ANALYSIS OF EFFECTS OF MEDIA PRESENTATION OF CRIMES COMMITTED BY WOMEN AND CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST WOMEN/JUDICIAL IMPLICATIONS[*]

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Media presentation of crime leads to changes of its social and emotional perception. Although in criminology there is a multitude of literature on the link between crime and media, there is still a lack of research on how media present women offenders. On the other hand, the phenomenon of violent women is a neglected social problem, while at the same time it presents a sensation in the media. As a result of patriarchal constructions, there are analytical data in literature that media differently judge men and women. Sensational approach to female violence as a gender issue neglects causes, essence and consequences primarily contained in the phenomenon of normalization of violence present in the form of a universal phenomenon. The relations of power and gender policy, instead of looking for reasons of violence, become the scene where accountability is avoided for violent acts, where women appear both as perpetrators and as victims. In this paper the authors concentrated on the analysis of media presentation of crimes committed against women and crimes committed by women, considering the role of gender stereotypes, from the aspect of criminological and feminist theories, as well as the aspect of the public. Also, the authors stress that media can give rise to various forms of deviation of the real picture on social phenomena such as simplification, steretypization, sensationalism, but can also turn the attention to certain social phenomena up to the level of alarm. The key issue which remains open is whether the rise of criminal acts committed by women is generated by disclosure of the hidden female criminality, which, because of changes in criminal policy and police work, disproportionally raises their number, or it is the product of some other factors.

KEYWORDS: media presentation / violence committed against women / violence committed by women

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INTRODUCTION

Media play an important role in forming of the public perception of crime. Analysis of this importance is significant for understanding of effects of media presentation of crime, which has a far-reaching effect on various spheres of public life. Among other things, it influences creation of criminal policies and judicial responses in the form of adoption of laws and sanctioning of certain types of crimes.

Media presentation of crime gives rise to changes in its social perception. It may be characterized as emotionalization of the public opinion (Karsted, 2002). According to Karsted, media which broadcast "spectacles of suffering" trigger in diffuse and broad number of spectators strong emotional reactions, such as anger, sorrow and compassion. Social reactions which follow the strengthened emotionalization of the public are reflected in conversion of these feelings into certain social programs, measures and goals. Negative "emotionalization of the public opinion" triggered by the media results in individual and collective emotions which may be called negative emotions (*moral disgust, revengeful feelings, bitterness, dispiritedness*), making value barometers of social ethics which serve as a legitimate basis for the law and legal procedures (Bandes, 1999: 4, according to: Karsted, 2002: 303). Changes in public and political discourse on crime include the process of emotionalization of the public discourse on crime. In this plan the media engage creating an expressly emotional relation toward crime, so criminal policy is reduced to expressing of collective feelings of fear and anger toward crime. Politicians compete in solving of "emotional needs of the public, while reflections of the public`s emotional state are in turn returned through the electorate" (Karsted, 2002: 303). In this sense, it should be stressed that media presentation and perception of crime is not the same as the factual state.

Attractiveness of media contents is achieved by titles and stories which are characterized by imperatives such as: directness, dramatization, structural approach, novelty, tease, conventionalism, personalization and simplicity (Greer, 2003). Contents relating to crime have some of these imperatives, and thus present a significant and attractive media topic (Greer, 2003). Directing the public`s perception toward certain problems, media can bring about various forms of deviation of the real picture of social phenomena, through simplification, sterotypization, sensationalism (Greer, 2003). At the same time, they can turn the public`s attention toward certain neglected or hidden social phenomena up to the level of alarm.

Although there is a multitude of literature in criminology on the link between media and crime, there is a lack of research concerning how media present women perpetrators (O' Donell, 2016). However, the existing analyses of contents illustrate that, under the influence of patriarchal constructions, media have different approach to crimes committed by men and those committed by women. In the past, researches pointed to the relation of women and crime primarily in the context of the family crime, neglecting cases when women committed violence. As the reason for this they state that such crimes are rare (Morrissey, 2003). Women are not expected to commit violent and heavy crimes, because media submit them to various psycho-social criteria. According to these criteria, women perpetrators of heavy criminal acts are never "ordinary" and "boring" persons, but are assessed within the triangle among "mad-sad or bad" (Jewkes, 2004). Women who do not belong to the stereotypes of a "good mother" or a "good wife" are treated worse in the media - they are "doubly deviant", because they violate the law in both ethical and legal

sense (Llyod, 1995). There is a significant disparity of media coverage in presenting women`s crimes in comparison to male perpetrators (Jewkes, 2004).

Creators of media images create cultural meanings which include gender interpretations of crime processed into media products. Gender images in media presentation of female criminality are under the influence of ideological gender determinants, almost as much as the media presentation of violence committed against women. Analysis of media contents and the images they create about the relation of women and criminality has a long tradition in the specific treatment of femininity in criminology and judiciary. Analysis of contents of media presentation of female criminality has as a primary goal establishing of the factual state on the basis of the assumption that media images often deviate from statistical data and reality. Accordingly, the phenomenon of violent women presents a neglected social problem, while at the same time it presents a sensation in the media. Women murderers are in movies and TV programs almost always presented as monsters and psychopaths, whose deranged states give rise to violent behavior. Media fascination with women murderers does not dispute the traditionality of femininity, because female crime is much more frequently attributed to a psychological disorder than it is the case with men (Leighton, 2005).

Research of TV contents from the 70s of the last century emphasized the social function of "TV criminals". The character of a criminal is created according to the needs of the current cultural and criminal policy. This research points to the obvious tendency of creators of TV crime series to show young, white men, members of the middle class, as the dominant criminals. The reason for this is neutralization of accusations for existence of racial presentation of crime in the media (Dominick, 1973). Simplification and stereotypical reduction of social constructs through TV presentation of criminals and victims is presented, in a more or less subtle degree, also in results of the analysis of contents of TV news on crime (Barak, 1995). The influence of dominant social and value attitudes concerning the gender is reflected in the fact that comprehensive media constructions of a violent woman necessarily implies her masculinization and a kind of "emancipation", which throws her out of the lines of "real femininity" (Ferrel & Websdale, 1999).

Women murderers are in movies presented in two simplified ways. Female violent behavior is shown either as an "innocent destruction", whose goal is self-defense and defense of her family, or as a "malicious premeditated crime", whose origin is in a disturbed mental health, or an inherited genetic predisposition for evil doing (Bailey & Hale, 2004). According to these authors, the fatality of a woman-criminal gained caricatural proportions in the 90s of the last century (Bailey & Hale, 2004: 229-230). Hollywood construction of deadly women, who deviate from the roles of male helpers and accidental accomplices, creates a new construct of strong women who are "sexually ambivalent, or openly lesbians". This is reflected in a new technique of recruiting women for violence through a male perspective of violence (Bailey & Hale, 2004: 231). Gender stereotypes remain present in the manner in which the script-writer develops a story of a violent woman. Such stereotypes also differentiate within the gender itself, disabling women from lower social strata, or women who are not white, to tell their stories, because of the inadequate social status (Bailey & Hale, 2004: 231).

Socially constructed images of criminality and its gender determination appear as a product of cultural policy, but in time they have influenced the creation of the policy through effects of media presentations, which gain their own independent flow and life. Analysis of contents dealing with media presentation of social phenomena can have

different goals, and one of the most important ones is disclosure of relation between the media image and the reality of a phenomenon, and accordingly disclosure of the origin, effects and intentions in establishing of stereotypes which can have consequences in various spheres of social life.

One of the more interesting gender studies in the media is Goffman`s analysis, focused on female images in TV advertising contents. Through analysis of gestures, expressions and posture of actors, Goffman reveals the background which contains American cultural values significant for the gender issue (Goffman, 1976). Goffman claims that the purpose of images in advertisementa is to convince us that "this is the exact way of men and women, or the way they wish to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves, but in relation to one anothers" (Goffman, 1976: 7). Goffman believed that people looking at the images of men and women in advertisements translate their social constructs into the real social life and behavior. Analysis of social power through advertisements includes specific aspects of advertisements which are reflected in different presentations of physical size of actors, emphasizing of certain parts of the body, difference in the physique of men and women. Showing of families strengthens the role of a man as a protector, instructor, the one who issues orders; women and children are classified into one group, men into another group. Social identity is based on imitation of social constructs contained in advertisements in the manner in which an individual acquires a gender-related personality, and the manner in which the person communicates with others. There is a whole span of styles which an individual can choose from, while styles and identifications can change in time. Goffman`s study on gender construction in advertisements can be applied to other media as well.

Movies impact socialization of individuals, where many reproduce certain social and normative values relating to gender. Movie characters of women murderers often replace the lack of real information on female violent criminality which is available to public. They shape forming of public opinion on deviant behavior of women. Surplus of masculinity or a high degree of sexualization of the movie female criminal character maintains the woman in a traditional gender role, in spite of the committed crime. It appears as the consequence of a disorder, or a sensationalist deviation from the adequate gender role. The question is how much this media profile reflects real female perpetrators of heavy crimes. Strengthening the dominant gender constructs, movie characters of deviant women-criminals classify women criminals as perpetrators of accepted gender norms, and thus reveal the systemic powers of racism, sexism and heterosexism (Leighton, 2005). It is always a deviation in relation to the gender acceptable construct which could be justified (if it is a coercion because of seduction by masculine manipulation, or a reaction to male abuse) or unjustified (breaking of allowed gender borders). In contrast to exotic images of women perpetrators, media constructs do not apply to all women who commit heavy crimes, especially since in reality it is almost always only ordinary women (Leighton, 2005).

SOME ASPECTS OF UNDERSTANDING OF FEMALE CRIME AND CRIME AGAINST WOMEN FROM THE ASPECT OF CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORIES, FEMINIST STUDIES AND THE PUBLIC

Different interpretations of effects of winning gender equality to female crime relate to changes which give rise to its larger visibility, loss of a hidden character, and a potential real increase of female presence in criminality. This is also a change of perception of criminality as a "male thing", in which women have a marginal or incidental participation.

Criminological theory, as well as legal, media, and even feminist patterns of commenting on female violence, have a long history of essentialization of violence as the capacity which is associated primarily with men, ignoring the capacities of women to participate in violence and to commit violence (Carrington, 2013).

The relation between masculinity and crime, which has been surviving for a long time in the focus of numerous criminological research, has been critically commented in feminist studies (Messerschmidt 1993, 1997; Newburn & Stanko, 1994). The absence of women in this field has had as a consequence that many criminal behaviors whose victims are women have remained outside of criminological studies, or have been studied in the manner that put the responsibility on the victims, often blaming the victims, not the perpetrators, for what happened to them. At the same time, the role of the law has been ignored, as well as the behavior of bodies of social control (police, persecutors, judges, prison) in criminalization, as well as in victimization of women (Konstantinović-Vilić, 2013).

However, gender relations in the criminal margin are subjected to the dynamics of change of gender relations in the society. They are also under the influence of changes in cultural dynamics, because criminal behavior cannot be understood outside the cultural context in which it appears, the same as generalizations of criminal behavior must be aware of the presence of cultural and subjective values of those who study them (Beirne, 1983: 372). Finally, considering the relation between the gender and the deviance remains dynamically determined by changes in gender structures, viewed through configuration of social structures.

Female crime in public discourse does not trigger fear, like male one does, and stereotypes of gender division are expressed as a widely spread attitude that this is an accidental and incidental, not a structural problem.

From the feminist point of view, the assumption has been criticized that emancipation of women is responsible for the increase of female criminality, and that it contains additional elements for subordination of women and maintaining of repressive stereotypes. Studies of female victimization present the most significant area which the feminist theory has offered to criminology. Opening of the private sphere of women`s life has realized a large effect on public policy and the treatment of women victims of violence in the family and broader. Although it contains various, sometimes confronted attitudes, the feminist criminological theory has decreased gender blindness in this discipline, and has strengthened its validity in interpretation of women`s participation in criminality as a very important part of criminology as a whole.

There are opinions that treating of female violence in the feminist theory itself suffers from some stereotypes and bias, which are based on continual emphasizing of the disproportion between female and male violence (Carrington, 2006). Therefore, feminists avoid to speak of the problem of practicing violence by women, but prefer to position female violence in the context of relational aggression within the family and peer`s network, which are claimed to have less serious social consequences (Renzetti, 1999; Alder & Vorrall, 2004).

Female violence is most often linked with necessary defense from violent partners. The tendency is to deny the capacity of women to commit violence, which many feminists would rather attribute to men. In this sense, Carry Carrington claims that feminism has a tendency to strengthen the female construct of a victim, and thus position acts of female violence within the context of reduced responsibility. Denial of existence of "real" violent

women is the product of the obsolete gender essentialism and feminist idealism based on the idea of female passivity (Alen, 1998, according to: Carrington, 2006). "Femininity of the victim" idealizes the meaning of a "good wife" as a helpless victim, and projects aggressiveness, competitiveness and violence to men and the patriarchate, almost completely ignoring this quality in women (Wolf, 1993). This is often the reason why violent women perpetrators are absent from feminist analyses of female criminality, and their criminal and violent behavior is presented as the consequence of media presentation, social opinions, or spreading of the policy of criminalization of aggressive female behavior.

Placing of women onto the "pedestal of morality and social superiority" disables equal division of accountability, which is implied by equal rights, and violence is seen as exclusively "gender-related", not as a human problem (Renzetti, 1999).

Non-essentialist approach to analysis of violence and criminality includes the gender dimension, but should not be determined by the gender-binary starting point. In that case women who commit violence are viewed as women who behave as men. In a non-essentialist framework there is nothing inherently male or female concerning violence (Carrington, 2006). Accusations which proclaim feminism responsible for increase of female violence rely on the theory of masculinization of femininity, which has a long tradition of disputing the capacity of women to participate in rituals of violence. In this sense, phenomena of brutal female aggression are viewed by conservative anti-feminist commentators as feminization of violence, as a gender experiment where women become powerful and evil. Non-essentialist approach relieves violence from gender determinant as the social construct which directs our expectations toward "natural" (male) and "unnatural" (female) brutes. This is not about the competition and victory in realization of rights to the role of a brute, or the role of a victim, but about the viewing and designing of gender policies which would take into consideration circumstances on whose foundation violence intensifies as one of the largest social problem of present days.

The sensationalist approach to female violence as a gender issue neglects the causes, the essence and the consequences which are primarily contained in the phenomenon of normalization of violence present as a universal phenomenon. The relations of power and gender policy, instead of searching for causes of violence, become the stage where accountability is avoided for violent acts where women appear both as perpetrators and as victims (Renzetti, 2013).

The fact that violence committed by men by far overcomes violence for which women and girls are accountable does not exclude the need for a sophisticated theory of female violence which analyzes the context, the policy, the relation of powers, and the dynamics of gender relations in specific cases of female violence. The task of the sophisticated feminist analysis of female violence, among other things, means denial of the all-present anti-feminist explanations which are spread in the popular culture, which create public opinion on girls who have begun to behave like men.

The main challenge for future feminist researches is how to more convincingly explain historical shifts in gender patterns of violence, not only to negate them, rationalize them, or simply ignore them. Feminist theories of violence should be put within a context, they should not remain abstract and essentialist. They should deal with specific characteristics of contexts in which women resort to violence, they should reveal how it moves and what it means (Renzetti, 1999: 51). In the new series of qualitative research they must face and

struggle with the current social care about the increasing female violence and criminality, participating in the public and relevant cultural, political and criminological discussions.

INCREASE OF VIOLENCE IN FEMALE ADOLESCENT POPULATION

Increase in rate of female violence in countries like Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the U.S.A. presents a "hot topic", which is explained by influence of new policies, change of cultural context, process of criminalization and increased social control over young women. On the other hand, the thesis may be considered that young women have really become violent, that they participate in an ever-larger degree in subcultural activities, including gangs, drug trafficking, and cyber-cultural activities which instigate and reward violence by young girls (Carrington, 2013). Young women, more and more often, participate in sale and consumation of drugs, in thefts and small crimes, which increases the rise of violence and makes them different from their peers in the past. Parallelly with this, there is the process in which there is a transition from sexualization of girls` delinquency to criminalization of female anti-social behavior (Carrington & Pereira, 2009).

Explanations of the increase of female criminality have not been sufficiently researched, they remain very disputable and instigate numerous questions (Alder & Vorrall, 2004; Carrington & Pereira, 2009). Measures which in the past served to turn most girls away from criminal judicial system have fully been replaced by early intervention and a sharp increase in implementation of penal measures, which has resulted in disproportional increase of girls in detention, in comparison to boys. A comprehensive explanation must take into consideration the complex relation among culture, social milieu and behavioral responses to policies which have contributed to the increase of female violence.

Larger percentage of young women who participate in drug trafficking, driving under effects of illegal substances or alcohol, thefts and violence, cannot be explained by a single and unique cause. It is necessary to research the discursive space in which female adolescent violence appears as the consequence of the increased social control, less tolerant criminal policy and new cultural patterns, and based on such analysis conclusions should be brought on the real increase of female criminal activities.

Narrowing of the gender gap in the ratio of female and male criminality has been supported by statistical data on criminal trends, which show that the percentage of arrested underage young women in the period from 2000 to 2009 in the U.S.A. increased by almost 18%, in comparison to just 0.2% males with similar characteristics (US Department of Justice, 2010, according to: Carrington, 2013: 63).

The percentage of women arrested for violent behavior has increased by 8%, while of men of the same age it has fallen by almost the same percentage. Such and similar data are present also in some other developed countries. The number of young female offenders in Great Britain has increased approximately by 18% in the last several fiscal years, while the number of violent crimes of underage girls has doubled in this period (Arnull & Eagle, 2009: 40).

Also, data in Australia show that gender gap is narrowing, the trend of the last 52 years (the period observed is 1960-2012) shows that the ratio of young men and young women appearing before courts decreased from 1:14 to 1:4 in 2012, in favor of girls (Carrington, 2013: 64). The trend which thus consistently appears cannot simply be attributed to statistical artefact.

A debate about the reason because of which violence increases faster with girls than boys leads to two confronted tabors.

While official reports on criminality indicate decrease of the gender gap in the last two decades, some authors believe that the reason is a change of policy which has as a consequence increased arrests of girls because of behaviors which in the past were not processed. This means that this is not a real increase of the number of girls who committed crimes, but an increased number of girls who enter the juvenile judicial system. Also, girls are, in average, convicted at younger age in comparison to boys (Steffensmeier, Schwartz, Zhong, & Ackerman, 2005). These authors believe that the pattern of this trend of increase must be followed, but also that most crimes committed by girls in reality still remains at a low level. Such attitude is based on the fact that presented statistical trends of increase of female violence have not been recorded in longitudinal self-reported reports (Steffensmeier et al., 2005).

In contrast to such attitude, there are opinions that narrowing of the gender gap is real, although it is somewhat based on the decreased rate of male criminality. Remaining is the unsolved and open issue which produces contradictory conclusions of researchers on whether gender gap in trends of committed violent acts has decreased or narrowed in time because of the increased rate of female violent criminality, or it is caused by the fall of the rate of male criminality (Lauristen, Heimer, & Lynch, 2009). Surely, it would be incredible that changes in lives of men and women in the past three and a half decades have not brought about changes in proportions of the gender gap of their criminal behavior.

The attitude that increase of the rate of convicted women and girls is realistic is illustrated by data on the increase of certain types of crimes. The largest percentage of female crimes concerns thefts and dealing of stolen things, then violent acts, and finally all other crimes (Arnull & Eagle, 2009: 5). Criminal acts of violence with girls have a joint pattern, which is a relation with a victim and a frequent feeling that the victim had done something because of which he/she had "deserved the violence". Alcohol abuse is closely linked with crimes committed by girls. Indications that risks and protective factors are quite similar both for boys and girls, do not relate to adult female offenders. What is common both in female and male adolescent delinquency is that work oriented to criminogenic needs shows best results in finding of efficient interventions with both genders (Arnull & Eagle, 2009).

The key issue, which remains open, is whether the increase of crimes committed by women is generated by disclosure of the hidden female criminality, which, because of changes in criminal policy and police work, disproportionally raises their number, or it is the product of some other factors.

Explanations move around assumptions on the impact of new forms of social control, changes in manners of scanning and recording of information in criminal statistics, and changes in attitudes of the public toward female perpetrators. Public attitudes relate to claims of altered behavior of girls and women, which are understood as increasingly violent, where net effect has increased of broadening acts defined as violent acts (Chesnei-Lind & Sheldon, 2004; Steffensmeier et al., 2005). The cultural construct in new manners of perception of female violence increases its visibility in public areas, while in reality it permanently lags behind in seriousness, heaviness and social consequences, in comparison to male delinquent violence. This is really a criminalization of less serious forms of female behavior disorders, which girls practice in order to acquire the public area, expressing their

identities as violent and rebellious. In this sense, we must begin with the social reply to the following questions: What do we imply under the term "a girl"? and: What do we imply under the term "violence"? (Alder & Vorrall, 2004: 2). As a reply to these questions, in light of understanding of the relation girls-criminality and obtaining results in reducing of female criminality, we must first trigger our cultural obsession with production of "good" girls, which relates to cultural expectations on what a proper femininity means (Chesney-Lind & Jones, 2010). Adults must understand the background of female violence, avoiding, especially media, production of fears and fantasies, which in essence stimulate individual and collective violence.

Regulating of acceptable gender behavior has for a long time been the key property of the system of criminal judiciary`s response to anti-social behavior of girls, and such regulation still exists, both in the rhetoric and practice. Analysis of a repeated ethical panic concerning girls` behavior has shifted the focus in the last several years from offences in the sphere of "sexuality" and "status" to their obviously ever larger violence and alcohol abuse within the framework of a stricter penal turn toward girls and young women (Gelsthorpe & Sharpe, 2006).

Intense changes in the sphere of defining and processing of juvenile delinquency and the according changes in patterns of juvenile criminality are reflected in official statistics, including violent crimes committed by girls. The policy of "care and protection" has in a significant degree been replaced by the policy of criminalization, which defines many acts previously defined as offences now as serious crimes.

The change in categorization of the status of a female perpetrator classifies a large percentage of violent conflicts within a family as open violent acts, which increases their visibility. Girls participating in not so serious and constant conflicts within a family, acquire a criminal status (Chesney-Lind & Belknap, 2004). Parallelly, the view of female adolescent behavior repeats the pattern of acquiescence toward victimized girls, in comparison to girls who consciously undertake risks and thus become most distanced from the positive social perception, which surely affects their treatment - making them muted (Alder & Vorrall, 2004). "Wanton" female violence induces a feverish, almost exaggerated social reaction, and accordingly an interventionist relation. Sharpe suggests that obsession with new "violent female perpetrators" has become a replacement for the history of the policy of care, obsessed by sexual delinquency of girls (Sharpe, 2012).

Carrie Carrington believes that the change in the manner of treating of female delinquency has in a largest degree been caused by changes in the manner of observation, follow-up and reporting on criminality. Parallelly with this, in the same direction acted the change of attitudes toward girls who committed violence as the consequence of a change of the status of the act caused by disappearance of the policy of social care and welfare in the period of the 80s and 90s of the last century (Carrington, 2006). During these periods socio-cultural changes occurred which altered socio-cultural and judicial context which sets the properties and alters criminal categories of female violence, causing significant changes in the relation femininity-violence.

Results of numerous researches (Chesney-Lind, & Paramore, 2001; Steffensmeier, Schwartz, Zhong, & Ackerman, 2005) emphasize that we must take into account that the increase in arrests of girls is partly the result of changeable policy and practice of judicial systems. Therefore, it is necessary for future researches to discover how rules change, as well as the practice of judicial systems, and how they affect the "increased rate of arrests

and participation of female perpetrators in the judicial system" (e.g., "zero tolerance", mandatory arresting rules, war against drugs, etc.).

Consideration of a broader context in research of girls` criminality should include research which understands social reality as a process and uses according methods of research, with a simultaneous political committment to social changes, open-mindedness and creativity in thinking about production and valuation of knowledge, as a personal and theoretical reflectiveness contained in epistemological, methodological and ethical choices. These are the issues in which feminist perspective in criminology matches the perspective of critical criminology (Sttubs, 2008).

MASCULINE FEMININITY
- media presentation of female aggressiveness -

Turning of women and girls to the world of violence which had belonged to men receives a great coverage in popular media (Brown, Chesney-Lind, & Stein, 2007; Muncer, Campbell, Jervis, & Lewis, 2001). Girls appear in the new cultural image as conflict persons and prone to anti-social behavior followed by open aggressiveness. Their strengthened pugnacity is sometimes combined with erotic seductiveness, bringing it almost to a sadistic expression. As such, the new violent femininity is criticized from the standpoint of anti-feminism as an attack and as destroying of modesty and decency appropriate for young women (Letts, 2009, according to: Carrington, 2013). According to some feminist standpoints, violent femininity is not treated as something more than the cultural and media image (Brown et al., 2007; Muncer et al., 2001). However, for other authors, popular media presentation of female aggressiveness has a significant effect on stimulating of violent behavior in girls in a return and indirect shaping of contemporary adolescent practices (Brown & Tappan, 2008).

In this sense, it is very important to differentiate the factual increase of female violence from its cultural and media construction. Cultural redefinition of femininity, which shows violence as a desirable, and even necessary property of femininity, shapes a desirable character of girls and women, changing them in the direction of female adoption of behaviors which had traditionally been reserved for boys. Girls are allowed to create new identities which are at the same time both a challenge and a reproduction of the subordinate position in comparison to boys (Brown & Tappan, 2008: 55). Assumptions of gender female aggressiveness expressed as "female power" are presented as the means which enables girls to avoid stereotypes in everyday life, in which female violence is traditionally ignored or reduced to properties of shrewness, slyness and perfidy. The struggle for survival, for gaining power, satisfaction, respect and status, tends to overcome gender polarization of aggression and physical violence. Girls adopt street codes, disputing normative assumptions of gender female aggression as relational, manipulative and secret. In contrast to young men, who use violence for expression of masculinity, female violence is not linked with any definitions of female properties, but is the means to achieve goals (Jones, 2008).

Female, and especially female adolescents` violence, is explained by emancipation, which directs their anger toward violation of norms of normative femininity and penetration into the dominantly male worlds. "Girls` violence is multiple and multi-dimensional, they express their anger because of suffered victimization, defending themselves from the existing one and preventing the future one" (Irwin & Chesney-Lind,

2008: 848). In contrast to opinions which see female violence as freeing from traditional bondages and controls over women, by certain forms of violent behavior girls maintain the *status quo,* continuing and maintaining their own opression. Girls often retort to horizontal violence, which appears as the consequence of the all-present gender inequality, expressing open hostility toward other girls. "Ugly" or "slutty" girls appear as targets of violence, who are at low positions in the hierarchy of power established in female groups (Artz, 1998). The new turn in the patriarchally determined gender perspective has in the last decade been expressed as the violence of girls over members of the same or other opressed group, realized in horizontal violence (Irwin & Cehesney-Lind, 2008).

The theories of gender difference, which interpret female violence primarily by identifying essential differences between men and women, tend to exaggerate in focusing on the risks of gender inequality, where women are viewed exclusively as impotent victims of gender victimization. The overemphasized perspective of gender victimization and gender differences has a tendency to ignore broader motives and rewards for female participation in crime (Miller, 2001). An adequate approach to female and girls` criminality, according to Miller, apart from gender, must also take into consideration the broader context of the comprehensive life of an adolescent, especially when they enter gangs. Motives of young women should be considered, enjoying the group identity of a gang, to adopt threats, respect and advantages, becoming "one of them" (Miler, 2001). Physical protection from others exists as the motive for entering of girls into gangs, but there are evidence that girls are not just their passive members, but are directly involved in fights and encouraging of violence. They spend time with group members, acquiring the status and the sense of belonging, frequently expressing their sexuality that way (Batchelor, 2009). Thus they enter the risk of sexual exploitation and sexual violence by male members of the gang.

Popularization of violent women of the consumer subculture requires new research in the field of cultural criminology. Larger economic and sexual freedom of young women who express aggression more openly disassembles some limitations and reduces the impact of informal social control based on traditional roles of genders (Campbell, 1981). Reconstruction of models of femininity and social expectations linked with it, moves toward popularization of violent femininity and normalization of the "ladette" culture. Masculinization of femininity in the "ladette" culture implies cultural promotion of tough and violent girls, whose increased anxiousness, in the last several decades, has been turned from the sexual promiscuity to a violent and aggressive profile of a "bad girl" (Brown & Tappan, 2008; Sharp, 2012). However, there is no basis to understand girls shifting into "male zones" of cultural and subcultural activities as their strengthened tendency toward criminal behavior, since these changes include various cultural activities, as well as lifestyle generally.

In the post-war time, the revolution has brought about an explosion of youth subcultures as metaphors of modernism. They have become the symbol of rebellion and a designator of social change, chaos and unrest, as a response to the loss of security (Hebidge, 1997). Free activities of young people become the stage of resistance to the system, which often means a conflict with the law and inclusion of girls into street youth subcultures, which had previously been considered typically male (bikers, football hooligans, street fights and gangs, surfing), has been increasing after the 80s of the last century (Miller, 2004). Increased visibility of girls who have exited the "culture of the bedrooms" (Frith, 1983) has been replaced by female adolescence, which is organized around out-of-house

activities. An almost ethical panic was caused because of the change of female behavior instigated by new lifestyles of female adolescents, dominated by uncontrolled spending, a lot of free time filled by entertainment in "pubbing" and "clubbing" and street ambient. A gender-formed identity of an adolescent includes masculinization of behavior of female adolescents reflected in the "ladette culture", "culture of evil girls", as well as culture of "female power". "Ladette" female profile is linked with elements of raw masculinity of the working class, excessive swearing, fights, alcohol abuse, school indiscipline, indecency toward teachers and free behavior with relation to sex. In his research of behavior at school, Jackson stressed the strive for popularity as the principal motive for acquiring of this identity among girls (Jackson, 2006).

A broader socio-cultural approach toward identity can offer a chance for understanding of tough and violent behavior of girls through differentiation of relation between the social and personal identity. The image of a violent, aggressive and bad girl, which includes racial and class stereotypes, has announced a step forward in definition of femininity (Brown & Tappan, 2008). In the late 90s, the "rebellious" girls movement had taken a critical stand toward social injustice and sexism, choosing reconstruction of femininity as the means for winning personal and political freedom. "Girls` power", which undertook the whole series of meanings, symbols and messages within the framework of popular culture, primarily redefining sexuality, had very quickly become itself redefined in new sexualization, commodification and a market-related concept. Rich white girls have become a new version of bad girls, mimicking adolescent media stars (Aapola, Gonick, & Harris, 2005). Commercialization and banalization of female aggressiveness in various popular media contents has been expressed as brutal behavior of girls whose vocabulary becomes full of expressions such as "bitch" and "slut". Creation of a new female identity as a self-reflection and self-understanding is not exclusively an individual, subjective concept of establishing of an "essential being". It is a part of an internal conflict in linking of personal and social identity in action and interaction, which revolve in a socio-cultural context, and live through activities and practice (Holland et al., 1998, according to: Brown & Tappan, 2008). Dynamic tension in forming of an identity as a subjective feeling, which implies uniqueness and continuity (Erikson, 2008), requires understanding and analysis of social and cultural-economic processes which mediate in its forming.

Understanding of a female identity in cases when they undertake certain behaviors implies understanding of types of ideologies which girls have taken from the existing socio-cultural context. The ideology of a hegemonic masculinity (Pollack, 1998; Connell, 1987) presents a cultural resource which boys use to mediate in their presentation of the masculine gender identity, using attitudes on the status, toughness, anti-femininity and rough power which ensure male domination. "Male code" (Pollack, 1998) illustrates the manner in which boys undertake the ideology of male hegemony. In case of female fighting identities, they also present a cultural resource which girls take upon (Tappan, 2001). In speech and behavior which reflect physical fight and aggressiveness, girls give clear evidence that they have taken the hegemonic male ideology which should the same way help them to ensure and reproduce domination. Summoning of courage, toughness, valor, suggests that "girls can fight equally well as boys". That is their positioning within the male ideology where we can recognize adoption of misogynic attitudes and comments (Brown & Tappan, 2008). The ideology of masculinity presents an important aspect of mediated identities by which girls shape the "hegemonic femininity". However, the question is if there is, and what is the possibility for creating of different cultural resources and cultural tools which could provide girls with strengthening and popularity.

Modern media are permeated with images on tough girls, which are reflected on behavior of school female population and their constant struggle for attention through incident-prone behavior. Adequate education should lead to developing of curiosity, searching for answers and consideration of messages disseminated by media in the form of open dialogues between educators and female adolescents. Fighting itself is not the problem, it can find its expression in sports in which full feeling of physical and mental strength is realized (Brown & Tappan, 2008). The feeling of power and refusal of girls to be reduced to the status of objects has as a result increased participation of girls in martial arts, with the aim of increasing physical fitness. It is often motivated by strengthening in the context of the society of risks and threats. However, girls` attitudes toward the body as a project, instead of the previous attitude of a body as an object, radically change their relation toward the external world, and much more change the contours of romantic and friendly relations and attitudes on physical look, while much less their freedom of expression (Brown, 2003).

The gender nature of female fights, registered in each systemic attempt for decreasing the number of cases of bullying in which girls participate, points to the fact that cultural and media contents are responsible for cultivation of their behavior. In this sense, it is crucial to develop a critical relation in girls toward culture and practice, as well as to develop relations in which adults help them to read their meanings, to consider them, accept them or reject them All forms of gender hegemony present ideological constructs based on violence which does not have a real freeing potential, but necessarily ends with repression, bullying, suppression and other forms of "horizontal" and other violence. Instead of adopting violent patterns, girls should be encouraged to resist the toxic culture in which they live, which does not mean giving up resistance to female subordination which, among other things, is based on media packing of female violence into an erotic and trivial image of a woman who stimulates male sexual fantasies.

The virtual explosion of cultural and media contents which show girls as competitors for popularity in school, who are ready to stab a knife in the back, has created the image of an "evil girl", characterized by unscrupulousness, shallowness and sexual aggressiveness. Popularity of girls characterized by these properties is based on disputing and underestimating, exclusion and humiliation of other forms of femininity. By such portraying of femininity a long decade finishes in which girls were mainly depicted as vulnerable, with a low degree of self-confidence, and as victims, and very rarely as perpetrators. The culture of "intoxicated girls" has adopted robust behaviors previously attributed exclusively to girls from cities who were marginalized by class and race. Girls become evil to each others, deriding body weight, style and look, with profuse use of Machiavellistic means in establishing of intra-group hierarchy. Many current popular TV programs encourage girls to accept the corruptive banal world of adults, rather than to criticize it (Wolf, 2006). Behind such female behavior is not a cultural construction of dominantly aggressive patterns as with the hegemonic masculinity, this is in fact evocation of the old thesis on evil as inherent to the female nature, per se.

According to the thesis that girls refuse the typically male open aggressiveness, young girls accept relational violence, which enables them to practice dirty forms of geting even with someone. Relational violence, as an ultimate form of female violence, which evolves within close friendly and cousins circles, makes girls far more brutal in their punishing than boys (Simmons, 2003, according to: Currie et al., 2009). However, this alternative form of aggressiveness presents typical "arms of the weak" and reflect girls` helplessness in a

broader social environment (Chesney-Lind & Irwin, 2004). Girls depicted as "evil" are white, heterosexual, members of middle and higher classes, however, their hyper heterosexuality is combined with aggressive radicalized codes of girls from the working class. The combination of various identity sequences has differentiated the meaning of "female power" into several sub-classes, such as "alphas" (really evil girls), "betas" (those that wish to be evil) and "gammas". "Gamma girls" are decent, oriented toward productive tasks and raising of capacities, which they realize through various activities, not paying much attention to their "sexy look" (Currie et al., 2009). Consideration of these identities presents a skillful implementation of definitions of success of the middle class, expressed though conventional forms of academic, artistic and interpersonal achievement.

TV contents play a big role in creation of the profile of a successful girl who shall gain leading positions, have high self-confidence and enjoy the fruits of the female movement. By her posture, look and attractiveness, this girl (as a member of higher classes) achieves educational and professional successes without much effort. She strives for perfection without hard work, while emphasizing of physical beauty is followed by a great need for recognition. In contrast to the idea of freedom and equality, which has inspired feminism of the 70s of the last century, these girls are trapped by the profane ethos "to be better" and "to be faster" (Martin, 2006, according to: Currie, Kelly, & Pomerantz, 2009). "Girls of the future" are in the new neoliberal social and economic regime construed as symbols of freedom, personal choice, self-promotion, without consideration of gender or any other inequality. These are neoliberal subjects *par exelance*. Girls who differ from such established norms, by race, class, sexuality or body type, remain invisible in the popular discourse of "girl power".

Comments of various discourses of robust, "evil" or over-ambitious femininity move around in the wide specter which includes motives for rebellion and anger, new political sensibility, media pomp, overemphasizing of rights, or new forms of expression of teenage anxiousness. Based on these, in a huge degree media presented constructs, girls become the object of criticism and condemnation. "Discourse offers the language for commenting on girls and for categorizing them into a framework which creates a "sense", a feeling of what is "proper", determining which values are the "truth" in our society" (Currie et al., 2009: 49). Narratives on girls "out of control and under control" define the imagined concept of normality. Consideration and analysis of the discourse must include a deep structural analysis which shall give it relevance and significance in realization of social justice for girls and women. Instead, popular use of the discourse jointly construes a problematic message on girls who, strengthened by feminism and favored by restructured economy, set themselves outside the society - more exactly, outside parental control (Currie, et al., 2009).

The context of gender inequality presents a significant component in criminal motivation and must be viewed in the manner which does not marginalize gender inequalities expressed through sexual and physical domination in the world of girls which is trivialized and dependent on boys. Also, we should understand how girls are set in competition with other girls in the struggle for male approval in the class context.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

In the end, we can agree with the attitudes stated by Mršević (2013) that qualitative analysis of the media product is not limited just to a discursive analysis of the manners

in which media report on the topic, in fact on violence against women, but also contains an analysis of what is learned about the forms of violence against women by following media reporting on the topic. Such media analysis enables findings about the forms of violence against women which are frequent, who are the most frequent perpetrators, whether legal regulations are adequate and whether their changes are necessary, whether competent institutions react timely and adequately, etc. Thus, for example, we observe that women who lost their lives in family violence had very often suffered the violence for several decades, practically their whole lives, that they had tried several times, with no avail, to turn to competent institutions. We also learn that family bullies and murderers are often persons with a criminal past and present, that there are sometimes dozens of instigated criminal and offence procedures which have not ended by sanctions, that they own illegal and legal firearms. Such findings present a good basis for proposing of possible directions of changes, for the purpose to improve protection of women who suffer violence. Among other things, this is why it is very important not to stay just on examining, for instance, which stereotypes media use most often in reports on violence against women, and whether in this they place prejudices on femininity, masculinity, violence and sexuality, that women are humiliated and invisible in such a world, hungry for new and new sensations and stimulants (Mršević, 2013: 21).

Approaching the problem of violence against women in such a way, we can easily come to the conclusion that violence against women is not a phenomenon of modern times, but has always existed, and also that this topic was not presented in media reports. Media coverage of violence against women (not disputing the criticism of pompous titles of a stereotypical character), as well as making the public aware of this problem, has had adequate judicial and legislative implications. A stricter penal policy of courts against bullies and their processing, as well as raising of consciousness of women who suffer violence that violence should be reported, may be in part attributed to the heritage of the *turbulent media public.*

Analysis of media reporting on violence against women is not the purpose for itself, but the first line of resistance to stereotypical, misogynic media construction of the phenomenon of violence against women in Serbia (Mršević, 2013: 140), but also of violence committed by women.

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ANALIZA EFEKATA MEDIJSKE PREZENTACIJE KRIMINALITETA ŽENA I KRIMINALITETA NAD ŽENAMA/PRAVOSUDNE IMPLIKACIJE

Medijska prezentacija kriminaliteta dovodi do promena u njegovoj socijalnoj i emocionalnoj percepciji. Iako u kriminologiji postoji obilje literature o vezi medija i kriminaliteta, postoji nedostatak istraživanja o tome kako mediji predstavljaju žene prestupnice. S druge strane, fenomen nasilnih žena predstavlja zanemareni društveni problem, dok istovremeno predstavlja senzaciju u medijima. Kao rezultat patrijahalnih konstrukcija u literaturi postoje analitički dokazi da mediji sude na drugačiji način ženama i muškarcima. Senzacionalistički pristup ženskom nasilju kao pitanju roda, prenebregava uzroke, suštinu i posledice koji su prevashodno sadržani u pojavi normalizacije nasilja prisutnoj u vidu univerzalnog fenomena. Odnosi moći i rodne politike umesto traganja za uzrocima nasilja, postaju poprište u kome se izbegava odgovornost za akte nasilja u kome se žene pojavljuju i kao počinioci i kao žrtve. U ovom radu autori su posvetili pažnju analizi medijske prezentacije kriminaliteta nad ženama i kriminaliteta koji počine žene, razmatrajući ulogu rodnih stereotipa, sa aspekta kriminoloških i feminističkih teorija, kao i stanovišta javnosti. Takođe, autori naglašavaju da mediji mogu dovoditi do različitih oblika iskrivljavanja stvarne slike o društvenim fenomenima kao što su pojednostavljivanje, stereotipizacija, senzacionalnost, ali i skretati pažnju na određene društvene pojave do nivoa alarmantnosti. Ključno pitanje koje ostaje otvoreno jeste da li je porast krivičnih dela koje su počinile žene generisan razotkrivanjem skrivenog ženskog kriminaliteta koji usled promena u krivičnoj politici i radu policije nesrazmerno podiže njihov broj ili je proizvod nekih drugih faktora?

KLJUČNE REČI: medijska prezentacija / nasilje nad ženama / nasilje koje počine žene