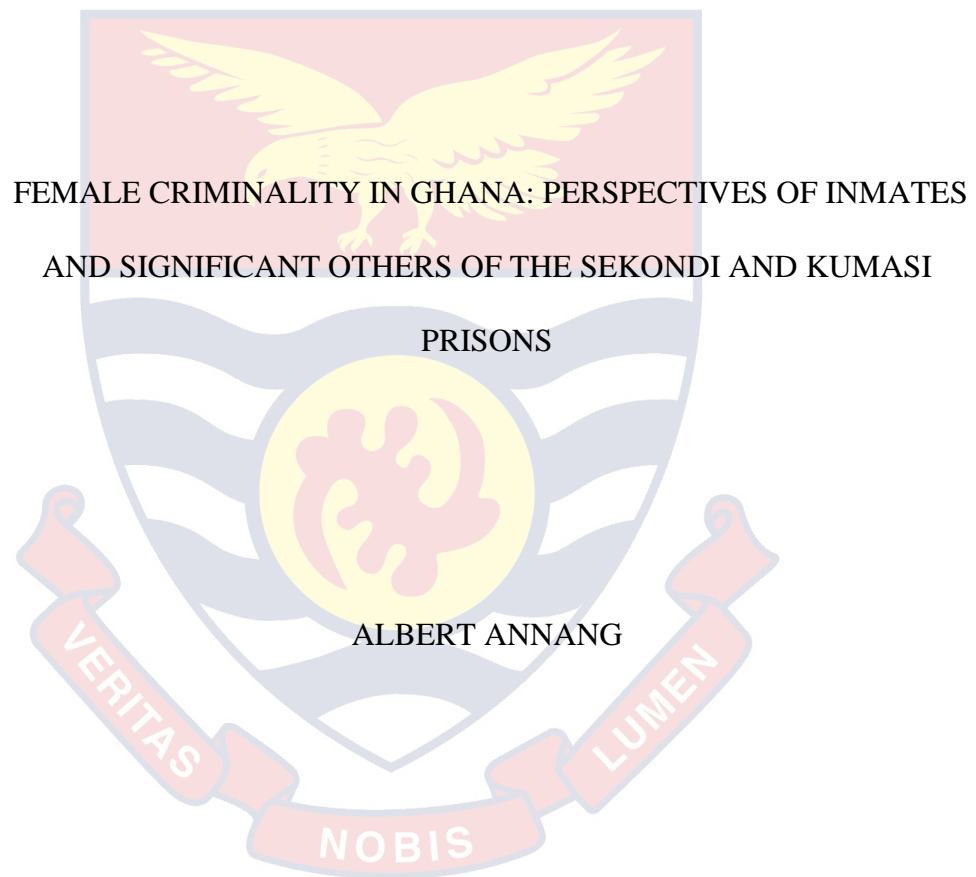
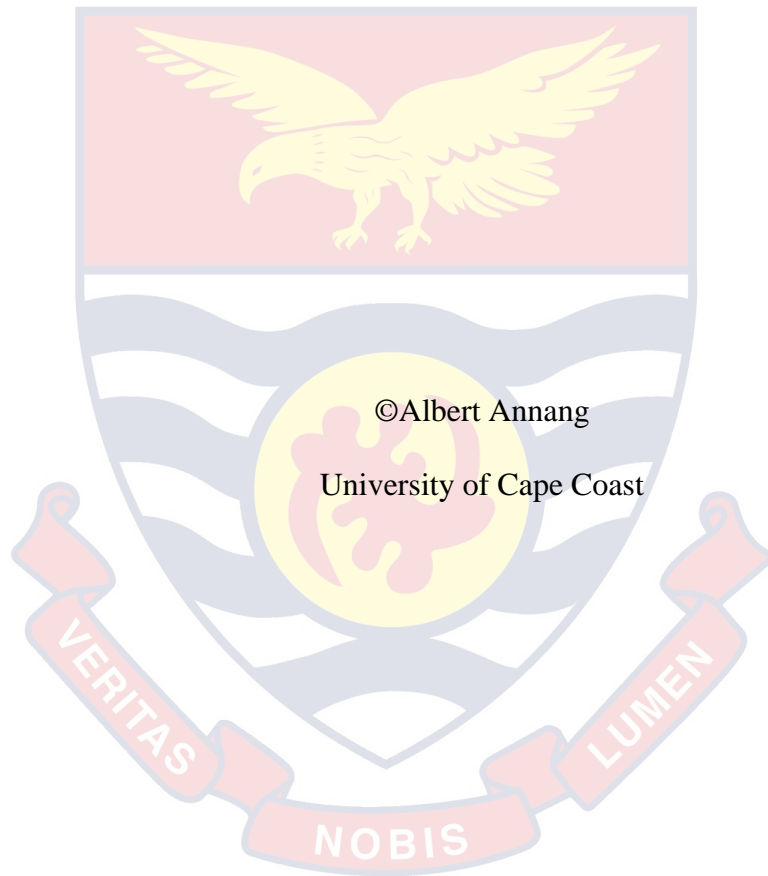


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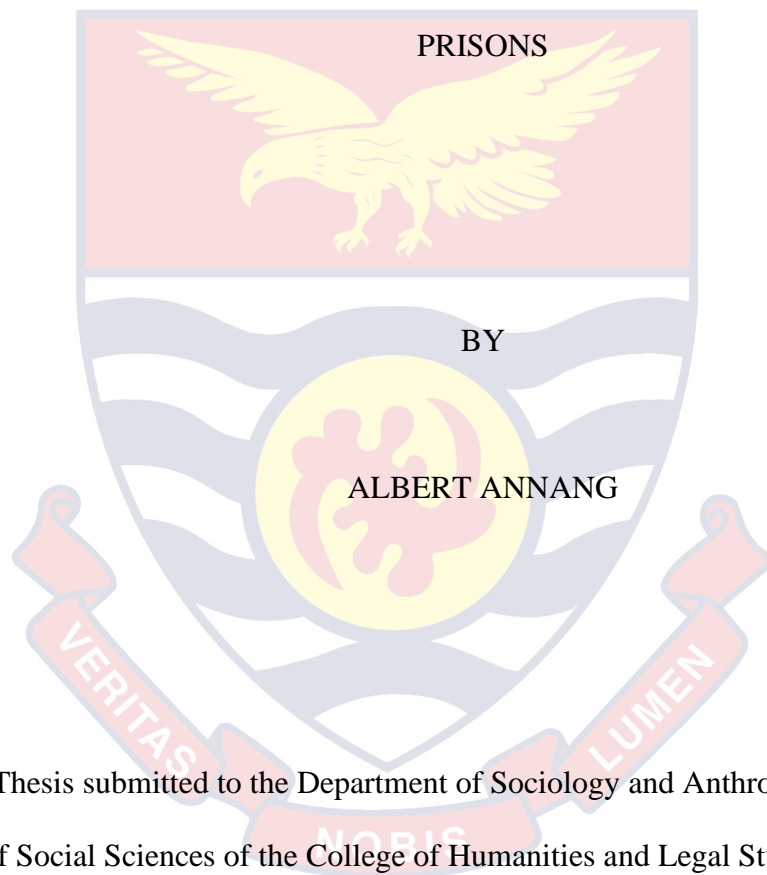
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FEMALE CRIMINALITY IN GHANA: PERSPECTIVES OF INMATES
AND SIGNIFICANT OTHERS OF THE SEKONDI AND KUMASI



Thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty
of Social Sciences of the College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University
of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy degree in Sociology

SEPTEMBER, 2021

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Candidate's Name: Albert Annang

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature:..... Date:.....

Principal Supervisor's Name: Dr. Godwin R. K. Egbenya

Co-Supervisor's Signature:..... Date:.....

Co-Supervisor's Name: Dr. Comfort O. Adetona

ABSTRACT

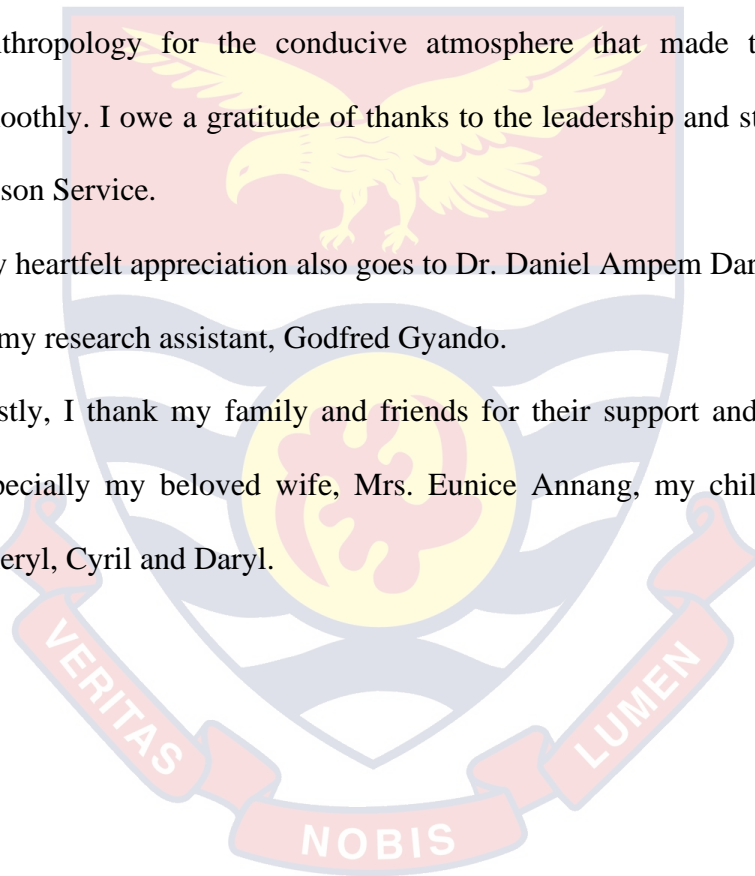
Global urban crime and violence is estimated to be between three to five percent per year. Alongside this dramatic increase in the world, female crime has also become a major socio-economic problem in Ghana in recent years. Although there are plethora of studies on the subject, little is known about female criminal activities in Ghana, especially when it comes to all female gang and reasons why women commit crime. Data was collected drawing on a semi structured questionnaire and in-depth interviews with women in the Sekondi and Kumasi Prisons. The Travis Hirschi (1969) Social Bond theory and Rational Choice theory by Cornish and Clarke and other relevant empirical studies, were used to explain the nature of female criminality in Ghana. From the study, murder, child stealing, narcotics, smuggling, manslaughter, stealing, child assault and robbery were identified as the common crimes committed by women. It was also discovered that age, education, religion and marital status has no influence on female criminality. It was also noted that women societal role did not actually link them directly to the commission of crime. The study is useful for policy formulation of appropriate and relevant policies that will enhance the reduction or eradication of female criminality in Ghana and would contribute to the literature on sociology of crime/criminology and penology. The study recommends a social support system for women.

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My heartfelt appreciation also goes to Dr. Daniel Ampem Darko Asumadu and to my research assistant, Godfred Gyando.

Lastly, I thank my family and friends for their support and encouragement, especially my beloved wife, Mrs. Eunice Annang, my children, Awulanaa, Cheryl, Cyril and Daryl.



DEDICATION

To my late mother, Mad. Comfort Adjei and the late Dr. Ahmed Baba Yahaya



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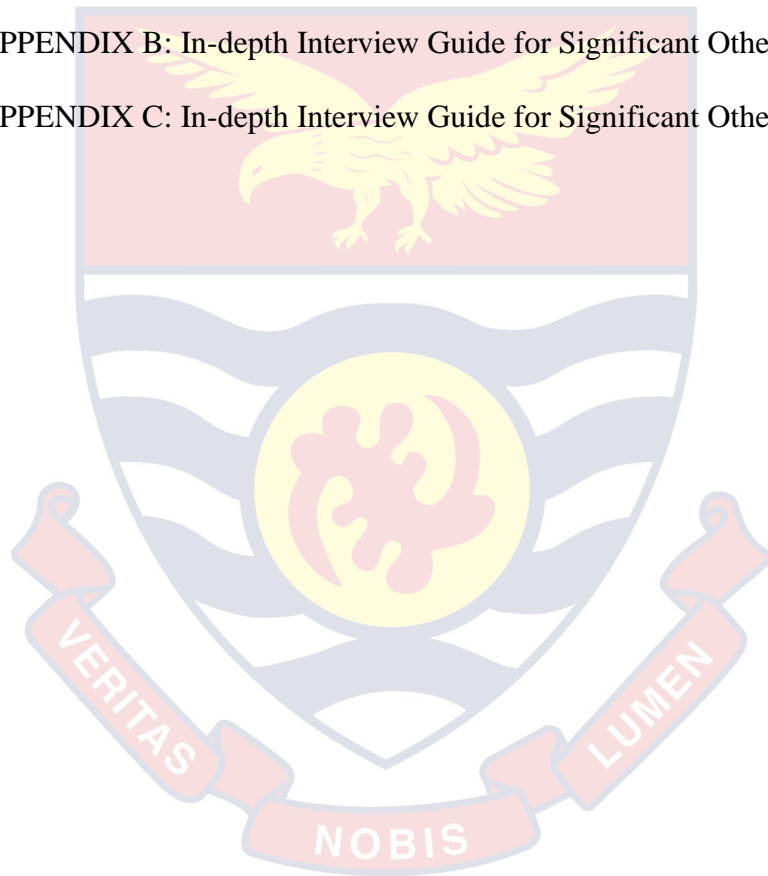
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Crime has been in existence since the beginning of creation; yet there has been no complete cure to this menace. While crime directly affect some people, others have been indirectly victimised. It is a public knowledge that crime is common in the cities and therefore it is unsafe to live at such places. Some people are familiar with the kinds of crimes committed while others may describe criminals as sick and violent persons, who attack innocent and vulnerable individuals in the community (Agola, 2016). The above explanation indicates how crime has been with us, both in the developing and developed worlds.

Crime is inevitable, and statistics have shown that it is a continuous phenomenon that has increased over the years. Globally, it is estimated that urban crime and violence, of which female criminality is part, have increased between three to five percent every year over the past twenty years (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2015). For instance, in most European countries, there is an increase in petty crime and serious crimes. However, due to the existence of effective policing, complex International Corporation and the criminal justice, these crimes seem to be under control (Eurostat, 2017). To have a broader spectrum of crime at the global level, Table 1 shows the crime ratings for 10 countries. This perhaps, confirms the fact that crime is inevitable and occurs everywhere.

Table 1: Crime Ratings of the First Ten Countries in the World

Country	Position	Commonly committed crime
Venezuela	1 st	murder, kidnapping and narco-terrorist
South Sudan	2 nd	ethnic clashes, tribal disputes, and the practice of child marriage
South Africa	3 rd	murder, child kidnappings, carjacking,
Papua New Guinea	4 th	Murder, carjacking, domestic abuse and rape
Honduras	5 th	Homicide, smuggling of weapons, drugs
Nigeria	6 th	bank transfer scams, kidnapping, drug distribution, prostitution, mugging, rape and general corruption
Trinidad and Tobago	7 th	Drug distribution and kidnappings
El Salvador	8 th	Murder
Brazil	9 th	Murder, narcotics, illegal sale of weapons
Kenya	10 th	Carjacking, stealing

Source: Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), 2016

The general overview of Table 1 reveals that crime is more severe in Latin America and Africa. Specifically, Venezuela is positioned first among crime prone countries while Kenya, is ranked in the 10th position. Out of the ten listed crime prone countries, four were from Africa while five were from Latin America. This is an indication that when discussing issues relating to crime rate, Africa cannot be left out. South Sudan, South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya are

the countries from Africa, in order of ascendancy that recorded high crime rate at the world stage and in Africa. Given the fact that Africa experiences some criminal activities, it is imperative to have an understanding about the situation in the continent.

Table 2: Crime Rates in the First Fifteen Countries in Africa

Country	Position	Crime Rate (%)
South Sudan	1 st	81.32
South Africa	2 nd	78.43
Nigeria	3 rd	74.14
Kenya	4 th	69.49
Namibia	5 th	60.89
Tanzania	6 th	60.02
Zimbabwe	7 th	60.02
Libya	8 th	57.81
Algeria	9 th	57.58
Egypt	10	56.53
Somalia	11 th	55.73
Mauritius	12 th	53.69
Morocco	13 th	50.28
Ghana	14 th	49.01
Tunisia	15 th	38.19

Source: NUMBEO, 2016

Generally, in Table 2 it is observed that crime is predominant in Northern, Eastern and Southern African parts of Africa than it is in West Africa. Specifically, South Sudan tops the table with a crime rate of 81.3 percent

followed by South Africa with 78.43 percent. Ghana which is the country of focus is fourteenth on the table with a crime rate of 49.02 percent with Tunisia the last on the table with 38.90 percent. Though Ghana is ranked fourteenth (14th) out of fifty-four (54) countries in Africa is still worrying to have to be ranked at such position since it has both political and economic implications. Consequently, there is a need to identify situations that may be contributing to high crime rates in Ghana. Could it be lack or inadequate employment, good governance, education or any other factors that may be responsible for this problem? The Ghanaian case is looked at more critically in the subsequent paragraphs.

Ghana has its own peculiar issues with criminality. In any daily newspaper in Ghana, it is common to find reports on murder and theft cases. The general nature of criminality in Ghana can be understood from the cultural, social and economic dimensions since crime as a concept is explained based on these factors (Celik, 2008). Crime can be associated with the way of life of a particular society. For instance, there is a general perception that the way of life of residents in Nima is aggressive; and therefore, there is the tendency for the people to commit crime (Boamah, 2014). A critical look at the social dimension of crime is the kind of socialisation given to people as they grow up in their communities. A person from a notorious neighbourhood can be easily socialised to engage in criminal activities as compared to someone from an estate (Boamah, 2014). Moreover, the income level and occupation, as indicators for measuring economic background, can also influence people to commit crime. For an example an individual from a good economic background is more likely

to avoid criminal activities than another who comes to a low economic background (Celik, 2008).

Recently in Ghana, unemployment, inequality of resources and unequal power relations have increased (Crime and Safety Report, 2015). As such a section of people become disadvantaged. These disadvantaged group of people are more likely to engage in theft and burglary because of lack of resources. They also see that as one of the means they can rely on to survive (Crime and Safety Report, 2015). More so, women and children are more at risk because they are sensitive to external pressures considering the fact that they do not have direct access to resources like men do traditionally (Crime and Safety Report, 2015). In addition to the three dimensions stated earlier (i.e. unemployment, inequality of resources and unequal power relations) that seem to affect the nature of crime in Ghana, it is imperative to understand that crime has taken different forms in contemporary societies; international terror, organised crime, juvenile delinquency and other forms of crime.

The changes in the nature of crime can be attributed to industrialization, globalization, urbanization and migration (Celik, 2008; Paranjape, 2009). For instance, as society changes into a more industrialised and globalised community with rapid infusion of internal and external migration, there are possibilities that crime can be executed in different forms (Paranjape, 2009). For instance, the usage and the accessibility of internet have resulted in the easy proliferation of crimes in Ghana. Confirming this assertion, it is observed that most daily newspaper in Ghana and elsewhere a portion report cases of murder, theft, and other forms of crimes.

According to the Ghana Crime and Safety Report (2015), crime rate is alarming in cities such as Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi / Takoradi. Some of the crimes committed in these areas include robbery, killing for rituals (removing of human parts), abortion (illegal), theft, drug trafficking, rape, child abuse and assault among others. The Ghana Statistical Service (2010) further reported that robbery remains the most feared of all these crimes because not only do perpetrators take away the belongings of the victims, but also threaten them, most at times, at gun point.

Generally, crime rates in Ghana between 2014 to 2017 show a steady increase by 2.6 percent, although the number of crimes increased, however there was a sharp decrease in the rate in 2017 by 0.5percent (Ghana Police Service 2016). Could this probably be due to a change in government and implementation of new policies by the new government in power which introduced new policies and procedures for fighting crime?

Table 3: Crime Rates in Ghana from 2014 to 2017

Year	Number of Crimes	Percent
2014	978	4.9
2015	1026	5.1
2016	1076	5.3
2017	968	4.8

Source: Ghana Police Service, 2016

In spite of the drop-in crime figure (968) in 2017, 968 are still not encouraging due to the fact that crime was reduced by only 0.5 percent. This, therefore, calls for attention, irrespective of the drop in the figure. Having looked at the general crime rate from 2014 to 2017, the focus will now shift to

crime rate in the country from a gender perspective since the study is focused on women. I will like to at the statistics from that angle to give me a clearer picture of the state of female crime in the country.

In 2013, the Ghana Police Service report (2013) provided a summary of crime committed by both males and females in the country. This report was on the population of females and male remand and convicts in Ghana as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Female and Male Remand and Convict

Month	Convict		Remand	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
January	168	10,283	68	2,928
February	168	10,354	68	2,899
March	167	10,471	71	2,921
April	169	10,598	70	2,878
May	163	10,681	62	2,920
June	157	10,738	61	2,975
July	148	10,749	63	2,964
August	147	10,868	61	3,006
September	154	10,918	55	2,892
October	155	10,960	55	2,950
November	162	11,039	55	3,103
December	163	11,043	60	3,158

Source: Ghana Prisons Service Annual Report, 2013

According to the Ghana Police Service Annual Report (2013), the average monthly female convict population was 159.9, and that of male was 10,725, while the average monthly female remand stood at 57, and that of male was 2,966. Though this statistics of female in relation to male is not too high, women are supposed to be in charge of socialising and nurturing children to become good citizens. In the Ghanaian cultural perspective, women are responsible for socialising children. Therefore, it is worrying to see that women who are by culture are expected not to be aggressive and criminal in nature, are now venturing into criminality. For instance, about 160 women are convicted monthly and 57 remanded on daily basis respectively what becomes of the socialisation process in which women take an active part?

Statement of the Problem

In the past, men were mainly accused of committing crimes (D'Alessio & Stolzenberg, 2002). The idea that females would commit crime was hardly discussed. Therefore, little research was conducted on women's involvement in crime. This is because women had lower official recorded crime cases and their participation in crime has not been sufficiently studied probably because of the belief that their contribution to total criminality has been modest and does not constitute any serious social problem (Ogunleye-Adetona, 2008). Even with the research conducted female offenders, the focus was on the comparison between women's lack of involvement in crime relative to men; studies on prostitution; and the analysis on depravity of violent women. The reason for focusing on these areas were that most women were submissive and could barely commit serious offenses (Curran & Ranzetti: 2001; Agboola, 2014).

Contemporary reportage has shown that female criminality has become a worldwide concern in the public and the academic space. Crimes females commit in recent times are on the increase. This can be attributed to the marginalisation of women in the family and at the workplace (Islam & Khatun, 2013; Siegel, 2007). In addition to the trends and reports from the Ghana Statistical Service (2014) and Ghana Prisons Service (2013), recent information showed that the type of crime, the age at which the crime was committed and the educational levels of offenders have changed. The types of crime females commit include non-violent and violent crimes such as prostitution, armed robbery, carjacking, fraud and human trafficking (Ghana Prisons Service, 2013; Li, 2010 ;). Also, about 71 percent of female offenders had little or no criminal history and majority of the women committing crime are between the age ranges of 30 to 40, (Ghana Prisons Service, 2013). Most offenders have, at least Junior High School certificate (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

Females who committed white collar crimes usually have a higher educational status (Siegel, 2007). Furthermore, female offenders who coerced others into criminal activities were the principal criminals in a gang. According to Staton-Tindall (2010), nearly 60 percent of female inmates in state prisons had experienced physical abuse in the past especially when they were young and 40 percent of female inmates in state prisons were drug abusers (Staton-Tindall, 2010). According to Heidensohn and Marisa (1995), gender-based crimes is key due to the dynamics it exhibits.

Female criminality in Ghana, over the last two decades has been an issue of concern due to the increasing number of cases and the nature of crimes these women commit. Some of such cases in recent times is the March, 2016, arrest

of four female armed robbers in Kumasi, the first female gang in the history of robbery in Ghana (Daily Graphic, 2016). The breaking of jail by a woman being the first lady in the history of jail breaking in Ghana on the 18th of October, 2018 (The Chronicle, 2018). Another reported incident was the one that happened at Madina on October 2nd 2017 where 156 suspected criminals were rounded up where 45 were women and this constituted 29 percent. Using the Ghana Prisons Service (2015) report, the average daily convict and remand of female offenders is 184.

Table 5 shows that the number of females arrest and this clearly calls for the need to examine female criminality in Ghana since the number of offence type and total of criminals are increasing. Although over the recorded years, the number of female prisoners appears to be decreasing; but it is still worrying given the fact that between 2012 and 2015, the number of female prisoners both remand and convicted stood at 10,668 (Ghana Prison Service, 2015). Given these happenings, women and children tend to be much more at risk, particularly because not only do they form part of the disadvantaged groups within society, but they are more sensitive to external forces (Muraskin, 2003).

With advent of globalization and advancement in technology, it was difficult to explore the causes of increased violence, crime rates, terrorism and anarchic crimes as well as high female and juvenile delinquency. It was, therefore, disconcerting to know that uneducated women or under privileged women were more likely to commit crimes (Bartollas, 2000; Richie, 2000).

Table 5: Female Criminality from 2012-2015

Year	Number of criminals
2012	2,963
2013	2670
2014	2546
2015	2489

Source: Ghana Prisons Service, 2016

Majority of studies on crime have concentrated on males. For instance, Ferraro (1995), Fisher and Sloan (2003), and Wilcox P., Jordan C.E., & Pitchard, A. J (2006) argued that, men tend to engage in more criminal activities than women because most women are more vulnerable and more fearful to commit crimes than men. Other scholars have also argued that women commit less crimes than men simply because of their prescribed gender roles such as politeness and good nurturing skills. Hence, the crimes most women commit are usually limited to the domestic space and are therefore considered as low impact crimes, whereas men engage in public and criminal activities because they have the freedom to do so. (Kaura, 2007; King, 2009; Palk, 2006; Thomas, 2004). As a result, scholars have paid more attention to men and criminality.

Campaniello (2014) argued that although most criminals are males and that the number of female criminals is increasing, there are changes in the trends in female criminality and the reasons behind and this calls for disaggregation of crime rates by gender. Campaniello (2014) further argued that economic literature, which has broadly investigated gender convergence in the labour force, has not paid significant attention to female participation in crime.

Analysing female criminality and its causal factors and main determinants are, however, important for effective reduction in crime rates. Some explanations are, therefore, important in order to understand and comprehensively analyse female criminality in Ghana. The reason being that the environment and the people one associate with has an influence on the personality formation. In this vein the study focused on female criminality in relation to environmental and sub-cultural determinants construct.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to examine female criminality in Ghana: Perspectives of inmates and significant others of Sekondi and Kumasi Prisons. The specific objectives of the study were to:

- i. investigate the demographic of female offenders with respect to their socio-economic background
- ii. identify the types of crimes women commit.
- iii. examine some of the prevailing factors that predispose female offenders to crime.
- iv. explain the link between women societal roles and crime.

Research Questions

The study was based on these questions:

- i. What are the demographic characteristics of female offenders, with respect to their socio-economic backgrounds?
- ii. What kind/types of crime are women involved in?
- iii. What are the prevailing factors that predispose female offenders to crime?

- iv. What is the link between women societal roles and crime?

Significance of the Study

This study attempts to appreciate the nature and dynamics of female offence in Ghana, particularly inmates of the Sekondi and Kumasi female Prisons. This study would bring to the fore some of the peculiar problems of women and how they predispose them to crime and how they can be solved to help them out of the acts of criminality, and become more productive and useful to themselves and the country. The study will further contribute to literature on crime and deviance in several ways. One of the major contributions of this work which is different from other criminological research observed in Ghana is on solely focusing on female offenders to understand crime from the feminine perspective. This will gather information only on women to ascertain and understand their experiences as well as the gender differentiations in crime.

By highlighting the reasons why females engage in criminal activities, this study will help agencies concerned to now better understand their actions and, therefore, will enable them formulate program/ policies to eventually reduce crime in the society. The outcome of this study will contribute to existing literature on the subject matter by providing different gender dimensions on crime committed in the country. As Cernkovich and Giordano (2007) put it, research in crime is limited because a high proportion of the literature on crime concentrated more on males than females, notwithstanding these limitations, studies examining gender differences in delinquency involvement focus mainly on externalized and internalized problems and ignore other life domains.

This research will also serve as a guide to future researchers who wish to investigate the life course perspective of criminality, especially women. It

will also lead to the generation of new ideas which may be a theoretical model to help understand the causes of crime. Finally, this study will help policy makers such as the Ministries of Defense, Interior and Gender, Children and Social Protection, as well as Prisons Service, the Social Welfare Department and the Police Service to gain more insight on women and crime; thus provide appropriate remedies to resolve issues relating to crime in the country.

Operational Definitions of Some Concepts Used

Crime: This is an action or omission which constitutes an offence and is punishable by law.

Criminality: This is defined as behaviour that is contrary to or forbidden by criminal law.

Prisons: These include all places of restraint or detention of those suspected or convicted of a criminal offence.

Women/ Female: A female human being of eighteen years and above

Female criminality: In this study, female criminality refers to the crimes committed by women beyond 18 years.

Significant Others: Persons or relatives or persons in charge of the women while in prisons.

Delimitations of the Study

To understand the situation better it will be very appropriate if a nationwide study is conducted but because the PhD program is organised within a limited time the scope was narrowed to the Sekondi and Kumasi Female Prisons. Hence, this study was delimited to only Sekondi and Kumasi Female

Prisons. Not only does the study exclude males, but it also left out other female prisons in Ghana.

Organisation of the Study

The study is organised into six chapters. Chapter One provides an introduction, the background to the study, the research problem, research objectives and research questions. The chapter also covers the significance of the study, operational definitions, and the delimitations of the study. Chapter Two deals with the literature review. It also looks at empirical works of other scholars in the area of study and also some concepts in the understanding of female criminality. Chapter Three concentrates on the methodology and the limitations of study. Chapter Four discusses the demographic characteristics of female offenders with respect to their socio-economic background and the types of crimes committed by women for discursion. Chapter Five looks at the prevailing factors that predispose women to crime and also discusses the link between women societal roles and crime and the views of significant others. Chapter six captures the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, the study examined female criminality in Ghana using perspectives of the incarcerated and significant others in the Sekondi and Kumasi prisons. This chapter is dedicated to the review of literature related to the Study. It is divided into three sections, namely the contextual definition of concepts related to crime, theoretical review of female criminality and empirical evidence of female criminality is also discussed.

The Concepts of “Deviance” and “Crime”

Society is made up of parts that relate and influence each other to ensure a harmonious whole. The integration between the parts is as a result of the existing norms and values (Celik, 2008). These values are important for the existence of society. This is due to society’s ability to imbibe the values into the younger generations. Guaranteeing stability is therefore a goal of the society. Nonetheless, most people act against the norms and values of the society. Celik (2008) argued that acting differently from what society expects in relation to the norms is termed as deviation. The extent of deviated behavior can be determined based on the norms, traditions, values and laws of the society.

“Deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender” (Becker, 1963: 9). Thus, an action defined as deviant is determined by the society one belongs. In this regard, deviant behavior can be defined as a violation of the norms of a group or society which forms the core of criminology

(Cullingford, 1999). Criminology can be defined as the body of knowledge about crime as a social phenomenon, which includes the process of making laws and breaking them, and the reactions toward the breaking of laws. Its objectives are to generate knowledge about the process involved when one breaks the law or commits a crime, the kinds of treatment the offender receives and what can be done to prevent crime (Adler, 1996).

Not every deviated behavior qualifies as a criminal act. For instance, some acts that deviates from the traditions, customs and rules of morality may not be seen as crimes legally (Dönmezer, 1981). When someone violate the norm, the person has deviated but when someone goes against a law, such a person has committed a crime. “Deviation is closely related with social problems in social systems. Some social problems occur as a result of deviation; however, some are just the deviation itself but it should not be forgotten that not all deviations are social problems, but many social problems may include social deviations” (İçli, 1994). Although there are similarities between crime and deviation, scholars have defined them differently:

“Crime has been the concern of people since they have been human beings. Ancient Greek philosophers were interested in the reasons of crime: for Plato the resources of the crime are passions, seeking for pleasure and ignorance. On the other hand, despite the fact that he knew that the criminals have become criminals due to environmental factors and also to their tendency, Aristotle had been willing to give hard penalties

as they are the enemies of society (Demirbaş, 2001:52)”.

“Aristotle claimed that poverty led to revolution and crime. For Hypocrites the criminal was mentally ill. Hypocrites, like Plato, was one of the first who felt about the anthropology of crime that for both of them there had been a relation

between the shape of the body and character. In the medieval era, Thomas Aquinas mentioned the reasons for crime as the passions of human beings and poverty as an important factor. Luther, Calvin, Thomas More, Voltaire and others had a common view about the economic reasons for crime” (Demirbaş, 2001:53).

“In law, the terms of ‘crime’ and ‘criminal’ have exact meanings. But in criminology their meanings are not as constant as in law. For criminology, the act defined as crime presents a voluntary social activity which has special properties. To define any act as crime, this act should be penalized by the rule maker. The question here is why law defines one act as crime and the other not (Dönmezer, 1994:45)”.

Regardless of the varied definitions of crime, it is important to note that crime exists in all societies in different forms and frequencies. This is because

of the social, economic and political changes across societies. The variations in the kinds of crimes committed also depends on the type of society. Thus, there are specific crimes committed in traditional and modern societies. As societies become more complex, new forms of crime appear based on social changes. The importance in the definition of crime is based on some measurements used in the explanation.

“Recent socio-cultural sciences define the acts of human beings named as crime as a deviation from the social norms. A criminal is the person who is not able to have a balance between the social norms and individualistic forces. In addition to this, separation should be made between the act of crime and general deviated activity. Though it is linked to the deviated character, the behavior mentioned as crime is the result of the historical forces and appears in law”

(Dönmezer, 1994: 47).

Several scholars perceive crime as a violation of public law, moral wrong, conventional wrong, social wrong, procedural wrong and legal wrong. These perceptions are examined below.

Crime as a Public Law

Blackstone (1765) described crime in two ways: First, it is seen as an act committed in violation of a ‘public law’. Blackstone’s description limited crime to the violation of a ‘public law’. This implied that crime only covered political offences and such offences were only a segment of the great bulk of criminal

law. Again if 'public law' was to denote 'positive' or 'municipal laws' it would be too wide to cover all legal wrongs, while every legal wrong is not a crime. If 'public law' included both constitutional and criminal law, it ceased to define crime in the German sense, as crime was not defined with the help of constitutional law in Germany, but by public law (Chaudhary, Kaul, Kumari, Raina, Razdan, Sharma, Verma, & Vageshwari 2012). At a second stage, Blackstone (1765) modified his definition as: "A crime is the violation of the public 'rights and duties', due to the whole community, considered as a community".

Stephen (2005), on the other hand, modified Blackstone's commentaries about crime by emphasizing, "A crime is a violation of a right considered in reference to the evil tendency of such violation as regards the community at large". Based on the definitions given, it is quite clear that both scholars narrowed the scope of crime to violation of rights only whereas criminal law fastens criminal liability even on those persons who omit to perform duty required by law. For instance, a military officer who silently watches a police officer torture a person for the purpose of extorting confession is liable for abetting the said offence, as he is under legal duty to prevent torture. The definition stresses that crimes are breaches of those laws, which injure the community. However, all acts that are injurious to the community may not necessarily be crimes (Razdan et al., 2012).

Crime as a Moral Wrong

Crime, which emerged from the Greek word 'Krimos', also related to the word 'Krama', means social order (Razdan et al., 2012). Thus, the word crime is applied to those acts that go against social order and are worthy of

serious condemnation (Razdan et al., 2012). Crime also has its source from a Latin word, meaning 'to accuse' and a Sanskrit word 'kri' (to do). Linking the modern meaning of both roots, crime is a 'most validly accusable act'. Allen (1955) defined crime in the following words: "Crime is an immoral and harmful act that is regarded as criminal by public opinion, because it is an injury to so much of the moral sense as is possessed by a community- a measure which is indispensable for the adaptation of the individual society" (Allen, 1973).

Garofalo (1914) considered crimes as acts, which no civilized society can refuse to recognise as criminal and are redressed by punishment. Garofalo's emphasis was also on the moral wrong. There were several acts which, although diverged from the value and norms in the society, were not considered as criminal. For example, acts such as ingratitude, hard heartedness, failure to greet the elderly, callous disregard for sufferings of others, though considered immoral in many societies, are not seen as crime. There are also, some harmless crimes like homelessness and strolling, some preventive crimes such as consorting and possession of prohibited goods like arms, harmful pills, unlawful imports and access to goods (Nyman, 1981).

Crime as a Conventional Wrong

Sutherland (1939) defined crime as a behaviour in violation of criminal law. This implied that an act can be considered criminal only when it is against the laws of the land. It does not matter how immoral or indecent the act is. It is not a crime unless it is against the law. The criminal law in therefore, is a body of specific rules which have been promulgated by political authority to regulate the behaviours of all members of the class to which the rules refer. These rules are enforced by punishment administered by the state. Characteristics which

distinguish the body of rules regarding human conduct from other rules, are therefore, politicality, specificity, uniformity and penal sanction”.

This definition is consistent with the concept ‘nulla poena sine lege’, which means there is no crime without law (Hall, 1960). Sutherland does not define crime as such. He just listed the characteristics of a crime and says that crime is a violation of a criminal law, the fundamentals of crime being a behaviour which is prohibited by the state as an injury to the state and in contradiction of which the state may react, at least as a last resort, by punishment.

Crime as a Social Wrong

The concept of crime is very ancient however, its meaning, form and perception changes from time to time due to human evolution and cultural variations. As humans evolve and with the advancement of time, some human activities which were considered as crime become out-dated and some become more complex in nature. In lieu of this, experts and scholars in the field of criminality have propounded varying definitions of the concept. Gillin (1946), a prominent sociologist examined crime from a sociological perspective. He considered crime as an act that is harmful to society, or that is deemed to be socially harmful by a group of people with the authority to beliefs, and to provide sanctions. .

A further sociological understanding of crime is seen in the ‘Organic Analogy Theory’. The theory recognises that the human society is made up of inter-related organs, and any act, which deviates from or interrupts the functioning of the system, is criminal (Durkheim, 1951). The common ground in these definitions is that any action perpetrated by any person which affect or

harm the social structure constitutes an act of crime and the person is also criminal.

In Soviet Russia, crime is perceived as socially dangerous acts (Bassiouni & Savitsky, 1979). “A socially dangerous act (commission or omission) provided for by the criminal law, which infringes the Soviet social or state system, the social economics system, socialist property, and the other rights of citizens, or any other socially - dangerous acts provided for by the criminal law, which infringe the socialist legal order, shall be deemed to be a crime (Bassiouni & Savitsky, 1979). Roscoe (1946), an eminent American Jurist, propounded the theory of ‘Social Interest’, closely related to crime - repression. His theory was founded on the assumption of legal phenomenon being nothing, but social phenomenon. His jurisprudence was of ‘social engineering’. His emphasis was on interest in life, liberty, security, religion, social institutions and general progress, with predominance and any infringement on these are considered to be crimes.

Thomas (1923) defined crime as an action which is antagonistic to the solidarity of that group which an individual regards as his own. These social interests are to be protected and preserved, and the realisation of these calls for repressive measures, and these may be called punishments”. Elliot and Merrill (1961), viewed crime as an “anti-social behaviour which the group rejects and to which it attaches penalties”. In a similar vein, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) described crime as the violation of prevalent group norms, by a member of a given social group, which by the rest of the members of that group is regarded as so injurious as showing such a degree of anti- social attitude in the actor that

the group publicity, overtly and collectively reacts by trying to abrogate some of the rights).

It is difficult to determine whether the existence crime is the work of nature or that of society. Nevertheless, it cannot be refuted that what constitutes or does not constitute crime is mainly dependent on a given the society. Mill (1991), believed that human beings needed to help one another not only to distinguish the better from the worse, but to also choose the former and avoid the latter. People must constantly motivate one another to improve their capabilities as well as increase the direction of their feelings and aims. When relating towards one another, it is essential for people to observe the general rule. As society advances and as people's lifestyles attitudes, behaviours and perceptions change, the concept of crime also changes and hence it is important to understand the causes, nature and trends of crime to the core. Socialist definitions that have been put forth by many jurists have however failed to rationalise several criminal behaviours. When a law is enacted to make an act a crime and another non-crime, the nature of the act and the social behaviour to the act will not change for the 'social interest' damaged by certain acts would remain the same.

The concept of crime is a very broad area which has undergone a series of transformation. Durkheim (1951) points out that there is no society that is not faced with the problem of criminality and since what constitutes crime varies across cultures, crime is not the same everywhere. There have been men who have behaved in such a way as to draw upon themselves penal repression. No doubt, it is possible that crime itself will have abnormal forms, as for instance, when its rate is unusually high. This excess is indeed unquestionably morbid in

nature. What is normal, simply, is the actuality of criminality, provided that it attains and does not exceed, for such social type, a certain level... To classify crime among the phenomenon of normal sociology is not to say merely that it is inevitable, although regrettable phenomenon due to persistent wickedness of man, it is to affirm that it is a factor in public health, an integral part of all healthy societies (Durkheim, 1951). There is difficulty of arriving at an omnibus definition of crime, as crime and the concept of crime depend upon various factors operating at various places and times in various societies.

Crime as Procedural Wrong

Crime can also be perceived as a procedural wrong. In the words of John Austin "A wrong which is pursued by the Sovereign or his subordinate is a crime (public wrong). A wrong which is pursued at the discretion of the injured party and his/her representatives is a civil wrong (private wrong) (Austin, 1920). This definition does not adequately tackle certain offences for instance, offences of adultery and criminal elopement except upon complaint made by the husband or the wife in matters of cruelty by husband, or upon the complaint of the wife's parents only cognizance may be taken (Indian Penal Code, 1860). In trying to submit his own understanding of crime, Kenny (1907) modified Austin's explanation of crime. According to Kenny, crimes are wrongs whose sanction is punitive, and hence cannot be pardoned by any other person except by the crown.

This definition by Austin has its downside. The definition stresses on remission by the crown, while ignoring offences that are remissible by some gratification from the accused [Ss. 320(1), 302(2), Criminal Procedure Code, 1973]. Crime has so far not been satisfactorily defined. Turner (2008)

articulates: “Criminal offences are basically the creation of the criminal policy adopted from time to time by those sections of the community who are powerful, or astute enough to safeguard their own security and comfort by causing the Sovereign power in the state to repress conduct, which they feel may endanger their position”. Similar to Turners position, Roscoe (1946) indicates that the final answer to the question of what crime is, is impossible, because law is a living, changing thing, which may at one time be uniform, and at another time give much room for judicial discretion, which may at one time be more specific in its prescription and at another time much more general” (Roscoe, 1946).

As regards the concept and definition of crime in relation with time and space, Iyer (1980) holds the view in the following: “What is a sex crime in India may be a sweetheart virtue in Scandinavia, what is an offence against property in a capitalist society maybe a lawful way of life in a socialist society, what is permissible in an affluent economy may be a pernicious vice in an indigent community. Thus, the criminologists must have their feet all the time on the terra - firma” (Iyer, 1980). Even within the same country, definition of crime may vary amongst various ethnic and cultural groups shaving their cultures, customs and rule, and hence, definition of crime is relative to time and place.

Crime as a Legal Wrong

Any behaviour which a dominant section of any given society believes to be destructive of its own interests, or endangering to the peace and security of the said society, is usually regarded as an atrocious act and hence inimical to the stability of the society. For this reason, sanctions that the sovereign power in the state can command shall be utilised to prevent the mischief or to punish

culprits. Offences of this kind are termed crimes and the procedure taken in courts in respect of them is a criminal proceeding'. An offence may become a crime as a result of collective effect of several social forces.

In the early Roman Republic, the Sovereign power was vested in the Senate and the people of Rome (Greenidge, 1901). An act which interrupted the safety and good order of the state was referred to as 'perduclio' which means making war upon citizens or 'maistas' which also meant an infringement on the greatness of the state. Some ages back, police organizations were not present as we see today, and even if some existed, they were just handful so sanctions of crime were basically in the hands of the ordinary citizens (Greenidge, 1901). In Rome, the maintenance of walls constructed for protection of cities was deemed highly important such that the religious superstition called 'res sanctae' was raised for their protection. In fact, it was a capital offence to harm them or even to climb over them to enter the city. (Pollock & Maitland, 1883).

Jurists define crime as "wrong which the government deems injurious to public at large and punishes through a judicial proceeding in its own name" (Pollock & Maitland, 1883). This definition of crime depends on the laws promulgated by the government from time to time. Any act becomes a crime at any time, if it is declared to be so by the state, and going by the same notion, the same act ceases to be a crime as soon as the state deems so.

In discussing crime as a legal wrong, the definition put forth by Paul Tappan needs to be dealt with in some measure of detail. Tappan (2001) defined crime as: "Crime is an intentional act or omission in violation of criminal law (statutory and case law), committed without defense or justification, and sanctioned by the state as a felony or misdemeanor". According to Tappan

(2001), crime is an act defined by law. Unless the elements specified by statutory or case law are present and proved beyond a reasonable doubt, a person may not be convicted of a crime. Tappan also maintained that non-legal definitions were too loose, too ambiguous, and giving too much room to the definer to determine what crime is.

Another aspect of the legal definition of law according to Tappan (2001), is that an act or omission of an act is not a crime if the individual has a legally recognised defence or justification for the act. Instances in which an act can be defended or excused include insanity, intoxication in some cases, mistake of fact, ignorance of the law (when the law has not been published or otherwise not made reasonably available or if the accused was acting in good faith on the inaccurate interpretation of law by a recognised official), duress and consent, consent of the victim, entrapment, and justification (Tappan, 2001). A person faced with the possibility of death from another individual might use the defence of justifiable homicide for killing that individual. It is, however, not obligatory that the person actually be facing danger of death. It is sufficient that it would be reasonable for the person to think death is imminent (Tappan, 2001).

Tappan's definition also highlights sanction by the state 'Nullum crimen sine poena', which translates as "no crime without punishment". This is a concept which states that persons cannot be punished for acts that may be considered to be socially harmful but for which society has not provided for punishment (Tappan, 2001). 'Nulla Poena sine lege' means that there can be no punishment without law and no punishment when a crime has not been committed. Crime (Tappan, 2001). No crime can be committed unless there is

a law that defines it as such. Today the difference between felony and misdemeanor is made mainly in terms of the sentence that may be imposed.

A person cannot be said to be a criminal until he or she has been defined as such by law (Tappan, 2001). The process of defining what makes an act a crime and who considered a criminal are an essential part of criminology. Before the law can properly call a person a criminal, it must go through a series of actions governed by well-defined legal rules collectively called criminal procedure and in this study are included the Criminal Procedure Code (Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, Act 2 of 1974), the India Penal Code, 1860 and the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 (Tappan, 2001). These procedural rules, however, vary greatly from culture to culture, but almost all modern cultures have a set of rational rules guiding the serious business of officially labeling a person a criminal. It is not extended to make a comparative study of various procedures prevalent in various countries. What is best for a given society is gauged with reference to its own unique history, culture, philosophy and the needs, and these are issues that have been limited within the ambit of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Indian Penal Code and the Indian Evidence Act (Tappan, 2001).

An understanding of other systems helps to better appreciate the issues in the Indian perspective. Even though crimes can be seen as acts or omissions of acts that breach criminal statutory or case law and for that matter warrant punishment or penalty from the state, there may still not be a resultant conviction (Tappan, 2001). For instance, when a case is tried by a jury, the jury may not grant a verdict of guilt even when the prosecution has presented overwhelming evidence. For cases which are tried without a jury, the judge may do the same. In certain instances, a defendant may be convicted for a crime by

the jury but the judge may grant the defendant's motion for acquittal because he/she thinks the evidence brought forth is insufficient to declare the defendant guilty of the said crime. (Tappan, 2001).

There are some definitions of crime which are not embedded within the legal framework of crime. One of the few scholars who defined crime in non-legal terms is the criminologist Thorsten (1938), He said, "For every person ... there is from the point of view of a given group of which he is a member, a normal (right) and an abnormal (wrong) way of reacting, the norm depending upon the social values of the group which formulated it." An even broader definition of crime has been proposed by Hermann and Julia Schwendinger (1983 pp. 1-51) to include acts which violate basic human rights and advocate the study of such issues as 'sexism', 'racism', 'imperialism' etc. According to Austin (1920), criminality is indeed a status, not behavior. Since most people engage in behavior which is legally defined as crime, criminal data based on arrests or convictions are not useful in telling who commits crimes, but rather who is labeled criminal.

Becker (1966) pointed out that, it is not the quality of the act committed, but rather the result of the label applied as deviant behavior. 'A deviant' is one to whom the label has been successfully applied. A deviant behavior is behavior that people so label (Becker, 1966). The reason for which the definition of Tappan (2001) has been accepted and adopted for this study is that there are established procedure and criminal and penal laws, including laws of evidence, in the form of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Indian Penal Code, the Indian Evidence Act, the task of enforcing law and administering the criminal justice through various organs of the mechanism established for the purpose, is

followed in the strict legal terms (Tappan, 2001). For societies which are governed on the principles of 'Rule of Law', there must a well-structured legal systems in order to ensure the enforcement of law in the most effective manner. For this reason, the legal definition of crime has been found to be more suitable for this present study.

Nevertheless, it is not meant to suggest that other definitions from various standpoints can be totally dispensed with. For sociological purposes, these definitions hold much sway. In this study it is also to be seen who a criminal is, but defining a criminal is as difficult as defining crime. It is even difficult when the term is limited to those who have been convicted in a criminal trial, for law does not specify when the status of criminal begins and when it ends. Technically, the term, "criminal" should not be applied to anyone who has not been convicted of a crime. The Indian Penal Code (Code of 1860), in the Preamble in Paragraph (2) describes what is crime. Tappan's (2001) identifies crime as an intentional act... and William's (1961) suggests that crime is a legal wrong that can be followed by criminal proceedings which may result in punishments. In the perspective of Black (1976) "crime is a positive or negative act in violation of criminal law" and this incorporated in the present study. The case law propounding in Gopal (2000) has also been looked at. Crime is also an act specifically forbidden by law: it may be an offence against morality of social order (Sarkar, 1860).

It is clear that all these definitions cannot delineate the representative picture of crime for all time (in the socio – temporal approach), and each definition offers its own contribution towards the understanding of crime to an extent (Sarkar, 1860). Crime mirrors the problems, threats and conditions that a

society is experiencing at a given period. Crimes such as predatory crimes do not only victimise individuals, but also hinders communal relations, and in extreme cases, produces the formation and maintenance of communal norms by disrupting the delicate bonds of ties, formal and informal (Kamala, 1963). Crime disintegrates society and makes its members the more individualistic in nature.

Crime is a social and economic phenomenon. It exists in varying forms and degrees. As revealed earlier in Tappan (2001) definition, crime is a legal concept and can be sanctioned by law. It was also indicated that crime is a forever existing and ‘changing’ concept. Human aberrations such as greed, and jealousy – exist everywhere but sanctions against these aberrations have not been so effective. The conduct between the members in a society inter-se regulates the trust for the rights and responsibilities for the duties (Tappan, 2001). The most fundamental principle of social life is ‘to live and let others live’. However, there are people who violate this principle and indulge in acts which harm the society. Such people are regarded as anti-social elements.

From the above discussions, it is quite clear that crime can be defined in many ways. The phenomenon has been analysed and perceived from different angles. Irrespective of the perspective or field it is being perceived from, all the definitions elaborated agree that crime is an action that damages the society. It is a technical subject and a legal construction (Adler & Adler, 2003). Generally, crime begins with an offensive behavior directed toward the laws of the community and ends as the offense achieved as its goal. This is why crime is a concept that constitutes the foundation of the Criminal Law. The wrongdoer is

punished as a crime is committed and a criminal law is structured so as to prevent crimes from been committed (Dönmezer, 1981).

The Concept of Female Criminality

This section explores the history of female criminality and critically analyses studies on the experiences of women regarding crimes. The following areas are discussed: same-sex sexual relationships in female prisons and its history, female prisoners and abuse, female offending and incarceration and the relationship between gender, race, class and crime. Female criminality can best be understood knowing its history which also helps in developing theories. The next section looks at some theories of female criminality in details.

Theoretical Review

Introduction

This section present the theoretical review for the study. The theoretical review explains the path of the research. This review is to make research findings more meaningful in the research field. This review assists in stimulating research while ensuring the extension of knowledge by providing both direction and impetus to the research inquiry. Theories also enhance the empiricism and rigour of research. Imenda (2014) stressed that theoretical review gives life to a research.

This study effectively and efficiently connects the understanding of female criminality to interdisciplinary theories. This study on female criminality lends itself to a variety of theoretical explanations that goes beyond the field of sociology. For example, there are scholars from the schools of psychology, criminology and biology among others who have tried to explain female

criminality, each drawing on distinct theoretical and practical approach. Scholars from these schools have used theories to explain criminal behavior. This section first considers the relevant theoretical explanations of female criminal behavior from biological, psychological, and sociological perspectives. With regard to understanding female criminality from a sociological lens, the study employs strands from both the functionalists and symbolic interaction theories.

The Biological Theory of Criminality

The biological theory of crime was first espoused by Lombroso and Ferrero (1898). They believed that men and women commit different types of crimes. This is due to their physical differences. Different scholars have relied on this theory to explain why relatively, fewer women commit crimes as compared to their male counterparts. In their opinion, few women commit crimes because women are by nature different from men and they tend to be more caring and compassionate than men. The traditionally accepted values of women tend not support aggressiveness or offensive behaviours. It follows from this argument that women are less likely to commit a crime. Dalton (1964) claimed that hormonal or menstrual factors may be an influencing factor of criminality among some women in certain circumstances.

Lombroso and Ferrero (1898) argued that crime was biologically predisposed by a persons' physical traits and appearances. A criminal was a primitive breed with certain physical qualities. Generally, women were less inclined to criminality because of lawful and emotional factors. Women were less likely to commit crime regularly and that a few of them committed crime

occasionally. Moreover, women who committed crime did so because they were either under pressure from men or extreme temptation arising from a situation.

The small proportion of female whom Lombroso described as “born criminal” displayed greater criminal propensities from the psychological and behavioral standpoint than the male born criminal type (Lombroso & Ferrero, 1898). In this sense, when a woman is bad, she is really worse than man. A woman who is a criminal, according to Lombroso, is a monster who surpasses man when she wants to be wicked and cruel. As a criminal, she is an exception among criminals.

In spite of the contributions by Lombroso, his study has suffered some criticisms. The criticism, Pollak (1950) in criticising Lombroso, focused on two main issues. First, was that Lombroso’s methodology was inadequate and second was his assumption underlying his study. With respect to his methodology, his finding on female criminals was based on a small number of female offenders. Again, his assumption against female criminal was not scientific rather based on his own ideas and intuition he had about women. The traditional norms and values on the behaviour of woman influenced Lombroso to introduce artificial double standards for men and women (Pollak, 1950).

Similar to the argument made by Pollak (1950), Bowker (1978) also criticised the environmental conditions of females and the sample size Lombroso used for his study. To Bowker, the sample of female offenders used by Lombroso were not representative. Lombroso selected females who had been confined and experienced harsh treatments from criminal justice system and as a result showed signs of physical deterioration partially due to these treatments. Furthermore, Lombroso’s study focused too much on severe cases, which made

it inappropriate to draw conclusions and eventually generalise for all criminal cases. Lombroso's work on female criminality, however, created an ideological framework in which more contemporary studies have relied on explain the socio-economic, political and legal contexts in which crime occurs among females.

The Psychological Theory of Female Criminality

Thomas's (1923) work on female criminality emphasised on individualistic, psycho-physiological and socio-cultural approaches to crime. He paid little attention to low social status of women that could influence the act of engaging in crime. He saw female delinquency as a normal response under certain social conditions, using assumptions about the nature of women. Again, from his study, economic factors were not important predictors of female criminal actions. However, female delinquency was biologically and psychologically normal for all women. Every human, he believed, has certain basic desires for a new experience and these desires might influence criminality. A woman may enter into prostitution to satisfy a desire for excitement which could be one form or another a means to satisfy these desires. Thomas also considered environmental factors as a cause to female criminality.

Pollak (1950) criticized Thomas for being sexist. The reason was that he used females' sexual behaviour to determine their criminality. Thus, his assumptions such as the maternal instinct and the female's greater need for a response were unproven. Thomas made several important observations including the fact that crime was one representation of the same creative drives that produced legitimate innovations. Thomas's theory was primarily a pseudo-psychological justification for continuing rehabilitative methods to treat

offenders and make only minor changes in the structure of society. The works of Thomas, according to Smart (1990), still herald the development of a liberal tradition in criminology.

Smart (1990) observed that liberalism theory was a continuation of Lombroso's work. Like Lombroso, Thomas also believed that criminality was pathological. But Thomas differed with Lombroso when he preferred to treat it as a biological abnormality. His work on delinquent girls incorporated the familiar nature-nurture debate, in which nature is viewed as a supportive of environmental factors. Thomas believed that women had varieties of love in their nervous system, and consequently their desire for response is more intense than that of men. Thomas argued that the inherent maternal instinct in women, buttressed by the intense need to give and feel love, motivate women to commit crimes, particularly of a sexual nature, including prostitution. Referring to the treatment of offenders, Thomas finally suggested that they are treated as unsocialised, as not fully adapted to social issues of society which represent their interest, and ultimately as being sick rather than inherently evil or rationally opposed to the dominant values of society.

Pollak (1950) challenged the disparity between male and female criminality and noted that women engage in hidden crimes such as abortions, murders by poisoning and offences against children, among others, because most women possess the quality of deceitfulness which they acquire through sexual socialization. Besides this, Pollak also suggested that certain biological factors, including lesser physical, psychological concomitants of menstruation, pregnancy and so on, can cause female criminality.

Pollak's major concern was the "masked" character of female criminality. According to him, this masked character is achieved in three ways: firstly, female criminality is concealed by the under-reporting of offences committed by women; secondly by the lower detection rates of female offenders compared to male offenders; and thirdly, by the greater leniency shown to women by police and courts. Keeping in mind the masked character of female crime, Pollak advanced the Theory of the "Hidden" female criminal to account for what he considered unreasonably low official crime rates for women. A major reason for the existence of hidden crime, as Pollak sees it, lies in the nature of women. Women are instigators rather than perpetrators of criminal activity. He contended that if the amount of hidden crime is added, the female figures would surpass the figures for males. He believed that law enforcement officers as well as judges are much more lenient towards women than towards men, which is why the official statistics and records of female criminality do not reflect the real number of crimes committed by women. The masked character of female criminals, Pollak observed, results in gross under-reporting and bolsters the official belief that females are a very low risk for crime. Generalizing on the basis of data on female crime, he maintained that women offenders have lesser chance to be reported to be arrested, to be convicted and to be committed than men.

Smart 1990, believed that Pollak's theory is influenced by Freudian analysis and, therefore, is subject to the same criticism that has been raised against the Freudian theory. The 'sexual passivity' in females, according to Smart, has no proof and is poorly chosen for use in a causal theory. The criticism of Pollak's views on female criminality revolves around the fact that he made

no substantial departure from the Lombroso tradition and displayed a kind of common-sense approach to the study of female crime. Despite the limitation of Pollak's explanation of female criminality the history of female criminological theories cannot be completed without recognising Pollak's contribution.

The theories on female criminality, as Pollak (1950) explained, are generally influenced by popular stereotypes and myths regarding women. Both classical and contemporary criminologists have failed to dismantle the sexist notions and common sense perceptions about women in general, and female offenders in particular. The shared proposition of all these scholars is that female criminality is the result of physiological or psychological characteristics of individuals. Theorists have not given any importance to socio-cultural factors but have viewed the biological characteristics as pathological distortions or departures from the normal inherent nature of women. Obviously, the assumptions in all these explanations about the biological and psychological traits of 'normal' and criminal women are questionable. Thus, the theoretical basis of female criminality still depends on biological determination and foundation. However, the classical theories of female criminality are not only pioneering theories, but are also relevant today.

After the analysis of the viewpoints of the scholars in the fields of biology and psychology over the past decades, other major theories stemming from sociology explain the causes of female criminality. These theories can be categorised into theories of social structure and social processes, namely the theory of anomie, strain, differential opportunity, labelling, differential association or learning theory, control theory/ social bond theory, role theory and masculinity theories. All these theories attempt to explain female

criminality from different perspectives. The subsequent sections explicate these theories general argument and further link it to female criminality.

Theories of Social Structure

The main proponent of this theory in the field of sociology was Emile Durkheim (1884) who explained crime as a universal component of culture and human nature. He, therefore, argued that it was impossible for societies to escape crime especially as they advance. This transformation results in the gradual disappearance of shared norms in simple societies. The actions of people become different as they come into contact with the lifestyle in modern societies. This eventually weakens social solidarity and finally leaves society in the state of anomie (Adler, 1996).

Durkheim (1884) characterized modern societies with increasing individualism, autonomy of thought and action, greater interdependency emanating from division of labour, and increased complexity within the collective consciousness. During this process, economic crisis may occur, in the form of dramatic increase in prosperity or disasters which might lead to anomie. In the anomie state, crime rates begin to increase. Crime also becomes unavoidable as a society develops into a more complex social structure and this takes place in accordance with the rise in the differences within the society. Since individual needs vary, the methods applied to satisfy these needs also differ, which sometimes result in conflict (Siegel, 1988).

Another factor that makes crime inevitable is the inability for every individual to be equally conscious and have the same moral standards. This stems from the fact that lifestyle patterns differ among individuals. One can reason that, some individuals that deviate from the collective consciousness do

so due to these lifestyle differences, and this deviation can result in a crime. This is why Durkheim (1884) considered crime as the outcome of existing norms. Crime is functional in giving the meaning of truth to something wrong, and is necessary for change.

Durkheim (1884) maintained that the existence of crime is important because it guarantees that social structure is not strict; as such it is open to change. If each individual in a society behaves in the same manner, everyone could adopt negative traits, which can eliminate progress, and lead to the disappearance of independent thinking. According to Durkheim, crime can be both functional and dysfunctional, because financial damages can lead to social dissociation. On the other hand, deviations strengthen societal synergy and thus makes individuals come together against crime (İçli, 1994).

As part of the transition from primitive to modern society, the evolution of the legal structure also changes. That is, the kinds and forms of punishment violators of the law suffer differ as society changes. For instance, in the simple societies dominated by mechanical solidarity, punitive legal systems dominate. In punitive law, the only aim is to punish the individual for his behaviours. In contrast, in modern societies where organic solidarity dominates, corrective law is dominant. The aim is to rehabilitate the individual (Kösemişal, 1971).

Durkheim (1884), mentioned three forms of deviation in explaining the phenomenon of crime, including biological, functional and skewed deviations (İçli, 1994). According to Durkheim, biological deviations arise due to genetic and situational factors. Durkheim believed that individuals deviate not only because they inherited such factors from the family, but due to the environment or the situation they find themselves in. He acknowledged that being a criminal

is a two - edged sword: first, people became criminals because they are born criminals, and second, the social factors can influence an individual to be a criminal. In addition, functional deviations arise to show a reaction against the society. The individual is labelled as a deviant as he or she represents the collective institution. He saw crime to be functional in the sense that as people commit crime society is expected to respond by providing measures in place to resolve the problem. Lastly, a skewed deviation is the situation whereby individuals who deviated are not properly socialized in an ill society. There are two reasons for this situation: anomie and egoism. The concept of anomie refers to the lack of social regulations while the concept of egoism refers to individual desires. The section that follows explains migration, social disorganisation, anomie, strain and differential opportunity theories that attribute criminal behaviour to the social structure.

Migration-Crime Link

It is a general perception that lower class groups which have suffered much social instability are by high rates of crime (McGeever & Raffalovich, 2009). An extension of this argument, which emphasizes the factors of anomie and environmental change, maintains that migrants have higher rates of crime than non-migrants (McGeever & Raffalovich 2009). There is general agreement among law enforcement groups and scholars that when there are great shifts of population, crime is likely to increase.

There are comprehensive theoretical reasons to believe that migration can influence social life in ways that either increase or decrease crime rates in geographic areas. In analysing these theories, my objective is not to provide an exhaustive review of these theories but rather describe some of these

perspectives to underscore the fact that differing views of migration's impact have roots in social theory.

Several Sociological theories suggest that higher levels of migration into an area may increase crime rates. One theory argues that migration increases crime because it elevates the share of the population with a crime-prone demographic profile, such as the teenage and young adult years of the life course. Another argument, rooted in the Social Disorganization Theory, suggests that immigration is a powerful source of change that disrupts the social control of crime in communities. Specifically, by increasing the flow of ethnically diverse people into a community, immigration contributes to high rates of both residential instability and population heterogeneity. Instability and heterogeneity, in turn, hinder the establishment of social ties and shared values, which are needed for effective informal social control of crime (Ousey & Kubrin 2009, Stowell, Messner, McGeever & Raffalovich. 2009).

Other theories argue that increase in crime rates occur because migration upsurges economic deprivation and competition in local labour markets (Beck 1996, Butcher & Piehl 1998b; Reid, Adelman & Jaret 2005; Waldinger 1997). For example, migration increases the share of low-skill workers in the United States, and sometimes intensifies competition for jobs which leads to the rise in unemployment and poverty levels for migrants and non-migrants alike. These economic strains can increase inter - group conflicts, produce alienation from mainstream society, and increase motivations for crime.

Another line of argument is that migration is contributing factor to an increase in illegal drug market activity, and for that matter plays a significant role in the increase of other forms of criminality, including violence (Ousey &

Kubrin 2009). Although the link between migration–drug markets appears to be driven by stereotype (Martinez 2002), migrants who experience harsh financial conditions could be pushed into illegal market openings for their survival.

Some theoretical arguments however suggest otherwise. Some reason that migration may rather decrease crime rates. Since the process of migration is difficult, migrants are most often a carefully selected group of individuals who have high levels of initiative and achievement orientation and less criminal tendencies (Butcher & Piehl 2005; Tonry 1997), moreover, some migrant groups have good educational backgrounds and professional experiences (Alba & Nee 2003). It follows therefore that migration can possibly reduce the share of the population with a high criminal propensity, thereby lowering crime instead of increasing it.

Another theory indicates that migration aids in the revival of local communities, which subsequently results in lower crime rates (Lee & Martinez 2002). How migration revives local economies has not been fully explored however, it could be linked to several possible factors. Migrants establish businesses which promotes employment and energizes the local economies (Sampson, 2017; Vigdor, 2014). It can therefore be said that migration reduces economic constraints which in turn, minimizes crime rates.

Besides reviving economies, migration also improves the capacity for informal social control in communities. For example, migration may bolster the prevalence of two-parent families and strengthen the norms that legitimize parental authority and adherence to rules (Ousey & Kubrin, 2009). Finally, recent work suggests that immigration may help revitalize communities by reducing housing vacancy rates (Sampson 2017; Vigdor, 2014). Because vacant

housing is one sign of the disorder, and the decay process that is posited as a crime-generating mechanism (Skogan 1992, Wilson & Kelling, 1982), migration may contribute to lower crime rates through its impact on the prevalence of vacant housing. Regardless of whether the hypothesized relationship is positive or negative, the fact is that the preceding theories on the migration-crime nexus have not been sufficiently empirically evaluated.

Until recently, studies on migration-crime link was inadequate (Lee, Martinez & Rosenfeld, 2001), leading scholars to argue that despite a considerable amount of migration research in other fields (e.g., sociology, economics, and public health), criminologists have little knowledge about how crime in the United States might be affected by the influx of immigrants (Morenoff & Astor, 2006; Lee et al., 2001, Martinez, 2006, Mears, 2002, Rumbaut, Gonzales, Komaie, Morgan,& Tafoya-Estrada, 2006). Lately, these assessments are becoming less valid because in recent times, a significant amount of studies have been dedicated to the migration-crime relationship. These include an aggregate analysis of neighbourhoods, cities, countries and metropolitan areas. Nevertheless, this growing body of research presents some challenges. Owing to the fact that a large pool of studies and literature on the subject exhibit considerable diversity with regards to research designs and empirical results a full comprehension of the relationship between migration and crime has become complicated. The movement of people from place to another have the capacity to affect the economic status of the place of origin and destination. The next theory takes up this for discussion.

The Social Disorganisation Theory

In recent times, crime has been seen to be both an effect and a cause of behaviour directly linked to the community in which a person finds him or herself as well as the economic conditions prevailing at the time. Another characteristic of crime is that it is not evenly distributed across neighbourhoods within a city. This means that, crime does not occur in equal rates in all areas, rather, it tends to cluster in certain settings.

The social disorganization theory was developed from a research conducted in Chicago by Shaw and McKay (Siegal, Welsh & Senna, 2003). Using spatial maps to examine the residential locations of juveniles referred to Chicago courts, Shaw and McKay discovered that rates of crime were not evenly dispersed across time and space in the city. Instead, crime tended to be concentrated in particular areas of the city, and importantly, remained relatively stable within different areas despite continual changes in the populations who lived in each area. In neighbourhoods with high crime rates, for example, the rates remained relatively high regardless of which racial or ethnic group happened to reside there at any particular time, and as these previously “crime-prone groups” moved to lower-crime areas of the city, their rate of criminal activity decreased accordingly, to correspond with the lower rates characteristic of that area. These observations led Shaw and McKay (1942) to the conclusion that crime was likely a function of neighbourhood dynamics, and not necessarily a function of the individuals within neighbourhoods. The question that remained was, what are the characteristics of various neighbourhoods which account for the stability of the crime rate?

In answering this question, Shaw and McKay focused on the urban areas experiencing rapid changes in their social and economic structure, or the “zones of transition.” In particular, they looked to neighbourhoods that were low in socio-economic status. It is important to clarify that despite the economic deprivation of areas with higher than average crime rates, Shaw and McKay did not propose a simple direct relationship between economic deprivation and crime. They argued instead that areas characterized by economic deprivation had high rates of population turnover, since these were undesirable residential communities, which people left once it became feasible for them to do so. Socio-economically deprived areas also tended to be settled by newly arrived immigrants, which resulted in the ethnic and racial heterogeneity of these areas. As such, socio-economically deprived areas had high rates of residential mobility and racial heterogeneity. These neighbourhoods were viewed as “socially disorganized.” In such areas, conventional institutions of social control (e.g., family, schools, churches, voluntary community organizations) were weak and unable to regulate the behaviour of the neighbourhoods’ youths.

Shaw and McKay (1942) also noted that, aside from the lack of behavioural regulation, socially disorganized neighbourhoods tended to produce “criminal traditions” that could be passed to successive generations of youths. This system of pro-delinquency attitudes could be easily learned by youths through their daily contact with older juveniles. Thus, a neighbourhood characterized by social disorganization provides fertile soil for crime and delinquency in two ways: through a lack of behavioural control mechanisms and through the cultural transmission of delinquent values.

The social disorganization perspective remained both popular and influential throughout the 1950s and 1960s. As Bursik and Grasmick (1992) note, however, with the refinement of survey approaches to data collection and the increased interest in social-psychological theories of control, deterrence, social learning and labelling, the focus of the discipline significantly began to shift from group dynamics to individual processes during the 1960s and 1970s. This trend away from macro-level criminological theory and research saw the social disorganization tradition fall into relative disfavour among criminologists, many of whom viewed it as irrelevant, or at best, marginal to modern criminology (e.g., Arnold and Brungardt, 1983; Davidson, 1981; cf. Byrne and Sampson, 1986).

Even so, the Social Disorganization Theory was “rediscovered” in the 1980s. Research by scholars such as Bursik (1986; 1988), Sampson and Groves (1989), and Wilson (1990; 1996) helped to revitalize, and partially reformulate and extend, the social disorganization tradition. In doing so, a number of criticisms levelled at the theory have been addressed (Bursik, 1988). For example, research has been conducted to test for the “reciprocal effects” of social disorganization (Bursik, 1986) and to test for the potential impact that levels of social disorganization of given communities may have on neighbouring communities (Heitgerd and Bursik, 1987).

In addition, the scope of the theory was adjusted and expanded to include constructs beyond the macro-level components originally specified by Shaw and McKay (i.e., female low socio-economic status, residential mobility and racial heterogeneity). New concepts have been added that have enhanced its theoretical utility. In particular, recent research has explicitly tested for

“intervening mechanisms” or mediating variables between the traditional social disorganization variables and crime rates. The intervening mechanisms noted by researchers include the effects of social disorganization on rates of family disruption and collective efficacy, which, in turn, directly influence crime rates (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997).

Recent research on social disorganization has taken two distinct but related directions. These have been referred to as the systemic model of social disorganization (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; 1996) and the social capital/collective efficacy framework developed by Robert Sampson and his colleagues (Sampson, Morenoff and Earls, 1999; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997).

The systemic variant of social disorganization focuses on the structural variation of three basic types of networks and their effects of these on crime. These networks relate to the private sphere (intimate friendship and kinship relations), parochial networks (less intimate and secondary group relationships), and the public sphere (groups and institutions outside the neighbourhood). This variant focuses on the effects of social disorganization on these three sources of behaviour regulation.

The social capital/collective efficacy framework of Sampson et al, (2017) argue that social disorganization can reduce social capital and collective efficacy and, thereby increase crime and violence rates. Social capital fosters trust and solidarity among residents, while collective efficacy relates to the belief that residents can effectively control the likelihood of undesirable behaviour within their neighbourhood. Especially important in this variant of social disorganization theory is the development of intergenerational networks,

the mutual transferral of advice, material goods and information about child rearing, and expectations for the joint informal control, support, and supervision of children within the neighbourhood (Sampson, Morenoff and Earls, 1999). In this sense since women are in charge of managing the households, they are the mostly affected in these transitions since the men sometimes flee to look for means to survive. The inability of these women to survive these harsh economic conditions in their neighbourhoods predisposes them to crime as means of survival.

The Theory of Anomie

Durkheim, (1951) considers crime as acts which “offend strong and definite states of the collective conscience”. According to him, crime is a social fact. It is a common phenomenon which occurs in varying forms, across all cultures and societies, at all stages of their development. Some crimes are inevitable, normal and sometimes healthy in any society. Crime is inevitable because it is impossible for all members of a society equally committed to the collective interests, morals, and principles of the society. People are influenced in different ways therefore, it is not possible for everyone to behave alike. Durkheim further argued that crime, apart from being inevitable, can also be functional. Change in social practices and structure begins when there is a deviation from standard practices and society sometimes generates deviances for its own wellbeing. Repressing criminal behavior completely is not desirable, because it oppose innovation and social change.

Merton (1957) borrowed ideas from Durkheim and explained crime with the concept of social structure. The main point of departure for Merton is how deviated behaviour comes along in accordance with the differentiation in the

social structure. He questioned why some social structures lead to discordant behaviours for some individuals, while for others, it leads to acceptable behaviour. According to Merton, criminality is caused by pressure or tension. The tension is stimulated by an individual's desperation to achieve certain goals coupled with impediments to the achievement of the set goals. Frustrated individuals' resort crime either to release this tension or to meet their aspirations through illegitimate means. Merton used the word 'Anomie'. To Merton, anomie was not a state of normlessness which precipitated anti-social behaviour as prescribed in Durkheim's theory of society, but rather the condition experienced by individuals who are taught to want the goals of their culture but are denied access to them.

Merton distinguished between social and cultural structures, and explained cultural structures as goals and interests' men pursue, while social structures refer to means or approved methods which regulate and control the pursuit of goals and interests. The cultural system of society enjoins all men to strive for goals by means of normatively approved forms of behaviour. However, opportunities to reach these goals through socially approved means are unequally distributed. Deviant behaviour occurs when social structure restricts, or completely closes a person's access to the approved models of reaching these goals. Some social structures exert a definite pressure on some persons to engage in non-conformist rather than conformist conduct. In this sense, structural problems, including crime, are at the heart of the means to an end's disjunction. The U.S. culture and the ideology of the "American Dream" encourage lofty expectations among individuals, but society cannot provide them with equal access to legal opportunities, and anomie occurs (Passas, 2000).

For example, youths who have average abilities and no special opportunities have very little chance of becoming rich and famous. He can only use illegal means to reach his ends and this recent time has been the case for women.

According to Merton, when many people turn from approved to disapproved means of seeking success, deviance becomes widespread. Merton determines several responses to the goals-means choices (Merton, 1957).

- 1) Conformity: This adaptation is the most common in society. Conformists accept both the goals condoned by society and institutionalized means of seeking them.
- 2) Innovation: Innovators accept condoned goals but few legitimate means to achieve those goals. They can attain their goal through robbery, embezzlement or other such criminal acts.
- 3) Ritualism: Ritualists ignore or forget former goals and dedicate themselves to their current lifestyle. The rituals and ceremonies are followed but the original meanings have been lost.
- 4) Retreatism: Retreatists abandon both conventional goals and also the means to reach conventional goals. They are generally non-productive persons such as alcoholics and drug addicts.
- 5) Rebellion: Individuals reject conventional goals and means and create their own goals and their own means by protesting or by revolutionary activity.

These goals – means choices implies that means-ends discrepancies are caused by a strong cultural emphasis on monetary or material success for all members of society, in spite of the fact that many of them do not have a chance to reach such goals. Socially distant comparative referents are constantly introduced through the school, family, politics, workplace, media, advertising,

and even religion. Regardless of their social background and the social capital available to them, members of society are encouraged to desire more than they have. Consequently, those members who fail to meet such comparative and normative standards are likely to experience relative deprivation and frustration.

This strain, combined with the culturally - induced overemphasis on goals and the concomitant under emphasis on the proper methods, make for deviance of various types. Deviance is an individual search for a solution to these structural problems (Passas, 2000). Merton evaluates the fact of high crime rates among lower classes within this framework. The crime rate is high among these individuals because members of the lower economic classes lack the tools and backgrounds necessary to achieve their goals. Merton elaborated further on the function of the family in creating the anomie. He particularly accused the parents in lower - class families of teaching illegal methods of achieving goals to their children. These families, in fact, transmit their own unsuccessfulness to their children (İçli, 1994).

In spite of the usefulness of Merton's Theory of Anomie to the discourse of criminality, it has been criticized by Cohen (1959), Clinard (1964) and Lemert (1967). Their main contentions were that the theory gives much importance to the social structure, but ignoring individual's personality. Again, they argued that tensions do not necessarily lead to deviant behaviour as described as the main cause of criminality. Merton's assertion that deviant behaviours are extremely common in lower classes is not correct simply because there have been several instances where the middle and higher classes have been labeled with criminal activities. Merton failed to look into 'non-utilitarian' crime and juvenile delinquency which people engage in only for pleasure and

not to meet specific goals of the society. Lastly, the theory does not consider the socio-psychological variables or the social structural elements, which might explain the priority of one adaptation over the other by individuals. As a result of these critiques, the strain theory emerged and the next section takes this up for discussion.

The Strain Theory

Cohen (1955), took up Merton's idea of 'strain' explicitly, to explain the different patterns of male and female crime, particularly crimes committed by the youth. He interpreted strain as the main catalyst in the formation of delinquent gangs by male working-class American youth. Cohen (1955) unintentionally extended this theory by proposing that when their aspirations for status are frustrated in the middle-class milieu, lower - class boys tend to set up a delinquent structure.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) extended Merton's theory by suggesting that whether the potentially delinquent lower-class youth will actually become delinquent depends on the factor of differential illegitimate opportunity. This theory has been criticized for lacking in empirical support, for ignoring value pluralism, and for slighting the fun element in delinquency. But the theory has been praised for replacing the psychological approach with the sociological approach to deviance and for offering a valid premise concerning the aspiration opportunity gap. In relation to female criminality women of today desire to be independent and in their quest to attain certain status in society predisposes them to crime. Young women of today desire to drive luxury car and live in mansions have landed most of young women into crime.

The Theory of Differential Opportunity

Whereas other theories focused on the pressures and motivations leading to criminal acts, the theory of differential opportunity deliberates the practice of a particular kind of criminal activity. This theory was presented by Cloward and Ohlin (1960), and attempts to answer the question of why people adopt different forms of crime to express or fulfil their wishes or to show resistance. Cloward and Ohlin opined that all individuals live in two kinds of opportunity structures. One is the legitimate opportunity structure and other is the illegitimate opportunity structure. As some people, including women in society have limited access to legitimate means through which they can achieve their goals, they may rely on illegitimate means. A person may even directly turn to illegitimate opportunities. But the kinds of illegitimate behaviour people engage in is dependent on their access to education, socialization and female criminality.

Describing the importance of the Theory of Differential Opportunity, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) contended that the concept of differential opportunity structures permits us to unite the Theory of Anomie, which recognizes the concept of differentials in access to legitimate means and the “Chicago tradition”, in which concept of differentials in access to illegitimate mean is implicit. The authors looked at the individual, not simply in relation to one or the other system of means, but in relation to both legitimate and illegitimate systems. Thus, the theories of status frustration and opportunity draw attention to structured inequalities, which lead to variations in crime rates. These theories also explain why a particular class of society turns to a particular kind of crime pattern. In short, these theories analyze the societal and structural roots of crime and criminal behaviour.

The Social Conflict Theories

The Social Conflict theory emerged from the ideas of Karl Marx in the 1960s and 1970s. The Social Conflict theory holds that society is based on conflict groups, such as rich against poor, management against labour, whites against blacks, or men against women. Conflict is a fundamental characteristic of social disorder and it arises because of differences in power and authority which subsequently result in social, economic and political inequality. According to Siegel (1988), the unequal distribution of power is the only thing that leads to conflict and which defines the phenomenon of crime. Powerful people define what is and what not crime (Siegel, 1988) is. Generally, the Conflict theory can be analysed under two main topics, namely Cultural Conflict Theory and Class Conflict Theory (Keli, 2008).

On the one hand, the Cultural Conflict Theory focuses on a number of subcultures (ethnic, religious, national, regional, class) in a society. The presence of many sub – cultures in a society reduces the degree of value consensus in it. A condition of normlessness is created by the clashing norms of differing sub - cultures. The norms of the dominant culture become written into law, making criminals out of those sharing a divergent sub - culture. The theory provides a reasonable explanation for some kinds of deviation for some groups, such as second-generation immigrants or racial minorities, but it also poses some restrictions about deviation among the well-born and powerful (Keli, 2008). The theory can be quite helpful for understanding the crimes of groups that have migrated to cities and try to preserve their sub - culture in their urban settlements.

On the other hand, class conflict theorists argue that deviation is the outcome of different interests, not different cultural norms in the society. In other words, crime is a product of class exploitation in which laws are made to protect the capitalist system. Most committed crimes fall under property crime and most police work is centered on property protection. For this reason, deviance will continue as long as inequalities and class exploitation persist. Although Marx did not write on deviance or crime, his ideas can be related to female criminality. Thus, females might attempt to commit crime because they suffer from social inequalities at home and at work. They stand unequal to their male counterparts, in terms of, limited wealth, power and prestige in the society. Marx accepted deviance as a product of social conflict and defended private property as the only significant reason for crime (McCaghy, 1985).

Dahrendorf and Vold are other proponents of the Social Conflict Theory. Dahrendorf (1959) suggested that society is an organization in which male-enforced unions come together. These relations are composed of two relationship types, namely rulers and the ruled. Social conflict is observed in all relationships within the society. Another significant contribution to the Conflict Theory was made by Vold (1958) who emphasized that laws are made by political groups that seek to ensure their own benefits and rights from the government. However, it is not possible to explain all types of crimes merely by applying the assumption of Vold (Siegel, 1988).

Theory of Social Process

In spite of the social structure influence on criminal activities, other scholars believe that interactions between individuals play significant roles in influencing criminal activities. This is shown in the subsequent paragraphs

where scholars have linked criminal activities to social processes. Labelling, Learning and Control theories are components of Social Process Theories.

The Labelling Theory

A significant contribution to this theory was made by Franklin Tahnenbaum in his book *Crime and the Community* 1938. Criminologist Howard Becker has stated his theory in his volume *The Outsiders*. According to the labeling theory, super-ordinate parties apply the deviant label to subordinate parties; being labeled “deviant” produces unfavourable consequences for the individual so labeled; and labeling others as deviant generates favourable consequences for the individuals, groups or communities that do the labeling. But the Labelling Theory has been criticized by some sociologists for being unable to tell us the causes of deviant behaviour and for over-simplifying and exaggerating the influence of labelling on the development of a deviant career. Becker (1963) observed that society itself creates ‘outsiders’ by generating the rules that define crime and other kinds of deviance. He noted the importance of the process of stigmatization and labeling. He also tried to trace out political intentions working behind the process of law or rule-making.

The Differential Association Theory / Learning Theory

Edwin Sutherland (1947) introduced the theory of ‘Differential Association’. He argued that criminal behaviour can be explained based on situational and genetic or historical factors. Situational crime is a crime that is committed based on the situation that persists at the time of the crime and genetic crime is on the basis of a criminal’s life experiences. Sutherland used

the second approach in developing the theory of criminal behaviour. Sutherland's main thesis is that individuals encounter many unpleasant social influences in their life-time and many individuals get into contact with carriers of criminalistic norms, and consequently become criminals. He called this process 'differential association'.

The theory states that criminal behaviour such as techniques of committing a crime, is learnt through interpersonal communication with other people. The specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable or unfavourable. This theory reasons that a person is more like to exhibit criminal tendencies if he or she associates more with criminal than with anti-criminal people and ideas. The first explicit application of differential association to females was by Ruth Morris in her effort to explain female conformity. She hypothesized "there is a relative absence of a deviant sub-culture for female delinquents, and absence of sub-cultural as well as cultural support for female delinquency" (Sutherland, 1947).

Glaser (1969) extended the Differential Association Theory by suggesting that 'differential identification' is the determining factor for turning the differential association into criminal action. Sutherland's theory has been criticized for its failure to explain the behaviour of lone criminals, for offering an empirically vague concept and a tautological explanation, and for wrongly assuming that the learning of special skills as necessary for committing crime and delinquency. But the theory has inspired substantial empirical research.

The Social Bond/Control Theory

A further theory which explains the social process of crime is the Social Control Theory. This theory was propounded by Hirschi (1969). Unlike Merton (1938), Cloward and Ohlin (1960) and Sutherland (1939) who premised their arguments on what motivates criminal behaviour; Hirschi was concerned about these motives. For example, strain theories that emerged out of Merton's (1938) work assumed that it was the pressure placed on social norms, due to a disconnect between youths' goals and aspirations, and their ability to reach such goals through legitimate means, that created the motivation to offend-an assumption echoed by later versions of strain theory articulated by Cloward and Ohlin (1960). In addition, perspectives drawing on the differential association tradition (Sutherland, 1939) assumed that the values and techniques associated with criminal behaviour had to be learned; a process that occurred largely through exposure to deviant peers and to deviant value systems that created the motivation to offend (Akers & Sellers, 2008).

Unlike other scholars in the field, Hirschi (1969), took a different approach to the understanding of crime. In his perspective, all humans possess the hedonistic drive to act in the kinds of selfish and aggressive ways that lead to criminal behaviour right from birth. Indeed, it takes no disjunction between a child's long-term goals and his perception of blocked opportunities to meet those goals to steal another child's truck in a sandbox, nor does it take extended exposure to deviant peers or deviant value systems for a child to impulsively and aggressively shove that child to the ground after swiping the said sandbox truck without thinking about the long-term consequences of his actions. He believed that these behaviours are part of our innate human nature- however,

most people are able to control these “natural” urges. In short, Hirsch thought that the question of why offenders “do it” when it comes to crime and delinquency is, on its face, an irrelevant question. Instead, we should be asking, “why don’t we do it?”

For Hirsch (1969), the answer could be found in the bonds that people form to pro - social values, pro - social people, and pro - social institutions. These bonds end up controlling our behaviour when we are tempted to engage in criminal or deviant acts. Accordingly, these bonds come in four inter -related forms: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief.

Attachment, according to Hirsch (1969), refers to the level of psychological affection one has for pro - social others and institutions. He indicated that parents and schools play a critical role in this of bond because youths who have close attachments to their parents and schools will, by extension, experience greater levels of social control. In a movie titled “scream” (Craven, 1996), when the two killers are unmasked, one of them laments that, once everyone finds out about them, “my mom will be so mad at me.” Although this particular fictional offender’s maternal attachments obviously did not keep him from killing, it does point to the broader issue of how these attachments can control our behaviour because the person does not want to disappoint his or her loved ones by misbehaving.

In discussing commitment as another form of bond, Hirsch revealed that people have important social relationships that people value, deeply and for that matter would not want to risk jeopardizing these relationships by committing criminal or deviant acts. In essence, Hirsch noted that people are less likely to misbehave when they know that they have something to lose. For juveniles, this

could mean not wanting to look bad in the presence loved ones or people they look up to when they commit crimes. These individuals are their significant others; as such would not want them to have a bad opinion about them. The same could be said for adults who try to refrain from engaging in deviant activities that may threaten their employments or marriages. These bonds may serve as sources of social control.

The third type of social bond is known as involvement, which relates to the opportunity cost associated with how people spend their time. Specifically, Hirsch tapped into the old saying that the devil finds work for the idle hands. If people spend much of their time by engaging in some form of pro - social activity, then they are less likely to engage in an anti - social activity. For example, students who are heavily involved in legitimate school-related activities either academically, socially, or athletically can simply not make time for anti- social activities like, destroying properties, dealing in drugs or stealing. Hirsch recognises that excessive involvement legitimate school activities not completely suggest that such youths cannot engage in those behaviours however, even if they do, it will be at minimum levels because they will be mostly occupied.

The final type of social bond identified by Hirsch is belief. He defined belief as the degree to which one adheres to the values associated with behaviours that conform to the law. The assumption is that the more important such values are to a person, the less likely he or she is to engage in criminal/deviant behaviour. For example, youths who value the act playing video games or smoking marijuana as against the value of going to school, will spend more time doing the former and youths who hold the belief that using

illegal narcotics is wrong are less likely to participate in such behaviour. Although this relationship is quite simple, the underlying concept Hirsch was tapping into was that there is an important link between attitudes and behaviour-not in the sense that attitudes motivate people to commit crime, but rather that pro - social attitudes constrain people from committing the crimes they otherwise would have in the absence of such social bonds (i.e., beliefs).

Based on the preceding arguments of the control theory, it can be deduced that, most people conform to the dominant values due to internal and external controls. The internal controls are the internalized norms and values one learns whereas the social rewards for conformity and the punishments for deviation are the external controls. The bond which ties the individual to conventional society is the focus of the social control theory.

In essence, Hirsch (1969) argued that juvenile delinquents and adult criminals lack these bonds to conventional society. Offenders behave the way they do because they are not controlled; their “natural instincts” are not curtailed. In taking this position, Hirsch created one of the deepest divisions within criminology where the very premise of all “motivational” theories was called into question. The legacy of this division is still with us today, and can be seen, for example, in how vehemently scholars from the “control” versus “learning” camps disagree with one another (McGloin, Pratt, & Maahs, 2004). This is a debate that has stayed with us for decades and is likely to continue well into the future. What is often overlooked, however, is the extent to which this debate was fuelled not necessarily by Hirsch’s idea itself, but rather the way in which Hirsch presented his theory.

Relating the tenets of theories reviewed to the current study, it can be observed that all the theories can be linked to female criminality. However, a critical look at the social control/bond theory which considers the roles significant others play in influencing the behaviours of people as to whether to commit a crime or not, makes it more suitable to explore and understand female criminality in Ghana, particularly seeking the views of inmates and significant others. The level of attachment and committed relationship female prisoners establish with their friends, families, parents and other significant others prior and post-conviction shape their behaviour. It is based on this that the current study deemed it fit to understand female criminality from the perspectives of significant others who happen to play important roles in the lives of female inmates. The study, therefore, was underpinned by the social bond/control theory that sets a path of the current research, make findings more meaningful and acceptable.

The Gender Role Theories

Unlike the proponents of the “traditional” school of thought, the sex role theorists contend that both the gender role and the socialization of females play significant roles in their criminal behaviour. According to Reckless (1961), the Role Theory occupied a central position in the analysis of crime statistics in the late 1950s. Reckless pointed out that the behaviour of males and females, including criminal behaviour, are based on the social roles ascribed to the two sexes. However, Reckless maintained that these social roles are a product of the biology, psychology and social position of males and females (Gora, 1982). Gora asserted that delinquency is both natural and normal and, thus, that behaviour that conforms to societal norms is the opposite of delinquent acts and,

in fact, unnatural. Gora maintained that non-delinquent behaviour is a product of two factors, namely, internal controls and direct controls.

Internal controls are acquired by individuals through early childhood socialization, while direct controls are imposed on individuals by the society in which they live. Gora (1982) contended that girls experience more direct controls, particularly from their families, as compared to boys and, hence, girls are often less delinquent than boys. Thus, a reduction in the direct controls that are imposed on girls will precipitate criminal behaviour (Gora, 1982).

Hoffman-Bustamante (1973) adopted a sociological explanation in analysing female criminality by proposing that female crime is embedded in five factors, namely differential role expectations for both men and women; sex differences in both socialisation patterns and the application of social control; structurally - determined differences in the opportunities available to commit particular offences; differential access to or pressures toward criminally oriented subcultures and careers, and the sex differences which are built into the crime categories themselves. Hoffman-Bustamante attributed the differences in the arrests between females and males to the differences in their social control and socialization.

Hoffman-Bustamante (1973) also contended that sex roles equip individuals with skills which they may then use to perpetrate crimes. These sex roles also dictate the types and the modus operandi of the criminal acts that are committed by males and females (Gora, 1982). The works of Simon and Adler (1979) also belong to this school of thought. They argue that the change in female criminal behaviour has been brought on by both the increased availability of opportunities to commit crime and by the sex role of females.

Gora's categorization of the viewpoints of different scholars into the traditional and sex role schools of thought has shed light on the numerous ways in which scholars have viewed the aetiology of female crime.

The traditional school of thought argued that the causes of female crime may be explained using physiological, psychological, social and emotional factors, while the sex role school of thought contends that an examination of the gender roles of females is imperative in the understanding of the causes of female criminality.

It can be concluded from the above various theories that the history of female criminality can be linked to the theoretical arguments made by scholars in different fields of endeavour. Just like the reviewed theories above, history presents varied understanding of the phenomenon of female criminality.

Empirical Evidence on Female Criminality

There are two main schools of thought that have explained the history of female crime (Gora, 1982). The first school of thought is referred to as the traditional school of thought. Their ideas and writings last over a period of approximately 63 years. The ideas of these scholars, namely Thomas, Lombroso, Pollak, Cowie, Cowie and Slater, Freud, Konopka, and Vedder and Somerville were developed into theories which have been discussed under the theoretical review of the current study. Indeed, these scholars belong to the traditional school of thought and their perspectives form part of the history of female criminality. According to these scholars, female crime was influenced mainly by psychological, physiological and emotional factors. The second school of thought stressed that social and cultural factors, in particular, sex-role socialisation, were relevant when explaining female crime (Gore, 1982). These

schools of thought are briefly discussed in the paragraphs below since their arguments were earlier made in the theoretical review.

The Traditional School of Thought

The late nineteenth century heralded research into the causes of female crime. Lombroso's (1895) work "The Female Offender" was regarded as the first attempt at writing a text on females and crime. Lombroso believed that criminals are a product of the failure to evolve in the same way as others (non-criminal) humans. This inability of criminals to evolve causes them to become "atavistic". According to Dastille (2011), atavism occurs when a human characteristic reappears after several (human) generations of absence.

Lombroso and Ferrero believed that atavism was the cause of female criminal behaviour. In other words, the criminals become primitive (Valier, 2007). In Lombroso's view (cited in Dastille, 2011), criminals are more primitive than non-criminals and they (the criminals) occupy a lower rung of the evolutionary ladder as compared to non-criminals. Lombroso emphasized that the criminality of females depends on their physical characteristics and by extension concluded that those females who possess the following traits, namely larger cranial cavities, larger and heavier jaw bones, larger cheekbones, moles and hairiness, were naturally criminally - inclined. Lombroso believed that the traits mentioned above were masculine traits and, hence they should not be present in a female. Females were supposed to be "delicate" in physique. Hence, a deviation from this norm denoted inherent criminal tendencies in females (Klein, 1976).

Lombroso's work on female criminality laid the foundation for the work of Thomas (1923). Thomas incorporated psychological and social causes into

Lombroso's discourse on the crimes committed by females. In his publication, "Unadjusted girl", Thomas regarded female criminality as an expected response to certain social circumstances. Thomas stressed the relationship between social controls and the behaviour of individuals. Thomas believed that the behaviour of humans is dependent on the circumstance(s) in which they find themselves (Smart, 1982). Thomas' approach to theorizing was in line with the basis of what later became known as symbolic interactionism.

Freud further established the connection between human physique and crime. In particular, he established the relationship between psychological traits, biological characteristics, social structural factors and crime. Freud placed a high priority on the socialization of people, arguing that socialization was the determining factor as to whether an individual became a criminal or not. Freud explained that socialization creates equilibrium between the urges and the drives of individuals. Improper socialisation destabilises this equilibrium and this, in turn, results in criminality or deviance.

Pollak's (1950), in his book "The criminality of women" made significant contributions to the discourse on female criminality. Pollak expanded on the physiological explanation of female criminality put forward by Lombroso by arguing that female crimes are both "hidden" and sexually motivated. In addition, Pollak viewed the biological phases of female lives and crime as being connected, arguing that these biological phases, such as menstruation, pregnancy and menopause, influence female criminal behaviour because their inhibitions are compromised during these periods (Gora, 1982).

It is important to state that Pollak's contention is flawed because it contradicts the low global female crime statistics as compared to the male crime

statistics, both now and in the past. If Pollak's argument were valid, there would have been high female crime statistics, historically and also nowadays. Pollak was, however, quick to point out the reason for the low offending rate of females as compared to that of males in his next line of argument. Pollak claimed that women did not feature in the crime statistics because they are involved in "traditional" professions, such as, maids, nurses, teachers and homemakers, and that these professions rendered their crimes relatively undetectable. I believe that it was naive of Pollak to state that these occupations were preferred by females because, based on evidence from the patriarchal nature of societies in different time periods, it can rather be deduced that women took up such jobs because those were the roles that the patriarchal societies groomed them and which they were expected to take up. In other words, females' socialization prepared them to take up such domesticated and nurturing roles in society.

Coupled with the type of professions in which females engaged, Pollak maintained that females were experts in deceit and concealment. According to Pollak, these traits were rooted in female biology and were honed through their concealment of menstruation and their faking of orgasms (Klein, 1976). However, the awareness of opportunities which had, hitherto, not been known or available to women, brought about a change in the traditional roles of females (Simon, 1975; Adler, 1975). In my opinion, if Pollak's contention that females' masked crimes were to be true, then females would have chosen to remain confined to their traditional roles and not take up more modern roles, as this would enable them to continue to "mask" their crimes.

Konopka (cited in Agboola, 2014), based her study on the connection between psychological and physiological factors and female crime. However,

as opposed to Pollak (1950), who regarded sexual motivation as the primary cause of female crime, Konopka attributed the cause of female crime to emotional factors. Konopka further claimed that girls have greater emotional needs than boys and that the absence of fulfilling these emotional needs influences the criminal behaviour of girls (Agboola, 2014). Cowie, Cowie and Slater (cited in Agboola, 2014) pointed out the difference in the rate and type of delinquent acts that are perpetrated by boys and girls reflects their biological makeup, particularly their hormonal balance and genetic composition. These scholars contend that female offenders tend to flout social controls and that they exhibit masculine characteristics, whereas non-criminal females display feminine characteristics. The masculine and feminine characteristics identified by Cowie et al. (cited in Gora, 1982) include energy, aggressiveness, enterprise, rebelliousness, weakness, dependent nature and narcissism. They believed that the more “masculine” a female, the greater her propensity to commit crime.

Vedder and Somerville (in Gora, 1982) asserted that the cause of female crime is embedded in the malfunctioning of the family unit and the consequences of this malfunctioning for the individual. Vedder and Somerville suggested therapy to address this malfunction within the family. Although the contributions of the scholars cited above to explanations of female crime are dated and even sexist (with the possible exception of Adler and Simon 1975), they do represent the thinking on female criminality at the time.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics with Respect to the Socio-Economic Background of Female Offenders

As part of describing the social, demographic and economic characteristics of female offenders, the study considers their economic ability,

educational level and age. For instance, economic status refers to the ability to generate income by women and to sustain their day to day existence based on the condition that they can provide for themselves certain basic goods and services. It was measured by the types of employment they held and income earned prior to conviction. Thus, it covered self-employment, employed or unemployed and the amount of income they received. Education, in this study, meant the level of formal or non-formal training attained by the female offenders through structured classroom teaching. Formal education was measured by the highest level of education attained by the participants prior to their being jailed i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary. The age of female offenders, for the purpose of this study, implied the numerical number of years a person has lived and was measured as years since birth.

Level of Education and the Type of Crimes Committed

Machin and Meghir (2000) argued that education plays an important role in the prevention of crime for several reasons. First, education increases the outcome of legal work by increasing the productivity of the workforce. This in turn induces the increase in the cost of participating in illicit activities. Second, education makes the time wastage due to the imprisonment much more costly for more educated potential offenders. Finally, education can shape the desires and preferences of people in indirect way and that could affect decisions to engage in crime. For example, education may increase one's patience in gaining status or increase aversion risk. Simply put, education provides a civilizing effect, which reduces the recrudescence of criminality (Usher, 1993).

However, it must be noted that education can also increase the gains from a criminal activity by a skilled individual (Lochner & Moretti, 2004).

Thus, in spite the many reasons that show a relationship between education and crime, empirical research is not conclusive. Witte (1997) argued that neither years of schooling completed nor receipt of a high school degree has a significant effect on an individual's level of criminal activity. However, this is based on only a few available studies, including Tauchen, Witte and Griesinger (1994), which found no significant link between education and crime after controlling for a number of individual characteristics. While Grogger (1998) estimated a significant negative relationship between wage rates and crime, he found no relationship between education and crime after controlling for wages. The subsequent Table gives a picture of the education history of women offenders in Kenya.

Table 6: Education History of Women Offenders

Education	Remand prisoners (%)	Sentenced prisoners (%)
A level or higher	13	13
GSCE	42	36
Other	1	1
None	44	48
Excluded from school	0	33

Source: Singleton, Meltzer, Gatwood and Deasy, 1998

In Table 6, the level of education for women offenders shows that General Certificate of Secondary Education recorded higher number of remand prisoners (42%) and sentenced prisoners (36%). It was also observed that most of the women (48%) being remanded and 48 percent being sentenced had no education. Another important issue of concerned was the fact that 33 percent of

sentenced female prisoners had been excluded from school. It is worrying to note that the history of women offenders, as the table indicates, clearly depicts that most of them who were remanded or sentenced had no formal education.

Women's age as a Determinant of the Type of Crimes Committed

When it comes to opportunities to participate in criminal activity, age is an important variable. Research has shown that a lot of women between ages of 14-25 (who were more likely to engage criminal activity) live in urban areas. These category of women engage in crime in shops, offices, businesses, cars, houses and among others (White & Kowaski, 1994; Worrall, 2001). In this age group, women also face fewer opportunities for serious work-related crimes because they are usually young and are rarely in positions of authority (Stoll, 1974). Such opportunities occur more frequently for older women. Further, middle and upper-class women had less room for crime because they were more likely to be in full-time education up to age 21 or 22 as opposed to the lower-class women (Usher, 1993). Moreover, working and lower -class women were more likely to be in low-paid or low skill employment and most often unemployed; hence they were more open to engage in criminal activities. It was also observed that women who had families to cater for had fewer opportunities to commit crimes (Zaitzow & Thomas, 2003).

In terms of opportunity structures surrounding age and criminal activity in women, after age of 25 years, research indicated a steep drop in criminal activity. The reason was that as women aged, they assume new statuses, take on new roles and maternal responsibilities. They also become wage-earners, parents and spouses, which deter them from engaging in any activity that would put their family and children at risk since they are known to be home makers.

Once they are imprisoned, it will have serious negative impact not only on their lives, but to a larger extent, on their families (Smart, 1990). Considering the fact that the female imprisonment as a result of minor crimes have serious impact on the home, a vast majority of them cease to follow lifestyles that may give lead to committing these crimes. As they get older, they take on more personal responsibilities such as work/career and social responsibilities such as caring for their grandchildren or a spouse which makes them consider the effect their behavior might have on people they love or value (Pollack, 1989).

However, lack of responsibilities can lead to the reverse of the situation- more crimes can be committed by the woman because she does not have to consider others, even though this goes against her socialization (Nadler, 1987). Women and, especially young women are usually unable commit serious work-related crimes (such as computer fraud) because they have fairly low-level work roles which do not involve exercising authority over others. They are more likely to be managed at work rather than being a manager (Leonard, 1982). Although the number of women in top management positions has increased by nearly 60 percent over the past decade, the number of women in executive positions is still insignificant. A recent survey in Fortune reported that only 4.8 percent of top managerial positions were held by women, compared to 2.9 percent in 1986 (Fisher, 1992).

Women Economic Status and Their Involvement in Crime

The economic conditions of women may also be a major factor to their involvement in crime. These economic conditions are all intertwined. Kim (2003) states that harsh living circumstances such as poor socio-economic conditions and limited access to health care - make toe of women in jail needs

to be viewed within a broader community context. Determinants such as substance abuse, HIV infection, violence issues, and disadvantaged women make them vulnerable even before their involvement in crime. Leonard, (1982) emphasized gender socialization as the cause of crime. Women's involvement in criminal activities is not restricted to a few areas. While they do not often commit crimes that are extremely violent in nature (except in few cases where women display violence within the family mainly in response to male violence), they are involved in many crimes.

In terms of opportunities to perpetrate crime, both men and women may have equal opportunities when it comes to certain crimes such as shoplifting (Marsh, 1986). However, while in theory, women have similar opportunities as men to commit crimes, they may be limited by other factors. For instance, where the opportunities differ, the crime too may differ. Burglary is predominantly a male crime and, the reason is because, this type of crime is often a solitary activity which occurs late in the night. A woman walking alone late at night may attract attention and/or get involved in some degree of personal danger. The situation is the same in work-related crimes. Because more men as compared to women are employed, there is relatively less chance for women to engage in such crimes. In addition, most women tend to occupy minor positions within an organization. Due to this, they are unable to take initiatives on their own without close supervision from their superiors. Hence, they generally have less opportunity for committing "white-collar" crimes such as computer or internet fraud and forgery among others (Moffit, 2001).

Unemployment plays a great role in criminal activity. Fleisher (1966) and Gould Weinberg and Mustard (1998) postulated that a strong fall of the

wages of women (without qualifications) increases the probability of committing crimes and property crimes. Women who are poor and have no access to productive resources may engage in some criminal activities, including sex work, for their economic survival. About 70 percent of prostitutes are mothers, "mostly single mothers struggling to support families" (Street Sheet, 2005). Faced with difficult economic choices and "the evisceration of health, education and social services," women living in poverty may become entangled in the criminal justice system.

Although poverty does not directly lead to crime, its present reduces the options available, cripple their morale and render them as outsiders (Carlen & Worrall, 2004). Furthermore, they also argued that the wages of women were far below that of their male counterparts. Welfare reform has destroyed the safety net, which saved many from destitution-over 11 million mainly women-headed families have lost their sole income (Street Sheet, 2005).

Table 7: Employment History of Female Offenders

Employment	Remand Prisoners (%)	Sentenced Prisoners (%)
Working	26	34
Unemployed	24	23
Living off crime	14	12
Long term sick	14	8
Bringing up family	13	17
Other	9	6

Source: Singleton et al., 1998

From Table 7, it can be observed that most of the remand (26%) and sentenced (34%) prisoners were working. 24 and 23 percent of remand and sentenced women offenders were unemployed while 14 and 12 percent were living off crime. Again, 13 and 17 percent of remand and sentenced female offenders were house wives entirely responsible for bringing up and taking care of the family. It is quite clear that employed women participated in crime and as a result they were remanded and sentenced. Woman's socio-economic characteristics such her economic status and education influenced crime rates and the types of crimes committed. Crime rates among men are affected by similar characteristics and the only reason these have been more noticeable is because of the women's subordinate role to men in society.

D'Alessio and Stolzenberg (2002) examined the socio-economic status and the sentencing of the traditional offender in the United States of America. Their study examined the sentencing of property, violent, and moral order offenders in a south eastern state with legally mandated sentencing guidelines. It was hypothesized that the severity of imposed legal sanction would depend on the interplay between an offender's socio-economic status and offense type. Results from four different regression models indicate some support for this hypothesis. A significant inverse relationship was observed between socio-economic status and length of sentence for manslaughter and the possession of narcotics. Findings also showed that extra-legal factors played a greater role in the sentencing of violent and moral order offenders, while prior criminal record was more salient in the sanctioning of property offenders. Further offense-specific analysis is needed to shed light on the relationship between socioeconomic status and criminal sentencing.

Samuel and Omar (2012) conducted a study on female prisoners in Malaysia to examine their socio-demographic characteristics. Samuel and Omar were motivated to conduct this study because earlier research has compared male and female trends in violent offending arrest data, and found that female to male offending rate ratio for aggravated assault, robbery and simple assault has increased over time and there is a narrowing of the gender gaps (Heiner, & Lynch, 2009). However, Samuel and Omar realised that little is known about the females who commit crimes, the type of crimes committed and the risk factors associated with their criminal behaviour. They also observed that studies have showed the variations among female and male crime offenders concerning education, measured intelligence and marital status of parents (Silverthorn, Frick & Reynolds, 2001).

As women are portrayed as the backbone of the nation's economy, Samuel and Omar tried to understand who these women are, and reasons for committing these crimes and the impact of their imprisonment on their immediate families and to outline methods to overcome this problem. Hence, their unit of analysis was incarcerated females in a Women Prison in Malaysia. From the findings, it is hoped that concrete methods could be outlined as to how crime amongst female could be reduced. Indeed, the researchers did a great work by identifying the gap in literature where the focus had been on men. Focusing on women was laudable given the rise in criminality among females over the year. Their research is similar to the current study since women are the focus of this study. However, unlike Omar's and Samuel's (2012) study, the current research, in addition to engaging female inmates, will contact significant others of the inmates to solicit more information about female criminality.

Mohammadreza, Mina, Mohsen and Siminozar (2012) conducted a study on the socio-demographic characteristics of the addicted inmates of Qom and Tabriz prisons in Iran. The aim of their investigation was to identify the factors responsible for drug addiction amongst inmates of Tabriz and Qom prisons, determine the reasons for drug abuse, and finally to suggest improve methods for combating these widespread problems. The researchers provided questionnaires to 200 drug addicted inmates in both Tabriz and Qom prisons. The collected data were analysed by t-test and chi-squared test using SPSS software. Their study showed that company with addicted friends and offenders, curiosity, imitation, illiteracy, family problems, crowded family, poverty, unemployment, and lack of self-confidence were the factors that lead to drug addiction.

They recommended that, to alleviate addiction problem in Iran, the government should develop programmes to reduce unemployment, create safe hobbies, adopt proper control on drug dispensing in the pharmacies, proper birth control programs, and encourage to higher education to alleviate addiction problem in Iran. The administering of questionnaires might not allow respondents to express themselves as they want to. In this sense, the current study will conduct interviews with inmates instead of distributing questionnaires. The interviews will help understand female criminality better than just administering questionnaire. Although Mohammadreza's et al. (2012) study was elaborate from the quantitative approach, it was qualitative bias.

Another study in Nigeria by Fatoye, Eegunranti, Fatoye, Amoo, Omoaregba and Ibigbami (2010) was on the socio-demographic and offence-related characteristics of homicide offenders in a Nigerian prison. A

questionnaire consisting of socio-demographic and homicide related items were administered to 66 homicide defendants at Ilesa prison. The socio-demographic questionnaires were also administered on 66 other prisoners, as control. The homicide offenders consisted of 63 (95.5%) males and 3 (4.5%) females. Most of them (78.8%) were less than 40 years old. Most of the victims (72.7%) were males. In 81.8 percent of cases, the victims were known to the defendants.

The commonest method of homicide was the use of sharp objects (27.3%) followed by the use of firearms (21.2%). Marital status, level of education and type of religion were not observed to be statistically different between the two groups. Even though, most respondents belong to less skilled occupational groups, the homicide defendants were significantly more represented in these groups and they were significantly more unemployed. Their study recommended that some level of restriction needs to be imposed on acquisition of guns and call for concerted effort to tackle the interrelated problems of unemployment, poverty, and idleness in the society. The section that follows discusses the prevailing factors that predisposes female offenders to crime.

Prevailing Factors that Predispose Female Offenders to Crime

Society tends to view the problem of female criminality with greater concern and anxiety. This problem seems to have been created because of the rapid transformation from traditional to modern society. Committing crime during this transformation is mainly caused by several factors. That is, it can be maintained that crimes are committed by different motives. For instance, Bonger (1916) has classified crimes into four groups on the basis of their motives: economic, sexual, and political and vengeance. In Ahuja's (1969)

study of female offenders, situational and environmental variables compelled women to commit crime. In this sense, most of the crimes committed by women are due to stressful family situations. The important and leading cause of female crime has been financial or economic.

Ahuja (2012) found that mal-adjustment in inter-personal relationships within the family is a major cause of female criminality. About the crimes like thefts, Ahuja's contention is that most of the thefts committed by women are the result of family and economic compulsions. Ahuja (2012) found that economic compulsion leads women to crime. In the present study, motives behind the crime covers economic causes (desire for more and quick wealth, extravagance), industrialization and urbanization, biological (insanity, hormonal changes, defective glandular or nervous system and physical disability), psychological (frustration, aggression and so on) and sociological (role conflict, opportunity, increased exposure, maladjustment among others), personal and familial.

There are specific reasons such as selfishness, disobedience, stupidity, impoliteness, quarrelsome nature, arrogance narrow-mindedness, suspicious nature and illegitimate relations also found contributing factors to women criminality. Hence in the analysis of causation the possibility for different kinds of interpretations has to be kept in mind and one has to carefully discern the real case of causes for a given criminal behaviour (Anju, 2000). Given these causes, it is therefore very difficult to identify a particular cause for a criminal activity. Sometimes a specific factor in a particular situation becomes the cause for a specific type of criminal behaviour. Hence, in the analysis of causation, there is the need to bear in mind the possibility for different kinds of interpretations.

Some major causes of crime committed by women are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

Impact of Industrialization and Modernization on Female Criminality

Rapid industrialization and urbanization have ushered a new way of life with new values including permissiveness. As a result, the age-old inhibitions, taboos and traditional social control mechanism have ceased to have force (Paranjape, 2009). It is assumed that the problem of women criminality emanates from the rapid transformations of the society from past tradition to modernity. The conflicts created between cultural goals and institutional means available to achieve them lead to aggression, resulting in deviance among women. Urbanization has led to the breaking up of joint families.

The rising prices have forced women to seek job in urban as well as rural areas. The exposure to the world of work, naturally brings about a desire for franchise. In India, when women seek freedom at home and assert for their rights, it creates further conflicts. This is because the male supremacy which is challenged, thus naturally wants to re-establish it and there are resultants, stresses, strains, jealous in marital relationship, resulting in frictions, conflicts, and even oppression of the female which ultimately is unshackles through murder. Apart from the stress they suffer from the husband, there are also in-laws who further cause miseries by claiming dowry. The absence or shortage of dowries results in penalizing the daughter-in-law. This adds to the marital mal-adjustment of the female (Nagla, 1991).

Women's Liberation and Female Criminality

People are not born criminal, but learnt criminality or confirming behaviour from associates and from the environment they are brought up. Presumed changes in patterns of crime by females are drawing the attention of the popular media as well as that of sociologists and criminologists. Increases in the rate of crime by women and shifts in the nature of women's criminal involvement are commonly attributed to the emergence of the women's liberation movement. According to Paranjape (2009), the influence of the women's movement on crime is direct; feminist women, or women holding favourable attitudes toward feminism, are more likely than women with more traditional attitudes to engage in criminal misconduct.

According to James (1980), investigators posited an indirect association between the feminist movement and changes in female crime. They argued that the feminist movement filters down to young, black, and poor women in the form of increasing criminal opportunities, growing group support for illegal behaviour, and weakening social controls, especially by parents (James, 1980). Confining our interest to the delinquency of adolescent girls, we examine not only the direct effects of feminist attitudes on delinquency involvement, but also the indirect influence of the women's movement on delinquency through the intervening variables of delinquency opportunity, the availability of social support for delinquency, and parental social controls (James, 1980).

Williams (2008) argued that women's movement is largely concerned with women's position and standing in working environment. Criminal opportunities are directly related to the release of women from the home environment and into work, the result would show up in increase in specific

crimes. In particular, the increase would fall into the area of white-collar crime, rather than that of violence, robbery or burglary (Williams, 2008). Yet it is not white-collar crime which appears to have increased. Before this white-collar crimes remain largely hidden. Its relation to female crime is further obscured, because it appears to be only the middle-class professional or clerical worker whose employment opportunities have been noticeably improved by the so called liberation movement, it was the working-class women who were increasingly appearing in the criminal statistics (Williams, 2008).

In the past, women have not had the same access to resources as men (Female Criminality, 2013). It is difficult to commit crimes when you are in the home all day caring for the family. Alder uses the example that it would be difficult for a woman to commit the crime of embezzlement when she has no access to funds from which to embezzle or to get into a bar fight if she never goes to a bar. However, as women are liberated and begin infiltrating areas of the work force or the social community, where she was not previously allowed she would have chances to act criminal in the same way that a male would. It can, therefore, be assumed that women are not less criminal than men; they simply have less opportunity to commit crime (Female Criminality, 2013).

Economical Causes of Female Criminality

Financial constraints have been on the important direct contributory causes for the act of theft. In a country such as India, this factor hardly needs any detailed explanation. In fact, financial problem is the chief factor which gives rise to ferment situations of stress and strain, compelling the individual to think of, and engage in different types of deviant behaviour (Thomas, 2004). The proposition that economic life is fundamental, therefore, has influence on

social and cultural values is as old as the human civilization itself. According to Thomas (2004), studies were conducted to examine the status of women and their involvement in criminal activities. There is a close association between the economic positions of women and their involvement in crime. A study conducted by Wrigley-Asante (2016) on the status of women criminality in comparison with men revealed that the more unfavourable women's economic condition as compared to male counterparts, the more likely they would be involved in crime. Poverty, under age employment and bad working conditions were some of the indicators for measuring economic factors that influence female criminality.

Poverty

One of the major economic factors that affect women criminality is poverty. Bongers' (1916) contribution to criminology in explaining the relationship between crime and economic conditions deserves a particular mention. He derived his conclusions after an intensive research study on economic conditions prevailing in different countries in the first half of twentieth century. He stated that the modern age is characterised by the capitalist economy. Bongers (1916) concluded that capitalism was one of the potential causes of criminality because the system created an atmosphere for promoting selfish tendencies in men and women. The relevance of poverty of women and crime is sufficiently highlighted though some of the judicial decisions indicated that the accused were compelled to commit gruesome murder under pressure of extreme poverty (Bongers, 1916). Bongers (1916) argued that there are instances where a couple starved for about ten days without food or work for their subsistence. Therefore, they decided to put an end to their

lives along with their one and half month old female infant. It must be reiterated that crime and poverty are endemic to any society, whether capitalist or socialist. Poverty and crime cannot be wiped off, though they can be reduced with all our efforts towards material development and prosperity of a country (Paranjpe, 2009).

Under-Age Employment

Many females have to work in hotels, offices and industry and shop at immature age (Sharma, 2010). At this age, they are easily misled by lust seekers. Due to immaturity, they fall in to the way of criminality and prostitution because at that age, they find it difficult to distinguish between legal and illegal acts (Sharma, 2010). Greed for money often induces women to agree to immoral acts. In the context of the Indian society, the condition of work for women is deplorable because of lack of adequate protection from social dangers. Commenting on this point Gillin (2005) observed that while lack of employment seems to be hazardous for adult males, the employment of women and children is associated with an increase in criminality.

Bad Working Conditions

Gillin (2005) argued that many women are able to get employment through intermediaries. These intermediaries and agents recruit women and keep them under their mercy. Whenever opportunities offer itself, they exploit it fully and often succeed in receiving sexual bribe. Once a woman falls prey to their lust, they are in to make a professional out of her (Gillin, 2005).

Social Factors of Female Criminality

The social factors are extremely important factors in promoting the criminality among women. The various social factors such as bad influence, employer's ill-treatment, environmental influences, feeling of betrayal and initiation into criminal activities play an important role in criminality among women. Women are exposed to a variety of undesirable practices and behavioural patterns. They slowly imbibe the same behavioural patterns from the surrounding and learn deviant behaviours of their reference groups or individuals. Women criminals, it has been observed by various studies, had experience of dissatisfied sexual/conjugal relations in their life (Bilmoria, 1981).

Thomas (2004) stressed that the role of family responsibility, earning money, taking care of the family, managing the affairs of the family and decision making, among others, are responsibilities carried out by the male member of the family. In some circumstances, due to various factors, these roles are shouldered by the females, apart from their roles they perform as mothers and householders. This adds further stress and strain on them. The new roles women perform aside, the family responsibility, sometimes motivate them to engage in anti-social means to achieve their end (Thomas, 2004). It is suggested that the primary cause of criminality among women is family mal-adjustment and a theoretical model which focus on 'strength of character', 'role conflict', 'opportunity' and 'totality of situation' in the family, may be useful to explain crime among women. There are other social factors which are responsible for women criminality (Kaura, 2007), and among these factors are lack of education, competition, conflict, social disorganization mobility, marital

factors, bad neighbourhood and illegitimate motherhood. These factors are also responsible for which criminality among women is increasing (Kaura, 2007).

Personal Factors of Female Criminality

Most often, human beings will like to lead a trouble free and comfortable life. Along with this the luxurious made of life is also preferred by many. In order to enjoy all the luxuries of life, few women were driven to unlawful activities (Kaura, 2007). This is one of the important personal causes of criminality among women. Economic pursuits in life lead to craving for more money (Quinnery, 1971). This turns into greedy passion in the long run. Thus, the greed and impatience to earn more money influence individual to opt for criminal ways to earn more money quickly. Human emotions play a vital role in the day to day life, and the emotional status of mind often influences the action of the individual, while the ill-treatment of the women in the family assumes many forms and is perpetrated by many individuals.

Many women criminals reported that they were ill-treated by their husbands, in-laws and other relatives in the form of beating, scolding and starving. Another factor is illegitimate contact of one of the partners in marriage, leads to emotional rift and conflict in the family life. It leads to misunderstanding, and disintegration of conjugal life: ultimately results in criminal activity of spouse (Kaura, 2007). In his study, Prasad (1981) found that all the women offenders were highly frustrated in their conjugal life and sexual relations. His findings revealed that the major area of conflict among women criminals is husbands, who are into the habits of drinking, gambling, drug addiction, lack of interest in family and love, a forced marriage and jealousy due to husband's illegal connection with other women. It also includes low

income and excessive expenditure, conflict over sex, sexual jealousy and jealousy over property.

Obi, Barnabas, Ohama, Agu and Sydney-Agbor (2014) investigated the psychological and social factors that influenced female criminality in Nigeria. They sampled 150 respondents comprising 82 females and 68 males selected from the three Metropolitan Local Governments in the Enugu State. The participants were between 25-55 years. They adopted survey research design to gather the data. They found that broken home caused female criminality. Also poor parenting influenced female criminality. Unlike the current study which involves the significant others of respondents and employs qualitative approach, Obi et al. study focused entirely on inmates and was purely quantitative in nature.

Ozo-Eson (2004) examined the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria. Both primary and secondary data were employed. Female prisoners (convicted and awaiting trial) and officials of the criminal justice system including police, lawyers, judges/magistrates and prison officials were interviewed in order to better determine the pattern and control of criminal activities of women in Nigeria. The study showed that women in Nigeria commit crimes such as stealing, abortion, and fighting. In addition, they were also involved in drug trafficking. There were indications that women usually assist the men in perpetuating traditional male crimes such as armed robbery, murder, robbery.

The study is lauded for identifying many factors such as economic hardship, frustrations and unfulfilled desires of women were associated with female crimes in Nigeria. The quest for wealth and necessities of life by female

criminals in the country was exemplified by the types of crimes Nigerian women commit - drug trafficking 52.7 percent, stealing 10.7 percent, robbery 2.7 percent and fraud 5.3 percent among others. Women and men alike are experiencing great difficult time: socio-economic problems, political instability, religious and ethnic conflicts, sexism and so on. These factors contribute to criminality. The study recommended crime control measures in Nigeria must incorporate policies and programs that are directed toward social change and development aimed at restructuring society in a manner that it becomes less crime-prone.

Agola (2016) examined factors affecting female criminality in Kenya. A sample of 200 women was selected for the study using the simple random sampling method. The data was collected through direct personal interviews using questionnaires containing both structured and non-structured questions. The major findings of the study were that most of the offenders were young, (between the ages of 16 - 35) single mothers, semi-literate, illiterate and with dependants, poor dwellers from the slum areas of Nairobi. These factors appeared to have high recurrence frequency in the study.

The offenders had committed mainly petty crimes in form of loitering with intent to engage in prostitution, possession of African Spirituous Liquor, hawking without licences, petty thefts of property and possession of bhang. It was further found that through these activities that the offenders earned their livelihood prior to arrest, as most of them were not gainfully employed. They earned very low incomes from these activities. The women cited financial constraint as the main cause of criminality. Based on the above findings, the researcher recommended that there was the need for economic empowerment

of women through the creation of more job opportunities. Women should also have access to credit facilities and the introduction of training programs by the Prisons Department to enable the ex-prisoners to get employment or start some business of their own after discharge. The study was generally skewed towards economic constraint as a factor to female criminality. It, generally ignored the social and geographical factors that can result in female criminality.

In Ghana, Boamah (2014) conducted a study on the predisposing factors embedded in the transition from the trajectories of Ghanaian juvenile delinquents to adulthood. Using a qualitative research design, the researcher explored the life story of 23 juvenile delinquents who have persisted and desisted from crime through adulthood. The overall findings suggest that the interplay of structural background factors and informal social control mechanisms may not necessarily predict the early onset of crime and delinquency in the Ghanaian social context due to socio-cultural and economic reasons. In adulthood, the finding suggested that friendship, quality employment, residential change, labelling and social support are critical elements which explain persistence or desistance from crime confirming the observations made by Sampson and Laub (2003), in relation to stable marriage and employment.

Boamah's (2014) study further contradicted the perspective that deviant values are learnt in intimate groups Sutherland (1947) and also the theoretical underpinning of traditional labelling theory by Becker (1963) that states that labelling per se does not explain persistence of crime as some of participants manoeuvred their delinquent status and desisted from crime. Indeed the methodology employed in this study is similar to the current study where

interviews were conducted to solicit for information. However, the point of departure between both studies is the unit of analysis. Unlike Boamah's (2014) study that focused on juveniles, the participants for the current study included significant others as well as adults. In a way, the scope for the current study is quiet broader than Boamah's study.

Baffour and Abass (2016) explored the causes of juvenile delinquency in Ghana. They argued that juvenile delinquency have increased over the years but little has been done in Ghana and that motivated them to conduct this study. Just like the current study, Baffour and Abass (2016) employed Travis Hirschi's Social Bonding Theory to explore the factors that predisposed the inmates of the Ghana Senior Correctional Centre to delinquency. A qualitative research design was used and the researchers conducted 20 individual in-depth interviews to collect data from them.

The findings of the study revealed that juveniles at the Senior Correctional Centre had weak attachment with parents and caregivers prior to their arrest. Weak parent-child attachment resulted from poor parenting (single parenting, weak socialization, weak supervision, child abuse and neglect and poverty). Additionally, the study found that weak parent-child attachment impacted negatively on the other elements of the Social Bonding Theory (commitment, involvement, and belief). Based on the findings, the researchers suggested the need for the government and other stakeholders to implement strategies aimed at enhancing proper parenting. Although the authors did a tremendous work, it appeared they attributed delinquency to poor parental control, neglecting the influence of peer pressure. Their study did not focus on females and was silent on criminality.

Female criminality has recently attracted much attention due to the fact that crime rate among women is on the rise. There are various factors found to be responsible for the problem of women, and crime are so serious that the consequences of criminality amongst women on the social structure are greater as women perform the role of mother, wife, householder and care taker. Viewed in the context of development and social change, the concept of criminality among women is a recent phenomenon both in the developed and Third World countries, including Ghana. Criminality among women is a product of varied socio-economic-cultural and environmental factors resulting out of rapid industrialization, westernization and urbanization. Currently because of its increasing rate, female criminality has drawn the attention of psychologists, sociologists and criminologists both at the international and national scene. Not only has it dealt a strong blow to our social and cultural heritage, but it has also affected the social structure of Ghana. Perusal of the facts, cases and reasons of criminality among women, mentioned in this chapter, indicate that there is the need of an in depth study of the concept of criminality among women, so that the criminality amongst women can be eradicated.

Criminality with inmates of the Sekondi and the Kumasi prisons. The proposed framework looked at how certain socio- economic factors predisposed women or females to criminality. The current study considered other socio – economic factors aside. The current conceptual frame work was adapted from Sampson and Groves (1989). The current framework for the study considers female which is different from that of Sampson and Groves which looked at both genders

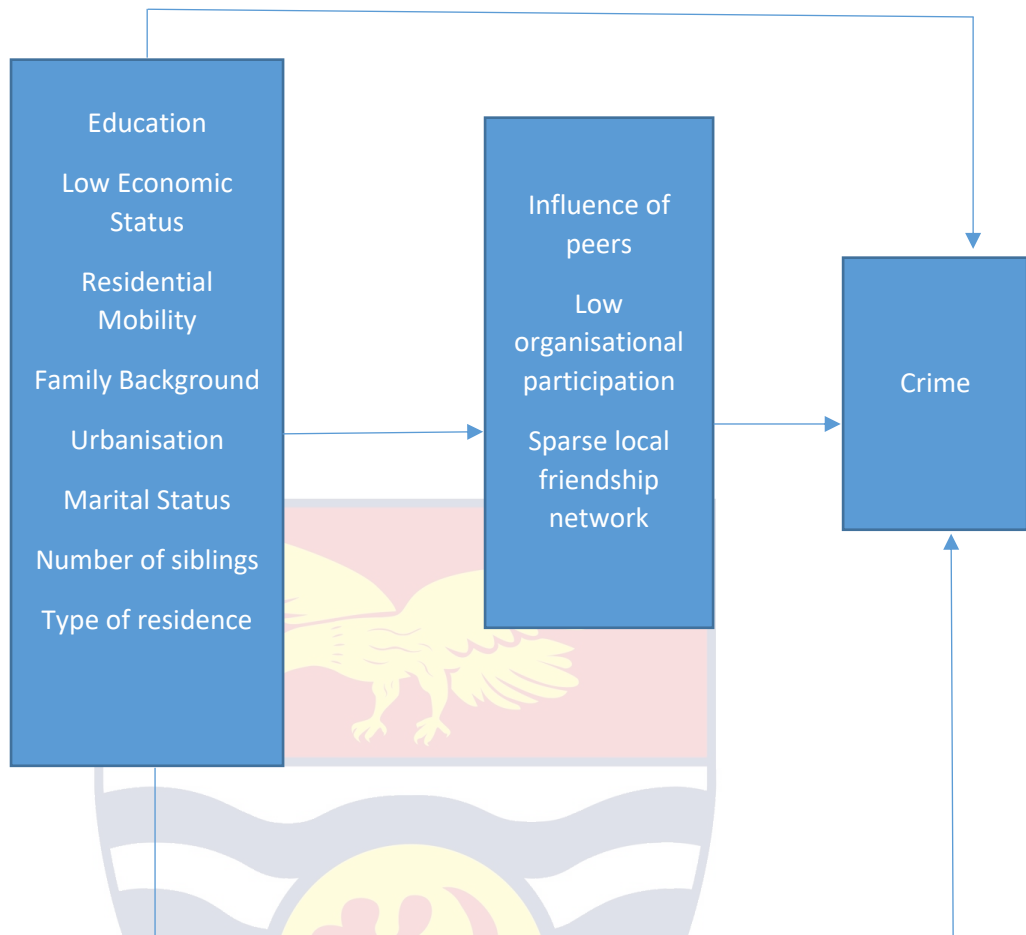


Figure 1: Conceptual framework for female criminality

Source: Adapted from Sampson and Groves (1989)

. The rationale was that the predisposing factors for female criminality varied in terms of structure, gender and socio – economic standings. The predisposing factors goes beyond that of Sampson and Groves to include education, marital status and number of siblings and types of residence. The original framework was limited to systemic structure and crime. These structures were meant to make us understand some of the hindrances that predisposes women to crime. Additionally the current study introduces other non-structural elements to enhance the understanding of female criminality.

Chapter Summary

The chapter has looked at the contextual, theoretical and the empirical reviews in relation to female criminality. It examined the literature of classical and contemporary times which are relevant to the phenomenon under study. The next chapter examines the methodological approach to the study.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Research methodology, as evident in any scientific inquiry, involves the process and procedures of collecting, analysing and interpreting data in order to understand a problem under investigation (Blaikie, 2009). This chapter presents the research methodology employed for the study. The rationale behind this discussion was to situate the methodology within the context of the current research in order to have a deeper understanding of female criminality.

The chapter therefore outlines a detailed description and rationale of the key components in the study beginning with the research approach (philosophical and theoretical assumptions underlying the research design). The research approach enabled the researcher to address the question of how experiences in multiple life domains within the Ghanaian social context modify the tendency to persist or desist from crime. The chapter also presents the research design, population, census method and sampling procedure, research instruments, validity and reliability, procedure of data collection, data analysis, limitations of the study, and ethical considerations.

Philosophical Assumptions Underlying the Research Design

Guba and Lincoln (1994) stressed that philosophical assumptions or paradigm represents a worldview that defines the nature of the world, and the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts. With this in mind, the researcher is able to position himself or herself as an outsider in order to construct and interpret the social realities of individuals

as they experience the social world. With respect to the philosophical assumptions or paradigms that underlie the choice of any research design, Leedy and Ormrod (2001) explained that three paradigms have competed over the years to gain acceptance as the paradigm of choice in informing and guiding research, especially in a qualitative enquiry. They further argued that for every qualitative researcher, it is prudent to identify and situate the study within a particular paradigm since the acknowledgement of these principles enable the researcher to gain a deeper understanding and insight into the phenomenon being studied.

According to Creswell (2009), although philosophical ideas remain largely hidden in research, they are in real sense influenced by the practice of research. These philosophical assumptions need to be identified as knowledge that directs the choice of one research method over the other whether it is qualitative, quantitative or a mixed methods approach. Similarly, Guba and Lincoln (1994) contended that adherences to philosophical paradigms help qualitative researchers answer the ontological, epistemological and the methodological questions which also serve as a focus around which a choice of paradigm is made.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), paradigms, as belief systems, are based on epistemological, ontological and methodological assumptions. Epistemological assumptions believe that the best way to understand any phenomenon is to view it in its context (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In other words, the best way to understand what is going on is to become immersed in it, and move into the culture or organization being studied or to experience what it is like to be a part. Rather than approaching measurements with the idea of

constructing a fix instrument or set of questions, qualitative researches choose to allow the questions to emerge and change as the researcher becomes familiar with the study content (Krauss, 2005). Within the context of this study, the epistemological stance of the researcher rests on his or ability to move into the social settings of the female participants, observe, interact and hold interviews with them in order to understand and make sense of their life experiences as to what social factors will make them persist or desist from crime.

Ontological assumptions suggest that every individual is unique and as such the subjective meanings individuals attach to their action should be well understood. The Verstehen concept (understanding) as postulated by Weber (1949) becomes crucial for qualitative researchers. This implies that there is the need to view the phenomenon being investigated from the individual's own perspective. Ontological assumptions further stress that reality stems from our perception, in the sense that each individual experiences social life differently, as in such a phenomenon of a multiple reality exists. The goal of every qualitative researcher, therefore, is to rely, as much as possible, on the views of participants being studied (Creswell, 2009).

In this line of reasoning, the ontological and the epistemological questions that the study sought to address were better understood in the philosophical assumptions of social constructivism which holds that individual seeks understanding of the world in which they live, and work by constructing and defining their own meanings of their actions within the social contexts in which they find themselves. The intent of using these assumptions is to make sense of the lived experiences of female criminals and to gain a deeper understanding of how and why they maintain or change their offending

pathways. As a framework for understanding the stability and change in offending patterns of Ghanaian female criminals, methodologically, all the answers given by the subjects in each single case was considered as human constructions, an invention of the human mind, and hence subject to human error.

The ongoing contentions, therefore, justify why the researcher's employed the qualitative over quantitative approach. The qualitative approach helped to track and explore the lived experiences of female criminals in order to understand female criminality using Sekondi and Kumasi female prisons as unit of analysis. Qualitative research relates to the nature of reality and its characteristics or what there is to know about the world. Qualitative research concerns whether or not there is a social reality that exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations and closely related to this, whether there is a shared social reality.

There are two ontological positions in qualitative research, the realism and idealism. Realism has it that, there is a distinction between the way the world is, and the meaning and interpretation of that world is held by individuals. Idealism asserts that reality is fundamentally mind-dependent: it is only knowable through the human mind and through socially constructed meanings, and no reality exists independently of these. Qualitative research deals with understanding people and interpreting objects and actions and placing more emphasis on meanings.

As stressed by Walliman (2006), the description of an observed situation, the historical enumeration of events, an account of the different opinions people have about an issue, functions of organisations, and the

description of the living conditions of a community are issues that cannot be reduced to numbers and need to be described in words. It must therefore be noted that the intention of the researcher will not to quantify and present the number of female criminals who persisted and desisted from crime in Ghana, or to generalise the findings that will be generated from this study (Bryman & Bell, 2007). However, the study is inspired by reported cases of female's involvement in crime in recent times. Understanding this social problem from sociological lenses, the current research will seek to capture and understand their realities as the target group experience the social world and through this contribute and fill our knowledge gaps on the factors that explain the stability and change in criminal trajectories of an entirely different social context.

The researcher's justification for using a qualitative method is better explained clearly in the assertions of Carlssons (2011), that transitions as manifested in individual lives are very often gradual processes in the sense that it is very demanding to understand these processes. Nonetheless, it is definitely impossible to capture the social processes in individual lives by using a quantitative approach, which is arguably less suited for the task than adopting qualitative approach (Becker, 1966). Moreover, Tewksbury (2009) explains that the knowledge gained through qualitative investigations is more informative, richer and offers enhanced understandings compared to quantitative research.

Similarly, Cusick (2010) concludes that criminologists, using qualitative research, will benefit more if they hope to gain more and detailed grasp of female criminality. Another justification for using a qualitative method is its reliance mainly on inductive approaches of investigating social phenomena. Inductive research is based on inductive reasoning or thought which turns a

simple observation or thought into a general theory. Hence, by studying the few female criminals in the Sekondi and Kumasi female prisons, the experiences they share will help generate concepts and ideas that can be used to study a larger population.

In spite of the numerous advantages exhibited with the use of qualitative methodology few setbacks have been identified. According to Berg (2007), qualitative approach takes much longer time and requires a greater clarity of goals during the stages of design. Its application is at times criticised as being nonscientific and invalid. Berg (2007) further contends that, qualitative methodologies have not predominated in the social sciences. Fraenkel and Wallen (1996) held the position that qualitative method lacks predetermined constraints on outcomes and complete objectivity is highly impossible for it is full of subjectivity therefore undermines credibility of its outcome. Qualitative data is usually difficult to graph or display in mathematical terms. The researcher's role receives greater critical attention because in qualitative research the possibility of the researcher taking a neutral or transcendental position is seen as more problematic in practical terms.

Hence qualitative researchers are often exhorted to reflect on their role in the research process and make this clear in the analysis. While qualitative research can be expensive and time-consuming to conduct, many fields of research employ qualitative techniques that have been specifically developed to provide more succinct, cost-efficient and timely results. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the current study will employ this approach because it will help understand female criminality in Ghana. It will also help understand the actions of females from their own perspectives and from their significant others.

Research Design

The study employed the case study design. The use of the case study was pioneered by Sigmund Freud in his lengthy and detailed observations with his patients who helped him develop the use of free association (Abba-Afari, 2011). A case study is also known as a triangulated research strategy which constitutes an aspect of qualitative research methodology and gives room for the study of a particular individual, institution, programmes or event to be investigated in depth for a specific period of time. It is defined as a research strategy based upon an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context, (Abba-Afari, 2011).

According to Creswell (2007), the case study design investigates either a bounded or multiple of bounded systems (e.g. a single person, program, event, process, institution, organisation, social group) or a phenomenon over time, by the use of appropriate and detailed data collection instruments. The purpose of case study research is to describe, explain, or assess and evaluate a phenomenon within its natural context through interaction between the researcher and the case(s) under study (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996). The design will dictate the type of data required; as such qualitative data such as perceptions on crime among others will be elicited in addition to information on the number of convictions, income brackets and number of years of schooling completed.

Leedy and Ormrod (2005) were of the view that, case a study is especially suitable for learning more about a little known or poorly understood situation for example life female prisoners in the prison communities in Ghana. As a result, this design will allow the researcher to gather extensive data on the individual, institution, or programmes or events under investigation. In another

view, Berg (2007) tended to endorse the fact that case study provides a deep understanding of phenomenon, events, people and organizations and in essence open the door for a sense making processes created and used by individuals involved in such settings.

In support for the harmonious positions of the various scholars in favour of case study, Kumekpor (2002) also stated that a case study design aims at studying the facts of a particular case from all aspects and angles. It is thus, a critical and systematic examination into the circumstances and factors that resulted in a particular condition, situation, occurrence or an event. From the above, it can be inferred that qualitative method and case study design are appropriate for conducting in depth enquiries into the circumstances and conditions on understanding female criminality: Perspectives of inmates in Sekondi and Kumasi female prisons.

The researcher investigated the objectives of the study in depth using a variety of data gathering methods to produce evidence that leads to understanding of the case and answers the research questions. A case study research generally answers one or more questions which begin with "how" or "why." The questions are targeted to a limited number of events or conditions and their inter-relationships. A key strength of the case study method involves using multiple sources and techniques in the data gathering process. The researcher determined in advance what evidence to gather and what analysis techniques used with the data to answer the research questions.

Study Institutions

The institutions for the study were the Sekondi and Kumasi female prisons. Kumasi Prison was established around 1901 soon after the British

Government gained control over the Ashanti Kingdom (Ghana Prison Service, 2015). The purpose of establishing the Kumasi prison was to Prison was established to detain those who broke the law in order to allow the British run their administration smoothly. It initially under the supervision of the Chief Commissioner at the time who was also in charge of the Ashanti Kingdom. Since there were no trained prison officers at the time, the Prison was protected by the military whose primary responsibility was to performed escort work (Ghana Prison Service, 2015).

In the early part of 1907, special warders and the police were engaged to replace the military. They performed escort work and guarded the province (Ghana Prison Service, 2015). Subsequently, J. H. Bryan wrote to the Chief Commissioner, Asante that His Excellency, would not sanction separate administration for Police and Prisons. Therefore, the Police could double as prison officers until 1908 before special consideration could be made for the creation of the office of Ghana prisons service (Forkuor, 2017). As a result of this, soldiers were reassigned to work at the Barracks (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017). In the following year, the Police provided six temporary warders and one second class officer to work at the Kumasi Prisons (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017).

A new proposal was tabled to build the Kumasi prisons and prison hospital in order to solve the problem of congestion and work load. The proposal to build a prison hospital was abandoned. However, the building of a new prisons started (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017). The average number of inmate that were imprisoned at the time was 212. Prisoners in Kumasi prisons who were sentenced for longer years were sent to the Sekondi prisons to learn different

kinds of trades (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017). This was an alternative measure to reduce the pressure on the Kumasi prisons. This led to the need, years after the construction of the Kumasi prisons, for the reconstruction and expansion of the facility with the aim of getting additional cells to house the increasing number of inmates. The reconstruction of the Kumasi Prisons covered a site area of 4.20 acres (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017). According to report by Kumasi Central Prison (2017), the site plan for the project was signed by Capt. C. E. Cookson, and C. Cameron, with approval from the Asante Health Board headed by Dr. Selwyn Clarke (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017).

Kumasi Prisons, now known as the Kumasi Central Prison, have been stratified into four blocks: Blocks A, B, C and D (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017). Two of these blocks were marked as segregation with a total of 60 cells. The original capacity was 600, but currently holds an average of 1,800 inmates (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017). The in-charge of the prison organise workshops for inmates to learn elementary occupation such as carpentry, dressmaking, mending and fixing of shoes, blacksmithing, wiring and fixing electrical cables and weaving of kente. The prison has also benefited from the distance learning. So far 25 inmates had written the Basic Education Certificate Examination and four had also written the West African Senior School Certificate Examination, while four were registered to write in November, 2012 (Kumasi Central Prison, 2017). There is also a store and an infirmary manned by medical personnel who takes care of the health needs of the inmates as well as officers with minor ailments. The types of prisoners on admission are convicts, remands and condemned.

Kumasi Central Prison has an administration block (story building), consisting of eight rooms which accommodate the Regional Commander, Sectional heads and the administrative staff. The staff strength of the Kumasi Prison is 260, made up of 43 Superior Officers and 217 Subordinate Officers (Public Relations Office, Kumasi Central Prisons, 2019).

The Sekondi Prisons situated at Sekondi in the Western Region was established in 1920. The facility was established to ease the pressure on the existing facilities then. The Sekondi Prisons is one the five prisons under the Western Regional Command. The Command has four other facilities, namely the Akuasi Camp, Tarkwa Prison, Hiyama Camp Prison and Central Prisons. The Sekondi Prison houses 748 inmates currently.

Population

Babbie (2007) describes population as the collection of people that the researcher is interested in gathering data about which eventually provides the basis of analysis. The population for the study is heterogeneous in the sense that the facility houses female inmates across every region in the country. The reason is that prison system allows the transfer of inmates from one region to another. Hence, there are always possibilities of having a population of inmates with varied background characteristics. This helps assess their social experiences, views and opinions of a heterogeneous (different ethnicity, culture, socio-economic backgrounds) population. For the purpose of this study, the target population includes female inmates, their significant others and prison officers in the study institutions. Currently, the Sekondi Female Prisons accommodates 19 female inmates and that of Kumasi prisons houses 21. For each inmate, the researcher consulted a significant other or relative who stayed outside the

prisons to clarify the information given by inmate via phone and through those who visited inmates on the days of data collection. This constituted 80 participants. In addition to these, the research population included 10 workers including prisons officers and administrators. Hence, a total of 90 participants were involved in the study.

Sample and Sampling Technique

According to Neuman (2007), qualitative researchers focus less on a sample of representatives or detailed techniques for drawing a probability sample, instead, they focus on how the sample or small collection of cases or units, or activities illuminate key features of social life. In this regard, the census method was used for this study. A census is an attempt to list all elements in a group and to measure one or more characteristics of those elements (Cantwell, 2008). The group is often an actual national population, but it can also be all houses, businesses, farms, books in a library and cars from an assembly plant, and so on. In this current study, the group of females at Sekondi and Kumasi prisons was the unit of analysis.

A census can provide detailed information on all or most elements in the population, thereby enabling totals for rare population groups or small geographic areas. Unlike a sample survey, in which only a subset of the elements is selected for inclusion and enumeration, a census generally does not suffer from sampling error (Cantwell, 2008). However, other types of errors may remain. The decision to take a census versus a sample survey-if not mandated by statute is often based on an assessment of the coverage, cost, errors in the data, and other qualitative factors. The researcher used all the participants (female inmates) at the Sekondi and Kumasi prisons for the study. For a

qualitative study of this nature, 90 participants (comprising female inmates, significant others, prison officers and administrators) was that huge to gather detailed information needed for understanding female criminality in Ghana.

Selection Procedure

Participants for this study were selected through a non-probability sampling technique. The study used purposive sampling technique to choose the Sekondi and Kumasi prisons and female inmates within that facility. The Sekondi and Kumasi prisons were chosen because they are not only one of the oldest facilities but also houses female prisoners who happen to be at the centre of the discussion. More so, the country was zoned into two. The northern and southern zones and one facility was randomly selected from each zone to represent that zone. Female prisoners were the unit of analysis of this study because the research's aim was to understand female criminality in Ghana. As a result, purposively selecting female prisoners for the study was not farfetched particularly when they would be in the best position to provide the researcher with accurate information for the study. In other words, they were the best participants to share their experience in terms of ascertaining their demographic characteristics with respect to their socio-economic background which might influence their criminal behaviour.

Similarly, female inmates could identify some prevailing factors that predisposed them to commit crimes as well as explain the link between societal roles and crime. A better understanding of the above stated objectives can only be appreciated through thorough interactions with purposively selected female inmates. The inclusion criterion was used to select these inmates based on the fact that only women from 18 years and were selected to participate in this

study. At this age, the researcher was of the view that the participants were mature enough to freely share their experiences to enable me examine the experiences as female criminals from different backgrounds.

In furtherance to the use of non-probability sampling technique, the researcher applied the purposive technique to select the significant others of inmates. This technique was mostly applied when the researcher had only limited number of people who could provide the data for the study. In purposive sampling, personal judgement needs to be used to choose cases that help answer research questions or achieve research objectives. Based on this, the research employed the purposive sampling techniques where significant others of inmates were interviewed on their visit to the facilities and a few were contacted through phone calls. This was done for every inmate until the 40th significant other was contacted. Key informants such as prisons officers, administrators and significant others were also selected purposively. The rationale for adopting purposive sampling was that participants fitted into the issue under investigation. The next section looks at the instruments for collecting data.

Research Instrument

Qualitative researcher tries to explore social phenomenon within its real life context so as to understand the experiences of its subjects under investigation. In order to make sense of the experiences of the female criminality within the world and the Ghanaian social context, different in-depth interview guide were used as the instrument for eliciting information on participants' personal life stories and a full range of information that would help the researcher understand the factors that influenced their actions.

According to Boyce and Neale (2006), the primary advantage of an in-depth interview is its ability to provide much more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods, such as surveys. In-depth interviews may also provide a more relaxed atmosphere to gather information. People feel more comfortable and relaxed to freely share their lived experiences. However, the few limitations of in-depth interviews were the tendency to be biased and in addition, they were time consuming. Within the context of this thesis, the advantages of in-depth interviews prevails over their disadvantages in the sense that the researcher selected 90 inmates, significant others and prisons officers to gain a deeper insight and understanding of female criminality. Before the instrument was administered in the field, there was the need to check its accuracy; this was done by assessing its validity and reliability. The next section discusses how the researcher ensured the validity and reliability of the instrument.

Validity and Reliability

The principles of validity and reliability are fundamental cornerstones of the scientific method because help researchers to assess the credibility of one's research findings. In relation to qualitative research, there have been critiques about the application of validity and reliability simply because these concepts are typically associated and applied in quantitative research. In this section validity and reliability are discussed. The reason why they are discussed in a section of their own is to provide a better understanding of their role in this study.

Validity

According to Messick (1989), validity refers to the degree to which empirical evidences and theoretical rationales support the adequacy and appropriateness of interpretations and actions based on test scores. Bond (2003) on the other hand argues that validity is foremost on the mind of those developing measures and that genuine scientific measurement is foremost in the minds of those who seek valid outcomes from assessment. Validity can, therefore, be seen as the core of any form of assessment that is trustworthy and accurate (Bond, 2003). Unlike Messick (1989) and Bond (2003), Borsboom, Mellenbergh and van Heerden (2004) have a different take on validity stating that a test is valid for measuring an attribute if the attribute exists and that variations in the attribute causally produce variation in the measurement. They do not agree with Messick's conception of validity. In this study, the attribute is female criminality and there are variations in the crimes females commit being it petty crime, white collar crime or blue collar crimes. In other words females committing different crimes are not uncommon; hence understanding the reasons behind these variations would help the researcher to get a better understanding of their behaviour.

Validity is a unitary concept because it has many forms. Among the forms include internal or external validity. Validity is seen as internal if various researchers examines one specific research study and come up with the same conclusion, then the research study is internally valid. Conversely, external validity is the situation whereby the results and conclusions is generalised to other situations or with other subjects (Opie, 2005; McMillan & Schumacher;

2006). Apart from the internal and external, there are content-related and construct validity.

Content validity as its name implies explores how the content of the assessment performs. In order to determine content-related validity, the researcher determines whether all areas or domains are appropriately covered within the assessment. Furthermore, it deals with how the assessment is designed, for example the size of the font, sufficiency of work space for learners, correct language usage and clarity of instructions (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003). The current study ensured that the content of the instrument (in-depth interview guide) was accurate and clear for the participants to easily understand. Since the researcher engaged field assistants in conducting the interviews, the content of the interview guide was boldly written with a readable font size. The field assistants, as indicated earlier, were given the needed training, both in English and Twi, to ensure correct language usage, communication skills and provide clarity of instructions for participants.

Construct validity, on other hand, makes meaningful inferences about the results of the assessment. Construct validity is empirically explored if the researcher aims at achieving quality assessment. Whenever a certain attribute has to be measured, construct validity is involved, as it is the most applicable form of validity to assess measurements (Creswell, 2005; Mahoney, 2008; McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). In particular, construct validity is concerned with the efficacy of a test to gauge learner knowledge about the relevant topics of concern. The test must be relevant, appropriate and utilised correctly, with the focal point being the integration of evidence that produces inferences about assessment results.

These inferences must be meaningful, trustworthy and serve the purpose of the assessment for construct validity to reach its goal (Messick, 1989). The current study on female criminality aimed at understanding the actions of inmates from their own perspectives, significant others and prison officers. The researchers ensured that the attribute in the instruments were not only boldly written in correct language, but also made meaning to both the researcher and the participants. The researcher further ensured that responses given by the participants (inmates) were meaningful, trustworthy and serve the purpose of the study by confirming their responses to that given by significant others and prison officers.

In qualitative research, terms such as quality, rigour or trustworthiness instead of validity and dependability are used instead of reliability (Davids & Dodd, 2002; Mishler, 2000). There are various ways to address validity (quality/rigor/trustworthiness) and reliability (dependability) issues in qualitative research (Smith, 2011). The most commonly used approach is the triangulation of different sources of data, receiving feedback from informants (member checking) and expert review. Member checking is the process of validating data within the target group (Smith, 2011). In this current research, the researcher visited the significant others to verify any information given by inmates or themselves in order to correct any errors and improve the quality of the researcher's analysis. Member checking was not applied to inmates for security reasons. This is because the prison facility is a secured area and so was not allowed to visit inmates as often as possible.

Expert review is one of the strategies used to improve the quality of the data and help provide accurate response to the research questions (Smith, 2011).

The researcher provided the instrument for the study to experts for them to critique it. Thus, the structured interview guide was given to at least two research professionals, including the researcher's supervisor for scrutiny and advice to help improve the contents and impressions of the instrument. This is because according to Amin (2005), content and construct validity is determined by expert judgment. The interview items were also constructed in relation to each research objectives to ensure systematic responses. This helped shape the instrument and improved its quality before going to the field.

Reliability

Reliability is the degree of be trustworthy and performing consistently over time (Stenbacka, 2001). A test is seen as reliable when it gives consistent results over different time periods under stable conditions (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003). Generally, the concept of reliability is considered irrelevant and misleading in qualitative research (Stenbacka, 2001). As seen from the above, reliability reflects consistency and replicability over time. Furthermore, reliability is seen as the degree to which a test is free from measurement errors, since the more measurement errors occur the less reliable the test (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Neuman, 2003).

In the same way, Maree and Fraser (2004) ask how far the same test would produce the same results if it was administered to the same children under the same conditions. This helps the researcher and educator to make comparisons that are reliable. The more errors found in an assessment the greater its unreliability and vice versa. Reliability is a very important factor in assessment, and is presented as an aspect contributing to validity and not opposed to validity. In ensuring reliability in the current study, the researcher

made sure that the number of questions on the interview guide was moderate to prevent fatigue and boredom which might affect consistency of accurate responses from participants.

The researcher assumed that inmates in the prisons go through psychological, physical and emotional problems, hence asking too many questions in addition to their personal problems might create inconveniences, and sometimes bring back painful experiences. As such, loading them with lengthy questions might adversely affect the quality of data; eventually affect reliability of the study. In the spirit of maintaining reliability of the information gathered, the questions were moderate.

The researcher also ensured reliability by pre-testing the instrument at the Sunyani female prisons which is similar in characteristics to the current study site (Sekondi and Kumasi female prisons). When the pre-test called for changes to be made in the instruments, it was effected. In doing so, the researcher was able to check the reliability of the instrument.

In this qualitative studies, multiple approaches were employed by the researcher in order to ensure reliability and validity. The researcher minimised bias by employing different data collection strategies to corroborate the responses given by the participants. Many researchers agree to the fact to achieve the validity and reliability, there is the need to adopt triangulation (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Stenbacka, 2001). In this regard, the researcher engaged different methods, such as interviews and records of investigation to ensure that the data was valid and reliable. Thus, in addition to conducting interviews, the researcher checked the records at the prisons regarding female criminality to have access the different experiences of inmates.

To understand inmates' experiences, the researcher employed triangulation. It is for this reason that the researcher involved field assistants in the data collection exercise and in the interpretation of the data at different times or locations. This helped the researcher to obtain different perspectives about the participants under investigation.

Data Collection Procedure

The data collection took place over a period of six months, starting from January 2019 to June 2019. The researcher first submitted his instrument to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) UCC and the Ghana Prisons Service for review to check for the content validity and reliability before going to the field. Upon receiving replies from the UCC Institutional Review Board the Prison Service, the researcher took, in addition to the permission letter from IRB, an introductory letter from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, UCC to the Director of the Ghana Prison Service at their Headquarters in Accra to seek permission from authorities before conducting the interviews with the participants. The same request was addressed to the Western and Ashanti Regional Commanders of the Prisons Service to allow the researcher to have contact with the inmates.

When the researcher was given the go ahead to gather the data, field assistants comprising two research assistants, one graduate assistant and a national service person, all from the University of Cape Coast who were fluent in the English language and Asante Twi were selected to assist in the data collection. The field assistants went through thorough training to get a deeper understanding of the objectives of the study, items and content of the instrument, practice in the use of the instrument, skill building exercises on

interviewing and interpersonal communication and discuss the ethical issues. The training took place in the last week of November 2018.

After the training, the researcher and the field assistants pre-tested the instruments in the first week of December, 2018 before the actual field exercise commenced. The importance of pre-test was to shape the instruments so that error and mistakes could easily be identified and corrected. The pre-test took place at Sunyani Female Prisons because it is one of the oldest prisons located at the metropolis with similar characteristics with that of the study areas. When the pre-test called for changes to be made in the instruments, they were effected. The researcher and his team visited the study sites to conduct the interviews. Upon reaching there, the researcher introduced himself and his team to the Officers-In-Charge of the prisons who pleaded with some wardens to lead us to the participants. Since the law does not permit outsiders to enter the prison dormitory, only prisoners that were found in the prison yard were contacted to take part in the study. The key administrators and prison officers were approached and interviewed on one-on-one basis in their offices. Relevant documents related to the study were obtained from the central administration and other places deemed necessary.

In gathering the primary data, the medium of communication was Asante Twi and English language. Prisoners and significant others who could not express themselves in the English language were allowed to speak Asante Twi. However, in conducting personal interviews for the Superior officers of the Sekondi and Kumasi female prisons, the researcher used the English language. Each interview lasted between 45 to 60 minutes while the researcher went back to do a few follow-ups regarding the interviews.

Data Management

Data collected from the field were captured, verified, cleaned and validated, to ensure the integrity of the data set. Thus, interviews were recorded by means of tape recorder and detailed note taking to prevent loss of vital interview data. Qualitative data from recordings of interviews, jotted notes and more detailed “field- notes” of researcher’s observations as well as his reflective notes that were obtained during the data collection for this study were transcribed verbatim.

Data Analysis

Data collected for the study were analyzed using the qualitative approach. This is appropriate because the means of data collection produced qualitative data. Similarly, the study presented, interpreted and discussed the qualitative data under the various objectives of the study to ensure meaningful organisation. The research findings were linked and compared to the theoretical and empirical literature that were reviewed for the study to find out relationships for empirical conclusions. Major issues and variables analyzed include: demographic characteristics of female offenders with respect to their socio-economic background, prevailing factors that predisposes female offenders to crime and the link between women societal roles and crime.

The researcher used qualitative approach to analyze all data that were generated by interviews since this technique of data collection is a typical qualitative tool (Kumekpor, 2002). The information from the key administrators were categorised into relevant themes and sub-themes in order to generate patterns in the responses given. The data were gathered through jotting of notes in a notepad and recordings of interviews. The interviews that were recorded

were subsequently transcribed verbatim. These textual data and transcriptions were read closely, coded and analysed inductively using thematic analysis to generate categories, common themes and explanations. The researcher used detail readings of raw textual data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data.

In analysing the data, the Computer software programme Nvivo (version 10 for Microsoft Windows) was employed. Nvivo (version 10) is a computer application programme designed for analysing qualitative data. The qualitative nature of this study warrants the application of this programme. The analysis started with the development of a programme using the software. The transcribed and edited data were edited on several occasions to ensure consistency in responses. Editing helps minimize possible errors, misclassifications and gaps in the information obtained from the respondents (Kumar, 1999).

After editing the data, the transcripts were imported into the Nvivo software programme and was organised into a folder and named interviews which served as the source for the running of the analysis. The researcher read through the transcripts imported in order to identify and develop emerging themes and patterns relating to the research questions and objectives into free nodes were merge related themes and patterns.

With the required nodes created, the transcripts imported were coded relating to the various nodes. Walliman (2006) refers to codes as labels or tags used to allocate units of meaning to data. Coding has to do with breaking down data into simple elements or parts; thereof assigning names to it (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Codes developed were queried to explore patterns for discussions and

analysis. Narratives or verbatim quotations supporting the themes or nodes were identified and used under each of the central themes/nodes and sub-themes or nodes.

Problems Encountered During Data Collection

The study was not carried out smoothly without certain human-posed hindrances which undoubtedly affected the credibility of the research. These limitations resulted from the researcher, participants, official data managers and other circumstances which were experienced in various ways including the following: Firstly, permission to undertake research in the Sekondi and Kumasi female prisons was not easily obtained from the Ghana Prisons Service as far as it is a security institution which requires a lot of scrutiny for entry to non-staff or public. However, the researcher tried his best to get the necessary permission to undertake this research.

Secondly, gaining access to the targeted participants for the study especially inmates was not easy. Given the law binding security institution in Ghana, the researcher was not allowed to enter the dormitories of inmates and for that matter might only meet them when they were in the prison yard. This delayed field data collection.

Although delay of field data collection was likely to occur, the researcher spent the needed time to meet the specified number of participants needed for the study to ensure credible work. Thirdly, the sensitive nature of the work and the general perception of people on how inmates are generally handled and particularly treated in the nation's prisons might influence participants in giving objective information. In other words, the researcher assumed that participants, especially prison officers and administrators, might perceive the

study as means to investigate human rights issues associated with prisons to implicate them. In the view of this, the researcher was very keen in cross checking the validity of their responses by ensuring that all the participants answer certain key questions.

Also, there exist limited research-based data and relevant literature on the issues under study especially in the context of Ghana. Management of Sekondi female prisons was reluctant to release critical official records for the study due to fear of possible legal implications. However, the researcher aimed at overcoming these challenges by explaining the essence of the study to records officials and all the participants.

Furthermore, the people contacted for the research stated that previous participation in similar studies had not yielded any directed benefit to them but rather the researcher.

Again, a major challenge was confidentiality. Some respondents were rather suspicious about the motives of the research and did not want to disclose information that would be peddled in the media. This was especially crucial when a request was made to audio tape some of the proceedings.

To continue with motivation and monetary demands before participation. Some respondents asked for monetary and other forms of motivation before acceding to our request for participation. The final problem had to do with refusal to allow the research assistant to enter the prison yard with the reason being that the permission letter did not state that the researcher would be assisted and for security reasons it is not allowed.

The above difficulties however did not hamper the work seriously. In the case of demand for monetary and other forms of motivation, the inmates

were assured they were going to be refreshed at the end of the research. They were also made to understand that the work was not a heavily funded exercise so payment or realistic participation allowances were impossible. On confidentiality, the respondents were assured that the research was an academic exercise and that their names or identities would not be revealed in writing the final report.

Ethical Considerations

Babbie (2007) acknowledged that all forms of social research bring researchers into direct and often intimate contact with their subjects. This raises ethical concerns. To ensure that ethical principles are followed in this study, the researcher subjected the instrument to scrutiny through the University of Cape Coast Ethical Review Board to ensure accuracy. The researcher further sought permission from the Ghana Prisons Service and other authorities in their institution before carrying out the study. Participants were given an informed consent form that explicitly states the objectives and purpose of the study, the type and sensitive nature of questions. On the form was a portion for interested participants to sign or endorse with their thumb print. Only participants who signed or endorsed the form were allowed to take part in the study. As part of satisfying the principle of informed consent, the researcher informed and sought participants' permission before recording them.

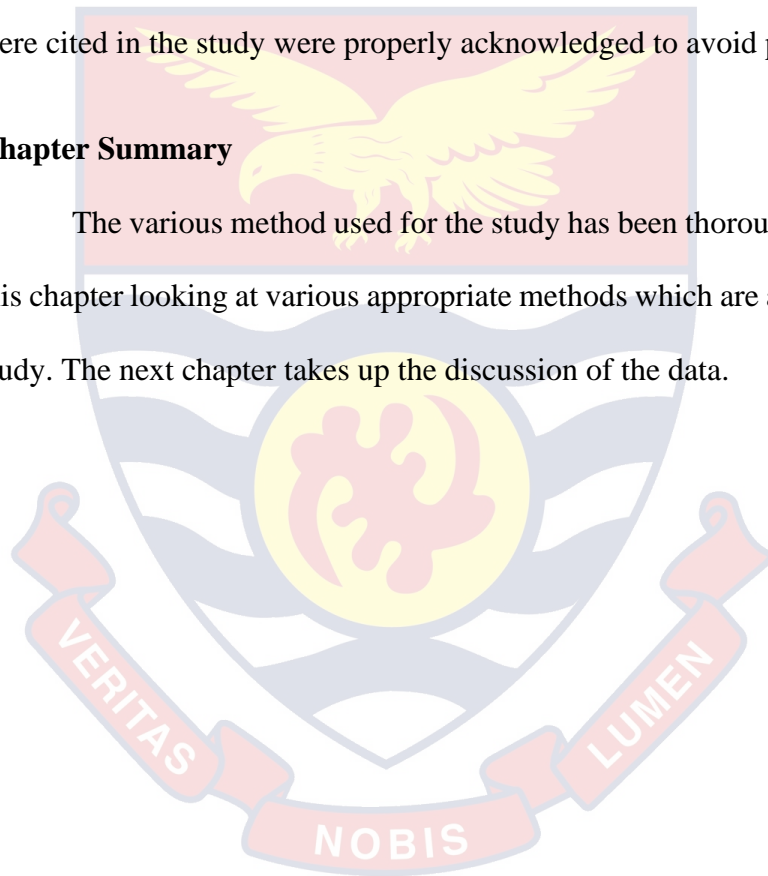
Questions and issues that might embarrass participants were avoided given the nature of the study. This was ensured because the instrument was checked and cross checked by the ethical board and authorities at the Ghana Prisons Service. The researcher informed participants that the study is voluntary and that they were not obliged to participate if it is not their will. As such, they

could opt out of the exercise at any time of the study. Besides, no participant was forced to provide information unwillingly, hence only those who expressed interest to take part in the study were included. However, for those who were willing to participate, the researcher assured them that the study will be strictly academic and that utmost confidentiality will be observed.

The researcher ensured the ethical principle of anonymity such that responses given by participants could not be traced to them. Authorities that were cited in the study were properly acknowledged to avoid plagiarism.

Chapter Summary

The various method used for the study has been thoroughly discussed in this chapter looking at various appropriate methods which are applicable for the study. The next chapter takes up the discussion of the data.



CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FEMALE OFFENDERS AND TYPES OF CRIMES COMMITTED

Introduction

The previous chapters laid the foundation of the study. This chapter looks at the analysis of the data by presenting and discussing the various objectives of the study. This is to fulfil specific objectives of the study. It covers characteristics of inmates with respect to their socio-economic background and the types of crimes committed.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Socio-demographics characteristics such as age, marital status, occupation, level of education, number of children and place of residence are considered very important in criminology. This is because it aids the understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

Age Distribution of Participants

The view that people's involvement in crime diminishes with age is one of the oldest and most widely accepted in criminology. Beginning with the pioneering research by Adolphe Quetelet in the early nineteenth century, criminological research consistently has confirmed that the proportion of the population involved in crime tends to peak in adolescence or early adulthood and then declines with age. This age-crime relationship is remarkably similar across historical periods, geographic locations and crime types. Thus the impact of age on criminal involvement is one of the strongest factors associated with crime has prompted the controversial claim that the age-crime relationship is

universal and invariant. However, significant difference exists among offenses and across historical periods in specific features of the age-crime relationship.

The first demographic characteristic to be considered in this chapter is age. Age is a very important social and demographic variable in determining the experience, and also knowledge about a particular phenomenon. Among the 40 inmates of the various prisons a cumulative of 31 and a percentage 77.5 of them and were within their youthful ages of 18 – 45. This confirms that most criminal acts are learnt and practised at the youthful age than old age of an individual and this is in line with the work of White & Kowaski (1994) and Worrall (2001).

Table 8: Age Distribution of Inmates

Age	Frequency	Percent
18-22	6	15
23-27	4	10.0
28-32	7	17.5
33-37	8	20.0
38-42	6	15.0
43-47	6	15.0
48-52	3	7.5
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Educational Background of Inmates

Policymakers interested in fighting crime often focus on enforcement and punishment; yet, recent research suggests that other policy mechanisms can also be effective. One of such researches suggest that policies designed to increase educational attainment and improve school quality can significantly reduce crime rates (Kaura, 2007). In line with this assertion, I decided to check the educational background of the inmates and the results are captured below.

With regard to the educational background of the inmates, 31(77.5%) of them had some form of formal education, that is, from basic to tertiary with only 9 (22.5%) not having any form of formal education. Education in relation to crime is very important because ones level of education influences the kind or type crime he or she commits, and also the possibility of whether or not to commit crime. It is evident in literature that people with lower educational background and low social standing turns to commit what is termed as blue collar crime while those with higher educational background and higher social standing turn to commit white collar crime. In this same vein to Kaura (2007) and Achode (2012) women with no or low level of education predisposes them to crime more than their literate counterpart. Machin and Meghir (2000) also argued that education plays an important role in the prevention of crime, and this is evident in the data below as most of the inmates have low level of education.

Table 9: Educational Background of Inmates

Education	Frequency	Percent
No Education	9	22.5
Basic	12	30.0
JHS	9	22.5
SHS	7	17.5
Tertiary	3	7.5
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Marital Status of Inmates

In criminology one's marital status has the propensity to influence an individual's ability to commit crime. The Social Bonding or Social Control Theory by Hirschi stipulates that individuals' who are bonded to others have a less possibility to commit crime than those who are not. Also the extent to which the norms are internalised into an individual also affects the propensity to commit crime. Marriage as a social phenomenon has the power to influence one's ability to conform or not to conform. Marital status also influences the kind/type of crime one commits just as educational level. For instance, married women or women in casual relationships are bound to commit more of emotional crime than economic crime.

Table 10: Marital Status of Inmates

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	5	12.5
Married	20	50.0
Divorced	6	15.0
Cohabitation	7	17.5
Widow	2	5.0
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

In Table 10, 5(12.5%) of the participant were single, 20(50.0%) were married, 6 (15.0%) were divorced, 7 (17.5%) were cohabiting and 2 (5.0%) were widows. The above show that a cumulative of 20 (50.0%) were not married thus representing a half of the total participant.

This is not surprising because literature has it that people who are less bonded to families and the norms of society are more prone crime (Hirsch, 1969). The validity of the Social Control Theory then becomes questionable if the same number of the participants married is equivalent to those unmarried. But the nature of the crimes committed by the married participants vindicates the theory because most of the crimes committed by the married are emotional crimes such as murder, manslaughter and child assault. In cases where they committed economic crimes such as narcotics and smuggling they did that in support of their spouses. Kaura (2007), in his work social factors responsible for women criminality mentioned marriage as one of the social factors responsible for female criminality. He also believed that single women are more prone to criminality than married women. Agola (2016) also mentioned the issue of single mothers as another predisposing factor.

There is a deep and enduring faith among both the general public and policymakers that employment is critically important in addressing crime. This deep-seated cultural belief has been the backbone of support for programing in this area, such as job-training programs for former prisoners. Yet, the meaning and social significance of both work and crime change dramatically over the life course, such that work may have one effect in adolescence and quite another in adulthood. Table 11 looks at the occupational backgrounds of the inmates and how they might have predispose them to the crimes they committed.

Table 11: Occupation of Inmates

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	1	2.5
Apprentice	1	2.5
Students	3	7.5
Prostitute	1	2.5
Farmer	6	15.0
Trader	26	65.0
Civil servants	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

As the Table 11 indicates, 1 (2.5%) of the participant was unemployed. 1 (2.5%) was an apprentice, 3 (7.5%) were students, 1 (2.5%) was engaged in prostitution, 6 (15.0%) were farmers, 26 (65.0%) were traders and 2 (5.0%) were civil servants. Cumulatively it can be said from the Table 11 that, majority of the participants were in the informal sector. That is, 38 (50%) of the total inmates were in the informal sector with only 2 (5%) in the formal sector. One can say that, indeed the occupation of these inmates might have predisposed them to the crimes they committed, looking at the kind of work they did in relation to the income they earned. To be very sure of the work - income dichotomy, I followed up by looking at the income levels of the inmates and the results is captured in table 12.

Table 12: Income Levels of Inmates

Income level (GHC)	Frequency	Percentage
No Income	5	12.5
500 – 1000	27	67.5
1000 – 1500	7	17.5
1500+	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field data, 2019

As shown in the statistics in Table 12, 5 (12.5%) of the inmates had no source of income, 27 (67.5%) had an income range of 500 – 1000 Ghana cedis in a month and 1 (2.5%) had an income range of 1500 plus a month. To make a good judgement as to whether this income is enough or not is dependent on certain variables such as place of residence, eating styles and number of children among others, but for the sake simple analysis the number of children and place of residence as to whether it is a rented apartment or owned residence would be used to analyse the sufficiency of the income. This is captured in the next table. But on a face value analysis it can said that the income of these women are not enough to sustain them considering the fact that almost all the women had children and this might have pushed them into the crimes they committed. This confirms a similar work by Wrigley – Asante (2016), in which he found that the low economic status of women predisposes them to the crimes they commit. It also corroborates the work of Thomas (2004), which saw financial constraints as an important direct contributory cause for the act of theft.

Table 13: Number of Children and Type of Residence

	Type of Residence		Total
	Own	Rented	
	apartment	apartment	
0 - 5	9	27	36
6 - 10	0	4	4
total	9	31	40

Source: Field data, 2019

In Table 13 participants with children within the range 0 – 5 and had their own apartment were nine 9 (22.5%) of the respondent while 27(67.5%) within the same range lived in rented apartments. With those whose children were within the range of 6 – 10, none had their own apartment and 4 (10%) lived in rented apartments. Looking at the income levels of the participants and the number of them that rents, a cumulative of 31 (77.5%) of them rent and as such their income might not enough to support them. But a case can made in situations where they get support from their spouses and the kind of apartment they live in and even the location. But, in table 10, 20(50%) of the participants are not married so how do they survive? Could these be a predisposing factor for their involvement in the crimes they committed? This data contradicts the work of Zaitzow and Thomas (2003) who observed that women had fewer opportunity to commit crimes if they had a home and children to look after. But, from the study all the inmates had children and 20 (50%) of them had homes yet they were involved in different types of crime.

Migration and Crime

One interesting thing I came across in the literature was the migration – crime link. It is interesting to learn that there is no simple link between immigration and crime. Most studies find that larger immigrant concentrations in an area have no association with violent crime and, overall, fairly weak effects on property crime. However, immigrant groups that face poor labour market opportunities are more likely to commit crime. But this is also true of disadvantaged native groups.

In the study, there was an interesting trend. Out of the 40 participants, 28 (70%) were all migrants, meaning that, where they were residing before their arrest was not their native towns with 12 (30%) being natives from where they were arrested. The question now is, for the 28 (70%) participants who are migrants, could the situation at their point of destination be a predisposing factor to their committing crimes, or others factors apart from them being migrants could have been the cause? A quick look at the types/ kinds of crimes committed by the inmates also revealed that most of the inmates were incarcerated for economic crimes that is crimes committed with aim of making some money or income. Could this be an affirmation to those who hold the view that although migration might not necessarily predispose migrants to crime, competition for scarce jobs and raise unemployment and poverty levels of migrants can predispose them to crime? To understand this phenomenon better I examined some of the problem faced by the inmates at their destinations of arrest. The results is captured in the next paragraph.

From my interaction with the inmates, most of them faced varied situations or problems at their destinations although few said they were ok. The

problems ranges from financial, poor social life, interference from in-laws, employment issues and marital problems. Some voices of the inmates are captured below:

I had difficulty in getting a permanent place of residence. This was because the rent at where I relocated to was too expensive for me, looking at the kind of work I was doing and this made life a little difficult for me. (A 34 year old inmate).

I had no difficulty at all. This was because my parents provided everything I needed to be fine. (A 19 year old inmates)

No difficulties because we had a lot of money to do anything we wanted. (A 39 year old inmate).

My mother was a single parent so we found it difficult to afford basic necessities. Sometimes, what to eat was even a problem. I once remember our landlord had to throw away our things because we could not pay the rent. (An 18 year old inmate)

Hmmmm when I came here finding a job to do was a big challenge for me. There was no job to do including those with better certificates did not have jobs how much more me? So I decided to go into trading and that also was not easy, because

getting customers to buy was another problem. I, sometimes had quarrels from other traders who said that I was taking their customers and things like that. It was not was easy at all. (A 40 year old inmates)

The problem I had was not about money but my in-laws. Those people are troublesome. Anything you do, they would talk about it. I regret following my husband to his hometown because I never had peace of mind. These people made sure that I didn't enjoy my marriage I did not know if they had married their brother in spirit or what. These things went on till my husband died and they accused me of killing him and that is what brought me here (A 50 year old inmate)

These voices support the assertion put forward by those who believe that migration in itself does not cause people to be criminals, but the issue of competition for scarce jobs and raise unemployment and poverty levels of migrants can predispose them to crime.

The family has been seen to be a critical element for child development, and as a determining factor of children's subsequent involvement in crime. I, therefore, tried to explore the relationship between various family related factors such as education, income, occupation of parents, number of siblings and place of birth and crime

Table 14: Income of Parents of Inmates

Income Level	Frequency	Percentage
500 - 1000	20	50
1001 – 1500	17	42.5
1501+	3	7.5
Total	40	100

Source: Field data, 2019

Table 14 looks at the income level of the parents of the inmates in relation to their upbringing as children to establish if this might have influenced their criminal behaviour from childhood. It is observed from the table that most parents were earning between 500 to 1500 Ghana cedis if the income were to be evaluated in our current situation. A cumulative of 92. percent falls within this category. This is not surprising due to the fact that most of the parents of the inmates were in the agricultural sector that, is farming and fishing, with a few in trading and the civil service. Looking at the amount earned by this parents, could it have been enough to cater for their children of which these inmates are a part. If no could this have been a factor for some of these inmates venturing into crime?

The above situation becomes more clearer when the number of child to these parents are examined in table 15.

Table 15: Number of Siblings of Inmates

Number of Siblings	Frequency	Percentage
0 – 4	10	25
5 – 10	29	72.5
10+	1	2.5
Total	40	100

Source: Field Data, 2019

Table 15 gives a clearer explanation of the income level of the parents when it is examined *pari passu* the number of siblings these inmates had. In table 15, 10 of the inmates had 0 – 4 additional siblings, while 29 had 5 – 10 additional siblings and one had additional siblings of more than 10. In the table, it can be said that each family had an average of 7 children. Matching this to the income levels of the parents of these inmates, were the income really enough to support the family? From the face value this is not realistically possible. Could this be a reason for their children's involvement in the crimes they committed? Just as Cloward and Ohlin (1960) indicated that some people in the society have limited access to achieve their goals by legitimate means, so they turn to illegitimate opportunities. But nature and pattern of illegitimate behaviour depends upon the access to a learning environment of such behaviour. This assertion by Cloward and Ohlin take argument further to look at the environment these inmates grew up in.

From the data gathered most of the inmates grew up in suburbs in the following areas; Ajumako, Axim, Konogo, Tongo, Takoradi, Bawko, Tarkwa Bansa, Lagos Achimota, Kumasi, Achiase, Nsuta Kwabrim, Ntoboso, Dabou (Cote D'Ivoire), Bantama, Wa and Asante Mampong. A further interrogation of the inmates indicated that the areas they grew up in, were not so socio – economically sound as compared other environments. This again emphasises the Social Disorganisation Theory by Shaw and McKay (1942) which stipulate that crime is likely function of neighbourhood dynamics and not necessarily a function of the individuals within the neighbourhoods.

Types of Crimes Committed

Having looked at the demographic characteristics of the inmates with respect to their socio – economic backgrounds, the next objective was to find out the kind/type of crime these women committed so in order to understand how their socio – demographics influence the kind/type of crime they committed.

Table 16: Types/ Kinds of Crimes Committed

Types/Kinds of Crime	Frequency	Percentage
Murder	7	17.5
Child Stealing	2	5.0
Narcotics	8	20.0
Smuggling	1	2.5
Manslaughter	2	5.0
Stealing	9	22.5
Child Assault	7	17.5
Robbery	4	10.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2019

Table 16 indicates that, stealing tops the tables as the highest type of crime committed by the inmates 9(22.5%). The next most committed crime is narcotics 8 (20.0%). Murder and child assault are next with 7 (17.5%). Robbery follows with 4 (10.0%). Child stealing and manslaughter are next with 2 (5.0%). Smuggling is the last on the list of crimes committed by 1 (2.5%). A critical scrutiny of the table indicate that these inmates are more into economic crimes than emotional crimes. Narcotics, child stealing, smuggling, stealing and

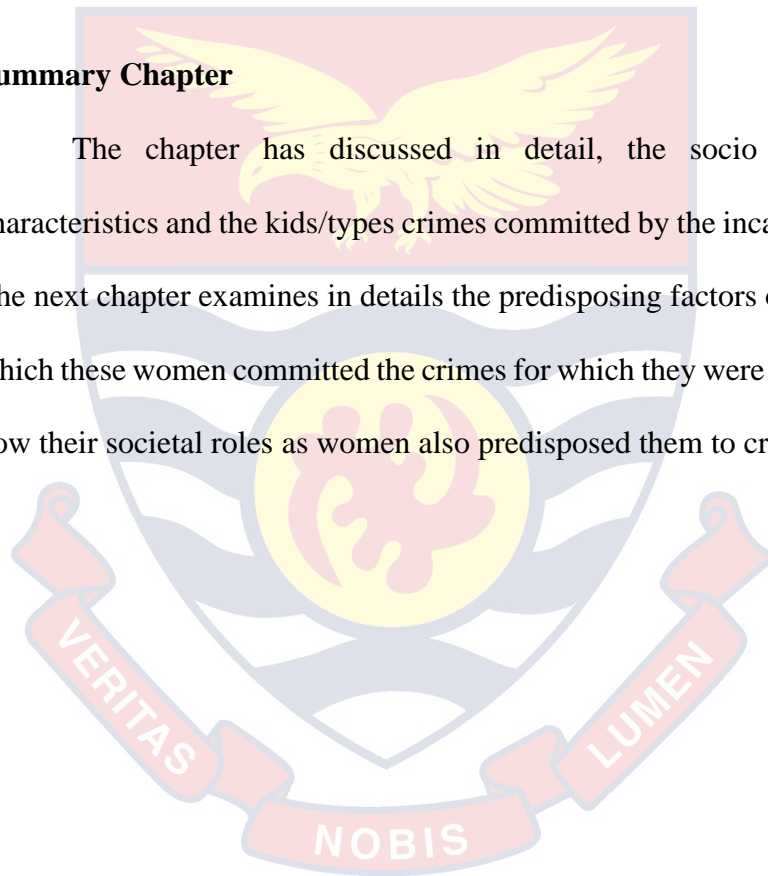
robbery which constitute economic crimes has a cumulative frequency of 60 percent as compared to the emotional crimes with the constituents of murder, child assault and manslaughter which has a cumulative 40 percent. The statistics are not surprising because it confirms the results in Table 12 which addresses the income levels of the inmates. The income levels of most of the inmates is between 0 and 1000 Ghana cedis. It is, therefore, not a surprise to see most of the inmates committing economic crimes more than emotional crimes. These differences in crimes committed is explained by the Theory of Differential Opportunity (Cloward & Ohlin 1960) which stipulated that all individuals live in two kinds of opportunity structure, one being legitimate and the other being illegitimate and as such when people have limited access to achieve goals by legitimate means they may turn to illegitimate opportunities.

Recently, crime has been seen to have both an effect and cause of behaviour and directly linked to the community in which a person finds himself or herself. The study shows that almost all the inmates came from different locations of the country. But most of them came from the Western, Ashanti and Greater Accra Regions due to the location of facilities from which the data was collected. Some of places these inmates resided were Osu, Mampong, New Takoradi, Cape Coast, Enchi, Anomabo, Tarkwa, Buokrom, Atimatim, Bekwai, Nsuta, Wiameo, Ejisu, and Sekondi in the three regions stated above. Aside the three regions, there were three foreign nationals from Nigeria, Togo and Benin. It is interesting to note that these towns stated above are not the exact places of residence of the inmates, but rather suburbs of these towns, such as Osu Kaajaano, Kotokroba, Axim Accra town, Aboabo, Boshen, and Dompoe among others. A further probe of the places of residence revealed that most of

the inmates were residing at places that lack economic activities and social amenities that makes life comfortable. To put in context they are a socially disorganised environment. This might be a contributing factor to these inmates committing the crimes they committed. According to the Prison Officers most of these areas are crime prone areas. This, Shaw and MacKay (1972) and Kaura (2007) admitted that the place of one's residence can predispose the fellow to criminal activities.

Summary Chapter

The chapter has discussed in detail, the socio – demographic characteristics and the kids/types crimes committed by the incarcerated women. The next chapter examines in details the predisposing factors or the reasons for which these women committed the crimes for which they were incarcerated, and how their societal roles as women also predisposed them to crime.



CHAPTER FIVE
PREDISPOSING FACTORS AND WOMEN SOCIAL ROLE AND
CRIME

Introduction

This chapter examines the third and fourth objectives of the study. For every action, there is a reason, hence the third objective of the study sought to find out the reasons behind the actions of the women which led them to prison and the fourth examines the link between women societal roles and crime.

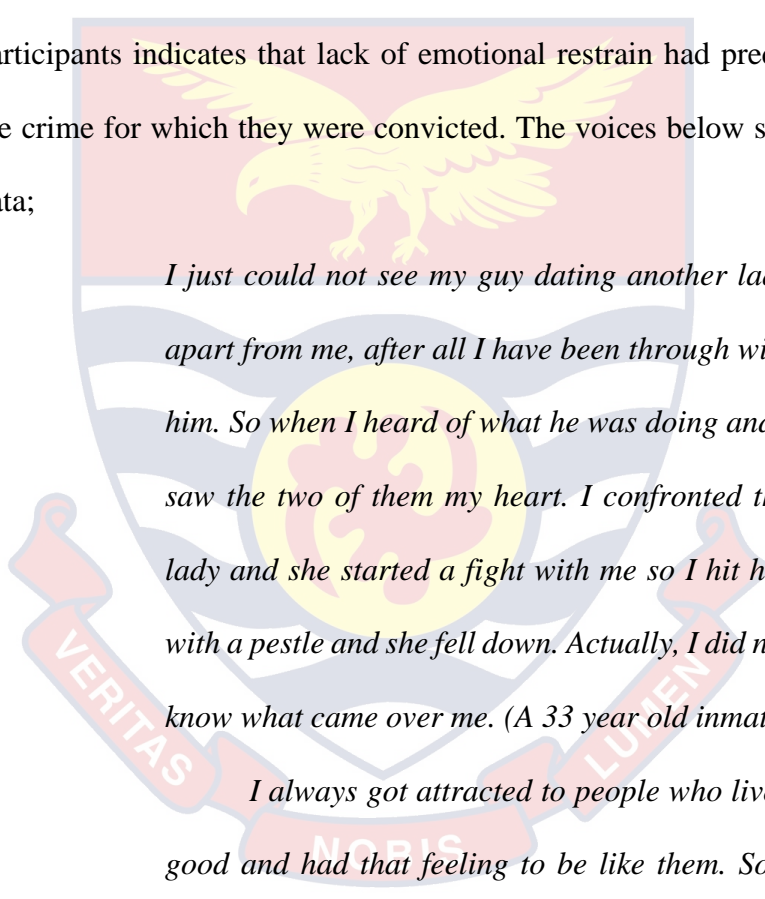
Table 17: Predisposing Factors to the Commission of Crime

Predisposing Factors	Frequency	Percentage
Mistrust	6	15.0
Anger	12	30.0
Greed and Stubbornness	9	22.5
Over Ambition	4	10.0
Financial challenge	2	5.0
Self defence	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Source: Field Data, 2019

As part of the objectives of the study, the third objective sought to find out from the participants the factors that predisposed them or some factors that made them to commit the crimes for which they were convicted. In Table 17 the participants mentioned several predisposing factors of which anger had the highest mention of 12(30%) participant. The next predisposing factor to be mentioned is greed and stubbornness with 9 (22.5%) participants. Also self-

defence was mentioned as another factor with 7 (17.5%) participants. Another factor mentioned has to do with mistrust and here 6 (15.0%) of the participants had this to be the predisposing factor for their involvement in the crime for which they were convicted. Over ambition was another factor indicated, and 4 (10.0%) said that it is over ambition that made them commit the crime for which they were sentenced, while 2 (5.0%) stated that financial challenge being the reason for their involvement. A critical view of the responses given by the participants indicates that lack of emotional restraint had predisposed them to the crime for which they were convicted. The voices below support the above data;



I just could not see my guy dating another lady apart from me, after all I have been through with him. So when I heard of what he was doing and I saw the two of them my heart. I confronted the lady and she started a fight with me so I hit her with a pestle and she fell down. Actually, I did not know what came over me. (A 33 year old inmate)

I always got attracted to people who lived good and had that feeling to be like them. So I wanted to be like them by all means. This is what pushed me into the crime that brought me here.

(A 27 year old inmate)

Life was very difficult for me when my husband died. We had four children, and taking care of them alone was very difficult for me alone.

So I had to look for something to do to support myself and a friend introduced me to selling drugs. (A 48 year old inmate)

Trusting people in authority with secret information landed me here. I did not know it would end like this. Both my husband and I were in the same situation. (A 45 year old inmate)

This voices confirms the work of Thomas, (1923) which stressed the relationship between social controls and behaviour of individuals. Thomas believed that the behaviour of humans is dependent on the circumstance(s) in which they find themselves. This also confirms the work of Ahuja in (2012) who found out that the maladjustment in interpersonal relationships within the family is a major cause of female criminality it also corroborate the work of Sharma (2010).

To understand if the socialisation of the inmates has had any effect on their propensity to commit crime, I asked them how their childhood days were like. It was interesting to note that almost all the inmates had something to say. But one striking thing was that majority of them were raised either by grandparents or aunties or step parents and other relatives who did not care about their welfare. Some of them had terrible childhood experiences from acts of rape, maltreatment and abuse among others. These experiences, one way or the other, might have had some effect on these inmates. Some had these to say;

I was raped by my step dad severally, but my mum said nothing. I told her about what my step dad did to me several times but she always blamed me that I was a bad child. This made me not to trust anyone even my own parents. I saw my friends as my family and followed them everywhere and see how it has ended me. (A 35 year old inmate)

I lived with my aunt who never care about me. All she cared about is me taking care of her children and doing the household chores. What I eat, wear and drink were not her problem. This pushed me into seeing one guy who usually gave me money. I did not know he was into drugs. He introduced me to it and I became used to it and if I did not get some in a day, I cannot stay. This is what brought me here my brother. (A 25year old inmate)

This corroborates Hirsch's' assertion on the importance of social relationships that the importance of the social relationship that people value, which they would not want to risk or jeopardise by committing criminal or deviant act. In essence Hirsch noted that people are less likely to misbehave when they know they have something to lose. The Differential Association Learning Theory by Sutherland also explained these actions to some extent when he asserted that the individual encounters many inharmonious and

inconsistent social influences in their life time and many individuals become involved in contacts with carriers of criminalistics norms, and as a consequence, become criminals.

The next issue of much concern to me was the occupation and income level of the married and cohabiting inmates. This is because I was interested in knowing what their husbands or cohabitants did in order to determine if they (husbands or cohabitant) had the means to support them (inmates) or not, then to see if their support or otherwise predisposed the inmates into committing the crimes they committed. Table 16 captures the occupation and income levels of husbands and cohabitants.

Table 18: Occupation and Income of Husbands and Cohabitants

Occupation	Monthly Income	Frequency	Percentage
Plumber	300	3	11.1
Driver	500	2	7.4
Sales Room manager	2000	1	3.7
Mason	300	4	14.8
Fisherman	400	2	7.4
Carpenter	300	5	18.5
Drug Dealer	1500	1	3.7
Farmer	500	6	22.2
Mechanic	400	3	11.1
Total	-	27	100

Source: Field Data, 2019

The data above covers 27 participants out of the 40 because the table is looking at only those married and cohabiting. The table also supports Table 14 which looks at the types of crimes committed. It is clear the total of inmates that committed economic crimes were also 27. This indicates that these women committed various crimes because the incomes of their husbands and cohabitants were not enough to support their upkeep. Assessing the table critically the income levels of husbands and cohabitants ranges from 300 to 2000 Ghana Cedis. If I review that of Table 12 which captures the income levels of the inmates, it is obvious that the inmates were earning more than their husbands and cohabitants. This is because the income range of the inmates falls between 500 and 1500 Cedis as against 300 and 2000 Cedis of the husbands and cohabitants. It can, therefore, be deduced that these women might have committed the crimes they committed in order to cater for themselves or their families since the incomes of their husbands and cohabitants were not enough. This is in line with Thomas (2004) who argued that when women add the responsibilities to be taken up by men to theirs, it adds further stress and strain to the women and these new roles may sometimes motivate them to engage in crimes.

Women Roles and Crime

According to Sutherland (1947), criminal behaviour is learnt in a process of communication with other persons, principally in small intimate groups. The Social Learning Theory stipulates that a person will become a criminal if he or she associates more with a criminal than with anti-criminal people and ideas. From the data I gathered from the inmates, most of them had groups of friends or had some association with people who had been incarcerated before. Thus

some of these inmates might have involved themselves in these criminal acts due to their association with these once incarcerated people. Another interesting thing about these women in relation to the theory was that from their school days they were also interested in moving with large group of friends and love to be in a group than being alone, although few of them were introverts.

Thomas (2004) stressed that the role of the family, including earning money, taking care of the family, managing the affairs of the family and decision making among others are responsibilities carried out by the male member of the family. In some circumstances, due to various factors, these roles are shouldered by the females, apart from their roles they perform as mothers and householder. This adds further stress and strain on them. The new roles women perform aside the family responsibility sometimes motivate them to engage in anti-social means to achieve their end. This assertion of Thomas made me come up with the last objective of the study which was to find out from the inmates if their societal roles as women or mothers might have caused them to commit the crimes they committed. In other words the objective was to determine if there was a link between women societal roles and crime.

There was mixed reactions in terms of the responses given by the women. In as much as some of the women agreed that their new roles in some form predisposed to the crimes they committed, others also agreed that the new roles were not the reason for their incarceration. The voices below supports the above.

*My duties as a single parent did not make me
commit the crime that brought me here. What*

brought me here can happen to anyone including men. (A 44 year old inmates)

My desire to support my husband as a wife has brought me to this place. I was into buying and selling so I could also support the family and I happened to find myself in smuggling. (A 55 -year old inmate)

I lost my husband so I had to take care of my four kids without any support. This made me find myself here because I was into drugs. (A 43 -year old inmate)

Getting work to do was difficult so a friend introduced me to a robbery gang and that is what has landed me at this place. (A 22year old inmate).

I used to take care of the family alone, although my husband is alive. He lost his job so I was playing the role of the father at the same time so which ever means I must use to take care of them I must do it. (A 45 -year old inmate)

My man travelled to seek greener pasture and that is all I never heard from him again. As to whether he is dead or alive I don't know. So I was

alone taking care of my children and my sick mother with no support (A 30 year old inmates)

I supported my husband to sell the drugs so we could make enough money to take care of our children, and my other siblings and parents because I am the first child. My support to my husband is what brought me here. (A 45 year old

inmate)

Being the first child affected me greatly because the little I had to support my extended family from the little income made. So I had to look for other means to support myself and the family (A 28 year old inmate)

This assertion by these women confirms the work of Thomas (2004) who believed that in some circumstances, women shoulder certain male responsibilities in addition to their responsibilities and this predisposes them to crime. Reckless (1961), as cited in Gora (1982) also agreed with Thomas and opined that gender roles and the socialisation of women or females play significant role in their criminal behaviour.

I finally asked the inmates to give some suggestions as to how this menace can be curbed or overcome. They had these to say;

As children, we must listen to and respect our parents and other guardians as it will go a long way to help us in our lives. If I had listened to my parents I don't think I will be here now. (A 32-year old inmates)

Government should find a way of supporting young widows who do not have any source of livelihood so as to help them take care of their children and themselves. (A 40-year old inmates)

Banks, if possible should assist women with interest and collateral free loans to help them start some business so as keep them from crime. (A 55-year old inmate)

We should be careful of some of our friends and who we go about with. This is because some friends can lead one into trouble. (A 41-year old inmate)

As parents we should be mindful of how we treat our children, both biological and step. We should be mindful of temper so we do not do anything we regret later. (A 26-year old inmate)

Views of Significant Others (Officers)

In scientific research, it is always better to validate the data gotten from one group with the data from a different group if possible, on the same issue

under investigation. In my quest to validate the data given by the inmates, I interviewed some principal officers of the Prisons Service and some parents and guardians of the inmates. The results are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs starting with the views expressed by officers then followed that of parents or guardian.

With regard to the demographics, the officers indicated that in terms of age, most of the women incarcerated were in their youthful ages. The educational level of these women were mostly low, and in terms of occupation, most of them were traders or unemployed. Also, most of these inmates are not married but are cohabiting with their partners. It happened to be that Christians dominate when it comes to religion.

When asked what they think might be some of the predisposing factors that push these women to commit the crimes for which they were being punished, the officers mentioned the inability of the women to get good and decent jobs could be a factor and this sometimes compelled some of the women to seek solace in men and this predisposed them to some of the crimes they commit.

Another factor mentioned was the over reliance on men. The officers opined that some of the women over relied on their partners and as such in case of any casualties these women did not have any means of survival and crime became the only means of survival

Attitude and habits was also mentioned as a factor. To the officers, some of these women are temperamental in that, sometimes they acted with actually thinking of the consequences. For instance a women hears the husband or boyfriend is with another women, they angrily reacted without validating the

information at hand, and this attitude has landed most women in prison and charged for murder or manslaughter.

Lastly the inability to tolerate others was also an issue raised by the officers. To the officers, women are too emotional such that they sometimes act out of anger.

Just imagine a woman pouring water on a step child because of one cedi. Just because of the hatred for the mother or just because the father might have wronged the wife the step child becomes the victim of circumstance (An officer at the Sekondi Prison).

The officers were also asked if they thought that the societal roles of women can push them into committing the crimes they commit. They had these to say:

It can, to some extent. Just imagine a woman who has so many mouths to feed, but without any financial support. How does she take care of these kids without any support from any man or other people? It is problematic, you know and this can make this women look for other avenues for help and this can land her into any criminal act. (An officer from the Kumasi Prisons).

Sure, it can my brother. Some circumstances are very disheartening. For instance, a man gets you pregnant and fails to take care of me and the children, but he has money to be chasing other

women around while we struggle to survive. The mere sight of that man can create some anger in one and some women have been brought here because of a similar situation. (An officer at the Kumasi Prisons)

I find it difficult to see how the social roles of women can predispose them to crime. No matter the situation a properly socialised woman should not commit crime because of any situation be it anger or anything. After all there are also other women out there who go through similar or same situation but are not in prison. (An officer at the Sekondi Prisons)

The officers per the position they occupy were asked to give some recommendations as to how female criminality can be curbed. They had these to share:

I think proper socialisation is the key. Of late, parents do not train or should I say bring up their children well, and I think this is the reason why we now see a lot of women committing various crimes including armed robbery which was previously the preserve of men. (An officer at the Sekondi Prisons)

The church that is to build us up morally is now preaching only prosperity, so now everybody is thinking of prosperity and nothing more. So you cannot blame these women for some of the criminal acts they commit. The church must sit up. (An officer at the Kumasi Prisons)

I suggest that government through the Department of Social Welfare and after care officers should support the women after they are discharged to reduce or avoid the increase of recidivism (An officer at the Sekondi Prison)

Government should increase logistics to establish more training centres in the prisons to make the inmates gain some skills before the prison to make them easily fit back into society. (An officer at the Kumasi Prisons)

The following paragraphs capture the views expressed by the parents and guardians of the female prisoners.

Views of Significant Others (Parents / Guardians)

Before I share the views expressed by these parents and guardians it will prudent to state that most of the inmates grew up with their guardians rather than their own parents. It is also worth mentioning that the guardians had lived with the inmates for not less than fifteen years of the inmates' lives and as such they knew these inmates well enough to give a valid information about them. I say this because in the

formative years of these inmates they were living with these participants (guardian/parent)

The guardians were asked how the inmates looked like growing up in order to ascertain if they had the attributes of criminality even before growing up. The following responses were captured.

Hmmmm growing up, Adjoa was a calm girl who talked very little and always wanted to be alone.

She hardly had friends, she was always at home helping me with the household chores after school. (A 64- year old guardian)

Growing up was a little bit challenging because her father died so I had to raise her alone. So sometimes, she followed friends to go and sell foodstuffs to get some money to support the family since she was my first child. (A 55 -year old parent)

One thing about Mansa when she was growing up was that she was very temperamental. Always, there was complain about her from the neighbourhood of fighting and quarrelling. She actually get angry at the least provocation. (A 49- year old guardian)

I cannot really remember exactly how her life was because it is been long but what I can say is she was respectful and a good child. The only

problem about her was that she liked friends too much. (A 60- year old guardian)

Having looked at the background of the inmates growing up I asked the parents/guardian if they were aware of any factor(s) that might have predisposed their wards into committing the crimes they were being punished for now. They had the following to say

You see, my daughter fails to listen to advice. I warned several times about a gentleman she was following but she never obeyed me. Just because of the small money she getting from him. Not knowing the man was into drugs. Now see what has happened to her (A 59- year old guardian).

Maybe money because she was the one taking care of the family. Once she was not around there is financial problem because she made sure the family was ok (A 62- year old guardian)

In life, you must take it easy. She wanted everything too fast without looking at how that can put her in trouble. If she saw anything nice, she wanted to get it no matter what. Although it's good sometimes it's not because the day you don't have you can go and steal (A 70- year old parent)

Her heart is the problem. Since her childhood days, she got angry and did things that when you think of it you won't even understand her. Anything she got she throw it at you and she did not care what would happen to her (A 66 -year old parent)

She trusted human beings too much. Anytime she came into a new person she related to the person as if she knows the person for a long time that is her problem. She tells them everything about herself and other people. Too much trust is what has caused her (A 64 -year old parent)

The issue of social role of women being a predisposing factor was also looked at, and these are the some of the responses.

I think that is the reason because she takes care of her children alone. Just imagine one person taking care of five children without anybody supporting her. As a mother what work does she even do just selling so how can she take care of the children so I think it is the reason because she always wanted to take good care of her children. (A 73 -year old guardian)

For Ama, I am not sure it is her heart problem. She cannot control herself. Even when she gets angry with me she does not spare me. My brother

you would be surprised to see how she reacted when she was angry. (A 60 -year old parent)

The issue that took her to prison was just accidental so I don't think it has to do with her role as a mother or a woman. It can happen to anyone even you because she was wrongly accused. (A 58 -year old guardian)

Having an irresponsible husband can also be a problem, my son. The husband of my child did not support her so she took care of her children alone and at my age I could not also do anything much to support her. So if she heard of any business she wants to explore to see how she could make some money to take care of her children, and this is what has brought my child here (A 74- year old mother)

Chapter Summary

The chapter has examined the predisposing factors and women societal roles and crime in details. The next chapter sums up the whole study by examining the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This is the final chapter and concluding chapter of this thesis. The chapter presents a summary of the research, draw some conclusions from key findings and makes recommendations for policy, practice and further studies.

Summary

Generally the socio – demographic characteristics showed that *most* of the inmates are within their youthful ages as majority of them were between the ages of 18 – 40 that is 78.2%. Also most of the females had low level of education that is almost 70% of them had only basic education. The age and education dynamics played a significant role in understanding the socio – demographics and its relation to crime.

Another important factor was marriage. With the Social Control Theory's assumption, it was expected that more singles will be found in the prisons but it was found that marital status in actual fact did not prevent or did not stop these women from committing crime as half of the participants were married.

Again most of the inmates were in the informal sector as majority of them were traders with some also unemployed and apprentice. Also the nature of work of these women reflected in their income level as majority of them earned between 500 to 1000 Ghana cedis a month. These two issues had a bearing on the kind of crimes committed by these women. From the data

gathered most of the women were involved in economic crimes that is crimes that earned them some money.

Also, Mistrust, Anger, Greed, Stubbornness, Over Ambition, Financial challenge, Self-defence were some of the factors that predisposed these women into the crimes they committed. More so, the social roles of women especially as mothers cannot actually be said to be a contributing factor for the committing of crime as not all the inmates agreed on that.

Lastly the place of residence had a great influence on the inmate's propensity to commit crime. As posited by the Social Disorganisation Theory the place of residence of the individual can be a predisposing factor to committing crime. This was evident in the places these inmates were residing before they were incarcerated. Some places like Bakano, Ntin, Osu – kaajaano, and slum suburbs in Atiatim, Ejisu, New Takoradi, Enchi, Tarkwa just to mention a few.

Conclusions

On the basis of the analysis done and key findings, the following conclusion are made:

First, age, education, religion and marital status have no absolute influence on female criminality because both the young and old are culpable when it comes to crime. The religious who are expected to lead exemplary lives are also not left out when it come female crime as well as both the married and the unmarried.

Secondly, mistrust, anger, greed, stubbornness and self-defence were some of the factors that predisposed these women into committing the crimes they committed aside the place of residence.

Thirdly there is no direct link between women societal roles and crime. From the study there was a mixed reaction to the issue of social roles as some of the inmates asserted that their societal role predisposed them to the crimes they committed while others said otherwise.

Also an interesting observation was that, most if not all the inmates were first time prisoners which means most of them have not been to prison before and this confirms literature that recidivism in female is less than that of males.

Another intriguing phenomenon about most of the inmates was that most of them did not grow up with biological parents. They were either raised by grandparents, aunties, and other family members. Could it be that growing up these family members did not socialise these women well or could it be that they might have been left on their own so they learnt these criminal acts from friends?

Finally, per my observation, the prisons in Ghana should be of the same standard. For instance the Sekondi and the Kumasi prisons does not have the same facilities. The Kumasi facility for instance has the kitchen at the main entrance of the facility so in case of any fire outbreak both inmates and wardens will be trapped inside the facility. Another issue is that the female prisons in Nsawam has pay phone where inmates are given the opportunity to call relatives once a while but the Sekondi and Kumasi facilities have no pay phone and this makes communication with relatives difficult. This notwithstanding I must commend the leaders in charge of the two facilities for maintaining the facilities in terms on cleanliness.

Recommendations

From the findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are made:

1. Based on the issue of the income disparity among the women if possible there should be a social support system for women in the informal sector to help the marginalised women. Through this the women can assess the support when in need and this can in a way prevent crime to some appreciable level.
2. With regards to the educational level of the inmates and their employment status Government should as a matter of urgency through the National Youth Authority come out with different policy and programmes to support youth who drop out of school and those who are not gainfully employed and strengthen existing youth policy since this will go a long way to take the attention of the youth from criminal activities
3. Due to the occupational background of the inmates Government should make its rehabilitation programmes in the prisons more relevant to the youth so as to enable some the inmates get some occupational skills before they are released from the prisons so they fit back into society and also reduce recidivism.
4. There is need for a multi-sectorial engagement in offering solutions to female crime. Sectors including Gender and social protection, economic, employment and labour must combine efforts to address female criminality.

Contribution of the Research to Knowledge

Little literature exists on female criminal activities in Ghana, especially when it comes to all female gang and the reasons why women commit crime. This study, therefore, adds up to the existing literature on female criminality in Ghana. It also contributes to knowledge in the areas of sociology of crime/criminology and penology.

According to the framework certain socio – economic indicators can influence people to commit crime and when these factors together with influence by peers, low organisational participation and sparse local friendship network crime is inevitable. In this study, it was found that some of the inmates had some of these socio – economic characteristics as indicated in the frame work.

Despite the identified characteristics, there were other extraneous variables which the adapted framework did not envisaged. These variables included age, occupation of spouse, social roles of women and types of residence. The study revealed that these factors also had an influence on women ability to commit crime apart from the structural elements as espoused by Sampson and Grooves (1989).

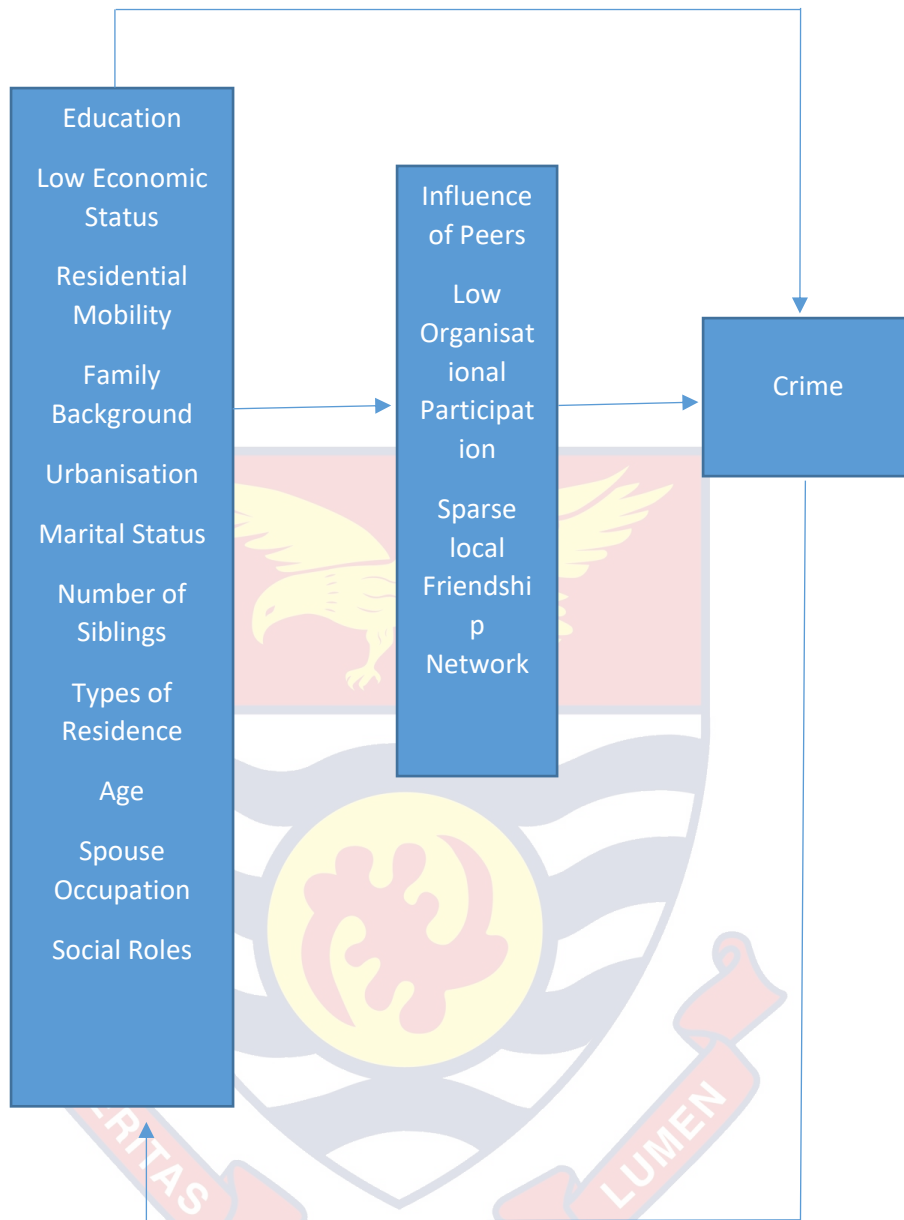


Figure 2: Proposed framework to female criminality

Source: Annang, 2021

Areas for further Research

Even though the contribution of this thesis cannot be underestimated, more needs to be done to provide a comprehensive understanding of female criminality in Ghana. Further research by Sociologist and Crime experts on female criminality should be thoroughly investigated.

Since the study was delimited to only two prison facilities, it is recommended that a national study be conducted to give a clear picture of the female criminality in Ghana.

The study was to a large extent qualitative in nature so a quantitative or mixed method approach can be used to study the phenomenon to see the dynamics that will emerge and how this can enhance our understanding of the situation when it comes to female criminality in Ghana.



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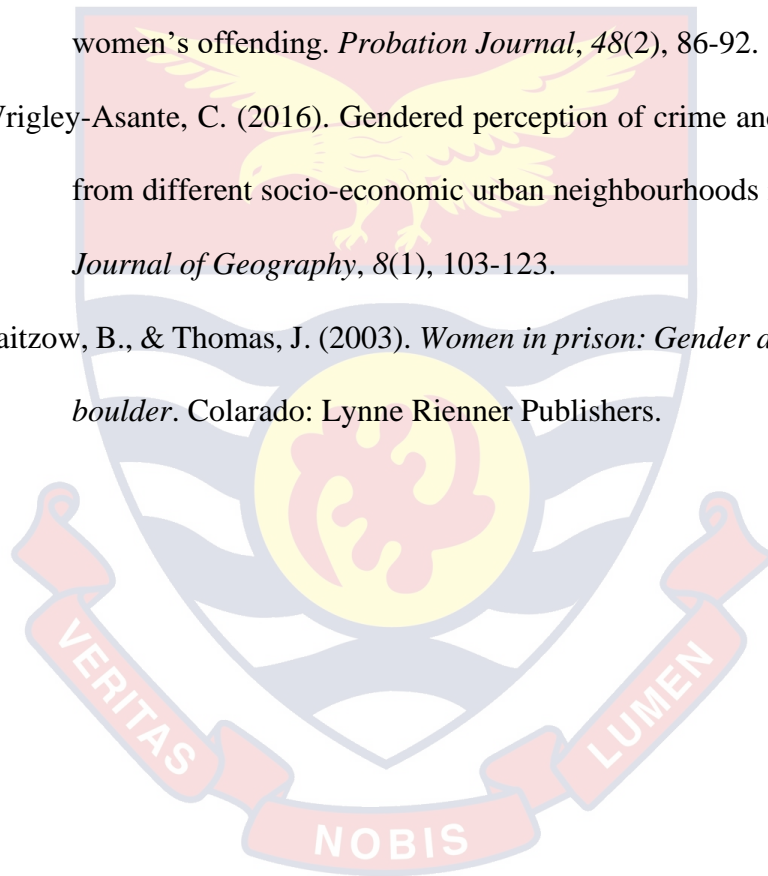
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

In-depth Interview Guide for Inmates

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY OF ANTHROPOLOGY



INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear Sir/Madam,

This study is being conducted to understand female criminality in Ghana from the perspectives of inmates and significant others of sekondi prison. You have been selected to be part of the study because of your in-depth knowledge in female criminality. This interview is structured to capture the, the prevailing factors that predispose female offenders to crime, demographic characteristics of female offenders with respect to the crimes they committed and the link between women societal roles and crime. The interview will last for about 60 minutes. You have the right to withdraw from the discussion at any time without reason. I would ensure that your information, opinions and experiences are kept confidential and will only be used for the purpose of the study. I will not use your name or make direct reference to your personal identity. With regard to collecting information for this study, I would greatly appreciate your help and, therefore, seek your consent and cooperation. You may ask questions related to the study and I will answer these questions to your satisfaction.

16- In what segment of the area were you living in before entering the department of correction?

17- Are you native residents of the region in which you lived last in as family?

18- If you are not native residents of the place where you last lived, from where did you migrate to the place of your last residence?

19- When did you migrate?

20- Why did you migrate?

21- What kind of difficulties did you face after you migrated?

22- Did you migrate alone or with your family?

23- How many siblings do you have?

24- Has anyone in your family ever been convicted?

25- If your answer is yes, for which crime they are sentenced?

26- Has anyone in your immediate environment or someone you know committed a crime? / What was the relationship between you and the person?

27- For which crime were they sentenced?

28- For which crime were you sentenced?

29- Have you committed any other crime apart from the crime for which you were convicted?

Section B: Factors That Predispose Female Offenders to Crime.

30- What is/are the reason/reasons why you to commit crime/ crimes?

31- Will you return to live in the community where you committed the crime after you have been released from the department of correction?

32- Do you have any children?

33- What was the reaction of your parents to the crime you committed?

- 34- What was the reaction of your friends and neighbours to the crime you committed?
- 35- Where you living in your own apartment or a compound house?
- 36- How many people is your household composed of?
- 37 – How were your school days like in relation to your mates?
- 38- Did you have to leave your education (dropout)?
- 39- Did you face any troubles during your school life?
- 40- Did your family support you for your receiving education?
- 41- Did you have a job while you were a student?
- 42- When you were a child, did you frequently move from your house or neighbourhood?
- 43- Did you have a large circle of friends?
- 44- Who were predominantly your closest friends when you were a child?
- 45- With whom did you spend your childhood?
- 46- What is the occupation of your mother?
- 47- What is the occupation of your father?
- 48- How was your relationship with your parents?
- 49- When you were a child, did your financial means sufficiently meet all your needs?
- 50- Did you receive sufficient pocket money from your parents when you were a child?
- 51- Did you face financial problems when you were living with your parents?
- 52- Was the income of your family sufficient to meet your needs?
- 53 – What were you doing in your leisure times before you entered prison?

Thank You

SECTION C: REASONS FOR COMMITTING CRIME

54. What crime were you convicted for?

55. What pushed you into committing the crime?

SECTION D: THE LINK BETWEEN WOMEN ROLES AND CRIME

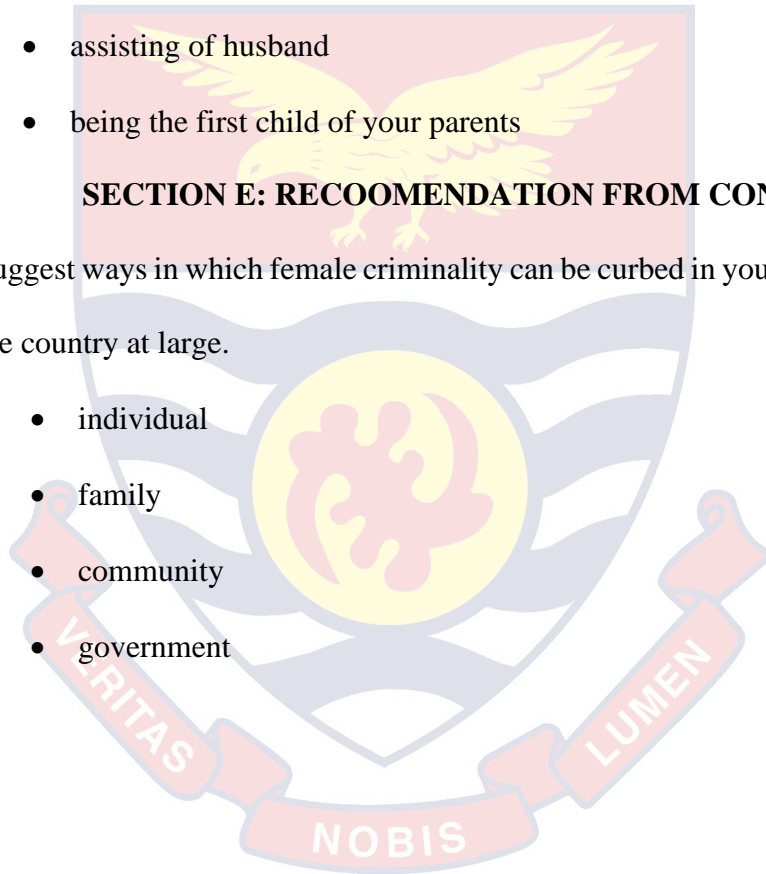
56. How did these roles pushed you to the commit crime for which you were convicted or any other crime?

- taking care of the home (single parent)
- assisting of husband
- being the first child of your parents

SECTION E: RECOOMENDATION FROM CONVICTS

Suggest ways in which female criminality can be curbed in your community and the country at large.

- individual
- family
- community
- government



APPENDIX B

In-depth Interview Guide for Significant Others

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SIGNIFICANT OTHERS (OFFICERS)

Dear Sir/Madam,

This study is being conducted to understand female criminality in Ghana from the perspectives of inmates and significant others of sekondi prison. You have been selected to be part of the study because of your in-depth knowledge in female criminality. This interview is structured to capture the, the prevailing factors that predispose female offenders to crime, demographic characteristics of female offenders with respect to the crimes they committed and the link between women societal roles and crime. The interview will last for about 60 minutes. You have the right to withdraw from the discussion at any time without reason. I would ensure that your information, opinions and experiences are kept confidential and will only be used for the purpose of the study. I will not use your name or make direct reference to your personal identity. With regard to collecting information for this study, I would greatly appreciate your help and, therefore, seek your consent and cooperation. You may ask questions related to the study and I will answer these questions to your satisfaction.

Informed consent

I have been informed in detail about the purpose and nature of this study.

I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions relating to this study.

I have decided that I will participate willingly and can withdraw at any time for any reason.

.....

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

SECTION A

What are some demographic characteristics of female offenders?

- age
- education
- occupation
- religion
- marital status

SECTION B: some predisposing factors to the act of crime

What do you think are some of the factors that predispose these women to commit crime?

SECTION C: reasons for committing crime by females

What could be the reasons for which females commit crime?

SECTION D: women societal roles and crime commission

How do women societal roles predisposes to commit crime?

SECTION E: RECOMMENDATIONS

What recommendations can you make to help curb female crime?

- individual
- family
- community
- government

Thank you

APPENDIX C

In-depth Interview Guide for Significant Others

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SIGNIFICANT OTHERS (PARENTS / GUARDIAN)

Dear Sir/Madam,

This study is being conducted to understand female criminality in Ghana from the perspectives of inmates and significant others of sekondi prison. You have been selected to be part of the study because of your in-depth knowledge in female criminality. This interview is structured to capture the, the prevailing factors that predispose female offenders to crime, demographic characteristics of female offenders with respect to the crimes they committed and the link between women societal roles and crime. The interview will last for about 60 minutes. You have the right to withdraw from the discussion at any time without reason. I would ensure that your information, opinions and experiences are kept confidential and will only be used for the purpose of the study. I will not use your name or make direct reference to your personal identity. With regard to collecting information for this study, I would greatly appreciate your help and, therefore, seek your consent and cooperation. You may ask questions related to the study and I will answer these questions to your satisfaction.

Informed consent

I have been informed in detail about the purpose and nature of this study.

I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions relating to this study.

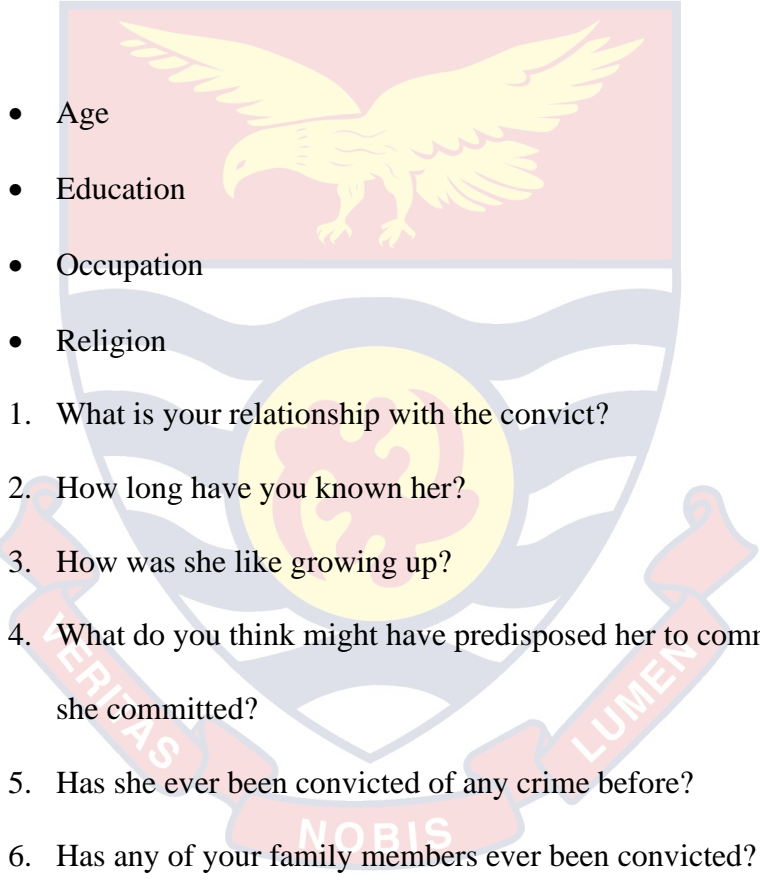
I have decided that I will participate willingly and can withdraw at any time for any reason.

.....

Name of participant

Signature

Date

- 
- Age
 - Education
 - Occupation
 - Religion
1. What is your relationship with the convict?
 2. How long have you known her?
 3. How was she like growing up?
 4. What do you think might have predisposed her to commit the crime she committed?
 5. Has she ever been convicted of any crime before?
 6. Has any of your family members ever been convicted?
 7. Do you think her performance of her social roles might have been the reason for committing this crime?