



A ggressive Girls

National Clearinghouse on Family Violence

Introduction

Until recently, males were believed to be more aggressive and violent than females, and therefore few studies of aggression and violence included girls and women. Lately, however, more adolescent girls have been charged with violent crimes than before,¹ which has led to increased research on girls who use violent strategies. Nevertheless, prevention programs and intervention services often rely on research based on explanations of male behaviour. However, more recent research addresses how best to prevent and intervene in girls' use of aggression and violence.²⁻⁵

The rate of violent crime reflected in official reports increased steadily among both male and female youth during the late 1980s and the 1990s: the rate among male youth nearly doubled, and the rate among female youth almost tripled.^{6,7} For example, the violent crime rate among female youth rose from 2.2 per 1,000 in 1988 to a peak of 5.6 per 1,000 in 1996, and began to decline in 1999. Two key points must be noted. First, the number of charges laid against boys is still three to four times greater than the number against girls. Second, the actual number of girls charged is small, so that a small increase in the number of charges results in a large percentage increase.⁸

Some researchers suggest that the increase can be partly explained by the stricter approach to schoolyard fights and bullying in recent years, which has led educators, parents and police to label as "assaults" behaviours once viewed as unfortunate or "bad," but not criminal.⁹ In fact, the self-reported rates of aggressive behaviour of 10 and 11 year olds in the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth were similar in the 1994/95 and 1996/97 cycles (38% and 34% respectively).¹⁰ In both cycles, girls between the ages of 12 and 13 were less likely than boys to display aggressive behaviour (29% and 56% respectively).¹¹

Terms and Definitions

Numbers by themselves do not provide insight into the dynamics of girls' participation in aggression and violence. It is helpful to start by defining the terms used to discuss the issue of aggression and violence in girls.

Aggression

Aggression can be defined as “a class of behaviours that have in common an intrusive, demanding, and aversive effect on others.”¹² In other words, aggressive behaviours are those that are hurtful and/or harmful to others. Aggression that is outwardly observable, as in name-calling, taunting, or physical intimidation and threat, is *overt*. Aggression that is not observable, as in lying or stealing, is *covert*. Aggression can also be *direct* (threatening, yelling, insulting, name-calling, teasing, hitting, shoving, pushing, kicking or destroying personal property) or *indirect* (also known as “social” or “relational” aggression, as in shunning, excluding, ignoring, gossiping, spreading false rumours or disclosing another person's secrets). Canadian reports indicate that girls demonstrate a higher level of indirect aggression at every age than do boys and that indirect aggression increases with age for both boys and girls.^{13,14}

Violence

Violence is distinguished from aggression by the presence of acts that involve the overt and observable use of physical force.^{15,16} Typically, males' aggression is overt and direct (physical), which contri-

butes to the assumption that violence is a male behaviour. However, recent studies provide evidence of females employing both direct violence and indirect violence (using males to commit violent acts for them).^{17,18} If violence were assumed to be a male behaviour, female violence would be overlooked or denied. Consequently, we would fail to develop ways to prevent or intervene in violence by girls.

Bullying

Bullies use power to control others. Usually, a “dominant individual (the bully) repeatedly exhibits aggressive behaviour intended to cause distress to a less dominant individual (the victim).”¹⁹ Girl bullies tend to manipulate social groups by name-calling, verbal abuse and spreading rumours to damage friendships among others or to exclude selected girls from social interaction.²⁰ Thus, girl bullies tend to use non-physical aggression more than physical violence.²¹ Most recently, girls are reported to be using the Internet to harass their peers.²² Recent research indicates that 9% of Canadian girls between the ages of 4 and 11 participate in bullying other children, and 7% are victimized by bullies; 68% of children have been observed in both roles (bully and victim).²³ Without intervention, bullying behaviours in young children tend to persist throughout adolescence. Girls who are bullied are more likely to feel sad or miserable than to feel angry. They more often discuss their distress with their friends than with a teacher or another adult.²⁴

Conduct Disorder

According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV)*,²⁵ to be diagnosed with conduct disorder a young person must have committed at least three violations in four categories of aggression (aggression toward people and animals, aggression toward property, deceit/theft and serious violations of rules) in the previous 12 months, the latest within the previous 6 months.²⁶ Girls who frequently use aggression and violence may be diagnosed as “conduct disordered”. These girls display a pattern of repetitive behaviours that involve violating the rights of others and other socially destructive behaviours.²⁷ Only a qualified DSM-IV-trained practitioner can make a diagnosis of conduct disorder, which represents an underlying dysfunction within the individual and is distinct from behaviours that reflect reactions to social or contextual situations.²⁸ Being labelled with a mental disorder represents a permanent condition and may not allow a girl to change or develop new behaviours. Therefore, labelling should be taken very seriously by anyone working with children and youth, and used only after careful consideration of its appropriateness and impact.²⁹

Some research suggests that biological, genetic and medical factors are related to the occurrence of conduct disorder in some children.³⁰ Environmental factors such as family, education and peer relationships also influence the development and maintenance of conduct disorder. Conduct disorder is not “oppositional disorder.” Girls with oppositional disorder display patterns of negative, hostile and defiant behaviour, but their behaviours do not involve violating the rights of others.

Why Do Girls Engage in Aggression and Violence?

Some researchers think that girls resort to aggression and violence for different reasons than boys. No single factor can predict aggressive and violent behaviour.³¹ The factors that contribute to the risk of aggressive and violent behaviour among girls include both systemic (family, community and social context) and individual (personal) variables.³² Usually, many factors act in combination.

Family Dynamics and Parental Relationships

Evidence suggests that aggressive and violent behaviour in children is linked to family and social factors, such as social and financial deprivation; harsh and inconsistent parenting; parents’ marital problems; family violence, whether between parents, by parents toward children or between siblings; poor parental mental health; physical and sexual abuse; and alcoholism, drug dependency or other substance misuse by parents or other family members.³³ In addition, many aggressive and violent girls have poorly developed connections to their mothers.^{34,35}

School Difficulties

Girls who experience difficulties at school, like social rejection by peers and low connectedness to school, are often more likely to be absent and to drop out eventually. These girls are also more likely to use aggression and violence.³⁶⁻³⁹ Problems at home and learning disabilities are also interconnected with difficulties at school.

Gender Issues

Aggressive and violent girls often see male control and domination over females as normal. They may hold views similar to those that support male violence towards females in that they tend to believe girls and women have less value and importance than boys and men. Aggressive and violent girls tend to attack other girls who are perceived as competing with them for male attention, and they tend to maintain social connections with peers who are perceived as helping them win in that competition.⁴⁰

Boredom and Attention-seeking Behaviour

Girls who engage in relational aggression and bullying suggest that they often do so to alleviate boredom, by creating excitement, finding out gossip, seeking attention/importance⁴¹ and seeking validation from a group that excludes others.⁴²

Connections to Delinquent Peers

Girls are more likely than boys to be rejected by their peers for engaging in outward (overt and direct) aggression and violence.⁴³ However, gang membership can appeal to girls when they are seeking to escape economically disadvantaged homes, improve their self-esteem, increase their feelings of belonging, or seek revenge and protection.⁴⁴ Association with delinquent peers increases girls' opportunities to engage in aggressive and violent behaviours.

Experiences with Abuse

Aggressive and violent girls often report having been victimized by others.⁴⁵ These girls are more likely than non-violent girls and both violent and non-violent boys to

have been attacked while going to or from school, physically abused at home, sexually abused or coerced into sexual relations.⁴⁶ In their relationships with adults, aggressive and violent girls have often learned that relationships involve one person dominating and abusing another.⁴⁷

Drug Involvement

The abuse of alcohol and drugs contributes to aggression and violence in both adolescent girls and boys.⁴⁸ However, chronic use of drugs seems to be especially strongly related to girls' ongoing participation in violence.⁴⁹

Atypical Physiological Responses

Girls who externalize (openly show) aggression and anger very often have family histories that involved repeated exposure to negative events during which they could neither fight nor flee (e.g. being abused as a child or being exposed to the abuse of a parent and/or sibling).⁵⁰ As a result, these girls tend to be less responsive than other girls when exposed to threatening or stressful situations. They tend not to avoid situations that others would deem risky or dangerous and so are more likely to become involved with violence.⁵¹

Personality Factors and Mental Illness

Although conduct disorder occurs in only 2% of the female youth population,⁵² close to 90% of aggressive and violent girls are given a diagnosis of conduct disorder, and 31% have a diagnosis of major depression.^{53,54} Aggressive and violent girls are also known to suffer from anxiety and attachment disorders (difficulties creating and sustaining affectionate social and

personal bonds).⁵⁵ With the onset of puberty, girls are typically three times as likely as boys to suffer from depression due to low self-esteem, negative body image, feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, and stress.⁵⁶ If they are also exposed to abuse or neglect at home, they are at increased risk of becoming involved with violence.⁵⁷

Delayed Cognitive, Moral and Social Development

The use of aggression and violence may be more likely if girls believe that other people's attitudes toward them are negative.⁵⁸ Aggressive and violent girls may also have poor self-representations or self-images, based on negative beliefs about themselves or on negative perceptions they believe parents and peers have of them.⁵⁹ Girls who experience delayed cognitive, moral or social development are more likely to experience school difficulties and social rejection, and are therefore at an increased risk of resorting to aggressive and violent behaviour.⁶⁰

Myths and Realities About Violent Girls

Myths abound about the reasons for aggression and violence in girls. The reality about what drives girls to become aggressive or violent becomes clear when we examine their experiences and beliefs. Table 1 outlines the myths and realities of what contributes to aggressive and violent behaviour in girls.^{61,62}

What Factors Can Prevent Girls From Engaging in Aggression and Violence?

Various protective factors can help girls at risk to avoid exhibiting aggressive and violent behaviour.⁶³

Individual protective factors: An intelligent girl with solid self-esteem, who believes that she is a capable person and who is able to take on age-appropriate social and personal responsibilities, is not likely to become aggressive or violent.

Family protective factors: Within the family, variables that support girls' use of assertive rather than aggressive behaviour include positive exposure to social situations; the presence of at least one caring and supportive adult; positive relationships with parents, especially mothers; and effective, non-authoritarian parenting.

School/community protective factors: At the school and neighbourhood level, variables that help to prevent or counter aggression and violence in girls include opportunities for education, achievement, personal growth and employment, as well as feelings of connectedness to the local community.

Efforts to prevent or counter girls' aggression and violence should be directed toward individual, family and community levels.

Table 1
Myths and Realities About Aggressive and Violent Girls

Myth	Reality
<p><i>Aggressive and violent girls ...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Do not care about others. ➤ Beat up people for no reason or for fun. ➤ Are trying to show that females are equal to males. ➤ Are an outcome of women’s liberation. ➤ Have never been adequately disciplined. ➤ Get high on being involved in dangerous activities. 	<p><i>Aggressive and violent girls ...</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Endorse respect and concern for others, politeness, forgiveness and generosity to the same degree as non-violent girls; they value honesty less than non-violent girls do, but not less than boys. ➤ Rationalize their aggression and violence toward others by blaming someone else, as in “she made me do it” or “I never beat up anyone I didn’t have to.” ➤ Do not recognize the value or power of females and believe that females are inferior to males; they believe the only way they can attain power is by attracting dominant males. ➤ Are more likely to seek validation from men than to compete with them. ➤ Have been harshly disciplined and received more abuse than non-violent girls and both violent and non-violent boys. ➤ Often act out aggressively to secure social dominance or to avoid being controlled or victimized by others.

Individual level: Prevention programs and intervention services should address the unique ways in which girls respond to initiatives to prevent violence.⁶⁴ Initiatives should

- counter girls’ low self-esteem as they approach adolescence;
- focus on early intervention for girls who have witnessed or experienced violence, with an emphasis on strengthening and valuing the roles of women;

- provide experiences that instill a sense of “mattering” (i.e., a sense of being valued and belonging) not based on sexual currency;
- involve girls in social skills and assertiveness training programs;⁶⁵⁻⁶⁷ and
- resist programs that focus solely on anger management, since they ignore the ways in which aggression and violence can be adaptations in the struggle to survive (e.g. for self-protection).

Family level: Including parents in interventions is essential. Aggressive girls benefit from a long-term relationship with at least one adult who provides them with a sense of acceptance, safety and prosocial values.⁶⁸ In some cases, this adult may be someone outside of the family.

School/community level: Early involvement in proactive, prosocial programs in elementary schools has demonstrated positive effects on reducing aggression and violence in girls.⁶⁹ Children (both boys and girls) should be engaged in discussions about sexism and taught to hold broader and less restrictive views of the roles of girls and boys.⁷⁰ The best prevention efforts tend to be community-driven, use multiple strategies and adopt a holistic approach that incorporates involvement of parents, students, community-based agencies and community members. Programs should also include a plan for ongoing evaluation and follow-up.

Resources

Canadian risk assessment tools, prevention programs and intervention services are listed below to assist parents, teachers and youth workers.

Earls court Child and Family Centre

46 St. Clair Gardens
Toronto, ON M6E 3V4

Telephone: (416) 654-8981

Fax: (416) 654-8996

E-mail: mailus@earls court.on.ca

Internet: www.earls court.on.ca

- ♦ Girls Connection Program and the EARL-21G Early Assessment Risk List for Girls, Consultation Edition — 2001.

Department of Justice Canada

284 Wellington Street

Ottawa, ON K1A 0H8

Internet: canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/yj

- ♦ Shaw, M. and Jané, F. *Family Group Conferencing with Children Under Twelve: A Discussion Paper*, 1999. Available on Internet:
<<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/yj/rp/doc/Paper107.PDF>>
- ♦ Goldberg, K., Augimeri, L.K., Koegl, C.J. and Webster, C.D. *Canadian Children Under 12 Committing Offences: Legislative and Treatment Approaches*, 1999. Available on Internet:
<<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/yj/rp/doc/Paper102.PDF>>
- ♦ Artz, S. *A Community-Based Approach for Dealing with Chronically-Violent Under Twelve Year Old Children*, 2001. Available on Internet:
<<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/yj/rp/doc/Paper104.PDF>>

Men for Change

Box 33005, Quinpool Postal Outlet

Halifax, NS B3L 4T6

Telephone: (902) 457-4351

Fax: (902) 457-4597

E-mail: info@m4c.ns.ca or

aa116@chebucto.ns.ca or

<mailto:healthy@fox.nstn.ca>

Internet: www.m4c.ns.ca or

www.chebucto.ns.ca/CommunitySupport/Men4Change

- ♦ Safer, A. *Healthy Relationships: A Violence-prevention Curriculum*, 1996.

British Columbia Health Research Foundation

#710–4720 Kingsway
Burnaby BC V5H 4N2

Telephone: 1-800-565-1994 or
(604) 436-3573

Fax: (604) 436-2573

Internet: <http://www.bchrf.org>

- ♦ Artz, S., Riecken, T., MacIntyre, B., Lam, E. and Maczewski, M. *A Community-based Violence Prevention Project: Final Report*, 1999.

School of Child and Youth Care

University of Victoria
Victoria, BC and
National Crime Prevention Centre
Ottawa, ON

Internet: <http://web.uvic.ca/cyc> or
<http://www.crime-prevention.org>

- ♦ *Gender-Sensitive Guide for Needs Assessment for Youth*. Available on Internet: <http://web.uvic.ca/cyc/naty>

BC Institute Against Family Violence

Vancouver, BC

Telephone: (604) 255-5147

Internet: <http://www.bcifv.org/>

- ♦ *SAFE TEEN: A life skills and violence prevention program*. Available on Internet:
<http://www.bcifv.org/resources/newsletter/1998/fall/safeteen.html>

Suggested Reading

Artz, S. *Sex, Power, and the Violent School Girl*. Toronto, ON: Trifolium, 1998.

Cameron, C.A. and the Creating Peaceful Learning Environments School's Research Team. *Violence Prevention in the Socialization of the Girl Child. Girls and Boys: Apart ... and Together*. Fredericton, NB: Muriel McQueen Fergusson Family Violence Research Centre, 2000.

Carrington, P. and Moyer, S. *A Statistical Profile of Female Young Offenders*. Ottawa: Justice Canada, 1998. Available on Internet:

<<http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/rs/rep/tr98-4a-e.html>>

Cavell, T. *Working with Parents of Aggressive Children: A Practitioner's Guide*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2000.

Lamb, S. *The Secret Lives of Girls: What Good Girls Really Do – Sex Play, Aggression, and Their Guilt*. New York, NY: Free Press, 2002.

Pollack, W. *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons From the Myths of Boyhood*. New York, NY: Henry Holt, 1998.

Simmons, R. *Odd Girl Out: The Hidden Culture of Aggression in Girls*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace, 2002.

References

1. T. Gabor, "Trends in Youth Crime: Some Evidence Pointing to Increases in the Severity and Volume of Violence on the Part of Young People," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 41, 4 (1999): 385-92.
2. S. Artz, *Sex, Power, and the Violent School Girl* (Toronto, ON: Trifolium, 1998).
3. M. Bains and C. Alder, "Are Girls More Difficult to Work With? Youth Workers' Perspectives in Juvenile Justice and Related Areas," *Crime & Delinquency*, 42, 3 (1996): 467-85.
4. M. Chesney-Lind, *What to Do About Girls? Thinking About Programs for Young Women* (Paper presented at the International Community Corrections Annual Research Conference, Washington, DC, September 1998).
5. R. Corrado, I. Cohen and C. Odgers, "Teen Violence in Canada." In *Teen Violence: A global perspective*, edited by R. Sommers and A. Hoffman (San Diego, CA: Greenwood, 1998).
6. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Criminal Justice Indicators: Graphical Overview* (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 2000).
7. BC Police Services Branch, "Youth Crime," *BC Crime Trends*, Issue # 2 (Victoria, BC: Ministry of Attorney General, 1998).
8. BC Police Services Branch, 1998.
9. W. DeKeseredy, *Women, Crime and the Canadian Criminal Justice System* (Cincinnati, OH: Anderson, 2000).
10. J.B. Sprott, A.N. Doob and J.M. Jenkins, *Problem Behaviour and Delinquency in Children and Youth* (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 2001): 5.
11. Sprott, Doob and Jenkins: 3.
12. T. Cavell, *Working with Parents of Aggressive Children: A Practitioner's Guide* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2000): 8.
13. R. Tremblay, "The Origins of Youth Violence," *Isuma*, 1, 2 (2000): 19-24.
14. Human Resources Development Canada, *Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth* (Ottawa, ON: 1998).
15. Artz, 1998.
16. Corrado, Cohen and Odgers, 1998.
17. Artz, 1998.
18. S. Artz, M. Blais and D. Nicholson, *Developing Girls' Custody Units* (Report to Justice Canada, 2000).
19. W. Craig and D. Pepler, *Naturalistic Observations of Bullying and Victimization on the Playground* (Unpublished Report. Toronto, ON: LaMarsh Research Centre on Violence and Conflict Resolution, York University, 1997).
20. W. Craig, R. Peters and R. Konarski, *Bullying and Victimization Among Canadian School Children* (Paper presented at Investing in Children: A National Research Conference, Ottawa, 1998): 1.
21. Craig and Pepler, 1997.

22. C. Jones, *New-age Bullies Use Cyberspace to Harass Peers*, 1998. [Online]. [accessed November 6, 2000]. Available on Internet: <<http://www.theage.com.au/daily/981006/news/news15.html>>.
23. D. Pepler and F. Sedighdeilami, *Aggressive Girls in Canada* (Ottawa, ON: Human Resources Development Canada, 1998).
24. L. Owens, "Sticks and Stones and Sugar and Spice: Girls' and Boys' Aggression in Schools," *Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 6 (1996): 45-55.
25. American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders - Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)* (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 1994).
26. Health Central, "Conduct Disorder" In *General Health Encyclopedia*. [Online]. [accessed November 6, 2000]. Available on Internet: <<http://www.healthcentral.com/mhc/top/000919.cfm#Alternative%20names>>.
27. Craig, Peters and Konarski, 1998.
28. W. Borst, *A Review of Conduct Disorder*. [Online]. [accessed April 3, 2001]. Available on Internet: <<http://www.ldl.net/~bill/conduct.htm>>.
29. M. Clark, "Influencing Positive Behavior Change: Increasing the Therapeutic Approach of Juvenile Courts," *Federal Probation*, 65, 1 (2001): 18-28.
30. M. Conner, *Understanding and Dealing with Conduct and Oppositional Disorders*. [Online]. [accessed November 6, 2000]. Available on Internet: <<http://www.oregoncounseling.org/Handouts/ConductOppositional.htm>>.
31. Cavell, 2000.
32. D. Andrews and J. Bonta, *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati, OH: Anderson, 1998).
33. A. Leschied, A. Cummings, M. Van Brunschot, A. Cunningham and A. Saunders, *Female Adolescent Aggression: A Review of the Literature and the Correlates of Aggression* (Ottawa, ON: Solicitor General Canada, 2000), User Report No. 2000-04.
34. Artz, 1998.
35. J. Wright, C.A. Cameron and E. Susman, *Cortisol Stress Responses of Angry Girls* (under review).
36. R. Flowers, *The Adolescent Criminal: An Examination of Today's Juvenile Offender* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1990).
37. J. Whithecomb, "Causes of Violence in Children," *Journal of Mental Health*, 6, 5 (1997): 433-42.
38. L. Augimeri, K. Webster, C. Koegl and K. Levene, *EARL-20B: Early Assessment Risk List for Boys, Version 1, Consultation Edition* (Toronto, ON: Earls court Family Centre, 1998).
39. K. Levene, K. Madsen and D. Pepler, "Girls Growing Up Angry: A Qualitative Study." In *Girlhood Aggression*, edited by D. Pepler, K. Madsen, K. Levene and C. Webster (Toronto, ON: Erlebaum, in press).

40. S. Artz, "Considering Adolescent Girls' Use of Violence: A Researcher's Reflections on Her Inquiry," *The B.C. Counsellor*, 22, 1 (2000): 44-54.
41. L. Owens, *Teenage Girls: Voices of Aggression* (20th International School Psychology Colloquium, Melbourne, Australia, July 15-19, 1997): 219-22.
42. M. Ashford, "Adolescent Boredom: A Conceptual Analysis," *The B.C. Counsellor*, 22, 1 (2000): 55-70.
43. Leschied et al., 2000.
44. K. Joe and M. Chesney-Lind, "Just Every Mother's Angel: An Analysis of Gender and Ethnic Variations in Youth Gang Membership," *Gender & Society*, 9 (1995): 408-31.
45. Leschied et al., 2000.
46. Pepler and Sedighdeilami, 1998.
47. Artz, 1998.
48. Wright, Cameron and Susman, under review.
49. Auditor General of BC, *Fostering a Safe Learning Environment: How the British Columbia Public School System Is Doing* (Victoria, BC: Office of the Auditor General, 2000).
50. M. Moretti, R. Holland and S. McKay, "Self-other Representations and Relational and Overt Aggression in Adolescent Girls and Boys," *Behavioural Science and the Law*, 19, 1 (2000): 109-126.
51. Moretti, Holland and McKay, 2000.
52. Borst, 2001.
53. Leschied et al., 2000.
54. Auditor General of BC, 2000.
55. M. Zoccolillo and K. Rogers, "Characteristics and Outcome of Hospitalized Adolescent Girls with Conduct Disorder," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 30 (1991): 973-81.
56. Leschied et al., 2000.
57. Leschied et al., 2000.
58. M. Sadker and D. Sadker, *Failing at Fairness: How Our Schools Cheat Girls* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1994).
59. N. Crick and K. Dodge, "A Review and Reformulation of Social Information-processing Mechanisms in Children's Social Maladjustment," *Psychological Bulletin*, 115 (1994): 74-101.
60. Leschied et al., 2000.
61. The Alliance of Five Research Centres on Violence, *Violence Prevention and the Girl Child, Final Report* (Ottawa, ON: Status of Women Canada, 1997).
62. Artz, 1998.
63. H. Maier, "A Developmental Perspective for Child and Youth Care Work." In *Perspectives in Professional Child and Youth Care*, edited by James P. Anglin, Carey J. Denholm, Roy V. Ferguson and Alan R. Pence (Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press, 1999).
64. Sadker and Sadker, 1994.
65. S. Artz, T. Riecken, B. MacIntyre, E. Lam and M. Maczewski, *A Community-Based Violence Prevention Project* (Vancouver, BC: B.C. Health Research Foundation, 1999).

66. S. Artz and M. Blais, *An Evaluation of an Awareness and Violence Prevention Pilot Project Directed at Sexual Harassment, Abuse and Date Rape among Teens* (Report to Ministry of Education, Victoria, BC, 1998).
67. J. Fairholm, *Dating Violence Prevention: Overview and Response, Part III* (Vancouver, BC: The Canadian Red Cross, BC/Yukon Division, 1993).
68. Cavell, 2000.
69. S. Artz and T. Riecken, *A Study of Violence Among Adolescent Female Students in a Suburban School District* (Unpublished report to the B.C. Ministry of Education, Victoria, BC, 1994).
70. W. Pollack, *Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons From the Myths of Boyhood* (New York, NY: Henry Holt, 1998).

Our mission is to help the people of Canada
maintain and improve their health.

Health Canada

Aggressive Girls was prepared by **Sibylle Artz** and **Diana Nicholson**
for the Family Violence Prevention Unit, Health Canada.

Également disponible en français sous le titre: *Les filles agressives*

The opinions expressed in this document are those of the authors and
do not necessarily reflect the views of Health Canada.

Contents may not be reproduced for commercial purposes, but any
other reproduction, with acknowledgements, is encouraged.

This publication can be made available in alternative formats upon
request.

For more information:

National Clearinghouse on Family Violence
Family Violence Prevention Unit
Population and Public Health Branch
Health Canada
(Address Locator: 1907D1)
7th Floor, Jeanne Mance Bldg., Tunney's Pasture
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 1B4

Telephone: 1-800-267-1291 or (613) 957-2938

Fax: (613) 941-8930

TTY: 1-800-561-5643 or (613) 952-6396

Web Site: <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/nc-cn>

E-mail: national_clearinghouse@hc-sc.gc.ca

© Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, represented by the
Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2002
Cat. N° H72-22/24-2002E
ISBN 0-662-33312-8