

WHAT'S A NICE GIRL LIKE YOU DOING...?

A STUDY OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY

by

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS
ABSTRACT

I would like to thank Mr. Robert J. Starke for his guidance in the design and writing of this study.

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I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Sidney L. Roberts and Shisel who faithfully

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This study was undertaken at the Liberty Township, Ohio, Police Department. The purpose of this research was to glean statistical knowledge at the arrest level regarding female offenders so that meaningful programs and services could be provided them. In this regard, it was not felt that there would be any significant differences between those females involved in criminal activity in Liberty Township, Ohio, and females involved in criminal activity on a national level.

The results of this study led to the logical implications that as police departments upgrade their records keeping systems; as police officers become better educated; as police officers lose their "chivalry factor" toward women offenders; and, most important of all, as women emerge from the home to enter the job market, rates for female crime will continue to increase.

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the increased involvement of women in crime in general and in serious offenses in particular. The criminal justice system begins formally with arrest. Because police with their discretionary enforcement powers stand at the helm of the criminal justice system and the arrest process reflects visibility and police knowledge of crime, it is vital that valid data concerning females be gleaned at this elementary stage of the criminal justice process.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The lack of basic research concerning females and the lack of valid information with which to plan meaningful programs and services leads to unsubstantiated and dangerous generalizations about female criminality which could have serious consequences in light of recent reports regarding the increased involvement of women in crime in general and in serious offenses in particular. The criminal justice system begins formally with arrest. Because police with their discretionary enforcement powers stand at the helm of the criminal justice system and the arrest process reflects visibility and police knowledge of crime, it is vital that valid data concerning females be gleaned at this elementary stage of the criminal justice process.

of individuals arrested and convicted of crimes. When mentioned at all, female criminality serves only as a footnote to works of criminality concerning males. Therefore, there is little basis for determining female criminal involvement.

The Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders which met in Geneva, Switzerland, September 1-2, 1975, gave unprecedented attention to the problems of female criminality and female

participation in the criminal justice system. The Congress was unable to resolve the issues due to the lack of complete and compatible data on the forms and dimensions of female criminality. A separate discussion by the Congress concerning female participation as decision makers in criminal justice reflected that there is an increase of women

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

Although some theorists trace the origin of the female offender to the Biblical aider and abettor, Eve, it is generally conceded that female criminality is a neglected subject. Female offenders have been overlooked both by society in general and the criminal justice system in particular. The primary reason for this is because they are few in number and their crimes are generally less threatening to society. Explanations for this lack of concern run the gamut from the preponderance of male theorists in the field who have drawn sexual distinctions in criminal behavior to the fact that women offenders account for only a small proportion of the total number of individuals arrested and convicted of crimes. When mentioned at all, female criminality serves only as a footnote to works of criminality concerning males. Therefore, there is little basis for determining female criminal involvement.

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participation in the criminal justice system. The Congress was unable to resolve the issues due to the lack of complete and compatible data on the forms and dimensions of female criminality. A separate debate and discussion by the Congress concerning female participation as decision makers in criminal justice reflected that unless there is an increase of women in decision-making positions, there is little likelihood of change toward female offenders.¹ Claims that rising female crime results from increased freedom for women were attacked; and a UN working paper prepared for the meeting stated that increasing female crime is an international phenomenon. However, since its conclusions were based primarily on United States and West German statistics, representatives from Finland, Cuba, Bulgaria, and Canada, among others, disputed the accuracy of the findings.²

The lack of basic research concerning females fatally hampers any serious attempt to construct meaningful programs and services. This is documented by a number of recent studies and newspaper articles reporting inadequate or nonexistent programs for women confined to jails and prisons around the nation. To complicate the issue, no reliable national statistics are available on the number of women

¹United Nations Congress Considers Female Criminality and Female Participation in Criminal Justice," The Woman Offender Report, (Washington, D. C.) (November/December 1975), p. 4.

²Laurel Rans, "Conferences Discuss Women in System," National Association of Women in Criminal Justice News, (Washington, D. C.) (December, 1975), p. 3.

involved in criminal activity. Because the public, the news media, and the criminal justice system alike are beginning to pay more attention to women, it is vital that in developing rehabilitation programs designed to reintegrate female offenders, they not be typecast haphazardly. Generalizations in the literature about female criminality must come to terms with reality. To the extent that the "new" image of a violent and dangerous female offender is constructed, reinforcement and encouragement will be provided for those programs and policies, which will ultimately cause more harm than good, both for society in general and the female offender herself. Therefore, it becomes most important to understand what kind of female offender comes into the criminal justice system at the arrest level if any meaningful diversion program is to be implemented to rehabilitate her within the community from which she came. That we may already be too late in this attempt is reflected by the great increase recently in the number of females incarcerated, with the female population in Federal prisons increasing 81 per cent during the last five years.³

In a breakdown of the typology of criminal behavior systems, one finds that women commit those crimes which are considered "occasional property crimes," such as shoplifting,

³John R. Lane, "A Neglect of Plight," Criminal Justice Issues, (New York) (December, 1974), p. 1.

check forgery, and some auto theft. The female offender tends to have little or no criminal self-concept, that is, she does not identify with the crime. The correspondence between criminal behavior and legitimate behavior patterns is that the female offender violates the value on private property. Societal reaction is moderate; arrest; own recognizance, bond; jail; short imprisonment; probation. There is little group support for these types of criminal behavior; they are individual offenses. It is in the typology of offenses that the most pronounced differences between female and male criminal patterns is noted; with the former clustering around larceny (mostly shoplifting), forgery, embezzlement, prostitution, drug violations, and child abuse, while the latter cover a much wider spectrum and predominate in the classifications of robbery, burglary, auto theft, assaults, and rape. Comparative analysis between the sexes also reveals that in prison populations, female prisoners were less negative in their socialization patterns, but were considerably more alienated, and there was a significant difference displayed by females resulting in more unfavorable attitudes toward judicial institutions and the law than exhibited by men. The identification of differences can be considered significant in two respects; theory formulation concerning the etiology of crime assumes more complex proportions because it frequently cannot be applied to women, and the revelation of cultural determinants

in female criminality has important implications in the approach and treatment of female offenders.⁴

Lizzie Borden took an ax to her vexatious parents; "Ma" Barker died with a smoking machine gun in her hands; Bonnie Parker romanticized her bloody escapades in the lyrics of a song; the most notorious poisoner in history was Lucrezia Borgia; the name most synonymous with spy is Mata Hari, and Ruth Snyder, together with her corset-salesman lover, took turns bashing in the head of her husband with a sashweight for which she was later "rewarded" with the electric chair. The French even refer to the guillotine as "Madame." The association of women with violence is not a new phenomenon, but the "Deadlier Than" articles which have sprouted in the news media are using murky sociology to draw a cause and effect relationship between the emergence of more than half the population from its role as the second sex and some startling changes in the statistics of female crime. Buoying this trend have been statements by noted and respected psychiatrists and anthropologists. Dr. Leon Salzman of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine has remarked, "There is no biological reason for the female to be less aggressive than a male. It's just that being aggressive had no meaning in a woman's life until she had the possibilities a man does." Margaret Mead has observed, "Females have been

⁴Edith Elizabeth Flynn, Ph.D., "The Special Problems of Female Offenders," New Directions in Corrections, (Group Discussion Papers and Reports, Workshop III), p. 113-114.

accustomed over the centuries to fight only to save their young, and so they fight to kill. They have no built-in chivalry," and thus concludes women may easily outdo men in ruthlessness.⁵ While many recent articles have warned of the rapid rise in the rate of violent crime committed by women, statistics show that women offenders account for only 10 per cent of violent crime, a figure which has remained constant for the last 20 years.

The West Coast setting appears to harbor the forerunner of a new type of female criminal, most notably Lynette Fromme, Sara Jane Moore, and the female terrors of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). This lineage of assassins points up that in American society today, "the passage from a classic, middle-class childhood to pathological alienation and violent crime knows no sexual barricade." Prototypical of today's violent women is Patricia Campbell Hearst, born to conservative parents of immense wealth who came to identify with her captors in their abortive attempt at armed revolution. Some scholars see Hearst as typical of "protected, impressionable young women from affluent families who are more easily radicalized than lower class women when thrown into a context of committed people." According to a prominent New York psychiatrist, Herbert Hendin, who specializes in suicide, there are many college students who resemble Hearst. "Outwardly they are anxious to please their

⁵"Deadlier Than?", The Nation, (June 29, 1974), p. 805.

parents, but inwardly they are raging - at their parents, their parents' values and often at themselves."⁶ It appears there is no gender to rage, and American women have reached the point of acting out their rage, not only against themselves, but against society.

The above comments concerning the dangerous and violent female criminal are in direct conflict to the results of sociological studies concerning female offenders. The typical female offender is young, black, a small scale petty thief, motivated by a desire for immediate economic gain, who commits theft without violence. She has a poor self-image. She is unskilled and under or unemployed. The notion that she is prodded into crime by the women's movement is unsubstantiated. Many times she is not even aware there is a women's movement in progress. Women are not becoming more dangerous, but they are becoming more visible. Rising crime rates, real or now simply more documented than before, contribute to fear and insecurity in a situation with which most law enforcement officials are ill-equipped to cope because they have not been prepared to respond to female criminality.

To do research of a new kind on women and crime, it is necessary to understand traditional assumptions made by writers and to break away from them. New definitions of criminality, women, and the relationship of the individual to the state must be examined.

⁶"Now, the Violent Woman," Newsweek, (October 6, 1975), p. 29.

Biological and physiological explanations of criminality have gained impetus the last several years, most notably concerning the XYY chromosome controversy and what they do to an individual in terms of aggression or passivity. But biological explanations have always been prevalent concerning women, with writers assuming anatomy as responsible for one's destiny. Women have been neatly categorized regardless of the type of crime they commit. When defining crime as "masculine," that is, violent, overt crime and applying it to a woman, she becomes "masculine," suffering from chromosomal deficiencies, penis envy, hormonal deficiencies, and atavisms. "Ladylike" crime, generally referring to sexual violations and shoplifting, are committed by women who are manipulative, sexually maladjusted, and promiscuous.⁷

⁷Dorie Klein, "The Etiology of Female Crime: A Review of the Literature," Issues in Criminology, (Fall, 1973), p. 27.

Justification of the Problem

The criminal justice system has been unresponsive to the needs of the female offender and the problems of treating the female offender are reaching critical proportions.

A review of the arrests for those offenses defined by the FBI as "major crimes" during a 13-year span from 1960 to 1973, reflects that arrests for males rose 87.9 per cent while the increase for females was 277.9 per cent.

It is recognized that arrest statistics comprise only those crimes known to police; that arrest is an imperfect measure of criminality and that there are serious inadequacies in the FBI Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) from which the base statistics in this paper are taken. However, the UCR represents the most comprehensive and systematic of available sources on an overview of crime. Inferences made are not really a valid statistic on a universal level, but FBI compiled incidence statistics are the closest available to be used as a universe.

In actual numbers, female crime remains much lower than male crime, but the rise in the number of females arrested is causing consternation among all segments of the criminal justice system.

Forgery and counterfeiting arrests for women during the period 1960 to 1973 rose 116.8 per cent, while fraud and embezzlement increased 281.3 per cent, while male

arrests for the same offense climbed 49.6 per cent.⁸ In 1974, 7 out of every 100 persons arrested for robbery was female. Compared to 1973, arrests of women for this offense rose 14 per cent.⁹ Females were involved in 5 out of 100 arrests for burglary in 1974.¹⁰ Females accounted for 14 per cent of narcotic case arrests in 1974 and 26 per cent of embezzlement cases.¹¹

But, by far, the largest increase in female criminality has been registered in the category of larceny-theft, which makes up 51 per cent of the Crime Index total, and which has increased 365 per cent for females since 1960. The nature of larceny-theft reveals it is a crime of opportunity, sneak thievery, and petty unobserved thefts; that on the UCR "Crime Clock," there was one larceny-theft reported every 6 seconds.¹² There was a 25 per cent increase in this offense in 1974 over 1973. Two-thirds of the larceny-theft in this country is committed by those individuals under 21 years of age. Females comprised 31 per cent of all

⁸Dolores Barclay, "Women Turn to Crime as Lib Movement Grows," The Plain Dealer, (April 23, 1975), p. 1-2d.

⁹Clarence M. Kelley, Crime in the United States 1974 Uniform Crime Reports, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office) (November 17, 1974), p. 26.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 31.

¹¹Ibid, p. 45.

¹²Ibid, p. 31-32.

arrests for larceny-theft and had a higher involvement for this crime than for any of the other Crime Index offenses, and women were arrested more for larceny than any other offense in 1974, rising 23 per cent over 1973. In absolute figures, whites outnumbered Negroes in arrests for larceny-theft by 2 to 1.¹²

The volume of larceny is highest during the summer months. The average value of goods and property reported stolen from victims by shoplifters averaged \$32, according to the UCR, and while total larceny-theft cases increased 21 per cent in 1974, shoplifting offenses were up 76 per cent. Seventy (70) per cent of the adults prosecuted for larceny-theft were found guilty of this offense; 6 per cent were found guilty of a lesser offense, and the remaining had their cases dismissed.¹³

Male arrests outnumbered female arrests by 5 to 1 in 1974; in 1953, the ratio of male to female arrests had been 10 to 1. Female arrests were up 9 per cent over 1973 in the 1974 Uniform Crime Reports. Nineteen (19) per cent of the arrests for Crime Index Offenses were of female persons. Ten (10) per cent of the arrests of violent crimes in 1974 involved females and arrests of females for these types of crimes increased 13 per cent over 1973.

¹²Ibid, p. 34.

¹³Ibid, p. 31-32.

Again, as previously stated, their involvement was primarily for larceny. When serious crimes as a group are considered, female arrests increased 68 per cent.¹⁴

The women's movement appears to be a major influence that has altered the attitudes of the white, middle-class people in the criminal justice system who heretofore basically viewed women as incapable of committing some of the crimes they were charged with and the upsurge in female criminality is expected to continue because law enforcement officials will tend to arrest, prosecute and sentence women more now than in the past.

¹⁴Ibid, p. 223.

...the theme of physiological characteristics was developed in which he described female criminality as "an inherent tendency produced in individuals that could be regarded as biological atavisms, similar to cranial and facial features, and one could expect a withering away of crime if the atavistic people were prohibited from breeding."¹⁵

Near the end of his life, Freud admitted his knowledge of women was inadequate and his thesis in the context of a total psychoanalytic view of women as incomplete human beings whose inferiority was attributable to inferior sex organs was meant to be a theory to be explored and

¹⁵Cesare Lombroso and William Ferrero, Female Offender, (New York: Philosophical Press, 1958).

Literature - The Past

Reviewing the etiology of female crime in literature is frustrating, best illustrated by the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice report in which not even one paragraph was devoted to the female offender. The continuity among works by Lombroso, Freud, Davis, and Pollak represent a tradition that has set the foundation for approaches and theories concerning female criminality. Briefly set forth, they are as follows:

In the Female Offender published in 1903 by Lombroso, the theme of physiological characteristics was developed in which he described female criminality as "an inherent tendency produced in individuals that could be regarded as biological atavisms, similar to cranial and facial features, and one could expect a withering away of crime if the atavistic people were prohibited from breeding."¹⁵

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¹⁵Cesare Lombroso and William Ferrero, Female Offender, (New York:Philosophical Press, 1958).

either proven or refuted. Instead, for the last 50 years, the mainstay of sexist social theory has had its roots in penis envy and the acceptance of it as scientific. Freudianism has had unparalleled influence in the United States and has affected Davis, Pollak, and Konopka, all writers on female deviance, who have explained women's criminality in concepts of sexual maladjustment and neurosis. "Healthy women" in these instances are seen as "masochistic, passive and sexually indifferent," while "criminal women would be seen as sexual misfits." The most important result of this reasoning is that psychological, rather than social, economic and political factors, have been used to explain crime.¹⁶

Kingsley Davis' classical analysis on prostitution published in 1961 ignores the root economic, social, and political factors, and emphasizes sexual repression, a Freudian concept, as the reason for the universality of prostitution and necessary to the essential functioning of society. Utilizing a clinical approach, he views women who "choose" to prostitute themselves as maladjusted and neurotic. His basic justification for the existence of prostitution, however, implies the "necessity of having a perpetually ill and maladjusted class of women. Thus,

¹⁶Klein, Issues in Criminology, p. 18-19.

oppression is built into the system, and a healthy system makes for a sick individual."¹⁷

Sociologist Otto Pollak referred to this female criminality as "masked criminality" and defended his theory on three premises:

- 1) The offenses most often committed by women, i.e., shoplifting, theft, perjury, offenses against children, disturbance of the peace, and homicide, are greatly underreported while offenses such as homosexuality and exhibitionism go practically undetected if committed by women.
- 2) The male attitude of protectiveness (chivalry factor) creates a situation whereby males commit crimes at the instigation of women, termed the Lady McBeth factor. Their passive role in our society leads them to instigate men and as instigators, they are difficult to detect, much less prosecute.
- 3) The law deals more leniently with women than with men at all levels, law enforcement, judges, and jurors.¹⁸

Because Pollak was the first to propose that women's participation in crime was commensurate with their representation in the population, it is recognized as a major work in the field of female criminality. Too, since its publication in 1950, there has been no scholarly, empirical work concerning female criminality.

¹⁷Ibid, p. 21.

¹⁸Otto Pollak, The Criminality of Women, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950).

The above writers typify those theorists who have tended to perpetuate the highly moralistic and sexist view of women turning to crime as a perversion of or rebellion against their traditional feminine roles, thereby effectively ignoring the economic, social, and political realities of crime, that is, that poor women commit crimes and the majority of crimes committed by women are property offenses.

and women, sex differences in socialization patterns and application of social control, structurally determined differences in opportunities to commit particular offenses, differential access or pressures toward criminally oriented subcultures and careers, and sex differences built into the crime categories themselves. Although each of the above factors is more or less important for any given crime, Hoffmann-Bestelmans asserts each will operate differently for men and women, and the problem lies in determining exactly how each factor operates differentially by sex. She believes this framework enables us to see why men commit more crimes than women do and gives us a clue regarding the reason why the percentage of women arrestees varies by crime, while at the same time permitting use of already available statistical data that can be integrated with detailed descriptive data focusing on individual crimes or particular aspects of crime. Thus a framework is constructed which provides a sound

Literature - The Contemporary Scene

Dale Hoffman-Bustamante was one of the first of the new breed of writers to divorce moralistic assumptions of prior writers and investigate the nature of female criminality from a more sociological perspective. In this regard, she has set forth five major factors which influence crimes committed by women: differential role expectations for men and women, sex differences in socialization patterns and application of social control, structurally determined differences in opportunities to commit particular offenses, differential access or pressures toward criminally oriented subcultures and careers, and sex differences built into the crime categories themselves. Although each of the above factors is more or less important for any given crime, Hoffman-Bustamante asserts each will operate differently for men and women, and the problem lies in determining exactly how each factor operates differentially by sex. She believes this framework enables us to see why men commit more crimes than women do and gives us a clue regarding the reason why the percentage of women arrestees varies by crime, while at the same time permitting use of already available statistical data that can be integrated with detailed descriptive data focusing on individual crimes or particular aspects of crime. Thus a framework is constructed which provides a sound

20Marilyn G. Haft, *Women in Prison*, cited in *Criminal Justice Issues*, (New York) (December, 1974), p. 2.

basis for comparison between the sexes and between crimes.¹⁹

Following along the lines of Pollak, Marilyn G. Haft, a spokeswoman for the women's prison movement, has asserted that while it could be argued that fewer arrests reflect the rarity of female criminal behavior, the reason is more likely that fewer women are actually subject to the system due in large to the fact that most law enforcers, from the police to the judges, are males and tend to be more lenient toward adult females. She stated that they merely reflect the attitudes of men in the larger society, "who act out what is euphemistically known as the 'chivalry factor'...they more often look the other way, excuse, forgive, and thus are unwilling to report and hold women."²⁰

Widespread attention has been focused on Sisters in Crime, The Rise of the New Female Criminal, by Dr. Freda Adler. Adding impetus to the current trend to emphasize the growing dangerousness of the female offender, her book presents a highly distorted image of the nature of female criminality and critics have contended her book can only contribute to reinforce and encourage those programs, such as the building of new female prisons as has been done by

¹⁹Dale Hoffman-Bustamante, "The Nature of Female Criminality," Issues in Criminology, (Fall, 1973), p. 117-118.

²⁰Marilyn G. Haft, Women in Prison, quoted in Criminal Justice Issues, (New York) (December, 1974), p. 2.

the Federal Prison System, which will cause more harm than good, both for society and the female offender herself.

Calling attention to this burgeoning rise in female criminality, Adler herself admits that the serious crimes being committed by women are those classified by the UCR as larceny and embezzlement, which together with burglary, robbery, murder, non-negligent manslaughter, manslaughter by negligence, forcible rape and auto theft are used to establish an "Index in the Uniform Crime Reporting Program" to measure the trend and distribution of crime in the United States. They represent, according to the UCR, "the most common local crime problem and are considered serious crimes either by their nature or due to the volume in which they occur."²¹

To reiterate, those crimes which Adler feels are contributing to the upward spiral of violent female criminality are all property crimes, burglary, larceny and embezzlement.

Adler states much of this increase in property crime is due to women needing money for drugs. She makes a point that once women go to the "slammer," they "learn to be better criminals." Conceding that there has been no increase in murder and aggravated assault by women, she stated that

²¹Kelley, Uniform Crime Reports, p. 35.

"apparently the liberated female criminal, like her male counterpart, is more interested in improving her financial circumstances than in committing violence."²²

Despite the fact that Adler herself concedes that it is property crime that is increasing tremendously, she asserts that in all probability this rise is a result of the women's movement, an allegation she does not substantiate. While citing economic considerations that motivate a woman toward crime, Adler takes selected incidents of violence perpetrated by women and makes dangerous and unsubstantiated generalizations concerning female criminality.

Jeanne Mozier of the Social Service Division of the District of Columbia District Court during a conference captioned "Women and Crime" held in Washington, D. C., sponsored by the National League of Cities and the United States Conference of Mayors, scoffed at some of the more militant feminists who urged that rather than have the sexist condescension implicit in what is termed the chivalry factor, that such unequal treatment be ended by lightening the load on men, or, if that fails, imposing a heavier weight on female offenders. She pointed out that on a nationwide basis, 50 per cent of incarcerated women were black, 15 per cent Hispanic, and drawn almost entirely from the lowest

²²Freda Adler, Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1975).

socioeconomic level. Thus, concluded Mozier, these women suffer "rather than the upper middle class theorists of the women's movement."²³

Pauline Feingold, New York Urban Coalition, referring to the link between feminism and crime at the above conference, stated that "the exact opposite is probably true":

"Women who get in trouble with the law are almost invariably part of the most sexist and exploitive segment of society. Few of them are even aware of the women's liberation movement and what it means."²⁴

The executive director of the Pennsylvania Program for Women and Girl Offenders in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Margery L. Velimesis, attributes the basis for rising crime figures as "wholly economic." She stated rising arrest figures for those offenses such as fraud and forgery "were probably related in some measure to irregularities in dealing with welfare checks and other Government payments, which have increased enormously in the last 15 years."²⁵

General agreement at the conference was expressed, at least in principle, that as more women enter the labor force, and as these women move up the administrative ladder, they will seize the opportunity to take part in stock frauds and the like and white collar crime will increase.

²³Tom Buckley, "Critics Assail Linking Feminism With Women in Crime," The New York Times, (March 14, 1976), p. 28.

²⁴Ibid, p. 28.

²⁵Ibid, p. 28.

One attendant at the conference asserted that "the only thing that was proved by the fact no women were involved in Watergate was that women don't have any power in Government."²⁶

One last conclusion was that it was doubtful that women would ever come close to being proportionately represented in crime to their 51-plus per cent in the population. While this could be attributed to cultural conditioning, it was more accepted that "women may simply be different than men."²⁷

Dr. Marvin E. Wolfgang, professor of sociology and law at the University of Pennsylvania, and an acknowledged leader in the field of criminology, commented:

"We don't have the physiological or biological evidence, but it is certainly conceivable that women are less inclined in general to deviance than are men. We notice that no matter what culture we are speaking of, the homicide rate for women remains relatively constant at about 10 per cent. It seems to me that if men committed crimes at the same rate women do, we would have something much closer to a virtuous society than we do now."²⁸

Credited with giving rise to female crime, along with a more violent society in general and the women's movement, has been drug addiction.

A spokesman for the New York Department of Corrections indicated that nearly 1/3 of the women serving time have been convicted for narcotics-related offenses. However, it was

²⁶Ibid, p. 28.

²⁷Ibid, p. 28.

²⁸Ibid, p. 28.

qualified that these women have been sentenced "for working in heroin bagging factories and as accomplices of men, is in rather than as street sellers or wholesalers."²⁹

Winston Moore, executive director of the Department of Corrections for Cook County Jail in Chicago, Illinois, is one of many administrators who has noticed more women committed with drug usage in their histories, i.e., women who have committed crimes of embezzlement, prostitution, and forgery to support their drug habit. Along with others, Moore feels that drug usage is multiplying the effects of current social change. Stated Moore:

"Twenty-five years ago we had an older, more docile and mannerly woman who wanted to do a job. She was raised during the depression and was happy to get a job, even in prison, because jobs were scarce. She reflected the society from which she had come.

"Work habits changed and society changed and now we have a more aggressive, outspoken woman who doesn't have as much pride in her work. She doesn't worry as much about the pay she gets in a prison job such as working in the laundry because she has relatives and friends who'll send a money order. They don't have to work as hard here, just as they don't outside."³⁰

The acting superintendent of the Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Framingham, Massachusetts, estimates that 15 to 20 per cent of the female population are in prison for drug or drug-related crimes to support a drug habit. At Alderson, the Federal prison for women at

²⁹"Women Catching up With Men in One More Field - Crime," U. S. News and World Report, (September 23, 1974), p. 45-46.

³⁰Ibid, p. 46.

Morgantown, West Virginia, Kenneth McDannel, the warden, estimates that at least 60 per cent of the population is in for drug-related crimes such as bank robbery and armed robbery. "It's drugs - not the women's lib thing."³¹

Milton Burns, assistant superintendent of the Purdy Treatment Center for Women in Gig Harbor, Washington, has stated that despite the "liberation" of women, in the area of crime, women have not escaped male domination and are "used" by male accomplices. Stating that he sees very little of the woman who is the leader or who commits a crime on her own without a man having led or forced her into it, he added:

"Even in drugs and drug-related crimes women are used by men - they forge drug prescriptions for the men, they become prostitutes to get money for men. Almost every drug-related crime has some man in the background pushing the woman to commit a crime."³²

Judge John Hechinger of the Cook County Criminal Court, Chicago, Illinois, has summed up this view of the woman offender as being the male's accomplice:

"Women are being used by male criminals in supportive roles for which they often take the blame while the boyfriend gets away - something directly in opposition to the liberated woman who does things on her own."³³

Dr. Ruth Glick, educator, contends that the number of female arrests is misleading; that while arrests of women have increased dramatically in recent years (more than 200 per cent for burglary, etc.), the actual number of arrests

³¹Ibid, p. 46.

³²Ibid, p. 46.

³³Ibid, p. 46.

still is small when compared to men; that arrests of men still outnumber arrests of women 5 to 1. She adds that the Vietnam War, Watergate scandal, a recession and increased use of drugs may all have had an effect on female criminality and it is impossible to single out the women's movement or increased number of working women as responsible. She believes, however, that the movement has called attention to the manner in which women are treated by police, courts, in jails and prisons and has created demands for reform. In other words, the equality demanded by the women's movement is being handed out in more arrests, increased prosecution, and harsher sentences.

Psychiatrist Jennifer James feels the rise in female criminality coincides with a rise in drug addiction which she attributes to the frustration of lifestyles. She has accused prisons and jails of offering unrealistic rehabilitation programs to female inmates, stressing sewing, cooking, child care, and charm that are more germane to a 1950s housewife than a woman who can be self-sufficient and achieve some independence.³⁴

One viewpoint that has been offered to explain the linkage between liberation and crime is that the women's movement may be influencing the rise in crime "in the sense

³⁴"Women's Lib and Crime: The Big Debate," Law Enforcement Journal, (March, 1976), p. 3.

that crime can become a substitute for the rising but frustrated expectations of women in the working world."³⁵

Dr. Georgette Sandler, assistant professor of sociology at the City University of New York, stated:

"If these opportunities are not realized, crime is very often an outlet for that kind of frustration. Just as new opportunities have been opened to women in the legitimate opportunity structure, it is possible there have been parallel developments in the structure of illegitimate opportunity."³⁶

A Chicago attorney, Bernard Mann, has elaborated further on the above viewpoint:

"Of course there's a connection (between the women's movement and crime). This is the first decade in which large numbers of women have had their consciousness raised enough so that they feel capable of carrying out a crime."³⁷

The above comments have met with strong rebuttals from other leaders in the field of female criminality.

At the American Correctional Association meeting in August 1975, Laurel L. Rans, former head of the Iowa Women's Reformatory, presently chairperson of the National Association of Women in Criminal Justice, and Ruth Glick, director of the National Study of Women's Correctional Programs, attacked the alleged causal relationship between women's liberation and rising female crime rates simply because both occurred in the same time frame. According to Rans, the higher rate is

³⁵U. S. News and World Report, p. 46.

³⁶Ibid, p. 46.

³⁷Ibid, p. 46.

economically motivated, which is especially significant when juxtaposed with the fact 70 to 80 per cent of the women in prison are responsible for children and real income for women has declined steadily in the last few years. She asserted that the median income of working women has fallen from 60 per cent of the males in 1969 to 57.9 per cent in 1972, and added that in times of economic recession and high unemployment, women are among the first affected, that is, the last hired and the first fired. She concludes that the "resulting economic pressure faced by women may have serious impact on the amount and types of crimes they commit." 38

Rans asserted women account for only 4.1 per cent of increased arrests between 1960 and 1972, the bulk of which are larceny, forgery, and fraud offenses. She indicated that dramatic percentage rises in arrests of female offenders were misleading as the base-line numbers were very small in 1950, data gathering is far more refined than before. She also attributes decline of the chivalry factor on the part of males in the criminal justice system, the educational progress and enlargement of police departments as the population increased as inevitably leading to more arrests.

³⁸Laurel L. Rans, "Women's Arrest Statistics," The Woman Offender Report, (March/April, 1975), p. 3.

The last contributing factor she cites was the baby boom following World War II, which individuals now are in the crime-prone ages of 16 to 39 years, and which age group has increased disproportionately in the population.³⁹

Rans has been very instrumental in delineating the new propositions which suggest the rise in female criminality is not all that great and she has outlined them as follows:

- 1) FBI arrest figures do not control for those increases in arrest caused by expanded police forces and advanced technology.
- 2) If the "chivalry factor" in police perceptions, attitudes, and handling of women are changing, this would impact on the number of arrests and the crime categories.
- 3) The data gathering ability and recording of accurate statistics has greatly improved since 1960. Statistics from the 1960s often did not separate arrests of males and females, and women's statistics were either lumped in with the men's or ignored.
- 4) FBI arrest statistics do not control for population growth.⁴⁰

As women reach out into all levels of society, it appears that we will see much more participation in crime also. But this rise in crime seems to be limited to financial crimes such as price-fixing, embezzling and illegal cartels. A professor of psychiatry at the

³⁹Rans, National Association of Women in Criminal Justice News, p. 3.

⁴⁰Rans, The Woman Offender Report, p. 3.

University of Chicago, who specializes in the study of antisocial behavior, Dr. Lawrence Z. Freedman, has offered this explanation:

"As women move into financial and corporate-management positions they will have the same opportunities as men to commit these kinds of financial crimes - and there is no reason to believe they will be any more or less susceptible to the opportunities than are men."⁴¹

The most authoritative recent study on female criminality was conducted by Dr. Rita James Simon. In The Contemporary Woman and Crime, she sets forth the typical female offender as a small-scale petty thief often motivated by a poor self-image and the desire for immediate economic gain and reasons that as women's employment and educational opportunities expand, their feelings of being society's exploited victims will decrease resulting in a concomitant decrease in women's participation in violent crime.

Simon links economics to crime, asserting that in postwar 1948, approximately 1 out of every 10 women was employed in a managerial position, but in 1971, the ratio had dropped to little more than 1 out of 15. Even though women's overall representation in the labor force from 1948 to 1971 increased by 40 per cent, her participation in positions of authority, prestige, and higher monetary reward has not kept pace.

⁴¹U. S. News and World Report, p. 46.

Simon states two other socioeconomic factors which determine status are education and income. Her study reflected a much smaller percentage of women than men have completed at least four years of college, that is, 61 per cent of men classified as professional as compared to 12 per cent of women in the same occupational category have at least four years of college. Twentysix (26) per cent of the men and 14 per cent of the women classified as managers and administrators have completed at least four years of college.

Simon believes income in the labor market to be the best criterion to measure discrimination and makes two highly pertinent statements:

- 1) From 1956 to 1969 women consistently received lower salaries than men and there is no indication to believe that gap is narrowing in controlled occupations and levels of educational attainment.
- 2) When not holding educational levels and occupational categories constant, annual earnings of white women decreased compared to white men. Only earnings of nonwhite women increased when compared to nonwhite men.⁴²

Simon attributes the antics of the female followers of Charles Manson, the SLA and the employees of the bomb factories of the Weatherman Underground to be a nonrecurring phenomenon traceable to "social and political

⁴²Rita James Simon, Ph.D., The Contemporary Woman and Crime, (Crime and Delinquency Issues: A Monograph Series), (Rockville, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, 1975), p. 24-27.

chaos of the late 1960s and early 1970s."⁴³ She explains that attempted presidential assassins Sara Jane Moore and Lynette Fromme "have social profiles identical with male political assassins - hangers-on of radical movements."⁴⁴

Simon contends that should the average rate of change in crime statistics measured from 1967 to 1972 continue, "female arrest rates for larceny-theft, embezzlement, and fraud will be commensurate to women's representation in the society," that is, roughly equal to male arrest rates.⁴⁵

Simon, as does Pollak, attributes part of the rise in female arrests to the fact the police are becoming less chivalrous toward female offenders, are less paternalistic and are beginning to treat females on an equal basis with males. She feels we are witnessing a change in the attitudes and behavior of police officers rather than a substantial increase in female crime. But, she concludes, police behavior alone cannot account for the large increases in larceny, fraud, embezzlement, and forgery committed by women over the past six years and sets forth the following proposition which has come to be accepted as the basic theory behind her work:

⁴⁴Buckley, The New York Times, p. 28.

⁴⁵Simon, Contemporary Woman, p. 46.

"...as women increase their participation in the labor force, their opportunity to commit certain types of crimes also increases. This explanation assumes that women have no greater store of morality than do men. Their propensities to commit crimes do not differ, but, in the past, their opportunities have been much more limited. As women's opportunities to commit crimes increase, so will their deviant behavior and the types of crimes they commit will much more closely resemble those committed by men."⁴⁶

The Department of Labor in its "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," appears to substantiate the claim of Glick, Rans, Simon, and other writers in the field of female criminality who attribute the rise in female crime to economic conditions. According to the handbook, the earning gap between men and women in the United States continues to widen, as does the distribution of wealth. The last year for which figures are available, 1973, reflects women employed year 'round had a median income of \$6488, or 57 per cent of the \$11,368 received by men. There is a striking difference between total money income of men and women at all income levels. In 1973, 1.3 per cent of all women workers earned in excess of \$15,000 per annum, compared with almost 17 per cent of the men; women who had four or more years of college earned an average of \$9771, but males with an eighth grade education earned almost \$9406.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Ibid, p. 48.

⁴⁷Lloyd Shearer, "Women and Money," Parade, (April 25, 1976), p. 16.

Summary of Current Positions

Succinctly stated, the contemporary analysis of female criminality tends to lean toward the belief that female criminality, like male criminality, must have two elements to exist: intent and opportunity. The intent appears to have always been present, but the latter element, opportunity, has just recently been acquired by women. These two factors are the basis for the commission of crime.

The political atmosphere, which has altered the chivalry factor among law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and judges; the social upheaval in this country which has given women the opportunity to venture into jobs previously held by men, especially those classified as white collar occupations; and the declining economic status among women as evidenced by loss in actual earning power, have all combined to exert pressures upon women in the field of crime. Acting as a catalyst has been a much improved system of keeping records by law enforcement officials. The result is a skyrocketing increase in the number of reported cases of female criminality.

township is due to several factors:

- 1) It is bisected by I. 80, a major east-west highway system across the country.
- 2) It is bisected by SR 11, a major north-south highway running from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River.
- 3) There is a highly mobile and seasonal population with approximately 2,000,000 transients a year.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Population and Sampling

The population for this study was drawn from the arrest records of the Liberty Township, Ohio, Police Department, and those female offenders arrested during the course of this study. The statistics compiled by the FBI in the UCR are used as a universe, fully understanding that this inference is not really a valid statistic on a universal level since these reports are themselves a sampling; however, the UCR represents the most complete statistical study available on a nationwide basis at this time.

Liberty Township, Ohio, possesses certain unique demographic characteristics. The township is the north border of Youngstown, Ohio, located in the northeastern part of the state, five miles from the Pennsylvania line and midway between Cleveland and Pittsburgh. The unit of local government covers 25 square miles. Residing within the confines of this area are more than 17,000 people. The uniqueness of the township is due to several factors:

- 1) It is bisected by I 80, a major east-west highway system across the country.
- 2) It is bisected by SR 11, a major north-south highway running from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River.
- 3) There is a highly mobile and seasonal population with approximately 2,000,000 transients a year.

- 4) On a national level, the geographic location of the township finds it situated between two large metropolitan areas, Pittsburgh and Cleveland, locally; and between New York and Chicago nationally.
- 5) There has been an increase in local crime due to a change in political leadership in nearby Youngstown, Ohio, in 1971, which created an unfavorable situation for crime conditions to thrive in that city, forcing criminals to operate outside the city limits, many of whom have come into the township.
- 6) Liberty Township lies midway between Youngstown and Warren and thereby picks up much unlawful traffic between these two areas.

The above-mentioned unique factors, combined with the fact that the department is undermanned due to lack of funds, restricts the enforcement activities of the police department to those offenses which are criminal in nature rather than status-type offenses. Priorities are based on manpower and while law enforcement employee rates based on sworn personnel average 2.1 per 1000 inhabitants in 1974, Liberty's ratio is little more than 1 officer per 1000 population.

The purpose of this study is to compare the trends in female criminality noted in Liberty Township with those statistically measured on a national basis. Thus, the conclusions drawn will be germane to Liberty Township, although their application may be valid to a limited number of other areas of the nation.

Only adult females are dealt with in this study, that is, persons 18 years of age and older.

Offender in this study refers to any person charged with a crime or offense under the laws and ordinances of the state and its political subdivisions.

the females arrested in Liberty Township, Ohio, and those arrested on a nationwide basis, regarding certain characteristics.

Prior research has reflected that the typical female offender is young, black, a small scale petty thief motivated by a desire for immediate economic gain, is nonviolent, and that there has not been a substantial rise in female criminality but that increased reporting and more equal treatment by the police reflecting economic, social and political factors have all contributed to the apparent rise in female criminality.

Data Collection and Interpretation

Hypothesis

The total number of criminal arrests for women during a period of time...

There will be no significant difference between the females arrested in Liberty Township, Ohio, and those arrested on a nationwide basis, regarding certain characteristics.

Prior research has reflected that the typical female offender is young, black, a small scale petty thief motivated by a desire for immediate economic gain, is nonviolent, and that there has not been a substantial rise in female criminality but that increased reporting and more equal treatment by the police reflecting economic, social and political factors have all contributed to the apparent rise in female criminality.

Prostitution	2	2	1	-	-	-
Driving while intoxicated	-	2	-	1	-	-
Concealed weapon	1	1	-	-	-	-
Child neglect	-	-	-	1	-	-
Burglary	1	-	-	-	-	-

Total number of cases = 398

As reflected in the above table, the vast majority of the crime in Liberty Township committed by women is petty thievery, that is, shoplifting.

Data Collection and Interpretation

The total number of criminal arrests for women during a period 1970 to 1975, is broken down as follows:

TABLE 1
CRIMINAL ARRESTS

<u>OFFENSE</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1970</u>
Bad checks	1	3	1	2	-	-
Drugs	2	3	2	-	-	-
Shoplifting	124	102	61	23	33	17
Armed Robbery	-	-	-	1	-	-
Assault	8	2	-	-	-	1
Prostitution	2	2	1	-	-	-
Driving while intoxicated	-	2	-	1	-	-
Concealed weapon	1	1	-	-	-	-
Child neglect	-	-	-	1	-	-
Burglary	1	-	-	-	-	-

Total number of cases = 398

As reflected in the above table, the vast majority of the crime in Liberty Township committed by women is petty thievery, that is, shoplifting.

Broken down into year, number and per cent of increase over the prior year, shoplifting offenses in the township, committed by women, have increased for each succeeding year, except 1972, as reflected below:

TABLE 2
SHOPLIFTING
% INCREASE/DECREASE

Year	Number of Offenses	Per Cent of Increase/Decrease Over Preceding Year
1975	124	+ 22 per cent
1974	102	+ 67 per cent
1973	61	+165 per cent
1972	23	- 30 per cent ^a
1971	33	+ 94 per cent
1970	17	(no previous statistics)

^aNo information is available as to why there was a decrease in shoplifting offenses for 1972.

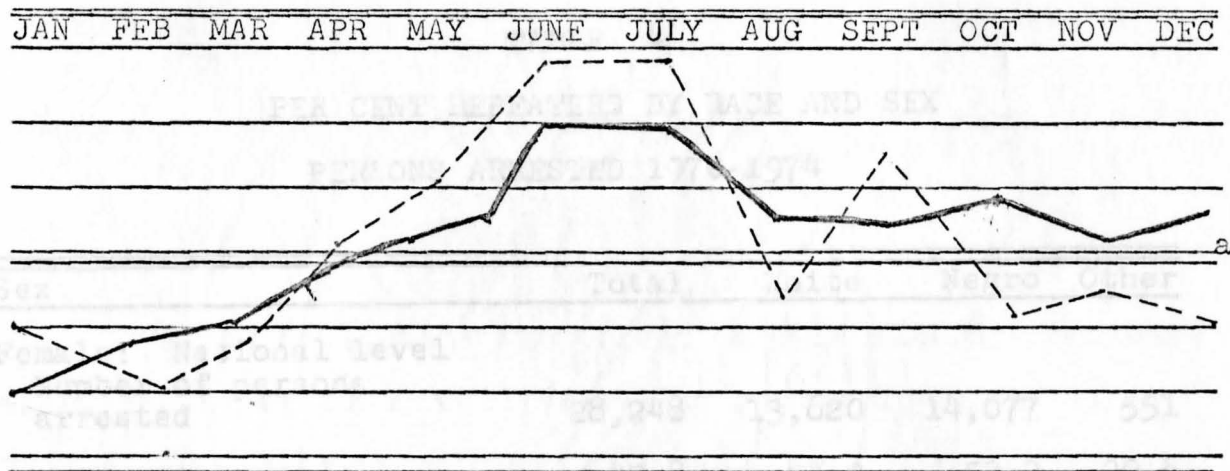
The following graph is a comparison between shoplifting offenses on a national level on a month-to-month basis, which is not broken down by sex, along with shoplifting offenses on a month-to-month basis in Liberty Township, Ohio, committed by women. It is felt an inference as to the relationship and relevance between these two graphs can be drawn since there is no national breakdown

of the offense by sex on a month-to-month basis and women comprise the vast majority of shoplifting offenders.

TABLE 3

SHOPLIFTING OFFENSES

MONTH-TO-MONTH



^a1969 - 1973 baseline for UCR.

--- - Liberty Township, Ohio

— - National level of increase/decrease per month

As reflected on the graph, the number of shoplifting cases is highest both for the nation and for Liberty Township during the summer month of July. It is noted that while the rate remains high for the nation during August, it decreases sharply for Liberty Township. One of the prime factors for this decrease is believed to be the fact that many of the people who live in this area work in the surrounding mills, and August is prime vacation time, with many people out of town.

The average value of goods and property reported stolen by shoplifters in Liberty Township, Ohio, was \$13.63, well below the national average of \$32 per offense.

A comparison between Liberty Township and the nation concerning the per cent of female offender recidivists by race and sex is reflected in the following chart:

TABLE 4

PER CENT REPEATERS BY RACE AND SEX

PERSONS ARRESTED 1970-1974

Sex	Total	White	Negro	Other
Female: National level				
Number of persons arrested	28,248	13,620	14,077	551
Per cent repeaters	47.8	43.0	53.3	29.6
Female: Liberty Township				
Number of persons arrested	471	257	214	-
Per cent repeaters	3.0	54.6	45.4	

A two-year arrest trend for Liberty Township, Ohio, reflected the following:

TABLE 5

ARREST TREND

Total # Arrests 1975	% of Total Arrests 1975	Total # Arrests 1974	% of Total Arrests 1974	Percent of Increase 1975 over 1974
854 ^c	70.3	573	72.6	24.14
360 ^d	<u>29.7</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>27.3</u>	<u>11.86</u>
Totals	<u>100.0</u>	<u>789</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>36.00</u>

^cMales^dFemales

It is noted that the arrest rate in Liberty Township, Ohio, is 14 per 1000, well below the national average of 38 per 1000 for suburban areas.

An age breakdown of the female offenders arrested in Liberty Township, Ohio, reflected the following:

TABLE 6

AGE - FEMALE OFFENDERS

18 to 21	22 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	61+
151	167	56	45	27	13

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

This study reflected that there were striking similarities between my findings and contemporary viewpoints.

As elsewhere, political, economic, and social factors have combined in Liberty Township to produce a facade of increasing female participation in crime while deeper investigation has revealed many underlying factors combining to play a significant role in the rising crime rate.

The office of Chief of Police is held by a progressive individual who encourages constructive programs and ideas in the department. The emphasis has been to support personnel who desire to better educate themselves as law enforcement officers, both by attending specialized in-service police training schools conducted by outside agencies, and by attending the local university. At the present time, Federal funds have been granted enabling one officer to set up an anti-burglary unit and to attend specialized training in this field. Another Federal grant was sought and received to set up a Juvenile Bureau; two officers are attached to this unit and receive intensive, on-going training. In one case, an officer's duty schedule has been set up to allow him to attend the university full time. All these factors combine to produce a highly motivated, aggressive

astute, and dedicated team of law enforcement officers. In this department, education is viewed as the means of attaining an agency better equipped to serve the public interest.

The shifting social scene of the times is reflected by the absence of a chivalry factor in many of the younger officers. One patrolman, upon being asked if he felt he was becoming less chivalrous, replied that he had never been very chivalrous to begin with. It appeared this lack of the chivalry factor toward female offenders was directly proportional to the acceptance of a female graduate student in the cruiser on patrol; those officers who exhibited the highest degree of acceptance toward the student displayed the least amount of differential treatment toward handling female offenders. Those officers who accepted the presence of a female graduate student in the cruiser were also observed to be the same officers who were least likely to be "conned" by female offenders or intimidated by their allegations.

The only deviation noted in this respect was that housewives fared better than unmarried females and were more often released on their own recognizance. However, the stated reason for this was that these women had children to be cared for and the officers reasoned that incarceration of these women could only leave their children unsupervised, who, in turn, might get in trouble themselves. In this

regard, it is noted that there is no child care placement during a mother's arrest and incarceration in this area.

The rise in female crime in the township is credited mainly to increased manpower and an updated records keeping system, noting the department has only of late had the manpower to adequately handle this administrative matter and the records have been maintained efficiently for only about the last two to three years.

Cited as a major factor for the "rise" in all crimes was the sudden increase in businesses moving into the area. As more retailers set up shop, larceny rates soared. One officer noted that years ago it was considered bad public relations to press charges, but with the runaway increase in shoplifting, merchants are pushing more for prosecution.

The last factor attributed to keeping the crime statistic information down was the previous practice of "substituting" a lesser offense for a more serious one, sort of "plea bargaining" at the arrest level. For example, in one instance the true offense had been burglary, but the woman was charged with vandalism. To what degree this practice was prevalent is unknown since Chiefs and sworn personnel have since changed.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS

The nature of this study leads logically to the drawing of, if not conclusions, at least certain implications. More than anything else, this study has pointed up that female offenders today are truly a neglected population. Desperately needed research is way behind the demand; there have been few valid scientific studies on which to base meaningful programs and rehabilitative efforts.

The studies of early writers on female criminality tended to lean toward moralistic assumptions while contemporary writers focus on the materialistic assumptions of the economic facts of life. Notwithstanding this evolution in the studies conducted, there still does not exist today any accurate, reliable national statistics concerning female criminality. There is no sourcebook one can turn to for valid statistical information concerning the number, age, and race of female offenders today. Hence, many assumptions are unsubstantiated by statistical data. In many instances, women offenders continue to be included in statistics of male offenders. The lack of data available for comparison purposes is reflected in the fact few statistical conclusions can be made in this paper concerning female criminality.

As previously noted elsewhere in this paper, there is some belief that female criminality has risen only 4.1 per cent between 1960 and 1972, but this cannot be substantiated because of the poor record keeping system at the local level, i.e., police departments. Much needed information for future policy decisions could be gathered if there was a uniform statistical approach so, for example, those who wish to study this problem so as to suggest solutions, would be aided tremendously if certain demographic factors were listed on arrest cards, such as:

Date of birth
 Age
 Race
 Sex
 Status (to include education)
 Occupation (OR spouse's occupation)
 Annual income
 Offense (BE SPECIFIC)
 If larceny-theft, give amount and any other pertinent details concerning item stolen
 Resident or non-resident
 Amount of bond
 How bond paid
 Jail location
 Disposition

It was observed while this study was in progress that space was available for many of the above items to be listed on the arrest card, but the booking officer failed to note pertinent data on the card. Perhaps if they were impressed with the significance of collecting such data as this, they would be more apt to record this information.

The data collected at the Liberty Police Department substantiated the implications in contemporary literature that reflect poor women commit economic crime, mostly petty thievery.

Women do not steal because they want to be thieves, but because they want to acquire money or goods. In this sense, the prevailing motive behind female crime is the same as that behind male crime - economic gain, but women do not view crime as a career. Women, it appears, do not steal because they are professional criminals. Thievery has become for the poor female one way of fighting inflation.

Opportunity also appears to be a factor in female criminality. Dr. Rita James Simon noted in a prior section of this paper that as women increase their participation in the labor force, their opportunity to commit certain types of crimes will increase. An article in The Wall Street Journal reflected that women jobholders are increasing far more rapidly than male jobholders. Since 1955, gains for women at work have increased 74 per cent, while men's employment has risen only 19 per cent. Very little attention has been given to the fact an enormous number of women have joined the payrolls in recent years. As of March 1976, there were 31,398,000 women in this country's labor force, as compared with 18,002,000 in 1955. If the trend toward employment for women continues at the same rate it has from

1955, and there is no reason to believe it will not since most families need two paychecks to survive, more women will be exposed to the opportunity to commit crime than ever before. Today an estimated 6,000,000 women head households and 16,000,000 more are responsible for keeping their families over the poverty line. Should the decrease in women's earning power continue, it would appear logical that if the opportunity to steal arises, it will be seized.⁴⁸

The allegation that the women's liberation movement is a factor in the increase in female criminality is not substantiated by contemporary, scholarly research or by the results of this paper. Women are not out in the world primarily to seek fulfillment but because they need money. They are not concerned with women's rights, but with grocery bills, raising children, and paying household expenses. It is conceivable if the women's movement has had any effect on the rise in female criminality, it would appear that it is the result of the need of women to be more economically independent. Major shifts in contemporary patterns of living, particularly divorce which has forced a large number of women to be on their own, may have bolstered women's courage.

⁴⁸"Review of Current Trends in Business and Finance," The Wall Street Journal, (May 3, 1976), p. 1.

While it does not appear that the women's liberation movement has had much effect on female offenders themselves, what has more likely transpired is that the women's liberation movement has had a greater impact on male police officers than on the female criminal. This can be seen in the diminishing chivalry factor wherein male police officials will tend to show less preferential treatment toward female offenders than they have in the past. The typical male officer's cultural background is such that while he tends to communicate with male criminals in an authoritarian and paternalistic manner, he is confused in how to respond to female offenders. (See Appendix A). Notwithstanding the fact that female law enforcement officers would not be faced with this ambivalence when dealing with female criminals, male officers still disapprove of women on patrol in a cruiser. One can only hope that as future studies indicate that female enforcement officers are better qualified to deal with female offenders that male enforcement officials will soon drop their chauvinistic opposition to women on the police force.

It would appear that if the war on crime is to be won, it will be dependent upon intelligent, constructive responses to the problems of society. This is no less true for the war on female crime. We must have the necessary empirical and statistical data to win that war. We must

correct those conditions in our society which are producing the increase in criminal activity, which includes high unemployment, irrelevant education, sex discrimination, and job discrimination. Only when social conditions have changed so that every individual has the opportunity to achieve all that she is capable of achieving will there be a true decrease in the crime rate in this country. Moreover, if women's prisons are truly to rehabilitate inmates so that they will not become recidivists, then the same kind of statistical and empirical data is demanded in this area as well. This hard data and information must be forthcoming from the local level. Finally, to keep women out of the criminal justice system it will be dependent upon society to assure a decent standard of living for each individual so that women will be relieved of the necessity of worrying about the basic necessities of life, food and shelter, for their families; and to insure adequate treatment once in the system, it is going to be important to have women in police work at all levels, especially when it comes to handling female offenders, before we can make any real statements regarding female criminality.

It is noted each law enforcement officer interviewed requested anonymity; therefore, names have been withheld to protect their identities, however, they have been identified

APPENDIX A

Law Enforcement Officers

The consensus among those officers interviewed was that they all have seen an increase in female criminality within the past three to five years. All but one cited economic and social factors as the main reason, accompanied by political change.

The officers correlated the fact that at present the nation has a tight economy and that theft and financial status are interrelated. Citing recent information that the economy is not about to recover to any significant degree, these officers expected larceny-theft offenses to continue on the upswing.

All the officers agreed women were more emotional than men, with one stating, "Most of them are afraid their husbands are going to kill them."

When asked if there was an absence of violence in handling women which is supposed to be a benefit of traditional dealing with females, all officers, with one exception, agreed women were more violent than men when they became agitated.

It is noted each law enforcement officer interviewed requested anonymity; therefore, names have been withheld to protect their identities, however, they have been identified

by their Federal, State and local affiliation, as well as by their years of experience.

The range of experience for the officers spans 7 to 17 years.

Herewith are their observations:

Officer A.

(Officer A. is a patrolman on a local police department, who has ten years of service at the local and State level.)

I've noticed an increase in (female) crime the last three to four years. The exposure is there. The intent has always been there; opportunity has not.

They (female offenders) are definitely not more open in admitting their guilt.

Maybe it's me, but I can't relate to them. There's a barrier. A man, yes, I can understand him, but a female, no.

You don't get any static from the guys, no matter how bad off he is. I'd rather fight 10 drunks in a barfight than one violent female. A man, he'll go with you. But a female, the first thing she goes for is your gun. The guy, he knows you're going to blow him away if you fight for the gun - but the females, they always go for your gun.

Officer B.

(Officer B. is a Federal law enforcement officer, who has 11 years of Federal service.)

Men no longer admit they have to shelter the women. They look upon them as an equal in crime. Women used to drive the getaway car; now he (the male) wants her in there with him.

I've only been assaulted once and it was by a woman.

Officer C.

(Officer C. is an attorney, presently a Federal Agent, with over 10 years experience in handling criminal matters.)

I first observed a rise in female crime about 8 years ago.

I think because of the state of the economy, the fact that people do not have employment, the general disrespect that people have toward the law, all contributes to the rise in all crime rates.

Women are worse to pick up than men. They are more verbal in terms of profanity, etc.; they are more likely to cause trouble, not necessarily violence because a woman is not generally violent, but they start yelling and berating you for different alleged occurrences, making allegations against you later. How many men have you ever heard accuse you of molesting them? A man usually realizes if he starts a fight, he'll get a fight, where a woman knows she can get away with yelling, screaming, hitting in cases where an officer might not hit her back even though he ought to if he has any sense. Try to explain why you hit a woman. There's no way you can do it. There's no way a police officer can explain why he had to hit her in self-defense. She's 5 feet 2 and makes an allegation, "Why should she hit you?" Most people think a police officer could just grab her by the arm or some such procedure which would subdue her without striking her.

I have not noticed any great difference between females and males admitting their guilt. Both of them lie and say they didn't do it. If anything, I would say a man would be more forthright in admitting his guilt and taking his punishment just because it's been ingrained in him to take his punishment for whatever he did.

I once spoke to a mother who was being questioned regarding her son's participation in a robbery and she steadfastly denied that he was the type of boy who would participate in a crime like that...followed shortly by the question, "How much did he get?"

Officer D.

(Officer D. is a sergeant on a large metropolitan police department with 12 years of law enforcement experience.)

Women with the advent of entering the work field are starting to experience the same anxieties, stresses, that were formerly held by the male, and there is a marked increase in violent crime as a result of this. Heart attacks are increasing in some of the women and upward trend of narcotic usage is being noticed and this is all directly related to the increasing responsibilities that they are receiving in both the business and the economic world.

Officer E.

(Officer E. is a Federal law enforcement officer with 11 years experience.)

A violent woman poses a greater problem than a violent man because of the reluctance to deal with them as you would a man.

You're going to see a greater increase in the number of women in the gambling field, I think. In the past the women stayed home and wrote the number all day and it was the runners you went after. Now, they're running numbers and we're going after them, too.

Officer F.

(Officer F. is a turn sergeant in the Patrol Division of a local police department, with 8 years experience.)

In all areas of crime, females are starting to blend in with the fellows and if they want to blend in, they have to join in the action.

I have never arrested a female for being a ring leader where she was the one who organized it. In narcotics, she's the mule not the pusher. Female motorcyclists who ride with a gang are used to carry weapons, drugs. You get a woman sitting alone in a car in a motel parking lot - she tells you she's had a

fight with her husband and left the room - but maybe she's a lookout for a burglar. I've heard it before, "We're from Columbus, my husband and I got into a fight and I'm staying out here." She could be concealing a walkie-talkie to alert her "husband" to the presence of police in the area.

They (the women) are not more open in admitting criminal behavior and are not more amenable to rehabilitation.

It's (crime) not always a matter of economics. She does it because she thinks she can get away with it. Merchants are pushing more for prosecution in this area. The professionals, they work in pairs, pick the floor walkers, spot a uniformed officer. The booster keeps an eye on her group for signs of trouble; but amateurs, they work alone. And when it's clothes (that they steal), it's always clothes for an infant. Never an older child.

Officer G.

(Officer G. is the second-in-charge of a large field office of a Federal law enforcement agency. He has spent 17 years in Federal law enforcement.)

It's the breakdown in the family that's causing all this. No supervision, no respect. The decline of family life is leaving children unsupervised. It's the women's lib movement that's caused all this.

In my 17 years, I've made hundreds of arrests. I've only had to fight in two - both involving women. The last time, she ran her nails down the side of my face and shredded my skin.

Officer H.

(Officer H. is a detective in a county sheriff's office. He has 7 years law enforcement experience.)

Merchants are getting ripped off more and that's why they're prosecuting. It's the women who do the shopping.

No, they don't admit their behavior. The opposite - they look for an excuse.

You're always a little more reluctant to throw a woman in the slammer.

Officer I.

(Officer I. is a Federal law enforcement officer with over 11 years experience.)

The female crime rate has risen with the advent of liberation of women and insistence on women being treated as men. Civil disobedience in the '60s drew a number of females to southern United States in confrontation with established police authority, and this continued through the '60s.

Society no longer sees the law breaker as a pariah, e.g., Leonard Bernstein's radical chic cocktail parties for Black Panthers. There has been religious involvement in anti-war and civil rights conflicts, e.g., the Berrigans.

There's been an unwillingness of the courts to sentence severely in favor of expediency in clearing court calendars, and widespread use of plea bargaining, expansion of probation, and juvenile leniency. There have been restrictions of rules of evidence in courts, abolishment of capital punishment and other objective restrictions to deter prosecution.

The communications media has brought about for the average American an awareness of world leaders foibles and weaknesses, Watergate, Nixon; Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs being returned to favor, etc. Things are no longer seen as black and white; all shades of gray. No right and wrong; if it feels good, do it mentality.

Crime pays.

If given a chance to effect escape by violent means, either male or female will utilize same if seen to their benefit.

In general, women are more emotional and logical in that they are more readily convinced to take a course of action to their ultimate benefit. They seem to be shrewder, men more macho, may stonewall a lost cause to buttress superiority feelings.

Men run more to abiding by a code, women will use tears, violence, whatever means available to enhance their position.

Officer J.

(Officer J. is a member of the State Patrol and has been on the force for 11 years.)

I started noticing a rise in female traffic offenders about two years ago. It used to be maybe 1 in 100 would give you problems, but now it's not uncommon for them to start a fight. You have more problems and trouble with them than with any man. When you get a female who's drunk and wants to fight, you've got a fight on your hands from the word go. And the abuse you have to take from them is something else. I can take any kind of abuse from any man, but the women are profane, vulgar; you stop them and they start taking their clothes off. And on the CB, what you've got to take from the women truckers! You stop one, they all stop. There are three of them who travel together and they get on the CB and start talking dirty to you about how you stop one, all three stop and no man can handle all three of them.

The women are far worse to pick up than the men. It was noted in general conversation with the women, that the younger women look little more of the woman's movement and did not appear interested in discussing it, while the older women appeared appalled at the thought they were part of a burgeoning rise in female criminality attributed to the rising feminine.

Set forth below in synopsis form are observations concerning the offenders themselves at the arrest level.

To preserve the anonymity of the offenders, and as a matter of ethical consideration, identities of the female offenders have been concealed as much as possible without compromising pertinent data.

APPENDIX B

The Offenders

Participant observation was conducted on those female offenders brought into the Liberty Police Department during the time of this study. Some were apprehended by the local police and others by the State police. Generally speaking, they were bewildered at the surroundings, embarrassed by the booking procedures (particularly the photographing when the photograph identification card was hung around their neck), and stunned that they had been apprehended. A common factor mentioned by most of them was loneliness. It was noted in general conversation with the women, that the younger women took little note of the women's movement and did not appear interested in discussing it, while the older women appeared appalled at the thought they were part of a burgeoning rise in female criminality attributed to the rising feminism.

Set forth below in synopsis form are observations concerning the offenders themselves at the arrest level.

To preserve the anonymity of the offenders, and as a matter of ethical consideration, identities of the female offenders have been concealed as much as possible without compromising pertinent data.

Female Offender A.

A Negro female, aged 20, no boyfriend, apprehended for shoplifting. Stated she was scared, "I never thought I'd get caught." Admitted past successful shoplifting attempts, such as apron and skirt and other minor miscellaneous items; had about \$5 in her purse; admitted item taken was not a necessity.

Female Offender B.

A Negro female, aged 32, picked up for discharging a firearm at her boyfriend after having caught him at a motel with another female. Had originally purchased the gun for protection. Cried and asserted she had been "used." Admitted to having lived with boyfriend for four years; he was married and had five children "strung out all over," and a wife in a larger city who was on welfare and did not want him back. Offender had a steady job which is in jeopardy because of ill health; she is a diabetic; has been supporting boyfriend. Was upset with this boyfriend, advising she was "sentimental" and he did not even wish her a Happy Valentine's Day. She identified female in motel room with her boyfriend as a Negro female hooker who would turn tricks and give the proceeds to the boyfriend.

Female Offender C.

A white female, 24 years old, married but separated, has three children and rents a farmhouse in Pennsylvania from her father-in-law, who lets her live there rent-free because her husband does not pay any child support. Two weeks ago she applied for ADC. Her boyfriend is a 23-year-old drug addict from Pennsylvania. Friday they left and went to Cleveland to a rock concert and she left her children with her mother. She told her mother she would be home early Saturday morning at 7 or 8 o'clock. While at the rock concert, she ingested some narcotic drugs, soppers. She woke up in a Springfield, Ohio, motel room Saturday morning with her boyfriend. She was uptight about it because this was not the first time this had occurred and her mother is down on her because she is unreliable as are her in-laws. She "lost it" and at that time she and her boyfriend had a violent argument. They began driving back to Pennsylvania, still arguing, and she decided she wanted to commit suicide.

She jumped out of the moving van, but failed to kill herself. Her boyfriend got her back in the truck and drove to I 80 and SR 193 where she again jumped out of the van. A police officer on his way to work observed the proceedings, picked her up, confiscated large amount of marijuana, soppers, amphetamines, and thereafter transported her to Woodside Receiving Hospital.

Female Offender D.

A white female, aged 45, dumpy, who has the privilege of having a bar in Youngstown named after her. She has been around for years, in and out of police stations, where she is somewhat of a local character in the form of the town drunk. She married a sailor, which she recently divorced for the third or fourth time. Her past arrest record is six times for DWI, three for public intoxication, and once for assault on a police officer, arrests for disorderly conduct and lewd conduct, in that police officers were called to her apartment and upon entering, found her and her boyfriend nude on the floor. She is abusive, very loud and very profane and drinks like a lush. It was noted all her charges are either dismissed, reduced, or somehow "handled." She stated she was "insecure."

Female Offender E.

A white female, aged 70, arrested for shoplifting. Had taken a box containing 6 Efferdent tablets and one greeting card. Could not explain why she did it. Very stable background, owned own home, no record of ever being arrested before. Allegedly, she was on medication, had just come from the doctor's office. When told by the sergeant he was not going to print or photograph her, she commented (after looking at the identification card which is hung around the neck) that if he did, she "would not last 'til midnight." Sergeant released her on her own recognizance. She was extremely shaken by the ordeal and had to be assisted in leaving the station. Said she knew she had taken the items but for the life of her could not explain why.

Female Offender F.

A white female, aged 26, is a clerk in a local department store, currently semi-living with a male about the same age. Criminal record is extensive for

traffic violations, latest being DWI during which she tested .20 (.10 being legally intoxicated). Is very loose in the head, or flighty. She decided while being transported to a local highway patrol post that the halter top she had on was too warm, so upon arrival at the booking desk, while the officer was filling out the necessary papers, she decided to change her top, asked the officer if she could put on a different top, he replied in the affirmative thinking she meant adding a sweater, and looked up in amazement as she stripped. (It is noted this was on videotape and the tape is no longer in any condition to be viewed.)

Female Offender G.

A 38-year-old female, Caucasian, who lives with her paraplegic sister. Her mother is dead, having been killed in an auto crash in which captioned white female, driving under the influence of alcohol, ran off the road. This same accident left the sister a paraplegic. She works 40 hours a week in a high-paying job and her sister receives money from the insurance company. This individual is an alcoholic with an extensive criminal record; she does not have a driver's license (it was revoked after 4 DWI convictions in the State of Ohio), but she still operates a motor vehicle and her nightly routine is to get off work at 5, go to the liquor store, get plastered, and drive home.

Female Offender H.

A 23-year-old white female in the process of a divorce, 2 children both under 5 years, unemployed, husband's whereabouts unknown, who has a history of slight mental problems. Went to the laundromat one evening next to a bar; while washing and drying her clothes, ventured next door and got sauced. While driving home on the freeway, she stopped on the road, decided she was going to end it all by running in front of a truck. She is a rather large woman. A young highway patrol officer driving by saw her, and tried to stop her suicide attempt, wrestled with her and prevented her from jumping in front of three on-coming semis, when she threw him out into the roadway in front of a fourth on-coming truck. The alert truck driver saw what was happening in time to get out of the way of the action. The patrolman called for assistance and when another officer

arrived, their total weights of almost 400 pounds were needed to subdue the woman and manacle both her hands and her feet. She was carried into the cruiser and transported to Woodside where she was immediately straitjacketed. The next day she was quite rational, taken to court, and fined.

Female Offender I.

A 25-year-old white female who was fired from her police job because of drug abuse. She now lives with a 38-year-old drug addict/police character who has a criminal record dating back to the '50s for such offenses as burglary, attempted murder. She also lives with her twin sister. Both are addicted to heroin to the tune of about a \$150 a day habit, as is the guy she lives with. Narcotics abuse-related arrests go right down the line, shoplifting, grand theft, auto theft, prostitution, bad checks, forgery.

Female Offender J.

A white female, 32 years of age, upper middle class, supervisor at a local industry. Divorced, no children. She gets feeling blue, then goes out drinking. Criminal record is strictly drunk driving. While drinking, envisions men at the bar are after her (they probably are). She is an aggressive type person, militant, strong-willed, who will not accept arrest gracefully. She had to be forcibly taken from her car, handcuffed and seat belted in the patrol car during which time she had little remorse and was yelling. The handcuffs were taken off upon arrival at the station, where there is a small vestibule. She decided she wanted a cigarette and was not going any further, and started screaming and fighting. She was picked up bodily and thrown over the shoulder of the officer who took her to the area used for booking purposes. When told to sit, she refused. When she went to court, the judge tried to be lenient so she would not have to go to jail, but when she insisted she was guilty of being under the influence, she spent three days in jail, courtesy of the State.

Female Offender K.

A white female, aged 56, who lives with a 46-year-old white male alcoholic in what can best be described as a dump. Normally, the first part of the month, she functions like a normal woman, going to the grocery store, quiet; about the second half of the month, she gets violent, freaked out. She dresses up in the weirdest outfits imaginable, generally with no panties, and strolls down the township streets where she offers a "peek" to passersby. Obviously possessed with a deep mental problem, she does such things as go into a grocery store and hop into a shopping cart and sit there. This last incident for which she was arrested found her jumping into someone's car at McDonald's; unable to remove her, they drove to the police station, where an officer ordered her out of the vehicle in such a manner that she dashed out and ran up to the second floor detective bureau of the police department. She was then ordered out of the station and told to go home. She began walking down the middle of Belmont Avenue; the police again went in pursuit of her, at which time she ran to a nearby gas station and jumped into a patron's truck. The police removed her from the truck, put her into the cruiser for transport to the city jail. An hour later, the turnkey called the police department back with orders to come and get her because she had removed all her clothes and was getting violent and disturbing the other prisoners. She was ultimately transported to the local mental hospital. It is noted that despite her lengthy criminal record, mostly for disorderly conduct, the court has never rendered a disposition on her or incarcerated her. She has made numerous trips to Woodside, however.

Female Offender L.

A white female, aged 27, was accompanied by her underage sister in a shoplifting escapade at the local discount store. She had been picking up items, showing them to her sister, and her sister in turn had been placing the items in a denim purse, which also had been shoplifted and the tags removed. The total value of shoplifted goods was about \$23 and included mostly items for the house such as curtain ties, varnish. Adult female denied knowing that her sister had been picking up and placing items in the satchel which was

refuted by store personnel who claimed they had observed her handing items to the younger girl for placement in the purse. The older sister was quite upset and quietly crying. She started trembling when advised her husband was being called to the station to get her and sign for her bond. Her husband is an area police officer.

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