2,008

Distribution of articles by word length categories and year sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995.

Hypothesis 2: Super-Predator "Period Effect"

The second null hypothesis is concerned with whether there is no increase in juvenile crime news items in November 1995, in response to the publicity and popularity of DiIulio's super-predator hypothesis. The alternative hypothesis is whether there is a "period affect" or spike in

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news items following DiIulio's November 1995 interview. The data analysis for this hypothesis will consist of graphing the article distributions by month for 1995 for all publications and their sums.

The year of interest for determining whether DiIulio's hypothesis had an effect on "violent" juvenile crime and drug articles was 1995, this preceded the publication of *Body Count: Moral Poverty* (1996) as well as Fox's report to the then U.S. Attorney General (1996/1997). This year also coincides with DiIulio's early public support of the hypothesis in *The Weekly Standard* in November 1995. There was no discernible change in juvenile crime news item trends in the year DiIulio's presented of the "super-predator" hypothesis to the public and the academic community.

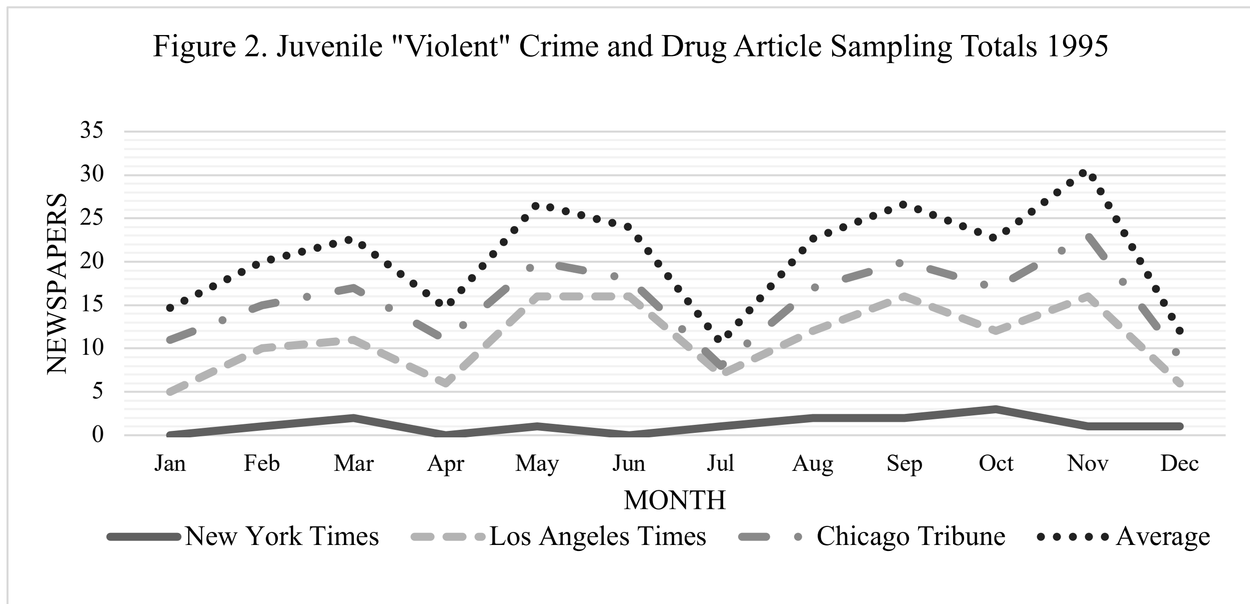

Figure 2. Juvenile "Violent" Crime and Drug Article Sampling Totals 1995

Figure 2 depicts articles sampled for the year of 1995 with noticeable increases in news items between April and May of that year and an increased distribution continuing until August

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1995. These trends may be attributed to "seasonal" changes in crime trends, these months also coincide with the school release dates for summer vacations. Youths typically experience reduced or limited supervision during this time frame and are subsequently are more likely to commit a criminal offense and are employed as news fodder more frequently during this period. There appears to be a noticeable increase in November, but the trend is not maintained into the following month. An additional review of Figure 1 supports that a large increase in "violent" juvenile crime and drug articles occurred at the end of the 1980s, but also indicates a downward trend at the end of the sampling period in 1995. It is possible that due to the timeframe of the theory's popularization, November 1995, the effects may exist outside the sampling period.

Hypothesis 3: Super-Predator Characteristics

The third null hypothesis is concerned whether the "characteristics" of the juvenile super-predator construct are not present within news media before the presentation of the hypothesis in 1995. The alternative hypothesis is that "characteristics" of the juvenile super-predator construct are present before 1995. Data analysis for this hypothesis will consist of generating frequency tables based on the sample data specifically the distribution of "phrase" variables referring to categorical variables phrase_1 and phrase_2, which identified super-predator themes derived from the research literature. (see Appendix A).

An examination of the demographic information in Table 1 indicates that juvenile crime and drug articles are male-dominated with only 7.3% (N=156) of the total sample reporting crimes committed by female youths. Additionally, the race and ethnicity of both offenders (N= 1,831 or 91.37%) and victims (N=1,467 or 90.22%) were predominately unknown or the information was

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unavailable from the articles. Measures of crime severity were coded with a categorical “injured” variable. with 944 articles or 47.01% of the sample reporting fatalities. These characteristics are consistent for all three publications and are partially consistent with H_3, the “super-predator” construct characteristics are within the media before the hypothesis. Of interest was the prevalence of themes “super-predator” construct themes that possibly influenced the “super-predator hypothesis” they were coded as primary or secondary “phrase mentions” derived from *Body Count: Moral Poverty* and “super-predator hypothesis” literature (see Appendix A). Table 6 presents 41% of articles sampled did not employ any preselected themes and that 43% of the sample articles were “gun-related” with 55.5% of crimes involving a firearm. Also, of note, 92% (N = 1,855) of the sample did not mention or involve drugs or alcohol, but those that did predominately consisted of marijuana, cocaine, “crack” cocaine and alcohol (see Table 3).

Table 6. The Frequency of Identified Super-Predator Phrases

Super-Predator Phrases	none	prey	street crime	urban	welfare	families	drugs	crack	black-on-black	gun-related	Total
none	828	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	833
	41.24%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.15%	0.05%	0%	0%	0.00	41.48%
prey	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0.05%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.05%
street crime/criminal	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0.05%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.05%
urban	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.05%	0.05%
welfare	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0.20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.20%
Reagan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0.05%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.05%
families	153	1	0	0	0	0	11	0	1	37	203
	7.62%	0.05%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.55%	0%	0.05%	1.84%	10.11%
drugs	74	1	0	0	0	9	0	4	0	6	94

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Table 6. Continued

	3.69%	0.05%	0%	0%	0%	0.45%	0%	0.20%	0%	0.30%	4.68%
crack	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	5
	0.05%	0%	0%	0%	0.05%	0.10%	0.05%	0%	0%	0%	0.25%
black-on-black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.05%	0.05%
gun-related	718	0	1	1	1	117	18	5	3	0	864
	35.76%	0%	0.05%	0.05%	0.05%	5.83%	0.90%	0.25%	0.15%	0%	43.03%
Total	1,781	2	1	1	2	131	31	9	4	46	2,008
	88.70%	0.10%	0.05%	0.05%	0.10%	6.52%	1.54%	0.45%	0.20%	2.29%	100%

Article distribution by the frequency of primary and secondary "super-predator" phrases sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995.

A further extrapolation of the phrase variables by year in Table 7 (primary phrase) and Table 8 (secondary phrase) indicate that 58.5% (N=1175) of articles employed a primary phrase, 11.3% (N=227) employed a primary and secondary phrase. Articles that employed "super-predator" construct themes can be separated by crime-related themes (gun-related, drugs, crack) and social themes (family). Crime-related themes are the most prevalent as expected given the nature of the sample, with gun-related themes being the prevalent 43% (N=864) of primary phrases (see Table 7) and .023% (N=46) of secondary phrases (see Table 8). The social theme of families was also prevalent consisting of 10.1% (N=203) of primary phrases (see Table 7) and .065% (N=131) of secondary phrases (see Table 8).

Table 7. Distribution of Primary Phrase Frequency by Year

	Year											
Mentioned Phrase (1)	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total
none	62	51	49	45	99	83	109	88	89	88	70	833

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Table 7. Continued

prey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
street crime/criminal	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
urban	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
welfare	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4
Reagan	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
families	15	18	27	12	21	8	16	15	32	16	23	203
drugs	17	9	10	8	8	13	4	2	4	10	9	94
crack	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	5
black-on-black	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
gun-related	56	54	31	32	66	100	116	89	114	124	82	864
Total	150	133	119	98	196	206	245	194	239	242	186	2,008

Comparison of the article distributions by primary "super-predator" phrase frequencies and year sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995.

Table 8. Distribution of Secondary Phrase Frequency by Year

	Year											
Mentioned Phrase (2)	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	Total
none	137	119	108	88	179	174	223	171	213	211	158	1,781
prey	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
street crime/criminal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
urban	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
welfare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
families	8	6	2	6	10	26	8	18	18	14	15	131
drugs	2	1	2	1	2	1	5	2	2	8	5	31
crack	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	9
black-on-black	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4
gun-related	1	5	6	1	2	4	7	3	4	5	8	46
Total	150	133	119	98	196	206	245	194	239	242	186	2,008

Comparison of the article distributions by secondary "super-predator" phrase frequencies and year sampled from the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune, 1985-1995.

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Hypothesis 4: Prominence of Offender Characteristics

The fourth null hypothesis is concerned with whether article prominence is not statistically different across offender characteristics. The alternative is that there are statistical differences between offender characteristics and article prominence. Data analysis for this hypothesis consists of a series of $\chi 2$ tests of offender characteristics across prominence variables of front-page position, the presence of an image, and word length categories and calculations of Cramér's V are summarized in Table 9 (on page 47).

Front-page Position

With p-values greater than (p>.05) for offenders' age (years) (p=256), offender gender (p=.27) and offenders' race (p=.09) we fail to reject the null hypotheses that an article's front-page position is statically different across these variables. The Cramér's V for these variables and front-page position are less than .5, and their association to an article's front-page position is deemed weak (Gingrich, 2004).

Presence of an Image

With p-values greater than (p>.05) we fail to reject the null hypotheses that the variables of offenders' age (years) (p=0.283) and offender gender (p=0.638) are not statistically different between variable categories and the presence of an image. The associated Cramér's V for the presence of an image across offenders' age (0.0925) and offender gender (-0.0256) can both be judged as weak (Gingrich, 2004). With a p-value of 0.037 (p<.05), we can reject the null hypothesis that offenders' race is not statistically different between variable categories and the presence of an image. Therefore, we can accept the alternative hypothesis that the presence of an image differs across offender race classifications. The Cramér's V for this relationship is 0.0689 and we estimate

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the association is weak despite their statistically significant χ2 p-values (see Table 9; Gingrich, 2004).

Word Length Categories

With a p-value greater than (p>.05) we fail to reject the null hypothesis that offender gender (p=.119) is not statistically different between word length categories. The associated Cramér's V for offender gender and the presence of an image is 0.0109 and can be deemed weak. With p-values (p<.001) we can reject the null hypotheses that offenders' age (years) and offenders' race are not statistically different across word length categories. Therefore, we can accept the alternative hypotheses that an offenders' age and race differ across article word length categories. The accompanying Cramér's V for offender age (0.1199) and offender race categories (0.1069) across word length are less than .5 and are deemed weak despite their statistical significance χ2 p-values (see Table 9; Gingrich, 2004).

Table 9. Article Prominence of Offender Characteristics

		χ2 (Chi-Square)	P-Value	Cramér's V	Strength of Association
Front					
	Offender Age (years)	(13) 15.8816	0.256	0.0939	weak
	Offender Female	(1) 1.2184	0.27	-0.0256	weak
	Offender Race	(5) 9.5216	0.09	0.0689	weak
Image					
	Offender Age (years)	(13) 15.4012	0.283	0.0925	weak
	Offender Female	(1) 0.2213	0.638	-0.0109	weak
	Offender Race	(5) 11.8170	0.037*	0.0768	weak
Word Length Categories					
	Offender Age (years)	(52) 103.4890	0.000**	0.1199	weak
	Offender Female	(4) 7.3451	0.119	0.0628	weak
	Offender Race	(20) 91.5732	0.000**	0.1069	weak
		*p<.05	**p<.001		

Summary of χ2 (Chi-Square) Tests, P-values, Cramér's V and strength of association for offender characteristic variables.

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Hypothesis 5: Prominence of Victim Characteristics

The fifth null hypothesis is concerned with whether article prominence is not statistically different across victim characteristics. The alternative is that there are statistical differences between victim characteristics and article prominence. Data analysis for this hypothesis consists of a series of $\chi 2$ tests of victim characteristics across the prominence variables of front-page position, the presence of an image, and word length categories and calculations of Cramér's V are summarized in Table 10 (on page 50).

Front-page Position

With p-values greater than ($p>.05$) for victim gender ($p=.111$), victims' race ($p=.173$) and victim-offender relationship categories ($p=.061$) we fail to reject the null hypotheses that an article's front-page position is not statically different across these variables. The additional Cramér's V for these victim characteristics and front-page position is less than .1, therefore their association to an article's front-page position is deemed weak (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004). With a p-value ($p<.001$) we can reject the null hypothesis that there is no statistical difference between an article's front-page position and victims' injury severity. We, therefore, can accept the alternative hypothesis that there is a statistical difference between injuries suffered by victims of juvenile crimes and whether they receive a front-page position. A calculation of Cramér's V of victim injuries and front-page position $\chi 2$ test (0.0991), indicates that though it is statistically significant the association between the variables is weak (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004).

Presence of an Image

With p-values greater than ($p>.05$) we fail to reject the null hypotheses that the presence of an image is not statically different between victim genders ($p=0.173$). The associated Cramér's

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V for the presence of an image and victim gender (0. 1364) can be deemed weak (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004). With a p-value ($p<.05$) we can reject the null hypothesis that the presence of an image is statistically different between victim-offender relationships ($p=.039$). Therefore, we can accept the alternative hypothesis that the presence of an image differs between victim-offender relationships, with a Cramér's V of .0647 we estimate this relationship is weak (Gingrich, 2004). Similarly, with ($p<.001$) we can reject the null hypotheses that there is no statistical difference between victims' race ($p=.000$) or victim injury severity ($p=.000$) and whether an image is present. We can, therefore, accept the alternative hypotheses that there is a statistical difference between victims' race and how sever their injuries and whether there is an image present. With a Cramér's V of 0.1364 for victim race and 0.1163 for victim injuries, we can estimate these correlations to the presence of an image are weak (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004).

Word Length Categories

With a p-value greater than ($p>.05$) we fail to reject the null hypothesis that victim gender ($p=.184$) is not statistically different between word length categories. The associated Cramér's V for victim gender and the word length classifications is 0.0656 and can be deemed weak (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004). With p-values ($p<.001$) we can reject the null hypotheses that victims' race, victim-offender relationships, and victim injuries are not statistically different across word length classifications. Therefore, we can accept the alternative hypotheses that victim-offender relationships and victim injuries are statistically different across word length categories article word length categories. The accompanying Cramér's V for victims' race (.0969), victim-offender relationships (0.0786) and victim injuries (0.0972) across word length categories are less than .1 and are deemed weak despite having statistically significant $\chi 2$ p-values (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004).

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Table 10. Article Prominence of Victim Characteristics

		χ2 (Chi-Square)	P-Value	Cramér's V	Strength of Association
Front					
	Victim Female	(1) 2.5460	0.111	0.042	weak
	Victim Race	(6) 9.0052	0.173	0.0744	weak
	VOR	(3) 7.3721	0.061	0.0607	weak
	Injuries	(3) 19.7291	0.000**	0.0991	weak
Image					
	Victim Female	(1) 0.4223	0.516	0.0171	weak
	Victim Race	(6) 30.2675	0.000**	0.1364	weak
	VOR	(3) 8.3758	0.039*	0.0647	weak
	Injuries	(3) 27.1367	0.000**	0.1163	weak
Word Length Categories					
	Victim Female	(4) 6.2170	0.184	0.0656	weak
	Victim Race	(24) 61.0832	0.000**	0.0969	weak
	VOR	(12) 37.1076	0.000**	0.0786	weak
	Injuries	(12) 56.8752	0.000**	0.0972	weak
		*p<.05	**p<.001		

Summary of χ2 (Chi-Square) Tests, P-values, Cramér's V and strength of association for victim characteristic variables.

Hypothesis 6: Prominence of Crime Characteristics

The sixth null hypothesis is concerned with whether article prominence is not statistically different across crime characteristics. The alternative is that there are statistical differences between crime characteristics and article prominence. Data analysis for this hypothesis consists of a series of χ2 tests of crime characteristic by prominence variables of front-page position, the presence of an image, and word length categories and calculations of Cramér's V are summarized in Table 11 (on page 52).

Front-page Position

With p-values greater than (p>.05) for drug classifications (p=0.094) we fail to reject the null hypotheses that an article's front-page position is statistically different when different drugs

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are mentioned. The Cramér's V for drug categories and article front-page position is less than .1, therefore we estimate their correlation as weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004). With a p-value ($p<.05$) we can reject the null hypotheses that there is no statistical difference between an article's front-page position, weapons utilized and ($p=.046$) the presence of firearms ($p=.013$). We, therefore, can accept the alternative hypothesis that there is a statistical difference between weapons utilized and the mention of a firearm and whether they receive a front-page position. A Cramér's V of these $\chi 2$ test of weapons utilized and firearms' presence is less than .1, which indicates their association to an article's front-page position is weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004). Finally, with a p-value 0.000 ($p<.001$), we can reject the null hypothesis an article's front-page position is not statically different between crime locations. The Cramér's V of this $\chi 2$ test is less .5 and the correlation can be estimated as weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004).

Presence of an Image

With p-values greater than ($p>.05$) we fail to reject the null hypotheses that the presence of firearms (0.285) and drug classifications ($p=0.254$) are not statistically different between variable categories and the presence of an image. The associated Cramér's V for the presence of firearms (0.0239) and drugs classifications (.0751) are estimated as weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004). With p-values of 0.011 ($p<.05$), we can reject the null hypotheses that weapons utilized, and crime location are not statistically different between variable categories and the presence of an image. Therefore, we can accept the alternative hypothesis that the presence of an image differs across weapons utilized and crime location. The Cramér's V for weapons utilized (.0808) and crime location (.01067) are less than .1 and the correlation are considered weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004).

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Word Length Categories

With p-values less than ($p<.05$) we can reject the null hypotheses that weapons utilized ($p=0.006$) and the presence of firearms ($p=0.014$) are not statistically different across word length categories. The Cramér's V results for weapons utilized and firearms' presence are less than .1 and are estimated as weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004). With p-values ($p<.001$) we can reject the null hypotheses that drug classifications and crime location are not statistically different across word length categories. Therefore, we can accept the alternative hypotheses that drug categories and a crime's location are statistically different across word length categories article word length categories. The accompanying Cramér's V for drug classifications (0. 0922) and crime locations (0. 1138) across word length categories are less than .5 and are deemed weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004).

Table 11. Article Prominence of Crime Characteristics

		$\chi2$ (Chi-Square)	P-Value	Cramér's V	Strength of Association
Front					
	Weapon Categories	(4) 9.6766	0.046*	0.0694	weak
	Firearm	(1) 6.1628	0.013*	0.0554	weak
	Drug Categories	(9) 14.8752	0.094	0.0861	weak
	Crime Locations	(10) 44.9749	0.000**	0.1497	weak
Image					
	Weapon Categories	(4) 13.1119	0.011*	0.0808	weak
	Firearm	(1) 1.1447	0.285	0.0239	weak
	Drug Categories	(9) 11.3278	0.254	0.0751	weak
	Crime Locations	(10) 22.8621	0.011*	0.1067	weak
Word Length Categories					
	Weapon Categories	(16) 33.6861	0.006*	0.0648	weak
	Firearm	(4) 12.4335	0.014*	0.0787	weak
	Drug Categories	(36) 68.3002	0.001**	0.0922	weak
	Crime Locations	(40) 103.9709	0.000**	0.1138	weak
		*p<.05	**p<.001		

Summary of $\chi2$ (Chi-Square) Tests, P-values, Cramér's V and strength of association for crime characteristic variables.

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CHAPTER FIVE:

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Counter to earlier claims by DiIulio, Fox, and colleagues who indicated that the phrase and construct originated from the news media initial findings of the search criteria of super-predator (i.e. superpredator or super-predator or super predator), resulted in zero juvenile crime news items (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 35; DiIulio, 1995; Southerland, 2015). Despite not using the term super-predator, the findings of this study indicate that juveniles offenders in news stories are likely to be males approximately 15 years old, with 7.6% of juvenile offenders being female, of unknown race (91.37%) (see Table 1). This study's finding of unknown offender race is consistent with work from the UK that indicated that the race and ethnicity are more likely to be mentioned by the media if the offender is non-white (Muncie & Wilson, 2004; see also Jewkes, 2004). This previous finding by Jewkes (2004) and this study's results suggest that most of the juvenile offenders in these stories are white counter to DiIulio and Fox characterization of Black and Latino youths (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 19-22; Fox, 1996/1997).

These juvenile offenders represented in news items are most likely to commit homicides (N= 940 or 46.81%), assaults (N= 242 or 12.05%), and shootings (N= 208 or 10.35%) that did not result in fatalities (see Table 2). The included "violent" crimes of robbery, theft, and burglary (N= 217 or 10.8%), as defined by DiIulio and Fox (Bennett, DiIulio & Walter, 1996) were as

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prevalent as shootings but were not more significant that *UCR* type one crime definitions employed for this study. The possibility of juvenile "violent" and drug crimes being gang-related (17.38%) is also deemed low, but substantial enough for its own category.

This study's results likewise imply that victims of these "violent" crimes likely had no relationship to the offender 55.67%, (see Table 1). These victims were also likely to have suffered either fatal (47.01%) or no stated (26.79%) injuries, (see Table 1). In line with these violent crimes and gang-related themes, juvenile offenders in themes news stories were likely to have involved the use of firearms (44.52%) (see Table 1). This is consistent with research which attributes high rates of juveniles homicides with increased juvenile access or use of firearms (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). Given these connotations, DiIulio's association of juvenile homicides, firearms, and gang violence are present but not overly prevalent of juvenile offenders in the news (Bennett, DiIulio & Walter, 1996). Juxtaposed to DiIulio and Fox's claims, few juvenile offenses were likely to be either a drug crime (4.03%) (see Table 1), 4.68% referenced (see Table 6), and 92.38% of the sample did not have any (see Table 1). Two consistent themes presented in the media depositions of juvenile crime which coincide of DiIulio and colleagues concept of moral poverty (see also Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). These themes were present the included variable of alcohol (N=41) (see Table 3) and the phrase or theme mention of families with (N=203 or 10.11%) (see Table 6). Though the prevalence of alcohol may be is attributed to juvenile alcohol use a status offense making its use and possession criminal for minors (Dawkins & Dawkins, 1983).

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Hypothesis 1: Identifiable Juvenile Crime Reporting Trends

We can reject the first null hypothesis predicts that there are no discernible patterns in juvenile crime reports, as there are recognizable rises and falls in the sampling rates during the sampling period. This "trend" in the rise and falls in the sampling distribution and the plateau before 1995 is consistent within Figure 1, Table 4 and Table 5, and coincides with concepts of artificially generated "crime waves" (Fishman, 1978). This concept purports that crime prevalence and preeminence is artificially generated via reports of "collections" of crimes by newspapers under a common theme. These results support that there are changes and differences between publications in the reporting of juvenile crime incidents. Given this, we can, therefore, accept the first alternative hypothesis that there is a pattern to juvenile crime reporting, and we suggest the pattern is a "crime wave". These results do not disprove that juvenile reporting trends of these and other publications were not influential to the development of DiIulio's hypothesis. The theory of crime waves holds that there is "community of news organization" in the reporting of crime stories between reporters and publishers, as such it is reasonable to assume there are similarities in the presentation of juvenile crime between publications (Fishman, 1978, p. 542). While the trends witnessed in this analysis may not have been the "wave" of reports that may have been anticipated the witnessed trend is likely typical when compared to previously reported crime media trends.

Hypothesis 2: Super-Predator "period effect"

We fail to reject the second null hypothesis predicts that the publicity and popularity of DiIulio's hypothesis would not result in a "period effect" or an increase of that violent juvenile crime and drug reports in the sample. The results shown in Figure 2 indicate a downward trend in

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the distribution of reports in 1995 after DiIulio and Fox (Fox & Pierce, 1994) were interviewed and propagated the super-predator crime surge. This trend is also consistent with results within Figure 1, which indicate the tail end of an apparent "crime wave" distribution, though these results are not conclusive and may be limited to the sample. Prior research and the observable trend from this study's data analysis indicate that the reports may have risen in the following years as dictated by the artificially created trend (Fishman, 1978; Cohen, 2002; Sternheimer, 2015).

Hypothesis 3: Super-Predator Characteristics

We fail to reject the third null hypothesis which predicts that there is no pre-existence of super-predator media construct's characteristics within the sampled juvenile crime and drug reports preceding the DiIulio's public presentation of his hypothesis. We find the result to be mixed and are unable to reject the null and the alternative hypothesis can be neither proven nor disproven with the data collected. Extending the sampling period forward five years may have established the predicted period effect. The current trend seen in 1995 appears affected by season changes in crime and the influence of end-of-year holidays on crime reporting tends. Given this limitation, we fail to reject the null hypothesis and state that these construct characteristics do not pre-exist DiIulio's hypothesis. This presumes this result is due to an inability to separate crime characteristics from the offender, as well as the failure to completely separate race and gender characteristics. The emphasis on race and minorities cannot be fully extrapolated from articles because 91.37% of offenders and 90.22% victims' race were unknown or unavailable for coding.

Correspondingly, as previously noted, the search criteria employed for "super-predator" and its variants did not capture any juvenile crime related articles that did not meet the sampling

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criteria, i.e. juvenile actors, “violent” juvenile crime, and/or juvenile drug crime. These results support the null hypothesis, which states that the media construct characteristics of super-predator offenders do not pre-exist the phrase nor the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: Prominence of Offender Characteristics

Front-page Position

We fail to reject the null hypotheses ($p>.05$) that front-page position is not statically different for juvenile offenders’ age (year), gender, and race classifications. We can conclude that an article having a front-page position is equal for all of the categories of super-predator characteristics. That these relationships had weak correlations, as shown with the Cramér’s V calculations, supports this conclusion (see Table 9). We can conclude that these associations are weak and non-generalizable outside of this sample.

Presence of an Image

We failed to reject the null hypotheses that offenders’ age (years) and gender are not statistically different between categories by the presence of an image. We can conclude that offenders’ age and gender did not statistically effect whether an image accompanied an article, despite the sampling population’s varied offender age distribution, and a small percentage of female offenders (see Table 1). We were able to accept the alternative hypothesis that the presence of an image differs across offenders’ race classifications, but the Cramér’s V was less than .1, which estimates a weak association (see Table 9). We can conclude that these associations are weak and non-generalizable outside of this sample.

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Word Length Categories

We fail to reject the null hypothesis that offender gender is not statistically different across word length categories. We were able to accept the alternative hypotheses that the offenders' age and race are statistically different across word length categories. But once again found that these association between word length categories, offender age, and offender gender were weak associations (see Table 9). We can conclude that these associations are weak and non-generalizable outside of this sample.

Conclusion

We can conclude these statistical tests revealed some statistical relationships of article prominence and super-predator offender characteristics within this study, they are not significant. The overall culmination of these articles compared to other news items would have furthered the apparent significance of juvenile crime compared to adult crime and other news items but was beyond the scope of this study. It also must be acknowledged that these results of these test are potentially skewed by a large number of "unknown" characteristics which may have weighted the variable categories, specifically offender race classifications.

Hypothesis 5: Prominence of Victim Characteristics

Front-page Position

We fail to reject the null hypotheses that front-page position is different across victim gender, race, and victim-offender relationship categories. Though the $\chi 2$ results support the alternative hypotheses that there is a statistical difference between the types of injuries suffered by victims and whether they receive a front-page position. Further, Cramér's V of this relationship shows that

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while statistically significant the association between the victims' injuries and an article's front position is weak (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004). We can conclude that this correlation is weak and non-generalizable outside of this sample.

Presence of an Image

We failed to reject the null hypotheses that the presence of an image is not statically different between victim genders. We were able to accept the alternative hypothesis that the presence of an image differs statistically between victim-offender relationships ($p<.05$) and across victims' race and victim injuries ($p<.001$) (see Table 10). Though a Cramér's V of these variables found the relationship to the presence of an image as weak (Gingrich, 2004). We can conclude, given the weak association that these relationships are non-generalizable outside of this sample.

Word Length Categories

We fail to reject the null hypothesis that victim gender is not statistically different across word length categories. We were able to accept the alternative hypothesis ($p<.001$) that victim race, victim-offender relationships, and victim injuries are statistically different across article word length categories (see Table 10). Despite this result, the association between victim race victim-offender relationship and victim injury severity in relation to article word length is weak despite their statistically significant $\chi 2$ p-values (see Table 10; Gingrich, 2004).

Conclusion

We can conclude these statistical tests resulted in some statistical relationship between article prominence and victim characteristics have been found in this study, they are not significant. These series of $\chi 2$ tests showed that variables of prominence, front page position, the presence of an image and word length categories varied most across categories of victim injuries. Victim injuries were coded broadly in term of "none", " minor", "hospitalization" and "fatality", and given

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that crime seriousness and rarity add to an incidents newsworthiness these results are not surprising (see Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). What is of interest is that the victim injury χ2 tests were statistically different across all prominence variables, and the relationships were variables was weak. Those victim-offender relationships were statistically different for the presence of an image and word length categories also had weak associations (see Table 10). Of note, victim characteristics had weak associations to all variables of news prominence. It also must be acknowledged that these results of these test are potentially skewed by a large number of "unknown" victim characteristics which may have weighted the variables of victim race and victim-offender relationships.

Hypothesis 6: Prominence of Crime Characteristics

Front-page Position

We failed to reject the null hypothesis that an article's front-page position is statistically different between the drugs classification in an article. With a p-value ($p<.05$) were able to accept the alternative hypotheses that there is a statistical difference in whether an article was on the front page and the weapons utilized in a crime incident and the presence of firearms (see Table 11). The Cramér's V of these χ2 tests of weapons utilized and the presence of firearms was less than .1, indicating weak relationships between these variables and an article's front-page position (Gingrich, 2004). We can assume these associations are weak in articles reporting "super-predator" stylized crimes, or that these characteristics are negligible in juvenile crime articles.

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Presence of an Image

We failed to reject the null hypotheses that the presence of firearms' and drug classifications are not statistically different whether an article had an image. We were able to accept the alternative hypotheses that the presence of an image differs across weapon involved and crime locations. The associated Cramér's V for weapons utilized and crime locations were less than .1 and can be considered weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004). We can conclude, given the weak associations that these relationships are non-generalizable outside of this sample.

Word Length Categories

We were able to accept the alternative hypotheses ($p<.05$) that weapons utilized, and firearms' presence are statistically different across word length categories. The Cramér's V for both variables were less than .1 and the correlations can be deemed weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004). Similarly, we were able to accept the alternative hypotheses ($p<.001$) that drug classifications and crime location are statistically different across word length categories. The Cramér's V for these variables across word length categories were less than .5 which indicated them as weak (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004). This result is interesting as every $\chi 2$ test of crime characteristics and word length was found to be statistically different between groups. But the associations are ultimately weak, raising the probability the findings coincidental results (see Table 11; Gingrich, 2004).

Conclusion

We can conclude these statistical tests revealed in some statistical relationships between article prominence variables and crime incident characteristics in this study, are not statistically significant. These crime characteristics had weak associations to all variables of news prominence, though this could have been mitigated by broadly looking crime news incidents, comparing news

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prominence. It also must be acknowledged that these results of these test are potentially skewed by a number of “unknown” crime characteristics that were latent in the articles and were not coded.

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CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to establish evidence whether the news media seized upon the concept of the super-predator and developed it in the years before DiIulio and Fox's adaptation of the construct. Based on the results of this study we can conclude that media depictions of juvenile crime likely influenced academic and expert criminology research which prompted policies to mitigate the predicted super-predator crime inspired. The results of this study can be used to further inform social constructionism, cultivation theory and our knowledge of moral panics in the development of the social knowledge of crime and criminal justice.

In terms of social constructionism, this study adds to "subjective" realities and the integration of secondary socialization via a social institution, specifically knowledge created by news media (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Serge, 2016). Specifically, this study contributes to the subtle media affect model of crime news and criminology. This study employed the subtle effect models' conceptual aspects (see Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007), to develop variables to gauge the thematic news items of super-predator offenders and their criminal offenses. These variables and related themes were further validated under the principles of news generated "crime waves" (Fishman, 1978), and moral panics (Cohen, 2002). The combination of which support that secondary socialization via the media facilitated the development of the super-predator media construct later integrated by DiIulio and Fox into their cohort crime surge prediction.

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In regard to cultivation theory, this study adds to the research body which explores the role of mass media institutions in the presentation and formation of social knowledge of juvenile crime (1967; 1970; Gerbner & Gross, 1973; Gerbner et al., 1980; Potter, 2014). In relation to DiIulio and Fox's presentation of their super-predator hypothesis, it is the formation of knowledge of juvenile crime within the newspaper (Fox, 1996/1997; Bennett, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). The research body of cultivation theory benefits from this study as another limited implementation to determine the overreaching effects of macro-level media institution. Though this study has largely ignored the cultivation analysis model originally employed by Gerbner and does not involve the human element of absorbing and integrating media knowledge by the individual (1967; 1970; Gerbner & Gross, 1973; Gerbner et al., 1980).

Research has shown that a "fear of crime" can be amplified by individuals' exposure to media representations of crime and victimization (Heath, 1984), which can result in moral panics (Cohen, 2002; Uggen & Inderbitzen, 2010). The social knowledge produced by the media was facilitated by DiIulio and Fox resulted in the moral panic of urban minority male youth crime or juvenile super-predators. DiIulio, Fox, supporting criminologists, and politicians took the role of moral crusaders attempting to manage current and hypothetical future youth crime. This crime and the youths behavior was attributed to unavoidable social conditions or social ills that these parties and other attempted to mitigate with juvenile justice policies (Krisberg et al, 2009; Garrett, 2015; Myers, 2016). This fear of minority youth crime was likely exploited by moral entrepreneurs who attempted to benefit from public opinions resulting from these unforeseen policy changes that adversely affected these youths (Ben-Yehuda, 1986). Those parties who were moral entrepreneurs are less clear, though certainly in academia and politics many individuals employed the fear of juvenile youth crime to push their various agendas (Cohen, 2002; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994;

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2009). Not unlike three strikes laws that were petitioned in the adult criminal justice system (Callanan, 2005). These youths became "folk devils" and were disproportionately affected by these policies and the resultant change in juvenile justice philosophy, which disconnected from previous re-habilitative viewpoints (Bernard & Kurlychek, 2010; Surette, 2011).

Implications for the Field of Criminology Media

The findings from this study which indicate that juvenile crime items are likely to refer to families and alcohol, which are elements of moral poverty, high degrees of "violent" crime committed on strangers are in line with DiIulio and Fox's presentation of the super-predator (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996, p. 19-22; Fox, 1996/1997). But the contrasting results of the unknown race and comparatively low rates of drug crime and gang involvement indicate that media has constructed a skewed representation of juvenile crime. That Jewkes 2004 research suggests that these race "unknown" offenders are white is contradictory to DiIulio and Fox characterization of Black and Latino youths. This conclusion has widespread implications for the field of criminology, especially in relation to newsmaking and public criminology.

Newsmaking criminology was first defined by Dr. Gregg Barak in the late 1980s, and he described it as conscious efforts and activities of criminologist to influence media representations of "newsworthy" items on crime and criminal justice (2007). Particularly the respective nature of crime representation in television and newspapers, as they frame or reinforce cultural notions and the reality of crime (Barak, 2013). In sum, newsmaking criminology is meant to call attention and action towards crime and justice ills whereby criminologists forego neutrality and objectivity (Barak, 2007). It has become the responsibility of criminologists to share their findings with the

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public, it can be difficult for researchers to be heard by the public with only a handful consistently referenced (Barak, 2007). This difficulty is partially attributed to a form of elitism that divorces the field of criminology from the populations it studies (Ruggiero, 2012).

Public criminology, in turn, has a strong relationship with public policy and has historically attempted to move policy progressively as an integral part of modern policy making (Barak, 2007; see also Ruggiero, 2012). This process divorces public criminology from its parallel of public sociology, which is more entrenched in civil society, specifically institutions and organizations separate from the government and the economy (Patel, 2011; see also Ruggiero, 2012). Public sociology acknowledges that to be public there needs to be a normative position, involvement in politics, and the sociologist's decision on how far they are willing to proceed in the process (Etzioni, 2005; see also Ruggiero 2012). This is an issue with the practice of criminology as a "democratic under-laborer" focused on the generation of crime and criminal justice knowledge (Loader & Sparks, 2010). When public criminology coincides with newsmaking criminology the "call for action" can create sudden and permanent policy changes in a process that cannot be left to chance (Barak, 2007). The presentation of the juvenile super-predator falls in the category of newsmaking criminology and public criminology but has fallen victim to the issues of crime making news versus the news making. Public criminology involves generating controversy, provoking public opinion, and caring on associated discourse (Loader & Spark, 2010).

Themes and social knowledge of the super-predator construct were developed into a hypothesis and adapted by policymakers to support changes in juvenile justice philosophy. DiIulio and Fox failed to create a discourse about their prediction and allow for equal counter stances to be presented juxtapose to their own, instead, they and the media presented their hypothesis as

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provable fact (Fox, 1996/1997). In this, the media holds some blame for the spread of the prediction and their stance, as well as difficulties for other criminologists to disseminate of counter findings (Ruggiero, 2012). That DiIulio presented the cohort effect and prediction from an opinion centered interpretation of juvenile crime data and demographics further muddled his role in public criminology and juvenile policy. This confusion is echoed by Fox's 1997 update to the then acting Attorney General, that rejected findings that were counter to the surge he and DiIulio anticipated and instead supported the early crime drop (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006).

Limitations and Call for Future Research

There are several limitations to this data including (1) the article sources, (2) newsworthiness, (3) data "richness" and un-coded data, (4) lack of intercoder reliability and (5) generalizability. These limitations are prevalent in content analysis research and the crime media research body, but there are several distinctions unique to this study's sample that cannot be addressed by the researcher.

Article Sources

The initial design of the study intended to look at publications of the Boston Globe and other Massachusetts area publications during the time frame of 1980-1990, but those publications were not immediately available. Instead, three major national publications the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *New York Times* were substituted to determine if the media development of the super-predator construct occurred on a national scale. The data was collected during the start of newspaper circulation decline that began in the late 1980s and early 1990s which has

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continued for the last several decades (Johnson, Goidel & Climek, 2014). This could have influenced reporting styles and news report themes as newspapers attempted to generate increased readership and subscriptions in response to the decline. Johnson and colleagues explain the decline as a result of the increased availability of the internet and digital news networks, in combination with the increased prevalence and affordability of television ownership (2014).

In regard to data characteristics, special publications, as well as evening and Sunday editions, for the publications analyzed were not explicitly included. Sample articles were coded standardly with the typical readership of the sample are persons likely to consume daily publication rather than evening or Sunday edition. In addition, there are great fluctuations in the types or frequency of juvenile drug and "violent" crimes reported in different publication types.

Newsworthiness

One significant limitation of the sample data is the unknown proportion of criminal instances which received coverage compared to those which did not or are otherwise unknown (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009; Reiner & Reiner, 2002). As crimes stories that are published typically support a particular bias or news theme, a variety of crimes which lack similar degrees of notoriety are habitually excluded (Fishman, 1978; Cohen, 2002, p. 42). More importantly, juvenile crimes that are reported in the news may be substantially different from those that are not, and those published are potentially influenced by publishers and public opinions. Further, the availability of juvenile crime information is typically limited as the First Amendment does not typically apply to juvenile courts (Nolasco, Spaic & Vaughn, 2015). This access can vary by state law and court digression contributing to these limits on the types of reports and incidents which are available to the public and thus publishable (Nolasco, Spaic & Vaughn, 2015, 673).

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Data Richness

The richness of the data is another limitation in this study's analysis, consisting of descriptor and controls variables that were not addressed. But the information may be relevant to understanding the media's formation of the juvenile super-predator construct, and its associated themes that influenced DiIulio and Fox's hypothesis. Parallel to the data's richness there was a vast amount of content that was not coded. Specifically, interpretations of tone and opinions were limited to a selection of topics identified by the super-predator hypothesis and distilled from its research body. These themes centered on "urban" and "street" centered offenses and conditions which were emphasized in the literature (Bennet, DiIulio & Walters, 1996). The coding scheme included measures for themes which supported the crime policy recommendations and rebuttals to the "super-predator" construct. A large degree of additional information from the data was not coded in the interest of time and parsimony.

Intercoder Reliability

The sampling and coding process was done without any intercoder reliability (Berger, 1998), though a limited sample was initially procured to test the sensitivity of the instrument and eliminate unnecessary variables. The sample is highly vulnerable to human error as no formal protocol for the application of the coding scheme, nor any method to address discrepancies for each case. This error greatly diminishes the interpretive power of the results, which in turn further reduces its generalizability. This issue is compacted by the data's richness and increases the amount of material coded for intentionally and unintentionally.

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Generalizability

Concluding these limitations is the sample's generalizability, there are limited applications of this study's results when applied to local, state or nation publications. As previously referenced, this data was sampled during the "decline of newspapers" (Johnson, Goidel & Climek, 2014), this would have affected newspaper styles advertisement revenues decreased. To avoid "overgeneralizing" (Berger, 1998) all conclusions must be restricted to the data sample and populations that are similar in context and history.

Directions for Future Research

Given that newspaper publication experienced the "newspaper decline" inconsistently (Johnson, Goidel & Climek, 2014), the generalizability of the sample would be un-equivalent to newspapers with differing circulations sizes and target populations. In addition, modern newspapers are largely digital in nature which allows journalists to write unrestrictedly for digital publications, continuously updating and continuing stories at will. This digital freedom allows publishers to pick and choose which stories are newsworthy enough for print, making modern-day applications of this study inapplicable. It would be more beneficial for future research to consider diverse "mass media" content from relevant years of study. The lack of multiple data sources in this study makes and its results one-sided, compared to other sources which employ additional media and survey data.

This study's research objective was to establish whether there was evidence that the news media seized upon the concept of the super-predator and developed it in the years before DiIulio and Fox's adaptation of the construct. The data sampling and coding methodology employed for this study resulted in a sample suitable for this objective despite its limitations. The data analyses

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resulted in viable results regarding the nuance of employed news themes, trends, and patterns in the presentation of juvenile crime news items for *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*. Additionally, these results are generalizable for juvenile crime news items originating from other similarly sized publications during the sampling's time period.

Relevance

This study supports previous research that has shown that the newspapers "mediated reality" of juvenile crime has an effect on the social knowledge of juvenile crime (Yanich, 2005; Rhineberger-Dunn, 2013). This reality is created by news media strategies employed which result in the production of false knowledge are based on profit and entertainment-based policies (Fox, Van Sickel & Steiger, 2007). Despite the fallacies of these tasks, there are no clear policy proposals which can halt these practices due to the liberties guaranteed to the press under the First Amendment's right to free speech. Researchers can be unwitting contributors and facilitators of this process whereby their research or public personas can sway criminal justice knowledge and policy. Thus, public criminologists and the media can instigate panics which influence future research, policymakers, and social groups in either direct or indirect means. There are several recommendations we can make to criminologists when considering the role of the media in criminology.

Recommendations

In regard to public criminology and policymakers relying on news media for the dissemination of crime and criminal justice knowledge, we would encourage restraint. Public criminology is a difficult process, especially given the professionalization of the field and a lack

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of public engagement beyond special populations (Uggen & Inderbitzen, 2010; see also Ruggiero, 2012; see also Loader & Sparker, 2010). Restraint is necessary for public criminology because crime engenders fear in the public unlike other fields of study (Uggen & Inderbitzen, 2010). Therefore when "claims-making" about the current state of crime and criminal justice it's advisable to be objective and moderate in presentation and recommendations (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994, 2009; Cohen, 2002).

On the subject of criminologists and policymakers relying on the media for crime and criminal justice knowledge, we refer to Tak Wing Chan and John H. Goldthorpe's 2007 study. Their research found newspaper readerships correlate highly with a person's social status, which they defined as "social superiority, equality, or inferiority" (2007). Given Chan and Goldthorpe's definition, which is not focused on individual or economic traits, readership maybe correlated with persons of social power who are likely to cause social change (2007). This notion coincides with Cohen's concept of "moral crusaders" (2002) with socially and politically involved individuals employing the media to identify social ills and champion change. This notion is paralleled by the history of social change and intellectual activism in public criminology (Ruggiero, 2012). Chan and Goldthorpe's study also supports previous research that consumers of crimes news are susceptible to adopting false knowledge and incorporating them into their socially perceived realities. This suggests that the elitism of public criminology predisposes researchers in supporting and incorporating media generated knowledge as they are likely to rely on newspapers for social knowledge (Ruggiero, 2012).

In reference to criminal justice policy, we would encourage the courts to enforce their judicial discretion with the press when dealing with youthful offenders. The press can be barred from obtaining information on juvenile offenders by state law or judge discretion, and we

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encourage the continuation of such practices to maintain youths' privacy. As juvenile crime has been incorporated into the fodder of entertainment news, the media and courts records of juvenile offenses are perpetually attached to offenders (Ardia, 2017). The existence of the internet and mass media make these connections and offense details readily available, even when the juvenile justice process has concluded.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Super-Predator Variable Codebook

Code Category	*Variable Name*	*Code Explanation*
Technical Data:	Article ID	##
	Paper	1= New York Times; 2= Chicago Tribune; 3= Los Angeles Times
	State/origin of story	1= Alabama; 2= Alaska; 3= Arizona; 4= Arkansas; 5= California; 6= Colorado; 7= Connecticut; 8= Delaware; 9= Florida; 10= Georgia; 11= Hawaii; 12= Idaho; 13= Illinois; 14= Indiana; 15= Iowa; 16= Kansas; 17= Kentucky; 18= Louisiana; 19= Maine; 20= Maryland; 21= Massachusetts; 22= Michigan; 23= Minnesota; 24= Mississippi; 25= Missouri; 26= Montana; 27= Nebraska; 28= Nevada; 29= New Hampshire; 30= New Jersey; 31= New Mexico; 32= New York; 33= North Carolina; 34= North Dakota; 35= Ohio; 36= Oklahoma; 37= Oregon; 38= Pennsylvania; 39= Rhode Island; 40= South Carolina; 41= South Dakota; 42= Tennessee; 43= Texas; 44= Utah; 45= Vermont; 46= Virginia; 47= Washington; 48= West Virginia; 49= Wisconsin; 50= Wyoming; 51= US territory; 52= international
	Front-page	0= no, 1= yes
	Word Count	##
Sources cited / persons interviewed:	0= none; 1= Dilulio; 2= Fox; 3= academic; 4= judge; 5= prosecution; 6= defense; 7= local citizen; 8= church leader; 9= city official; 10= state official; 11=county official; 12= law enforcement official; 99=other	
Additional pictures:	Picture	

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		0= no, 1= yes	
		if yes, human subject:	0= none; 1= offender; 2= victim; 3= criminal justice official; 4= court official; 5= community member; 6= city official; 7= state official
		if yes, non-human subjects	0= none; 1= single building; 2= multiple building; 3= vehicle; 4= weaponry; 5= map; 6= graphs; 7= cartoon
Actor Descriptors			
	Offender		
		race/ethnicity	0= White; 1= Black; 2= Hispanic; 3= Asian; 4= mixed group; 5= other; 99=unknown
		age	##
		number of offenders	##
		gang affiliation mentioned	0= none, 1= yes
	Victim:		
		Person	0= no, 1= yes
		number of victims	##
		race/ethnicity	0= White; 1= Black; 2= Hispanic; 3= Asian; 4= mixed group; 5= other; 99=unknown
		injuries (most severe)	0= none ; 1= minor ; 2= Hospitalized ; 3= Fatal
		victim/offender relationship	0=none/unknown ; 1=friend/acquaintance ; 2= family/intimate partner

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	Victim non-person	0= no, 1= yes	
Phrase_1 & Phrase_2:			
	General Super-Predator Themes:	0= none; 1= "Super-Predator"; 2= counter/debunking; 3= "prey"; 4= "street crime/criminal"; 5= "urban"; 6= "inner-city"; 7= "welfare"; 8= "moral poverty"; 9= Clinton / Clinton Administration; 10 "Reagan" 11= "families"; 12= Bush / Bush Administration; 13= "`drugs"; 14= "crack"; 15= "black-on-black"; 16= "gun-related"	
	Crime Prevention Themes:	0= none; 1= general; 2= selective/target policing; 3= social programs; 4= gun control; 5= court reform; 6= family unit; 7= drug control; 8= alcohol control; 9= treatment; 99= other/unknown	
Crime Description:			
	Violent crime:	0= none; 1= homicide/murder; 2= robbery/theft/burglary; 4= assault; 5= sexual crime; 6= arson; 7= shooting; 8= auto theft; 9= vandalism	
	Drug crime:	0= none**;** 1= illegal drug use; 2= drug dealing; 3= drug trafficking	
		Drug type	0= none; 1= marijuana; 2= cocaine; 3= "crack" cocaine; 4= alcohol; 5= PCP; 6= methamphetamines; 7= heroin
	Weapon:	0= none; 1= firearm; 2=knife; 3= rifle; 99= other/unknown	
	Location of crime:	1= school; 2= church; 3= home; 4= street/alley; 5= store/business/corner store/liquor store; 6= public transit; 7= public housing; 8= apartment; 9= movie theatre; 10= beach/park/field; 11= parking lot; 12= park/playground 99=unknown/other	
Dummy Variables			
	Firearm	=1 if firearm mentioned	

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	Word Length	1= Brief less than 100 words; 2= Short more than 100 less than 500 words; 3= Moderate more than 500 less than 1000 words; 4= Long more than 1000 less than 1500 words; 5= Lengthy more than 1500 words
	Offender Black	0= no, 1= yes
	Offender Latino	0= no, 1= yes
	Offender Asian	0= no, 1= yes
	Offender Mix	0= no, 1= yes
	Victim Black	0= no, 1= yes
	Victim Latino	0= no, 1= yes
	Victim Asian	0= no, 1= yes
	Victim Mix	0= no, 1= yes
	Victim Other	0= no, 1= yes

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