An investigation into the nature and causal factors of female vs. male criminality in Cato Manor Township, Durban

By

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<u>DEDICATION</u>

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father, Sam Ntuli, for his daily spiritual (lidloti lami) and to my mother, Nozizwe Mavuso, for her support through difficult times.

<u>DECLARATION</u>

This study represents the original work of the author and has not been submitted in any form to another University or institution. Where the author used work of other researchers it has been duly acknowledged in the text described in this dissertation. This study was an empirical one and was accomplished under the Supervision of Professor Thenjiwe Meyiwa (Gender Studies Department) and Dr. Nirmala Gopal (Department of Criminology).

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates numerous questions significant to perception and causal factors of male vs. female criminality in Cato Manor Township and the adjacent Umkhumbane informal settlement, as the researcher believes that understanding plays an important role in preventing the problem. The study confirms the perception that the South African criminal justice system, governmental and non-governmental organizations, community members around the country, and other stakeholders can play a pivotal role in preventing crime. Apart from ignorance, many factors, such as social background and/or status, age, and reasons for committing crimes, equally apply to both males and females, with the former being more likely to commit a greater number of crimes. The findings of this study explain the fact that crime is not pertinent to males only, but also females, yet not nearly enough is being done to prevent crimes committed by females in the country.

Ethically and morally it is the role of every individual in the country to prevent crime in different communities by teaching young ones about proper behaviour and reporting crime committed to relevant authorities. In addition, it is vital to offer support to both victims and offenders in the process. Authorities need to know that crime committed by females is increasing greatly in the country, and the South African Police statistics do not make reference to this problem because of many problems which include lack of reporting, police discretion, and so forth.

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The intermittent publication of articles in our daily broadcasts and daily and weekly newspapers leaves no doubt that females also venture into criminal activities. The Daily News, 29 October (2006: 9), the Gazette 25 March (2007: 2), Mail and Guardian, 8 August (2009: 3), and the Sowetan, 2 April (2009: 1), all confirmed that not only were female crimes highly prevalent in South Africa (SA) and abroad, but also that it did not receive sufficient attention in the South African Criminal Justice System (CJS) and among community members in general. Although the literature has revealed that numerous studies regarding male vs. female crime has been undertaken (out of the country), studies of this nature remain singularly lacking by contrast in the African literature, and specifically in South African literature, despite it being regarded as the crime capital in the world (Nedbank ISS Crime Index, 2001).

Pollock and Davis (2005: 5) assert that there have been periodic "discoveries" of the violent female offender as well as dire predictions of an increase in violence committed by women. Women's contribution to violent crime has been and continues to make up a small percentage in comparison to men, except for crime categories that are highly vulnerable to changes in system responses. It is well known that men can be violent and account for the majority of violent crimes; however, each news story includes a violent female offender to put a face to the

problem. Statistics seem to support the notion that women and girls are becoming more violent, and it is then concluded that liberation or equality or some other factor has a "dark side" relating to increased female violence (Pollock and Davis, 2005: 5).

Literature also reveals that women were infrequently involved in violent criminal activities in the past 50 – 100 years (Siegel, 2008); the industrial revolution and globalization, which brought about changes and development in most countries (if not all), have encouraged equality and women's liberation and this has created opportunities for female crimes (Akers, 1999). This view is also maintained by Pollock and Davis (2005: 5) who maintain that there are two central themes in the literature concerning women's violence. The first theme is that women are as violent as men but that this fact has been ignored or covered up because of the stereotypes of men being violent and women being passive. The second theme is that perhaps women have not been as violent as men in the past, but they are increasingly becoming more violent than ever before due to changes in socialization stemming from women's liberation.

Crime is defined as a wrongdoing classified by the state or congress as a felony or misdemeanor that is punishable by the state (Lectric Law Library-accessed at http://www.lectlaw.com). As plainly as the definition supposes, most efforts to understand crime have focused on male crime, since men have greater involvement in criminal behaviour and the focus largely excludes female crimes because of their perceived lesser involvement (Hannon and Dufour, 1998: 1).

This, however, leads to the misleading of the definition to various communities across the globe (Krienert: 2003).

An example of an author attempting to prove that women's violence is under-reported and under-recognized is Pearson's (1997) popular book, *When She Was Bad*. Pearson argues, "The notion that women are not violent is one of the most abiding myths of our time" (p. 7, cited by Pollock and Davies, 2005: 8). Using anecdotes and carefully chosen statistics, Pearson argues that women have always been as violent and predatory as men. She provides examples of mothers who killed their children, women who helped sexual sadist killers, those who killed their husbands, and so on to show that women are violent. Yet this information is still lacking in African literature, despite such incidents being prevalent even in South Africa.

Another popular book describing violent women is offered by Ann Jones (1996, cited by Pollock and Davis, 2005: 8), who limited her discussion to women who killed. Jones (1996) offers many descriptions of women who killed for love, money, or no reason at all. Once again, the use of individual violent women is very effective in creating a sense that violence is pervasive instead of rare. Jones does offer a more sophisticated analysis than does Pearson (1997), arguing, for instance, that women's "crime waves" might actually be law enforcement waves when women's liberation sparks fear and reactions that lead to different responses by law enforcement to women's actions (p. 3). Her case, however, that husband killing was a political response to patriarchy seems a bit overstated: "By

1850 the husband-killing woman — the household fiend — was no longer a joke. She had become a social problem, and for every husband, potentially a personal one" (p. 113).

She argues that the myth of the passive (non-violent) woman is kept alive because men fear powerful women, but her description of this as a myth ignores the fact that women are, in reality, much less likely to murder (p. 348). It is easy to refute the proposition that women are never violent by using some case studies of violent women. No one, however, has ever proposed the idea that women are never violent. The fact is that a small number of women committed violent crimes in the 1800s, 1900s, and into the new millennium. The point is, however, that for some reason, they kill, rob, and assault much less often than men. The second prevalent theme is that if women were less violent in the past, then at least they are becoming more violent. Freda Adler (1975, also cited by Pollock and Davis, 2005: 8), for instance, explained that women's liberation led to an increase in women's violent crime. Even though she was heavily criticized for using percentage increase figures, and there has never been much empirical support, the liberation theory continues to be resurrected by academics and journalists. The irony is that every generation seems to discover this link between women's liberation and increased violence.

Since the definition of crime includes all measures that are judged wrong by the law/ state and applies to every human being, I have felt motivated to embark on a study of this nature considering the fact that female crime literature represents a

vast fissure within African literature because of statistics and the notion that females are responsible for a great number of crimes (Le Blanc and Lanctot, 2002). When talking/or writing about crime in any given community, it is imperative to focus on gender which has for the most part of our history been a single predictor for criminals and a key factor in the misrepresentation of female criminals within police statistics around the world (Emillie, 1996: 462).

There are many factors that are likely to contribute to crime in different communities. Some include social status such as poverty, demography, surroundings, social systems (patriarchal communities) etc. and it becomes important to understand that these factors do not only affect males, but also females to some extent (Cohen and Felson, 1979: 596).

Braithwaite (1989: 44, cited by Walklate, 2004: 1) make a valid point that suggests that the fact that crime is committed disproportionately by males is the first fact that any theory of crime should fit. Walklate (2004: 1) maintains that what facts like this actually represent, however, have not always been subjected to detailed scrutiny within criminology. The author is of the view that official statistics on crime raise questions of reliability and validity for criminologist, politicians and policy makers alike. Reliability refers to whether such statistical sources measure what they say they are measuring; and that they do this consistently and accurately. Validity refers to whether such sources actually measure what they say they are measuring. In some respects then, it is more important to be assured of the validity of a data source, since without this; it

matters little whether or not the data is reliable. In the context of crime statistics it is important therefore to consider what is actually being measured.

Firstly, it is important to remember that there is no necessary correspondence between the number of crimes recorded and the number of known offenders. More than one person might have been involved in committing an offence (Ramoutar, 1995). One person may have committed many offences. Moreover, criminal offences are recorded for which there are known identifiable offenders, so if we are concerned, specifically with who is committing crime, rather than the total number of offences recorded, we can already see that focusing on known offenders presents problems. The statistics on known offenders identify those individuals who have either been apprehended by police, accepted a police caution, have admitted their guilt, or have been found guilty by the courts. Stated in this way, it is easy to see that from the moment a crime is committed, and an individual is apprehended for that crime, to the point at which any such individual receives a sentence from the court, involves a complex range of decisions (Walklate, 2004: 2). This decision-making process can produce wastage at any point within it, so those offenders who become part of the official statistics only represent a proportion of all criminal offences known to the police. In addition, to state the obvious, official statistics on known offending cannot reveal anything about those offenders who are not known or whose activities are not recorded in any way. Criminologists have, therefore, endeavoured to employ other sources of information and data collection to overcome difficulties such as these (Walklate, 2004: 2).

Criminologists agree that official crime statistics are inaccurate and unreliable (Yu et al., 1999). One key factor to this problem is the policy of the police to record reported crimes. It is often claimed that almost half of crimes reported to the police are not recorded (Ennis, 1967; and the Degree Essays UK, accessed at http://www.degree-essays.com). This may be due to a variety of reasons; for example, the Home Office in United Kingdom (UK) has a set of guidelines and procedures that police officers adhere to that restrict what is recorded, which is also the case in South Africa and many other countries. In addition, local police forces in almost all countries have their own policies which compound this problem. These policies are also subject to interpretation. Furthermore, the police officers themselves work according to their own discretion (Degree Essays UK, accessed at http://www.degree-essays.com).

The literature indicates that some communities, such as patriarchal ones, and to greater extent black African communities do not readily define crimes committed by females in line with those committed by males (Chensey-Lind and Eliason, 2006: 30). Rather, they tend to label those females using terms such as "mad", instead of declaring them criminals and reporting to the police as is the case with males (Adler, 1975: 125). To provide another perspective, Heidensohn, (2006: 1) maintains that the associations between gender and crime are profound, persistent and paradoxical. For as long as observation of offending has been made, it has been noted that men and women differ in their offence rates and patterns and in their experiences of victimization. As Braithwaite (1989: 44, cited

by Heidensohn, 2006: 1) put it, when listing it as the first of his key points about crime, '(it) is committed disproportionately by males'. In the twenty-first century this statement can be analyzed and qualified in several ways.

Moreover, the considerable body of work flowing from the statement has had some major effects on criminological thinking and on criminal justice policies. Again, most social enquiry is concerned with both issues of sex and of gender, although the second term is used more often because it covers both aspects of innate and acquired characteristics and the interaction between them and society (Braithwaite, 1989: 44 cited by Heidensohn, 2006: 1). In the case of crime there is an elision made between the two forms of categorization which has considerable salience for the study of this field. For as long as systematic records of crime have been kept, the sex of offenders has been noted. Indeed sex has sometimes had significance as a legal category in relation to criminal acts. While criminal law broadly applies equally to women and to men, there have been, and still are, some exceptions. Male homosexual acts have at certain times been defined as criminal in most western countries, while lesbian acts have not. Criminal codes often treat prostitute activities of males and females differently (Heidensohn, 2006: 1).

Additionally, Maguire et al. (2007: 381) state that the history of the relationship between feminism and criminology is now rich with critical explorations of the contours of each discipline, epistemology, methods, politics, policy, and praxis. Scholars within this field have set out to question some of the gender-blind

assumptions within criminology and not only to create a space for women's voices and experiences, but at a theoretical level, to examine gender construction. Smart (1976: 185 cited by Maguire et al., 2007: 381) concludes that criminology and sociology of deviance must become more than the study men and crime if it is to play a significant part in the development of our understanding of crime, law and the criminal process and play any role in the transformation of existing social practices (Maguire et al., 2007: 381).

Like Maguire et al. (2007), Messerschmidt, (1998), and Heidensohn (2007) to mention a few, Heimer and Kruttschitt (2005: 1) also argue that it has been almost thirty years since the publication of Carol Smart's classic book, *Women, Crime and Criminology*, which highlighted the point that the study of crime has been "gender-blind". Smart showed that by ignoring gender differences in crime, criminology has been particularly remiss; indeed she called the discipline to task. Research has made important strides since then. Criminology now recognizes that women do commit serious crimes and that the pathways to crime clearly are gendered. Unique aspects of violence against women have also come to light, launching new lines of scholarly research as well as attempts at social action to reduce women's victimization (Heimer and Kruttschitt**,** 2005: 1).

Most importantly, Heimer and Kruttschitt (2005: 1) maintains that much of the recent research on gender and crime has been shaped by feminist perspectives which show that gender is a social construction, produced and reproduced in social interactions. Feminist criminology is often premised on the assumption

that gender is a "social institution" that organizes daily life and "is built into the major social organizations of society such as the economy, ideology, the family, politics, and also is an entity in and of itself". Heimer and Kruttschitt (2005: 1) further argue that the bottom line is that gender shapes human behaviour in all arenas, and crime and victimization are no exceptions. Our understanding of the ways in which crime is gendered has been advanced by numerous empirical findings and, more recently, theoretical insights. Yet many gaps in our knowledge remain.

1.2. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

Understanding of the fact that everyone is equal before the law, as stated in the country's constitution and the universal declaration of human rights, it is therefore important to look at crime in a wide-ranging manner (Puybaret, 2008). Criminologists have consistently advanced gender as the strongest predictor of criminal involvement; it is boys and men who dominate in crime. Arrest, self report, and victimization data all reflect that boys and men perpetrate more conventional crimes and the more serious of these crimes than do girls and women. Men also have a virtual monopoly on the commission of syndicated, corporate and political crime (Messerschmidt, 1998: 1). Consequently, the capacity to explain this gendered character of crime might stand as the "litmus test" for the viability of criminology as a discipline (Allen, 1989, cited by Messerschmidt, 1998: 1).

When criminology, historically, has addressed the relationship between gender and crime, it has concentrated on (through an andocentric lens) "women and crime," with little or no attention to the impact of gender on boys and men (Messerschmidt, 1998: 1). It is not that criminologists have ignored boys and men in their quest for uncovering the causes of crime, rather major research and theoretical work in criminology are alarmingly gender blind. That is, although men and boys have been seen as the 'normal subjects,' the gendered content of their legitimate and illegitimate behaviour has been virtually ignored. Thus, contemporary criminologists, concerned with the strongest predictor of criminal involvement, have turned to feminist theory for guidance (Messerschmidt, 1998: 1).

Walker (2003) a United Kingdom (UK) Sociologist who mainly focuses on society, crime and gender also claims that there has been less integration of a study of gender into that of crime, and there is credence in the contention of post-structuralist theorists that social history tends to prioritise the male experience. First, although some work on female crimes has been undertaken, the experience of ordinary women who come before the courts as defendants, plaintiffs and witnesses in other than 'female' crimes has remained largely obscure, especially in informal settlements. The lack of literature on female crimes stems from many reasons which vary from ignorance to under-reporting which strengthen the male focus and experience (Dodge, 1999: 908).

There are probably two observations about female criminality. First, and predominantly known is that over long periods of time and in many differing judicial systems, women have a consistently-lower rate of officially-recorded crimes than men (Persell, 1990: 73). The second observation which has been increasingly stressed by feminists and other critics since the 1960s is that this low criminal-participation rate has not been sufficiently remarked upon or studied. Feminists have seen it as another example of the characteristic 'invisibility' of women in social science or social policy, while several non-feminist writers have pointed out that any causal explanation of crime which does not include gender-related factors cannot be valid (Heidensohn, 1995: 2).

Criminology writers have treated women's role in crime with a large measure of indifference. The intellectual tradition from which criminology derives its conception of the sexes maintains esteem for men's autonomy, intelligence and force of character while disdaining women for their weaknesses of compliance and passivity – and therefore inability to commit crime. Some scholars like Feinman (1994) argue that women who conform as pure, obedient daughters, wives and mothers benefit men and society (1994: 16). A woman, who is non-conforming, may simply be the one who questions established beliefs or practices, or one who engages in activities associated with men, or one who commits a crime.

These women are doubly damned and doubly deviant (Bottoms, 1996; Walklate, 2004). This group of scholars suggest that these behaviours frequently lead to interpretations of women being mentally abnormal and unstable instead of being

declared criminals like their male counterparts. They further hold that those doing the defining, by the very act, are never defined as 'other', but are the norm. As 'men' are the norm, women are deviant. Women are defined in reference to men (Lloyd, 1995: xvii). In the words of Young (1990), sexual difference is one of the ways in which normal is marked out from deviant (Young, 1990: ix). In order to understand why offending and punishment differs between genders it is important to acknowledge and analyse past perceptions, theories, perspectives from predominant sociologists and criminologists as well as those held by ordinary women and men, as in this case (Cato Manor and Umkhumbane informal settlement).

The foundation for this study is to add to the meagre literature that currently exists on female crimes in black African Township areas. Another important reason is to understand the relationship between gender and crime, an area which has been under-researched in the SA context. Subsequently, the study seeks answers to the following questions; how are female and male crimes viewed in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement? If there is a variance, how may it be explained? Taking cues from these authors: Are the causes of female crime distinct from or similar to those of male? (Emilie, 2006; and Hudson, 1996). Previous researchers such as Hudson (1996), Lloyd (1995), Bardsley (1987), Edwards (1984) and Feinman (1994) have found that the link between male and female crimes in some communities is caused by social expectations and constructions. However, these findings do not offer in-depth

and gender analysis. This research thus explores and critiques this link but with specific motives in exploring male vs. female crimes in a similar manner.

The motivation is that female crimes have been addressed in isolation to those of males, which leads to the dark figure and a gap in South African Police Services (SAPS) statistics. Heidensohn (1995: 3) notes that two principal features limit the official recording of crime: the iceberg and the dark figure. While the tip of the iceberg – that is, the amount of reported and recorded - crimes may be visible, there are many offences which go unobserved, unreported or unrecorded. Heidensohn thus concludes that women could be equally responsible for the most number of crimes as males, especially in peri-urban Townships where the focus has solely been on males. The material that is largely present with regards to female crime present mainly cultural stereotypes and anti-feminist ideology, the rare exception being papers by Heidensohn (1968), Klein (1973), Velimesis (1975) and a few others. Increasingly, it has become obvious that, as a first step at least, what was required was a feminist critique of existing studies of female criminality.

The majority of these studies refer to women in terms of their biological impulses and hormonal balance or in terms of their domesticity, maternal instinct and passivity (Smart, 1978: xiii). As mentioned earlier, Smart (1978: 1) also importantly points out that our knowledge of the nature of female criminality is still in its infancy in comparison with the massive documentation on all aspects of male delinquency and criminality; the amount of work carried out in the area of

women and crime is extremely limited. The underdevelopment of this particular area of study seems to be in part a consequence of the pervasiveness of the belief in the insignificance of female criminality. This belief in the insignificance of the actions of women and the assumption that women are inessential and invisible is not peculiar in the domain of criminology or the sociology of deviance; on the contrary it is a feature of all aspects of sociology and academic thought (Smart, 1978: 1).

Very importantly, as a basis for choosing the topic, criminology as a subject discipline is therefore in no way unique in its consistently male-oriented bias, but a policy-oriented social science that may be seen to have special implications for women which extend beyond the narrow confines of academia to the actual treatment of women in the courts and/or in penal institutions (Smart, 1978: 1).

1.3. <u>CATO MANOR TOWNSHIP</u>

Durban was established as a settlement in the mid 1800s with activities focused around the port. The formalization of the settlement was ultimately secured through the suppression and containment of an extensive Zulu kingdom. The unwillingness of the indigenous Zulu population to engage in poorly-paid wage labour and their ability to live off the land prompted the colonial British authorities to import Indian indentured labourers to work on the sugar farms. Once their period of indenture ended many of these labourers remained in the province and settled around Durban, contributing to the diversity of the city's

current population as indicated by Marx and Charlton (2003: 2) (see Appendix A).

Cato Manor Township is a predominately Zulu and impoverished Township situated about ten kilometres from the Durban city centre as indicated in Appendix A (Goodenough, 2006:20). It is regarded as one of the criminal hubs in the KwaZulu-Natal Province (Xulu, 2006: 2). Cato Manor Township is largely occupied by working class black Africans with many social challenges (Brookfield and Tatham, 1957: 46). According to the South African Police Services (SAPS), and corroborated by community reports, armed robbery, housebreaking, rape and assault are four priority crimes in Cato Manor. Domestic violence is regarded as a major problem that accounts for most assault cases; however, many cases are withdrawn by the victims, while in other instances victims are too scared of their partners to report them to the police. Stakeholders say that domestic violence often occurs during the weekends after a drinking spree (Goodenough, 2006:20).

Violent crime is a facet of day-to-day life for people living in Cato Manor and Umkhumbane informal settlement. During the 1990s the levels of crime resulted in a number of basic social services, including education, health and welfare services withdrawing from the area because of violence and intimidation towards staff. Similarly, contractors working on infrastructure and house-building projects were threatened and robbed and in one instance a worker was killed, leading to frequent disruptions in the building programmes. Clearly, this was not a situation which would encourage either private investors or local people to have

the confidence to establish small businesses in the area. Consultation with local people identified their desire to address these issues; however, confidence in the SAPS was low following the apartheid years (Common Wealth Government Forum, 2006: 2).

The survey conducted by the Independent Projects Trust (IPT) as cited by Goodenough, (2006:20) found that 32% of respondents felt Cato Manor was safe or very safe, while 45% said the area was either unsafe or very unsafe. A total of 40% of the participants stated that safety and security in Cato Manor had decreased or greatly decreased over the past five years. The areas in Cato Manor that consist largely of informal settlements or low cost housing, such as Cato Crest, Fast Track and Dunbar, are most affected by crime. Street lighting in these areas is non-existent and the terrain makes the area difficult to patrol by vehicle and foot. Shacks located in informal settlements are situated in clusters that have no drive-in access, making them an ideal place for perpetrators to take cover and avoid detection and arrest. Focus groups, meetings and discussions with individuals revealed that alcohol is a factor in criminal activity, with suspects and often also victims being under the influence of liquor. In the IPT survey respondents identified public drunkenness as one of the top three factors that impacted negatively on feelings of safety and security in Cato Manor. Stakeholders say that most perpetrators are under the age of 18 and that tavern and shebeen owners should contribute to safety and security by not serving alcohol to children under the age of 18 years.

Assaults and murders are committed using knives and firearms, and the SAPS and the community argue that illegal firearms are a major problem in Cato Manor. Community members say that gangs often use illegal firearms, while delinquent youth steal legal weapons from their parents or other people. Stakeholders say that the armed robberies in which firearms were used were mostly perpetrated by youth who are unemployed, use drugs and are part of gangs. The high rates of unemployment and poverty were raised as key factors that are likely to cause crime in Cato Manor. Drug addictions were ranked third, but quite significantly lower than both unemployment and poverty. Participants attending the IPT workshop recommended that the Cato Manor Area Based Management (ABM) co-ordinate a process to take forward the issue of safety and security in Cato Manor. They also called for a multi-agency approach to crime prevention that would include local government role-players as well as provincial and national government, representatives of schools and crèches, taxi associations, faith-based organizations, the business sector and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

Describing the environment in Cato Manor, Paulus Zulu wrote in 2004 that: The majority of Cato Manor residents today comprise communities relocated from shanty townships, present residents of shanty towns, overflows from formal townships and communities displaced by political violence in rural areas. Cato Manor is not isolated from Durban, either geographically or experientially. An examination of the state of poverty or wealth in Cato Manor is an examination of

that state on the fringes of Durban, including such townships as Chesterville, Lamontville, Umlazi and KwaMashu.

Using the 1996 census, Zulu provides the following information about Cato Manor:

• There is a large number of youth in Cato Manor, 95% of them younger than 50 years. He attributes this to possibly being the result of migration from rural areas and of young individuals escaping from overcrowded family homes in the townships, a fact supported by the uniquely small sizes of households.

• Education levels in Cato Manor are low with 12% of residents illiterate, 12% barely functionally literate and 20% educated between grades five and seven. Only 2% of the population has a post-matric qualification.

• With regard to employment, 44% of the economically-active population is employed, while 29% is unemployed.

• A total of 6% more women than men are employed.

• A total of 76% of residents live in informal houses such as traditional houses, shacks or tents (Goodenough, 2006:20).

Recognizing the social challenges and status of Cato Manor's and viewing it in line with geographic studies done by criminologists and sociologists, it is fairly safe to conclude that they (male and females) are more likely to commit crimes. The American Law and Legal Information website maintains that using slightly different kinds of analysis, studies of the geographic distribution of crime in the

1950s and 1960s generally reinforced the findings of Shaw and McKay that official delinquency rates for small urban areas were linked to indicators of poverty and disadvantage (Chilton). Research done in the last two decades of the century continued in both styles. A renewed interest in studies looking at the geographic distribution of crime produced additional evidence in support of a class-crime link. Patterson's 1991 review of twenty-two studies of poverty and crime published from 1976 to 1986 found that some of the studies used data for different sets of cities, for Metropolitan Statistical Area's, and for areas within cites. Although most of the studies showed positive effects of poverty on crime, some did not. In his analysis of fifty-seven areas within Tampa, Florida, Patterson found that levels of absolute poverty were associated with higher rates of violent crime, which is another problem in Cato Manor Township and especially in informal settlements such as Umkhumbane (accessed at http://law.jrank.org/).

During the same period, some researchers using reports of individuals suggested that while social origin might play a minor role in explaining juvenile criminality, the effect of the subject's own social position is important for adult criminality (Thornberry and Farnworth, 1982, cited http://law.jrank.org/). Others suggested that the correlations between self-reported delinquency and social class are weak and should be weak in part because of the offenses used and in part because traits associated with high and low social class scores are related to different kinds of crime (accessed at http://law.jrank.org/).

To provide another critical and most important aspect on this topic, Dunaway et al. (2000: 589) argue that although recent empirical research questions the conclusion that crime is highest in the lower class, this empirical literature is plagued by limited measures of social class or of crime and by failure to study systematically the effect of social conditions on crime in the adult general population. They (Dunaway et al.) continue to argue that the present work was undertaken in an attempt to rectify many of the inadequacies of the class-crime research. Self-report data were collected from a general population of adult residents in a large, Midwestern city and were analyzed to assess the effects of a wide range of class measures on crime measures (Dunaway et al., 2000: 589).

Although the arguments are important and very insightful, it is very important to conclude that although social class and/or poverty do not necessarily lead to crime, they are likely to contribute to the problem (crime) because of the strains associated with them; these are conclusions drawn from various studies on the topic (Agnew, 2001).

There are so many factors that contribute to crime in different societies and/or communities which have long been debated by sociologists, economists, health institutions etc., Elsevier (2005: 266) also claims that there are a number of reasons why the local distribution of economic welfare might be associated with the prevalence of crime. Various arguments have been made by economists, sociologists, and public health specialists. Community welfare measures may be associated with crime levels via a relationship with the returns from crime and

non-crime activities. In his seminal work, Becker (1968, cited by Elsevier, 2005: 266), proposes an occupational choice model in which the incentives for individuals to commit crime are determined by the differential returns from legitimate and illegitimate pursuits.

At an aggregate level, researchers have suggested various approaches to approximate these returns. For example, Machin and Meghir, (2000 cited by Elsevier, 2005: 266) also argue that criminals are more likely to come from the bottom end of the wage distribution, and they measure the returns to legitimate activities with the 25th percentile wage. Ehrlich, (1973 cited by Elsevier 2005: 267) postulates that the payoffs to activities, such as robbery, burglary and theft, depend on the level of transferable assets and can be proxied by median income in the community. Under certain conditions, a Becker-type economic model can generate a relationship between property crime and local inequality. Suppose, for example, that the expected returns from illegitimate activities are determined by the mean income of households in the community. Also suppose that the returns from crime for potential criminals are equal to the incomes of those at the lower end of the local income distribution. Then the relative benefits of crime will be determined by the spread between the community mean and the incomes of the relatively poor. This implies that the expected level of crime will be greater in a community with higher inequality (Elsevier, 2005: 267).

Using variations on this argument, Ehrlich (1973), Chiu and Madden (1998), and Bourguignon (2001) cited by Elsevier (2005: 267) all suggest that economic

incentives for crimes are higher in areas with greater inequality in the community. A Beckerian model does not imply that inequality per se causes crime but rather that, empirically, inequality may capture the incentives for criminal activity. This leaves no reason to suspect that crime should be correlated with inequality if the costs and benefits of crime are controlled (Elsevier, 2005: 267).

Additionally, Elsevier (2005) states that lack of upward mobility in the society may be linked to the prevalence of crime. Coser (1968, cited by Blau and Blau, 1982, 119) argues that people who perceive their poverty as permanent may be driven by hostile impulses rather than rational pursuit of their interests. Wilson and Daly (1997, cited by Elsevier, 2005: 267) hypothesize that sensitivity to inequality, especially by those at the bottom, leads to higher-risk tactics, like crime, when the expected payoffs from low-risk tactics are poor. If income inequality, a static measure, is correlated with social mobility, dynamic concepts, then these theories imply a higher prevalence of criminal behaviour in more unequal areas (Elsevier, 2005: 267). Considering these scholars' arguments and suppositions, it is fairly safe to conclude that both males and females in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement are more likely to commit crimes because of their low socio-economic status and inequality.

1.4. <u>FEMALE CRIMES</u>

Globally and more specifically, in Africa, and particularly in South Africa, the area of female criminality drew less or no interest among academics and researchers. For a few decades, studies of crime have included females as subjects and those affected by the problem, instead of being included in the actual problem of crime (Stoff et al., 1997: 497). Smart (1978: 4) also states, with regards to this problem, that, traditionally, it has been argued that there has been little research and/or interest in the area of female criminality because statistically the numbers of female offenders have been so small and insignificant (Heidensohn, 1968; Radzinowicz, 1937; Smith, 1974; Walker, 1973 cited in Smart, 1978: 1). Smart (1978; 4) further points out that official criminal statistics consistently provide us with the information that not only are female offenders fewer than male offenders but also that female offenders are, in almost all cases, a tiny minority. This is obviously a general supposition considering the fact that the topic has, to date, been under-researched, especially in the African context and South Africa, which is regarded as the crime capital in the world (Nedbank ISS Crime Index, 2001).

It has been maintained consequently that there is not enough subject matter to justify research but statistical quantity alone is not sufficient to explain why female offenders are not yet treated as a social problem (Smart, 1978: 4). Virtually by default, therefore, inadequate and ideologically-informed studies have become the main or major sources of reference, within this are, no

substantial body of criticism being readily available to reveal their limitations. In contrast, in the case of studies of male criminality a certain progression may be traced from the classical school of Beccaria, to the emergence of positivism which upholds a belief in biological or psychological determinism, to the subcultural and interactionist theories and, finally, to those works displaying a Marxist influence (Smart, 1978: 1).

Females are seen as not responsible for a large number of crimes because they are more likely to be victimised than men, while the actual temperament of offenders is disregarded (Andersson, 1990). Understanding crime through the eyes of victims (which are dominantly females) has never proven as reliable and effective as much as police statistics. This is due to the fact that victimisation surveys identify levels of victimisation as opposed to numbers of offenders. They reveal that on the whole the level of crime is about four times as high as that recorded by the police. In other words, a good deal of criminal behaviour goes unreported and consequently unrecorded (Levine, 2006). What remains unreported, and thereby potentially unrecorded, varies.

Thefts of motor vehicles are much more likely to be reported than vandalism, for example, because of the requirements of insurance companies. Identifying who the victims of crime are as opposed to who the offenders are has been a very productive way of thinking about offending behaviour. This has especially been shown to be the case when the offender is known to the victim; though victimisation surveys vary in their effectiveness in revealing information on

criminal behaviour which falls into this category. Looking at crime through the eyes of the victim has nevertheless had a significant impact on understanding the nature and extent of offending behaviour. Nowhere is this more the case than when we examine the nature and extent of sexual violence towards women (Walklate, 2004: 2).

With regards to female crime statistics, Chernoff and Simon (2000) in their article (*Women and Crime the World Over*) examined female crime rates in twenty-seven countries over the past thirty-five years. The results show that there has been an overall increase in total crime rates for all of the countries, and that the more economically advanced and industrialized countries have higher crime rates than the less-developed nations. All countries also experienced an increase in the percentage of all crimes committed by women. The percentages of violent crimes committed by women - specifically homicide and robbery were consistently low across countries and increased only slightly over time.

The percentages of property and financial crimes committed by women - specifically theft and fraud - were consistently higher than the percentages for violent crimes, and have increased more substantially over time. In addition, an analysis of the most recent data revealed a positive and significant relationship between women's overall crime rates and the countries' economic development. In those countries in which women occupy a higher status, as measured by formal years of schooling and representation in the labor force, some positive and significant correlations with the arrest rates for theft and fraud were found. There

were also some strong negative relationships between female arrest rates for homicide and their status in society.

In the above mentioned article on *women and crime the world over,* the writers continue a tradition that began some 25 years ago when Rita J. Simon wrote *Women and Crime.* On page one of her book she anticipated that: As women become more liberated from hearth and home and become more involved in full-time jobs, they are more likely to engage in the types of crimes for which their occupations provide them with the greatest opportunities. As a function both of expanded consciousness, as well as occupational opportunities, women's participation in crime is expected to change and increase, especially in developing and impoverished communities like that of Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. The increase, will however, not be uniform or stable across crimes. Women's participation in property and white collar offenses [fraud, embezzlement, larceny, and forgery] should increase as their opportunities for employment in higher-status occupations expand. Women's participation in crimes of violence, especially homicide and manslaughter, are not expected to increase, although likely to be a different case in impoverished communities. The reasoning here is that women's involvement in such acts typically arises out of the frustration, the subservience, and the dependency that have characterized the traditional female role. Case histories of women who kill reveal that one pattern dominates.

When women can no longer contain their frustrations and their anger, they express themselves by doing away with the cause of their condition, most often a man, sometimes a child. As women's employment and educational opportunities expand, their feelings of being victimized and exploited will decrease, and their motivation to kill will become muted. The 1975 volume also included an appendix that compared female arrest rates in major offense categories for 25 countries in 1963, 1968, and 1970. In essence, Simon compared the proportion of female arrest rates for different types of crimes across societies that differed in their economic development, their political ideology, and their religious and social values.

Criminologists have also consistently agreed that the gender gap in crime is universal: Women are always and everywhere less likely than men to commit criminal acts. The experts disagree, however, on a number of key issues: Is the gender gap stable or variant over time and across space? If there is variance, how may it best be explained? Are the causes of female crime distinct from or similar to those of male crime? Can traditional sociological theories of crime explain female crime and the gender gap in crime? Do gender-neutral or gender-specific theories hold the most explanatory promise? (Emilie, 1996: 459). Walklate (2004: 4) provides a different argument and stresses that although it is true that males outnumber females in arrest, prosecution and sentencing rate, this kind of patterning does not seem to be peculiar to the crime statistics in England and Wales.

Wilson and Herrnstein (1985: 106, cited by Walklate, 2004: 4) report that there appears to be some consistency in the propensity for males to be arrested more frequently than females, internationally, a finding echoed by Harvey et al. (1992, cited by Walklate, 2004: 4). Reporting on a comparative analysis of United Nations survey data, they state that in all countries between 1975 and 1985, men greatly outnumbered women among those suspected, apprehended, prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned. They also report that in general terms women are convicted of less-serious crimes than do men. It could be argued, and has been argued, considering the fact that official police statistics provide only the tip of the ice beg, that all sorts of bias enter into the criminal justice process consequent on the sex of the offender. Put simply, chivalry might work in such a way as to favour potential female offenders, thus resulting in more men appearing as known offenders. Classically, the work of Pollack (1950, cited by Walklate, 2004: 4) articulates this kind of argument. The other sourcerfcvj s of information mentioned above could be used to support or invalidate such a hypothesis (Walklate, 2004: 4).

Women, however, appear as offenders in all categories of offences from the most serious to the least serious (Heidensohn, 1989 cited by Walklate, 2004: 5). Conversely, if researchers proceed to examine offending behaviour by offence type, it can be found that some types of crime are dominated more by males than other types of crimes (see Appendix B). Again, looking at arrests rates, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985: 109 cited by Walklate, 2004: 5) report that in 1997 in the United States, males were most predominant in offences of burglary,

drunkenness, auto theft, robbery, driving under the influence, possession of weapons and sex offences. They were least predominant (though still clearly in the majority) in offences of vagrancy, fraud, larceny, forgery, embezzlement, disorderly conduct and murder; females predominated in offences relating to prostitution (Walklate, 2004: 5).

While it is clear then that, overall, men and women commit all the same kinds of crime, albeit at differing rates, women appear to commit more serious crimes at a much lesser rate than men. The issue of crime seriousness, however, raises at least two further questions. Firstly, it raises the question of the motivation for criminal behaviour. If there is such a difference between the male and female capacity to commit serious crime, does that mean that their motives for committing crimes in general are different? Secondly, this discussion also raises the question of what is meant by serious crime. Does the term only refer to murder (Walklate, 2004: 5)?

Feminist theory, then, provides the starting point for a meaningful discussion of gender and crime, and the feminist approach emphasizes both the meaningful actions of individual agents and the structural features of social settings. Several pro-feminist women and pro-feminist men have been developing just such a feminist perspective, one whose theoretical objective is the situational construction of gender, race and class (Messerschmidt, 1998: 2).

1.5. SOCIAL CLASS AND CRIME

To understand crime, one must comprehend how gender, race, class and crime relations are part of all social existence, rather than viewing each relation as extrinsic to the others (Messerschmitt, 1998: 2). Crime operates subtly through a complex series of gender, race, and class practices; as such, crime usually is more than a single activity. Thus, what follows is a delineation of the way in which structure and action are woven inextricably in the ongoing activity of "doing" gender, race, class and crime (Messerschmidt, 1998: 2).

The relationship between social class and crime is an area that has been extensively examined in criminology. At issue is whether the typically-high rates of official offending by the lower class is an artifact of criminal justice processing or a result of greater involvement in illegal activities (Rutter and Tienda, 2005: 139). Some scholars, such as Tittle, Villemez, and Smith (1987) conclude that the relationship between social class and crime is a myth, after finding in their survey in 1972 that social class is unrelated to self-reported crime (Dunaway et al., 2000: 599). Braithwaite (1981, cited by Free, 1996: 179) argue that a comprehensive review of the evidence suggests that even self-report studies reveal more significant social class differences in criminality than would be anticipated, based on chance alone. Moreover, Delbert Elliot and Suzanne Ageton's (1980) investigation of delinquency using more sensitive self-report measures indicates that lower class youths are significantly more likely to report involvement in predatory crimes against persons and total self-reported delinquency than middle

class youths. They concluded that earlier self-reported measures finding no social class differences in delinquency were probably not sensitive enough to capture the differences in delinquency that exists (Free, 1996: 180).

A later study by Tittle and Meier (1990, cited by Free, 1996: 180), which reviewed the recent empirical literature on this topic, concludes that most of the recent research finds some conditions under which social class is negatively related to delinquency, though the relationship is not general or pervasive. Free (1996: 180) further stresses that as this selective review of research discloses, the debate over the relationship between social class and self reported delinquency and crime remains unresolved. Despite this lack of consensus, investigators generally acknowledge an inverse relationship between social class and official measures of offending (Braithwaite, 1981; Elliot and Ageton, 1980, cited by Nettler, 1984: 84). Free (1996: 180) further stresses that people that are overrepresented by members of the lower class thus typically exhibit high rates of official offending. If a disproportionate number of black Africans remain impoverished in the future, one would therefore anticipate a continuation of the high offending rate. An analysis by Free (1996) of the three demographic trends (family income, unemployment, and single-parent families) suggests that indeed the black African population will persist, and thus the high official rate of offending among this group will likely to continue in the future.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) also argue this supposition with regards to social class and opportunity (crime) by stressing that it is assumed in the theory of anomie

that access to conventional means is differentially distributed and that some individuals, because of their social class, enjoy certain advantages that are denied to those elsewhere in the class structure. For example, there are variations in the degree to which members of various classes are fully exposed to and thus acquire the values, knowledge, and skills that facilitate upward mobility. It should not be startling, therefore, to suggest that there are socially-structured variations in the availability of illegitimate means as well. In connection with delinquent subcultures, we shall be concerned principally with differentials in access to illegitimate means within the lower class. Braithwaite (1981: 36) also argues with regards to the social class and crime relationship, that other studies of an ecological nature indicate that one is more likely to be the victim of certain types of crime in lower class than middle class neighbourhoods because of the differences in social benefits.

Both males and females are equally more likely to resort to crime because of social strains and their lack of ability to legitimately satisfy their desires and/or needs (Braithwaite, 1999: 1). Social class (however defined) has always been a central variable in studies of crime and delinquency, and has been important in almost every theory (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990). Although several patterns of relationships between class and crime have been hypothesized (Hirschi, 1972- cited by Tittle et al., 1978: 644), the most popular theories predict inverse relationship between social position and criminality (Walters, 1992: 123). Tittle et al. (1978: 644) further stress that despite general acceptance, there is good reason to question whether the evidence does in fact demonstrate that social status of

individuals is related inversely to criminal or delinquent behaviour. For one thing, methodological limitations undermine the generalizability, applicability, or validity of much of the data. For example, many of the frequent cited studies report relationships between class measures and crime for ecological areas rather than for individuals (Chilton, 1964; Lander, 1954; Shaw, and McKay, 1969 cited by Tittle et al., 1978: 644). Although there is legitimate sociological value in the ecological analysis, it does not necessarily permit inferences on the individual level (Robinson, 1950 cited by Tittle et al., 1978: 643).

Lower status areas may have higher crime rates because a small proportion of people within those areas commit many crimes or because outsiders come into these areas to make mischief. It is also possible that people who live in low status areas and commit crimes are not necessarily themselves of low status, since the composition of urban units such as census territories are often diverse (Tittle et al., 1978: 644). Tittle et al. (1978: 644) also make an important point when stating that, although some observation data, victimization surveys, and official statistics concerning the characteristics of arrestees are consistent within an inference that ecological correlations reflect negative association between the social status of individuals and the criminal behaviour (Reiss, 1976 cited by Tittle et al., 1978: 644), much of this data is questionable, and there is no direct evidence which demonstrate the individual area connection. Moreover, ecological correlations between crime and social status have been interpreted as self-fulfilling prophecies related to police deployment patterns and as functions of the greater visibility of criminal behaviour by those who live in lower status areas

(Chambliss, 1975: 135 cited by Tittle et al., 1978: 644); hence, the absence of direct evidence linking the ecological findings to individual characteristics and in view of contrary interpretations of the area correlations, the ecological evidence has to be regarded as problematic (Tittle et al., 1978: 644).

People may be particularly sensitive to inequalities across ethnic, racial, or religious groups, or across geographical areas. Blau and Blau (1982, cited by Elsevier, 2005: 267) argue that three concepts are central to theories on social relations in a population: heterogeneity, inequality, and the extent to which two or more dimensions of social differences are correlated and consolidate status distinctions. For example, racial heterogeneity and income inequality, both correlate with status in the community and could inhibit marriage between persons in different positions or spell potential for violence. They suggest,

> . . . great economic inequalities generally foster conflict and violence, but ascriptive inequalities do so particularly. Their theory suggests inequality between racial groups is an especially strong force behind high crime rates.

With respect to the sociological theories of crime, such as Merton (1938), Coser (1968), and Wilson and Daly (1997) cited by Elsevier, 2005: 267), it is not clear whether it is inequality within the community or within a larger geographical unit that should matter in relation to crime. The relevance of neighbouring communities can also be considered in the context of the Beckerian economic theory of crime.

1.6. <u>SUMMARY</u>

This chapter has touched briefly on crime in general, and the way in which the definition is determined and used with regards to males and females in different countries. The chapter also covers reasons that transpired for the study. The next chapter presents a detailed review of literature on the nature and extent of male vs. female criminality in peri-urban townships both nationally and internationally. This review of literature provides a conceptual framework for analysis and interpretation to be made in subsequent chapters with regards to the management of crime in peri-urban townships, by investigating the relationship between male and female criminality in Cato Manor.

Chapter Three focuses on the method of study employed to achieve the preferred results. Chapter Four will present an analysis on the investigation outcome forming the crucial end of the research. The Fifth Chapter will present the conclusion reached from this research survey and make recommendations for guiding principles to assist in the perception of crime without excluding females in the process. This will aid in the reduction of crime on all levels of our society, because crime will henceforth, be looked at in a holistic manner and inclusive preventative measures can be implemented thereafter.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

It is fairly difficult to think objectively about crime and preventative measures as it questions the nature of human beings, societies and families, yet largely excludes and/or disregards crimes committed by females in the process (Bodson et al., 2008: 30). This is also maintained by (Newburn, 2007: 305) in that feminist criminology proceeds from the assertion that women at best have been marginal in criminology, are all too often entirely invisible, and even when they are the focus of attention this is rarely undertaken in a sympathetic or rounded fashion. At the heart of feminist criminology lie a number of critiques of extant criminology for a number of highly significant oversights. These include:

- The failure to theorise or to engage in the empirical study of female offending.
- The neglect of female victimization and, particularly, male violence against women.
- The over-concentration on the impact of the criminal justice system on male offenders (Newburn, 2007: 305).

Many people (especially in developing countries) thus generally accept crime to be a male category and therefore ignore and do not report female crimes; this in

turn provides skewed facts within police statistics across the world (Moore et al., 2003). I will however, test this notion in the present study since studies have revealed that females have also been perpetrators of serious crimes across the world. There is also a misconception amongst the Cato Manor population that males and females from disadvantaged backgrounds are the ones who are likely to commit crimes more than others (males and females) in the general population. The review of literature by Andersson (1990); Newburn (2007); Pillay (2006) and Messerschmidt (1993) to mention but a few, has confirmed that crime as a social problem is committed and occurs amongst all kinds, colours and creeds in society and that both males and females share the spoils.

Green (2006: 594,) and Zaplin (1998: 18) contend that causal factors identified by traditional gender-neutral theorists of crime such as anomie, social control, and differential association-social learning appear equally applicable to male and female offending (Steffensmeier and Allan 1996 cited by Green 2006: 594). For both males and females, the likelihood of criminal behaviour is increased by weak social bonds and parental controls, low perceptions of risk, delinquent associations, chances to learn criminal motives and techniques, and access to criminal opportunities (Steffensmeier and Allan 1996 cited by Green 2006: 594). In this sense, traditional criminological theories are as useful in understanding overall female crime as they are in understanding overall male crime. They can also help in explaining why female crime rates are so much lower than male rates. For example, females develop stronger bonds, are subject to stricter parental control, have less access to deviant type-scripts and criminal opportunity (Taylor

et a., 1997). On the other hand, a gendered approach may offer insight into the subtle and profound differences between female and male offending patterns. Recent "middle range" approaches, which typically link some aspect of female criminality to the "organization of gender" (that is, identities, roles, commitments, and other areas of social life that differ markedly by gender). These approaches delineate structural and subjective constraints placed on females that limit the form and frequency of female deviance (Green, 2006: 596).

2.2. <u>PATTERNS OF OFFENDING</u>

Steffensmeier and Allan (1996, 2000, cited by Green, 2006: 594) attempt to build a unified theoretical framework for explaining female criminality and gender differences in crime. This perspective incorporates factors suggested by other theorists. Their framework recognizes that (1) causal patterns for female crime often overlap those for male crime, but also (2) that continued profound differences between the lives of women and men produce varying patterns of female and male offending.

At least five areas of life tend not only to inhibit female crime and encourage male crime, but also to shape the patterns of female offending that do occur. These areas are gender norms, moral development and affiliative concerns, social control, physical strength and aggression, and sexuality. These five areas overlap and mutually reinforce one another and, in turn, condition gender differences in criminal opportunities, motives, and contexts of offending.

Gender norms. Female criminality is both inhibited and molded by two powerful focal concerns ascribed to women: (1) role obligations (daughter, wife, and mother) and the presumption of female nurturance; (2) expectations of female beauty and sexual virtue. Such focal concerns pose constraints on female opportunities for illicit endeavours. The constraints posed by child-rearing responsibilities and other nurturing obligations are obvious. Moreover, the frequency of derivative identities restrains deviance on the part of women affiliated with conventional males; however, wives or girlfriends of criminals may be pushed into the roles of associates in wrongdoing (Geyer, 2007).

Femininity stereotypes are the antitheses of those qualities valued in the criminal subculture (Steffensmeier, 1986 and Green, 2006: 594); therefore, crime is almost always more destructive of life chances for females than for males. In contrast, the dividing line between what is considered masculine and what is criminal is often thin.

Finally, expectations of female sexuality may restrict the deviant roles available to women to those of sexual media or service roles. Female fear of sexual victimization reduces female exposure to criminal opportunity through the avoidance of bars, night-time streets, and other crime-likely locations.

Moral development and affiliative concerns. Compared to men, women are more likely to refrain from crime due to concern for others. This may result from gender differences in moral development and from socialization which learn toward greater empathy, sensitivity to the needs of others, and fear of separation

from loved ones (Gilligan, 1982, cited by Zaplin, 1998). This predisposition toward an "ethic of care" restrains women from violence and other behaviour that may injure others or cause emotional hurt to those they love. Men, on the other hand, are more socialized toward status-seeking behaviour and may therefore develop an amoral ethic when they feel those efforts are blocked (Zaplin, 1998).

Social control. The ability and willingness of women to commit crime is powerfully constrained by social control. Particularly during their formative years, females are more closely supervised and discouraged from misbehaviour. Risk-taking behaviour is rewarded among boys but censured among girls. Careful monitoring of girls' associates reduces the potential for influence by delinquent peers (Giordano et al., 2003 cited by Green, 2006: 594). Even as adults, women find their freedom to explore worldly temptations constricted. This is of utmost relevance in black African communities where patriarchy informs gender roles.

Physical strength and aggression. The weakness of women relative to men — whether real or perceived — puts them at a disadvantage in a criminal underworld that puts a premium on physical power and violence. Muscle and physical prowess are functional not only for committing crimes, but also for protection, contract enforcement, and recruitment and management of reliable associates (Steffensmeier, 1986 and Green, 2006: 594).

Sexuality. Reproductive-sexual differences, coupled with the traditional "double standard," contribute to higher male rates of sexual deviance and infidelity. On the other hand, the demand for illicit sex creates opportunities for women for

criminal gain through prostitution. This in turn may reduce the need for women to seek financial returns through serious property crimes (Steffensmeier, 1986 and Green, 2006: 594). This is also indicated by Burton et al. (2004) that of all the crimes that were recorded in SA metropolitan areas, the single most common type was burglary (27 per cent of all crimes), followed by vehicle theft (19 per cent), which were all committed by men.

Demombynes and Ozler (2005) also discovered in their study on the effects of local inequality on property and violent crime in SA that the findings were consistent with economic theories relating local inequality to property crime and also with sociological theories that imply that inequality leads to crime in general. Burglary rates are 25–43% higher in police precincts that are the wealthiest among their neighbours, suggesting that criminals (mostly male) travel to neighbourhoods where the expected returns from burglary are highest. Finally, while we find little evidence that inequality between racial groups fosters interpersonal conflict at the local level, racial heterogeneity itself is highly correlated with crime. Nevertheless, although prostitution is a money-making opportunity that women may exploit, it is a criminal enterprise still largely controlled by men: pimps, clients, police, and businessmen.

Collectively, the above aspects of the organization of gender serve to condition and shape additional features of female offending, including criminal opportunity, criminal motives, and contexts of crime (Steffensmeier, 1986 and Green, 2006: 594).

Access to criminal opportunity. Limits on female access to legitimate opportunities put further constraints on their criminal opportunities, since women are less likely to hold jobs such as that of truck driver, dockworker, or carpenter, which would provide opportunities for theft, drug dealing, fencing, and other illegal activities. In contrast, abundant opportunities exist for women to commit and/or to be caught and arrested for petty forms of theft and fraud, for low-level drug dealing, and for sex-for-sale offenses.

Like the upperworld, the underworld has its glass ceiling. The scarcity of women in the top ranks of business and politics limits their chance for involvement in price-fixing conspiracies, financial fraud and corruption. If anything, women face even greater occupational segregation in underworld crime groups at every stage from selection and recruitment to opportunities for mentoring, skills development, and, especially, rewards (Steffensmeier, 1983; Commonwealth of Pennsylvania cited in Green, 2006: 595). Holland (2008) provides an interesting argument that the study of criminology has developed traditionally as a study by men of men and their relation to crime. Crime, men and masculinity share an intimate relationship, as crime is viewed as something men are expected to do because they are men and women are expected not to do because they are women. (3) This view of gender bias is reflected by the fact that males comprise not only the vast majority of the offender population but also the majority of the work force in the criminal justice system and other organizations which also explains their involvement in high profile crimes.

Motivation. The subjective willingness of women to engage in crime is limited by factors of the organization of gender, but amplified by criminal opportunity. Being able tends to make one more willing. Female as well as male offenders tend to be drawn to criminal activities that are easy and within their skill repertoire and that have a good payoff and low risk. Women's risk-taking preferences differ from those of men (Hagan; Steffensmeier, 1983; Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996 cited in Green, 2006: 595). Men will take risks in order to build status or gain competitive advantage, while women may take greater risks to protect loved ones or to sustain relationships. Criminal motivation is suppressed in women by their greater ability to foresee threats to life chances and by the relative unavailability of female criminal type scripts that could channel their behavior.

Context of offending. The organization of gender also impacts on the often profound differences in the contexts of female and male offenses. Even when the same offense is charged, there may be dramatic differences in contexts, such as the setting, presence of other offenders, the relationship between offender and victim, the offender's role in initiating and committing the offense, weapon (if any), the level of injury or property loss/destruction, and purpose of the offense (Daly; Steffensmeier, 1983, 1993 cited in Green, 2006: 595). Moreover, female/male contextual differences increase with the seriousness of the offense.

J. Miller's (1998, cited by Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996, 2000) qualitative study of male and female robbery clarifies how gender shapes the context of robbery, even when motives are the same. Males typically target other males, and their robberies often involve direct confrontation, physical violence and guns. Females

most often target other females and seldom use guns. When women do rob men, they may carry a gun, but they are more likely to soften the target with sex than with actual violence. Miller (1998) concludes that male and female robbery may be triggered by similar social and cultural factors, but that gender shapes the actual manner in which those robberies are enacted.

Spousal murders also illustrate striking male-female differences in context (Dobash et al., 1979, cited by Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996, 2000). The proposition that wives have as great a potential for violence as husbands has had some currency among criminologists (Straus and Gelles, 1979, cited by Steffensmeier and Allan, 1996, 2000). Although in recent years wives are the perpetrators in only about one-fourth of spousal murders in America and other countries, in earlier decades they were the perpetrators in nearly half of the spousal murders. Suggestions of similar aptitude, however, conceal major differences. Wives are far more likely to have been victims, and they turn to murder only when in mortal fear, after exhausting alternatives. Husbands who murder wives, however, are more likely to be motivated by rage at suspected infidelity, and the murder is often carried out after a period of prolonged abuse of their wives. Some patterns of wife-killing are almost never found when wives kill husbands: murder-suicides, family massacres, and stalking.

The various aspects of the organization of gender discussed here — gender norms, moral and relational concerns, social control, lack of strength, and sexual identity — all contribute to gender differences in criminal opportunity, motivation, and context. These factors also help explain why women are far less

likely than men to be involved in serious crime, regardless of data source, level of involvement, or measure of participation (Green, 2006: 595). It should however be noted that the developmental risk factors for both males and females are not different. Adler (1976, cited by Campbell, 2003) argues that the rise in female crime is due to women's liberation. The greater the opportunities afforded to women and girls the weaker the traditional controls upon their behaviour, the more like men they become in their rates of crime. The core of her argument is that women sometimes seek greater criminal opportunities just as they seek greater legitimate economic opportunities and adopt male traits of criminality (Campbell, 2003).

Most importantly, Green (2006: 596) found that the perceptions that females are gaining equality has caused both media and criminologists to question whether female crime is increasingly emulating more masculine forms and level of offending and, if so, what explains the coverage in the gender gap. Researchers have found that, for the most part, there has been neither a significant widening nor a significant narrowing of the gender gap in criminal offending during the past several decades (Steffensmeier, 1993; Steffensmeier and Schwartz 2004, cited by Green, 2006: 596).

According to Zaplin (1998: 22) the real test of any approach is in its ability to predict and explain female (and male) offending patterns as well as gender differences in crime. In general, the social perspective correctly predicts that female participation is highest for those crimes that are most consistent with

traditional gender norms and for which females have greater opportunity; and lowest for those crimes that diverge the most from traditional norms and for which females have little opportunity. The potential contributions of this gendered approach can be illustrated with examples of property, violent, and public order offending patterns.

Explaining gender and crime has always been a problem for decades, and even to date, criminologists, sociologists, biologists, feminists, and other scholars still have not come to the same conclusion because of many factors that are involved in the commission of crime, which leads these academics to choose nurture over nature in the explanation of crime.

A similar argument has been intensified by Heidensohn (2007: 211) in the nature-nurture debate over the source of gender differences; participants in second-wave feminism placed their bets on nurture in seeking the sources of inequality in social factors. They were also deeply influenced by the civil rights movement, grounded as it was in the belief that racial disparities originate in prejudice and inequity, not innate differences. Another important factor pushing them towards nurture type explanations was annoyance at the way criminology ignored crime by women. The deviance of women is one of the areas of human behaviour most notably ignored in sociological literature. Similarly, Klein (1973: 3, cited by Heidensohn, 2007: 211) sounded the first note in US feminist criminology with the observation that female criminality has often ended up as a footnote to works on men that purport to be works on criminality in general. Men

simply wrote women out of the picture, a result believed to be of social power and not biology.

In line with the scholars' preference for nurture over nature explanations, they distinguished between gender and sex, defining sex in terms of the body, as a biological given, and gender in terms of social roles, as the superstructure built on the foundation of sexual characteristics. Gender is not a natural fact but a complex social, historical, and cultural product - wrote Kathleen Daly and Meda Chesney-Lind in their definitive 'Feminism and Criminology' article (1988: 504, cited by Heidensohn, 2007: 211). It is in their view related to, but not simply derived from, biological sex differences and reproductive capacities. Gender was to sex what nurture was to nature, mind was to body, and the social was to the biological (Heidensohn, 2007: 212).

The criminological explanation of crime has been personalized to a greater extent and provides no preventative measures for the Criminal Justice System (CJS) worldwide. Although arrest statistics around the world, explain crime based on colour, creed, gender and race, this does not offer a concise conclusion but expands the problem of racial, cultural and gender prejudice which leads to most crimes being overlooked and neglected. This has also been stated by Simpson (1991: 115) in that violent criminality provokes an imagery that borders on caricature and one that is reinforced through official statistics and scholarly investigations.

Serious street crime is a lower-class phenomenon (Elliot and Huizinga, 1983; Silberman, 1978; Wolfgang, 1958 cited by Simpson (1991: 115), disproportionately enacted by young (Greenberg. 1979 cited by Simpson (1991: 115), black (Hinderlang, 1978; Tracy et al., 1991; Wolfgang et al., 1972 cited by Simpson (1991: 115), males (Hinderlang, 1981; Tracy et al., 1991; Steffensmeier and Cobb, 1981 cited in Simpson (1991: 115). Studies and reports that support this portrait rely heavily on arrest statistics, victimization surveys, and offender self-reports. While petty crimes are largely seen to be committed by females, this again leads to the skewed data within official crime statistics (Kellor, 1898: 74).

To provide a more holistic explanation of gender and crime, Vannessa Munro and Mary Vogel (2006: 8) in their article on **Feminism and Masculinity** ascertains that the differences identified in male and female criminality raise a range of questions about the motivations that drive offending. They thus direct numerous questions to criminologists, sociologists and other scholars or the issue of gender and crime, with the purpose of finding the solutions to the ever-increasing rates of offending. Do men and women commit crime for different reasons? Can the lower rates of female offending be explained by the fact that women are less capable of committing crime? Alternatively, is it simply because they exercise more self-restraint? Or indeed might it be the case that women are in fact committing as much crime as men but are under-represented in crime statistics, either because they are better at avoiding detection or more likely to be let off by criminal justice personnel? In a context in which traditional criminological theory has tended to take explanations of male criminality as of

universal application, these questions have only relatively recently been addressed (Munro, 2006: 8).

In addition, the finding that women's experiences of victimization often occur in the 'private sphere' and often at the hands of (male) acquaintances has raised a number of questions about the different ways in which men and women experience fear of crime, respond to their victimization and are dealt with as victims by the criminal justice system (Munro, 2006: 8; Keane, 1995). Once again, in a context in which traditional criminological theory has tended to focus on instances of criminal offending that take place in public forums, it has taken dedicated feminist analysis to bring to light a number of the issues relevant to the relationship between gender and victimization. It is therefore imperative to consider various strands of feminist theory and examine their contributions to criminological analysis (Munro, 2006; Jones and Newburn, 1998; Greer, 2003), in a context in which much of this theory has broadened into a more general gender-oriented perspective on crime. It is also important to look at masculinity and its impact on offending behaviour, victimization and the responses of the criminal justice system more broadly (Munro, 2006; Holland and Scourfield, 2000).

Leonard (1982: 1-2 cited by Box, 1983: 174) makes an important point that theoretical criminology was constructed by men, about men. It has simply not tackled the task of explaining female patterns of crime. Although some theories work better than others, they all illustrate what social scientists are slowly recognizing within criminology and outside the field: that our theories are not the

general explanations of human behaviour they claim to be, but rather particular understandings of male behaviour.

2.3. <u>UNDERSTANDING CRIME</u>

Crime is among the most difficult of the many challenges facing South Africa (SA) in the post-apartheid era. The country's crime rates are among the highest in the world and no South African is insulated from its effects. Beyond the pain and loss suffered by crime victims, crime also has less direct costs (Demombynes and Ozler, 2005: 265). The threat of crime diverts resources to protection efforts, exacts health costs through increased stress, and generally creates an environment unconducive to productive activity. Additionally, the widespread emigration of South African professionals in recent years is attributable in part to their desire to escape a high crime environment. All of these effects are likely to discourage investment and stifle long-term growth in South Africa. Consequently, it is important to understand the factors that contribute to crime (Demombynes and Ozler, 2005: 265).

Crime has multiple meanings which are socially constructed (Levinson, 2002: 519). The Open University website supposes that the most important difference in the meanings of crime occur between strictly legal definitions and those that relate crime to the breaking of other codes and conventions-normative definitions. These may be formal moral codes like religions, or more informal

codes of socially-acceptable behaviour. Both these ways of thinking about crime vary historically, across societies, and amongst different social groups. They are always in some kind of conflict. Many legally-defined crimes are considered to be legitimate acts in other contexts. This difference partly explains why many legally-defined criminal acts do not result in prosecution or imprisonment, most notably crimes committed by females. Crime can therefore, simultaneously, be normal and abnormal. A fuller explanation requires looking at the social processes involved in getting from an act to a conviction and asking how, at each stage of the process, social forces construct and shape choices and decisions made by individuals (Open University website).

It is very important to understand crime as defined in Chapter 1, because different societies view crime in different ways and therefore ignore other crimes (committed mostly by females) which lead to the dark figure in official police statistics and the continuation of the problem which questions our hard-earned democratic rights (Muncie and McLaughlin, 2001).

Of all the social and economic problems facing a range of contemporary societies, crime has been cited as 'the most important problem', superseding national security, employment, cost of living, health and poverty (Mythen, 2007). The vast majority still perceive crime to be rising and believe that much of this is violent crime. Despite the attempts of successive governments to 'act through', public fear and anxiety is unabated. Surveys across a variety of communities (around the world) indicate that people are afraid of criminal victimization, afraid of

strangers and have well-honed notions of risk, danger and safety. Many have lost faith in the ability of the police to protect them and they believe that the CJS prioritizes the rights of offenders over victims. The question that remains is: Who is responsible for the greater number of crimes? How can it be prevented from the onset? (Muncie and McLaughlin, 2001).

Important as they are, these questions are not captured under gender but criminals and potential criminals, which mean taking all forms of crimes into serious consideration. Considering that crime is a social construct, which makes everyone in different societies a potential criminal, it is important to steer clear of the gender lens in addressing the problem, as the study understands (Carrabine et al., 2004).

Muncie and McLaughlin (2001: 15) also argue that a vast array of behaviours have been (or can be) deemed 'deviant' or 'criminal' because they violate legal or normative prescriptions. There is, however, no common behavioural denominator that ties all of these acts together. Proportions, such as society is based upon a moral consensus or the criminal law is merely a reflection of that consensus, also remain contentious. The interactionist school of sociology, for example, argues that there is no underlying or enduring consensus in society. Rather, the social order consists of a plurality of social groups each acting in accordance with its own interpretations of reality. Such diversity is as likely to produce conflict as much as consensus. Interpretations of reality are learnt through the ways in which people perceive and react, either positively or

negatively, to the behaviours of others (Mead, 1934 cited by Muncie and McLaughlin, 2001: 15).

2.4. <u>SOCIAL STRAINS AND CRIME</u>

Crime, therefore, can be considered as a social osmosis for both males and females, with the latter being overlooked in the criminal justice process because of the notion that they are less likely to engage in criminal activities as compared to their male counterparts (Akers and Jensen, 2007). Literature and research by Henry and Lanier, (2001); Beall and Todes, 2004; Reese et al., (2001) to mention but a few, indicates however, that both males and females experience the types of strain identified by the general strain theory (GST); they often react to this strain with anger and related emotions, and research suggests that such strain leads some males and females to engage in crime. Therefore, engagement in criminal activities is equal for both males and females (Carroll et al., 2009). At a more specific level, data suggest that males and females may be subject to somewhat different types of "objective" strain, may differ in their subjective interpretation of particular types of strain (i.e., the extent to which these "objective" strains are interpreted as negative or stressful), may differ in their emotional reaction to strain, and may differ in their propensity to react to strain/anger with crime (Chensey-Lind and Pasko, 2003: 16).

However, females appear more likely to experience network strains, gender-based discrimination, excessive demands from others, and low prestige in their

work and family roles. Males appear more likely to experience financial strain, interpersonal conflicts with peers, and most types of criminal victimization (Robbers, 2009; Pudrovska et al., 2006). Tentative data also suggests that females rate most types of strain as more stressful or negative than do males. Furthermore, females are emotionally more vulnerable to network and interpersonal stressors, whereas males are emotionally more vulnerable to work and financial stressors (Chensey-Lind and Pasko, 2003: 16). Again, males and females seem to react to strain with different constellations of emotions. Although both males and females may experience anger in response to certain types of strain, the anger of males is more often accompanied by self-deprecating emotions (Van Goozen et al., 1994). Finally, experimental data suggests that males may be more likely than females to respond to provocations with serious aggression - although the survey data in this area are less supportive. The above findings suggest that the underlying process identified by GST-that strain triggers negative emotions leading to coping behaviours, which can take legitimate or illegitimate (i.e., criminal/deviant) forms - is likely to males and females, yet the latter was originally excluded in the formulation process (Chensey-Lind and Pasko, 2003: 16).

A similar argument is also posed by Simpson and Agnew, (2000: 3) when they state that most of the classic theories about why people turn to criminal activity were formulated with males in mind. Early theorists essentially believed that "delinquency in general is mostly male delinquency" (Cohen 1955: 44 cited by Simpson and Agnew, (2000: 3). Although the delinquency rate of males exceeds

that of females (Steffensmeier, 1993 cited by Simpson and Agnew, 2000: 3), each generation of youth contains a small number of females whose behaviour is sufficiently visible and/or serious to warrant official intervention. A key question is whether theories developed significantly to explain male delinquency can be useful in explaining the behaviour of this significantly smaller subset of delinquent females.

Focusing on crime and acknowledging that every individual in every society is likely to be a perpetrator, Felson (1994) argues that the CJS must focus on crime rather than offenders, since this focus has for a long time ignored grim and less serious crimes that are committed by females and which provided the biased perception that males are responsible for the great number of crimes in any given community. Interestingly, most black communities in the South African context use crime as a form of social control, and females as much as males take part (Black, 1983; and Loschper, 2000). An example of this would be the countrywide xenophobic attacks in 2008.

Females are the ones who initiate the whole process to some extent (Steffensmeier, 1989; and Bardsley, 1987). The media in South Africa consistently inform people about mob (males and females) incidences of stoning rapists or killing of thieves in different communities because of their acts. Such communities obviously use crime as a form of social control, and arrest rate of the people (mob) is minimal if not at all. This is also argued by Black (1983: 34) in that there is a sense in which conduct regarded as criminal is not seen as such.

Far from being an intentional violation of a prohibition, much crime is moralistic and involves the pursuit of justice. It is a mode of conflict management, even capital punishment. Viewed in relation to law, it is self-help. To the degree that it defines or responds to the conduct of someone else - the victim - as deviant, crime is social control.

The real world therefore, cannot be analyzed based on sex roles and stereotypes, considering the notion that females are supposed to be nurturing and males explorative, as dictated by our customs (Mazzella et al., 2004). With regards to community steering of males to explorative behaviours, which leads to socioeconomic inequality, and to some extent crime, Hagan and Peterson (1995: 175) maintain that examining the extent to which general, gender and racial inequality are linked to violent crime, scholars have begun to examine, empirically, feminist arguments that gender socioeconomic inequality is a major contributor to one form of violence against women-rape. The feminist view of rape holds that violence against women (including non-sexual violence) is an expression of a patriarchal social system whereby the subjugation of women by men is built into the society's organization (Brownmiller, 1975; Clark and Lewis, 1977; Russell, 1975; Sunday, 1981 cited by Hagan and Peterson, 1995: 175). Opportunity and reward systems are structured so that women are systemically disadvantaged in attaining valued socioeconomic resources upon which the perpetuation of male power depends (Ellis, 1989 cited in Hagan and Peterson, 1995: 175). This leads to strain upon females which may also result in crime, as indicated in strain theories, because of the purpose of keeping women in their

place and not challenging the existing system of gender stratification (Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971, cited by Hagan and Peterson, 1995: 175).

We can therefore conclude as Messerschmidt (1993: vii) also supposes that the marginalization of females within the social sphere is more likely to lead to crime by females as it does for males, since the issue of gender was and still is treated in a way that depoliticized it, and in so doing removes it from the realm of the problematic to the comfortable zone of the taken-for-granted. Again, as for the notion of sex roles (males and females) Messerschmidt, (1993: viii), concurs with Hagan and Peterson, 1995) that the notion of a sex role seems to acknowledge the social character of gender, and the extent to which masculinity and femininity are cultural conventions, not fixed by genes. It is therefore inadequate for the analysis of the real world. It typically rests on an unexamined notion of natural difference on which society is supposed to elaborate. It drastically simplifies complex cultural processes and negotiations. Perhaps, most importantly, it consistently obscures questions of social power and inequality between races, between classes, and between genders.

To strengthen these arguments, Flowers (1995: 70) maintains that a number of theories tied to social and economic forces have been proposed in explaining female criminality. Role or opportunity theorists reject the masculinization of female behaviour as the cause of female crime but rather relate it to the 'illegitimate expression" of the role expectations. These theorists also posit that females are most likely to engage in criminal behaviour when legitimate avenues

for reaching social goals are closed but illegitimate avenues are open. The criminality and delinquency of females is, therefore, directly related to female socialization and opportunities, and conversely, the lack of either of these elements.

2.5. <u>GENDER AND CRIME</u>

The most controversial debate on the topic of gender and crime has been ongoing for decades amongst different scholars such as Richie (1996); Papke (1987); Gilbert (2002) and many others without reaching common consensus. This is due to the fact that males are responsible for the greater number of crimes, however, theories that are used to explain male criminality are now used to explain female criminality as it is at its peak in different societies (and mainly in SA) and yet it remains under-researched on the dark continent (Alarid et al., 2000). In many countries abroad, the topic of gender and crime has received much attention over the past years because of the increase in numbers in female prisons.

Criminology has long been gendered, as already stated; authors such as Walklate (2004) also maintain that many reviews of the origins of criminology begin with reference to the influence of 'positivism'. While this is not the place to debate the various interpretations of what is meant by 'positivism', it is relevant to locate, historically, the emergence and influence of these ideas since they can reveal something about the gendered assumptions with which we are concerned here. Auguste Comte is largely attributed as having laid the foundations to the

discipline of sociology cemented with the principles of positivism. Comte viewed the role for social science as a positive one; that is, social science would constitute a positive influence on, and control over, the negative effects of the social upheavals taking place at that time. In this way, Comte not only laid the foundation for sociology (or what he first called 'social physics') as a science, but also as a science implicated in the policy process; that is, in ensuring that social change occurred positively, without revolution. In this sense, positivism became associated with particular ideas about the role of the knowledge-gathering process; that is, what we now understand as science. The historical legacy of these ideas can be found in all the sciences but they are particularly pertinent to understanding the nature and form of criminology and (latterly) victimology (Walklate, 2004: 24).

Taylor et al. (1973, cited by Walklate, 2004: 24) in the new criminology attempts to distinguish between different strands of positivism. Within criminology they state that positivism's major attribute is 'its insistence on the unity of the scientific method (ibid.: 11). From this they deduce three premises which frame much of empirical criminology: the quantification of behavior, the belief in objectivity and the determinant nature of human behavior. Roshier (1989, cited by Walklate, 2004: 25) identifies the influence of positivism on criminology in more generic terms, though he too offers three key characteristics: determinism, differentiation and pathology. Characterizations such as these delineate more precisely the impact that ideas of writers such as Comte had on the emerging social sciences and it is useful to explore them in a little more detail.

Determinism assumes that human behaviour, including criminal behaviour, is not rationally chosen. In the context of understanding criminal behaviour this is taken to mean that crime consists of actions merely responsive to social, biological or psychological factors. Differentiation assumes that there is something measurably different about people who engage in such behaviour. In other words, they, as individuals, posses certain characteristics that can be clearly identified and that can clearly delineate them from non-criminals. Pathology implies that not only are such people different, but also that there is something abnormal about such differences. If we add to these features a notion referred to as 'scientism', that is, the concern to produce 'objective' empirical evidence to inform policy-making processes (Taylor et al., 1973, cited by Walklate, 2004:25), we have some idea of the form of criminology that was to become so intimately connected with criminal justice policy (Garland, 1985, cited by Walklate, 2004: 25).

There is, however, one further presumption associated with the influence of positivism on criminology that needs to be made explicit. It reflects a desire to establish a universal explanation of crime and, thereby, a solution to the crime problem. This desire is clearly derived from the drive to emulate the natural sciences and from the desire to exert a positive influence over the processes of social change. Thus the search for a universal, all-embracing explanation of crime and criminal behaviour has dogged much criminological endeavour; it is within these deep-rooted conceptions of science-science as the search of universality and control, that we catch our first glimpse of gender-blindness since these

assumptions reveal much about what there is to be known and by whom (Walklate, 2004: 25).

The American Law and Legal Information website on Gender and Crime (http://law.jrank.org) contends that a rich and complex literature on female criminality has emerged over the past few decades. One view received an extraordinary amount of media attention during the late 1960s and the 1970s. This was the argument that "women's liberation" could help explain the apparent narrowing of the disparity between female and male arrest rates. This was a revival of a view long current in criminology suggesting that gender differences in crime could be explained by differences in male and female social positions. This plausible notion gave rise to the "gender equality hypothesis": as social differences between men and women disappear under the influence of the women's movement, so should the differences in crime disappear (accessed at http://law.jrank.org)

The best-known research on personality and crime was that inspired by Hans Eysenck's theory and personality questionnaires. Eysenck viewed offending as natural and even rational, on the assumption that human beings were hedonistic, sought pleasure, and avoided pain. He assumed that delinquent acts such as theft, violence, and vandalism were essentially pleasurable or beneficial to the offender. In order to explain why everyone was not a criminal, Eysenck suggested that the hedonistic tendency to commit crimes was opposed by the conscience, which he (like Gordon Trasler) viewed as a conditioned fear response (accessed at http://law.jrank.org).

Under the Eysenck theory, the people who commit offenses have not built up strong consciences, mainly because they have inherently poor conditionability. Poor conditionability is linked to Eysenck's three dimensions of personality, Extraversion (E), Neuroticism (N), and Psychoticism (P). People who are high on E build up conditioned responses less well, because they have low levels of cortical arousal. People who are high on N also condition less well, because their high resting level of anxiety interferes with their conditioning. Also, since N acts as a drive, reinforcing existing behavioural tendencies, neurotic extraverts should be particularly criminal. Eysenck also predicted that people who are high on P would tend to be offenders, because the traits included in his definition of psychoticism (emotional coldness, low empathy, high hostility, and inhumanity) were typical of criminals. However, the meaning of the P scale is unclear, and it might perhaps be more accurately labeled as psychopathy (American Law and Legal Information website).

However, other criminologists have pointed to the peculiarity of the view that improving girls' and women's economic conditions would lead to disproportionate increases in female crime when almost all the existing criminological literature stresses the role played by poverty, joblessness, and discrimination in the creation of crime (Chesney-Lind, 1997; Miller; Steffensmeier, 1980, 1993 cited in the American Law and Legal Information website). This and other weaknesses in the gender equality hypothesis have been discussed at length elsewhere, as have more plausible explanations for the narrowing of differences for specific categories of crime. Recall that gender

differences in arrest rates have by no means narrowed for all categories, actually increasing for some and remaining the same for others (http://law.jrank.org).

As the American Law and Legal Information website maintains, Allan (1996) also argues that for both males and females, the likelihood of criminal behaviour is increased by weak social bonds and parental controls, low perceptions of risk, delinquent associations, chances to learn criminal motives and techniques, and other access to criminal opportunities. In this sense, traditional criminological theories are as useful in understanding overall female crime as they are in understanding overall male crime. They can also help explain why female crime rates are so much lower than male rates: for example, females develop stronger bonds and are subject to stricter parental control, and have less access to criminal opportunity.

However, Cloward and Piven (1979: 111) argue that because of segregation within different communities, patterns of offending by women and men are notable for both their similarities and differences. Rates for minor property crime and substance abuse offences are universally higher than rates for robbery and murder. Still, men offend at higher rates usually much higher than women - for all crimes except prostitution. In addition, the financial and physical losses that result from female thefts, property crimes, drug offenses, and assaults are typically smaller than those for similar offenses committed by males. Individual-level crime patterns also display gender similarities and differences. For both males and females, offending peaks during the teen years and gradually declines thereafter. There is, however, evidence that a small, but discernible percentage of

males are "life course persistent" offenders whose criminal careers start early and continue till a later stage.

Despite increased awareness in the South African criminal justice system with regards to the increase in the number of females in prisons, gender in South Africa remains the single most predictor of criminal behaviour (Sloth-Nielsen, 2005). This is also argued by Messerschmidt (1993: 1) who says that it is no secret who commits the vast majority of crimes. Arrest, self report, and victimization data all reflect that men and boys both perpetrate more conventional crimes and the more serious of these crimes than do women and girls. Men also have a virtual monopoly on the commission of syndicated, corporate, and political crime (Beirne and Messerschmidt, 1991: 547-48 cited by Messerschmidt, 1993: 1). Indeed, gender has consistently been advanced by criminologists as the strongest predictor of criminal involvement. Gender explains more variance in crime cross-culturally than any other variable, and this "appears so regardless of whether officially known or hidden ("true") rates of crime and indexed" (Harris, 1977:3-4 cited by Messerschmidt, 1993: 1). This fact recently led Judith Allen (1989: 19) to submit that the capacity to explain high gender ratio and gendered character of crime "might be posed as a litmus test for the viability of the discipline." As an exploratory variable, then, gender would seem to be critical. Yes, as Frances Heidensohn (1987: 22 cited by Messerschmidt, 1993: 1) observes, "most criminologists have resisted this obvious insight with energy comparable to that of medieval churchmen denying Galileo or Victorian bishops attacking Darwin."

Although Heidensohn's emphasis on "resistance" may be excessive; there is little doubt that, although traditionally written by men and primarily about men and boys, major theoretical works in criminology are alarmingly gender-blind (Messerschmidt, 1993: 1). That is, while men and boys have been seen as the "normal subjects," the gendered content of their legitimate and illegitimate behaviour has been virtually ignored. So remarkable has been the gender-blindness of criminology that whenever the high gender ratio of crime is actually considered, criminologist have asked "why is it that females do not offend?" (rather than "why do men disproportionately commit crime?"): The results have been a portentious, biological-based, misrepresentation of women (Cain, 1990: 11 cited by Messerschmidt, 1993: 1).

With regards to the misrepresentation of females in crime statistics globally, and acknowledging works of Gender and Crime that has been undertaken by other criminologists, Messerschmidt (1993: 3) importantly argues that notwithstanding the foregoing, the gendered character of crime has been totally ignored by criminologists. Although criminology has, for the most part, been gender-blind, the high gender ratio of crime actually has been addressed by some criminologists. Nevertheless, instead of asking how the social construction of masculinity, for example, connects with crime, these theorists generally have asked why it is that women do not offend. Moreover, this question has been asked through an andocentric lens, so that men and boys are the yardstick against which the conduct of women and girls is measured. As Maureen Cain (1990: 2,

cited by Messerschmidt, 1993: 3) puts it, "women and girls exist as other: that is to say, they exist in their difference from the male, the normal."

Smart (1977: 91, quoted by Naffin, 1985) with regards to lesser focus on female criminality argue that the most significant ideology which informs both classical and contemporary accounts of female criminality is a sexist ideology. It is sexist not because it differentiates between the sexes but because it attributes to one sex socially undesirable characteristics. Commonsense understandings are taken for granted as a suitable platform from which to commence theorizing. The theorists concerned merely provide a scientific gloss. Myths about [Woman's] 'natural' passivity are used uncritically to supply 'evidence' for either the greater or lesser involvement of women in crime.

Simpson and Ellis (1995: 47) also argue in relation to Smart's argument that feminists have criticized social theory for being based in male experiences and reflecting a male perspective (MacKinnon, 1982 cited by Simpson and Ellis, 1995: 47). This critique extends to the social and to a lesser extent, physical sciences (Keller, 1982 cited by Simpson and Ellis 1995: 47). Criminology is no exception, yet despite their important contributions to criminological study, feminist scholars often fall into their own brand of reductionism by assuming that the experiences of women (as a social category and distinct from the category of men) are universal and distinct from those of men. This type of thinking is defined as essentialism, and critics claim that this form of reductionism subsumes all female experiences into one common experience.

On the one hand, Nagel and Hagan (1983) maintain that the relation between gender and criminality is strong, and is likely to remain so. Women have traditionally been much less likely than men to commit violent crimes, and that patterns persist today. Rates of female involvement in some forms of property crimes – notably petty theft and fraud - appear to be increasing in most countries. While the relative increase in women's property crime involvement is significant, female participation, even in these crimes, remain far less than that of men. White and Kowaski cited by Pollock and Davis (2005: 7) however differ with such analysis and stress that the notion of the non-aggressive woman is a myth perpetuated by socio-historically rooted cultural attitudes and values, reified by data based on statistical and methodological biases and flaws. Although women are reported to commit fewer crimes than men, this does not imply that they are not aggressive. Rather, because of opportunities, resources, and socialization pressures, the situations in which women will display aggressive behaviours appear to be more circumscribed, limited specifically to situations in which opportunities and social sanctions for aggressive behaviour are present.

In their analysis, Pollock and Davis (2005: 8) argue that these authors use a sleight of hand; they discuss aggression but use it as a synonym for violence. In fact, one of the most common ways to "prove" that women are as aggressive as men is to enlarge the definition of aggression to include such behaviours as gossiping and "stealing" boyfriends. These actions may have a place in an expanded definition of aggression, but it is hard to see their relationship to violent criminality. Pollock and Davies (2005: 17) uphold then that the study of

sex differences and aggression could fill volumes and make no pretense to cover this research. One finds that part of the problem with this body of literature is that researchers do not necessarily define their terms. The definition of aggression as stated in Morehead and Morehead (1995) is "an act of hostility," "an assault or encroachment," or "offensive action in general," and violence is defined as "acting with, or characterized by, strong physical force." There are differences between these two terms and defining some behaviors as either is somewhat problematic. For instance, aggression can be displayed in ways other than violent acts (verbal aggression, acts of malice that are not violent, and so on). Likewise, violence may not always be aggressive; for instance, one might use violence to defend oneself or another, but that behavior is reactive, not aggressive.

There are those who believe that women and men are equally aggressive (Morehead and Morehead, 1995; and Smart, 1978), those who say that women are inherently less aggressive than men, and finally, those who argue that women and men are equally aggressive or violent but socialization restrains and constricts women's aggression. Whichever "camp" one subscribes to with regard to aggression, it is incontrovertible that women engage in less violence, at least as measured by official records. Theories that purport to explain the violent crime differential between men and women have pointed to biological, sociological, and psychological explanations, but they must explain the consistent gender differential in such crimes as homicide and robbery (Pollock and Davies, 2005: 17).

The relation of gender to case processing decisions in the criminal justice system therefore varies from age to stage. Although the pertinent literature is plagued by methodological and interpretive problems, several tentative conclusions can be offered. Women are more likely than men, all things being equal, to be released on recognizance; however, when bail is set, the amount of bail does not appear to be affected by the defendant's gender. There is no clear evidence that the defendant's gender systematically affects prosecution, plea negotiations, or conviction decisions. In sentencing, however, women appear to receive leniency except when they are convicted of high-severity offences.

Steffensmeier et al., (2006: 72) claim on the other hand that female crimes are increasing drastically around the world, and the past decade or so has witnessed lively discussions in both the scholarly and popular literatures about whether female violence is rising, and in turn, causing the gap between female and male crime rates to close. Female arrest rates are increasing everywhere and are a function of both the occurrence of criminal behaviours and the occurrence of the control measures established to deal with the behaviours; considerable disagreement exists among social scientists as to what these arrest statistics actually mean. Some writers have suggested that changes in women's lives, such as greater freedom and increased stress, have led to profound shifts in their propensities or opportunities to commit violence crimes. Alternatively, perhaps a societal trend toward a decreased tolerance of violence has elevated the visibility of women's violence. Instead of a rising tide of female violence, perhaps arrest policies have begun to target the types of behaviours more typical of women,

producing a situation of greater gender neutrality relative to past policies that often concentrated on male-typical behaviours.

2.6. <u>FEMINIST CRIMINOLOGY</u>

The Feminist School of Criminology developed in the late 1960s and into the 1970s as a reaction against the gender distortions and stereotyping within traditional criminology (Maguire et al., 2007). It was closely associated with the emergence of the Second Wave of Feminism and it speaks with multiple viewpoints developed from different feminist writers (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2005). Politically, there is a range from Marxist and Socialist to Liberal feminism addressing the "gender ratio" problem, i.e. why women are less likely than men to commit crime) or the generalisability problem (i.e. "adding" women to male knowledge, whereby the findings from research on men are generalized to women (Haney, 2000).

Freda Adler (1975) believed that the arrival of the Second Wave of Feminism during the 1970s consequently coincided with a 'dramatic' upsurge in women's criminal activity. She claimed while women have demanded equal opportunity in the fields of legitimate endeavours, a similar number of determined women have forced their way into the world of major crime such as white collar crime, murder and robbery (Adler, 1975: 3 cited in Kelta Advance Learning website). That women criminals today represent a 'new breed' can be demonstrated, according

to Adler, by evidence of the changing nature of female involvement in a wide variety of crimes. The emergence of this 'new female criminal' who engaged in predatory crimes of violence and corporate fraud has broken into a man's world (Brown, 1986: 373 cited in Kelta Advance Learning website). For example, female white-collar crime has increased since the 'liberation' of women. Adler suggests that as women are 'climbing up the corporate business ladder', they are making use of their 'vocational liberation' to pursue careers in white-collar crime (1975: 83-84 cited in Kelta Advance Learning website) (Kelta Advance Learning- accessed at http://www.keltawebconcepts.com.au/efemcrim1.htm)

With regards to gender bias in the analysis of crime which affects sentencing and contributed to the development of Feminist Criminology, Burgess-Proctor (2006: 30) argues that theoretically speaking, Feminist Criminology developed because (primarily liberal) feminist scholars objected to the exclusion of gender from criminological analyses, an omission that seemed particularly glaring given that gender is such a strong predictor of offending (Blumstein, Cohen, Roth, & Visher, 1986; Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996 cited by Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 30), arrest (Stolzenberg & D'Alessio, 2004 cited by Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 30), and sentencing outcomes (Daly, 1994; Daly& Tonry, 1997 cited by Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 30). Feminist scholars were dissatisfied with the failure of mainstream criminology to recognize issues of gender inequality at all, as well as with the failure of critical and radical criminology to consider the relationship between inequality and crime outside of the narrow context of economic disparities, under

which were subsumed issues of race and gender (see Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2000 cited by Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 30).

In particular, feminist criminologists protested the exclusion of women's experiences in emerging "general" theories of crime, which were being developed by mainstream criminologists using almost exclusively-male samples to predict patterns of male delinquency (Barak, 1998; Belknap, 2001; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Flavin, 2004; Miller, 2004; Milovanovic & Schwartz, 1996; Morash, 1999 cited by Burgess-Proctor, (2006: 30). These early feminist criminologists demanded that analyses of crime include consideration of gender in ways that had not occurred before. It is important to note here that feminist criminology was born during a crucial juncture of the feminist movement. Shortly after the beginning of the second wave in the 1970s, feminists of minority-group status found that their experiences were underrepresented in mainstream feminism and subsequently levied sharp criticism toward their majority-group counterparts whose voices were purported to speak on behalf of all women (Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 31).

Carrington and Hogg (2000: 225) relatively assert that unlike the 'new criminology' of the 1970s, feminist criminology, as a radical tradition, have not only survived, but also continue to be an important contributor to ongoing debates. This is partly due to the political diversity and dynamics of feminism itself. Contemporary feminist criminology includes a full range of contesting theoretical positions-liberal feminism, Marxist and socialist feminism, radical or

separatist feminism and post feminism. Unlike the new criminologists who were largely located in universities and who conceived their practice in traditional academic terms, many academic feminists have maintained effective links with the women's movement (Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1988 cited by Carrington and Hogg, 2000: 225).

They have been active and effective in developing anti-sexist positions and alternative politics, policies, methodologies and discourses. Accepting the heterogeneity of contemporary feminism and feminist criminology, most feminists do share a commitment to challenging the epistemological, ontological, moral and political assumptions that inform 'patriarchal' discourses. Indeed the variety of theoretical positions informing feminist engagements with criminology has dramatically increased the diversity of interventions - including the complete repudiation of criminology (Stanko, 1993; Smart, 1989 cited by Carrington and Hogg, 2000: 225).

The insights made available in this chapter regarding patterns of offending, understanding crime, social strains and crime, gender and crime, and feminist criminology will be looked at alongside the findings in the study and form the basis for the recommendations in Chapter 6.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the philosophical assumptions underpinning this research as well as the theories that informed the study. The researchers understanding of the relationship between male and female crimes reflects one of the developments of Freda Adler's theory of female emancipation. This is an attempt at incorporating precautionary methods of crime (devoid of gender) and their impact on the development of Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement which has for a long time been affected by different crimes which are committed by males and females (Beall and Todes, 2004). Here I refer to Freda Adler's theory because criminology has for most feminist writers and researchers been a constraining rather than a constructive and creative influence, that is according to Adler. Theories of criminality have been developed from male subjects and validated on male subjects. Whilst there is nothing wrong with this, the problem is that these theories have been extended generally to include all criminals, defendants and prisoners. It was assumed that the theories would apply to women; most do not appear to do so (Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1990: xii-8).

Adler's theory of female emancipation is very significant and apposite to the research problem because it stresses that female criminality had been kept in

check by women's limited aspirations and opportunities. Adler (1975a) ascertains that social circumstances, not biology, explain gender differences in crime, which is also the case in the above-mentioned areas under study as stressed by respondents. For Adler, the lifting of restrictions on women's behaviour gave women the opportunity to act like men - that is, to be violent, greedy, and crime prone. The theory indicates that the links between feminist goals of emancipation for women increase female crimes. Adler (1982) characterizes female crimes as the "Darker Side" of women's liberation, reflecting feminist attitudes of female offenders, assuming that low income women somehow seek equality with their male counterparts, as though crime in some sense was a desirable occupation (Cordella and Siegel, 1996: 346).

Adler's theory of female emancipation is also central and appropriate to the study because it stresses that when a woman is seen to be physically, sexually or psychologically dominant, even violently aggressive, she tends to be treated as unusual, a freak of female nature or as mentioned previously, 'mad' which in turn leads to under-reporting and/or ignorance; this misrepresents the literature of female crimes and crime statistics in different countries (Worrall, 1990). This theory is more applicable to the present study because most male respondents stressed non-reporting crimes committed by females because they tend to label them (mad) rather than reporting them to the police officials. Many women appear to be encouraged to fear men and to circumscribe their public behaviour. The customary association of men with the use of force and power is not confined to the criminal population; female vulnerability is often invoked to strengthen

both the senses of male power and the need for its considered use, that is, to protect women (Adler, 1982: 675).

Adler (1982: 675) further stresses that previously women had the same aspirations as men but, like an oppressed class, women lacked the power to obtain their goals by legitimate means. The road to success required women to seek status through men by conforming to the male definition of femininity. This is also very important as most female reprobates in both areas under study stressed that they looked up to males' attitudes to earn a living in both areas. Women's liberation had altered these restrictions on women's behaviours and their opportunities. "Medical, educational, economic, political, and technological advances have freed women from unwanted pregnancies, provided them with male occupational skills, and equalized their strength with weapons" (Adler, 1975a:10). This makes them as likely to engage in crime as their male counterparts.

Another important theory that is of consequence to my study is Sampson and Laub's life course theory. The theory maintains that the central idea of social control theory - that crime and deviance are more likely when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken - is an organizing principle in the theory of social bonding over the life course (Thornberry, 2004: 141). Sampson and Laub (1993, cited by Thornberry, 2004: 142) maintain that the life course has been defined as "pathways through the age differentiated life span" while Elder (1985:

17, cited by Thornberry, 2004: 142), stresses that it is a "sequence of culturally defined age-graded roles and social transitions that are enacted over time."

There are two central concepts which underlie the analysis of life course dynamics. A *trajectory (1)* is a pathway or line development over the life span such as work life, parenthood, and criminal behaviour. Trajectories refer to long-term patterns of behaviour and are marked by a sequence of transitions. *Transitions (2)* are marked by life events (e.g., first job or first marriage) that are embedded in trajectories and evolve over shorter time spans (Caspi et al., 1990: 15, cited by Thornberry, 2004: 142). Following Elder (1985), Sampson and Laub (1993) differentiate the life course of individuals on the basis of age and argue that the important institutions of both formal and informal social control vary across the life span (Thornberry, 2004: 142). However, Thornberry (2004:142), emphasizes the role of age-graded informal social control as reflected in the structure of interpersonal bonds linking members of society to one another and to wider social institutions (e.g., work, family, school). Unlike formal sanctions that originate in purposeful efforts to control crime, informal social controls "emerge as by-products of role relationships established for other purposes and are components of role reciprocities (Kornhauser, 1978: 24, cited by Thornberry, 2004: 142)." This theory is also applicable to the study as most respondents in Umkhumbane informal settlement (including reprobates) stressed that social bonds were weak in the area because of transition, this is also confirmed by Sampson and Laub's (1993) research.

Although traditional control theory, according to some scholars (e.g., Hirschi 1969 cited by Thornberry, 2004: 142) is static, Sampson and Laub (1993) believe its integration with the life course framework may be used to understand the dynamics of both continuity and change in behaviour over time. In particular, a major thesis of our work is that social bonds in adolescence (e.g., to family, peers, and school) and adulthood (e.g., attachment to the labour force, cohesive marriage) explain criminal behaviour regardless of prior differences in criminal propensity - that age-graded changes in social bonds explain change in crime. Sampson and Laub (1993) also contend that early (and distal) precursors to adult crime (e.g., conduct disorder, low self-control) are mediated in developmental pathways by key age-graded institutions of informal and formal social control, especially in the transition to adulthood as *for example,* with employment, military service, marriage, official sanctions (Thornberry, 2004: 142).

The life course theory is relatively important as Thornberry (2004) further points out that in uniting and change within the context of a sociological understanding of crime through life, a major concept in our framework is the dynamic process whereby the interlocking nature of trajectories and transitions generate turning points or a change in life course (Elder, 1985: 32, cited by Thornberry, 2004: 143). Adaptation to life course is crucial because the same or transition followed by different adaptations can lead to different trajectories (Elder, 1985: 35, cited by Thornberry, 2004: 143). In other words, despite the connection between childhood events and experiences in adulthood, turning points can modify life trajectories in that they can "redirect paths". For some individuals, turning points

are abrupt-radical "turnarounds" or changes in life history that separate the past from the future (Elder et al., 1991: 215, cited by Thornberry, 2004: 143). For most individuals, however, we conceptualize turning points as "part of a process over time and not as a dramatic lasting change that takes place at any one time (Thornberry, 2004: 143).

Reasons for crimes committed by females as reflected in the research are also reinforced by Richie (1996, cited by Henry and Lanier, 2001: 56). She discusses six different pathways to female crime, through which the women in her study were "compelled to crime." Richie (1996) found that some women had been held hostage by abusive partners who had also killed their children. She maintains that these women had been arrested and tried as co-defendants in the homicide. Others were battered black women who had been arrested for violent crimes toward men other than their abuser, while a third group involved battered women from racial backgrounds who had been arrested for illegal "sex work," primarily prostitution for money or drugs. A fourth group consisted of battered women who had been arrested for arson or other property damage and for assaults on their abusers during a battering incident.

The fifth group consisted of black women, both battered and not battered, who had been arrested for property and other economically-motivated crimes. The final group was made up of battered women of varying racial backgrounds who had been arrested for drug-related crimes. Mary Gilfus's (1992, cited by Henry and Lanier, 2001: 56) research offers still another view of pathways into street

crime. Her subjects all had prior arrest records, often prostitution, and shoplifting, fraud, or drug violations. The sources to crime for these women uniformly began as "survival strategies" (e.g., running away, using drugs, etc.), in an attempt to escape the physical and sexual violence in their childhood environments. Racism and racial violence are prominent themes in the narratives of many women. Their transition to adulthood involved illegal street work and revictimization on the street and ultimately to eventual "immersion in street crime (Henry and Lanier, 2001: 56).

The life course theory is essential and appropriate to the present study as most female reprobates in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement stressed that they were also compelled to commit crime, either by their partners or social strains. Different life course events also played a pivotal role in crimes committed by females in these areas because of trajectory and transition as stressed by theory. The theory of female emancipation by Freda Adler is also very important because most females who committed crimes in both areas were working and found illegal means in their work place to commit those crimes.

3.2. <u>METHOD OF THE STUDY</u>

This research is consequently based on multi-disciplinary advances combining a tool of framing, and/or discourse analysis on gender and crime within communities and a comparative research design (Schiffrin et al., 2003).

This is due to the fact that discussions surrounding gender and crime ignore the subject of crimes committed by females and therefore frame males as potential criminals in most, if not all communities, which is also the case in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. This, however, leaves the problem of 'women and crime' as stressed by Worrall (1990: viii). Worrall (1990: viii) asks whether scholars should ignore this problem and direct their gaze elsewhere, or should they seek to tackle the political and epistemological problem at the heart of the criminological project? Worrall (1990) therefore does the latter in the text that follows. Worrall (1990) concentrates on the formulation of knowledge about the woman who offends and how she resists the constructions that are imposed upon her; so, Worrall does not concern herself with unanswerable and futile questions of why women commit crimes, rather she looks at what passes for knowledge about such women, which is of utmost imperative in the study of male vs. female crimes. This knowledge she identifies as part of the regulation of these women is also part of their silencing. Worrall (1990) believes that women who offend are silenced; they become muted and unable to provide their own accounts of their subjectivity, as also stressed by female reprobates and other community members in areas under study. The expert always already knows these women and, through this knowledge, seeks to manage them.

Worrall (1990) thus approaches the question of women and crime from a perspective that opens possibilities for new ways of understanding crime. What is

to be found here is an unfolding of the issues rather than an intellectual closure. The disqualification of offending women is documented in considerable detail and researchers are able to see the continuum between this process and other (non-legal) procedures, which seek to render women passive and invisible. Ultimately this analysis breaks down the intellectual barriers between analyses of women in general and women who offend. Many studies have argued that there is such a continuum, but few have been able to provide the analytical tools necessary to make the links (Worrall, 1990: viii).

Gilbert (2002) also maintains that the way that society talks about women and their use of violence and force encompasses grave implications for social policy and women's experiences in the criminal justice system. Society's cultural stereotypes about women and gender colour the way professionals in law enforcement, the legal system, the courts, and social policy agencies treat women who commit violent acts of aggression. Gilbert (2002) also attempts to shed some light on how gender stereotypes that continue to permeate our society create the very cultural discourses that people in positions of power and in the population at large use to talk about women and violence. This in turn frames men and makes them potential criminals and thus they are treated differently from female criminals within the criminal justice system and societies in general (Mistry, 1997).

4. METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research strategy and the empirical techniques applied. This chapter will outline how the data was obtained, the sample method used, as well as the data collection techniques. An ideal plan for collecting and utilizing data was important in this study so that desired information can be obtained with sufficient precision or so that a hypothesis can be tested properly (accessed at http://medical.webends.com). The data collected was processed both descriptively and analytically. This is due to the fact that the data collected allowed me to view and analyze analytically the entire data record in association with the selected group, which proved my hypotheses.

According to Marshall and Rossman (1999), the chapter defines the scope of limitations of the research design, and situates the research among existing research traditions and information systems. The idealistic assumptions underlying this research come from the interpretive tradition. This implies a subjective epistemology and the ontological belief that reality is socially constructed. The research strategy adopted was to conduct multiple interviews (informal) in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. The sampling method used was simple random sampling as well as snowball sampling and the main data collection technique used in this research study was

unstructured interviews and group discussion (Macome, 1995)   (as indicated in 4.6.1).

The field work was conducted at the above-mentioned areas during the period from June to July 2009 and a steady correspondence has been maintained with the different informants at the sites.

4.2. <u>**NATURE OF THE STUDY**</u>

The study is principally qualitative and descriptive and focuses on interviews (informal) of selected groups in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. Descriptive research is primarily concerned with conditions as they are; it involves much more than mere fact finding in that "it must seek to discover cause and effect relationships and attempt to give interpretations as well (Behr, 1973: 83 cited by Gopal, 1998: 89)."

As the present study will attempt to show cause and effect and attempt to give interpretations, the descriptive method was chosen in order to obtain first-hand information from respondents (males and females) especially since they were all assumed to be directly responsible for crimes in the area (Gopal, 1998). The study takes cues from Padaychee (1988), Behr (1973), Good (1963), and Borg (1967) who argue that descriptive research precedes other types of research before progress can be made in solving certain problems. Gopal (1998: 89) in agreement with these scholars, says one needs to show what the existing facts and prevailing

conditions are, hence the choice of the descriptive survey method of investigation into the nature and causal factors of female vs. male criminality in Cato Manor Township, Durban.

4.3. <u>AIMS OF THE STUDY</u>

The gendered stereotype that men commit greater and more heinous crimes than females seems to have drawn much attention amongst academics and researchers around the world (Walklate, 2004).

Walklate (2004: 7) further argues that females are to be found engaging in all kinds of lawbreaking behaviour. It is also the case that, as Carlen et al. (1985, cited by Walklate, 2004: 7) and others have shown, given the opportunity, women will engage in the same kind of criminal behaviour and derive the same kind of pleasure and excitement as their male counterpart. This is as much the case in 'white-collar crime' as it is for terrorism, for example. Official statistics illustrate that the majority of people apprehended for lawbreaking behaviour are apprehended for property crime and theft. It is also the case that females appear more frequently to have been apprehended for this kind of criminal activity than any other. That women tend to feature in this kind of criminal activity than they do in other types of criminal behaviour has been attributed to the 'feminization of poverty'. Put simply, a high proportion of female offenders steal in order to put food on the table for their children. Indeed, the tendency for women to engage in

criminal behaviour for these reasons may be greater than official criminal statistics suggest, if the figures on benefit fraud are also included.

Most of the research conducted in the field of gender and crime focuses on incidences and/or prevalence and nature of the problem, with less scientific study being conducted regarding skewed facts amongst female offenders. In this respect, the following points, form part of the aims of the study:

- To review pertinent literature in order to reveal the findings of other researchers on the topic.

- To determine the approach of the criminal justice system in so far as investigating female crimes as much as males, rather than judging the corollary based on statistics and stereotypes.

- To analyze the data collected, draw conclusions, propose possible solutions and make recommendations after examining the results emanating from empirical research.

The aims of the present study, as described above, are amongst others, to determine the effectiveness of community policing forums and the criminal justice system in preventing crimes, irrespective of gender and/or sex.

4.4. <u>PROCEDURE IN THE STUDY</u>

Access to Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement was granted by the appropriate authorities, namely, the President of the Abahlali Basemjondolo organization (for Durban's informal settlements) Mr. Sibusiso Zikode, Cato Manor Community Health Centre and the eThekwini Municipality Area Programme Manager, Mr. Mhlengi Gumede. Identified respondents were interviewed at their own will following an explanation of the research project and signing/reading out of the consent letter. Unstructured interviews were conducted randomly in the area and through group discussions during the month from June to July 2009 as stated earlier.

4.5. <u>CHOICE OF LOCALE</u>

In order to purge convenient problems, I demarcated the locale of the study to Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement, firstly because of budgetary constraints and, secondly, because it is considered one of the criminal hubs in the province - and yet the extent of female vs. male criminality remains under-researched, regardless of increased statistics reflecting female crimes (Leggett, 2001).

As this was a sensitive issue, I did not want to be seen as an interloper meddling into community affairs but rather as an educator trying to inform people about the severity of crime (serious or not) and procedures to eradicate the problem in the area (by immediately informing the SAPS or community policing forums).

The areas under study are considered to represent a cross section of the various socio-economic groups which reside in these areas (Gopal, 1998: 92).

4.6. SELECTION OF SAMPLE GROUPS

4.6.1. Sampling

The selection of the sample was a two-stage procedure involving:

- Selection of vicinities (stage 1)

- Selection of groups (stage 2)

- **Selection of vicinities (stage 1 sampling)**

Sections of the Township (including the informal settlement) were selected randomly to ensure reliability and validity and to make the study representative. I decided to select these areas because crimes committed in informal settlement tend to differ from those committed in townships and vice-versa (Louw et al., 1998). A simple random sampling technique was employed to determine the desired population size of three to five interviewees a day. This technique was used in the study and proved effective since it is cheap, simple, easily applied to small populations and most importantly is known to have the least bias. The sample population comprised only of people residing in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. Although the initial plan was to interview other people from outside those communities, particularly those who

have worked with them, it was found unattainable during the study because of their busy schedules and my time frame.

- **Selection of the sample of respondents (stage two sampling)**

The sample population comprised only of people residing in Cato Manor Township and the adjacent informal settlement (Umkhumbane). Four groups were identified for this purpose, namely, police officials from the local SAPS (6), individuals from the Community Policing Forum (6), ordinary community members (10-15), Cato Manor Development Centre, NGO (4). I envisaged interviewing a total of 30-35 respondents. The snowball method of selecting research participants was also utilized; one research participant identified other potential research participants who in turn did the same. From preliminary interviews, contacts were already established with key figures in the selected groups. The target sample population ideally comprised of both men and women, including victims of crime.

The target population also comprised reprobates (males and females), victims and other community members in general. Most of the reprobate (males and females) were interviewed over a drink (group discussions) in two shebeens from each community setting, and the rest were randomly selected in both areas. A close source (anonymous) identified those shebeens (in both areas) which were then selected as the target sampling frame. A total of 21 reprobate's (13 males and 8 females), who admitted to having committed crimes in the area, agreed to

participate in the study after a painstaking briefing. The remaining 19 respondents who comprised of victims and other community members were also briefed and interviewed for less than 10 minutes of their time in an unstructured manner.

4.7. <u>Administration of interview schedule</u>

Interviews were conducted with the above-mentioned individuals between the months of June to July 2009, as mentioned earlier. Unstructured interviews were used to obtain information on the nature and causal factors of female vs. male criminality in Cato Manor. These interviews were conducted by me, as I believed this was the best method of obtaining information because:

- In a face to face interview, the interviewer has the opportunity to check the honesty, the certainty and the exact meaning of the subject reply.
- The researcher also has the opportunity of analyzing both verbal and non-verbal responses.
- If the interviewee was uncertain in his or her reply, clarity could be given immediately by the researcher.
- Follow up questions can also arise which may provide detailed and/or specific answers.
- The interviewer has the opportunity to neutralise questions that may evoke sensitivity to the respondent (s) (Gopal 1998).

With respect to the creation of the interview schedule, I have studied the contributions and drawbacks made by a variety of researchers in this field, so I paid particular interest to the sensitivity and fear issues that normally accompany the facts surrounding crime.

Using these sources, I constructed interview schedules with the help of my supervisors; the interviews comprised mainly open-ended questions which were translated into Zulu. This guaranteed that respondents would include more information, including feelings, attitudes and understanding of the subject matter. This proved very effective as it allowed me to better access the respondents' perceptions on crime in the areas under study. Details of some interviewees and permission to conduct further interviews or validate data in case it was found to be necessary at a later stage was granted by most respondents.

As the topic under investigation was sensitive and emotionally charged, I decided to utilize open-ended questions to allow respondents to answer in a way that was emotionally responsive in order to minimize re-victimization or re-live past humiliation. The construction of questions was checked against previous research studies and issues of sensitivity and under-researched areas were carefully considered (Gopal, 1998: 97).

Foddy (1993: 127, cited by Ferligoj and Mrvar, 2003: 3) indicates that this technique (open ended questions) is the best method of dealing with sensitive questions as it allows the respondent to express an opinion without being influenced by the researcher. This has several consequences for the quality of investigation information. It includes the possibility of discovering the responses that individuals give spontaneously, and thus avoiding the bias that may result from suggesting responses to individuals - a bias which may occur in the case of close-ended questions. By responding to open-ended questions, other issues or views relating to their participation arose giving the researcher a more in-depth insight to their opinions (Gopal, 1998: 97). This is very important considering that the topic under investigation is general and involves numerous pigeonholes.

Interviews began with a general discussion of crime in Cato Manor, and then the focus was guided towards questioning about gender and crime, and causes and contributing factors in the area. This channeling technique allowed me to create understanding of the respondents, and to familiarize the respondents with the basic content of the interview (Bradburn and Sudman (1988), Fowler, (1993) and Gopal, 1998).

Below are key questions that were asked in the interview process:

- What is the definition of crime, in terms of male and female misconduct?
- Of the most prominent crimes, which crimes are committed by males and which ones are committed by females in the area?
- What are the reasons for male and female crimes in the area?

- Are the penalties for male and female crimes similar in the area?

- What can be learnt from those penalties for criminality (male and female) in the area?

4.8. <u>Analysis of data</u>

The data was processed both descriptively and analytically; as the questions were constructed to elicit descriptive information, thereby fulfilling the requirements of a descriptive study in the form of a typological description (Eshbaugh et al., 1980, and Gopal, 1998). Due to the number of interview schedules and because of the comprehensive nature of the interview schedule, it was decided that the statistical processing of data would be impractical, since the data was descriptive in nature; hence it was processed after each interview session. The 2007-2008 South African police crime statistics for Cato Manor (including Umkhumbane informal settlement) indicated that most females were convicted for robbery with aggravating circumstances as were males.

The 2009 statistics show an increase in every crime in Cato Manor (see Appendix B), and it is reasonable to conclude that females also share the spoils; yet the ratio of female-male crime has, to date, been under-researched in the area and South Africa in general. With the focus on understanding community members' perceptions on the topic, and investigating it in line with male crimes, quantitative data was collected from crime rates in the area in order to extract

statistical evidence. This is also revealed in Marx and Charlton's (2003) study, *The case of Durban, South Africa,* which was also carried out in Cato Manor and focus on social settings and crime.

The authors in their study maintained that the South African National Victims of Crime Survey (StatsSA, 1998, cited by Marx and Charlton, 2003) indicates that more than 40 per cent of all burglaries, more than 60 per cent of all livestock theft and more than 70 per cent of all personal theft are not reported in Cato Manor and the adjacent informal settlement. At a local level in other informal settlements where there is little faith in the police services, these figures are likely to be even higher (Meth, 2001, cited by Marx and Charlton, 2003). While theft of property is a frequent and damaging occurrence, levels of assault in one large informal settlement have tended to be lower than national averages suggesting that it may be a relatively safer place in which to live (Leggett 2000, cited by Marx and Charlton, 2003). These perceptions change at night however, when 80 per cent of the participants in the survey felt either unsafe or very unsafe, as also highlighted by most respondents in my study. This highlights the importance of street lighting in improving the quality of life of informal settlement residents.

4.9. <u>Limitations of the study</u>

The problem of crime is very sensitive around the world and specifically in South Africa, considering that it is regarded as the crime capital in the world (Nedbank ISS Crime Index, 2001), with communities like Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement affected extremely badly. Some limitations were evident during the study and these were cautiously monitored in order that validity and reliability were not compromised. However, I can never be certain that findings are the result of some unknown influences.

In order to investigate the nature and causal factors of female vs. male criminality in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement, I had to first obtain permission from the President of the Abahlali baseMjondolo Organisation and randomly ask permission to potential respondents before interviewing them, and this consequently became a time-consuming process.

Although permission was granted by the President, the area programme manager and some people around the areas to ask them questions about crimes, there were various conditions which forced me to wander the area and walk long distances as some people (potential respondents) did not have much time and some were unwilling to share information, regardless of the provided consent letter which was also translated into Zulu.

Considering that research realities can dictate differently, I was forced to seeking only verbal consent, which proved to be time-consuming for me and certain respondents.

The reality is that most Cato Manor and Umkhumbane informal settlement residents work during the day – mostly as gardeners and domestic workers - and come home late. This was inconvenient and dangerous for me and time-consuming. Despite this, I walked around both areas at night, randomly choosing subjects and using the snowball sampling method. Informal interviews were conducted where possible.

Interviewing reprobates in both areas was another major impediment as I had to explain in detail the reasons and purpose of the study and why their co-operation was of great value. Although this is expected of researchers, it was time-consuming process as explanations had to be given to individuals, except where they were in one group (example, in a shebeen). This meant being in the area late at night.

Although both areas are within walking distance from my university residence, lack of transport to and from the two communities also proved to be time-consuming and dangerous because of the long walks late at night.

Interviewing reprobates in all four shebeens was costly as meetings took place over a few days, drinks had to be bought and I had to socialize with them in order to put people at ease (there was no question of bribery).

The fact that I was a researcher was also problematic because some people did not want to share information as they feared being reported to the police, especially if they were non-convicted criminals.

The issue of safety was another problem in the area, especially in the Umkhumbane informal settlement considering that it is a high crime zone. I did not feel free and I was forced to carefully choose my words.

In addition, the characteristics of crime (male-female) present barriers to research: it is an act that many people (if not all) in general keep secret, especially victims. Many victims of crime in Cato Manor were unwilling to talk because of shame, guilt and wishing to avoid re-victimization; as this was stressed by most during the interviews. Mukasey et al., (2008: 3) states that victims often feel helpless, vulnerable, and frightened by the trauma of their victimization. As a researcher, one can address victims' need to feel safe by introducing yourself to victims by your name and title.

Guidelines are: Briefly explain your role and duties, reassure victims of their safety and of your concern for them by being attentive to your own words, posture, mannerisms, and tone of voice. Although this may seem to go without saying, guidelines can easily be forgotten in the heat or distractions of the moment. Also, body language in order to show concern; it involves nodding your head, using natural eye contact, placing yourself at the victims' level rather than standing over victims who are seated, keeping an open stance rather than crossing your arms, and speaking in a calm voice. Although this is very effective in interviewing victims of crime, it is time-consuming and sometimes not possible as some victims do not like to be interviewed about stressful events (Sherman et al., 2005).

Another critical limitation of the study was to ask questions in Zulu; some of the respondents felt demeaned by the assumption that they did not understand English. This was very problematic because when questions were asked in English they provided irrelevant answers and wasted a lot of time. This was because I was seeking more explanations and kept asking follow-up questions to get in-depth information.

Struggling to speak Zulu fluently was another problem during the interviews as many respondents could not understand the questions clearly and these had to be repeated; this was also time-consuming for all.

Looking for potential respondents using the snow balling method was another problem because of a lack of familiarity with both communities, especially in the informal settlement where specific individuals were sought by me on foot.

5. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Due to the great quantity of information which was gathered, it was necessary to divide the analysis of data into three categories. The first category will deal with the biographical details of interviewees (Offenders, victims and general community members). This personal data was derived from interviews with all these people at different interview sessions. The second category will focus on the nature of crimes which were committed by offenders (male-females) in the Cato Manor Township and the Umkhumbane informal settlement. Again, the information in this category was derived from interviews with people who had previously committed crimes in these particular areas. This was because one of the main aims of this study was to obtain the perceptions of the nature and causal factors of female vs. male criminality in Cato Manor Township, Durban.

The third category will focus on data which was presented by victims of crimes through interviewing them while the fourth category will focus on data which was provided by community members in general.

5.2. Findings pertaining to the nature and causal factors of male vs. female criminality

The findings of this study are unique in that it yielded and/or demonstrated that:

(a) Although a great deal has been written about crimes in Cato Manor and Umkhumbane informal settlement and a wide range of causal factors indentified in the area, explaining female crimes with such information as against male crimes has, to date, never been a subject of research in the area. This study will therefore concentrate on this

(b) Studies pertaining to nature and causal factors of male and female crimes have been undertaken abroad by scholars such as Jones, 2005; Holland, 2008; Taylor et al., 1997; just to mention a few, but the subject still remains under-researched in Africa and particularly in South Africa. This study is unique in that it provides detailed information with regards to gender and crime in the country which for a long time has remained under-researched.

(c) The study submits that social background and strains do not cause crime per se, as suggested by available literature (Smart, 1978, Dunaway et al., 2000, Moore et al., 2003), but instead is more likely to lead to crime for both males and females as acknowledged in Chapter 2. Both males and females experience the types of strain identified by the general strain theory (GST), in that they often react to this strain with anger and related emotions, and research by Henry and Lanier, (2001); Beall and Todes,

2004; Reese et al., (2001) to mention just a few researchers suggests that such strain leads some males and females to engage in crime. Engagement in criminal activities is therefore equal for both males and females (Carroll et al., 2009).

According to James-Simon and Ahn-Redding (2005) one of the major reasons for our knowing so little about female crimes and its causal factors is because it is not readily seen or judged as criminal by community members.

In addition, Flowers (1995: 69) maintains that many believe that female criminality is by and large a reflection of economic need and necessity rather than such factors as sexual motivation. In a review of the literature on the etiology of female criminality, Dorie Klein (Cited by Flowers, 1995: 69) found that poor and third world women "negate the notions of sexually-motivated crime". Indeed, studies show that most female offenders tend to be economically disadvantaged, under-educated, self supporting, and mothers, leading one researcher (such as Flowers, 1995) to comment that criminality may be a necessity for women "to provide for themselves and their families, a factor which makes it conceivable to view their larcenies, burglaries, and robberies in simple economic terms".

Pollak (cited by Flowers, 1995: 70) further argued that women were given preferential treatment at every stage of the criminal justice system (CJS), arising in part from men's "chivalrous and paternalistic regard for women," and thus allowing for fewer arrests, less prosecution, shorter sentences, and a lower rate of incarceration than male offenders. Recent studies (by Holland, 2008; Jones,

2005; Demombynes and Ozler, 2005, just to mention a few) have supported Pollak's views with regard to more lenient treatment of women in the CJS. Hence the CJS goal in SA and other countries abroad is to prevent crime and bring criminals to justice. Biographical details of interviewees were included in the questionnaire as such information can throw more light on the subject rather than avoiding it altogether. This is a satisfactory way of data collection (Gopal, 1998: 104). As a researcher whose goal is to bridge current gaps within available literature in the country and help understand crime, I hope that the information provided will serve to satisfy those goals, increase public and professional awareness and help to focus attention on certain presumed causal factors, in the hope of controlling and managing the problem (Gopal, 1998: 104).

5.2.1. <u>Age of respondents</u>

Although age does not appear to be an important factor in preventative measures, it is of utmost importance to know the age of reprobates, victims, and most importantly, general community members, in order to understand the affected group and the offending group. This is vital because it helps understand the age group of offenders and victims alike. In addition, although age might not reveal any significant conclusion regarding criminals and victims, there has been an attempt in this study to ascertain which age group is likely to offend and which age group is likely to be victimized. This will provide fertile ground for future researchers to hone in on the group which is likely to be victimized and the one likely to offend. The present study revealed the following:

5.2.2. <u>Age of reprobates</u>

Figure 1. Reprobates (Between 20-31 years).
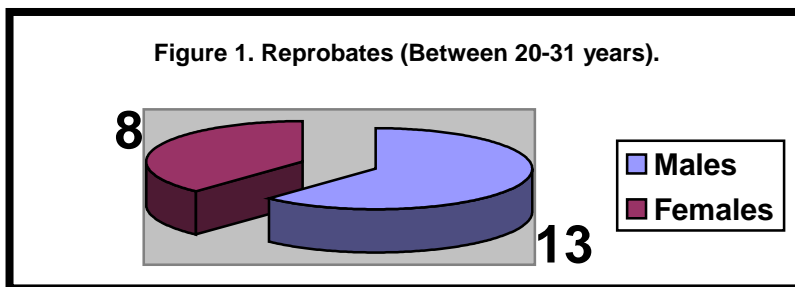
This study found that youthful individuals (between 20-31 years of age) in Cato Manor Township and the Umkhumbane informal settlement are responsible for the most number of crimes. Whilst research has been undertaken in the area with regards to crime in general, the findings suggests that youthful individuals (males and females) engage in similar criminal behaviour because of childhood lives of violent behaviour, weak social bonds, weak family ties and alcohol abuse serving as instigating factors (Muncie et al., 2002: 426). Interviews with young reprobates suggest that their crimes were mostly committed for material gain, and many others were committed for excitement, enjoyment or to relieve boredom (Muncie et al., 2002: 426).

This is also stressed by one young male reprobate in Umkhumbane informal settlement who said:

"I only commit crime for a living; I have no job and the family circumstances are unbearable"

Another young male reprobate in Cato Manor Township stressed that *"being a member of a gang is cool in the community, as I get what I want when I want it"*

Two young female reprobates in both areas said; *"We only commit crimes to fend for our children as we are unemployed and have no other options."*

The majority of reprobates (13) were males, while eight (8) were females. This correlates with the South African police statistics and indicates that the majority of crimes are committed by males. Men in general are seen worldwide as the best candidates for committing crime. This is also indicated by JP Landman and BoE Private Clients (2008) when stating that "there is a school of thought that says most violent crime is committed by males under the age of 35."

 "Relatively few offenders are female. Men are more likely than women to be arrested for the more serious crimes, such as murder, rape, robbery, or burglary." (U.S. Department of Justice's UCR Index Crimes, 1988: 46). This also ties up with the South African police statistics and Crime Index (see Chapter 4) that males are responsible for more crime than females in the country. Males are also more likely to be victims of violent crime than females in South Africa, owing to greater risky behaviours that men engage in. This is also the case in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement as many victims indicated that they were victimized through risky behaviours (mostly at night) by the risky offenders.

This perception of male criminality also ties up with Still's theory of male criminality as cited in Daly et al. (1982: 38) which points out that jealousy can be a trigger to assault. The theory states that "male sexual jealousy is an example of an evolved psychological mechanism." In a nutshell, the theory states that men are likely to react more violently to jealousy as compared to women. This is also indicated by the fact that most males were arrested for violent crimes over girlfriends and bravado over other males in the areas under study as compared to females.

5.2.3. <u>Age of victims</u>

The study also found that individuals between the ages of 20-40 are most likely to be victims in Cato Manor and Umkhumbane informal settlement because most of them come home late from work and/or because they stay out until late (in shebeens and/or taverns'). Most of the victims in both areas stressed that they were victimized late at night (mugged) as they were on their way home from work and a few others stressed that they were attacked during a drinking spree over weekends by males, and sometimes a group of female offenders, which indicates that females are as responsible for violent crimes as much as males are in the areas under study.

The above is also stressed by multiple respondents (adults) in both areas as respondent said; *"When we come home from work in the evenings, we walk in groups to ensure our safety, because offenders usually attack those who walk alone very late."*

One victim from Cato Manor Township stressed that "*Everyday when I come home from work at night, my older children (males) have to wait for me at the bus stop because for several times I have been victimised by either males or a group of females who wander the streets at night.*"

Other victims from Umkhumbane informal settlement said; "*We are victimised because of the bushes and lack of lights around the area. Offenders usually hide in the bushes and wait for their targets to come by.*"

One youth (male) victim in Cato Manor indicated that; "*I was victimised by two females in the sheeben because I could not buy them drinks. They insulted me and when I retaliated, they started hitting me with empty bottles and called me names.*"

One adult female victim in Umkhumbane informal settlement said: *I was mugged by a group of girls on my way home from the sheeben to collect my boys as I was informed that they were engaged in a fight. Things got bad when the boys heard my screaming. They were walking far in front of me. They started hitting the girls and took two of them to the Cato Manor police station.*"

5.2.4. <u>Other community members</u>

Interviews with a wide range of community members (between the ages 20-40) also suggest that males and females are responsible for the greater number of crimes in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement as also pointed out by most respondents, but they also point to the fact of redundancy

and poor quality in the areas, as also indicated by Vaske et al: (2007) in their study conducted in both areas.

Most respondents in both areas said; *"We cannot trust anyone at night, mostly those who walk in groups."*

One adult respondent in Umkhumbane said; *"I have to carry a pocket knife on me every time I walk around or every time I go to work, because I do not know who will be waiting for me when I come back."*

This indicates that the level of fear of crime is great in both areas. This was also indicated by another respondent (female) in Cato Manor Township who stated that; *"Parents need to teach their children about values and respect for other people; those criminals have no mercy towards their victims, whether you are young or old, retaliate or not. They always attack you with dangerous weapons. Now it is difficult to live our lives peacefully."*

5.3. <u>Gender of respondents</u>

Figure. 2. Gender of respondents
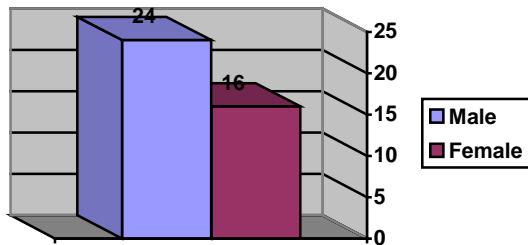
There were a greater number of male (24) than female (16) respondents in the study. This is because most males were interviewed through socialization over a drink in sheebens, while females were interviewed one by one in their residences, Except for those female reprobates who were also interviewed over a drink in shebeens.

5.4. <u>Race of respondents</u>

With regards to race, all (40) interviewees were black Africans. This is because most residents in the Cato Manor Township and the Umkhumbane informal settlement are blacks. There are different reasons why blacks are responsible for the majority of crimes in South Africa, some stem from their living conditions. This is because the majority of black people live in appalling and frustrating environments in the country. Unemployment is also very high, especially in Umkhumbane informal settlement with the minority of individuals working as gardeners and domestic workers in surrounding suburbs; this is also frustrating, according to the interviewees and serves as an instigating factor behind crime

(Farrington, 1986) in both areas. The most important reason for high crime in South African communities is the legacy of the past, which created hate amongst different race groups in the country; this leads to other race groups (Indians and Whites) being targets of crimes in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. This is also believed to be caused by apartheid system in South Africa, since most whites become victims of violent crimes.

A similar argument has also been put forward by Dixon and Van der Spuy (2004: 32) who say that Durban and surrounding areas (such as Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement) provide one of the most vivid examples of urban crisis and can be attributed to late modern capitalism. Moulded by the policies of apartheid and maintained by the dynamics of marketised economy, it is a city of stark contrasts and social fragmentation, as indicated by Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. The population of Durban and surrounding areas is deeply polarized: economically, socially, racially and spatially. Put simply, the majority of the white and Indian population live in affluent, often cosmopolitan areas, while the majority of black and some Indians live in the sprawling suburbs established as a result of forced removals during the apartheid era, which in turn results in property and violent crimes against privileged race groups (whites and Indians) who visit the areas under study, as stated by some respondents.

The U.S. Department of Justice (1988: 47) on the other hand maintained that "among UCR Index Crimes, the arrest rate of blacks was higher for violent than for property crimes. In 1983 blacks accounted for 45% of all prison admissions

and about 47% of all admissions for violent crimes." This also indicates that blacks commit more crimes than any other race group in the country. It is highly likely for blacks to be incarcerated at some stage in their lifetime as compared to whites. "The likelihood that any adult male will have served time in a juvenile or adult jail or prison by the age if 64 is estimated to be 18% for blacks and 3% for whites."

This is also indicated by the Human Rights Watch (1994): Durban prisoners constitute the overwhelming majority of the SA prison population, especially in the Westville prison of Durban. As of December, 31, 1992, the system held 4,258 white prisoners, of whom 191 were women. The total "non-white" prison population stood at 104,440, of whom 3,178 were women. The official statistics break down the "non-white" population into three racial groups: "Asian" (of Indian subcontinental ancestry), "Coloured" (mixed race); and "Black." On the same date, the totals for each of the three groups were as follows: "Asian": 586; "Coloured": 27,315; "Black": 76, 448 and the numbers for blacks are still increasing at Westville prison. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement offenders form part of the prison population in Durban prisons, as stated by most respondents.

5.5. <u>Occupation</u>

Most respondents in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement were unemployed. The minority of the interviewees revealed that they

were working as gardeners and domestic workers at surrounding suburbs and earns less for their survival. This indicates that individuals who are living with low income areas are likely to offend (Newman, 2001).

5.6.   Marital status

Figure 3. Marital status
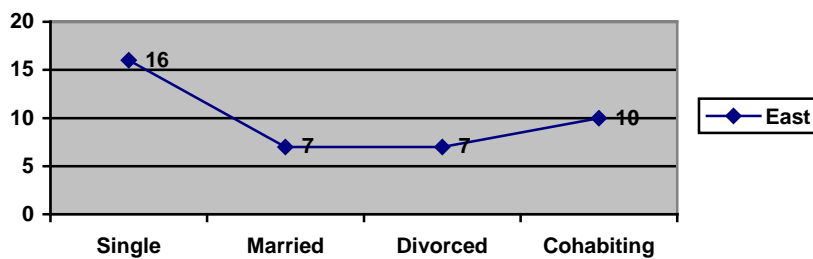
Of all interviewees, most of them were single (16), (7) were married, another seven (7) were divorced and the remaining (10) were cohabiting. This was important to ascertain because studies of the relationship between marital status and crime also confirm the wide-spread assumption of the importance of family life for social adjustment. This is true not only for the children but also for the adult members of the family (Hurwitz and Christiansen, 1983: 335).

5.7. <u>Education</u>

The majority of interviewees in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement have a low level of education. It can be concluded that low level of education correlates with high crime as explained by Merton's earlier sociological theories, a survey of inmates in state prisons in the late 1990s which showed very low education levels. Many could not read or write above elementary school levels, if at all. The most common crimes committed by these inmates were robbery, burglary, automobile theft, drug trafficking, and shoplifting. Because of their poor educational backgrounds, their employment histories consisted of mostly low wage jobs with frequent periods of unemployment.

5.8. <u>Nature of crimes</u>

Figure 4. Nature of crimes

- ■ Comm. Asasalt
- ■ Sex. Assault
- ■ Theft
- □ Mal. Damage to property
- ■ Domestic Violence
- ■ Public Drinking
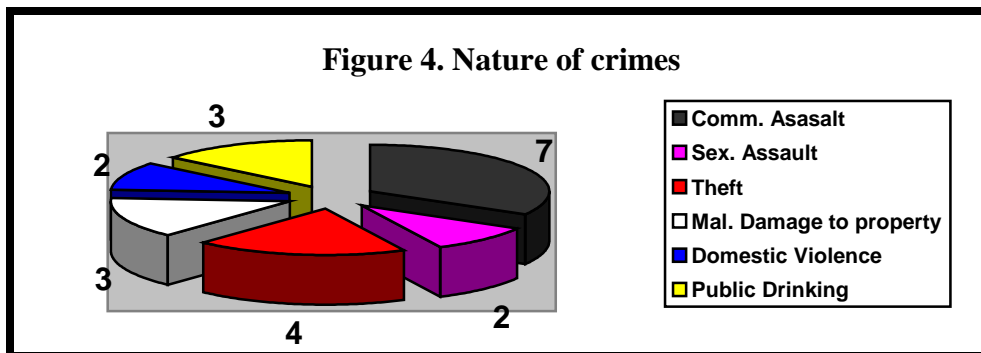
With regards to the nature and extent of the crimes, the above graph indicates that seven (7) respondents were responsible for common assault, two (2) sexual assault, four (4) theft, three (3) malicious damage to property, two (2) domestic violence and three (3) were in for public drinking. Out of eight female reprobates

who were interviewed, 2 stressed that they were involved in common assault, three in theft, one in malicious damage to property, while the other two were involved in public drinking. This also indicates that females commit crimes as often as males in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement, as stated by respondents. Most female and male reprobates provided such statistics during the interview process in both areas under study.

One female offender who was charged for malicious damage to property in Umkhumbane informal settlement said: *"Every month end I have to break my boyfriend's stuff because he does not want to take responsibility for his two children. I want him to suffer the way I do."*

Another female who was charged for common assault in Cato Manor Township said: *"The Township is the survival of the fittest. People say what they want and treat people in different ways. Sometimes I have to fight in order to be respected."*

Interviews with victims and other community members in the Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement reveal that both males and females are responsible for violent crimes such as stabbings, mugging and murder in those areas. However, males are responsible for the greater number of crimes in the two areas. Most of the community members also revealed that individuals (both male and female) from Umkhumbane informal settlement are the ones who are responsible for the greater number of crimes in Cato Manor Township, with social strains quoted as the main cause (see chapter 2) as

compared to the former. This suggests that females infiltrate Cato Manor Township and offend.

5.9. <u>Gender of victims</u>

Information relating to gender of victims was sought in order to ascertain whether significant differences existed between the genders of victims. The findings in the study reveal that females tend to victimise other females in both areas. Males on the other hand are seen as responsible for victimising both males and females in different forms of crimes in both communities, as indicated by respondents. Most males are victimised over the weekends by other males and rarely by females. The study however, reveals that females are responsible for victimizing other males when in groups over the weekends as well.

One female reprobate in Umkhumbane informal settlement also revealed this by saying: "*It is easy to attack other females and/or males, usually for a cell phone and/or cash. They are not likely to give us (a group) any problem if alone.*"

Multiple victims in both areas indicated that "*They leave everything at home when going somewhere at night, but this is problematic because when offenders (males and females) find that you have nothing, they victimize you even more.*"

5.10. <u>Causes of crimes</u>

Although there are many reasons behind crimes, all respondents revealed that poverty and alcohol in both communities are the main reasons behind most, if not all crimes. This is also argued by Zhao et al. (2002: 1) who say that there is a direct correlation between poverty and criminality (Kelly, 2000; Block and Heineke, 1975, cited by Zhao et al., 2002: 1). Becker's economic theory of crime (1968) assumes that people resort to crime only if the costs of committing the crime are lower than the benefits gained. Those living in poverty, therefore, have a much greater chance of committing property crime (Kelly, 2000, Chiu and Madden, 1998, cited by Zhao et al., 2002: 1) than the general population. Property crime is defined as burglary, larceny, or theft (O'Connor, 2005, cited by Zhao et al., 2002: 1).

Most reprobates in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement indicated that; *"They were arrested for property-related crimes because they are high-paying crimes in most communities."*

5.11. <u>Reasons for committing the crime</u>

With regards to the motives and reasons behind the crime, five (5) reprobates (3 males and 2 females) pointed out that they were defending themselves, two (2) were frustrated, two (2) because of unemployment (1 male and 1 female), five (5) stressed that they did not think about the consequences of their actions (3

females and 2 males), one (1) could not control his anger, two (2) were under the influence of alcohol/drugs and four (4) were provoked (2 males and two females). The above information indicates that males and females are likely to commit similar kinds of crimes, depending on social background, status, and influence of alcohol or drugs (Van den Bree et al., 1998).

5.12. <u>Perceptions held by residents</u>

Most participants in the study stressed that crime is prevalent in the Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement. One interviewee in Cato Manor Township stated that;

Crime is rife in this area; I have lost faith in the SAPS because the problem is increasing year after year, despite many individuals (male and females) being arrested daily.

Another interviewee in Umkhumbane informal settlement also maintained that:

Crime is prevalent in this community because of poverty, unemployment and other social frustrations which is prevalent. Many people wake up not knowing what to eat and where to sleep. They resort to crime because of such issues.

5.12.1. <u>Age of males and females</u>

Most respondents in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement between the ages of 30 and 45 stated that crime is rife in the two areas, and most young males and females are responsible for the majority of crimes. The respondents also stated that they fear for their lives and that of their children because of the high level of crimes in both areas. Most respondents also cited the incompetence of the police with regards to the level of crime in the area. This is also indicated by the pronouncements by the new SAPS management and even the Presidency on its approach to harden the stance in the fight against crime are creating waves in the public and more especially amongst police and security commentators. This has been highlighted by the many fatal shootings of innocent people in the past few months. Fears of a militarized police and even the apartheid-style police have been bandied about. The general response to the new attitude of the police is also exacerbated by other structural changes the police have undergone in the last few years in order to be seen as efficient (Omar, 2009).

5.13. <u>Summary</u>

This chapter has presented the findings of the relevant empirical research and forms the basis for the recommendations and conclusion to be made in the forthcoming chapter. The findings reveal that reprobates, victims, and other community members understand that crime in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement is a major problem that distorts development. Respondents, in particular, played a central role in responding to the problem of crime by identifying reprobates, which in turn provided insight into their side of the story. The respondents' said there was a lack of a centralized SAPS unit, community policing forum (CPF) and reporting procedures were a cause for great concern.

It would seem important that the SAPS in Cato Manor Township and the CPF in both areas respond understandingly to male and female criminals and allow them to make amends for their deeds. Thus a concerted effort towards a better understanding will have to be made by all affected parties - SAPS and well as other agencies delegated by the government to fight against crime.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. General conclusions and recommendations

The findings in this study, although restricted to Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement, largely agree with the findings of other authors cited in the introduction and literature review. There is an agreement that both males and females are responsible for the greater number of crimes in different communities, and that female crimes go unreported and unnoticed because of the stereotypes that only males are responsible for the greater number of crimes (including serious crimes) in most, if not all, communities. The main findings are listed below:

1. Most respondents (males and females) who have previously committed crimes in the area maintained that it was because of strains that are associated with poverty and unemployment. They all stressed that poverty does not cause crime per se, but more likely to lead to crime which is seen as a last resort in both communities.

2. The findings in this study revealed that the majority of men are responsible for the greater number of crimes in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement as literature

supposes, but females are also responsible for serious crimes that are believed to be committed mainly by males.

3. The findings in the present study also reveal that there is no conclusive evidence to show that only males are responsible for the greater number of serious and/or heinous crimes. This is due to the fact that crime statistics across the world are believed to be skewed and not valid. Both males and females are likely to be involved in serious and less-serious crimes, depending on their rational choice to commit those crimes. According to this view, law-violating behaviour should be viewed as an event that occurs when an offender decides to risk violating the law after considering his or her own personal situation (need for money, personal values, learning experiences) and situational factors (how well a target is protected, how affluent the neighborhood is, how efficient the local police happen to be). Before choosing to commit a crime, the reasoning criminal evaluates the risk of apprehension, the seriousness of the expected punishment, the value of the criminal enterprise, and his or her immediate need for criminal gain (Siegel, 1992: 131).

4. The majority of respondents (reprobates and general community members) indicated that the victims were both males and females. Examination of literature has revealed that although the victims of crime in peri-urban areas are both males and females, females tend

to experience this problem more than males. Also, males are responsible for a greater number of crimes than those committed by females, regardless of the extent of those crimes.

5. A distinctive feature in the findings with regards to age of victims is that the majority of victims were between 20-40 years. This is due to the fact that those victims are the ones who are mainly working (around suburban areas) and come back home late. Community members together with the community policing forums in both communities should play a central role in informing potential victims about risks associated with coming home late from work. They must educate them about preventative measures to avoid being victimized; such measures should include informing them about walking in groups, not walking in dark and bushy areas and so forth.

6. The findings of this study support the findings of other researchers (Messerschmidt, 1993; Steffensmeier et al., 2006; Burgess-Proctor, 2006 and Pollock and Davis, 2005) that males are predominantly the perpetrators of crimes in difference communities, with females committing lesser but similar crimes in nature. Violent crimes by males are predominant in most communities, but the study found that females also are responsible for violent crimes but, to a lesser extent.

7. Knowledge of law and definitions of what encompasses crime is especially important in addressing crime. The fact that 4 reprobates indicated they were not aware of the consequences of their actions is cause for concern. The community policing forums (CPF) and SAPS in both communities should make it compulsory for community members to learn about crimes and behaviours that constitute the problem.

8. The findings in the study suggest that offenders are aware of their targets as they attack after dark and mostly in groups (females). Although victims should not be criticized for walking out late, they need to guard against potential offenders during those hours in high crime zones.

9. It must be noted with concern that all 40 respondents in the study had sufficient knowledge to be able to tackle the problem in both communities. For effective management of the problem it is very important for every member of the SAPS and CPF to inform individuals about alternative measures to get money (legitimately) and about behaviours which constitute crime. This is due to the fact that most reprobates stressed that they had committed the crimes for personal gain. Skills development workshops should be available for such individuals in order for them to manage the

problem of crime in both areas by being employed or by using skills with which they can make an honest living.

10. The findings in this study reveal that as a result of the lack of reporting crimes committed by females to the police, most females started engaging in serious crimes because they usually go unpunished compared to their males counterparts.

11. There is a need for further investigation in Cato Manor and Umkhumbane informal settlement as many individuals may have more information in both communities but not been interviewed in this study.

6.2. <u>Recommendations</u>

Based on the findings and conclusions of this research study the following recommendations are proposed for the understanding and management of crime in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement.

<u>Pressing recommendations</u>

1. The CPF and SAPS in both communities need to put into action a standardized procedure for the reporting of crime in the area, regardless of who commits it. An effective measure that should assist in this manner is

the one that is used by the Abahlali Basemjondolo Organization which deals with crimes committed in particular areas (informal settlement) and serves as a SAPS reporting agency.

2. Since most crimes are committed late after dark when people come home from work, the SAPS should implement visible policing around those times in Cato Manor Township and Umkhumbane informal settlement.

3. Bushy areas should be dealt with effectively, such as cutting of tall grass along pedestrian lanes in order to prevent crimes in both areas because that is where most offenders hide when waiting for their victims.

4. Workshops for CPF members in both areas should be organized by the SAPS to educate them on how to manage crime, and ensure effective reporting and arrest rates of offenders.

5. The CPF in both areas should inform people about risky areas and educate them about pre-emptive measures.

6. Effective CPF's should be put in place in all sections of the Umkhumbane informal settlement and they should educate the people in the vicinity about crimes and their aftermath.

Continuing recommendations

1. Educating people about crime and preventative measures should be part of the CPF and SAPS in Cato Manor Township and the Umkhumbane informal settlement. This will assist in reporting and increase the arrest rate in both areas as many respondents indicated that some crimes committed, especially those by females, go unreported because of the notion that they are not responsible for a great number of crimes in the area; this in turn affects the SAPS crime statistics.

2. The eThekwini municipality can empower people living in appalling conditions with skills and/or expertise that can help provide alternative means to earn a living in a legitimate way. The Independent Democrats (ID) website addresses this issue by stressing that the causes of crime are complex and varied and that solutions to these problems need to consider the healing and social upliftment of communities and the eradication of poverty. Another perspective is also provided by the Human Habitat organization which maintains that the eradication of poverty requires, inter alia, sound macroeconomic policies aimed at creating employment opportunities, equal and universal access to economic opportunities (and special efforts to facilitate such access for the disadvantaged). The organization also advocates education and training that will promote sustainable livelihoods through freely-chosen productive employment and work and basic social services, including health facilities. There are

however, no universal solutions that can be fairly applied. People living in poverty must be empowered through freely-chosen participation in all aspects of political, economic and social life.

3. The eThekwini municipality must also address the issue of street lightning in both areas because people are scared to go out at night because perpetrators hide and waylay victims in the dark. The prevention of types of crimes committed in streets or public places are particularly important, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The prospect of being assaulted or mugged while one is out walking, particularly after dark, does much to fuel fear of crime, whatever the actual incidence of such attacks. It would therefore be doubly helpful if violent offences could be curbed through better street lighting (Ramsay, 1991: 7).

4. Unlicensed taverns and/or sheebens must be monitored by the SAPS in both areas, especially at night and over weekends because that is when most people engage in criminal activities. This has proved to be effective in other communities of the province (KwaZulu Natal) as stated by Baloyi and Mhlongo (2005) who maintains that unlicensed taverns and illegal liquor-selling outlets in the greater eThekwini are feeling the heat as the authorities intensify a massive crackdown which has resulted in many being shut down. The blitz comes in the wake of a recent safety and security summit which saw delegates, ranging from community policing

forums to representatives from the Liquor Board meeting to look at ways to clamp down on the illegal sale of alcohol in the area.

5. Efforts must be made with community members not to take the law into their own hands, but to co-operate with the police and CPF.

6. Parenting, like other skills, has to be learned. Given the highly-stressful conditions under which most families live, especially single and disorganized families, programmes focusing on effective parenting should be implemented in order to help fight crime in both areas (Gopal, 1998: 162). This is due to the fact that most respondents cited family disorganization and lack of parental guidance as a contributor to crime.

7. The SAPS and CPF in both communities must ensure that all criminals are treated the same in both areas. This is because males in most communities are punished severely for their crimes while females are treated more leniently. This leads to many females engaging in criminal behaviour as it pays (Greifinger et al., 2007: 321).

Conclusion

Crime is South Africa is a major problem and undermines our hard-fought democracy, and affects access to health care facilities, educational institutions and so forth. Levels of recorded crime in South Africa began to increase in the mid-1980s — and dramatically so in the early 1990s. Expectations that violent crime would decrease after 1994 have not materialized. While levels of recorded crime stabilized between 1995 and 1996, crime has been increasing since then. The annual increase in the overall number of recorded crimes was greater in 1999 than in any previous years after 1994. Violent crimes increased at a greater rate than the total over this period. According to the latest available statistics at the time of writing, levels of recorded crime continued to increase during much of the first half of 2000 (Schonteich and Louw, 2001).

Crime trends in South Africa's major cities have followed a similar pattern to those nationally since 1994. A comparison of crime rates shows that Johannesburg has the highest volume of serious crime, followed by Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban. Crime levels in all these urban centres, with the exception of Johannesburg, increased between 1994 and 1999. In Johannesburg, overall crime levels decreased marginally, as did levels of property crimes and some violent crimes such as car hijacking. Of all the cities covered in this analysis, violent crimes increased at a faster rate than the national total over this period in Pretoria only (Schonteich and Louw, 2001).

The SAPS and CPF will function more effectively in order to prevent crimes in Cato Manor Township, Umkhumbane informal settlements and any other community in the country if the municipalities and other stakeholders join hands with community members in the fight against crimes.

Since knowledge about crime is developing at a rapid rate in the country, different people from different backgrounds need to address this social problem from their perspective and also report it to the relevant officials (Gopal, 1998: 163). Effective preventative measures include adopting positive attitudes towards both male and female offenders; this will unquestionably have a positive effect on the prevention and reporting methods because all criminals will thus be treated the same by all relevant institutions.

APPENDIX A

(Durban Area)

Picture by Marx and Charlton (2003: 2)

Aerial view of Cato Manor Township, Umkhumbane informal settlement, greater Durban and surroundings

APPENDIX B

<u>(Cato Manor Crime Statistics)</u>

CRIME INFORMATION MANAGEMENT - SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Crime in the Cato Manor (KZN) Police Precinct from April to March: 2003/2004 - 2008/2009 (Statistics by the South African Police Service (2009), accessed at www.saps.gov.za on 17-11-2009**)**

Crime Category	April 2003 to March 2004	April 2004 to March 2005	April 2005 to March 2006	April 2006 to March 2007	April 2007 to March 2008	April 2008 to March 2009
CONTACT CRIME (CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON)						
Murder	43	61	48	58	44	64
Total sexual crimes	167	154	163	116	132	142
Attempted murder	89	83	77	65	63	132
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	433	446	432	436	402	387
Common assault	372	543	353	216	165	185
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	311	304	252	224	299	297
Common robbery	97	116	108	100	106	178
CONTACT-RELATED CRIME						
Arson	12	18	11	9	12	15
Malicious Damage to Property	158	239	199	188	138	172
PROPERTY-RELATED CRIME						
Burglary at business premises	5	23	14	14	31	14
Burglary at residential premises	369	377	264	266	250	345
Theft of	50	52	35	64	39	55

motor vehicle and motorcycle					
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	95	98	65	127	75	76
Stock-theft	0	0	0	0	0	0
CRIME HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON POLICE ACTION FOR DETECTION						
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition		67	33	50	24	42
Drug related crime	750	771	766	662	391	390
Driving under the influence of alcohol	13	36	39	51	34	19
OTHER SERIOUS CRIME						
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	409	427	276	309	227	257
Commercial crime	11	19	15	6	6	15
Shoplifting	0	1	0	1	0	2
SUBCATEGORIES OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY FORMING PART OF AGGRAVATED ROBBERY ABOVE						
Carjacking	29	28	38	32	66	39
Truck hijacking	2	0	1	1	1	0
Robbery at a business premises	0	0	1	1	11	12
Robbery at a residential premises	1	1	1	24	33	33
OTHER CRIME CATEGORIES						
Culpable homicide	22	22	23	17	26	24
Public violence	0	6	4	1	2	2
Crimen Injuria	71	131	87	56	51	46
Neglect and ill-treatment	8	10	5	6	1	3

of children						
Kidnapping	12	11	11	7	8	6

APPENDIX C

Perceptions of the nature and causal factors of female vs. male criminality in Cato Manor Township, Durban

Section 1: <u>Biographical Details</u>

(1) Age

Under 18	
20-29	
30-39	
40-49	
50-59	
60-+	

(2) Gender

Male	
Female	

(3) Race

African	
White	
Indian	
Coloured	
Other_____	

(4) Marital status

Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Cohabiting	

(5) Occupation

	Yes
Employed	
Unemployed	

(6) What is your perception on crime in the area?

(7) Which crimes are prevalent in the area?

(8) Who is responsible for the greater number of crimes in the area and why?

(9) What are the reasons for crime in the area?

(10) What are social expectations, in terms of gender in the area?

(11) What are the consequences for male and female criminality in the area?

(12) What is the community definition of crime? (In terms of gender.)

(13) Do gender norms serve as instigation factor to crime?

(14) What can be learned from consequences of criminality in the area?

Zulu questions

(6) Wumuphi umbono wakho ngebugebengu endaweni?

(7) Ngubuphi ubugebengu obandile kulendawo?

(8) Wobani abanesandla kubugebengu obandile kulendawo, yindaba?

(9) Yiziphi izizathu zobugebengu kulendawo?

(10) Yikuphi okulindelwe wumphakathi kubantu besilisa nabesifazane?

(11) Yimiphi imiphumela bobugebengu kubantu besilisa nabesifazane kulendawo?

(12) Iyiphi indlela umphakathi oyibiza ngobugebengu?

(13) Ingabe ubulili benza ukuthi abanye abantu bagebenge?

(14) Yini engafundwa ngemiphumela bobugebengu kulendawo?

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