

WHEN GI JOE MEETS BARBIE

KEYNOTE REMARKS FOR THE TOGETHER 2000 CHILD AND YOUTH CARE CONFERENCE AT CLEVELAND OHIO

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ABSTRACT: This keynote address summarizes the literature and findings from the author's own research into the impact of culture and gender on violent behavior in young people. Results from multiple studies highlight the importance of revising socially constructed images of gender as a critical aspect of violence prevention.

With these remarks, I invite you to join me in my quest for a deeper understanding of children and young people's use of violence. In discussing with you children's and young peoples' use of violence, I draw on a number of studies I have been or am involved in, studies that emerged out of a cry for help from local Vancouver Island school district - studies that have expanded beyond that district and far beyond my local connections.

These studies,

- Artz & Riecken, 1993-1994: A Survey of Student Life, SSHRC, UVic
- Artz, 1993-1995: The Lifeworlds and Practices of Violent School Girls, Vancouver Foundation, BC Ministry of Education
- Artz & Riecken, 1995-1999: A Community Based Violence Prevention Project, BC Health Research Foundation
- Artz, 1998: Sex, Power and the Violent School Girl, Vancouver Foundation, BC Ministry of Education
- Artz, 1999: A Community Based Approach for Dealing with Chronically Violent Under Twelve Year Old Children, Department of Justice, Canada
- Artz, Blais & Nicholson, 2000: Developing Girls' Custody Units, Department of Justice, Canada

have shaped my thinking about children and youth and violence and have informed these remarks. As you can see, my work is very much a collaborative enterprise, so I will refer not only to my learning but to what my colleagues and I have collectively learned.

In examining children and youths' use of violence we of course, examined the existing literature on the subject not once, but many times, and what struck me each time was how vast the literature is and how far

back it reaches. We have known at least since the turn of the 19th century that communities populated by transitory, economically underprivileged and oppressed people, communities characterized by a collective inability to make provisions, solve problems and maintain social cohesiveness through the adequate use of organizations, groups, and individuals give rise to disproportionately high crime rates (c.f. Burgess, 1928; Thrasher, 1927). We have also known for a very long time that the roots of violence are found in:

- Family and social factors such as socioeconomic deprivation and poverty, harsh and inconsistent parenting, marital discord, spousal, parental and sibling violence, poor parental mental health, physical and sexual abuse and alcoholism, drug dependency and other substance misuse.
- Neurologically based problems with cognitive functioning including low scores on IQ tests and discrepancies in performance and verbal IQ scores, speech language disorders, and mental illnesses such as schizophrenia, depression, attention deficit and hyperactivity disorders (ADD and ADHD), and psychosis and psychopathy.
- Personality factors such as early signs of impulsivity and aggression. These factors appear to remain stable throughout life.
- Exposure to trauma through personal experience with family, street and excessive media violence (Augimeri, Webster, Kogel & Levene, 1998; Flowers, 1990; Whitecomb, 1997).

We have also known for some time that “a single causative factor cannot be identified...[and that] Girls who use violence, like boys who use violence, are exposed to a number of adverse environmental experiences over time” (Whitecomb, 1997, p. 440)

Further, we know unequivocally that women (females of all species and ages) have always been and will always be capable of violence and must face the known facts that culture is more predictive of violence than gender (Bjorkqvist & Niemela, 1992).

What is startling about our knowing this is how little we have done with what we know. We have a very good sense of what the predictors of violence are – we even have a very good sense, at least in the literature, (c.f. Hyman, 1997; McCord & Tremblay, 1992) about what we could do about violence – we also seem to be collectively paralyzed when it comes to implementing the best solutions: prevention, early intervention, community development and we appear to be far too ready to implement the worst solutions – solutions we’ve proved ourselves many times don’t work: punishment, which is akin to shutting the barn door after the horse has bolted, and things like metal detectors and armed guards in schools and other forms of coercive social controls like for example the war on drugs, and what astounds me about this and leaves me speechless on occasion is wondering why?

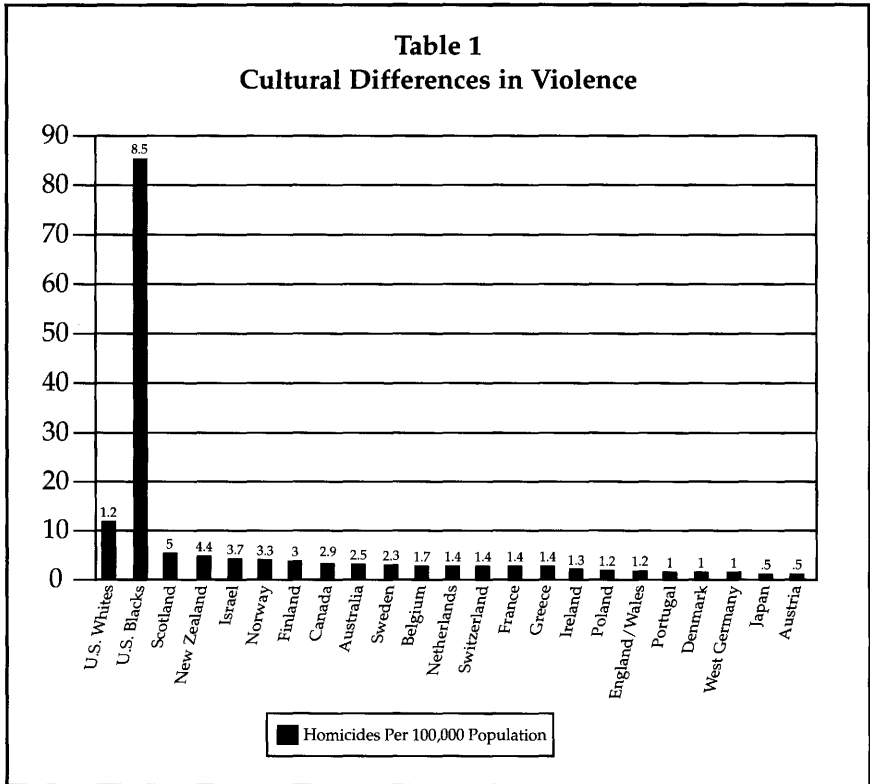
So let us go back to the last point because it may help us “culture is more predictive of violence than gender” let’s explore a little bit the meaning of this statement.

What is culture? Culture is a term that has been variously defined: In 1973 the cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz gave us eleven different definitions, and over the years, more have been added, so over time culture has been taken to mean:

1. the total way of life of a people
2. the social legacy the individual acquires from his [her] group
3. a way of thinking, feeling and believing
4. an abstraction from behavior
5. a theory on the part of anthropologists about the way in which a group of people behave
6. a storehouse of pooled learning
7. a set of techniques for adjusting both to the external environment and to other people
8. a set of standardized orientations
9. learned behavior
10. a mechanism for the normative regulation of behavior
11. a precipitate of history
12. a “sieve”
13. a matrix
14. my favorite: “a web of significance in which we are suspended that we ourselves have woven,” which Geertz identifies as having it’s origins in the writings of Max Weber.

When we say that culture is more predictive of violence than gender we need to consider that through our weaving of webs of significance – our culture – we set up gender and its roles and rules and therefore are fully implicated in what we will consider next, the enduring gender differences in children and youths’ and indeed adults’ use of violence. But before we do that, let’s briefly look at one example of cultural differences at work. The table below shows us that the United States has the highest homicide levels per one hundred thousand of all the Western Nations that are being compared, and that

African Americans have an even greater homicide incidence rate than white Americans. This is, of course, a direct outcome of sociocultural organization and not a reflection either of Americans, whether African or white, as persons. Americans as persons are no better and no worse than people from other countries, it is just that Americans have more access to guns of all kinds, more social inequalities, greater differences between rich and poor, a greater focus on individualism and far fewer social supports than the countries against which they are being compared. Poverty and racial and social inequality coupled with easy access to



weapons create conditions that readily breed violence. Add to this oppression based on race and class, and harsh racially discriminatory laws like those created to promote the war on drugs and suddenly desperate groups come into being, groups that attack their own kind in an ongoing fight for survival.

And now let us move to gender and explore some of the differences that emerged in the studies I've been working on. Through the survey of student life we learned that the girl who uses violence places less importance on her relationship with her mother than any other group — boys who use violence, boys who do not use violence, girls who do not use violence. She also reports significantly higher rates of physical and sexual abuse and of being victimized by "a group or gang of kids" (Artz, 1998). But while she may be abused and devalued, she is still pro-social — something that did not change in the five years of our work in the district. She, along with her non-violent sisters, endorses friendship, being loved, concern and respect for others, forgiveness, honesty, politeness, generosity and being respected at levels that are significantly higher than those reported by all males, violent and non-violent and like non-violent girls, reports significantly higher levels of concern for AIDS, child abuse,

racial discrimination, teenage suicide, the environment, drug abuse, youth gangs, native-white relationships, and violence against women than all boys, violent and non-violent and reports significantly higher levels of concern than all other groups for the unequal treatment of women and for violence in schools (Artz, 1998).

From our surveys, we also learned something about gender differences in behaviors and attitudes towards fighting. As Table 2 shows, while males and females report similar attitudes regarding fighting in retaliation to a verbal comment, significantly more males than females reported watching a fight, encouraging a fight, and participating in a fight in the year in which the survey was conducted, and at the same time, significantly more females than males reported walking away from a fight.

Table 2
Gender Differences in Behaviors and Attitudes Towards Violence
(Artz, Riecken, MacIntyre, Lam & Maczweski, 2000)

Behaviors and Attitudes	Males	Females	Chi Square Probability
Would fight in retaliation to a verbal comment	21%	19%	.1358
Watched a fight	86.8%	65.7%	.0045
Encouraged a fight	39.3%	17.1%	.0035
Been in a fight while at present school	61.4%	34.1%	.0006
Walked away from a fight	21.3%	52.6%	.0058

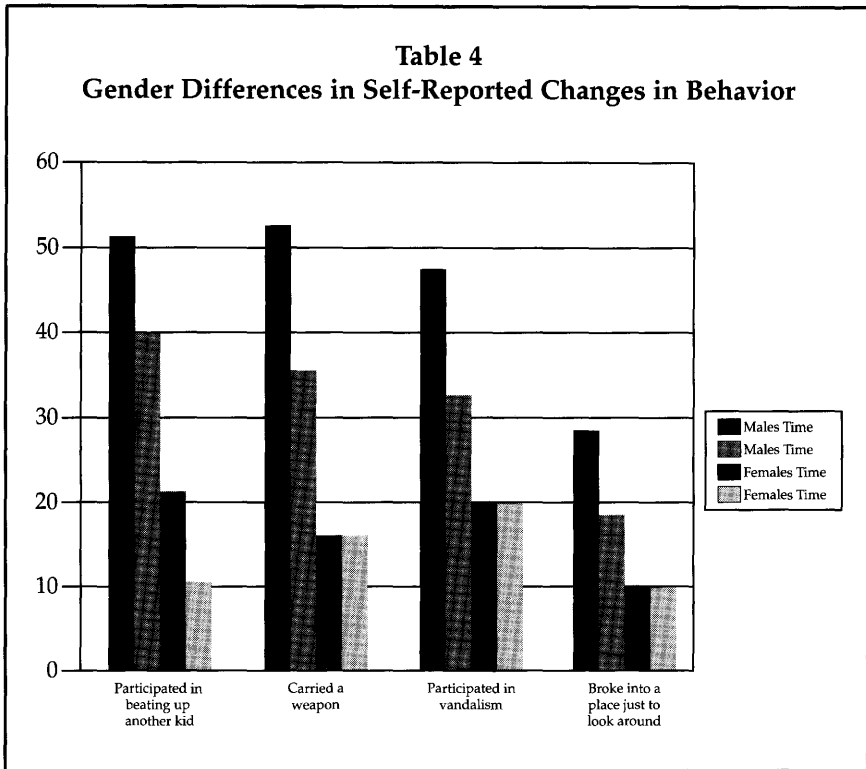
Additionally we found clear gender differences in response to violence prevention programming. These are captured in Table 3 which shows us that males and females had different responses to peer helping, various positive reinforcement approaches, parent education, bully proofing, consciousness raising (i.e. programming that aimed to raise awareness of the anti-violence message) and consciousness raising coupled with activities that involved students with teachers and engaged in them various activities not explicitly focused on non-violence (e.g., art, music, other performing arts, boating, horseback riding, bowling, gymnastics, cycling, canoeing, swimming, and the like).

Table 3
Summary of Gender Differences in
Receptivity to Violence Prevention Programming

School	Program	Male Response	Female Response	Male Incident Rates	Female Incident Rates
Elementary School #1	Peer Helping	not endorsed	endorsed	increased	increased
Elementary School #2	Various Positive Reinforcement Approaches	endorsed	endorsed	decreased	increased slightly
Elementary Four Schools Project & School #2	Parent Education (In-Step)	few attended, of those who did, fewer reported changes	majority who attended were female, most reported changes	decreased	decreased
Middle School	Bully Proofing	increased endorsement of aggression, greater involvement in self-reported aggression	less endorsement of aggression, less involvement in self-reported aggression	decreased	decreased
Secondary School #1	Consciousness Raising	no change in attitude and self reported involvement in violence	no change in attitude and self reported involvement in violence	increased	decreased
Secondary School #2	Consciousness Raising + Personal Activities	6 of 13 behaviors and attitudes changed in the desired direction	low endorsement and involvement in aggression maintained	decreased	decreased

Over time we also saw some interesting gender differences in changes in violence related behavior. As Table 4 shows, after four years of violence prevention programming, females in the participating schools reported a 50% drop in violence that involved "beating up another kid," and males reported a 22% drop. Males also reported a 31% drop in carrying a weapon, a 29% in participating in vandalism and a 39% drop in "breaking into a place just to look around." Females' self-reported rates of participation in these three behaviors, while still significantly lower than those of males, *did not change*.

Table 4
Gender Differences in Self-Reported Changes in Behavior



Further, we learned that: males and females have different definitions and perceptions of, and experiences with violence. Males participate in significantly greater numbers in all levels of violence and are less willing to view all forms of violence as problematic than are females. These differences persisted over the five years that we worked with the school district despite the fact that overall males and females responded positively, albeit differently, to various forms of violence prevention programming and despite the fact that for some behaviors (see again Table 4) males reported a significantly greater drop in use of these behaviors during the course of our study.

So what does all this mean? First of all it means that in planning our interventions we need to keep in mind that gender sensitivity is paramount, and that *one size does not fit all*. In everything that we do with regard to violence prevention, we are likely to find females to be more receptive and responsive to anti-violence messages. We are also likely to find that females, probably because of their initial receptivity, are more ready than males to enter into specifically focused anti-violence programming that is skills-based¹. At the same time, there are some females, for example those who did not let go of carrying weapons,

participating in violence, and breaking into a place just to look around, who are not responsive to violence prevention programming and who, like the boys who are not responding, require a different approach than those that seem to be working with the majority of girls.

Males on the other hand, seem on the whole, to be less enamoured with anti-violence messages and skills-based programs, but do appear to be open to approaches that positively reinforce socially desired behaviors. This notion is further affirmed by the finding that males responded positively to programming that coupled raising their awareness of non-violent activities with teachers engaging students in alternate activities that were not necessarily focused on non-violence but included all manner things to do. Programming that focuses only on consciousness raising does not appear to change behavior, and therefore should not be the only option considered.

Certainly parent involvement in violence prevention programming, especially programming that teaches parents the same values and approaches that their children are being taught seems to positively affect their children's behavior. Therefore, it seems to make sense to focus not only on students but also on their parents. But again, in working to engage parents we need to pay attention to the fact that females (mothers) are more receptive to violence prevention programming than males (fathers), and challenge ourselves to draw in fathers as well as mothers. What became very clear to my research colleagues and to me is that:

Over and above any genetic, constitutional or biological predisposition that may underlie the observed differences between males and females in aggressive behavior, there is something about the way we socialize boys and girls and the different expectations we have for males and females in our society that contributes in an important way to the differential incidence of antisocial aggression in these two groups of human beings (Eron in Bjorkqvist & Niemela, 1992 p. 96).

Thus, it is social construction - that web of significance that we ourselves weave — that accounts for who is aggressive with whom and why, that is most important to understanding the use of violence, and it is this web of significance that needs further attention. Let us therefore play this out, let us examine the web of meaning within which violence is embedded for girls and for boys.

Through my ethnographic work with key informant girls who use violence (Artz, 1998) I learned that for these girls, being females means must constantly watching that one stays thin; feeling restricted with regard to the kinds of activities one can undertake; feeling less respected and less important than males; routinely experiencing sexual discrimination and

¹ For further discussion, see Artz, Riecken, MacIntyre, Lam & Maczewski, (2000). This article analyzes this finding using the constructs offered by Prochaska, DiClemente, & Norcross, (1992) in their Transtheoretical Model for Stages of Change.

sexual harassment and believing that if women have children, they risk losing men's attention because, through pregnancy and childbirth, women's bodies becomes unattractive. For these girls being female also means believing that if girls attempt to take the initiative or experiment sexually, they are a "sluts," and sluts are without question deserving of being beaten especially by girls; believing that male desire is so important that girls not only control each other according to the sexual double standard, they also engage in fights with other females in order to excite males and thereby get their attention. Some girls take this even further and beat up other girls primarily because they were "cocky" and had "mouthed off," and spend their efforts on fighting other girls not over boys, but in order to be seen to be as good as boys. For these girls, their "web of significance" is woven around sexual objectification and sexism, misogyny with male attention as their focal point.

The web of significance for boys is differently arranged. Over the years, boys have told me very clearly that for them violence is a part of life, a part of being a man, they have told me, "If you want me to stop using violence, you want me not to be a boy." "When I'm challenged, I answer with violence, the winner of all conversations." And they have told me, "Toughness is what counts." They have explained to me and to others (c.f. Pollock, 1998) that they must live by the boy code – they must be:

The sturdy oak: Boys are expected to be stalwart and suffer silently in the face of adversity such that showing any weakness when faced with difficulty is considered a sign of not being "man enough" to deal with the situation on one's own.

They must also be:

The Big Wheel: Boys learn very early that power, influence and dominance are key markers for success for males. They also learn that connected to power is "coolness," that is a detached aloofness that implies status and the ability to handle any situation with a minimal display of emotion, regardless of how stressful the event.

They must:

Give 'em hell: The give 'em hell approach exemplified in the mass media of movies, television and video games in which males simply annihilate or overpower their opponents, structures a belief system that sees aggressive displays of power and might as a legitimate means of dealing with conflict.

Finally, they must exhibit:

No sissy stuff: Boys are taught at a very young age that things feminine are to be avoided at all costs, and that such things as tenderness, softness, caring, crying, and openness to displays of a broad range of emotion lie more in the female domain. Those boys that are perceived by their male peers as having interests in

things feminine are ridiculed and teased and are discouraged through being negatively labeled as “sissy boy,” “wimp,” “mama’s boy,” “cry baby,” “pussy,” and “faggot” from gravitating toward a female approach to the world (Pollock 1998, pp. 22-25).

The boys we interviewed, while concerned about having access to girls were far more concerned with maintaining their boy code related images. For the boys that we interviewed while they were in custody, this image included a misogynist view of girls and women and a description of themselves that exuded toughness. As one boy said,

Like if you’re hangin’ around with “I’m tough” kind of people, and you show you’re feelings ... they’ll just laugh at you and say, “shut up.” ... They don’t scare me. I don’t care. I know they can kick my ass. I don’t care. Nobody scares me I’ll stand up to anybody. I’ll stick up for myself. ... Toughness is what counts, I can’t walk away from a fight.

Another boy stated quite clearly that in order to survive, “I answer with violence — the winner of all conversations.” A third boy, who took great pride in never showing fear just like his older brother and father, escaped from open custody. He reported feeling constantly teased by some staff who accused him of being too scared to attempt an escape. In recalling what pushed him to flee, he said:

I wanted to prove to the [staff] that I wasn’t scared. Nobody in my family was ever scared of anything.

While boys who are violent live with a code that above all demands that they project a hyper male and macho image, girls who are violent have learned that males are everything – males are “to die for” – males are central to social survival. These girls are trained to accept and work with notions of sexual objectification that support the dominant theme that what counts is not what girls do but how girls look while they are doing it. These girls are immersed in what Diana Fuss (1992) has identified as the “homospectatorial look”. As Fuss shows, girls and women are systematically inducted by the multi-million dollar fashion business, cosmetics and arts, and entertainment industries into becoming objects who are desired by men. As she states:

Playing on the considerable social significance attributed to a woman’s value on the heterosexual marketplace, women’s fashion photography [in all its many forms] poses its models as sexually irresistible objects inviting its female viewers to consume the product by (over) identifying with the image (p.90).

Girls who use violence, but also girls who do not, learn early in life to view themselves through men’s eyes and to treat their bodies as objects that must first of all appeal to men. We have learned through our interviews that in order to be accepted socially girls must be appealing to boys and need to be “thin and perfect, like underweight and have a perfect body.” Girls, not only boys, judge other girls and themselves according

to the prevailing conventional standards of beauty and are competing for a place on what was described by one informant as the "Pretty Power Hierarchy". As one school girl explained it to me, for girls, the fast lane to power is being pretty. The "prettiest" girl with all the commercial trimmings is first of all most sought after by boys, which in turn, helps in making her sought after by girls. This hierarchy sets girls up to compete against each other based on appearance and assigns the greatest power to those deemed the most beautiful. Accordingly, a girl's "look" is her most important asset and all else is secondary. The more desirable a girl's look, the more well-liked she is, and the more well-liked she is, the more social power she has. At a certain cumulative level of being liked she has the power to decide the fate of others. She can say who is "in", who is "out", who is accepted and who is rejected. Her popularity conveys to her the power to engender fear as well as approbation. If another girl says she does not like her, or if another girl threatens her position and particularly her relationship to high status boys or to a boyfriend, the powerful girl can use her popularity to retaliate, the arrange consequences including shunning and beating for the girl who dares to cross her path in this way. These dynamics hold true in schools and in jails.

As the girl in custody singled out by all the others as the most victimized at the time we conducted our interviews explained:

Like, I'm the ugly one right now and there's Rowena (not her real name) who's the pretty one... there's two or three girls in here. These girls don't like these other girls...and one of them will say to [the girls they don't like], "Oh shut up!" And everybody's all talking and stuff...and they'll jump right in after them and fight and stuff...It's like I'm sitting there and then all of them just start jumping me and kicking me and punching me and stuff like that...It's like a majority thing...

Girls are also trained to mistrust of other girls and to misogyny. In the interviews conducted for Artz, Blais and Nicholson, (2000) *Developing girls' custody units*, girls spoke in very derogatory terms about other girls. When asked why the girls seem to hate each other, one girl told the interviewer that,

Personally, like I can't say that I like everybody, right? So I have my share of girls that I totally hate...My share of girls that I victimize.... I victimize a girl because she pissed me off, or she did something...that I want to get her back for...Like she looks at me the wrong way...[or like the girl I assaulted] she told a lie about my boyfriend...

When asked about her own experience of being a girl, she described it as "harsh" and talked about being victimized many times and constantly running the risk of having other girls gang up on her.

Another girl felt justified in beating up girls if they were "mouthy." This notion that it was acceptable to beat up "mouthy" girls was widely shared. Also shared was the belief that if a girl was a "fuckin' ugly hurtin'

bitch," that she had likely brought this abuse upon herself. A further justification for beating up other girls given by both girls in school and girl in jail was the assessment that the girl in question was a "slut," that is a girl who had expressed sexual desire and involved herself with or was seen to have involved herself either with a number of boys in quick succession or worse yet, had shown interest in a boy who was already spoken for.

Five of the seven girls interviewed in custody were largely male-focused in that they wanted very much to have boyfriends and always made sure that they had a least one, both in and out of jail. The two, who stated that boys were not as important as the other girls seemed to think, derided the girls who focused on boys. One girl describe the dynamics as follows:

There's some girls, they practically revolve around boys you know. Like guys want them to do their hair like this. They think it looks good so they'll do it like this. Like they're all sort of making themselves better for the boys, right? I can't stand people that are really like that.

Another girl, who had perhaps the most positive things to say about girls, none-the-less used language to describe girls that conveyed a very negative sense of femaleness. She stated,

I like it better with girls. Girls are bitches though. That's the one thing I have to say. When you've got eight girls together, they're bitches. One of them PMSing and the others are like, "Don't fucking take it out on us. We'll beat you." That's how bad it gets sometimes...

Two girls also expressed a dislike for girls because they can't play sports. One of these girls identified with the boys and saw herself as "like one of the guys in sports," and not one of the girls. She also said that when she was growing up that she "always wanted to be a boy." Another described girls as,

The girls are like pathetic. They don't try. They'll stand there, the ball will come by them and they'll like do nothing...With the guys, they actually get into the game...the guys are like all out, trying, awesome.

The girls we interviewed talked about not valuing other girls in numerous ways. Frequently, they described girls as being so much worse than boys, even if girls in actual fact were only doing exactly what boys were doing. I have heard again and again that, "girls are so much worse!" I have also heard again and again that, "Girls' fights are so silly!" Over the years, I have often talked with both young people and adults who struggle with the very idea of girl's violence in any form. For them, aggression and violence is expected in males and because it is expected, tolerated in males, but in females still viewed as an aberration. Thus,

when they see girls using aggression and violence, they react much more strongly than when they encounter the same behavior in boys. Lately, in interviewing custody workers that viewpoint emerged again. Workers state that boys are easier to work with than girls, that girls give them a harder time and that girls are "meaner" to each other than boys, and that girl-to-girl victimization is more rampant.

Girls were characterized by staff as extreme in their presentation, unpredictable, demanding and more attached to pop culture. While girls were said to be better at planning than boys, their strategizing around fighting other youth was considered in a negative light. One staff member stated that,

Females can be the worst saints and sinners. ...They are both sides of the spectrum. I don't see any moderation. Females can be quite nasty, and they can be quite nice depending on the problem.

Another noted that,

Females seem to be like they're erratic, like they're all over the place like we're not really sure what they're going to do next when they're upset. They remind me of a little rocket, they're kind of going off in all different directions.

A third said,

I find girls to be very demanding. ...They have to be corrected on a lot of things. ...Flighty attitudes of brushing you off, not listening, turning away, rather be talking to their friends than listening to you.

Most staff stated that boys are much easier to work with, and one emphasized that she would always choose to work with boys rather than girls.

Finally, when the girls in our studies were asked about their friendship with girls, they talked about these relationships not as bonds based on affection and respect for one-another, but as alliances of power, and often these alliances were focused on gaining male attention. Thus one girl described her relationship with a girl she called her "best friend" as, someone she hung onto because this girl facilitated access to boys. Another described her three year relationship with a girl as follows:

I had this really big fight with my friend for three years. We were best friends for about five years and then we had this fight for about three years 'cause, well, I liked him and so did she. So, we just fought over him and who liked him more and who he liked and we did that for three years and then after that, we were friends again.

Another girl talked about a girl she had known for years, "she was my best friend and now I hate her." The issues leading to this seemed to be unclear, but were boy-related.

So what are we to do? We have girls who are driven by the need for male attention and boys who are driven by the need to show how weak. We have young people who are living out scripts best left for caricatures like G.I. Joe and Barbie. While "he is playing masculine, she is playing feminine," but as Rozak and Rozak (1970) pointed out thirty years ago,

He is playing masculine because she is playing feminine. She is playing feminine because he is playing masculine...Her femininity, growing more dependently supine, becomes contemptible. His masculinity, growing more oppressively domineering, becomes intolerable...So far, it [appears to be symmetrical]. But we have left something out. The world belongs to what his masculinity has become. The reward for his masculinity is power. The reward for her femininity has become only the security which his power can bestow on her...She is stifling under the triviality of her femininity. The world is groaning beneath the terrors of his masculinity. He is playing masculine. She is playing feminine. How do we call the game off (p. 330)?

The young people we interviewed are not merely playing. For them the consequences of the gender roles that they have assumed are often deadly serious, and neither group is thriving within their webs of significance. As one boy explained to me,

It's a hard life – it's hard on the streets 'cause everybody's always thinking of killing, selling drugs, violence this, violence that. Where's my drugs at? You know. Where's my girls at? But like, I don't know. Probably like more than half my friends don't even care if they're going to jail or found dead in the gutters somewhere...

We need to come to grips with these toxic understandings, these toxic webs of significance. If it is true that the social construction of gender is central to our engagement in aggression and violence, we must begin by redefining our notions of gender and power in order to hope to develop meaningful and effective strategies for violence prevention. We can't simply jump in and hope that this or that program will do the trick. We have to stand back for a moment and look at why, despite knowing as much as we do about the roots of violence, we seem to be stuck at the place of knowing clearly what the risk factors are but often spinning our wheels especially when it comes to early intervention. Could it be that we have not really analyzed gender and therefore overlooked the effects of gender relations on children's enactment of violence. I believe we need to bring gender into all our planning and programming, otherwise we remain caught in what 'm about to read to you. I think that in our theories as well as in our practice, we need to constantly deconstruct stereotypes wherever we find them, and if we are committed to violence prevention, we especially need to deconstruct gender stereotypical notions bound up in the dynamics of male and female violence. If we do

not we remain caught in the game: "He is playing masculine, she is playing feminine" (Rozak & Rozak, 1970). Both are lost.

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