The Neoliberal Life of the “Failing” Kardashian: Robert Kardashian On (Not) *Keeping up with the Kardashians*

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Introduction

*Keeping up with the Kardashians (KUWTK)* is a reality television show that follows the lives of the Kardashian family – a famous, upper-class Californian family consisting of Kris Jenner (the Kardashians’ mother and business manager), her (now ex-) husband Caitlyn Jenner and their children. Kris’ children include Kourtney, Kim, Khloe and Robert Kardashian, and Kris and Caitlyn have two younger children, Kendall and Kylie Jenner. *Rob & Chyna* is a reality TV spin-off of *KUWTK* which followed Rob Kardashian, his then-fiancée Blac Chyna and their pregnancy/newborn daughter, for one season.

This paper will employ a textual analysis of these two shows to analyze how Robert Kardashian’s life and life choices are portrayed as personal failures. Conversations and information about Rob – in the 12 episodes across 6 seasons of *KUWTK*, and 6 episodes of season 1 of *Rob & Chyna* which I studied – are consistently about how Rob must change, and that he is not happy or successful the way he is. Robert Kardashian is consistently portrayed as a failure, which this paper will clarify to mean a neoliberal failure. This paper will analyze the neoliberal logics of the narratives about Robert and the way he lives, including narratives about his health, his (lack of) independence and self-esteem, his marriageability and employability.¹ I will conclude with an analysis of how *KUWTK* and *Rob & Chyna* facilitate a ‘panoptic existence’ for Rob, in which his family, the viewers and even himself surveil and regulate Rob. This paper takes on a critique of neoliberalism, and explores neoliberal governmentality specifically.

Robert’s Health

Kenny understands neoliberal governmentality to mean the on-going extension and application of economic thinking to all areas of life – including biopolitical, living characteristics
like health (13). She finds that one consequence of neoliberal governmentality is *homo oeconomicus*: the individual is perceived to primarily be an economic agent (Kenny 13). This produces specific logic about health, namely that one must take care of human life in the present (through concern for health) in order to safeguard their future productivity in the market (Kenny 21). In this view, life becomes a ‘revenue stream’ which must be “maximized through practices of self-investment in one’s own health – configured as human capital” (Kenny 9).

Self-investment produces the individual as personally responsible for their good health-meaning a productive body (Kenny 11). Similarly, the individual is personally at fault for bad health and an unproductive body. Kenny also calls this idea the “entrepreneur of the self”-requiring individual effort to make the body productive (11). The ideal of self-investment is found in *KUWTK* when Kris (Rob’s mother) states, “if [Rob] doesn’t change his lifestyle right away, he’s going to end up diabetic and his organs are going to shut down […] He has to start exercising and eating right or he’s going to be one really sick boy” (S09E07). Here, Rob’s health is found to be a problem he induced himself, and one he must solve. Once Rob begins to lose weight, Kris states “Rob’s been taking care of himself, watching what he eats, getting exercise, and so the numbers have come back down to like any normal person. This is great news” (Rob & Chyna S01E05). Once again, Rob is found to be responsible for his health, but in this episode – two years later – Kris finds Rob to be self-investing in his health and thus she approves.

Kenny defines ‘human capital’ as “the embodied attributes of individuals that make them economically productive” (Kenny 13). This includes health as it affects the individual’s ability to perform labour. Neoliberal citizens are expected to have high human capital (good health, high-functioning bodies) by self-investing in their health. This investment requires adequate consumption, including purchasing healthy foods, personal trainers, nutritionists, gym
memberships, vitamin supplements and even health care (Kenny 13). On KUWTK, Rob – when questioned about his efforts to be healthier – says to Kris, “What did I tell you last night, call Gunner, schedule Gunner” (S13E06). Gunner Peterson is a personal trainer used by many of the Kardashians. Rob’s insistence on hiring a personal trainer is in line with self-investment: he will contribute to the economy (by paying for a gym membership and trainer) in his efforts to become healthier, which will aid him in forming a more productive body.

Kenny also examines the neoliberal problem of premature death, which surfaces on KUWTK when Kris states multiple times that she worries Rob is going to die soon because of his weight (KUWTK S09E07; KUWTK S10E04). Kenny contends that premature death (as determined by global male/female average life expectancies) shortens an individual’s investment and participation in the market (21). Kenny states that premature death represents a “failed investment, or, more accurately, a failure to self-invest” (21). She notes that ‘death’ here is conceived of (by the World Bank and Global Health initiatives) as the cessation of an individual’s participation in the economic market, which could include disease, disability or actual death (Kenny 21). Death is also not understood as a “disease outcome”, but rather a “decision outcome” (Kenny 21). This decision outcome is one that would not be faced if the individual were rational, self-investing and future-oriented as the good neoliberal citizen is positioned to be (Kenny 21).

This ‘rational’ individual is exemplified on KUWTK by Rob’s sisters who all work out, eat well, consume supplements (like Sugar Bear gummies) and frequent high-quality physicians. Rob is positioned as unhealthy – nearly morbidly-so – because of his ‘poor decisions’ and lack of self-investment. Kris eventually decides to get involved, stating “I can’t let this go to a far worse place, it’s time for me to help Rob out, and get him a nutritionist and just some help […] I feel
like if I don’t help him do something drastic, like he’s going to die” (KUWTK S09E07). Kris recognizes that Rob is not making choices which benefit his health, which puts him at risk for premature death. While it is clear why a mother would want to save the life of her child, it is interesting that in her efforts, Kris suggests consumerism (hiring a nutritionist) as the solution. Thus, the show positions Rob’s risk of premature death as fixable through correct consumption and the help of a ‘rational’, ‘future-oriented’ individual. Another example can be found when Rob and Scott Disick (a family friend) have a conversation about Rob not taking insulin for his diabetes in which Disick says, “I can’t believe you just don’t take your insulin and don’t give a shit” (Rob & Chyna S01E01). This is followed by Disick’s reflection on the conversation, in which he worries that Rob will have a similarly short life to his own father who died a few years previously due to poor health (Rob & Chyna S01E01). Clearly taking insulin would provide better health to someone with diabetes like Rob, but my focus here is that Rob not taking his insulin is positioned as a bad (neoliberal) decision by Disick, and even that he does not care about his health and human capital.

A slightly obscure example of a threat to Rob’s human capital and of a premature death is when Rob is perceived as possibly suicidal. After posting Snapchat stories where Rob is visibly upset, police are called to his house; Corey Gamble (Kris’ boyfriend) explains that Rob appeared suicidal in the videos (KUWTK S13E07). Suicide would represent the ultimate neoliberal failure with Kenny’s analysis of premature death: it would represent the shortening of the individual’s investment in the market by their (neoliberally-determined) ‘bad’ decision to end their life and destroy their human capital. It also clearly shows that they do not care about their position in the neoliberal market, which is an inherent threat to the neoliberal, capitalist system that relies on the
consent and enthusiastic participation of those it works on and through. Thankfully, Rob explained that he was simply upset, not suicidal.

Rob’s Lack of Independence

Ouellette argues that reality television espouses neoliberal constructions of ‘good citizen’s which outline a hard-working, independent individual (226). This individual must work on themselves so that state services – like hospitals, social workers and police – do not have to (Ouellette 226). She also argues that reality TV establishes that “normal” citizens do not require the “supervision of the judiciary – or any public institution, for that matter” (Ouellette 232). Ouellette shows that a common idea on Judge Judy is that dependency of any kind (even on charity) is unacceptable (234). The ideal citizen subject is a self-supporting worker (Ouellette 233). KUWTK and Rob & Chyna show Rob depending on his sisters, mother and girlfriend for many things, including housing (he lived with Khloe for three years), food, and money (KUWTK S10E04; S12E03, Rob & Chyna S01E01). This dependency produces a neoliberal anxiety: if you are unable to support yourself, you are a risk who may require the help of the state (for instance, if Rob’s family were to stop supporting him). Sender also notes that this has a particular gender-anxiety attached as well, because to be dependent on the welfare state, or even other successful neoliberal citizens, is constructed as feminine. This is shown on Queen for a Day which showed impoverished women needing help, and even Ouellette’s example of the focus on women defendants on Judge Judy (Sender 140; Ouellette 238). Thus, Rob’s masculinity is threatened by his lack of independence and personal responsibility for his life.

Ouellette also notes that there lies a fear that those who do rely on social services “lack the capacity, or, worse, the desire to function as self-reliant and personally reliable citizens” (233). The cast on KUWTK and Rob & Chyna make it quite clear that Robert is capable of being
a successful neoliberal citizen. Robert himself brings up his business degree from the University of South Carolina (*Rob & Chyna S01E02*). Kris also states that “[Rob] has all of the resources in the world and he doesn’t access them” (*KUWTK* S10E04). Rob is then especially dangerous because he does not want to be neoliberally successful; the internalization of this norm did not hold, as Rob does not conform to it by desiring to be a good neoliberal citizen. This could be why he is frequently perceived to be the “failing” Kardashian. Rob’s family members all have successful careers and are enthusiastic about their work, while Rob does not share this enthusiasm, and for many seasons he even rejects the neoliberal project altogether by not leaving the house and performing labour.

Rob’s weight is also portrayed as a neoliberal problem, which Sender and Sullivan contend is because “being fat is both proof of and produces laziness, a lack of willpower” (580). They explain that valuable neoliberal citizens are constructed as self-disciplining, which produces (and necessitates) their opposite: the lazy, food-addicted fat person (Sender and Sullivan 580). Rob is quite clearly shown as the deviant ‘Other’ of the Kardashian family (at least in recent seasons). He does not attend family vacations or events – including his sister Kim’s wedding –, he does not get invited to family dinners or fashion shoots, and he was not filmed nearly at all on the 14th season of *KUWTK* (which his three older sisters and mother executivey produce). Whether or not Rob is an outcast in his family because of his weight (and the related perception of his lack of discipline) is not relevant here; what is relevant is that the ‘fat’ character on the show fills this role, which allows the show to preserve neoliberal ideas. Robert Kardashian is positioned as deviant in comparison to his fit, healthy sisters who are shown living happy, fulfilled lives because they are self-disciplining in their choices and activities.
Ouellette also asserts that reality TV “[instills] the importance of self-discipline, the reward of self-enterprising actions and the personal consequences of making the ‘wrong’ choice” (239). The reward of self-discipline is exemplified by Rob’s sisters who are all highly neoliberally successful and seemingly happy as they are currently in monogamous relationships, have high-earning careers and have fit, ‘productive’ bodies. *Rob & Chyna* shows Rob rewarded more tangibly for showing effort to become a better neoliberal citizen (by working out and asking for help on how to be a good father) in the form of sex with Chyna (which she calls ‘the booty’) (S01E03). He is also rewarded with praise from his family and with a raised sense of self-esteem when he is perceived to be working hard to be successful. For instance, Kourtney says, “I’m happy that Rob is at least getting out of the house and living life”, after Rob moves in with his then-girlfriend Blac Chyna (S12E05). To his family, Rob leaving Khloe’s home and being seen outside of the home is a step to becoming a productive member of society.

*KUWTK* and *Rob & Chyna* also show the consequences of making poor choices. For instance, Rob lost his main form of employment when *Rob & Chyna* was cancelled after just one season. This was reportedly due to his failed relationship with Blac Chyna, which also seemingly ended because he did not put in the effort to work on it. This was evidenced in one of their big fights featured on the show, when Chyna said, “I just wish Rob would man up, he just doesn’t even want to deal with me so it like really worries me about my future” (*Rob & Chyna* S01E01). Interestingly, Chyna makes a gendered connection between Rob’s ability to engage successfully in a heterosexual, romantic relationship and his masculinity/manhood. It is significant that she associates Rob’s gender authenticity with his ability to navigate a neoliberal device such as the heterosexual, monogamous relationship. Another consequence of Rob’s failure to work hard and be independent is a supposed lack of self-confidence.
Rob’s Self-Esteem

One’s self-esteem and its neoliberal importance is gendered on reality TV shows. Ouellette contends that self-esteem (‘feeling good about yourself’) is closely tied to economic security and female citizenship on Judge Judy (237). Ouellette seems to argue a gendered notion which characterizes self-esteem as a woman’s problem and positions it as a neoliberal problem only women must worry about. I challenge Ouellette here; I argue that men and women’s successful neoliberal citizenship rests on their supposed self-esteem, as it is said to affect their ability to participate enthusiastically in the labour market. This is shown in Sender’s analysis of Queer Eye for the Straight Guy, on which the ‘Fab Five’ work on heterosexual men’s self-confidence to ensure their success in romantic and employment endeavors (134). This is also exemplified on KUWTK and Rob & Chyna as Rob is consistently shown as depressed, lacking confidence and worried about his bodyweight being seen and critiqued. Where Ouellette and Sender agree is that according to neoliberalism, repairing someone’s self-esteem is not the job of society, it is the responsibility of the individual who must work on themselves to produce a-neoliberally intelligible self-subject (Ouellette 237; Sender 135).

Sender also highlights shame as the “quintessential neoliberal affect” and technology of surveillance (143). She argues that shame is effective for governing at a distance as it ensures internalization of outsider judgments about one’s life and decisions (Sender 143). Thus, through shame, self-esteem is not personal, it is a neoliberal tool (Sender and Sullivan 581). Self-esteem is not just feeling good about oneself, but putting that positive judgment to productive use in cooperating with and enthusiastically meeting the demands of neoliberalism (i.e. through self-governing and proper consumption) (Sender and Sullivan 581). Moreover, low self-esteem is positioned not as a reasonable response to upsetting life situations, but as a moral failure which
requires a personal solution (Sender 144). This deployment of shame as a technology of governance is shown on KUWTK and Rob & Chyna in regards to Rob. For instance, Rob states, “I’ve never felt so down and depressed in my life”, to which Kim responds moments later by telling Rob how much she loves him and wishes to help him fix his weight (KUWTK S08E02). The two arrange a training session with Gunnar Peterson, which Rob does not attend; Kim then tells him, “Rob I am seriously disappointed in you” (KUWTK S08E02). That Rob remains depressed and lacks self-confidence for the remainder of the season (and really every season after) is not surprising, because Rob’s lack of self-esteem is constructed as due to his moral failure to work hard (to lose weight) to personally solve his problem of low self-esteem. His continued lack of self-esteem is an effective governmental device which allows the constant surveillance of Rob by Rob himself. Through his feelings of self-doubt and self-loathing, Rob continues to enforce neoliberal values on himself. He does not require the disappointment of his sister – though it does reinforce neoliberal values – because he has affectively internalized it.

Rob’s Family, Marriageability and Employability

Ouellette asserts that nuclear families with dual-incomes are positioned as the neoliberally ideal family structure on reality television (238). This family structure is important because it does a lot of the work of the state, such as governing, surveilling, regulating, and promoting self-surveillance (Ouellette 238). Queer Eye also promotes “coupled relationships [as they] privatize the costs of social reproduction, along with the care of human dependency needs, through personal responsibility exercised in the family and civil society – thus shifting costs from state agencies to individuals and households” (Sender 146). Given the economic advantages of monogamous couplings, it is clear why, on reality TV, “citizenship lessons are often directed at people who reject marriage, the nuclear family and traditional values” (Ouellette
This includes unmarried couples who live together – such as Rob Kardashian and Blac Chyna. Ouellette contends that the neoliberal lesson is that these sort of couplings must enforce standards on themselves so that they do not become a burden on the state (233).

Rob attempts to enforce these standards on himself; he remains in a relationship with Chyna after near-constant fighting since they met. He clearly also holds the nuclear family as his ideal, like when he states, “we do have a baby, and my goal is to have a family and that family to be together” (*KUWTK* S13E11). Kourtney’s response to Rob is, “I respect you for that, I feel like that’s what makes you a good person” (*KUWTK* S13E11) – indicating her approval that he is acting in a neoliberally intelligible way. In the end, Robert and Chyna did break up, though it is not clear from the shows on what terms and if they used state resources. According to Ouellette, Sheindlin might argue that living together and having a child before Rob and Blac Chyna were married was an irresponsible lapse in judgment, which would make any (possible) dependency on the state during their break up that much more deplorable.

The precariousness of the flexible capitalist economy also could be seen as having an effect on Robert’s relationship with Blac Chyna. Sender’s analysis of *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* finds that because of women’s greater independence in the neoliberal market – and their own increasing need to be flexible workers –, there is a threat of women leaving men who are not up to par (141). This is evident on *KUWTK* when Rob’s family asks multiple times why Chyna would want to be with him. For instance, Khloe at one point shouted at Rob, “Rob, she texted all your sisters that she’s disgusted by you and ready to leave you because you can’t get your shit together” (*KUWTK* S13E07). Khloe summarizes why Rob’s relationship is failing: he is not self-sufficient, adaptable or a hard neoliberal worker.
Sender contends that workers must be flexible, adaptable, and valuable in the current precarious economy (134). Rob himself identifies why he is seemingly not successful when he states, “I’m trying to be in the fashion industry, and I’m not going to be taken seriously when I’m 50lbs overweight. It’s embarrassing to the family” (KUWTK S08E02). He recognizes that in an industry which values thin people, his body (perceived to be his personal responsibility) seemingly does not fit. Kris also identifies how Rob’s weight affects his employability when she tells a therapist: “[Rob] was the star of the track team at school, he was on the basketball team, he took on Dancing with the Stars, couldn’t put two steps together, and came in 2nd place. He was always someone who was very athletic, and he’s put on over 100lbs over the last year. (KUWTK S10E04). Speaking of Rob’s past successes – seemingly contrasting his present life as unsuccessful – shows how Kris conceptualizes Rob’s weight gain as impeding his ability to work. She says that when he was active and had an athletic body, Rob was adaptable enough to learn to dance over the course of one season of Dancing with the Stars. His adaptability is seen to have allowed him to gain employment, which his inactive, overweight body is now seen as impeding.

Sender also suggests that in a precarious economy, “self-improvement is suggested as the only reliable insurance against economic insecurity” (135). This was exemplified when, in discussing if Rob & Chyna should have a second season, Kourtney stated, “he needs to have like boundaries, like if you don’t go to therapy once a week, you’re done filming” (KUWTK S13E07). And this did actually happen, showing the consequences of not being a flexible-enough worker. Rob did not attend the therapy requested by his family and fiancée and he broke up with his fiancée, and subsequently the show was cancelled (Rob & Chyna S01E05). There is no way of knowing whether Rob’s “lack of initiative” caused the cancellation of his show, but given
what Kourtney suggested as the requirements for him to work (which were not met), it is reasonable to assume that it had an effect. Unfortunately, Rob had stated, “most of my confidence comes from me having this show every day. I want a second season of Rob and Chyna, I want to use this show to make myself stronger” (KUWTK S13E07). This shows that Rob felt his self-esteem was dependent on his ability to work and to have (and be able to show) a successful romantic relationship. The cancellation of the show (produced by Kris Jenner and Kim Kardashian, among others) also reinforces Ouellette and Sender’s arguments that one’s self-esteem is positioned as a personal problem and should not be a societal or familial responsibility according to neoliberal logic (Ouellette 237; Sender 135).

A Kardashian Panopticon

Ouellette and Sender note the importance of surveillance to neoliberalism. Neoliberalism promotes the limited interference of the state in citizens’ lives, but there must still exist regulation of a population to serve economic interests (Ouellette 226). This is done through “technologies of the self” (Sender 135) or “strategies of government” (Ouellette 225). Ouellette describes these as “forms of cultural training which govern indirectly in the name of ‘lifestyle maximization’, ‘free choice’ and personal responsibility” (225). The Kardashian family can be seen as a technology of the self/strategy of government as they employ these strategies in their attempts to ‘train’ Rob with their constant governmental gaze. Essential to this operation of power is that it is not seen as top-down power (Ouellette 225) Instead, one comes to think of governmental power’s operation – which indirectly serves the interests of the state – as reflecting one’s own desire; one wants to conform because they believe it is necessary in order to be successful and happy. This is evident when Rob begins listening to his family’s comments about his weight and begins working out in the 13th season, stating (while on an elliptical), “I’m finally
getting to a place where I’m feeling better about myself” (*KUWTK* S13E11). While it may be true that Rob does feel better when he begins working out, it is also evidence of a neoliberal strategy which transforms top-down power into diffused, governmental power, which then becomes legible as Rob’s own desire in its operation.

Moreover, Ouellette asserts that through the surveillance and correction of “the deviant”, the reality TV viewer learns how to be ‘normal’ by learning what is ‘abnormal’ and deemed deviant (227). She argues that *Judge Judy* acts as a “panoptic device” which “classifies and surveils individuals deemed unsavoury and dangerous” (Ouellette 234). *KUWTK* and *Rob & Chyna* function similarly: they show ‘normal’, successful citizens (Rob’s sisters, mother and Chyna) contrasted with Rob, who is portrayed as unhappy, lazy and unsuccessful. Because there exists one seemingly consistent neoliberal failure (Robert) throughout many of the seasons, it is made quite clear to viewers what qualities, behaviours and attitudes are unacceptable – and even a threat. For instance, Khloe states, after Rob requests to use her assistants to move out of her house, that “he is not inconveniencing *my* life anymore, he did that enough for years” (*KUWTK* S12E03). Khloe suggests here that Robert threatened her own success when he diverted her employees from her business.

In the governmental process of surveillance and training citizens, most important is that they learn to self-surveil and self-regulate (Sender 142). Thus, while external surveillance is required, it is more important that Rob learn to adopt the gaze and judgments of family, trainers and even viewers. That Rob does begin to adopt this gaze is evidenced when Rob starts to eat healthy foods with no immediate push from his family, like his interesting ‘healthy’ salmon, steak and almond-milk smoothie (*Rob & Chyna* S01E04).
Ouellette and Murray also argue that “reality TV mitigates our resistance to surveillance tactics” (9). They note that as audience members, we watch the surveillance of cast members, which normalizes it and results in our openness to it (Ouellette and Murray 9). Ouellette and Murray also state that we must allow such surveillance of ourselves in order to be good citizens who can be easily governed and regulated (9). They term this the “panoptic vision of society”, in which one is always surveilled, even if only by oneself (Ouellette and Murray 9). Rob provides a bit of a paradox regarding surveillance: he simultaneously provides a discomfort with surveillance while also showing its importance. Rob is seemingly uncomfortable being filmed, and on multiple occasions he does not allow cameras into his room or to see his face (KUWTK S10E04). Furthermore, Rob says he does not go out or go on certain family trips because of the cameras and media. For instance, he refused to go to Cannes, France for an appearance with Blac Chyna and he stated, “I just don’t feel comfortable being looked at like that. I wish I could” (Rob & Chyna S01E02).

However, as shown throughout this paper, Robert Kardashian is not positioned as a good neoliberal citizen on KUWTK or Rob & Chyna. Rob’s discomfort with surveillance is another way of showing that Rob is not a good citizen – especially compared to his family who are all watched constantly by their film crew and paparazzi. Rob even got into a legal altercation when he refused to allow paparazzi onto his private property to take pictures of him (KUWTK S08E05). Rob’s disruption of KUWTK’s neoliberal narrative of normalized surveillance with his problem with paparazzi is then doubly produced as neoliberally failing because his refusal ends up creating a burden on the state when he is required to go to court. It is clear that what would have been the easiest response to this surveillance is just accepting it. The consequences of not accepting surveillance are exhibited here: you are a bad neoliberal citizen who is a burden on the
state and thus not self-sufficient. When Rob does submit to surveillance, for instance by attending Khloe’s birthday party and having his photograph taken, he is rewarded with praise from his family and sexual intimacy with Blac Chyna (Rob and Chyna S01E01).

Conclusion

Keeping up with the Kardashians and Rob & Chyna have been analyzed here for the neoliberal logics they reproduce, specifically through the treatment of Robert Kardashian on the shows. Specific narratives about Rob are analyzed for their neoliberal coherence, including his health, his dependence on family, his low self-esteem, and his marriageability and employability. Furthermore, these two shows have been analyzed for their panoptic qualities, as they allow Rob’s family, viewers and Rob himself to become surveillance and regulatory devices in Rob’s life. Robert is constructed as a neoliberal failure on the shows, evidenced through the constant surveillance which positions him as unhappy and unproductive. KUWTK and Rob & Chyna showcase the dangerous ‘lazy’ and ‘fat’ citizen, as well as the consequences of the seemingly related lack of self-discipline. This not only functions on Robert Kardashian, but on the viewers who watch the show; they see what makes for a ‘bad’ neoliberal citizen and the associated consequences, as well as advice and exemplification by the other cast members of how to be a good neoliberal citizen. These shows and their casts, through their neoliberal-informed narratives, thus act as governmental devices not only on Robert Kardashian, but on those who watch them and internalize the norms and standards espoused.

Notes

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Clearly many of the issues discussed regarding Rob are actually legitimate, like taking care of one’s health, not wanting to die young and more. That these are (possibly) Rob’s personal desires shows that he has internalized neoliberal norms and logics. These kinds of narratives, while likely in Rob’s best interests, are analyzed for their neoliberal significance in this paper, not for their legitimacy or authenticity.

Works Cited


Ouellette, Laurie. “‘Take Responsibility for Yourself’: Judge Judy and the Neoliberal Citizen.”  

