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Twerking, Alcohol, and Fame: The Construction of Disney Celebrities in the Media

by

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THESIS

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Abstract

The mass media expanded intrusion of cameras into the public and private lives of celebrities has contributed to the public's fascination with Hollywood celebrities. Specifically, this cultural obsession has been increasingly centered on female celebrity's increased deviancy and criminal behaviours. Although numerous studies have been completed discussing the cultural fixation of Hollywood celebrity culture and the audience's attachment to these celebrities, few have provided insight into the media construction of cultural narratives surrounding Disney celebrities. To fill the gap in the literature, I will assess how female celebrity deviance and sexuality is constructed in the media by examining the media portrayal of three Disney celebrities Lindsay Lohan, Miley Cyrus, and Selena Gomez as either victims or villains (Loseke, 2003). Using Charmaz (2006) constructivist grounded theory approach, I will analyze how the media has constructed social boundaries outlining the appropriate / inappropriate behaviours of women.

KEYWORDS: Social Constructionism, Popular Culture, Disney, Criminology, Narratives, Media Analysis, Deviance, Adolescent females, Grounded Theory

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This study uses a social constructionist perspective to understand how female Disney celebrities' narratives and transgressive behaviours are constructed in the media. This chapter begins by briefly introducing the construction of Disney actresses' transgressions in the media such as famous wild parties, as well as deviant and immoral actions. An overview of the two research questions, key concepts, and insights will follow. Finally, I will conclude by providing a summary of each chapter in this study.

The Social Problem: Female Disney Celebrities in the Media

The development of new technologies, such as the Internet and social media, has contributed to the public's fascination with Hollywood celebrities. The technological advancements of digital cameras and their capability to instantly link with social media has created a culture that glorifies celebrities and has elevated them to a level of importance based on the public nature of celebrity lives, especially the lives of celebrities' children (Beer & Penfold-Mounce, 2009; Kapp, 1969; Nayer, 2009; Penfold-Mounce, 2009; Turner, 2004). However, I argue that traditional forms of media in combination with growing social media has created a cultural obsession into an 'around-the-clock' scrutiny of young women and their behaviours in particular. For the purposes of this study, a '*Disney celebrity*' refers to an individual who has gained fame through the careful planning of their activities and identities controlled by and associated with Walt Disney productions (Boornstin, 1962).

Although numerous studies have been published discussing the cultural fixation with Hollywood celebrity culture (*see Giles, 2000; Holmes & Redmond, 2006; Penfold-Mounce, 2009, Turner, 2004*) few have provided insight into the media construction of cultural narratives

surrounding female Disney celebrities. To fill this gap in the literature, I use a social constructionist perspective to assess the cultural narratives of three Disney actresses: Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan. These three actresses were carefully chosen upon reviewing the top three 2013 newsworthy or most frequently represented female Disney celebrities in the media. The aim is to understand how claims-makers, such as the media, construct adolescent female celebrities as either victims or villains in society as a result of their deviant transgressions (Loseke, 2003). Furthermore, this study seeks to contribute to the overall literature by illuminating a new emerging and vulnerable group of celebrities who are becoming more susceptible to the media scrutiny. This study will demonstrate how female Disney celebrities are constructed using a “saintly” and feminine narrative that is converted to a darker narrative in the media as the individual matures and rebels against the original characterization of their life and personality previous wholesome narrative. Furthermore, my aim is to further analyze and understand how these new narratives in the media may influence youth deviancy, the breakdown of the family unit or other social problems.

Research Questions, Key Concepts, and Insights

This thesis examines how female Disney character narratives are constructed by the media.

Specifically, I seek to answer the following two research questions:

- a) How does the media construct boundaries outlining the appropriate or inappropriate behaviours of young women?
- b) What are the broader social problems arising from the media construction of youth deviance?

The analysis will illustrate how the media constructs female actresses' transgressions as being a corrupting agent. For the purposes of this study, the term *corrupting agent* refers to instances such as Miley Cyrus' scandalous musical performances (2013 *MTV Video Awards* and "Wrecking Ball") in the recent years; this will be further examined in Chapter Four. Central to this analysis is identifying the type of social control methods used to illustrate the inappropriate and appropriate gender norms of women in contemporary society. The study's findings provide insight into the broader social problems arising from the media construction of youth deviance.

Chapter Overview

The body of this thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 provides the reader with a brief introduction as to the organization of this study. It introduces the reader to the two major research questions that this study seeks to answer. Furthermore, it provides an introduction to the study and its contribution to the literature. This chapter also discusses the importance of this study and its relationship to female deviant behaviour in society. Particularly, in an age where a celebrity lives has become a new cultural obsession.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the current literature focusing on the construction of Hollywood female actresses in the media. It will further establish the foundational theoretical underpinnings of this topic in contrast to the existing body of literature. I will argue that the media construction of Hollywood celebrities transgressions and female criminality in the media influence the way in which young emerging female Disney narratives are constructed, presented, and accepted.

Chapter 3 focuses on the two qualitative methodological approaches chosen to analyze the research data including ethnographic content analysis (ECA) and constructivist grounded

theory approach. These methodological approaches were chosen as a means to provide a deeper and richer understanding of the construction of cultural narratives and boundaries. Specifically, how these cultural boundaries and narratives influence the behaviour of female youths. In addition, this chapter will discuss the study's goals, research questions, sample size, data collection methods, analytical process, and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 analyzes how the media serves as a form of social control through the construction and re-enforcement of boundaries dictating the appropriate and inappropriate female conduct within society. The aim of this chapter is to discuss Disney's influence on the social construction of femaleness. This is a controversial topic because it portrays an unrealistic perception of gender norms and femininity as a social control mechanism to regulate female behaviour.

Chapter 5 examines the broader social problems arising from the media construction of youth deviance through media induced moral panics. This chapter explains the link between the breakdown of the family structure and engaging in deviant behavior. Furthermore, I discuss how the media narratives of deviance among Disney actresses affirm the need for intervention by the State to help families confront crisis situations like the behavior of female youth and shape the definitions of deviant behavior.

Chapter 6 provides a number of concluding statements about the study and presents suggestions for further research to be conducted related to the examination of deviant behavior among adolescent female Disney celebrity's popular culture, and the media.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinnings

Social constructionism is a sociological theory that argues reality is subjective and shared meanings are negotiated through social processes (Harris, 2008; Loseke, 2003; McLaughlin & Muncie, 2006). This is best exemplified using Loseke's (2003) example of meaning attributed to the words "...[s]uicide bombers". According to Loseke (2003), Western societies' understanding of the word 'suicide bombers' is "... people who kill themselves in the course of killing others" (p.18). As Loseke (2003) notes, the word 'suicide bombers' can be understood by other groups as referring to "psychological or as heroic actions" (p.18). Where Western media may associate the word "suicide bombers" with terrorism, some Middle Eastern media may associate it with "soldier" or "martyrdom" (Dunham, 2008). Thus, our understanding of a word, such as "suicide bombers", is derived from our social interactions with one another and through our shared experiences (i.e., media exposure). In other words, the connotations and the meanings surrounding our understanding of words is a result of cultural constraints. Cultural constraints that shape our connotative meanings about the world around us (Densi, 2004)

To identify how female Disney celebrity deviance has been constructed in the media, it is important to begin by defining the terms used in this study. For the purpose of this study, I have adopted Becker's (1963) definition of deviance where "...deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of the rules and sanctions to an offender" (p.9). The meaning of deviance adopted here focuses on how individuals or groups of individuals have become constructed as violating societal norms.

To establish a foundational overview and understanding of the pertinent theoretical framework used in this thesis, I first examine how gender and gender norms are socially constructed and work as a means of social control. I then discuss social constructionism and the

social problems game. Specifically, I outline the construction of claims, conditions, people, and solutions. Next, I discuss moral panics and the ways in the media construct moral panics. The final section provides an overview of the literature discussing the media construction of female deviance and popular cultures construction of female celebrity deviance.

Social Construction of Gender and Gender Norms

For this study, I have adopted Schur's (1984) definition of gender and gender norms where:

... 'gender' refers to the sociocultural and psychological, shaping patterning, and evaluating of [both] female and male behavior[s]...[whereas] 'sex' [refers to] when we say that people are biologically female or biologically male... (p.10).

The concept of gender roles refers to socially shaped constructs used by society to represent and assign meanings to a larger gender system. For example, references to a woman being a 'housewife' or a young girl being a 'tomboy' are social constructs that refer to gender roles (Coleman, 1979, 1992; Schur, 1984, Garfinkel, 1967; West & Zimmerman, 2011). Gender roles refer to the normative system within society that uses norms and sanctions to control female and male behaviours. Comparatively, based on the above definition, being a sperm donor is a biological trait that can only be performed by a member of its corresponding biological sex—a man (Schur, 1984).

Gender norms are prescriptive guidelines of gender roles and are defined by the socially acceptable and unacceptable actions and behaviours in accordance to one's gender role (Coleman, 1979, 1992; Doyle, 1985). This is best illustrated using traditional gender norms of

the 1950s. During the 1950s, traditional gender norms dictated that a man's prescribed gender role was to be the "bread winner" of his family. Similarly, during the 1950's, a woman's prescribed gender norm was to stay at home to raise children and do the house work. Although gender norms are fluid and ever changing, they are the behavioural guidelines that dictate socially accepted masculine and feminine norms (Coleman, 1979, 1992). Gender norms reinforce a patriarchal social hierarchy. Whereas male gender norms have traditionally emphasized strength and dominance, female gender norms have traditionally served to limit the social power of women.

Traditional gender norms ultimately serve as forms of formal and informal social control to govern socially negotiated meanings around 'appropriate' masculinity and femininity. For the purposes of this study, I have adopted Altheide (2002) definition of social control. as being "the process by which people behave in ways that meet the expectations of others" (p.13). Social control in this case refers to the adherence to behaviour that is deemed as being acceptable to society as a whole. To understand the importance of social control to this study, both informal and formal agents of social control must be defined.

Informal agents of social control according to Schneider (2016) are "...parents and teachers, [who] govern conduct by enforcing rules, norms, and social values by applying sanctions in response to violations" (p.19). An example of an informal sanction is a father scolding his son for crying while asserting, "real men don't cry". This repetitive saying reinforces the acceptable societal behaviours of a young male. A second example of informal social control mechanisms is evident prior to employment laws and maternity leaves. During the 1960s pregnancy served as a means to exclude women from the labour force, particularly from high-level positions (Pomerleau, 2013, p.13). According to Pomerlau (2013) the exclusion of

women from high-level positions served as a social control mechanism by regulating and restricting women to caretaking positions. In this example, women who step outside of their female roles and embark on a more masculine role are punished. Therefore, informal social control mechanisms exist to either reward or punish an individual's acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

In contrast, formal social control mechanisms allow agents of social control (i.e., law enforcements, governments, employers etc.) to use the law to enforce and sanction societal compliance through various means such as fines and imprisonment (Conrad & Schneider, 1985; Janowitz, 1975; Talcott & Parsons, 1951). In other words, formal social control becomes a set of law that preserves social order (Schneider, 2016). To exemplify formal social control mechanisms, I will use the 1991 Ontario Gwen Jacobs case to illustrate how agents of social control formally sanction women. According to McDowell and Hostetler (1998), the Gwen Jacobs case dealt with a Canadian female who was fined with public indecency for going topless during a stroll around her neighbourhood (p.67). This example clearly depicts how formal social control agents sanction a woman's display of emasculated behaviour. Formal punishment from agents of social control serves as both a deterrent and example of the unacceptable feminine conduct that must not be emulated. In summary, these examples of informal and formal social control mechanisms serve as socially accepted guidelines. These guidelines in turn become the appropriate justifications for an individual to participate in self-censorship. Whereas, the use of strict policies in a work place setting serves as a deterrent and social control mechanism for the collective group.

Gender Norms as Social Control

As previously discussed, gender norms serve as a mechanism to socially control female behaviours and transgressions (Schur, 1984). Schur (1984) suggests that there are three pivotal categories that have been successful in controlling women. These three categories are: 1) appearance/beauty norms which visually govern and contribute to the overall objectification of female appearances/status, 2) maternity norms, which governs traditional female roles and ultimately has control over personal autonomy, and 3) sexuality norms used to maintain male dominance and female subordination by discouraging untraditional roles (Schur, 1984, p. 52). According to Schur (1984) the above three categories have "...contributed to keeping women in their place" (p.53). These three categories serve as social control mechanisms that both identify and define the appropriate and acceptable behaviours of women. More importantly, these three categories also fall in line with the dominant socially accepted maternal, emotional, compassionate and nurturing characteristics that comprise feminine conduct (Schur, 1984).

Gender norms and the control over female appearance, autonomy, and sexuality are central to understanding the constructions of appropriate and inappropriate female behaviours. In particular, they serve as a window to understanding the societal arrangements made to ensure gender compliance and regulation. The mass media portrayal of female behaviours provides another means of ensuring gendered norms are controlled and regulated within a society.

For Harris (1977) the media continual attention and portrayal of inappropriate female behaviour has resulted in exposing the audience to the corruption of female morals and gendered guidelines. This is best illustrated in Harris' (1977) study of the media statistics regarding female criminal offenses. As Harris (1977) notes, the media sensationalizes female criminal offenses such as shoplifting. This glorification and media-centered glamorization of female

deviancy leads to creating a new form of acceptable guidelines for women. In other words, women are inclined to commit crimes if they see it as being glamorous or associated with obtaining fame.

For Males (2010), the degradation of female appearances and lack of morality displayed by deviant females leads to social control agencies placing stringent demands for the need to control and supervise female behaviours as deviant and interactions. Lastly, the increasing categorization of female behaviours as deviant, or criminal, or unacceptable has been framed as a social problem by social control agencies that must be addressed.

Typifications and Social Problems Work

For the purposes of this study, I have adopted Loseke's (2003) definition of a social problem as:

“ a condition evaluated as wrong, widespread, and changeable...[it] categorizes conditions we believe are troublesome, prevalent, can be changed.” (p.7).

Social problems work identifies and classifies conditions as a problem and proceeds to develop a solution to address the perceived problem (Best, 2008; Harris, 2008; Loseke, 2003). To further examine the generally believed conditions, or putative conditions that are classified as social problems, social constructionists need to examine two concepts. Loseke (2003) identifies these two concepts as “social problems work and the social problems game” (p. 20). The main goal of social problems work is for claims-makers to categorize individuals and conditions as being a social problem. In comparison, the goal of the social problems game is to persuade the audience that legislation needs to be enacted in order to solve the

issue at hand. Simply put, individuals who persuade the audience of a panic are referred to as “moral entrepreneurs” (Becker, 1963).

Typifications are best understood as simple classifications or categorizations applied to objects, individuals, and situations in order to remove the complexities of our social world (Best, 2008; Loseke, 2003; Wasburn, 2002). Typifications are a *social resource* that provide a mental *image* allowing people to make sense of the outside world (Best & Harris, 2013; Loseke, 2003; Parilla, 2013). Typifications remove the complexities from situations and/or individuals, and enable people to focus on one perspective and encourage individuals to respond and behave in accordance to the situation. An example of this is illustrated through the typifications of abortion as either “pro-life” or “pro-choice”. These typifications allow individuals to make sense of a situation by removing the complexities of the social problem and embedding a proposed solution. Therefore, to classify a putative condition as a social problem, claims-makers must typify the problem and also construct the conditions to appeal to the emotions and logic of the audience. Social problems are constructed through the social problems game.

Social Problems Game: Claims-Makers & Audiences

The social problems game consists of a number of claims-makers who compete with each other in establishing credibility with the audience through the use of various strategies to gain the interest of the public and push for policy changes to address these issues (Loseke, 2003). The main goal of claims-makers is to persuade the audience to panic about issue(s) or condition(s), in order to evoke a desired response that will either resolve or address the issue

(Best & Harris, 2013; Loseke, 2003). To evoke concern or convince others that a social problem exists, claims-makers must construct the *grounds*/conditions of a social problem (Loseke, 2008). These *grounds* are defined in a manner in which claims-makers are able to persuade the audience/general public to define and perceive the putative condition as problematic.

According to Loseke (2003), a social problem is not categorized as such until it is classified by claims-makers as containing extreme consequences to the general public. Social constructionists have identified various types of claims-makers involved in the social problems game. The first category of claims-makers is referred to as subjective claims-makers (Loseke, 2003, p. 53). *Subjective claims-makers* are individuals who believe that there are conditions in society that cause a resentful displeasure and seek to obtain ownership of the problem. As a result, these individuals feel they must work towards addressing and resolving this issue. Thus, subjective claims-makers become social activists. An example of this would be Cindy Lightner, the founding president of Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (MADD), whose daughter was killed in a hit-and-run drunk driving accident (Loseke, 2003; Mothers Against Drunk Driving, 2012). Although not all claims-makers in this category are driven by personal experiences, other claims-makers that fall within this category would be individuals who identify social problems as offending societal values.

A second group of actors are those claims-makers who use social problems as a means to benefit economically (Loseke, 2003, pg. 54). An example of such a claims-maker would be weight loss clinics, such as Jenny Craig. Weight-loss clinics consist of actors who conduct studies and report on the increasing obesity rate. Weight-loss clinics then raise panic within the audience or a susceptible group, such as women, of

the detrimental effects of obesity. While re-assuring these individuals that their product assists in “shedding the pounds” or “combating obesity” if taken regularly. Therefore, claims made by weight loss clinics of selling herbal supplement that combat obesity enables them to economically benefit from the purchase made by susceptible groups.

The final group of claims-makers is referred to as community or emotional claims-makers. This group of claims-makers uses post-modern conditions such as gender/socio-economic inequalities, to emphasize social problems (Best, 2013; Garland, 2008). Loseke (2003) describes these individuals as seeking the membership of a claims-making group to successfully attain a goal that is emotionally satisfying and socially rewarding. This is best exemplified through the various civil rights protests, which occurred during the G20 Summit as a means to advocate for policy changes.

Constructing Social Problems and Moral Panics

Examining the claims-making process used by claims-makers provides critical insight into the ways claims-makers construct conditions, statements, or facts to frame the issue as violating social norms (Best & Harris, 2013; Loseke, 2008; Loseke & Best, 2009). In doing so, claims-makers are able to assert a particular issue as being a *crucial* matter that *must* be addressed over a competing social problem.

According to Loseke (2008), the first step in the claims-making process is for claims-makers to construct a social problems frame, diagnostic frame, and a motivational frame. I will use Cavender’s (2003) study to illustrate the claims-making process. The social problems frame is where claims-makers identify and construct the “facts” of the problem in question. According

to Cavender (2003; 1998), television programs such as America's Most Wanted (AMW) and Unsolved Mysteries (UM) act as claims-makers who construct the facts of a social problem by "...[presenting] reality as a public service..." (p. 29). AMW and UM hosts present the audience with re-enactments of the social malaise (i.e., criminal events) caused by threats to social order. The diagnostic frame enables claims-makers to construct the implications/conditions of a social problem (Loseke, 2008; Loseke & Best, 2009). According to Cavender (2003; 1998) reality television shows, such as AMW and UM, depict criminals as being "dangerous" and unremorseful" (p.31). These programs construct criminals as being villains.

Motivational frames are used by claims-makers to target an emotional response from the audience by persuading viewers of the harmful and troubling conditions of the social problem. This is attained by claims-makers identifying and attributing blame towards those responsible for the social problem. Cavender (2003; 1998) argues that blame is attributed to criminals by constructing them as being "unremorseful" individuals who are attacking "innocent" and "...good looking college- kids" or "...pretty young wives" (p.31). Motivational frames are also used to depict law enforcement officials as working towards restoring community safety and social order. Thus, AMW, UM, and law enforcements officials become constructed and presented to the audience as being the heroes. A final way in which an emotional response is invoked by these programs is attained through the host. An emotional connection with the viewer is established by having the host directly address the camera as to make it appear that he or she is directly speaking to the audience. Therefore the use of diagnostic frames in conjunction with motivational frames constructs individuals targeted by crimes as being victims. Whereas, the villains/ the criminals, are successfully constructed as such by successful claims by claims-makers.

Another example of a social problem is best illustrated through Cohen's (1972) study of two conflicting British youth gangs known as the Mods and Rockers in 1960s England. The group referred to as the Mods or the Modernists were a group of British youths whose sub-cultural values centered on music, fashion, and rode around in scooters (Cohen, 1972). Whereas, the Rockers were a rivaling youth group whose sub-cultural values centered on rock and roll music, motorcycle attire, and rode motorcycles (Cohen, 1972). During the 1960s, the media had constructed the Mods and Rockers as being "hooligans" or social deviants (Cohen, 1972; Howitt, 2013). In this example, claims-makers framed and constructed the social problem of youth deviance taking place on Easter Sunday 1964 in Clacton England's Eastern coast as a social problem. Where it was rumored that a bartender refused to serve several young people, a scuffle broke out, a starter's pistol was fired, and property was vandalized. Damage was estimated at approximately £500. The police arrested approximately 100 young people for being rowdy (Cohen, 1972 p.29).

Claims-makers constructed diagnostic and motivational frames of the incident in the media by using sensationalized headlines. According to Cohen (1972) the *Daily Telegraph* headline read: "Day of Terror by Scooter Groups" (p.24). Whereas the *Daily Express* headline read: "Youngsters Beat Up Town- 97 Leather Jackets Arrested" (Cohen, 1972, p.25). These distorted and emotionally driven headlines resulted in the citizens of Clacton fearing youths. The emotionally evoked headlines allowed the media to construct the Mods and Rockers as the folk devils. Cohen (1972) defines folk devils as being "...social types that serve as visible reminders of what we should not be" (p.10). What Cohen (1972) is referring to is that individuals should not allow themselves to be viewed as being bringers of wrong doings, evil, or villainous.

Similar to the process of constructing individuals or groups of individuals as villains, claims-makers also use the same process to construct *people* as being victims. Returning to the Mods and Rockers example, the shop owners and others who suffered social harm from the events were constructed as victims (Cohen, 1972, p. 18). Loseke (2008) suggests that the identification of villains and victims allows claims-makers to acquire media attention. In addition to raising public awareness claims-makers are also able to use the media as a tool to lobby for change.

As Cohen (1972) notes, fear and pandemonium was created through the various sensationalized headlines. Moreover, the involvement by the media headlines resulted in amplifying the deviance that took place in Clacton. The amplification of deviance was a direct result of the media exaggerating the seriousness of the events (Cohen, 1972, p.196). For Cohen (1972) the amplification of deviance by the media, resulted in the citizen of Clacton to lobby and pressure both law enforcement officials and politicians to enact legislation to prevent such an event from occurring in the future (p.18). In sum, a claims-makers success in constructing conditions and people using the media leads to creating an amplified societal reaction. This amplified moral panic results in the development of new policies and legislations that will address the social problem and re-establish social order.

From Social Problems to Moral Panic: Ownership and Application in the Media

Claims discussing moral threats in the moral panic literature contain similarities to the claims made by claims-makers within the social problems literature. Social constructionists seek to identify how putative conditions are identified, defined, framed, explained, and presented to

the audience (Best, 1995; Loseke 2008). Moral panics, like social problems, involve a process that is dependent on the construction of conditions that produce a societal reaction. Similar to social problems, moral panics are dependent on the putative conditions or threats to societal values (Altheide, 2009). Young (2007) states, "...you cannot have a moral panic unless there is something morally to panic about, although it may not be the actual object of fear but the displacement of another fear, or, more frequently, a mystification of the true threat of the actual object of dismay" (p. 60). Simply put, in order for a social problem to become a moral panic, an individual or a group of individuals' actions and/or behaviours need to violate the social or gendered norms.

Despite moral panics exemplifying one dimension of social problems work and process, for Best (1995), what separates moral panics from social problems work is determined in the length of these panics. Moral panics are often ownerless, short lived, media-centered episodes about societal moral threats that may eventually gain ownership within the social problems industry (Altheide, 2009; Best, 2011, Critcher, 2008; Goode & Ben Yehuda, 2009). Garland (2008) further supports this view by stating, "...moral panics come in a variety of shapes and sizes... [they] vary in intensity, duration and social impact, some are minor, transient episodes, leaving little trace behind" (p. 13). This is exemplified through news reports and media attention regarding crime wave patterns and criminality (Fisham, 1978). Thus, as the months progress and there is a lack of social remedy attributed to the issue people lose interest of the perceived threat and draw their attention to new matters in the media (Altheide, 2009; Cree et al., 2016; Goode & BenYehuda, 1994). This was best captured in Cohen's (1972) study of the Mods and Rockers. Once the media had sensationalized the events that took place, as the months progressed, the citizens of Clacton moved on and forgot about the violent events (Cohen, 1972, p.198).

Social problems, on the other hand, involve ownership from individuals or groups of individuals lobbying for the issue (Gusfield, 1981). This is done by lobbyist pressuring politicians/ policymakers and by continually raising public attention to the movement as the influential voice demanding action. Thus, the length of time taken for claims-makers to construct conditions and frame a social problem can be lengthy. This lengthy process requires ownership from lobbyists. According to Loseke (2003) lobbyists, are individuals who take responsibility for continually pressuring politicians and policy makers on the issue or social problem (Gusfield, 1981). The similarity between social problems and the moral panic's literature provides a multidimensional understanding of social problems work. It creates a pivotal starting point to understanding how the media is used as a dual social resource that draws awareness to claims and issues. In addition it also acts as a pressuring body for policymakers to publicly address deviant behaviours in the media. The following section will examine further the use of the media as a dual social resource in portraying female criminality in popular culture.

The Rise of Celebrity Culture: Popular Culture, the Media, and Female Criminality as a Social Problem

The development of new technologies used by the mass media has contributed to the public's fascination with Hollywood celebrities. Turner (2004) identifies how this fascination with celebrities has contributed to the creation of new identities in popular culture (p.5). For the purposes of this study, when referring to popular culture, I will be referring to the shared meanings that can either take the form of an individual, word or phrase, and/or an object (Fiske, 1989, p. 2). Simply put, *popular culture* refers to a movement that has garnered common fascination by a majority of the population. An example of this is evident through the various

fashion fads such as the fanny pack that defined the 1980s and 1990s dress apparel. According to Prieto- Arranz (2012) another example of a popular culture trend or product that garnered public fascination was Madonna, the 1980s music icon. Lastly, the changes that occurred in popular culture have created several trends along with enhancing the public's fascination with specific groups such as Hollywood celebrities.

Celebrity Culture: An Imagined Community

As Dyer (1998, 1979) notes, celebrity culture and the celebrity industry has garnered public fascination. Ferris (2007) echoes this fascination by arguing that being a celebrity simply means that these individuals have been successful in manifesting their image to the masses. Being a celebrity in this instance refers to an individual's ability to successfully market and expose themselves and their lives to the public for mass consumption. In other words, the over exposure of celebrities in a celebrity obsessed culture has resulted in these individuals to become a commodity within the industry (Ferris, 2007).

Additionally, the over exposure of celebrities in the media has created a new relationship amongst the audience and their attachments to these individuals and their characters (Aguar & Schneider, 2012). Anderson (1983) refers to this attachment as an imagined community where members, such as the general public, perceive celebrities as being their next-door neighbours (p.49). An imagined community is best understood as a socially constructed community where an individual's over exposure to celebrity media has created a false sense of reality (Giles, 2000; Rubin & McHugh, 1987). As Turner (2004) notes, the audience's attachment to these individuals and their on screen characters has caused a cultural shift to take place within society (Turner, 2004, p. 5). In particular, the advancements of camera equipment and the accessibility of real

time updates via social media has expanded and facilitated this allure of celebrities to include their private lives and the lives of their offspring (Beer and Penfold-Mounce, 2010; Klapp, 1969; Nayar, 2009; Penfold-Mounce, 2009; Turner, 2004).

Constructing Female Criminality and Deviance in the Media

As previously noted, both the social problems and criminological literature contain many overlapping similarities particularly when the media is involved. The selective news reporting by the media has created a new platform of interest to researchers due to the media ability to construct and influence the audiences' opinions surrounding deviance and criminality (Best & Harris, 2013; Evans, 2012; Greener, 2007). Upon examination of the literature, it became clear that there is a plethora of literature discussing the portrayal of male, female, and youth criminality. However, one area that lacks academic study involves the construction of adolescent Disney female celebrities as being deviant. While research does exist on celebrity deviance it focuses primarily on the deviant transgressions of A List celebrities, such as Angelina Jolie or Mark Wahlberg and others (*See Cashmore, 2006; Holmes & Redmond, 2006*). In what follows, I briefly discuss the research available on the portrayal of female offenders as well as celebrities' deviant transgressions in the media. I then conclude by examining the new social problem that has risen due to the media construction of emerging female Disney celebrities' deviant transgressions.

The Female Offender and the Media

Chesney-Lind, Morash & Irwin (2010) argue that gender disparities in criminal behaviour have resulted in more attention to female violence and aggression in the media (p.110). According to Self (2012) the rise of these gender disparities coincide with the 1960's feminist movement for women's equal rights. Meloy and Miller (2009) argue that the traditional patriarchal system of gender roles and norms of masculinity and femininity continue to dictate the acceptable and unacceptable behaviours and portrayals of criminality in the media (p. 220). It has been argued that traditional ideas concerning gender norms have influenced the ways in which female offenders are either punished or are shown leniency (Farr, 2000). These traditional values of masculinity and femininity are in turn re-enforced within the media and its portrayals of male and female offenders. Snider (2003) argues that female offenders are viewed as being both deviants and monsters. Since their deviant behaviours violates both a strong held norm as well as the law, one being traditional forms of femininity and the other is breaking the law. Female offenders who break gender roles, in particular, feminine conduct and the law are viewed as being "doubly deviant" (Jones, 2008). Edwards (1984) defines doubly deviant as being "...[w]omen defendants [who] are on trial both for their legal infractions and for their defiance of appropriate femininity and gender roles (p.216).

An example of a female offender being portrayed in the media as being "doubly deviant" is evident through the case involving Maxine Carr and Ian Huntley and the death of two Soham school girls (Evans, 2012). Although Maxine never committed the crimes, it was the action of defending her boyfriend, Ian Huntley, who committed the crimes that led to the media portraying her as being "doubly deviant" (Evans, 2012, p.9). Another example of a female offender being

portrayed as being “doubly deviant” is evident through the media portrayals of the Casey Anthony trial. In which Casey Anthony was constructed in the media as being a mother who enjoyed clubbing every weekend while she left her daughter Caylee in the care of her grandparents. About a month later, Casey Anthony reported her daughter Caylee missing to the authorities. Who inspected Casey’s car and found signs of human remains. Ultimately, the death of Caylee resulted in Casey Anthony being charged with child neglect (Battaglia, 2012). In this example it becomes clear that Casey Anthony has been constructed as being “doubly deviant” as a result of her lac of nurturing qualities an for her legal infractions.

Western society sensationalizes female offenders and uses the media as a dual social resource to construct these women as being deviant and to also symbolically punish their transgressions (Chesney- Lind, 2010; Crowther-Dowey, 2008; DeKeseredy, 2010; Evans, 2012; Jeweks, 2004). Lastly, the media attention that arises from female offenders creates a social response within the general public that results in both condemning and scrutinizing the behaviour of women. Although this condemnation leads to claims-makers pushing for the control of female behaviours, in the next section, I will identify how female celebrities' condemnation of deviant transgressions is simply the nature of celebrity culture (Cashmore, 2006).

Female Celebrity Deviance

As previously discussed, the public’s superficial fascination with fame and Hollywood celebrities has created a false sense of reality (Giles, 2000; Rubin & McHugh, 1987). The use of traditional forms of media in combination with the growing social media outlets has facilitated an “around the clock” scrutiny of both famous and infamous women then their criminal behaviors, and deviant transgressions. Indeed, public interest in all aspects of their lives

particularly the media intrusions into their holidays, shopping trips, pursue of plastic surgery, romances, weddings and deaths populate numerous websites and weekly magazines. In particular Cashmore's (2000) study examines how celebrity lives thrive on scandals, yet when they are found innocent or show remorse for their deviant transgressions, the public's response is dependent on the deviants' gender with females being condemned more harshly than males (Chesney-Lind & Jones, 201; Evans, 2012).

As Jewkes (2011) states "... [w]hether [celebrities] are victims or perpetrators of a crime, ... their lives, and their experiences are deemed intrinsically interesting to the audience" (p.53). Public interests peaks when a celebrity becomes constructed in the media as being either a victim or the perpetrator of a crime. Specifically, the audience becomes fascinated and captivated as to how the celebrity's problems will be resolved in accordance with the dominant social norms (McDonnell, 2014).

In contrast to a member of the general public, a celebrity's status often bypasses the normative socio-cultural attitudes and practices, how celebrities' deviant transgressions are constructed in the media does not bare resemblance to the way in which the general public's deviant transgressions are constructed. This is best exemplified through Farr's (2000) study of thirty-five non-celebrity women on death row. She states, "... [t]hese offenders are depicted as manly and man-hating women" (p.49). Whereas, female celebrities who have committed deviant transgressions, are portrayed in the media as being victims of bad influences (Cashmore, 2000; McDonnell, 2014).

The differences regarding the construction of deviant events between celebrities and members of the general public produces inequalities in the societal responses to social problems. An example of this occurred in 2007 when Paris Hilton, a hotel heiress and reality TV star, was

incarcerated for violating her parole. Due to her celebrity status, Paris Hilton only spent forty-five days in prison. However, if a member of the general public committed the same offence, they would be forced to serve a greater sentence (Jewkes, 2011; Penfold-Mounce, 2009).

Nevertheless, in a pop culture obsessed society, claims-makers are able to create a new public dependency on celebrity scandals. As Barak (1994) points out “...it is a sexually deviant act [that] is an enduring feature of news... for an audience who it is assumed, lead[s][a] conventional and law abiding [life]” (p.194). A celebrity that is engaged in a sexualized scandal will garner more interest and by default media attention. Janet Jackson (the late Michael Jackson’s younger sister) 2004 *Super Bowl* halftime show is an excellent example, of a female celebrity who’s been plagued in the media by a sexualized scandal. The media attention and the public’s fascination with the event caused a nationwide moral panic wherein Janet Jackson was condemned for the sexualized scandal. Specifically, the media condemned Janet Jackson for the exposure of her breast during a nationwide televised family appropriate broadcast. Ironically, Justin Timberlake who removed part of the costume that revealed Janet Jackson’s breast was not condemned for his actions. Lastly, the fascination of female celebrities’ deviant transgressions has resulted in creating a cultural shift within the media and popular culture.

The Cultural Shift: Constructing Emerging Celebrities in the Media

Coincidentally, this cultural shift and fixation has directed its interest to a new emerging group of young female celebrities, referred to as Disney celebrities. For present purposes, a “*Disney celebrity*” refers to an individual who has gained fame through the careful planning of activities and identities with Walt Disney productions, to be reproduced to a large audience (Boornstin, 1972).

In light of their constructed image as an emerging actress, these young stars struggle with the ability to participate in “normal” activities (i.e., going to a late night movie with friends). As a result, these actresses are unable to participate in pre-adolescent activities (i.e., dating) without the media criticizing their actions or behaviours. Read (2011) suggests the obstacles young actresses face in finding their own personal identities within the industry and being unable to participate in “normal” behaviours, resembles the everyday obstacles faced by young school girls. Read (2011) argues that young girls and their peers are able to construct a set of meanings and values that pertain to a group in which they have acquired membership and must only associate with those within the same group. An example of this is illustrated through a small cluster of young girls referred to as “popular” girls by their peers. These popular girls are in a position of power and prestige that has the ability to influence their peers’ behaviours. To maintain such an influence amongst their peers, they often associate and interact with other popular girls, who share commonalities in their experiences.

Similar to popular girls, female celebrities are constrained by their celebrity status and must adhere to associating with peers within the industry. This association will enable the individual to reinforce their celebrity image amongst their peers and with the public. Alder et al., (1992) suggests that by associating with peers who hold the same status, such as celebrity or popular status, young females are able to construct meanings, values, and roles that will influence their future behaviour as adults. The association with individuals of the same status serves as a societal or social control function of ensuring that individuals adhere to the appropriate and acceptable social behaviours of young female celebrities. Ringrose, (2006) identifies this phenomenon as the *universalization of discourse*, which is responsible for the construction of a new normality or form of identifying and classifying female status and

behaviours. For example, as young girls become of age, they begin to participate in “reckless or rebellious behaviour/transgressions”. According to Jarvie (1972), rebellious behaviors are common traits attributed to adolescents and are part of adolescents’ understandings of themselves and their place in the world. However, when actresses deviate from their constructed “Madonna” like image and begin to display “whore” like behaviours and transgressions, claims-makers, such as the media, construct and frame these actresses using the problem frame (Altheide, 1997).

According to Altheide (1997), the problem frame is a “... pervasive communication, symbolic awareness and expectation that danger and risk are a center feature” (p. 648). The use of the problem frame enables the media to disseminate information in such a manner that evokes an emotional response. This emotional response is responsible for producing societal panic and fear towards the deviant transgressions of female celebrities. For Epstein and Steinberg (2007), the excessive media coverage and obsessive culture surrounding deviant celebrity behaviour is attributed to the “...collisions of the complex machineries of international celebrity scandal with institutions of policing, legal and court practices” (p. 443). In specific, in a culture that becomes inundated with celebrity scandals and deviant transgressions leads to parents and social control agencies to become concerned with the well-being of young females’ behaviours. In particular, parents become concerned with the lack of integrity and positive role models that are either non-existent or scarce. To address the social problem of celebrity deviance portrayals in the media social control agencies begin to pressure lawmakers to address this social problem (Loseke, 2003). Lastly, these pressures on lawmakers by claims-makers and social control agencies will result in restoring the structural and functional social order.

In sum, in this chapter, I have discussed how the media constructs gender norms and gender roles and how these norms serve as social control mechanisms. The examination of the social constructionist literature provided an overview of the multifaceted social problems process. In particular, this chapter has created a foundational starting point into identifying and classifying media constructions of female deviance. In the following chapter, I will present the methods used to carry out this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I first introduce the research questions and objectives of the study. Secondly, I identify the theoretical and methodological approaches utilized to select and collect the data. I then outline how initial coding, focused coding, mind mapping, and memoing were used to analyze the data. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the limitations and challenges faced during the research process.

Research Goals and Questions

The purpose of this study was to provide a qualitative analysis of the narratives of female Disney celebrities in mainstream media. Adopting a constructivist grounded theory approach, I examined how these cultural narratives construct social boundaries and female deviance (Charmaz, 2006). Specifically I sought to answer two research questions:

- a) How does the media construct boundaries outlining the appropriate/inappropriate behaviours of young women
- b) What are the broader social problems arising from the media construction of youth deviance?

These questions are important to gain a better understanding of the types of narratives being constructed in the media and how these narratives influence the behavior of female youths.

Research Methods

In order to conduct a study that connects the media, popular culture, and society it is essential to keep in mind that varying interpretations and meanings are made by the audience. Often these interpretations are made due to the reader's continual exposure to a news article and/or viewing an image associated with the article (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p.7). In other words, the way in which news stories are formulated and presented in the media results in the existence of pre-existing biases for the viewer. According to Altheide (1997), it is these pre-existing biases that later become distorted by the audience's attempts to understand the described social problem or issue through their limited daily exposure. An example of this is evident when individuals listen to the radio at work or read a newspaper during breakfast; they become exposed to social problems/issues that may be occurring. This exposure could continue throughout the day, with a coworker or friend potentially mentioning the issue/problem again. Additionally, they may observe more details while watching their television, exposing them to more information regarding the issue or social problem. Thus, due to their exposure to the issue or social problem, they have already developed multiple biases based on the multiple sources it was mentioned in. This becomes problematic since; the information presented by the media is often bias and repetitive (depending on the media source and its sister branches) of what has been already presented from the original source. Therefore, the individual formulates a fragmented understanding of the social problem/issue.

In order to understand how media constructs and portrays Disney actresses an ethnographic content analysis (ECA) and constructivist grounded theorizing was employed. Altheide and Schneider (2013) define ECA as being, "...oriented to check and supplement as well as supplant prior theoretical claims... [with an] emphasis on simultaneously obtaining

categorical and unique data for every case studied to develop analytical constructs appropriate to several investigations” (p.26). In other words, previous theoretical insights will be replaced to ensure the collected data captures the broader cultural context of the social problems/issues surrounding Disney female celebrities. Although a content analysis is often associated with quantitative research, ECA is more qualitative in nature due to its systematic coding and categorization of the data (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Additionally, ECA aims to identify the similarities/ differences embedded in the data, in order to understand how cultural aspects are incorporated/presented through mass media communication (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Through the use of ECA, I was able to fully immerse myself in the data to not only conduct a thematic analysis of the cultural narratives, but to also uncover the broader social problems embedded within these narratives.

Sample Population

In order to conduct this study, the top three current newsworthy Disney female celebrities in 2013 were chosen: Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan. These three celebrities were chosen using unobtrusive measures, defined by van den Hoonaard (2012) as “...ways of amassing data without interacting with research participants” (p.95). To gain familiarity with the top current Disney actresses, I spent one month watching popular Disney programming such as Hannah Montana Forever and Wizards of Waverly Place and featured Disney movies containing female actresses as the main protagonists a couple hours per week. In doing this I was able to compile a list of twenty potential actresses of interest for this study.

Once I became familiar with their Disney personas, I cross-referenced their names and frequency of appearances in popular tabloid/gossip magazines such as *People Weekly*, *Us Weekly*, and *The Star*. After four months (January to April 2013) of exposure to these magazines,

a protocol to narrow down the number of celebrities was constructed which consisted of the following criterion:

- (a) The individual had to begin their career with Disney,
- (b) In 2013 the individual was mid to late twenty years old,
- (c) The individual was both an actress and singer,
- (d) The individual had established their reputation and are well known;
- (e) The individual transitioned into non-Disney operated enterprises,
- (f) The individual received both negative/positive media attention throughout their career, and
- (g) The individual was current and producing content in 2013.

Based on the above criteria, three celebrities were identified: Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan.

Primary Media Data Collection

Newspapers

Newspaper data was collected from a sample of eight newspapers: *The New-York Times*, *The New York Daily*, *The New York Post*, *The Washington Post*, *24 Hours*, *The Hamilton Spectator*, *The Toronto Star*, and *The Toronto Sun*. These newspapers were carefully selected upon reviewing a list of the top 100 newspapers in North America, with an emphasis placed on Canada and the United States of America (US).

Upon further examination of the top 100 newspapers in North America, it became evident that both Canadian and the US newspapers classify their newspapers differently. For example, Canadian newspapers are classified in accordance to their respective provinces, whereas American newspapers are classified based on the number of issues they have in circulation. As such, the list of 100 US newspapers was reduced to a list of top ten newspapers with the highest

circulation rate. A list of Canadian newspapers was chosen based on the number of broadsheet/tabloid newspapers found in a specific province. Upon reviewing the list of broadsheet/tabloid newspapers, it became apparent that Ontario, and more specifically the greater Toronto area, contained a large number of broadsheet/tabloid newspapers. To reduce the list, the top ten Ontario newspapers with the highest circulation rate were included.

Despite the geographical differences between the two countries, the chosen newspaper sample was selected based on meeting the following nine criteria:

- (a) The newspaper circulated daily including on the weekend or had a weekend edition.
- (b) The format of the newspaper was broadsheet, tabloid or a hybrid of both styles.
- (c) The newspapers had a high readership level.
- (d) The content of the newspaper contained celebrity gossip or a popular culture entertainment section.
- (e) Was written in both countries official languages English or French.
- (f) Contained photos with their accompanying news stories either in black/white or colour.
- (g) Was listed in the top ten lists of newspapers for in their chosen geographical regions.
- (h) The newspapers were accessible via print and/or Internet access.
- (i) The news story had to be more than one paragraph in length.

To maintain consistency and ensure newspaper coverage from both countries was selected for this study, the top ten list was privy to an additional selection criteria. This additional criterion consisted of ensuring there were no duplicates in media ownership. This resulted in further reducing the list to the top four newspapers. Consequently, the lack of variety in media ownership in Canada led to the sample of Canadian newspapers to consist of similar media ownership. To overcome any biases in the data, the top newspapers from the greater Toronto area were used. This allowed both countries to have equal representation of four different newspapers for a grand total of eight newspapers (*The New-York Times*, *The New York Daily*,

The New York Post, The Washington Post, 24 Hours, The Hamilton Spectator, The Toronto Star, and The Toronto Sun).

To collect the newspapers for this project an online database *Factivia* was used. To ensure that relevant data was collected on the three chosen celebrities, Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan the search results were subjected to the following restrictions: (1) Contained the celebrities names, (2) The name of the eight newspapers, (3) News stories could be written in both English or French, (4) the data was from January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2013 only, and (5) no collection of duplicate newspapers.¹

A newspaper protocol sheet for data that mentioned Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan was constructed (see Appendix A). This protocol included a case number, incrementing from one, which was assigned per newspaper, the newspaper name (*The New-York Times, The New York Daily, The New York Post, The Washington Post, 24 Hours, The Hamilton Spectator, The Toronto Star, and The Toronto Sun*)², article headline, month, day, the name of the author(s) (when applicable); section (i.e. Entertainment, Opinion, etc.), page number/range, language (English or French), name of the publisher, article word count, and the inclusion of a photograph. To aid in the recollection of the data at a later date, a category labeled “miscellaneous” was created to provide a brief summary of the article, relevant quotes/insights and a URL address to refer to any online content not present in the article. To ensure that topic relevant data was captured in the articles selected, a manual secondary data collection methodology was employed.

¹ Newspapers titles were often duplicated as a result of real time updates and corrections of misspelled names etc.

² To save space in the coding sheet, the acronyms of each of the sample newspapers were used in this study.

Secondary Media Data Collection

Newspapers

Amongst the eight newspapers pertaining to the three celebrities, a total of 2,278 non-duplicate articles were collected. Upon review of the 2,278, it became evident that there were some irrelevant articles that did not meet the inclusion criteria. As a result, the data sample was reduced to 225 articles; tables 1 to 3 provide a descriptive breakdown of the total numbers of articles collected per celebrity and per newspaper.

Table 1 Miley Cyrus Newspaper Data Collection Descriptive Summary

Miley Cyrus Newspaper Data Collection Descriptive Summary		
Newspaper Name	Duplicates	Without Duplicates
24	120	71
HS	179	122
NYD	152	149
NYP	134	134
NYT	209	146
T*	156	135
TS	110	109
WP	276	214
Grand Total	1336	1080

*Note: * means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 9/28/2013- 10/9/2013 time period, ** means no means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 10/10- 12/20/2013 time period, and + means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 12/21/2013- 12/31/2013 time period.*

Table 2 Selena Gomez Newspaper Data Collection Descriptive Summary

Selena Gomez Newspaper Data Collection Descriptive Summary		
Newspaper Name	Duplicates	Without Duplicates
24	83 [*]	39 [*]
HS	65 [*]	59 [*]
NYD	72	71
NYP	45 ^{**}	44 ^{**}
NYT	81 [*]	81 [*]
T [*]	59 ⁺	54 ⁺
TS	46 ^{*+}	45 ^{*+}
WP	95	65
Grand Total	546	458

Note: ^{} means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 9/28/2013- 10/9/2013 time period, ^{**} means no means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 10/10- 12/20/2013 time period, and ⁺ means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 12/21/2013- 12/31/2013 time period.*

Table 3 Lindsay Lohan Newspaper Data Collection Descriptive Summary

Lindsay Lohan Newspaper Data Collection Descriptive Summary		
Newspaper Name	Duplicates	Without Duplicates
24	115 [*]	61 [*]
HS	85 [*]	80 [*]
NYD	190	144
NYP	161 ⁺	137 ⁺
NYT	169 [*]	97 [*]
T [*]	85 ⁺	78 ⁺
TS	50 ^{*+}	50 ^{*+}
WP	117	93
Grand Total	972	740

Note: ^{} means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 9/28/2013- 10/9/2013 time period, ^{**} means no means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 10/10- 12/20/2013 time period, and ⁺ means no news worthy data was reported or found for the 12/21/2013- 12/31/2013 time period.*

In addition, photographic images of the three celebrities found in the news articles were incorporated into the study. These photographs are essential to further understand how narratives

are presented in the media. Photographs of celebrities that were part of newspaper stories were selected based on the following: (a) The image(s) portrayed the selected Disney celebrities, (b) The images were not repetitive to other images collected, and (c) The images were intertwined into the news story and not an image with a one sentence caption.

Data Analysis: Employing Reconstructed Grounded Theory

In keeping with a constructivist grounded theory approach, I engaged in initial and focused coding on the collected newspaper and magazine photographs (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). First, I carefully read and re-read the collected newspaper stories and used initial coding to stick closely to the data. Charmaz (2006) describes initial coding as the process in which the researcher uses speed to "quickly code the data using a word that captures the phenomenon and identify themes" (p.48). I used line-by-line coding to crystalize and explicate the meanings and significance of the data. According to Charmaz (2006), using a line-by-line coding "reduce[s] the likelihood that the researcher will superimpose their preconceived notions of the data" (p.51). From this initial coding I identified a number of relevant themes / insights, such as: self-mocking, medicalization of deviance, poor parenting, Lolita, and sexual scripting. During the initial coding stage, I used memo writing as an analytical device to identify any premature glimpses of narratives, themes, and preliminary ideas found in the data, thus allowing me to capture any preliminary thought processes of potential categories for a later date (Charmaz, 2006).

Once I had established a strong analytical direction with my data, I moved into focused coding to sift through my earlier codes and synthesize my data (Charmaz, 2006). In addition, I was able to decide which initial codes were pertinent and exclusively identified the emerging

phenomena in the data. From this coding, I identified a total number of twelve codes such as: Girls gone wild, disregard of authority, and moral condemnation. To aid in focus coding and to assist with data organization I used NVivo 10 qualitative data analysis software. Altheide and Schneider (2013) suggest ECA data analysis should utilize a coding program, such as NVivo 10 when conducting a content analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p.68). Using Nvivo10 facilitated the analysis process because it enabled me to organize, sort, and search through the data sets with ease.

Concept Mapping and Analytical Memoing

To aid in my theorizing, I employed concept mapping and advanced analytical memoing. In **Figure 1**, I illustrate how concept mapping assists in pulling out the themes and making sense of the meanings found within the narratives.

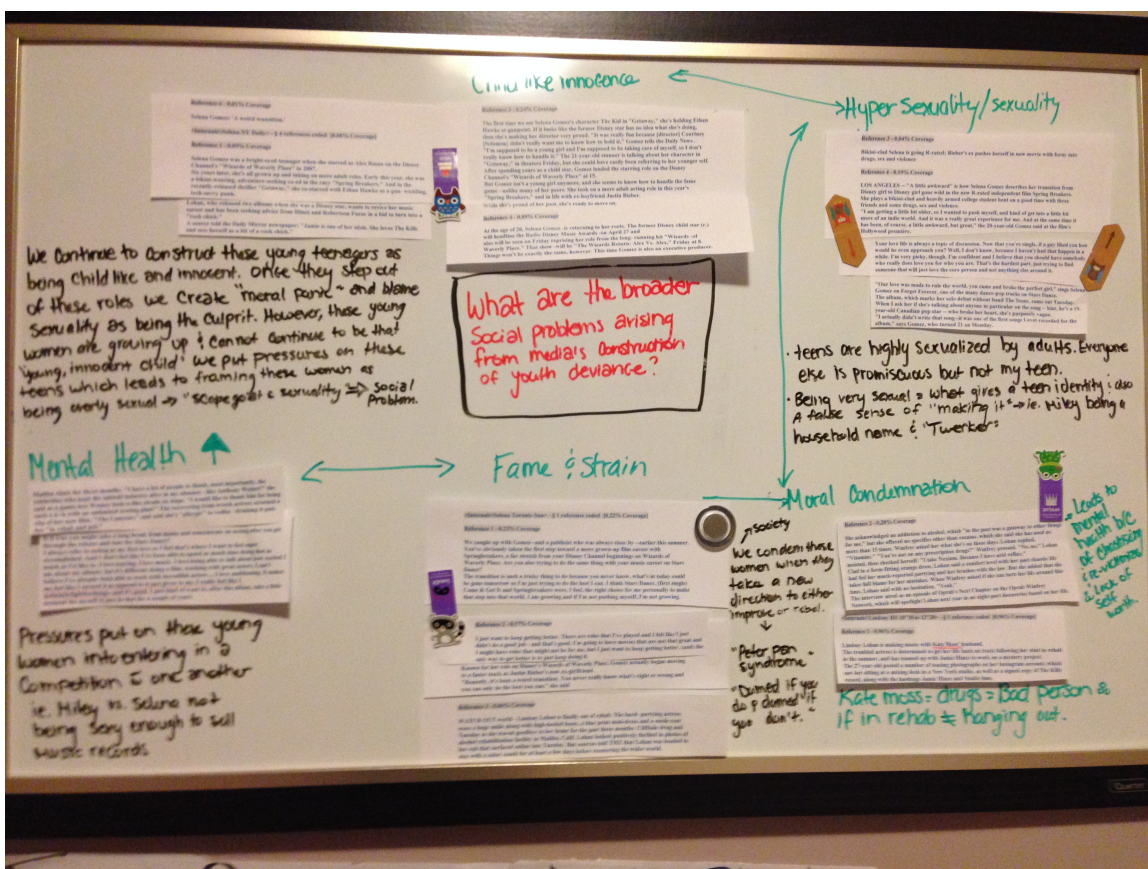


Figure 1. An example of mind mapping codes and analyzing the data.

The advantage of using a concept map is that it allowed for a visual representation of the themes and identified the relationships between the themes. Additionally, the concept map illustrated in **Figure 1** assisted in visually organizing the analysis and narratives found within the data.

Lastly I engaged in analytical memo writing. According to Charmaz (2006) analytical memos allows the researcher to "...become actively engaged in the data...further develop ideas, and to fine tune subsequent data gathering" (p. 72). Therefore by writing memos at every stage of the data analysis, I was able to compare the use of news stories and pictures, explicate, and even form new theoretical analysis. Analytical memos enabled me to move beyond analysis towards theorizing. Memos were used to reach theoretical saturation, a point in the analysis in which no new theoretical insights in the data emerged/developed (Charmaz, 2006). By adopting a constructivist grounded theory, I was able to immerse myself into the data in order to fully explicate the types of narratives and meanings associated with Disney celebrities and their images in the media.

Challenges and Limitations

Through the research design process, I became aware of the extent through which my identity as a member of society dictated the interest of my topic, data, and research process. Living in the same time as the events occurring in my data, I struggled to compartmentalize my role as a researcher and general member of society from pre-maturely analyzing the data or inflicting personal biases onto the data. However, I argue, like Charmaz, that separating oneself from personal biases is both unrealistic and counter intuitive to conducting research (Charmaz, 2006). It is these preconceptions that influence the research design and process. As van den

Hoonard (2012) states, "... [e]veryone has preconceptions...our research will be better if we can identify our biases and take them into account" (p.25).

After taking my personal biases of these celebrities' behaviours into account and moving forward with the research design, I noticed that there were several methodological obstacles that needed to be overcome. Early on in the design of the project, I proposed that the best way to understand the narratives and transgressions of these Disney celebrities would be to conduct a longitudinal study. This study would map out the Disney celebrities' career trajectories from 2009 to 2013, and examine how race, class, and ethnicity played a role in a celebrities' ability to transition into Hollywood. Therefore, I proposed to examine five celebrities' (Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, Vanessa Hudgens, Demeteria "Demi" Lavato, Lindsay Lohan, and Raven-Symoné Christina Pearman) from different ethnic backgrounds to represent each nationality. Consequently, by immersing myself in the data, I was able to see various weaknesses in my methodology. For starters, there was a large age gap between the chosen celebrities. As a result, these gaps would result in my data being inconsistent. Secondly, out of the five celebrities only four were currently active in the media. Lastly, the five celebrities did not have a thematic link to one another, i.e. Demi suffered from mental illness, while rumors of Raven's sexuality resulted in a temporary importance until she revealed her sexual preference and support for same sex marriage. As a result, I had to devise a strict, selective protocol to determine my sample population.

A major obstacle became apparent during the data collection process. During this process, I was made aware that magazine companies did not maintain copies of their back dated issues.³ Nor did they provide subscribed members access to back cataloged content despite

³ This change was recently made to their system as a result of a new initiative in becoming digitalized.

having a subscription since 1999. To overcome this obstacle I shortened the time period to two years from 2012-2013. In light of this new direction I proceeded to look for backdated copies in my local library's database and found that they did provide access from 2012-2013.

Consequently, after returning from the local and surrounding libraries, I was told that they only keep magazine records for six months due to many being accessible online.⁴

Conversely, I was told that I would only have access to digital copies from the starting date that I registered my library card into their online database. Due to these methodological setbacks and concerns regarding reaching data saturation (in which no new properties or themes emerge from the data collected) I reduced the time period to focus my study on one year (January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2013) (Charmaz, 2006, pg.96). I also chose to discard tabloid/gossip magazines as a data source and focus on newspapers and images presented in the articles because these images provide symbolic messages intertwined with the text (Danesi, 2004).

Subsequently, upon fully immersing myself in the new data collection process, I noticed that not every celebrity, (after narrowing it down to three) was given equal news coverage. To address this concern, I waited until I had finished collecting data to get a firm sense of the number of months certain celebrities did not have data. It became apparent that there was no coverage reported in one of the eight chosen newspapers; but there was usable data in the remaining newspapers.

The last issue that I encountered involved the ability to print out my coded data from Nvivo. When I first printed out my Nvivo coded data, I noticed that one of my newspapers printed out corrupted symbols. This led me to believe that all my data had been corrupted. I immediately shut down and re-opened Nvivo and saw that my dataset was not corrupted. To

⁴ This initiative started in January 2013, in which all previous issues were first discarded from annex and collections in the libraries.

solve this issue I proceeded to take screenshots of the data, paste it into paint, extract the image, and then import it into a separate word file. Using this technique, I was able to successfully proceed to the next stage of my study. In the following chapters, I present the two major themes that emerged from this research.

Chapter 4: Regulating and Controlling Female Disney Celebrities' Behaviours

This chapter will be divided into four sections. I begin the chapter by briefly outlining the theory and literature regarding gender norms (Schur, 1984) and gender roles (Coleman, 1992; Doyle, 1985). I then identify how the Disney narrative is used to construct both the characters and the real-world personas of Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan as “wholesome good girls”. As previously stated in Chapter two, the term “wholesome good girl” refers to innocent, naïve children. Next, using Miley Cyrus as an example, I illustrate how puberty becomes a corrupting agent for these actresses’ Disney narratives and careers. For the purposes of this thesis, a “corrupting agent” refers to the media attention and narrative constructions surrounding the transgressions and behaviours enacted by female Disney celebrities. I then focus on the way Disney celebrities’ frame their transitional narratives to achieve media and public acceptance. I conclude the chapter by analyzing media claims-making of these incidents to illustrate how the media constructs these stars as “good girls gone wild” (Chesney-Lind & Jones, 2010). From this analysis, I illustrate how the media, as claims-makers, construct female deviance and act as social control agents.

Understanding Gender Norms, Gender Roles, Social Control, and Female Deviance

Prior to discussing Disney actresses’ narratives and transgressions in great detail, it is important to reiterate the differences between two concepts: gender roles and gender norms. Gender roles are the social constructs required in the identification of one’s biological membership as being either female or male (Garfinkels, 1967; Schur, 1984; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender norms, on the other hand, are the prescriptive guidelines that detail the unacceptable and acceptable behaviours in accordance to an individual’s gender role. An example of a gender role is a woman’s biological ability to become a child bearer or a wet nurse (Schur, 1984). An example of a gender norm is a nurturing and maternal woman

(Pfohl, 1977). These concepts are fundamental to understanding how the media serves as a social control agent that uses gender roles and norms for identifying and reinforcing acceptable female behaviours.

As previously discussed in Chapter Two, various studies have identified how societal institutions, legislation, and restrictions prevent female opportunities, aspirations, recognition, and rewards (Henley & Freeman, 1979; Schur, 1984). These dominant practices are best captured in the Henley and Freeman (1979) quote:

[s]ocial interaction is the battlefield where the daily war between the sexes is fought. It is here that women are constantly reminded where their 'place' is and that they are put back in their place, should they ever venture out (p. 474).

In other words, women who step outside their feminine gender roles and engage in masculine behaviour (e.g., dry humping a fellow dancer during a concert/ performance) will be publicly ostracized and punished for stepping beyond the dominantly accepted gender norms.

To ensure societal compliance with gender norms, social control agents, such as the media, reiterate and exemplify acceptable conduct through high profile celebrity role models. Consequently, the construction and representation of female Disney celebrities' violations of prescribed gender norms in the media contributes to the devaluation and objectification of women (Burgess, 1955; Gies, 2011; Giles, 2000; Himelhoch & Fava, 1955; Males, 2010; McDonnell, 2014; Rojek, 2001; Schur, 1984). According to Rojek (2001) the devaluation and objectification of women's misbehaviour leads to a targeting of female celebrities that involves putative media commentary, condemnation, and surveillance (p. 174). Excerpts by media commentators found in my own data indicate that women displaying masculine behaviours become constructed and highlighted as being deviant. This is best captured through Stedran (2013) quote from the *Toronto Sun*, wherein he describes Miley's behaviour during the *MTV Video Music Awards Performance* as being a "...desperate ...shallow fame addict ... [and a]

...bad role model...” (p. Entertainment, 41). As I demonstrate below, such media constructions become a form of social control as they work to reinforce acceptable and unacceptable behavior for young women. In the following section, I examine how the “wholesome good girl” narrative is used to construct both the Disney characters and real life personas of Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan.

Pre-pubescent Girls to Wholesome Girls: Constructing the Disney Celebrity

The Disney Brand: The Wholesome Naïveté Archetype

Walt Disney's brand expansion to produce appropriate content for pre-teens, teens, and the family resulted in the creation of the *Disney Channel* (Batey, 2008). To guarantee its success in presenting content to its selected audience, Disney producers developed unique sitcoms and original movies for the *Disney Channel*. To increase viewership, some scholars have argued that Disney has employed archetypal narratives of wholesome naïveté (Batey, 2008; Magid, 2009). Batey (2008) defines the Disney archetypal narrative of wholesome naïveté as “...often appearing in the form of a child or naïve youth... characterized by great purity and faith” (p.42). In other words, the Disney archetype of “wholesome naïveté” is a pre-pubescent child (male or female) who is characterized by their innocence, naïveté, and is in need of protection from harmful influence.

For Walt Disney to present the wholesome naïveté narrative to its targeted audience, the sitcoms and original movies shown on the *Disney Channel* needed to include characters that resonated with its targeted audience (Batey, 2008; Lieb, 2013). Thus, early Disney programming centred around three lead pubescent female protagonists. The three protagonists were: Miley Stewart/Hannah Montana played by Miley Cyrus (illustrated in **Figure 1.1.**) in *Hannah Montana/Hannah Montana Forever*, Alex Russo played by Selena Gomez (illustrated in **Figure 1.2.**) in *Wizards of Waverly Place*, and Anna Coleman played by Lindsay Lohan (illustrated in

Figure 1.3.) in the movie *Freaky Friday* (Batey, 2008; Gray & Johnson, 2013). To ensure the wholesome naïveté narrative presented to its targeted audience became accepted, Disney producer's enmeshed the Disney narrative to these actresses' personal identities.

Introducing the Disney Narrative/ Image: A Visual Representation to the Public

The illustrations below of Miley Stewart/ Hannah Montana (Miley Cyrus), Alex Russo (Selena Gomez), and Anna Coleman (Lindsay Lohan) share many similarities (see **Figures 1.1.**, to **1.3.**). In what follows, I will discuss these similarities to illustrate how Disney constructs a wholesome naïveté narrative.

Figure 1.1.



Figure 1.1 Illustrates Miley Cyrus's main characters Hannah Montana (left) and Miley Stewart (right) from Disney's *Hannah Montana/ Hannah Montana Forever*. **Source: Disney The Family Channel (2007).**

Figure 1.2.



Figure 1.2. Illustrates Selena Gomez character, Alex Russo, from Disney's *Wizards of Waverly Place*. **Source:** Disney The Family Channel (2007).

Figure 1.3.



Figure 1.3. Illustrates Lindsay Lohan's character Anna Coleman from the Disney Original movie, *Freaky Friday*. **Source: Waters (2003).**

All three images above share three common characteristics that comprise the wholesome naïveté narrative. First, they all have long straight hair. As Milliken (2012) argues, long hair on women serves three purposes: 1) it separates the women from the men, 2) is a representation of femininity, and 3) represents a young woman who is pure and easily manipulated or controlled by bad influences. In accordance with Miliken's (2012) analysis of female identities, Disney's portrayal of these pre-pubescent actresses with long hair, assist with the construction of the characters gendered roles and femininity. Hair length acts as a symbolic reminder of the complexities associated with the social construction of femininity, identity, and compliance to the socially accepted gender roles.

Second, the accessories and apparel worn by these actresses' portray a childlike innocence that reinforces the Disney's wholesome naïveté narrative. As illustrated in **Figures 1.1., to 1.3.,** all three actresses' apparel and accessories do not sexualize their pre-pubescent female bodies. Instead, both their apparel and accessories are modest. As illustrated in **Figures 1.2., and 1.3.,** Alex Russo/ Selena Gomez and Anna Coleman/ Lindsay Lohan are photographed wearing long sleeved t-shirts with simple accessories such as a school bag and/or handmade jewelry. Wearing modest clothing and jewelry, reinforces their narrative of being innocent, wholesome, and naïve as young children also wear handmade jewelry. Similarly, Hannah Montana/Miley Cyrus in **Figure 1.1.,** is wearing a short sleeve shirt with a simple leather bracelet. These non-sexualized and age appropriate accessories are illustrative of the socially accepted feminine apparel for young girls. Furthermore, a closer examination of the photographs reveals that these actresses, and by association their characters, are wearing little to no make-up. In fact, these actresses' make-up is worn in a manner that appears to be natural, and does not draw sexual attention to their pre-pubescent bodies. The make-up and apparel worn by these actresses, I argue, serves as a visual reinforcement of these Disney actresses' narratives as pure, wholesome, and naïve because they are not displaying an exaggerated adherence to hyper-femininity (Murnen & Byrne,

1991). Thus, the actresses and their characters do not embody the notion or idea of "sex icons" or "sex goddesses", such as Marilyn Monroe (Lederer, 1980). Instead, they are strategically constructed and presented as being "good girls" who engage in acceptable behaviors, such as attend school and make jewellery.

Third, all three actresses are positioned in a non-sexual manner with their faces slightly tilted. This is particularly evident in **Figure 1.2.**, where Selena Gomez's face is slightly tilted downwards, thus depicting a rounder face. According to Robinson (2013), this photographic mechanism is used to portray an individual as having a rounder face which is associated with pre-pubescent children. Disney's use of this photographic mechanism serves as an optical emphasis that reinforces these female actresses as possessing childlike and non-pubescent qualities (i.e., baby fat on their cheeks). For Bambou (2015) depicting older children as being "chubby" or having baby fat on their cheeks is associated with young, naïve, and innocent pre-pubescent children (p.2).

Overall, Disney's presentation of long hair, age appropriate clothing and makeup, as well as the use of non-sexualized photographs constructs a wholesome naïveté narrative for these stars, and subsequently their characters. The attachment of the "wholesome naïveté" narrative to these pre-pubescent characters enables Disney to use and illustrate this narrative to its targeted audience as being the idealized construction of female adolescence and appropriate behaviours for young women. As such, the "wholesome naïveté" narrative constructed by Disney, I argue, acts as a social control mechanism for not only these Disney actresses, but other young women.

Framing Disney Characters and Celebrities as Ordinary Girls

In addition to the physical appearances of these celebrities and their characters, Disney writers and producers replicate the experiences/lessons, milestones, and relationships of its targeted audiences. By replicating the experiences of its audience, Disney producers are able to establish these characters,

and by association the actresses, as being relatable ordinary young girls. Furthermore, the issues encountered by these characters provide parents with valuable insights into understanding their offspring's approaches to similar situations. In what follows, I use the movie *Freaky Friday*, the television sitcoms *Hannah Montana/ Hannah Montana Forever*, and *Wizards of Waverly Place* to demonstrate how these characters depict ordinary events and hurdles to their targeted audiences.

In the movie *Freaky Friday*, Anna Coleman (Lindsay Lohan), a rebellious fifteen-year-old, struggles to accept her mother Tessa's decision to re-marry. Similarly, Tessa refuses to understand Anna's desire to become romantically involved with an older student named Jake. Due to their disagreements regarding their personal lives and decisions both characters are presented with a magical fortune cookie that enables Anna and Tessa to switch bodies (Waters, 2003). The key theme of parental conflict and misunderstanding represented in this movie is a common hurdle experienced amongst parents and their teenage children.

Although the movie *Freaky Friday* depicts issues that may be better understood by teenagers, Disney uses its televised sitcoms to demonstrate the daily struggles pre-teens endure in middle school, high school, and within their nuclear family. In *Hannah Montana/ Hannah Montana Forever*, Miley Stewart (Miley Cyrus) struggles to cope with being bullied at school by a new girl, Henrietta Laverne (Poryes, 2007). This episode illustrates the familiar struggles pre-teens and children encounter when dealing with bullying. By framing *Hannah Montana/ Hannah Montana Forever* episodes around the typical struggles of young females, Disney makes Miley Stewart a relatable character for young girls.

In *Wizards of Waverly Place*, Alex Russo encounters various challenges, such as being the middle child, the only daughter, and being interracial. She also deals with the constant comparison by her peers, principal, friends, and family to her talented older brother (Greenwald, 2007). The familiar struggles presented in *Wizards of Waverly Place's* episodes exemplify the strife's endured by pre-teens

and children with older siblings. These episodes also highlight the pressures bi-racial, pre-teens and children encounter in becoming academically successful (i.e., to live a better life than their parents).

The use of the wholesome naïveté narrative, in conjunction to relatable Disney characters, leads the public to perceive Disney televised sitcoms and original movies as “shared viewing experiences”(Marcus et al., 2010). Parents can choose to watch these Disney programs with their pre-teen/teen daughter(s) to familiarize themselves with issues they may be facing. Parents may use the morals in these televised sitcoms/movies as guidelines to identify and address “problem behaviours”, such as tantrums and non-compliance to regain and re-establish control of their daughter(s) (Dishon & Kavanagh, 2003; Ketterlinus & Lamb, 1994; Patterson, 1982). This shared viewing experience results in constructing a normative standard of the appropriate roles and behaviours for young women. Thus, becoming the standard by which these actresses are evaluated by the media.

Re-affirming the Disney Narrative and Actresses Images in the Media

For Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan to achieve stardom and recognition, they are required to promote their sitcoms, music, and films at televised red-carpeted events (Church, 2012). To increase public and media support, these actresses, like their characters, must re-affirm the “wholesome naïveté” narrative by adhering to the traditional gender norms and roles of young women when they are out in public. Adherence to the “wholesome naïveté” narrative is achieved by ensuring these actresses are wearing age appropriate apparel, little to no make-up, and are accompanied by a family member at public events (illustrated in **Figures 2, 2.1., and 2.2.**).

Figure 2.



Figure 2. Illustrates Selena's interactions with her fans during the Pop Con Meet and Greet. Source: www.selenagomez.com (2010).

Figure 2.1.



Figure 2.1. Illustrates Selena's interactions with her fans during a UNICEF Charity Event.
Source: www.selenagomezzone.com (2013).

Figure 2.2.



Figure 2.2. Illustrates Miley Cyrus and her father Billy Ray Cyrus while promoting her Disney Original Movie, *Hannah Montana Forever*. **Source:** Young (2011).

The re-affirmation of the Disney narrative allows the media to use the “wholesome naïveté” as a standard to evaluate these actresses' accomplishments. For example, Fetters (2013) in the *Washington Post*, describes Selena's concert and choreography with her male dancers as being:

...G-rated and even her rowdier let's-party tracks, like ‘Birthday,’ featured video clips of Gomez and friends partying alcohol-free ...[m]ore grown-up selections like ‘Undercover’ were coupled with chaste choreography - the dancers marched around like soldiers and hopped in place, at least three feet away from one another (p. Style C01).

Fetters’ (2013) review of Selena Gomez’s video clips reinforces her wholesome good girl narrative by describing her concert as “...cute...chaste... [and] squeaky...” (p. Style C01). The review highlights how Gomez adhered to the traditional gender norms and roles required of a young woman.

Further, such media attention, I argue, ascribes credibility to these actresses' personal images as being wholesome role models for young women.

In addition to concert reviews and public appearances, official Disney events (i.e. clothing lines, product launches, and charity events) are also used to reinforce these actresses 'wholesome naïveté' narratives. This is illustrated by Storey's (2013) article in the *New York Post* describing how Miley donates her one-on-one backstage fees to different charity auctions (p. Pulse 37). Media attention to Miley's charity work contributes to the public's re-affirmation of Disney actresses as being wholesome good girls. Similarly, photographs and positive encounters between these celebrities and their fans contribute to the media framing these actresses as being "Tween Princesses" and "Disney Princesses" (Koltnow, 2013; Stewart, 2013; Toney, 2013). Referring to these actresses as royalty (i.e., princesses) allows the media to frame these actresses' narratives as credible. In sum, the re-enforcement of the "wholesome naïveté" narrative through official Disney promoted events (i.e., public appearances, concerts, and/or charity events) constructs these actresses' as good girls and positive role models for young girls. In the following section, I examine the challenges and media scrutiny these actresses face as they enter puberty.

Wholesome Girls to Adult Actresses: Graduating Disney into Adulthood

Puberty: The Corrupting Agent for Disney's Princesses

The source of the media constructions of female deviance stems from the incongruence between Disney's good girl "wholesome naïveté" narrative and the real world implications of puberty. As these young actresses grow up on their respective Disney sets they face challenges in maintaining their pre-pubescent Disney image while experiencing various milestones, such as puberty. This challenge is best illustrated through Miley Cyrus' experience in becoming pubescent on the set of *Hannah Montana*. She

states, "... [o]n that set I went through everything. I got boobs on that set" (Stevenson, 2013, Entertainment, 34). The following exchange between Disney producers and Miley's mother illustrates the difficulties puberty creates:

Where they (referring to Disney directors/producers) came and they were like, I know (her godmother) Dolly (Parton's) on set this week. Did she give her a padded bra? [Her mother responded to directors/producers stating:] No. She's 15 now. You hired her at 12. You're going to have to wrap her up if you don't want her to have boobs (p. Entertainment, 34).

The exchange above illustrates Disney executives desire to preserve the "wholesome naïveté" narrative while also drawing attention to how puberty is viewed by Disney executives as a "corrupting agent".

According to Franz and Smulyan (2011), the act of going through puberty results in these actresses seeking to embrace an adult sexuality that conflicts with their Disney images (p. 418). In other words, the act of entering puberty does not only cause physical developments, but it also creates a desire for an individual to view themselves as adults. This self-image results in Disney actresses identifying puberty as being a legitimate means to undergo a transition from their pre-pubescent "wholesome good girl" narrative and seek out adult roles. However, the social power associated with the "wholesome naïveté" narrative poses a significant challenge for Disney actresses as they transition into adulthood in their careers.

Social Constructionism: Framing and Constructing Disney Actresses Transitional Narratives

One of the biggest hurdles Disney actresses encounter when transitioning from a Disney child star to an adult star involves overcoming both media rejection and public refusal in accepting them as young women. To ensure their new transitional narrative is publicly accepted, actresses must incorporate an element that distinguishes themselves from the rest (Dyer, 1998; Parnaby & Sacco, 2004). An

element that distinguishes a celebrity from the rest can be a celebrity scandal or love triangle. (Parnaby & Sacco, 2004). Participating in a celebrity scandal or being caught up in a love triangle, ensures female celebrities are able to separate themselves from their wholesome Disney narrative.

Using the social problems game I will illustrate the transitional process Disney actresses must take in order to successfully establish public acceptance and credibility from the media regarding their older image. As previously stated (in Chapter Two), the social problems game is a process in which claims-makers persuade the audience to define and perceive the putative condition as being problematic. In the present case, Disney actresses are the claims-makers who need to persuade the audience to recognize that their constructed pre-pubescent Disney narrative does not apply to their pubescent image. They need to demonstrate that they cannot be a twenty-one-year-old, adult woman and play the role of a pre-pubescent ten year-old, middle school girl.

The following excerpt from a media interview with Selena Gomez is illustrative of how actresses work to persuade the audience that they are more than a child star – they are a “credible adult actress”:

I have to do things that people don't expect me to do. I have to surprise people instead of being a part of the next teen comedy because I have done that. I want to dye my hair black and be a bad ass. I think it's fun, I think it's good for me (Braun, 2013, p. Entertainment ,44).

The above quotation illustrates the efforts Disney actresses must take to transition away from the Disney “wholesome naïveté” narrative. In her reference to playing a “bad ass” in future projects, Gomez is constructing a boundary that clearly distinguishes her adult career from her past Disney projects. Her emphasis on the importance of “surprise” and doing “things people don’t expect me to do” frames her adult acting career as a phase that is very distinct from her Disney career. In other media interviews, Gomez makes similar efforts to gain public acceptance for a post-Disney adult career narrative that is distinctly different from the Disney “wholesome

naïveté” narrative. For example, during an interview with the *New York Times* Selena states, “I wanted to leave my good-image persona behind when I found the right movie [referring to her movie *Spring Breakers* with past Disney co-stars]” (Barnes, 2013). In a subsequent interview she stated that adult roles “... [give her] the opportunity to work with incredible actors...” (Stevenson, 2013, p. Entertainment, 15). Selena’s interviews illustrate a recognition of her “good girl” persona and her active attempt to transition away from it to be recognized as a legitimate actor.

Good Girls Gone Wild: The Classification and Medicalization of Disney Female Transgressions

Gender Norms, Social Control, and Moral Panics

Despite Disney actresses’ attempts to transition into adulthood and adult stardom, they encounter unique hurdles that are specific to women. Celebrities are subject to a high level of media scrutiny in their personal and professional lives (Barnes, 2010; Read, 2011; Robinsons, 2013). However, as previously discussed in the literature review, media constructions of young actresses often serve as a form of informal social control by emphasizing traditional gender norms (Schur, 1984; Garfinkel, 1967; Goodin-Smith, 2014; West & Zimmerman, 2011). The “wholesome naïveté” narrative constructed by Disney sets clear gendered behavioural expectations for Disney actresses both in character and in their personal lives. That is, actresses like Miley Cyrus and Selena Gomez are not only expected to choose acting roles that are consistent with a wholesome “good girl” image but they are also expected to present a similar image in their personal lives. The narratives of adult careers and personal lives that former Disney actresses attempt to construct and have accepted by the public are contrasted in the media with narratives that emphasize traditional gender norms and roles. As such, social control agents (i.e., the media) are able to successfully frame and scrutinize their behaviours in a manner that serves as a public

reminder of appropriate and inappropriate female conduct. In order to illustrate the method by which the media serves as a social control agent, I turn my focus to media constructions of Miley Cyrus' "deviant" behavior.

In 2013, Miley Cyrus cut the long brown hair associated with the Disney "wholesome naïveté" narrative and adopted a short, bleached blonde boyish hairstyle (see **Figure 3.1**). This change in hairstyle received a great deal of media scrutiny and, as noted in the *Hamilton Spectator*, "brought controversy" (Caramanica, 2013). One could view this change in personal appearance as another example of a former Disney actress attempting to frame both her adult status and career as distinct from her past Disney roles.

Nevertheless, the media largely rejected this narrative and responded negatively to the change in Cyrus' appearance. For example, *The New York Times* referred to Miley's hair cut as "...a haircut that seemed [to be] swiped from 'Butch,' [from] Kanithea Powell's photographic study of lesbian style" (Trebay, 2013, p. Style Desk, 11). Caramanica's (2013) article in *The Hamilton Spectator* attributes Miley's negative media attention as being a result of "...some very visible life choices [such as] chopping off most of her hair and dying what's left blonde [and] hanging out with rappers" (p. Go, G4). This critical response to the changes Miley Cyrus made to her personal appearance illustrates the role of media as a social control agent in reinforcing traditional gender norms. In other words, Miley's short, boyish haircut visually contradicts the image associated with the "wholesome naïveté" Disney narrative.

More importantly, Miley's masculine haircut is in direct violation of gendered norms concerning appearance for young women (Bereska, 2004; Henley & Freeman 1979; Miliken, 1963; Schur, 1984). This visual reiteration of the accepted gender norms is also evident in an article found in *People Magazine* (2013) in which the acceptable feminine short hair is placed on

the left hand side and the unfeminine haircut that goes against norms of femininity is located on the right hand (see **Figure 3.**). The caption of the picture in Figure 3.1 identifies Miley as having a “boyish” haircut. Therefore, in identifying Miley’s haircut as being masculine results in Miley being characterized as deviant for not complying with feminine gender norms.

Figure 3.



Figure 3. Miley Cyrus's second haircut short (left) and with her new boyish blonde haircut (right) **Source: People Magazine (2013).**

While Miley’s haircut attracted media attention it was her performance at the 2013 MTV award that attracted the most attention and scrutiny (see **Figure 4.**). Bernstein’s (2013) excerpt from *The New York Times* eloquently summarizes Miley’s controversial performance stating: “... [Miley Cyrus] appeared at the MTV Video Awards, tongue out, twerking in a virtually nonexistent costume against the R&B singer Robin Thicke and sexualizing the iconic foam finger...” (p. Style Desk Sect, E1). Miley's highly sexualized MTV performance was constructed as unacceptable female conduct and public behaviour.

Figure 4.



Figure 4. Miley Cyrus preforms at the Barclays Centre during the 2013 MTV Video Music Awards Sunday night. **Source: The New York Daily News (2013).**

For example, the Parents Television Council (PTC), a non-profit social organization, released the following statement regarding Miley Cyrus and her VMA performance:

“...the show crossed a line and ... the network should have warned parents against letting 14-year-olds -- eighth graders, typically -- view it [the VMA’s] without [parental] supervision” (p. Mckinley Jr, 2013, ArtsBeats, 3).

Similarly, influential media sources such as *The New York Post* described Cyrus’ performance as “massively vulgar” (Bernstein, 2013). The “danger” associated

with Miley's VMA performance is further exemplified in the following interview with Lance Bass, a member of the popular mid 1990's boy-band "*NSYNC",

...I didn't know I had to warn [my niece and nephew] that their little Hannah Montana was going to be naked and humping a finger... I mean it is a big deal... ("Miley Cyrus...", 2013, p.-life-style).

The above commentary not only identifies that Lance is shocked by Miley Cyrus' sexualized performance ("it is a big deal"), but also illustrates Lance's concern over her display of inappropriate female conduct for young children. The inseparability of the Disney persona (Hannah Montana) from the actress (Miley Cyrus) poses significant challenges for these actresses as they age. Miley's sexual performance not only created controversy worldwide, but it also became an example of deviant female conduct that is a danger to young children.

Medicalization of Deviance

Media constructions of female celebrities' deviant transgressions have become a recurring topic for public debate and discussion. The use of medical terminology to frame social problems as an "illness" enables medical institutions to act as agents of social control. Using Conrad's (1975) definition of the medicalization of deviance, I examine how the media constructs Miley Cyrus' and Lindsay Lohan's transgressions as medical problems. For Conrad (1975) the medicalization of deviance is defined as "... a behaviour [labelled] as a medical problem or illness and mandating or licensing the medical profession to provide some type of treatment..." (p. 12). For example, historically homosexuality was identified as a medicalized problem that required medical treatment (Conrad, 1975). The classification of homosexuality as an illness resulted in homosexuals being stripped of their agency and being placed under the control and care of the medical institution. As such, homosexuals required regulation and supervision until they were deemed as being "cured" from their disease (Breska, 2004; Conrad, 1975; Himeloch &

Fava, 1955). Once deviance has become medicalized it constructs the person as ill and in need of regulation and social control.

For example, Miley's VMA performance was described in a *Washington Post* article as "... being deeply troubled, deeply disturbed, [she] clearly has confidence issues, [and] probably an eating disorder" (Yates, 2013). From this quote, Miley is described as "disturbed" and probably having an "eating disorder". Thus, framing the incident through a medical lens not only changes the audience's perceptions of the issue, but it also changes the severity of the problem. This describes Miley's deviant transgressions as being a mere symptom of a larger issue that is illustrative of a "process of her undoing..." (Bernstein, 2013, p. Fashion & Style 1).

In order to further frame Miley Cyrus as being ill, Miley's behaviour is further described in a *New York Times* article as being the next "...Britney Spears 2.0 [who is] going through another epic celebrity meltdown" (Bernstein, 2013, p. Fashion & Style 1). Attributing Miley Cyrus' "disturbing" behaviours to Britney Spears, (who is best known for her public mental health breakdown) results in the media further constructing Miley as being "ill" and unstable. Therefore, in drawing similarities between Miley Cyrus' deviant and bizarre VMA performance and Britney Spear's erratic behaviour results in the media constructing Miley as suffering from a psychological meltdown.

Summarizing an actress' career and highlighting their deviant transgressions do another method used to construct female celebrities as being "ill" in the media. Caramanica's (2013) article in *The Hamilton Spectator* illustrates this process by stating "Lindsay is as famous as ever... still coasting on her early fame in *The Parent Trap* and *Mean Girls*"(p. Go G4). For Lindsay Lohan, her extravagant celebrity lifestyle (i.e., becoming a regular at nightclubs and parties with other famous actors) resulted in the media constructing Lindsay Lohan as

“...quickly spiraling out of control and engaging in criminal behaviour...” (Caramanica, 2013, p. Go, G4). *The Hamilton Spectator*'s constant portrayal of Lindsay Lohan's encounters with substance abuse, as well as her involvement with various criminal activities, such as stealing, reckless driving, obstructing police officers from performing their duties, driving under the influence, and crashing a rented vehicle ("More therapy for," 2013, p.Go G3) led the media to construct Lindsay as a “troubled actress” (*24 Hours*, 2013, p. Entertainment, 21). This medicalized narrative becomes entrenched in the media through fellow well-established celebrities/directors (i.e., Charlie Sheen and *Canyons* director, Paul Schrader) references of Lindsay Lohan's behaviour as being “...erratic... [through] constant tardiness, tantrums, absences, neediness, (and) psychodrama...” (*Hamilton Spectator*, 2013, p. G3). The use of medicalized terms such as “psychodrama”, which refers to the psychotic and behavioural tendencies that can become imbalanced if an individual is not treated (Moreono, 1952), results in the media substantiating their claims of Lindsay Lohan suffering from an “illness”.

According to Conrad (2006), there have been an increasing number of deviant behaviours reported by the media which are conceptualized using medical frameworks (Conrad, 2006). As such, there has been a shift towards re-examining reoccurring deviant behaviour through a medical lens. By medicalizing deviance, medical professionals are able to work towards providing the individual with the proper treatment to address and overcome such taboo behaviour. As illustrated through media constructions of Miley Cyrus and Lindsay Lohan, female celebrity deviance is being constructed as the result of medical problems. By ascribing a medical label these actresses lose their agency and are constructed as being “unfit” to care for themselves. In sum, the medicalization of female celebrity deviance and the portrayal of these actresses' as being “ill” is illustrative of the media acting as social control agents. In what

follows, I will examine the broader social problems that arise from the media construction of celebrity female youth deviance.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explore how the media uses the “wholesome naïveté” archetype to construct the personal images of Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan. The constructions of these Disney actresses reinforce socially accepted gender roles and norms of femininity in society such as innocence, obedience, and nurturing. I identify how the media constructions has led to Miley and Lindsay’s behaviours to become medicalized in a manner that attributed their behaviours to suffering from an illness such as alcoholism, I also demonstrate how agents of social control construct puberty as a threat to the “wholesome naïveté narrative”. This was exemplified through the exchange Disney producers had with Miley Cyrus’ mother as they looked for a way to hide her pubescent physical changes while on set. This exchange becomes critical to identifying the importance placed on maintaining the image of the child being innocent, naïve, and easily controlled by adults. Lastly, by examining how puberty acts as a “corrupting agent”, I demonstrate how the media act as social control agents in determining the idealized construction of female adolescence and appropriate behaviours for young women.

In the following chapter, I will identify the broader social problems that arise from the media construction of youth deviance. In particular, I will focus on how the media constructs female celebrity deviance by examining the media induced moral panics of celebrity youth’s deviant transgressions

Chapter 5: Reclaiming the Family Unit and Female Youths

In Chapter 4, I explored how the mass media constructed the “wholesome naïveté” archetype of Miley, Selena, and Lindsay’s persona. The preceding chapter also examined how these actresses’ images reinforce gender stereotypes, roles and norms of femininity, innocence, obedience, and nurturing qualities. It also identified how the mediatization of Miley and Lindsay's deviant transgressions were constructed. I demonstrated how agents of social control construct puberty as a threat to the wholesome naïveté narrative image. This was exemplified through the exchange between Miley’s mother and Disney executive producers regarding her pubescent changes. Ultimately, Chapter 4 examined how the media acts as social control agent in determining the ideal construction of female adolescence and appropriate behaviours for young women.

This chapter seeks to examine the broader social problems resulting from media construction of actresses' deviant transgressions. Prior to understanding the broader social milieu that arises due to the media portrayal of female celebrity deviance, it is important to review the literature discussing the social problems game. To recap, the social problems game refers to the competition claims-makers enter with one another in persuading the audience that a social problem exists and something must be done to address the issue (*See Loseke, 2008*). Once the theoretical foundations are established, I will focus on examining how the media has constructed celebrity deviance using Miley Cyrus and Lindsay Lohan’s criminal behaviour. I will then illustrate how these various constructions of female deviance shapes the development of moral panic as defined by Cohen (1972): a moral panic refers to a “... condition, episode, person or group of persons [who] emerge to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (p.1). This refers specifically to the breakdown of the family as a form of social control (Coontz, 1992). From the collected data, I will demonstrate how agents of social control and moral entrepreneurs such as lawmakers attempt to regain

control of both the family unit and female youth's behaviours. This will be exemplified through the media use of moral panics theory.

Social Problems Work, The Social Problems Game, and Moral Panics: A Brief Overview

To understand the broader social problems that develop because of the media constructions of Disney actresses' deviant transgressions, it is important to review the definition of both social problems and social problems work (Loseke, 2003). For the purposes of this study, I have adopted a constructivist grounded theory approach to examine how cultural narratives shape social boundaries. Specifically, I will be using Loseke (2003) constructivist's definition of a social problem where:

...[a] social problem is a condition evaluated as wrong, widespread, and changeable...[it] categorizes conditions we believe are troublesome, prevalent, can be changed, and should be changed (p.7).

Based on this definition, putative conditions are identified and classified by claims-makers as being a social problem. Once claims-makers have identified and classified a putative condition(s) of a social problem, activists may place pressure on policy makers and legislators to devise a solution that addresses the perceived problem (Best, 2008; Loseke, 2003). In other words, the social problems game's main goal then is to persuade the audience that legislation must be enacted to address the issue at hand.

For claims-makers to classify a putative condition as a social problem, claims-makers must first typify the problem and construct the conditions in a manner that appeals to the audience's emotions and logic through the use of the social problems game. In the social problems game, typifications refer to classifications that are applied to individuals, objects, or situations to remove the complexities of our social world (Best & Harris, 2013, Best, 2008; Loseke, 2003). In other words, typifications encourage individuals to focus on one perspective of

the issue and to respond in accordance to the situation at hand. To clarify, the use of typifications refers to the process of relying on general knowledge as a means of constructing ideas about the world around us.

The social problems game consists of a number of claims-makers such as the media or other individuals who make claims that a condition ought to be considered a social problem compete with one another in establishing credibility with the audience (Best, 1995). To establish credibility with the audience, claims-makers use various strategies to grab the interest of the public and push for policy changes that will address and resolve the issue(s) (Best & Harris, 2013; Loseke 2003).

Lastly, in Chapter 2, I discussed the concept of moral panics and the role media plays in their development. According to Cohen (1972), a moral panic is a "...condition, episode, a person or a group of persons [that] emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests..." (p.9). Therefore, moral panics emerge when conceptions of morality become threatened as a result of our interactions and social process with one another and the world around us (Cohen, 1972; Denham, 2008). In other words, moral panics occur during periods of rapid social change. This was evident through the Cohen's (1972) study of the mods and rockers in Clacton England; wherein youths and/or youth subcultures were the subject of moral panics. Lastly, according to Denham (2008) media induced moral panics serve as a means to reinforce socially dominant conceptions of morality and normative boundaries within society. In the sections that follow, I will examine how the media constructions of female Disney celebrities' deviant transgressions have extended into a moral panic surrounding sexuality and appropriate female behaviours. Specifically, I will address the larger social problem that has arisen and the socializing impact it has on the family unit as a socializing agent.

The Construction of Celebrity Deviance in the Mass Media: Creating Folk Devils and Moral Panics

As discussed in Chapter 4, young Disney actresses are heavily scrutinized by the media as they transition from pre-pubescence to adolescence and then to adulthood. Efforts to transition from childhood celebrity to legitimate adult celebrity, including the adoption of more overtly sexual appearance and behaviour in both their fictional entertainment roles (e.g., actress, singer) and personal lives, have been constructed as deviant by the media, reinforcing socially accepted gender roles and norms of femininity. Nonetheless, the mediated focus on the hypersexualized behaviour of Miley Cyrus and Lindsay Lohan's substance abuse problems have suggested that these concerns reflect broader social problems rooted deep within their families. This section will examine how Miley and Lindsay's deviant transgressions become perceived as fundamental threats that give rise to moral panics.

As noted in Chapter 4, Miley Cyrus' *2013 MTV Video Awards* hypersexualized performance made media headlines. An example of a moral panic ensuing is evident through Miley's inappropriate deviant transgressions during the *2013 MTV European Awards*. Moral panics occur when individuals, such as folk devils, adopt patterns of behaviours, style or dress or ways of presenting themselves as being different from the norm. Prior to understanding the impact moral panics have on society, it is essential to re-examine and apply Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) five key elements of a moral panic —concern, hostility, consensus, disproportion, and volatility— of these Disney actresses' media accounts to understand how media constructs moral panics

According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994), a heightened level of concern occurs when the behaviour of a particular group becomes a threat to social norms. An example of this is evident through media accounts of Lindsay Lohan's arrests for her past issues with alcohol and drugs. In addition to her past issues with alcohol and drugs, Lindsay's run-ins with the justice

system has led to her construction as a deviant threat. Another example of a heightened level of concern is evident through Miley's hyper sexualized and deviant transgressions during the *2013 MTV Music Video* in Europe. According to the article's headline in the *Hamilton Spectator* read: "Miley Cyrus lit up at EMAs for "Wild fans". The article continues stating:

"... she sparked up what appeared to be a cannabis joint as she took to the stage at the Ziggo Dome in Amsterdam - where it is legal to take the drug - to collect her Best Video prize for 'Wrecking Ball' on Sunday... The blonde singer's stunt comes after she stunned viewers when she twerked on stage at the MTV Video Music Awards in Brooklyn, New York, in August and gyrated against Robin Thicke while wearing a nude-colored bikini much to the shock of the live audience and TV viewers across the world." (Watson, 2013).

As the article asserts, Miley's public deviant transgressions have raised a level of concern amongst the general public. Her deviant transgressions and the reported media accounts has resulted in Miley being constructed and portrayed as a threat to societal values, which influence the appropriate conduct of females and youth behaviours. In addition to the level of public concern raised over Miley and Lindsay's deviant transgressions, the media has created a heightened level of hostility towards these Disney actresses. This is evident through the media construction of Disney actresses as threatening to influencing youth behaviors.

Consensus occurs when public concern becomes unified. Simply put, there must be substantial or widespread agreement that the threat to social order exists. A consensus that a threat to social order exists through the following media headlines from the *Hamilton Spectator* that read: "[n]ext time Miley, keep your mouth closed" and "[m]other did not approve". Another example of a consensus occurring is best illustrated through the following media headline from the *New York Post* which reads: "[c]elebrity brats gone wild" and the *Hamilton Spectator* "[a] very controlled out of control Star? That's putting it Miley". The media headlines indicate those Disney actresses' public deviant transgressions are in fact a threat to pre-adolescents/ adolescent behavior and threaten social order.

These perceived transgressions quickly become exaggerated as a greater threat to social norms and values in the media. Specifically, the media constructs these female celebrity transgressions as evidence of a decline in traditional family values and a threat to “virtuous” images of adolescent femininity. This is evident through media constructions of teenage culture as deviant and troubling, which is illustrated by a headline in the *Washington Post* that read "[t]een culture run amok". Another example of teen culture being deviant and troubling as a result of Disney actresses' negative influence is evident through an article in the *Toronto Sun* where, "[a]n 11-year-old girl was forced to wear a sign at a busy intersection after twerking at a school dance" (Signs of the times, 2013). Miley's hyper sexualized and deviant behaviour has resulted in negatively influencing pre-adolescent perceptions of femininity. More importantly, these threats to pre-adolescent/adolescent behavior have resulted in parents coming to a public consensus that such behaviour is deemed inappropriate behavioural conduct.

Similarly, the release of Miley's infamous video *Wrecking Ball* also created media headlines that focused on its hyper sexualized displays. One of the common messages that emerged from an analysis of the data in this study was that Cyrus' hyper sexualized behaviour was like a social contagion that was perceived to have a widespread negative influence on young female adolescents. In other words, the media constructed Cyrus as a threat to traditional standards of “appropriate” adolescent female sexuality. According to Fredericks (2013) article in the *New York Post* article which states:

Students at Grand Valley State University in Michigan are up in arms after the school removed a large pendulum statue they were using to parody Miley Cyrus' racy "Wrecking Ball" music video. The school has removed the campus landmark... after clips of students, including at least one where the student was nude, started flooding social-networking sites...

This passage clearly illustrates that members of society—in this case, teenagers are mimicking these actresses' deviant transgressions. It is also clear that Miley has once again become constructed by the media as being a folk devil and is becoming a part of a larger social problem.

In summary, this section examined how these actresses deviant behaviours have become a threat to pre-adolescent/ adolescents behavioural conduct in public spaces. Furthermore, the mimicry of these actresses' deviant transgressions by pre-adolescent/ adolescents has resulted in the creation of a much larger social problem. The media has constructed connections between adolescent female behavior deemed to be “troubling” or contrary to traditional norms and the behaviours of the Disney female celebrities focused on in this study, particularly Miley Cyrus. In the section that follows, I will provide an analysis of the broader social problem that has arisen as a result of these actresses' deviant transgressions in the media.

The Larger Social Problem: The Breakdown of Traditional Family Values

The previous section discussed how the moral panic in the media in response to the transitioning behaviour of Disney celebrities entering adulthood was not focusing on the individual's actions. Instead these moral panics were pointing to a much larger social problem. I begin by providing a brief overview of the family units traditional values and progress to the evolution of contemporary family values. Next, I examine how contemporary family values have created a shift in parenting. Specifically, how this shift has created a new ideology surrounding motherhood. Finally using the mothers of Miley Cyrus and Lindsay Lohan, I will illustrate how the lack of boundaries between parenthood and friendship has resulted in media construction of these mothers as being unfit due to the lack of control over their children's deviant behaviours.

Traditional and Current State of the Family Unit: A Brief Overview

One of the earliest forms of social control is the family unit (Fineman, 1991; Glen et al., 1994; Heiner, 2013; Self, 2012). As a social institution the family is expected to act as socializing agent that teaches children appropriate standards of behaviour. For example, in the 1950s, media images of the family reinforced specific gender roles - mothers were the

homemakers raising their children and fathers were breadwinners (Heiner, 2013). In this example, one can see that in addition to socializing children to know the difference between “right” and “wrong” the family acts as a mechanism of social control that reinforces dominant societal ideologies such traditional gender roles and perceived appropriate behaviours for men and women (Wachholz, 2000; Schur, 1984).

However, the 1960s and 1970s brought saw the emergence of the feminist movement that changed the functionality of the family unit along with the traditional gendered roles of women (Self, 2012). These new changes resulted in giving women a choice between being homemakers and a career. The result of these two choices led to women often choosing a career and delicately balancing parenting duties with their partners (Self, 2012; Wachholz, 2000). The evolution of the family unit during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in shifting the traditional gender roles within the family unit. This shift also created resentment, instability, and marital dissatisfaction amongst women (Heiner, 2013). The lack of social structure, and familial instability during the 1960s and 1970s household resulted in many families divorcing (Heiner, 2013; Self, 2012). As Self (2012) notes, the rising divorce rates led to the dissolution of the traditional family unit and created a new familial unit. A familial unit where a single parent, often mothers were left with a variety of roles such as being the breadwinner, the homemaker, and the disciplinarian.

In addition to these new roles, single parent households also faced stressors such as spending less time with their children. This new generation of children was referred to as latchkey kids (Casper, 1991). The term “latchkey kids” refers to unsupervised children who were regularly left without adult supervision during a partial portion of the day and had a key to the house (Leung et al., 1996; Lynette & Thomas, 1983). According to Lynette and Thomas (1983), this new form of parenting resulted in children who were left with pre-made meals in the fridge and had the responsibility of looking after themselves as well as their younger siblings. Consequently, this shift in parenting resulted in the oldest sibling to become a secondary parental figure for their younger sibling(s). This new familial dynamic also created resentment amongst

the eldest child as their behaviour was often scrutinized (Ottomanelli, 1995). Meanwhile, their siblings were free to behave as a result of parents leaving their eldest child in charge of their younger siblings. The lack of parenting of a single parent working led to creating a new set of undisciplined children. Lastly, the breakdown of the traditional family units values led to creating free-range youths who were often free to act on their own accord without the fear of disciplinary action that was previously found in the 1950s household.

In what follows, I will explore the images and ideas that constitute the ideology of good and bad parenting. Specifically, I will be focusing on the ideology of motherhood and what characterizes a good mother from a bad mother.

Parenthood: The Ideology of Motherhood

The ideology of motherhood is a social phenomenon or construct that is shaped and constructed by popular feelings of “what is a mother” (Chowdrow & Contratto, 1992; Dally, 1982). That is, there is no correct way to be a “mother” but just as dominant ideas or norms have emerged in society around gender roles there has similarly emerged social norms around appropriate and inappropriate behaviours for mothers. As Gavin (1993) suggests, these complex feelings are “...patriarchal in content” (p.597). In other words, our norms around motherhood reflect patriarchal concepts of “mothering” and, like all social norms, are prescriptive in nature, serving as social control mechanisms (Schur, 1984).

As Kline (1993) notes, female gender roles shape a woman’s beliefs that motherhood is a natural, desirable, and obvious choice. However, this colonized and patriarchal form of thinking about parenthood, particularly motherhood serves as a means of ensuring social control of adult women. Through the establishment and scrutinization of criteria that constitutes a “good” and “bad” mother (Wachhloz, 2000).

For Collett (2005) the success of identifying as a “good” mother lies within a mother’s ability to provide a nurturing environment while delicately balancing disciplinary action. For example, a mother is considered to be a good mother if she is able to provide a nurturing upbringing that leads to a successful future for their offspring(s). While at the same time condemning and disciplining their offspring for inappropriate behaviour. Whereas, a “bad” mother according to Wachhloz (2000) deviates from the established motherly role and is supportive of their offspring(s) deviant behaviour. As such, the ideology of motherhood becomes a form of scrutinizing adult female behaviours. Lastly, the scrutiny of adult female behaviors through the ideology of motherhood leads to ensuring patriarchal social control measures are intact regardless of the family dynamic.

In the following section, I will examine how the Disney fame has led to the media constructing these actresses’ parents specifically their mothers as “bad mothers”. Ultimately becoming constructed as being unfit parents due to their lack of control and prevention of these youth’s deviant transgressions.

Disney Actresses and the Family Unit: Unfit Celebrity Parenting

Similar to these Disney actresses, these actresses' parents have also achieved a minor sense of celebrity status. Although they are nowhere near the level of fame as their daughters, the association to these actresses has resulted in these parents becoming well known celebrities in their own right. Like their daughters, parents of Disney actresses have not only become well-known names, but they are also susceptible to scrutiny by the media surrounding their daughter’s public behaviour. Ultimately, these parents are publicly condemned for their parenting style and the ongoing familial relationship these parents have with their celebrity children. Based on an analysis of the data in this study, the media is constructing a connection between the perceived deviant behaviour of female Disney

celebrities – the hyper sexualized behaviour of Miley Cyrus and the substance use problems of Lohan – and a perceived breakdown in the traditional family unit and, more specifically, a perception or construction of failed “motherhood.”

Miley Cyrus' 2013 *MTV Awards* display of sexual deviancy serves as an example of her parents being publically scolded for their daughter's behaviours. According to an article in the *Washington Post*, when asked about her reaction to Miley's sexual displays, Tish Cyrus, defends her daughter stating " ...she [Miley] gave up her childhood to be in the entertainment industry" (Yahr, 2013, p. arts-post). Through this quote, it becomes clear that instead of publically condemning her daughter's sexual displays, Tish Cyrus is instead supporting her daughter's deviant transgressions. This type of parenting results in Tish Cyrus coming under fire for her lack of hands on parenting.

Furthermore, Tish Cyrus continues to be publically shamed for her lack of parenting. This is evident through the following " ...gyrat[e] like a stripper on a pole during the Teen Choice Awards in 2009 [and] ...[for allowing Miley to be] video taped bumping and grinding against a 44-year old man" (Peysler, 2013, p. Metro 15). According to the *Washington Post*, Tish's response to media attacks to her parenting style stating "... for all those haters anyone that ever said, '[w]here is her mother?' [r]ight beside her" (Yahr, 2013, p. arts-post). It becomes clear that not only is Tish Cyrus being condemned for her lack of parenting but, she is being publically scrutinized as an adult woman. An adult woman, who is not abiding by the socially constructed gender norms and values that are identified as being characteristics of a "good" mother. Lastly, the lack of moral condemnation from Tish Cyrus in the media, has led to the media constructing Tish as both an unfit mother and parent to a female youth.

Another example of a mother deemed by the media as an unfit parent is Lindsay's mother, Dina Lohan. The following quote demonstrates how Dina's poor relationship with her husband Michael Lohan is responsible for "...[Lindsay's] array of problems" (Braun,

2013, p. Entertainment 38). Moreover, the *New York Daily* has also constructed Dina Lohan as being an unfit mother for also being involved in deviant behaviour similar to her daughter Lindsay. The article stated " [l]ike daughter like mother... [Dina] was on best behaviour at court ... where she pleaded not guilty to charges stemming from her Sept 12 booze bust" (Garvey et al., 2013, p. Gossip 23). This quote clearly constructs Dina as being an irresponsible and unfit mother.

Another example where Dina is constructed as being an unfit mother is evident through the media construction of Dina and Lindsay's mother-daughter relationship. An article from the *New York Post* depicts Dina as being a friend to her daughter instead of being a mother. A mother whose responsibility is to properly raise and discipline her daughter for stepping outside of the socially accepted gender norms (Schur, 1984). This is evident in the following where: "...Lohan and mom, Dina, [are] known to go out clubbing together-and get into screaming matches" (Storey, 2013, p. Pulse 39). Unfit to parent a female youth since Dina herself lacks the necessary discipline needed to be a mother. Lastly, a mother who is unable to discipline her own deviant transgressions is constructed as being both an unfit parent and a bad mother figure.

To summarize, this section discussed how Tish Cyrus and Dina Lohan's relationship with their daughters results in the media constructing them as unfit parents because of their lack of discipline. Thus, the lack of social control in the family unit of these celebrity actresses' households has led to them not having the appropriate role models and set the precedence for them to also be inappropriate role models for their original Disney fan base. Lastly, the lack of proper role models within the family unit becomes a sure sign of the breakdown of the family unit's values.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored how these actresses' deviant transgressions threaten pre-adolescent and adolescent behaviours. A number of examples were used to illustrate the public mimicry of deviant transgressions and the challenges it poses to maintaining social order. I also examined how threats to social order lead to the creation of mediated moral panics. This was exemplified through the various media accounts of Miley and Lindsay's deviant transgressions. Furthermore, I discussed how moral panics are socially constructed phenomena as folk devils (Cohen, 1972). The transgressions of these former Disney actresses' points to a much larger social problem interrelated to the breakdown of the family unit. This became critical to understanding how the contemporary shift to raise children, from one generation to another, is greatly influenced by the boundaries in the mother and daughter relationship. Lastly, it becomes clear that the ideology of motherhood along with the fame of celebrity children has led to scrutiny and skepticism of the mother's parenting skills to change their daughter's deviant behaviours such as substance abuse or sexual transgressions.

In the following final chapter, I will discuss the significance and importance of studying deviant transgressions using a nuanced sociological lens. Furthermore, I will also outline the limitations of this study and future directions on this topic.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter will begin by summarizing the key points of this study and to discuss in greater detail the significance of this project in the social sciences. Next, I present the assumptions, challenges related to data collection, and the limitations of the study. Furthermore, I will outline the direction of future work focusing on the complex relations among female Disney celebrities, popular culture, and the media.

The aim of the project was to analyze the media narratives of three female Disney actresses: Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez, and Lindsay Lohan. Specifically, this study examined how the media constructed the transition from child to adult star as deviant and a social problem. A grounded theory analysis of Disney celebrity stories from magazines and entertainment webpages was conducted to gain a conceptual handle on the impact of celebritization [sic] on young women. This study sought to answer the following two questions:

- a) How does the media construct boundaries outlining the appropriate or inappropriate behaviours of young women?
- b) What are the broader social problems arising from the media construction of youth deviance?

One of the major findings that emerged from this study was that media constructions of these female Disney celebrities served as form of social control. That is, behaviours that were considered to transgress against socially accepted guidelines associated with traditional female gender norms were constructed as deviant in the media (e.g., Schur, 1984). The media acts as an agent of social control, reinforcing traditional normative boundaries around gender and family.

Analyses of the data revealed that the media promotion of these young women – both their own image and their fictional counterparts – was based upon a “wholesome-naïveté” narrative for young girls that adhere strongly to traditional gender norms. This ultimately led to reinforcing a wholesome and traditional image of the family. Efforts to transition into adulthood and craft a more mature self-image to appeal to a broader audience by these young actresses challenge the idealized Disney “wholesome naïveté” narrative. The failure to meet this ideal narrative often resulted in these actresses’ deviant transgressions to become medicalized. For example, in several of the data sources reviewed, the media actively attributed these actresses’ deviant transgressions to mental health problems such as alcoholism.

In this study, I discussed three pivotal categories by Schur (1984) that serve as mechanisms of social control. To recap, these three categories are: 1) appearance and beauty norms, 2) maternity norms, and 3) sexuality norms. This study specifically builds upon Schur’s (1984) three categories by illustrating how the “wholesome naïveté” narrative is used as a social control mechanism in ensuring that females follow the appropriate female conduct within society. Using Schur’s (1984) theory, it became quite clear that nurturing, naïve, and innocence characteristics are still prevalent and dominant in society. As such, woman who do not display these characteristics are seen as being more masculine in nature and are labeled as being “ill”.

In addition, analyses of data in this study revealed that the maturation of these actresses was constructed in the media as being a corrupting agent. This became evident through the pubescent challenges these actresses faced in maintain their iconic Disney character identity when growing up on their respective Disney sets. Similarly, the lack of parental influence in the lives of these actresses’ was also constructed as a corrupting agent intended to negatively influence younger audience members to act defiantly, but instead it is a normal rite of passage

that all teenagers undergo in their quest of identifying their sexuality, individuality, and their sense of belonging in the world.

Nevertheless, this study also concluded that the rise to fame for these Disney actresses' and their transgression were constructed as part of a larger social problem by the media. In particular, the media often attributed the deviant transgressions of these former Disney celebrities to a lack of traditional parenting or a breakdown in family values. While the fathers of Cyrus and Lohan were frequently the source of media criticism, much of the media-constructed social problem in this study focused on mothers. Specifically, the ideology of motherhood has led to mothers in general to be classified as being either "good" or "bad" (Wachholz, 2000). While ultimately being classified as being unfit due to their inability to control their daughter's deviant transgressions.

More importantly, this study revealed that despite the revolutionary changes to female opportunities, there is an out dated and patriarchal system in society that is struggling to instil control of female conduct. It has become clear that the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in creating a new generation of females (Self, 2012). Specifically, a new style of parenting rooted in feminist ideals of respect, independence, and equality. These new attitudes and behaviours are changing child-rearing practices in western societies, especially towards young females, and the roles of women in popular culture.

Lastly, this study has shown how emerging Disney actresses' are seeking acceptance in being portrayed as individuals and not unrealistic human beings that are bound by patriarchal notions of innocence and femininity. This was exemplified in Chapter Two's discussion of these actresses attempting to break away from their Disney constructed "wholesome naïveté"

narrative. In the following section, I will discuss the significance and the importance of this study.

Significance and Importance of Study

This study addresses a significant gap in the deviance literature. Previous literature surrounding the topic has adopted a narrow focus on Hollywood adult celebrities who came from old Hollywood (Cashmore, 2006; Church Gibson, 2012). However, upon careful examination of the literature, it became clear that no research was being conducted on emerging female Disney celebrities. My study addresses the gap within the literature by contributing insight to hurdles emerging female Disney actresses face in a mediated and celebrity obsessed culture.

In a mediated culture obsessed with a celebrities every move, the importance of this study cannot be greater. The findings of this study are significant to understanding the cultural boundaries and narratives that are created as a result of the appropriate or inappropriate behaviours of these actresses. More importantly, this study becomes important to further understanding how these actresses influence the behaviours and attitudes of female youths.

The findings of this study and our understanding of the “wholesome naïveté” narrative has not only served as a social control mechanism but, it has become an overall standard that women must follow. The rise of gendered violence and sexual assaults in the media has led to the public lacking sympathy towards women who dress “provocatively” and do not follow the “wholesome naïveté” narrative. The lack of sympathy towards woman in meeting the standards set out by society as to what is to be a woman such as their way of dress and behaviours results in women being constructed as not being in control of their bodies, personas, and images. This was exhibited through Miley Cyrus’ image in the media. As this study has demonstrated, these

actresses and women in general are in fact in control of their images and their bodies. Moreover this study has illustrated how these archaic practices of using the “wholesome naïveté” narrative, as a means of social control are out of date practices that are being challenged by activists and academic scholars alike by studying female actresses and their influence on young females.

Ultimately, this study outlines the importance these actresses have on youths of today. It provides key insights to the changes that will take place as to how female behaviours are understood in the future.

In relation to Criminology, this study has been able to expand the field on deviance by modernizing Cohen’s (1972) application of youth deviance and moral panics in the media. Particularly in an era where technological advancements have facilitated the easy of obtaining “real time” around the clock celebrity entertainment. In what follows, I will discuss the challenges and limitations encountered during this study.

Challenges and Limitations

As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, this study was met with a series of challenges during the data-collecting phase. One of the biggest hurdles encountered became evident through the initial stages of data collection. I struggled to maintain my identity as a researcher and as a member of society who was witnessing the events unfold. Charmaz (2006) states: “...[e]veryone as preconceptions ...our research will be better if we can identify our biases and take them into account” (p. 25). By accepting my preconceived ideals of these celebrities and their lives in the limelight, I was able to move forward with the research design. It was during the research design, that I was faced with a number of complications. However, one problem that stood out above the rest during the data collection process was my inability to collect hardcopies of certain

magazines due to the libraries limiting hardcopy and online magazine subscriptions. This meant that only new magazine titles could be obtained online for the purposes of this study. Previous titles were no longer accessible with the type of university subscription, which influenced the way in which data was collected.⁵

Together with the challenges faced during the initial steps, it became clear that this study was also plagued by other limitations. Due to the length of my degree, it was a challenge to collect risk data in a short period of time; a longitudinal study format would have been more appropriate to address the research questions in greater depth.

A second limitation was the unfolding of important events and celebrity announcements throughout the duration of data collection; sometimes keeping up with the publication of news in different forums was a challenge to corroborate facts. Often times this also meant that there was a great deal of data that was being introduced from additional sources that were outside of the purviews of this study or completely inaccessible through the library. This information may have provided alternative views on the data. Lastly, the final limitation of this study lies within the constraints of it being a new topic under study in the discipline. This resulted in being unable to find direct and useful literature on the topic that would have assisted in developing richer results.

Recommendations and Future Research

The suggestions and recommendations provided below will assist in to inform the future direction of work on this topic. For starters, there is a need for future deviance and

⁵ This initiative started in January 2013, in which all previous issues were discarded from the annex and collections depository in the library.

criminological studies to consider more work on emerging female Disney actresses in order to expand the literature and overall fields of Criminology, popular culture, and the media.

Secondly, I would recommend that future studies also examine the roles of emerging male Disney celebrities in the lives of adolescent youth as a way to fill the gaps found within the literature. I recommend that a comparative study be conducted on male and female Disney narratives to focus on the differences in deviant transgressions after fame. This comparison will provide further insights into the experiences both genders encounter in the Disney industry.

Insights from this study reveal that social control agents, such as the media, attempt to enforce and ensure these female Disney actresses' follow patriarchal gender norms in western society. Furthermore, this study revealed that social control agents regain and maintain control of the family unit by labeling mothers of Disney celebrity children as being "unfit" to parent. This was due to the fact that there has been a blurring of boundaries between the role of a mother as a parent and friend. This valuable insight is crucial to understanding the future of female gender norms and its relationship to society.

Appendix A

Factivia Search Terms: Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomes, Lindsay Lohan,

Inclusions: Canadian Newspapers or Top US Newspapers or US Newspapers

Exclusions: * French Language → Some French newspapers may show up regardless of exclusion.

Item	Description	Cell
IDENTIFICATION		
Case ID	A case ID will be used to number the articles found per celebrity and per newspaper	A
Newspaper	NYT= New York Times NYD= NY Daily News WP= Washington Post NYP= New York Post 24= 24 Hours a location of this newspaper will be provided ie. V=Vancouver etc. T*=Toronto Sun TS=Toronto Sun HS=Hamilton Spectator	B
Headline	Headline title i.e. Bolded , CAPITALS etc. Article Headline -Yellow highlighted = Featured article	C
Month	Month of the Year	D
Day	Day of the month	E
Author(s)	Author of article	F
Section	Newspaper section it belongs to i.e. Entertainment, Opinion, Editorial etc.	G
Page #	Page number of where it can be found <i>Occasionally this is often not found, if this is the case N/A will be used</i>	H
Language	The language in which the article was written (<i>This will be recorded in the event that some news stories are in French that would provide valuable insight and easy to review for later</i>)	I
Publisher	Publishing company or group the newspaper belongs	J

Image	Image with the article Y=Yes, N=No,	K
CONTENT		
Word Count	The number of words in the article	L
Celeb Mentions	Number of celebrities mentioned in the article i.e. M and # and if there is a mention of the celebrity via their partner or family members	
Article Type	Will identify the type of the article i.e. gossip, personal interview etc. <i>-Development of some themes or sub themes</i>	M

Focus of Article	Article focused on the celebrities partner and briefly mentions any of the chosen six celebrities	N
Location	Identify the event or location mentioned in the article regarding the celebrity	0
URL to Article	<p>If there is a URL provided to view the article on the newspapers online site</p> <p><i>Occasionally this is often not found, if this is the case N/A will be used</i></p>	P
Notes	Any other notes or observations pertinent to the article worth mentioning	Q

MEDIA PRESENTATION/ARTICLE LANGUAGE <i>if applicable</i>		
Type	Type of actions or behaviours celebrity is displaying/ engaging in i.e. Drugs - Broad description of themes	R
Positive	Describes/ identifies/promotes the celebrity as i.e. "role model" "good girl" -Brief description of themes	S
Negative	Describes/ identifies/promotes the celebrity as i.e. "good girl gone bad"	T
Other	Any information or observations about the article that should be recorded e.g. direct quotes from other celebrities regarding the Disney star -Brief descriptions of themes	U
Notes/Debriefing of Article		

Analysis	-Analysis/ debrief of the article/ reflexive memo/field notes to use at a later date	V
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