

AN ANALYSIS OF ADLER'S THEORY AND THE FEMALE CRIMINAL

Elizabeth G. Armentrout, B.A.

Thesis Prepared for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

August 2004

APPROVED:

D. Kall Loper, Major Professor

Eric J. Fritsch, Committee Member and
Graduate Advisor

Tory J. Caeti, Committee Member

Robert W. Taylor, Chair of the Department of
Criminal Justice

David W. Hartman, Dean of School of
Community Service

Sandra L. Terrell, Dean of the Robert B.
Toulouse School of Graduate Studies

Armentrout, Elizabeth G., An Analysis of Adler's Theory and the Female Criminal. Master of Science (Criminal Justice), August 2004, 94 pp., 1 chart, references, 46 titles.

This research paper addressed the following question: Do select case studies conform to Dr. Freda Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory? My research involved three female criminals: Karla Faye Tucker, Andrea Yates, and Susan Smith. I addressed Adler's theory in detail, other theories, the makeup of the female criminal and various female crimes.

This study provided evidence that all three case studies conform to Adler's theory. In accordance with Adler's theory, each of these three females committed crimes of accessibility. None of the three individuals sought to commit a premeditated act or to murder unknown victims. They were motivated by emotions arising at a point in time when access/opportunity presented itself.

Copyright 2004

by

Elizabeth G. Armentrout

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | |
|-----|---|----|
| I. | INTRODUCTION TO THE FEMALE CRIMINAL..... | 1 |
| | The Feminist Critique of Criminology | |
| | Female Criminality According to Adler | |
| | Adler's Interview | |
| | Application of Adler's Theory to Typical Female Crimes | |
| | Changes in Female Crime Predicted by Adler | |
| | Research Issue/Question | |
| II. | LITERATURE REVIEW..... | 14 |
| | Adler's Theory | |
| | Socially-Acceptable Roles | |
| | The Independence of Females | |
| | Differences of Opportunity | |
| | Physical Differences | |
| | Size and Power | |
| | Weapons as Equalizers | |
| | Sex-Employment Crimes | |
| | Gender Roles in Female Criminality | |
| | Biological/Hormonal | |
| | Family Maintenance | |
| | Expressions of Criminality | |
| | A Sample of Historical Female Crimes | |
| | A Sample of Different Kinds of Female Killers | |
| | A Sample of Reasons Why Females Commit Crimes and Motivations for Killing | |
| | Contextualizing Female Criminality | |
| | Gender Ration Measures | |
| | Gender Ratios in the Criminal Justice System | |
| | Legal Theories | |
| | Stephen J. Schulhofer | |
| | Ann L. Jacobs | |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Summarizing Adler's Theory | |
| Case Studies | |
| Karla Faye Tucker | |
| Andrea Yates | |
| Susan Smith | |
| Conclusion of the Literature Review | |
| III. METHODOLOGY..... | 64 |
| Case Study in the Literature | |
| General Discussion of the Case Study Method | |
| General Discussion of the Qualitative Research Method | |
| Previous Applications of the Case Study Method in Feminist Criminology | |
| The Benefits of Selected Case Studies | |
| This Research | |
| Selection Technique | |
| Sources | |
| Case Selection | |
| Selection of Key Characteristics/Variables | |
| Analysis | |
| Limitations of the Method | |
| Research Issue/Question | |
| IV. RESULTS & DISCUSSION..... | 74 |
| Results | |
| Research Issue/Question & Answer | |
| Age at Crime | |
| Onset and Family History of Mental Health Problems | |
| Childhood Abuse | |
| Access Opportunity, Weapons, and Aggression/Vengeance | |
| Self Defense/Survival | |
| Trapped/Entangled in Home Duties/Maintenance | |
| Influences to Murder | |
| Demanding Individuals | |

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Motives | |
| Victims | |
| Society Reaction | |
| Final Discussion on Case Studies | |
| V. CONCLUSION & IMPLICATIONS | 93 |
| Conclusion | |
| Implications for Future Research | |
| Implications for Policy | |
| REFERENCES..... | 99 |

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE FEMALE CRIMINAL

Why care about the study of the female criminal? Is it possible that the specific study of the female criminal has not received the attention it deserves? Or, is it unwarranted because males commit a majority of crimes? One might conclude that society is not totally aware of what crimes are committed by females because we are not yet ready to completely accept females as criminals. As the female role in society becomes more influential in all areas, more females are committing crimes. Those crimes range from shoplifting to murder and everything in between. The role of the female continues to expand in opportunities of choice, most notably in the professional arena.

Females are no longer limited in career choice opportunities. For example, instead of being a housewife, waitress, nurse, teacher, beautician, seamstress or clerical employee, all jobs previously considered only to be occupied by women, the female has increased her personal experience and education to obtain employment in formerly male-dominated professions such as business, banking, politics, law enforcement and yes, employment in crime. The change was hastened by the onset of World War II, the women's liberation movement, and the Civil Rights Act. In World War II, females had to step up to the plate and become the main breadwinners of the home since men were fighting and defending our country. With the women's liberation movement and the Civil Rights Act, traditional female roles changed and new doors of opportunity opened.

The Feminist Critique of Criminology

Increased employment opportunities for females created increased criminal opportunities as well. Is it possible that the study of female crimes has been limited when compared to the study of male crimes? As the female role has ascended in society, the study of female crime has not kept pace. The reason may be that males are not yet ready to accept increasingly dominant positions occupied by women. Perhaps, active, prolific study of female crime would imply that society has altered its' focus in that females are no longer perceived as the meek, gentle, small, weak, or quiet sex. Further examination into female crime may provide insight into the cause of female crime (Schulhofer, 1995; Adler, 1975; Mannheim, 1965).

We must move forward in the study of female crime. By studying female crime, we can gain insight into the effects of poverty, incest, abuse, poor judgment, lack of training, lack of education and mental illness that might cause the female to deviate from the path of normal, acceptable, law-abiding behavior. In examining female crime, we are able to develop possible solutions and preventive measures in dealing with female crime. Examination of female crime could aid and assist in rehabilitative measures for the female criminal (Schulhofer, 1995; Adler, 1975; Mannheim, 1965).

Female Criminality According to Adler

Adler's Interview

In a telephone interview in 2002, Dr. Freda Adler stated that her book, Sisters in Crime (1975) contains case studies from 1971-1974. The book also addresses time previous to 1971. Adler saw society's stereotypical view of women and female criminals as genetically passive. Adler decided to write her book due to a study she was completing on drug treatment centers in the United States. Adler would visit the centers as part of the research and inquire as to how the women supported their drug habit. Adler was surprised at the women's responses to her questions. They admitted to robbery, involvement in drug rings, and committing crimes previously thought of as male crimes. Adler researched and found there were few books written on female criminals and decided to write her book. She had hoped it would be published as a college series book; instead, it was published as a popular book. Adler, through her research, surmised that a direct correlation exists between the level independence and equality enjoyed by females and their level of criminal activity (Adler, 2002).

Adler thought females were not genetically passive. She wanted to reveal the increased independence of women and the effects on their criminal activity. Society's view of the female should reflect social equality. Females should share the same rights and privileges afforded to men. Increased independence would result in females utilizing weapons during criminal activity to compensate for a lack of physical strength. This would permit them to commit crimes normally associated with male criminals.

Adler sent a warning that female criminal activity would increase as female independence increased (Adler, 2002).

Adler traveled the nation discussing her book. She participated in interviews on television and radio. She advised, in these interviews, that the female criminal would expand her activity and begin to commit crimes more similar to crimes committed by males. Adler advised citizens, scholars, and communities to "gear up," and be prepared for the female criminal. She stated, "Times have changed" (Adler, 2002).

Adler also stated that new consideration would need to be given to the female prisoner. She advised that prison budgets did not account for the increase in female inmates. In the 1970s, the United States had female prison facilities insufficient to accommodate the growing number of female prisoners. The increasing number of female prisoners was a direct result of increased opportunity and accessibility (Adler, 2002).

Adler stated in her interview that females commit crimes based on accessibility. Women are shoppers, so women become shoplifters. Women have bodies to market, so women become prostitutes for food, money, drugs, etc. In the 1960s, women were employed as clerks in banks so this lead to women committing bank fraud. Her theory indicates female criminal activity is based on access and opportunity. She provides an analogy of the law abiding female (legitimate) and the criminal female (illegitimate) (Adler, 2002).

Adler describes her theory with the utilization of two ladders. One ladder is legitimate, the other ladder is illegitimate. On the legitimate ladder, women are allowed

to drive, on the illegitimate ladder women steal vehicles. On the legitimate ladder, women are allowed in bars, on the illegitimate ladder women participate in street fights. On the legitimate ladder women shop, on the illegitimate ladder women shoplift. On the legitimate ladder women are bank clerks, on the illegitimate ladder women steal bank funds (Adler, 2002).

The analogy of the two ladders is a comparison of law abiding females and criminal females. She uses the analogy of the ladders to illustrate accessibility and opportunity inherent in a number of situations. The female criminal, as discussed by Adler, does not seek to commit premeditated acts of crime, but is influenced by socio-economic factors to commit illegal acts. This analogy clearly illustrates the relationship between legitimate accessibility and the opportunity to commit crime (Adler, 2002).

Application of Adler's Theory to Typical Female Crimes

In discussing typical female crimes, we first have to review what is typical. Typical refers to a class or classification in describing a variety of crimes the female gender tends to commit. According to Adler's theory, females commit crime based on accessibility and opportunity inherent in a number of situations. Those situations are often influenced by the female's socio-economic status (Adler, 2002, 1975).

Typical female crimes include the following (but are not limited to): abandonment of newborn babies, abuse, prostitution, burglary, shoplifting, drug offenses, terrorism, and murders of children/elderly/or sick. The reason these are

typical female crimes is because they do not require a great degree of physical strength which is often used by the male in committing crimes. Females tend to commit crimes of opportunity which echoes Adler's theory of accessibility. Adler also states (2002, 1975), physical limitations may affect the role females play in certain crimes if not provided with weapons to compensate for a lack of physical strength. Should the crime involve some form of confrontation or strength, the female is either acting along side a male accomplice or utilizing a weapon such as a gun to balance her smaller physical build. Additionally, the female may use deceit in acts of murder, or robbery. The deceit could be displayed in many ways including the poisoning of her victim. (Roberts, 1993; Leonard, 1982; Heidensohn, 1995; Hickey, 2002; Richie, Tsenin, and Widom, 2000; Nagel and Johnson, 1994; Pollak, 1950; Adler and Simon, 1979).

In the following, we discuss examples of typical female crimes. These examples of female crimes are based on opportunity as espoused in Adler's theory. The applicability of Adler's theory will be discussed at the end of each section in relation to each example offered.

Abandonment: If a father abandons his children, he may simply leave the care of the children to the mother and avoid criminal responsibility. The father is not chastised by society in leaving his own children nor does he go to jail for such an act of abandonment. However, if a mother abandons her children, she is held accountable by society and punished by law. Females who deviate from the norm of society are punished upon committing a criminal act, such as abandoning their children. The female not only is punished by law but punished by defying her gender norm (Roberts,

1993). According to Adler's theory (2002, 1975), the mother may become stressed, financially distraught, or sick and decide to abandon her children. The opportunity to do so is constantly available.

Abuse: The abuse of children occurs more frequently in lower socio-economic environments where females had children and did not have education, assistance or training to provide for the offspring emotionally, mentally, physically and spiritually (Lopez-Rey, 1970). Additionally, law punishes females if the father abuses a child. Society considers this abuse as a failure of the mother to protect her child and establish a secure home environment (Roberts, 1993). In relation to Adler's theory (2002, 1975), abuse is a crime readily accessible for a mother to commit upon her children. The female does not look for the action of abuse to take place, meaning it is not premeditated. The abuse may be a response caused by the female's childhood background (upbringing) and passed down from generation to generation.

Prostitution: A female chooses prostitution due to needs and necessities. The needs may be social and/or economic. The female may have no other way to obtain money for food, clothing, and shelter. The female's childhood influences the decision to choose prostitution. That choice may be an indirect result of childhood sexual abuse or whether her mother chose to be a prostitute to make ends meet for the family (Adler and Simon, 1979).

Prostitution is the oldest female profession. Some individuals may assume that prostitutes come from lower levels of society such as subsidized housing. However, it could be the female's background, such as childhood sexual abuse, that may cause her

to choose prostitution. Also, economic benefits could push a female into this profession (Heyl, 1974). Prostitution falls directly in line with Adler's theory (2002, 1975). Females use what is accessible in order to gain economic benefit. This accessibility is selling the female body to willing individuals in order to purchase necessities. According to Adler, this crime is not for sexual benefit.

Burglary: Burglary usually involves a forced entry and may not offer solitude for the female offender. The crime of burglary is fraught with unplanned possibilities that may result in confrontation. According to the authors, females generally do not commit these crimes alone. They are primarily accomplices, offering assistance as a lookout or vehicle driver. These crimes may involve confrontation and females commit most of their crimes in secret (Adler and Simon, 1979). This crime, with respect to Adler's theory (2002, 1975), is accessible especially if the female is employed as a housekeeper or is acting as a backup individual for a male to commit the crime. With regard to burglary, the female may be aware of when an individual is away from the residence or business and will set a time for the crime to be committed. The female could possibly have associations with the owners which provide accessibility and opportunity to commit the crime.

Shoplifting: Shoplifting involves the common theft of day to day items. Females usually commit these crimes alone and against entities with whom no relationship is shared, such as department stores or grocery stores. Additionally, females may find it easy to steal office supplies or household items from an employer (Adler and Simon, 1979). Shoplifting aligns with Adler's theory (2002, 1975), due to

the act of females shopping for provisions. The shopping provides a straightforward opportunity to commit a crime.

Drug offenses: The typical addiction is passed down from generation to generation. Some females become addicted to prescription drugs and purchase these drugs on the street or through fraudulent prescriptions. Drug addiction may alleviate the pain of reality. It is also influenced by other factors including social, environmental, and in certain situations, customs, background, and religion. (Adler and Simon, 1979). Drug offenses are factored into Adler's theory (2002, 1975) because of access to pills in the home, stores, office, or from other individuals.

Terrorism: Females are usually involved in a support capacity in such activities as terrorism. The female usually aids the male in being able to sneak into a city or community and terrorize victims. It is difficult for society to see the female in terms of this violent act of horror. Females are not normally viewed by society as cold-hearted killers. However, females are competing for the male role of dominance and educating themselves among the ranks. With their cunning, deceptive and masked ways, the female terrorist can be more deadly than the male terrorist (Cooper, 1977). In applying Adler's theory (2002, 1975), a female may be seeking acceptance and choose to commit this crime; however, this is a crime which does not totally align with Adler's theory. Adler does state as females' progress in their independence, their crimes would be more similar to male crimes. This crime appears to involve premeditation while Adler's theory is based solely on accessibility and opportunity. But, according to Adler, once females become more independent, their crimes would increase in severity.

Murder: Murder by a female usually involves someone involved in a relationship with the female. Unlike their male counterpart, females do not seek out or stalk their victims. A female murderer's victims are usually male companions, spouses or children. In some cases, the murder occurred due to a violent argument with an intimate or hostility toward a child. Other cases of murder involve premeditated actions such as poison or a shooting due to an affair or future divorce (Adler and Simon, 1979; Ward, Jackson and Ward, 1969). According to Adler, female criminals have a relationship with their victims, thereby providing an opportunity for the crime. This crime could be caused by mental illness, sexual or emotional abuse, rejection by family members or peers, financial difficulties or other similar factors.

The typical crimes females commit seem to be based on accessibility more so than premeditation, which conforms to Adler's theory. They seem to be involved in criminal activity through opportunities arising from social, environmental, cultural, professional, background, and religious influences. According to Adler (2002, 1975), the female criminal desires personal gain, as does her male counterpart; however, the opportunities for access have been different. With the increase of independence, training, and education, the variance between female and male criminal activity is diminishing (Adler and Simon, 1979; Ward, Jackson and Ward, 1969).

Changes in Female Crime Predicted Adler

Are Adler's predictions true? Would more females be committing crime with their increased independence since the publication of her book in 1975? According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the annual prison admissions for females has increased nearly 700% from 1980 – 2001. Approximately 14,000 females were admitted in 1980 and approximately 95,000 females in 2001. Females accounted for 4.1% of the total prison population in 1980, and increased to 6.7% in 2001 (Adler, 1975; Greenfield and Snell, 2000; Beck, Karberg & Harrison, 2002).

In 1991, a national prison survey found that two thirds of female offenders sentenced for a violent crime had murdered or attempted to murder someone with whom they shared a close relationship. Violent male offenders, on the other hand, tend to seek out victims who are strangers. The difference in violent acts between females and males appears to be relationship between the offender and victim. The results of this study indicate violent crimes committed by females are perpetrated against individuals to whom the females have regular access. This supports Adler's accessibility theory (Snell, 1991; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994).

Research Issue/Question

This research paper will address the following issue/question: Do select case studies conform to Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory?

Adler's theory relates to the roles females play in society. Society looks on females as the frailer sex. Society believes that the female could not possibly commit crimes equal to that of her male counterpart. Females commit crimes based on environment and access. For example, in the past, female crime primarily included poisoning, infanticide, adultery, and incest. As females gained more independence in society, their access to more serious criminal opportunities increased (Adler, 1975).

There are many issues and questions surrounding the female offender; however, my concentration and focus will be in responding to the following: Do select case studies conform to Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory? I trust with the research and the evidence presented that useful information might be shed on the topic of the female offender. This information could possibly be used for future research into effectively dealing with the female offender through prevention of crime, punishment for crime and rehabilitation of the offender.

My research and examination deals with three select studies of violent female criminals: Karla Faye Tucker, Andrea Yates, and Susan Smith. The reason I chose to study these specific female criminals was that research revealed similar patterns linking

their motives, accessibility to their victims, weapons chosen, socio-economic environments, independence, and acts of violence. Adler's theory maintains that females commit crime based on accessibility. She also discusses the female gender and how society views this gender as opposed to the male counterpart. In the following section, I will be addressing Adler's theory in further detail, other theories, the makeup of the female criminal and various female crimes.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review serves to offer insight into Adler's theory of the female criminal. It addresses socially-acceptable roles and the effect of female independence on female crime. It covers differences of opportunity, physical differences, size and power, weapons as equalizers, sex-employment crimes, gender roles in female criminality, biological/hormonal effects, family maintenance, expressions of criminality, a sample of historical female crimes, a sample of different kinds of female killers, a sample of reasons why females commit crime and motivations for killing, contextualizing female criminality, gender ratio measures, gender ratios in the criminal justice system, legal theories and case studies. It presents other criminologists' research and ideas regarding the female criminal. It further addresses legal theorists' opinions on female offenders. With the exception of one, these theorists appear to parallel, with some differences, Adler's views of the female criminal, society's perception of the female criminal, the study of female crime, and female incarceration. They either support Adler's view or they convey new information that supports her view. The opinions of only one of the selected theorists, Cesare Lombroso, do not align with Adler's view. Lombroso's theory, developed in the mid-1800s, serves to offer past insight into the examination of the female criminal. He is placed in this section for a historical perspective on the study of the female criminal and his interesting thoughts of the female criminal.

Within the discussion of each theorists' and legal theorists' opinions, there is a topic comparison analysis concluding each of the sections. This final analysis discusses whether the opinions of said individuals align or differ from Adler's theory. The section after presentation of family maintenance addresses expressions of criminality. This section discusses a sample of historical female crimes, a sample of different kinds of female killers, a sample of why females commit crime and motivations for killing. It is by no means a complete explanation of the female criminal, but sheds light into whom the female offender might be and why she might choose to deviate from the path of a law abiding individual. This review covers a selection of material that may help us to better understand past, present, and future female criminals. It serves as a prelude to the final section of the literature segment on my three violent female killers and studies for their crimes.

The last section of the literature review addresses case studies. This section details each of my three selected female criminals. It relays only facts on each case study. An introduction on my three female case studies begins with their place of birth, progresses to their childhood upbringing, discusses their socio-economic influences and finally, describes their specific criminal acts of violence.

The literature section reflects my research using reference books, the Internet, law journals, and magazines. The section is derived from various sources and does not serve as a complete guide on the female criminal. It simply offers a sample in examining the female criminal and who she might be. It is presented with great

respect for the individuals whose research and ideas I draw from and will hopefully be beneficial to those who follow in this area of research.

Adler's Theory

Adler discusses the beginning of time with the role models of Adam and Eve. Adam's role was to cultivate the soil and acquire food. Adam was responsible for providing a secure home for his wife and children keeping them safe from outside elements. He was to work outside of the home, develop the land, gather fruits, gather vegetables, and hunt prey. Eve was responsible for items inside the home. Eve's role was to reproduce and her social role was accepted as submissive under Adam. Eve was to wash, clean, sew, cook, and provide other necessities that Adam desired inside the home. Eve's position in life was secondary to Adam's. If Adam did not work outside of the home there was nothing for the family to eat. Adam's position was therefore primary. Adam secured a place for the home to be safe and Eve created a home to rest in safety. In addition to Eve's home duties, Eve was the only one to reproduce. This role bound Eve to the home because the child must be cared for inside the home and Eve's duties remained inside and tied to the home. Therefore, the socially-acceptable role for females in society was established as being submissive and secondary to the male (Adler, 1975).

Socially-Acceptable Roles

Before World War II, socially-acceptable roles for females primarily included the domestic housewife, the community supporter and the welfare recipient. The domestic housewife took care of household chores and cared for the children. She also aided in whatever services were requested by her husband. The housewife was responsible for creating healthy, well-adjusted children that would eventually grow up as adults and become acceptable members and supporters of society (Heidensohn, 1995).

The community supporter developed outside informal groups. She tended to the sick such as the mentally ill/handicapped, disabled, and elderly. She served as craft maker, midwife and wise woman. She was considered the bond of the community. Those who were unable to support their community or themselves were dependent upon welfare (Heidensohn, 1995).

The welfare recipient possessed no other means of support. She would receive the support of the community and government with donations of clothes, food and other necessary items. It was socially unacceptable for the traditional welfare recipient to seek employment outside her home to support her children. The children needed to be cared for by her and no one could be a substitute for the mother caring for her own children. Additionally, if the welfare recipient chose to be employed outside of the home in order to make ends meet, she was thought to be neglecting her own children. If the neglected children strayed from acceptable society forms of behavior and became

delinquent, the mother would be blamed for this delinquent behavior because she worked outside of the home (Heidensohn, 1995).

Topic comparison analysis: Heidensohn echoes Adler regarding society's view of and role assignments for the female gender. Heidensohn also addresses the female's role as being the caretaker of the home and not the provider for the home. Heidensohn follows the same line as Adler in that females may not stray from the acceptable dictated behavior that society orders.

The Independence of Females

In World War II, men were called away to represent their country. While the men were away fighting for the country, a vacancy was left in jobs those men previously filled and women were called upon to fill this vacancy. The female role in society changed substantially with war. A number of females were no longer domestic housewives, community supporters or welfare recipients. The shift for some American females changed from homemaker to a vocation outside of the home. The female was working outside of the home and working in what was previously thought to be a male profession/environment (Adler, 1975).

After War World II, the shift of roles changed the American female station from home to work. Household appliances were developed and took the role of what use to be the housewife and completed tasks in a shorter amount of time. Women moved directly into what was formerly known as the male profession work force outside of the

home. As women became more proficient in the areas of employment outside of the home, their education increased, their independence increased and the traditional housewife sex-role belief no longer existed (Adler, 1975).

With women working outside of the home and gaining their independence, the women's liberation movement evolved. With the liberation of women, crime was born for the female offender. As women gained more independence, part of that independence would be evident in criminal activity. The frustration and disappointment reflected in increased female delinquency were the result of women fighting for their independence. The roles of women have changed in the last eighty years; however, the expectations of home responsibilities have not changed for women, thereby increasing the level of stress and the likelihood of future delinquency (Adler, 1975 and Heidensohn, 1995).

The women's liberation movement created new opportunities for women to commit crime outside of their comfort area, which was their home. The places that women were now committing crime were in the professional male arena such as embezzlement in the workplace. Women offenders were taking risks and becoming more closely related to their male counterparts in crime. The more the professional boundaries between women and men decrease the more the criminal behavior will merge into similar patterns. Women become assertive and aggressive just like men in the professional world and thus they become assertive and aggressive in committing crimes (Adler, 1975).

Today, females may choose to work outside of the home due to reasons of single parenthood, other financial issues, or career fulfillment, to name a few. An increase in professional alternatives brings with it the increased opportunities to commit crime. As females achieve higher professional status, the temptation and opportunity to commit crimes also increase (Simon, 1975).

With the rise of independence among females, the advancement of job opportunities and continuing education, expanded access to criminal activity in the areas of white-collar crime and embezzlement are increasing. The revolutionized, new female has increased opportunities to use crime to alleviate the stress of daily life. Such stress may involve raising a family on a single income or living in an unsafe environment. Females will continue to be thought of by society as submissive and compliant; however, with the increase in female crime, the traditional role of the female may change (Klein and Kress, 1976).

Topic comparison analysis: Heidensohn, Simon, Klein and Kress offer the same view as Adler in that increased female independence serves as a conduit for increased criminal opportunity. This independence is acquired by education and expanded opportunities for employment status. They too express the same ideas as Adler regarding society's view of appropriate role assignments for the female gender. They discuss that the female responsibilities for home maintenance still remain and with employment outside of the home, additional stress will provide avenues for possible delinquency.

Differences of Opportunity

Since the advent of women entering the professional and political arenas, the drive for equality among females and males has narrowed in conditions of authority, strength, salary and social position. With increasing equality for females, comes the growing opportunity for more crimes to be committed by females. In the past, females were oppressed in employment and social position. Many felt they had no choice but to use femininity to gain more power in their employment and social position. At present, with the liberation movement, limitations and boundaries have been narrowed freeing the female to choose between motherhood, education, professional advancement and use weapons to lessen the physical strength issue (Adler, 1975).

The civil rights movement and the women's liberation movement were established based on the Declaration of Independence and the drive for equal rights for all. With the progress of equality comes the realization that females have more opportunity to commit crimes. Females are competing with men in the criminal arena as well as the professional work force. The female criminal exceeded her past notions of crime and chose to compete with the male counterpart in committing violent acts, embezzlement of funds and terrorist activity such as Patty Hearst and the Symbionese Liberation Army. The differences in opportunity between female and male are the result of established roles assigned by society (Adler, 1975).

The role of the female in the family is thought of as a commodity. What is the female worth and what will her services generate? Therefore, females may be thought of as slaves by their fathers and spouses. The female is passive, gentle, kind, produces offspring and is the unpaid caretaker of the home. This role the female is subjected to by society is the reason why females extend outside of lawful behavior and commit criminal acts of deviance. Their acts of deviance reflect areas of accessibility including shoplifting, prescription drugs obtained from a physician or spouse, and bouncing checks (Klein and Kress, 1976).

Topic comparison analysis: Klein and Kress follow the same theory of Adler. Their writings mirror Adler's theory as it relates to accessibility and opportunity. They also state that female's role assignment is established by society and a female may perform acts of deviance based on those role assignments.

Physical Differences

Cesare Lombroso started his studies of the female criminal in the mid-1800s. Lombroso would bring home bags of bones acquired from the Turin prisons to study the physical differences between the female criminal and law-abiding females. Lombroso thought that females were restricted to commit certain types of crimes due to their biological makeup. He considered that the female criminal was born criminal and that through his physical studies the female criminal possessed different bone composition and different visual appearance when compared to law-abiding females. Lombroso and

his son-in-law, W. Ferrero, authors of The Female Offender (1899), described the female criminal as unnatural, masculine, forceful, jealous, filled with revenge, unfeminine and deficient of maternal emotion. Physical flaws of the female offender include malformations of the skull, brain or face, possible squinting eyes, twisted nose, receding forehead, big ears, hairy bodies and tattooing. The female offender was void of any feminine traits. She disassociated herself from the law-abiding female who was maternal because her physical traits were masculine (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1899).

Lombroso (1899) described the female offender as biologically dysfunctional. The female offender did not possess a maternal nature and contained more masculine physical traits. Generally, females were thought of as the weaker sex due to their size in comparison to males. If there were more masculine physical traits, the female was less likely to be wed and produce offspring. Females were thought to be childlike and inferior to males; therefore, the crimes that were committed were not thought of as serious. The crimes that females committed were not that of their male counterparts which required thought, energy, and aggression (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1899). Adler (1975) disagrees with Lombroso's view and states that female criminality is more the result of environment rather than genetics. Socially, females are directed to abide by the norm.

Females are physically smaller and meeker than men. Females have been socially created for submissiveness, dependency and conformity. Men have been socially created as larger, stronger, aggressive, achievement-oriented, willing to break

rules and take risks. This characterization of the average male and the average female was accepted as the norm in the past (Adler, 1975).

Topic comparison analysis: Lombroso's theory does not align with Adler's theory because of his studies concerning physical differences between the female criminal and law-abiding females. His studies concluded that the female criminal was born criminal and possessed different bone composition and different visual appearance when compared to law-abiding females. He did not account for environmental influences, access opportunity crimes and society's perceptions of the assigned roles females play. His theory is of interest due to the period of time in which he wrote his study. It serves as background information concerning early studies, thoughts and perceptions of the female criminal.

Size and Power

Differences in male and female are size, strength, aggression and dominance. Dominance is over-personified with males in the criminal justice system. Generally speaking, size and strength are biological. Aggression and dominance are acquired. In humans and apes, elements such as social manipulation, ruses and group alliances were the determining factors for leadership. The winner of leadership was not always the strongest or the quickest. Adler believes size is a significant factor in the determination of dominance (Adler, 1975).

Generally, an animal's size will be the deciding factor of whether the animal will exhibit aggressive behavior. Humans conceive size as an important matter to fasten to characteristics of wealth, lineage, social connections, skill, and intelligence. All the previously mentioned characteristics are identified as big and dominant. Culture assigns the characteristics that will be categorized as dominant. Increased female independence will foster a corresponding increase in female criminal aggression and the utilization of means to compensate for a lack of physical prowess (Adler, 1975). Alternatively, females may not choose to commit crime based on physical strength but more so on deceptiveness which is difficult to quantify (Bonger, 1916).

Crimes committed by females may be harder to study for statistical measures. Typical female crimes do not always involve an immediately identifiable victim, such as in the case of shoplifting. Females are more cunning, secretive, and less aggressive in their crimes than their male counterparts and, therefore, not all crimes get reported (Bonger, 1916).

Topic comparison analysis: Bonger's view differs somewhat from Adler's view in the idea of females being less aggressive in committing their crimes. Bonger states that females commit their crimes in deceptiveness and in secret. His view could possibly be limited due to the lack of statistical studies on female crime available when he wrote his opinion and the time period for which it serves.

Weapons as Equalizers

Weapons are often used by female criminals to compensate for a lack of physical strength. The utilization of weapons enables females to overcome the differences between male and female size. Females are able to utilize some weapons in the same strength and capacity that their male counterpart does. In certain instances, female weapons usage can be considered as an equalizer in the context of leadership determination. Female weapons usage can blur gender lines in such situations (Adler, 1975).

The female's choice of weapon may be a home-based item such as a knife, kitchen utensils, hand tools, cleaning products, gasoline, bottles, closet rod, steam iron, razor, garden hose, shoes, guns, poison, lethal injection, or suffocation utilizing a garbage bag or pillow. The most popular weapon used is arsenic. Arsenic is not an uncommon household item to have for use in gardens. It can be concealed in food and drinks. When arsenic is used, the victim's health determines how much is needed and for what duration. Health care providers tend to use potassium chloride as their weapon of choice. The choice of weapon is usually subtle as opposed to aggressive (Ward, Jackson and Ward, 1969; Hickey, 2002; Pollak, 1950).

The most subtle weapon used by females to commit criminal acts is sheer deceit. The second weapon is the female's size which assists her in concealing her deviance as opposed to her male counterpart who usually utilizes strength. The third weapon is female mind diversion, or their ability to distract potential victims using their physical

structure to hide acts of deviance. This may be evident in prostitution. As opposed to her male counterpart, the female can hide or makeup responses of satisfaction when committing a sexual act within her prostitution activity. The male can not possibly hide his biological makeup when committing a sexual act (Pollak, 1950).

Topic comparison analysis: Ward, Jackson and Ward, Hickey, and Pollak's views reflect the same philosophy as Adler's theory. They state that females use weapons that are easily accessible to them such as deceit and size. They also follow Adler's theory in that female weapons of choice reflect those items which are easily available. They, too, state that females utilize deceit in acts of prostitution. They asserted that females use their physical attractiveness in committing acts of prostitution and the individuals who may utilized the services of prostitutes are males. The authors propose the idea of female sexuality being used similar to male physical strength in allowing women to commit crime. Both are used to provide an advantage to the perpetrator.

Sex-Employment Crimes

Different crimes are accessible to male and female criminals based on their physical/sexual form. Laws seem to be created by males for males with little or no regard for the possibility of female criminals. Such an example would be prostitution and the law created to make this behavior illegal. Females who choose this type of lifestyle do so for economic reasons and not sexual satisfaction. Those economic reasons would be money, food, and the basic necessities of life (Mannheim, 1965).

Notice the following study regarding delinquent females considering their choice of sexual activity.

The completed study of five hundred delinquent females revealed that these females come from poor homes. Their living environment represents lower income households. The fathers are not breadwinners but continue to populate the family with offspring. The mothers of the delinquent females are forced to work outside of the home to feed the children. Therefore, the females are reared in an environment lacking in love, nurturing, emotional health, cleanliness, and adequate financial means. The delinquent females are forced to discontinue their education and attend to themselves and siblings by joining the workforce. They find little assistance in the way of finances which further exacerbates the issue of survival. This in turn forces the delinquent females to supplement essential needs by way of criminal deviance. The main factor of the criminal deviance was sexual activity in the early stages of adolescence. Once the sexual activity began, pregnancies followed activating the vicious cycle of their upbringing under limited conditions and more crime (Glueck and Glueck, 1934). When young, deviant females begin to commit sex-related crimes, it is not for sexual gratification, but for necessities such as clothes, food, and freedom (Klein, 1973). They choose prostitution, which provides the economic support necessary to obtain these necessities (Klein and Kress, 1976).

Prostitution is the only criminal activity that males do not usually commit, although they are a participant. In the United States, prostitution is a crime. However, the female is the only individual to be prosecuted and not her participant, who is

usually a male. Why does the prostitute become a criminal and not her participant? There is a larger percentage of male law enforcement, male prosecutors, and male judges who can not possibly think of arresting one of their own for a minor crime, which they themselves did not solicit. Therefore, it is always the female, and only the female who is prosecuted for a crime that is considered not appropriate by society's standards of female behavior (Pollak, 1950). Additionally, females do not choose prostitution for sexual gratification or sexual deviance; it is always for an economic preference. Again, unlike her counterpart, the male looks for sexual gratification in the criminal mentality of choice. The male is never one to choose sexual deviance for financial gain (Bonger, 1916).

Topic comparison analysis: Mannheim points out the same society standards as Adler. He uses the same example of prostitution in discussing the crime occurring for economic reasons and not for sexual satisfaction which follows the accessibility view of Adler. The Gluecks' view differs from Adler's due to the cycle and crime continuing in the same area, repeating itself from generation to generation. However, the accessibility for crime, such as prostitution, remains the same as Adler's theory. The delinquent females employed what was easily accessible, selling their bodies, to obtain food, clothing, and shelter.

Klein and Kress follow the same theory of Adler. They discuss the example of prostitution for economic support and not sexual gratification. Pollak's view reflects the same philosophy as Adler's theory. He too follows Adler's views of females committing crimes based on environment and accessibility, within his discussion of the prostitute,

the judicial system, and societal standards of the biological female. Bonger's reference to prostitution follows Adler's view of accessibility, in that it's an easy crime for them to commit.

Gender Roles in Female Criminality

Adler states that the differences in the sexes are reflective in social-role, not physical or psychological nature. Simply stated, it is how society dictates that female roles are to be identified. Little girls are taught from early on that they are to be made of "sugar and spice and everything nice." If the girl deviates from this path, her actions are met with disapproval. This places females in a distinctive role of submission to social expectation. The opposing view reflects that little boys are made of "snakes and snails and puppy-dog tails." Males/boys are accepted socially to behave in deviant ways as opposed to females/girls. It is difficult for society to accept aggressive females (Adler, 1975).

In the past, aggression was considered to be a biologically possessed trait. Males were thought of as normally aggressive, such as soldiers, hard-boiled businessmen and merciless criminals. In society, men are generally accepted as dominant figures whether as businessmen or criminals. Females were considered to be timid, passive and complying. If the female attempted to be something other than a mother or a housewife and failed, it was confirmation of their lack of authority or aggressiveness. If the female succeeds in pursuing opportunities outside society's

stereotypical expectations, she is still perceived as a failure for not choosing an acceptable path for her gender. There are many social differences between males and females (Adler, 1975).

The social differences between males and females include personal hygiene, attitudes, punishment, dress, activity, career, sexual activity and aggressiveness. If females digress from the social norm, society views this as unacceptable. The culture has influenced females to be obedient, dependent, and modest about their bodies, avoid sex play as well as aggressive competition. Females are expected to turn to others for support, to express emotions and to achieve less in school/work. The expectations placed on females begin at an early age in the form of toy selection (Adler, 1975).

According to Adler, one of the most basic factors of shaping a child is toys. What toy a child is given may reflect on how the child is trained to deal with social expectations. For girls, the toys will be soft and non-challenging. For boys, the toys will be mechanical and problem solving. Assimilating and social pressure are instrumental in defining sex-role beliefs. Society assigns certain characteristics to an individual (Adler, 1975).

Status and dominance are what matter in society. It is with these characteristics that an individual may, among other things, earn more money or become a high ranking political official. If an individual is perceived to be small and unassertive, it does not matter what employment the individual seeks, the individual will continue to occupy subordinate positions and be considered secondary. This idea correlates with

how status is assigned to females in society. The female is thought to be small, submissive, and unassertive. It is possible that males are unable to determine what status to assign a female. Their lack of understanding is due to the female's increasing independence (Adler, 1975).

Males have had a difficult time understanding their female counterpart. Males have either set the female up on a pedestal to be worshipped for their kindness or berated them for their increasing independence. Males are challenged by the consideration of equality for their counterpart which is why males cannot decide whether to praise or berate the female. It was the standard thought that if females committed crime they were daring to enter the male territory of behavior and abandon their own female lifestyle. It is with the pressures for equality that females may focus on other alternatives to deal with stress, such as crime (Pollak, 1950).

The focus of why females turn to criminal activity may be directed to the body, mind, and social factors. Females may turn to crime due to rebellion against what society believes to be the female role. For example, if a female is unable to marry due to them being considered "unattractive," or from the right class of society, the female then turns to prostitution to be a part of what society expects of her which is to be submissive to a male. Society views sexuality as the only attribute females have to offer. Females are directed by society to not go beyond the boundaries of expectations and use sexuality for criminal deviance. These expectations support the inferior role females must adopt which is to be domestic and produce offspring. If the female steps outside of this role, she is assuming a more masculine or deviant trait. When young

deviant females begin to choose crime, it is not for sexual advancement or pleasure, but for necessities such as clothes, food, and freedom. The female is not thought of to be equal to the male in mind or body, so society assigns the female role as submissive. When young females begin to grow and desire independence, sometimes the only way for them to do so is by deviant means (Klein, 1973).

Topic comparison analysis: Pollak's view reflects the same philosophy as Adler's theory. He states that society's perception of female roles remains as submissive and tied to home duties/maintenance in spite of the progression of equality for females. Klein offers the same views as Adler in society's perception of the female gender. Klein discusses the female's role, and if there is deviation from that role the female is following some masculine or deviant trait. She is aligned with Adler's view of society's beliefs and standards for how a female is to behave and possible rebellion issues of deviation. The authors state that society expects females to be small, attractive, from the right social class, modest about their sexual activity and submissive. They also state that females must accept the inferior role society expects in producing offspring as well. Their writings mirror Adler's theory.

In comparing Lombroso's studies of the female criminal with the studies of Pollak and Klein, Lombroso described the criminal female as unattractive, with masculine physical traits as well as void of feminine emotion. Lombroso did not look into socio-economic influences on the female criminal as addressed in Adler's theory. His study covered only physical attributes.

Biological/Hormonal

Society forces females to hide their menstruation and to not be able to discuss the specifics of biological life changes with their children. This in turn causes the female to be looked upon as sly, untruthful, and cunning in nature. This may explain why females cover their crimes. If a female is aggressive due to menstruation they are restrained by society to hide and conceal this behavior and not be honest about their true physical makeup. There are several biological/hormonal factors which are unique to females (Mannheim, 1965).

Other biological/hormonal factors that come into play are menstruation, pregnancy, and menopause. This is due to the female's biological balance. During times of physical and biological change, there are internal balance factors that cause the female to become weakened. Societal standards dictate the female should hide when her menstruation cycle occurs because she may become irrational or more sexual, which are not acceptable modes of female behavior. There is a potential for more shoplifting, arson, homicide and resistance against rules of society when a female is menstruating. It is only acceptable for a female to have children within wedlock. It is frowned upon for a female to be a single mother. Additionally, crimes against the fetus and newborns take place upon or after pregnancy. Once menopause occurs, society thinks the female suffers from diminished utility. Menopause also brings with it a less peaceful demeanor with the female initiating arguments, lying, and even arson (Pollak, 1950).

Topic comparison analysis: Mannheim points out the same society standards as Adler. He follows Adler's view in stating that societies force females to behave a certain way regarding their biological changes. Pollak's view reflects the same philosophy as Adler's theory. He too follows Adler's views of females showing restraint concerning their biological/hormonal makeup. He states that society maintains females are to hide biological/hormonal changes. Pollak reflects Adler's view that within these changes, there is increased potential to commit crimes based on environment and accessibility.

Family Maintenance

One of the significant changes today is the progression of equality for females in the work force as well as crime. However, the responsibilities at home for the female have not changed with the progression that equality has claimed. Females are still accountable for home cleaning, shopping, childcare, childrearing, and other such matters of domestic life. The female may be making more money than her male counterpart and committing just as many criminal acts as her male counterpart, but she is unable to avoid the traditional values that society has laid upon her to maintain the home structure (Pollak, 1950).

Society still has the mentality that the female's role is that of cultivator of the home. This role involves cooking meals, cleaning the home, tending to children and elders, shopping, and acting exclusively as a home-based individual. With this responsibility of the female cultivator/provider, comes the temptation of secretive

criminal acts. Those acts could be poisoning of the meals, accidents in the home, mistreatment of children and elders, and shoplifting. The children and elders are the least likely individuals to resist a criminal act from the female care provider. The children and elderly are the innocent dependent individuals who are unable to request legal law enforcement assistance for help against the female cultivator/provider of the home (Pollak, 1950).

Topic comparison analysis: Pollak's view reflects the same philosophy as Adler's theory. He states that society's perception of female roles remains as submissive and tied to home duties/maintenance in spite of the progression of equality for females. He also follows Adler's views of females committing crimes based on environment and accessibility, within his discussion of the female care provider at home.

Expressions of Criminality

A Sample of Historical Female Crimes

A study of female criminal history might reveal a general lack of attention to this subject matter. Nevertheless, females were committing crimes, sometimes brutal in nature as discussed below. Additionally, the following discussion reveals research concerning three Twentieth Century female criminals. I selected the three Twentieth Century female criminals because they seem to follow a similar pattern to my three female case studies, whose specific facts will be discussed in the final Literature section.

The twentieth century female criminals discussed below committed the same acts of violence as my three female case studies but within a different time frame. Let's first review historical female crimes.

Historically, female criminal activity included, but was not limited to, adultery, incest, witchcraft, poisoning and infanticide. History shows that if a female was found guilty of adultery, she was released to her husband for punishment for the offense. Other punishments included drowning, burning or burying alive. Throughout history there have been a number of powerful females who were able to commit violent acts, or had violent acts committed, due to their positions of power (Mannheim, 1965).

History has distinguished various female leaders who were not noted for meekness, or silence. Queen Elizabeth I, clothed herself with a gold crown and shining breastplate while commanding an army of twenty thousand men and riding a white stallion before them. Cleopatra was recognized for her artful political manipulation and military victories. Russian Empress Catherine was a mother but also a leader of successful armies (Adler, 1975). In 1580, Elizabeth Bathory, known as the Countess Dracula of Hungary, murdered over eighty females, and then washed in their blood. An example of noted crimes committed by women of the past would be the following three Twentieth Century female criminals (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

Bonnie Parker was born in 1911, in a small Texas town called Rowena. At the age of sixteen, she married Roy Thornton, from whom she eventually separated. She then met Clyde Barrow who offered her adventures in robbery, murder, and fulfilling her sexual drive. She and her partner Clyde were shot to death by policemen in 1934,

and were thought to have murdered at least thirteen individuals. There was no reported motive for these murders (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

In the 1920s, as a preacher's daughter, Lillian Edwards spent time in San Jose, California. Lillian obtained her teaching degree and was employed for a period of three years before she married Kenneth Edwards. Upon marriage, Lillian became a fulltime wife and mother. After Lillian's third child, mental health problems ensued. She spent time in a mental health hospital and was diagnosed with a manic-depressive disorder. Upon her release, her husband Kenneth delivered her back home to care for their three children while he prepared to leave for a business trip. Upon Kenneth's departure, Lillian bathed each child, placed each in bed, and then strangled all three children with bed sheets (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

In 1936, Annie Jones lived in Canada, with her husband Erwin and their five children. Annie had obtained medical assistance for a mental illness upon warning her husband and children she would kill them. Annie tied the children up outside while having a picnic, and shot the children as well as herself (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

Historically, there wasn't a great deal of attention on female criminals. However, with the above three females, crimes were being committed by said gender. Those crimes being committed were as serious as their male counterparts and possibly more alarming to the public. The crimes addressed here did not stray too far from crimes females are committing today (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

A Sample of Different Kinds of Female Killers

The following represents a description of five types of killers: Vision, Mission/Comfort, Hedonistic, Power/Control and Disciple Killer. The authors (Geringer – Black Widows, 10 February 2002; Hickey, 2002; Kelleher and Kelleher, 1998; Holmes and Holmes, 1998) discuss motivations for each selected killer. Generally, a female killer will select a victim with whom she has some kind of relationship such as a family member, significant other, friend, co-worker, etc. The victims may be helpless such as a child, a sick individual or an elderly individual. Commonly, the murders are executed near or in the female killer's home. Case studies produced the following typology of characteristics concerning these killers (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

The Vision Killer does not have a true sense of reality. The killer may state they hear voices from God, an angel, a spirit, or the Devil. The killer is motivated by the voice/voices they hear or the act is committed at the direction of those voices (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

The Mission/Comfort Killer's victim is usually someone who has a close relationship with the killer. The killer's motivation is material gain such as insurance money, business interest or property. Some of these killers are regarded as an Angel of Mercy. The Angel of Mercy seeks those individuals who are close to death such as individuals in hospitals, the elderly, or individuals who need day to day care due to a disability/illness. This killer generally utilizes chemicals such as poison, lethal injections, or suffocation as a means to kill. All of the aforementioned methods are relatively

difficult to trace (Holmes and Holmes, 1998; Geringer – Black Widows, 10 February 2002).

The Hedonistic Killer seeks to kill for pleasure. This pleasure could be personal or sexual. Various methods are used such as guns, knives or poison. This killer heightens his kill through the use of alcohol or drugs (Holmes and Holmes, 1998; Geringer – Black Widows, 10 February 2002).

The Power/Control Seekers kill for dominion over an individual. The killer's motivation is to control when and how an individual will die. The killer's personal self-esteem and value may temporarily be increased through the power/control killings (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

The Disciple Killer is motivated by personal and professional acceptance from a leader. The leader decides who the victim will be and what methods will be used to kill. The killer's personal relationship to the leader and sometimes idol is the key factor in killing. The killer and the leader/idol take part in the murder thereby making fantasy become reality. There is a bond and loyalty between the killer and the leader/idol (Holmes and Holmes, 1998).

In summary, a female killer will kill someone they know such as an intimate, family member or dependent individuals. A female will choose a non-aggressive method to kill such as poison. A female will kill for profit, control or revenge. She is a quiet killer but can be just as violent as a male killer. The female killer is not always visible and their crime may go unreported. Her killings are hidden due to the non-aggressive choice of murder. She is cautious, alert, accurate, meticulous, disciplined,

and silent in the murders they commit. Female killers who act alone are socially skilled and extremely structured. These killers kill either at home or work (Geringer – Black Widows, 10 February 2002; Hickey, 2002; Kelleher and Kelleher, 1998).

*A Sample of Reasons Why Females Commit Crimes and
Motivations for Killing*

Females may commit crimes due to hormonal changes, menstruation, maternity, and other physiological reasons. Some females who are stay-at-home mothers with three or more young children (at home) are more susceptible to depression, stress and illness which could lead to criminal behavior. Females who have problems being a mother inside the home do not always confide or discuss such matters with other females, family members, spouses, etc. These stressful problems compound the responsibilities of motherhood which can totally seclude the female in desperation, hopelessness, internalizing the stress and may lead to possible criminal activity (Hickey, 2002; Heidensohn, 1995; Roberts, 1993).

Generally, females commit crime due to mental illness, aggression, vengeance, survival instincts, feeling trapped, being entangled, abused and due to demanding individuals in the past or present (such as parents or a spouse). With mental illness, the female may have had a history of mental illness or family genes that cause the female to possibly hear voices in their head to respond to crime. With aggression or vengeance the female may be acting as an accomplice or in support of the male to

commit crime. In self defense or survival, which relates sometimes to feeling trapped, entanglement and abuse, battered mothers or wives have to make a decision to act in the best interest of the child/children. These decisions may be based on the safety of the mother, safety of the children, sufficient housing, financial security, and the presence of the father in the home. A mother who is discouraged with a situation may reflect this discouragement thru depression, addiction, child abuse, murder of the intimate or suicide. Females may kill their male intimates due to physical aggression by the male. The male is the first to display either verbal or physical aggression thereby causing the female to react with deadly force. If there is previous abuse by the male, the battered female is simply reacting in self-defense. The female believes that she is in danger and that deadly force is the only way to protect against harm (Holmes and Holmes, 1998; Hickey, 2002; Heidensohn, 1995; Roberts, 1993; Taylor, 1986).

Criminal activity among females may be supported by violence, sexual abuse or verbal abuse that occurred in early stages of adolescence. Some individuals suggest that due to females pursuing criminal activity after adolescence abuse it is more related to survival crimes. Survival crimes are of females that need money in order to support hungry children, feed a drug habit, and/or escape dangerous relationships. These women tend to have a history of victimization, lacking in social, educational, health, and/or economic necessities. Young adolescent females may be attempting to flee their abusive environments and in turn end up delinquent (Richie, Tsenin, and Widom, 2000).

Some female motives to kill are money, control, enjoyment, sex, drugs, cult involvement, cover-up and feelings of inadequacy. Other motives for killing could be stress such as a new mother not being able to handle childcare or call on assistance for help, the loss of a loved one or other stressful situations. Some females have had problems with alcohol, menstruation cycles and hormonal imbalances. Certain other situations such as being a victim to abuse and not dealing with the abuse could possibly lead to killing (Hickey, 2002).

Contextualizing Female Criminality

Gender Ratio Measures

Gender is not viewed as being ingrained in biology but instead as a multifaceted environmental, social, chronological and educational creation. Gender interactions deal directly with all that is created and are primarily supported by male's dominant and authoritative influence over females. Two central issues are involved. "Generalizability" questions whether theories of male crime may be relevant to female crime. Common theories of crime may not be directly applicable to female illegal behavior. "Gender-ratio" questions why females do not commit as many criminal acts as their male counterparts (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988).

The generalizability problem has been tested; however, the results are limited, mixed, and inconclusive. The gender-ratio problem is measured by a majority of male scholars. Members of each point who test both problems are not sharing information,

goals and results. There is a proposal to expand a gender-neutral theory of crime due to the gender-specific, female criminal behavior theories from prior studies which are considered sexist and reflecting unvarying fixed conception. The theories involving male crime are understood to be common and are not considered as gender-specific (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988).

Many feminist criminologists are cautious of previous theories of generalizability and gender ratio problems. This caution stems from a lack of theoretical arguments from disputed evidence and not much sensitivity to women's realities. Female criminologists search for knowledge through biographical case studies, autobiographical accounts, participant observation or interviews. Currently, the evidence is inconclusive to address the generalizability or gender ratio problems. There are also concerns with the appointed place of research. The research concerning the criminal male and female needs to be completed by both male and female criminologists within the same location in order for test results to be weighed equally and to diminish gender bias (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988).

Criminal deviant behavior has frequently been the study of males' dominance, and female experience was not viewed as relevant to such studies. Male criminologists have studied the gender ratio problem in juveniles and adults. Female criminologists have been more cautious in forming theories of the gender ratio problem. Female criminologist research is concentrated in observations and interviews, such as providing quality, social context, and case histories of why females, adolescents and adults develop into criminals. It has been observed that male criminologists who study

adolescent male gangs are captivated by the level of delinquency. In some way, the male criminologist perceives the acts that are committed as heroic. This may have caused a delay in the analysis of female criminals. One example of the study of female criminals is the study of female prostitutes. There is no heroic or captivated story of the prostitute's deeds. The conduct is viewed as self-destructive, no thrill, and is basically brutal. Lives are ruined. This study differs from the male studies of adolescent gangs. The difference between the two studies is that the adolescent gangs are considered normal, admirable, or delinquent machismo. The criminal female is considered sad and destructive. If females deviate from the norm and choose a profession such as prostitution, they are not looked upon favorably by society. Prostitution is viewed as sexual deviance rather than a reasonable choice for females who desire food and necessities for themselves as well as their children (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988).

Gender equality is lacking in the criminal justice system. The convicted female criminal is given special treatment. New qualitative studies in the legal system should focus on the female's socially and economically subordinate status, gender differences in employment, sexuality and parenthood. New studies should also address arrest, sentencing, and incarceration. Improved programs for females including health and child issues need updating or implementation. Further review of contextualizing female criminality may be found within the Implications for Policy section, Chapter V., of this paper (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988).

Topic comparison analysis: Daly and Chesney-Lind convey different points than Adler due to the study of female crime and the problems of male criminologists and female criminologists not working together to study or resolve the issues. However, they pursue the same view as Adler in discussing socio-economic issues of gender interaction and the male's dominant and authoritative influence over females. Their views were written almost fifteen years after Adler's and yet their perceptions still follow the same theme.

Gender Ratios in the Criminal Justice System

In studying female criminal activity, there should be less emphasis on comparisons between male and female crime and more stress on the factors of female crime. If comparisons are made, the underlying fundamental issues are overlooked causing the observer to limit consideration of motives and reasons for the crime being committed. The study of female criminals should not be limited to male criminologists, male law enforcement, or male judicial officials. This study would reflect a bias caused by limited perceptions of the opposite sex and the product of the study would be distorted from private past regrets rather than a fresh theoretical perspective. Society and the judicial system impose a double standard on the female offender (Mannheim, 1965).

The female offender may be seen in two ways by society: (1) the victim who has had no other choice but to commit crime in order to make a living; (2) the criminal

that has been clever enough to commit a crime and yet attempt to plead and use her feminine persuasion to receive a lesser sentence for the crime. There are two different points of view to answer the aforementioned observations. One point of view is from the women's movement who believes there should be no double standards for the female criminal. The female criminal should be prepared to receive the same penalty as their male counterpart whether they are the main breadwinner/supporter of the family or just a mother. The other point of view is from judges who state they are not as strict in their sentencing with the female offender as the male offender. The judges look toward probation for the female offender as a penalty for their crime and resolution of the criminal case (Simon, 1975).

It is difficult for the male law enforcement employee, male prosecuting attorney, or the male judge to arrest a female for committing a crime, much less sentence her for a crime. The attitude of the judicial system is still one of protection for the female. Chivalry may not exist in some places, but it still exists within the legal system when it comes to female criminals (Pollak, 1950).

Topic comparison analysis: Mannheim points out the same society standards as Adler. He states there should be more studies on female crime and less emphasis on comparisons between the genders. Simon discusses the same view as Adler with society's perception of the female gender. She states that females either choose to commit crime for economic gain (following Adler's accessibility theory) or the female criminal uses her feminine persuasion (again aligning with Adler's accessibility view). She states that there are double standards within the judicial system and society's

perception of the female offender. Pollak's view reflects the same philosophy as Adler's theory. He states that society's perception of female roles remains as submissive and tied to home duties/maintenance in spite of the progression of equality for females. He too follows Adler's views of females committing crimes based on environment and accessibility, within his discussion of the prostitute, the judicial system, and societal standards of the biological female.

Legal Theories

Stephen J. Schulhofer

The criminal justice structure aligns directly with Abraham Lincoln's theory of a government by the people and for the people, if the people are male. The criminal justice structure was designed by males, for males, to be in opposition to males. There was no thought of dealing with the female as a criminal. And, if females are criminals, how can males design laws to fit appropriately (Schulhofer, 1995).

One million females are imprisoned each year. Since 1980, the male prison population has grown by 112%, and the female prison population has increased by 202% (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1994, 2000; Snell, 1991; Galliard and Beck, 1997; Beck, Karberg & Harrison, 2002). The expanding number of incarcerated females could echo the equal treatment attitude that now governs sentencing. However, if one examines the programs available to male and female prisoners, one might reconsider the equal treatment attitude within the criminal sentencing guidelines for females.

Prisons (in Michigan, Louisiana, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Nebraska) offer men vocational training in twenty areas compared to female's vocational training in only five areas. Male vocational training encompasses a variety of subjects including programs leading toward a college degree in business administration. Female vocational training encompasses training in cooking, crafts such as sewing, and a certificate, not a degree, in secretarial technology. American prisons in the 1990s seem transported back to the 1950s, where males learned a trade and females learned home economics. The feminist perspective strives to revise the laws that deal exclusively with males and individualize them for the female criminal (Schulhofer, 1995).

Topic comparison analysis: Schulhofer covers different points from Adler's view but adheres to the same societal perception of the female gender/criminal. He states that the female criminal is not thought of specifically for crime and punishment except by males who design the laws. Schulhofer further discusses the lack of equality in sentencing and rehabilitation for the female criminal. Legal theories ignore gender role-based causes of crime, but do not detract from Adler's theory; rather, they explain the mechanism.

Ann L. Jacobs

It is difficult for females to be arrested, prosecuted and judges and juries to convict them due to female biological makeup and socialization. Females are still viewed as the weaker, less aggressive and gentler sex. Society still holds true that

females should be protected, catered to, and chivalry may not be dead when thinking of the female criminal (Jacobs, 2001).

The United States may have more females on death row than any other country. The females remain unknown until their execution date is announced. Once the execution date is set, the media and public have a difficult time accepting that a female, possibly a mother or grandmother, will die in a few days for a crime for which she was convicted by a jury of her peers. The media and public are once again reminded that females can be sentenced to die just like their male counterparts for crimes that are violent and unacceptable (Jacobs, 2001).

Topic comparison analysis: Jacobs addresses different points than Adler's theory but repeats the same view of society's perception of the female gender. She states that it is difficult for society to reconcile the idea of females as criminals and as caretakers of the home. Just like Schulhofer, Jacobs follows the same line of discussion in the lack of equality female criminals experience in sentencing and programs designed to benefit inmates.

Summarizing Adler's Theory

In summary, Adler's theory states society has established role assignments for the female gender. This was as submissive and secondary to the male. Adler's theory affirms that female criminal activity is based on access and opportunity. She explains that the female criminal does not seek to commit premeditated acts of crime, but is

influenced by socio-economic factors to commit illegal acts. The crimes females commit seem to be based on accessibility more so than premeditation. They seem to be involved in criminal activity through social, environmental, cultural, professional, background, and religious influences (Adler, 2002, 1975).

To support Adler's theory, I will be applying her theory to my three female case studies. Do my select case studies conform to Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory? The answer to this question will be addressed in Chapter IV, Results Section, of this paper.

The mechanisms of Adler's theory are the following: (1) Females may not stray from the acceptable dictated behavior that society expects; (2) As females gained more independence, part of that independence would be evident in criminal activity; (3) The independence is acquired by education and expanded opportunities for employment status; (4) Adler's theory maintains that females commit crime based on accessibility (Adler, 1975).

Case Studies:

Karla Faye Tucker

Karla Faye Tucker was born in Houston, Texas. Karla was the third child born to a father who worked as a longshoreman in the Gulf of Mexico. Her mother was a housewife. Karla's father and mother divorced and remarried each other several times due to her mother's numerous extramarital affairs. At age ten, the final divorce of

Karla's parents was complete and Karla's mother told her why she did not look like her two siblings who were blonde, blue-eyed and fair-skinned. Karla was an illegitimate child. Karla never sensed she belong to her father and sisters due to her mother's affair (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

Karla's father had won custody of Karla and her two sisters upon the final divorce. However, Karla's father was never home. He was always working and expected his daughters to conduct themselves in a conservative fashion and endeavor to succeed in school (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

After the final divorce of her parents, Karla began a very different lifestyle. At age ten, Karla started smoking marijuana. At age eleven, Karla progressed to using heroin. Karla was greatly influenced by her two older sisters who hung around with an older crowd of delinquents and Karla strove to accompany her sisters. There was a particular gang of bikers called the Banditos who conducted parties with drugs and orgies. At the age of twelve on a drug high from shooting-up, Karla and one of the biker members had sex. Karla had found what she felt was her true family with the biker gang and felt accepted being invited to use drugs and have sex. Karla felt she did not belong with her biological family (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

Karla dropped out of school in the seventh grade. Her parents had different fundamental beliefs in raising their three daughters. Karla would often receive lectures from her father about staying in school and living a conservative lifestyle. In visiting her mother, Karla would be given lectures on the art of rolling marijuana cigarettes correctly. Additionally, Karla also received lessons from her mother on how to be a

prostitute. Karla truly wanted to please her mother. Karla attended sessions with her mother who had contacts with groups such as the Allman Brothers, the Marshall Tucker Band and the Eagles (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

At the age of sixteen, Karla married a mechanic by the name of Stephen Griffith. Griffith had stated to the *Houston Chronicle* that Karla hit him harder than any male friend/foe with her fist. Griffith knew that if he and his wife were in a bar and got into some trouble, she could handle her own as well as his. Karla eventually left Griffith and met Shawn Dean and Danny Garrett. Garrett ended up being Karla's companion and never questioned her career choice as a prostitute. Garrett also readily supplied Karla with drugs (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

In 1983, a three day birthday party bash had been going on in Karla and Garrett's house in Houston, Texas, for one of Karla's older sisters. The party included "beer, whisky, tequila, placydills, dilaudids, valium, mandrex, coke, bathtub speed, heroin," (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002) and a sex orgy. Shawn Dean, Karla's best friend was in attendance but badly beaten from her ex-husband Jerry Lynn Dean. Karla had wanted to physically attack Jerry for the beating he had given her best friend. Karla, Garrett, Shawn and a friend by the name of Jimmy Leibrant began to discuss ways of getting even with Shawn's ex-husband. On June 13th, Karla drove Garrett to his bartending job and left the other party attendants at their home. Karla told Garrett that she would be there to pick him up once he completed his shift (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

Karla and Leibrant picked up Garrett after his shift was completed. The three discussed going to steal Dean's motorcycle to get even for his abusing Shawn. Garrett had some time to think about what would hurt Dean most while completing his shift at work. Leibrant was instructed to keep a look out while Karla and Garrett headed toward Dean's apartment door. Dean had a habit of parking his motorcycle inside his apartment. There were tools everywhere as if Dean had been working on his motorcycle before going to sleep. There was also a shovel and pickaxe among the tools (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

Dean heard something in his apartment and began to move out of the bedroom. Garrett grabbed a hammer and was headed toward Dean in the bedroom. Garrett began striking Dean with the hammer and Karla followed with the pick-axe. Karla found a woman hiding in the bed. Karla's anger followed Garrett's attacks. Karla swung the pick-ax at the female who was later identified as Deborah Thornton. Garrett killed Dean with the hammer and was encouraging Karla to follow his lead. After killing Thornton, Karla attacked the already dead Dean (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

Karla and Garrett bragged about their attack and killings. They were not hard to locate and arrest. Both individuals received the death penalty. Garrett died in prison of liver disease. Karla attempted many appeals to change her death penalty to life in prison. While in prison she converted to Christianity and had many interviews to help her appeal. She had told Larry King that at the time of the murders she felt as if she

finally measured up to the boys in her group/family. Karla stated she had no guilt and had even experienced a triple orgasm (Geringer – Tucker, 10 February 2002).

Andrea Yates

Andrea Yates grew up in Houston, the youngest of five children. Her father was a disciplinarian/demanding individual. Her mother was supportive, sensitive, caring and nurturing (as stated by Andrea in an interview at a hospital two years before the deaths of her children). Three of Andrea's siblings had been treated for depression. Andrea graduated at the top of her class at Milby High School and was captain of the swim team. Attending the University of Texas in Houston, Andrea graduated and began a position as an oncology nurse at M.D. Anderson Cancer Center in Houston (Langford, 2002; Hewitt, 2002; Roche, 28, January 2002).

Rusty Yates, Andrea's husband, graduated third from DuPont High School in Tennessee. Rusty had been an athlete at DuPont High. He attended Auburn University and graduated with highest honors which helped him obtain a position as a computer engineer at the Johnson Space Center. Rusty believed in bible reading, praying and no birth control (Langford, 2002; Hewitt, 2002; Roche, 28, January 2002).

In 1989, Andrea and Rusty met while living in the same apartment complex. In 1993, they were married. Their first child was born in 1994 (Noah-age 7 upon death) and the other children followed (John age 5; Paul age 3; Luke age 2 and Mary age 7 months). Andrea home schooled the kids and lived in confined quarters including a

small house, camper, and a converted 350 square foot Greyhound bus which Rusty thought would accommodate their many trips with the children. The living arrangements were the result of Rusty's belief in living with few earthly possessions. Rusty believed this was a biblical mandate. Additionally, his wife was responsible for everything at home including the schooling of the children. Rusty did not want to be responsible for home matters or even a yard to mow (Langford, 2002; Hewitt, 2002; Roche, 28, January 2002).

In 1999, after the birth of their fourth child, Andrea took approximately 45 antidepressant tablets. She spent time in Methodist Hospital. The doctor diagnosed her with major depressive disorder. She also spent time in a psychiatric facility after being found in their bathroom with a knife to her throat. Andrea was in and out of institutions from 1999-2001. She had told medical personnel in the institutions that she and her husband would continue to have as many babies as nature would allow (noted on her medical chart at Memorial Spring Shadows Glen-psychiatric facility) (Langford, 2002; Hewitt, 2002; Roche, 28, January 2002).

On June 20, 2001, Andrea filled the bathtub with water after her husband Rusty left for work. One by one, she drowned each of her five children. After each drowning, she would carry the dead child's body into the bedroom and laid each next to each other. All bodies were found on the bed by law enforcement with the exception of Noah, whom she left in the bathtub. After the murders, Andrea called 911 and her husband to report the incident (Langford, 2002; Hewitt, 2002; Roche, 28, January 2002).

In Andrea's confession to the police, she stated she thought of killing her children for awhile. She stated to the police that the children were not growing correctly and she was a horrible mother for that. A psychiatrist who examined Andrea after the arrest recorded that she thought the devil was residing in her and that she must be punished for being bad. She believed all men were demanding and maddening. She viewed females as being submissive and felt responsible for tribulations in the family (Langford, 2002; Hewitt, 2002; Roche, 28, January 2002).

After the death of the children, Rusty stated that he always thought his house would be full of grandchildren. He said he may never be called "Daddy" again. He visits the graves from time to time but continues to support his wife. Andrea was sentenced to life in prison. Rusty currently lives at the same home where his wife killed all their children (Langford, 2002; Hewitt, 2002; Roche, 28, January 2002).

Susan Smith

On September 26, 1971, in Union, South Carolina, Susan Leigh Vaughan Smith was born. Her parents were Linda, a homemaker, and Harry, a firefighter and textile mill employee. The marriage of Susan's parents was not a blissful union. Harry had bouts of violence and threatened to murder Linda and commit suicide. Harry was also an alcoholic (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

Susan had two other siblings. One sibling was the result of Linda being impregnated by another man before Harry and she were married. Due to the turmoil in

the home between Susan's parents, the children were frightened. On one occasion, Susan's older sibling, Michael, unsuccessfully attempted suicide by hanging himself. Michael received continuous mental treatment after the attempted suicide. Susan's parents divorced when she was six years old and her father then committed suicide by placing a gun in between his legs and directed the gun at his stomach (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

After the death of Susan's father, Linda remarried Beverly Russell. Susan excelled in school and was a member of various organizations such as the Beta Club (honor's student club), Math Club, Spanish Club and Red Cross Club. Susan also worked with Special Olympics and the aging adult community. Susan was a Candy Stripper at the local hospital and served as president of a club that carried out work for the community (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

Although Susan was a success in school and other activities, she yearned for a father's attention. She would often compete with her mother for Beverly's attention. Sexual abuse began to occur between Beverly and Susan. The family sought counseling and blamed Susan for the abuse. Beverly was an affluent individual in the community and Linda may have convinced Susan to not file charges against Beverly for the molestation; however, a school counselor whom Susan sought for comfort pursued the matter. A sealed agreement between the Assistant Circuit Solicitor and Beverly's attorney was not made public. Linda and Beverly did not divorce and he continued to reside in their home (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

Susan worked at the local grocery store during her high school years. She began dating an older married man and another co-worker simultaneously, became pregnant and had an abortion. Shortly thereafter, she attempted suicide and overdosed on aspirin and Tylenol. Susan was hospitalized and her doctors discovered this was not her first attempted suicide. She was released after a month of medical treatment (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

After Susan completed her medical treatment, she began dating a school peer named David Smith, who was a grocery store clerk. David Smith had been dating a long time girlfriend and Susan at the same time until Susan told David she was pregnant. David, age twenty, and Susan, age nineteen, married and had their first child (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

David and Susan came from different backgrounds. Susan was accustomed to city living and the niceties that Beverly provided Linda and the family. David was raised in the country and had been renovating a home on his family's property. David's parents did not get along due to a difference in religious beliefs. The home that David provided on the family's property did not live up to Susan's, Linda's or Beverly's expectations. Additionally, David was not college-educated. Three months after their wedding, Susan found David's father had attempted suicide with pills (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

After the birth of their son, Michael, Susan continued her grocery store employment and took college courses. Susan and David's marriage was strained due to her material interests, her insistence on loans from her parents, her mother's

unannounced visits, and unsolicited advice. Susan always followed her mother's advice. Additionally, David was Susan's supervisor. They each had extramarital affairs and lived in separate homes (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

Susan became pregnant with their second child whom they named Alexander. After the birth of Alex, Susan and David separated and Susan filed for divorce. Susan sought other employment and began to date Tom Findlay. Findlay ended their relationship with a "Dear John" letter. Findlay stated that they could remain friends but their personal relationship was over. Findlay did not want children or the responsibilities of child rearing (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

On October 25, 1994, Susan fed her sons, dressed them, and placed them in her automobile. Later, Susan was found crying and stating that an African American man had stolen her vehicle and taken her children. This report would be broadcast nationally. Every law enforcement agency, centers for missing children, and the media became involved in locating the man that took the Smith children (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

On October 27, 1994, David and Susan were administered polygraph tests. David's test was negative on the vehicle theft and missing children. Susan's test was one of many to be administered. Susan's statements were not consistent and she would change her story many times (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

Through many interrogations, Susan indicated her life was mixed-up, she was lonely, isolated and had failed. Susan stated she tried to commit suicide while in the driver's seat. She could not do it. She then placed her automobile in neutral, got out,

released the emergency brake and watched as it rolled into the John D. Long Lake with her children strapped to their seats (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

The divers in John D. Long Lake located Susan's automobile according to the confession statement. The vehicle was upside down, windows rolled up and all doors closed. The boys were strapped in their car seats and one small hand was against the window. Autopsies of the boys revealed the boys were alive when the car entered the water. Susan was sentenced to thirty years in prison. She will be eligible for parole in 2025, and will be fifty-three years of age (Pergament, 10 February 2002).

Conclusion of the Literature Review

In summary of the literature review, all selected theorists, with the exception of Lombroso, supported Adler's views on the female criminal, society's perception of the female criminal, the study of female crime, and female incarceration. Each of the theorists, with the exception of Lombroso, supported Adler's view. The subjects discussed were socially-acceptable roles and the effect of female independence on female crime. We covered differences of opportunity, physical differences, size and power, weapons as equalizers, sex-employment crimes, gender roles in female criminality, biological/hormonal effects, family maintenance, expressions of criminality, a sample of historical female crimes, a sample of different kinds of female killers, a sample of reasons why females commit crime and motivations for killing, contextualizing female criminality, gender ratio measures, gender ratios in the criminal

justice system, legal theories and case studies. We presented other criminologists' research and ideas regarding the female criminal. We addressed legal theorists' opinions on female offenders. Lombroso's theory, developed in the mid-1800s, served to offer past insight into the examination of the female criminal. He was placed in this section for a historical perspective on the study of the female criminal and his interesting thoughts on the female criminal.

Within the discussion of each theorists' and legal theorists' opinions, there was a topic comparison analysis concluding each of the sections. This final analysis discussed whether the opinions of said individuals aligned or differed from Adler's theory. It was by no means a complete examination of the female criminal, but hopefully shed light into whom the female offender might be and why she might choose to deviate from the path of a law abiding individual. This review covered a selection of material that may help us to better understand past, present, and future female criminals.

The last section of the literature review addressed my case studies. This section detailed each of my three selected female criminals. It relayed only facts on each case study. It described the socio-economic influences leading to their specific acts of violence.

The literature section was an accumulation of my research on reference books, the Internet, law journals, and magazines. The section is derived from various sources and does not serve as a complete guide on the female criminal. It simply offers a sample in examining the female criminal and who she might be. It was presented with

great respect for the individuals whose research and ideas I draw from and will hopefully be beneficial to those who follow in this area of research.

III. METHODOLOGY

Case Study in the Literature

My case studies were selected as a result of my interview with Dr. Freda Adler. Adler's theory was published in 1975. I questioned whether her theory would apply to female criminals after its publication. Adler stated that communities needed to "gear up," and be prepared for the female criminal; "times have changed (Adler, 2002)." It was necessary for me to study her theory further and place it into practical application. I thought it would be interesting to apply her theory to female criminals whose crimes were committed long after the publication of Adler's theory. My focus would be to examine whether the three selected female criminals would conform to Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory.

General Discussion of the Case Study Method

Case study methodology involves the collection of facts dealing with people, environments, individual experiences, or objects to allow the researcher to adequately identify how the selected case study performs. The case study integrates numerous methods of data collection in order to measure and evaluate the subject matter. The methods may include content analysis, comparative analysis, interviews, observations, analytical presentation of data, or other techniques. The case study method may be

narrow in focus or address a wide-ranging observation with regard to the subject matter. Characteristics or variables of a case study method provide vivid details used to form a complete picture of the selected case study (Berg, 2004).

Five tools are essential to conduct effective case studies: an inquiring mind, to listen or observe, adaptability, understanding the issues and an impartial analysis of the data. An inquiring mind constantly questions the data on the selected case study. It is important to listen or observe in gathering data through interviews, observations, or comparative analysis. Adaptability is necessary for changes that occur upon research, analysis and the final presentation of the results. Understanding the issues is necessary for gathering pertinent data. Impartial analysis of the data is required to arrive at a logical, substantiated conclusion (Berg, 2004).

General Discussion of the Qualitative Research Method

The qualitative research method is comprised of expressions, ideas, characterizations, metaphors and associations. It is a method that necessitates clarity during the initial planning phases. Qualitative research is not expressed through computer programs or statistics. It employs words and descriptions through content analysis, case study, analytical presentation of data, comparative analysis, interviews, observations or other techniques (Berg, 2004).

Qualitative research methodology requires analyzing individuals and their environmental surroundings. It also examines how individuals position themselves in

their surroundings. This research method studies people and their life patterns related to upbringing, socio-economic influences and specific behaviors, learned or biological (Berg, 2004).

Previous Applications of the Case Study Method in Feminist Criminology

In previous applications of the case study method in feminist criminology, Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988) point out there are still problems of male criminologists and female criminologists not working together to examine gender specific crime. They state a main point of studying feminist criminology is to research direct factors that influence a specific gender to commit crime. This study contrasts with criminological theory which follows the male gender experience and applies it to both genders. They state new qualitative studies in the legal system should focus on the female's socially and economically subordinate status, gender differences in employment, sexuality and parenthood. New studies should also address arrest, sentencing, and incarceration (Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988; Schulhofer, 1995; Jacobs, 2001).

Both of the Wolfgang studies (1982; 1972) focused on the individual criminal instead of the crime. They assert that race and social status are the fundamental reasons for delinquency. Additionally, they state there is repetitiveness to such delinquency.

Additional previous applications of the case study method include the Gluecks' research study (1934) of delinquent females who differed from Adler's theory due to

the cycle of crime continuing in the same area, repeating itself from generation to generation. However, the accessibility for crime, such as prostitution, remains the same as Adler's theory. The delinquent females employed what was easily accessible, selling their bodies to willing males to obtain food, clothing, and shelter.

The Benefits of Selected Case Studies

The benefits of my selected case studies relate to the question of whether or not the increased independence of my selected females would promote increased criminal activity. I will also analyze whether my case studies committed crimes based on accessibility. The female criminal, as discussed by Adler (2002, 1975), does not seek to commit premeditated acts of crime, but is influenced by socio-economic factors to commit illegal acts. Would Adler's theory clearly illustrate the relationship between legitimate accessibility and the opportunity to commit crime in my case studies?

A further examination of my case studies should reveal extreme examples of female crime. Would physical limitations from the female gender inhibit my case studies in committing their criminal acts? Was there a pattern that each case study followed concerning accessibility in the opportunity to commit the act, accessibility in the weapon chosen, and accessibility in the victims chosen? Was there a pattern relating to the female case studies in their upbringing? Was this pattern related to socio-economic influences with regard to each of their specific criminal acts? All of the

aforementioned questions will assist in important knowledge creation related to my case studies and the applicability of Adler's theory.

With final review of my case studies, I will be able to determine whether Adler's theory applies to female criminals today. I will address whether her theory, published in 1975, provides insight as to why my three female case studies committed their crimes. I will address influences, as discussed in Adler's theory, that may have caused my three female case studies to lead outside of the boundaries of lawful activity.

This Research

This is a focused synthesis of select cases to construct a list of characteristics/variables relevant to Adler's theory. These case studies provide insight to Adler's theory via these selected characteristics. Each characteristic will be reviewed in determining its influence in leading my case studies to commit their criminal act. I will utilize each characteristic to describe my selected female case studies in detail.

Selection Technique

I directed my focus on cases occurring after the publication of Adler's theory. I wanted to determine whether Adler's theory applied to my three female case selections. Each of my three female case studies was chosen for the clarity in their criminal acts of violence. The details on each of my case studies left no question or doubt as to

whether they were the one who actually committed the criminal act of violence. My preference was to select cases where facts were abundantly available from a variety of media sources. I was able to locate three high profile, detailed cases. Two of the cases were from my home state, Texas.

Sources

To answer the research question of this paper, I collected information from several sources. The sources I utilized included reference books, the Internet, law journals, and magazines. This information was used to identify variables and structure a table with three examples of the extreme female criminal.

Case Selection

The three female criminals I selected were Karla Faye Tucker, Andrea Yates, and Susan Smith. The reason I chose to study these specific female criminals was the research revealed similar patterns linking their specific acts of violence. My study would provide evidence that all three female criminals would either conform to Adler's theory of why females commit crime or dispute her theory. I also selected these three individuals because they had all committed murder which is the most extreme act of criminal behavior.

Selection of Key Characteristics/Variables

After studying each of the three female case studies, I decided on certain variables that seem to link each case study, even though the facts and circumstances of the case studies were different. The variables I selected were the following: Onset; Family History of Mental Health Problems; Childhood Abuse; Access/Opportunity; Weapons; Aggression/Vengeance; Self Defense/Survival; Trapped/Entangled in Home Duties/Maintenance; Influences to Murder; Demanding Individuals; Motives; Victim(s); Age-At Crime: Society Reaction. Onset, Family History of Mental Health Problems, Childhood Abuse, Aggression/Vengeance, Demanding Individuals, Victims and Age-At Crime are all variables that I created to complete Table 1: Analysis of the Case Studies. I chose these variables to form a complete picture of each female case study. Access/Opportunity and Society Reaction were taken from Adler's theory. I picked the remaining variables from previously mentioned authors. These variables are analyzed in the context of their applicability to Adler's theory. The variables seem to indicate the female crimes are influenced by their social and economic environments. We will look more closely at this in Table 1, which I have created and follows this section.

Analysis

The qualitative analysis techniques I chose were content analysis, case study, analytical presentation of data and comparative analysis (Pope, Lovell and Brandl, 2001;

Myers, 2004; Adler, 1984). My content analysis was based on the formation of my research question. My research question was whether my selected case studies would conform to Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory. Next, I utilized case study analysis. My case study analysis was a combination of an interview, researching literature and selecting my case studies to include my list of characteristics/variables. I then employed analytical presentation of data. This presentation of data included development of Table 1 to portray detailed facts relative to my selected case studies. Lastly, I applied comparative analysis to my selected case studies. This comparative analysis was a critical reflection, focusing on my selected case studies and the applicability of Adler's theory to each.

The list of characteristics I selected will shed light on Adler's theory by following a detailed path into each of my selected case studies' lives. The socio-economic influences will either conform to Adler's theory or dispute her theory. I will address accessibility in the opportunity to commit the act, accessibility in the weapon chosen, and accessibility in the victims chosen.

Through in-depth analysis of the variables in each of the three case studies, a qualitative result can be deduced as to whether the females who committed the crimes were following Adler's theory of Socio-Economic Influences on Female Criminal Behavior, Reasons Females Commit Crimes; and How Society Views the Female Criminal. With regard to Adler's theory, concentration was focused on whether there is a pattern between each of the case studies and the specific crimes they committed. Is Adler's theory applicable to the three female criminals? Was premeditation a factor in

these case studies? The study will either conform to Adler's theory as it relates to the three female criminals or dispute her theory. An interpretation of Table 1, variables and Adler's theory will be discussed in the following section.

Limitations of the Method

My selected case studies do not prove or disprove Adler's theory. It only addresses the findings and methods presented to either provide evidence that all three female criminals would conform to Adler's theory of why females commit crime or dispute her theory. I will provide a narrative focusing directly on the presentation of data and analysis of the applicability of Adler's theory.

The limitations of my method are my three selected case studies. By selecting only three case studies, it is difficult for the reader to determine the applicability of Adler's theory as it pertains to all females who commit crime. A future examination by other researchers would need to focus on a far greater sampling of female criminals to determine applicability of her theory with a higher degree of confidence. At this time, this research is outside the scope of this study.

Research Issue/Question

This research paper addresses the following issue/question: Do select case studies conform to Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory?

IV. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Table 1 is a presentation of my data reflecting detailed facts relative to my selected case studies. The characteristics/variables are analyzed in the context of their applicability to Dr. Freda Adler's theory. The combination of variables used forms a complete picture of each female case study.

Table 1. Analysis of the Case Studies

| Variables | Tucker, Karla Faye | Yates, Andrea | Smith, Susan |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1) AGE-AT CRIME | 23 | 36 | 23 |
| 2) ONSET | Broken home, Mother-prostitute, Tucker -illegitimate child | Mental illness – siblings, Mental illness – Yates | Mental illness – sibling & Father, Mental illness – Smith, Broken home |
| 3) FAMILY HISTORY OF MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS | Father – conservative-working, no quality time, Mother - prostitute/Drugs | Visions & voices Siblings-mental illness | Father's suicide |
| 4) CHILDHOOD ABUSE | Yes-sexual abuse at age 12 by gang member | Yes-Father – disciplinarian/demanding | Yes-sexual abuse by Step-father |
| 5) ACCESS/OPPORTUNITY | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 6) WEAPONS | Pick-ax | Bathtub drowning | Car drowning |
| 7)AGGRESSION/VENGEANCE | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| 8) SELF DEFENSE/SURVIVAL | No | No | No |
| 9)TRAPPED/ENTANGLED IN HOME DUTIES/MAINTENANCE | No | Yes. In confession, she said she had not been a good mother | Yes. Killed children to devote all energies to boyfriend |
| 10)INFLUENCES TO MURDER | Boyfriend, drugs & alcohol | Mental Illness | Mental Illness |
| 11) DEMANDING INDIVIDUALS | Mother | Father & husband | Mother/Step-father |
| 12) MOTIVES | Get-even with girlfriend's ex-husband for physical abuse | Being a horrible Mother | To obtain boyfriend who desired to be childless |
| 13) VICTIM(S) | Dean & female lover in bed | 5 Children | 2 Children |
| 14) SOCIETY REACTION | Death penalty | Life in prison | Thirty years in prison |

Results

Research Issue/Question & Answer

Do select case studies conform to Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior or dispute her theory? This study has provided evidence that all three female criminals conform to Adler's theory of why females commit crime. According to Adler's theory, each of these three females committed crimes of accessibility. None of the three individuals sought to commit a premeditated act or to murder unknown victims. They were motivated by emotions arising at a point in time when access/opportunity presented itself.

In the text that follows, each characteristic/variable will be reviewed in determining its influence in leading each of my case studies to commit their criminal act. I will utilize each characteristic to describe my selected female case studies in detail. The list of characteristics I selected will shed light on Adler's theory by following a detailed path into each of my selected case studies' lives. I will begin with an examination of the case studies by addressing the table variables and close with a final discussion on the selected case studies.

Age at Crime

The Age at Crime variable reflects the stage of life for each of the case studies. Tucker was twenty-three. Yates was thirty-six. Smith was twenty-three. This

characteristic is used to aid in the formation of a complete picture of the selected case study.

Onset and Family History of Mental Health Problems

Tucker, Yates and Smith were all brought up in unstable homes. These three individuals came from environments that were not nurturing for a child. Tucker came from a broken home through divorce. She was an illegitimate child and her mother was a career prostitute. Yates' siblings had been treated for depression and she suffered with mental illness as well. Smith also battled with mental illness, as did her father and brother. Smith came from a home of divorce and her father had committed suicide when she was young.

Childhood Abuse

Childhood Abuse is a common element. Tucker had been sexually abused at age twelve by a gang member. Yates' emotional abuse came from her father who was a tough disciplinarian and an overly demanding individual. Smith was sexually abused by her step-father. All three female case studies were products of abuse by the male gender.

Access Opportunity, Weapons, and Aggression/Vengeance

Analysis of Access Opportunity, Weapons, and Aggression/Vengeance reflect similarities between the three case studies which support Adler's theory. All three females had access to their victims on a regular basis. Tucker selected her best friend's ex-husband, Dean, and the woman in bed with Dean. Dean was not a stranger. Tucker was unfamiliar with the woman; however, the access opportunity variable was in place. She had a past relationship with Dean due to her best friend's relationship with him. Her initial intention was to get even with Dean for beating her best friend, not necessarily to kill him or his companion. Tucker's weapon was a pick-axe. She did not carry a weapon into Dean's apartment to commit the murder. The pick-axe was in Dean's apartment among other tools next to his motorcycle. Tucker picked up the pick-axe and approached the victims. Tucker did have aggression toward her victims and sought vengeance due to her best friend's beating.

Yates' Access Opportunity existed with her five children. Yates' world evolved in the order of being a stay at home mom and schooling her children within confined home quarters. She did not possess further opportunities for access to other crime. Her weapon was simply water in a bathtub; a simple item to which she had immediate and constant access. This correlates directly with Adler's theory of accessibility. It is believed Yates was frustrated and disappointed by the living environment imposed upon her by her husband. She stated to the police that the children were not growing

correctly and she was a horrible mother for that. Yates' acted out of aggression due to her mental illness. She believed her predicament to be an irresolvable situation.

Smith's Access Opportunity was her two children. Smith did not seek out her prey, or commit a premeditated act. Her weapon of choice was her vehicle. The items/individuals she was closest to were the items/individuals she used to commit her criminal act. Smith's act was carried out in aggression due to her boyfriend not wanting children or the responsibilities of child rearing. It appears that Smith wanted a relationship so bad with him that she murdered her two children to save the relationship. Perhaps, Smith was frustrated with her situation as a single mother. Additionally, Smith lied to law enforcement, the media and her husband concerning the deaths of her children.

Self Defense/Survival

The variable of Self Defense/Survival is not applicable to the three case studies. These women did not commit their acts of violence due to self defense or survival. They were not personally under any threat of violence when they committed their crimes. This characteristic is placed in the table to clarify motives involved in each crime.

Trapped/Entangled in Home Duties/Maintenance

The Trapped/Entangled in Home Duties/Maintenance variable applies primarily to Yates and Smith. Tucker is the only one of the three case studies that gives the impression of not being influenced by this variable. Tucker did not have the responsibilities of a spouse or a child as the other two had. Yates and Smith had children to rear and both were the primary caregiver to their children. Yates was confined to a small residence with five children and had no assistance available for her to alleviate stress or deal with her mental illness. Additionally, Yates appeared to want to please her husband by continuing to have more children. Smith wanted a relationship with a man that had stated he did not want the responsibilities of her children. The only solution Smith saw to maintain this relationship was to eliminate her children.

Influences to Murder

The Influences to Murder involved another individual pressuring Tucker and her use of drugs, and mental illness for both Yates and Smith. Tucker was influenced to murder by alcohol, drugs and her boyfriend who encouraged her to follow his lead. Both Yates and Smith chose to deal with their demons by committing the heinous act of killing their own children.

Demanding Individuals

All three case studies provide evidence of being influenced by Demanding Individuals. Tucker's mother was the most influential person in her life. Tucker's mother taught her daughter to use drugs, sell her body and please her mother by following in her footsteps as a prostitute. Yates was raised in a conservative home where her father was very demanding of both her and her mother. Yates in turn, married a demanding individual who wanted her to have children, stay in confined home quarters and submit to his demands in raising and schooling the children. Smith wanted to please her mother and stepfather. Her stepfather abused her sexually and both parents blamed her for causing the abuse. The abuse continued even after Smith's mother was made aware of the problem. Additionally, Smith's mother remained married to the stepfather after the abuse was uncovered.

Motives

The Motives for each case study varied. Tucker's motive for the murders was to get revenge with Dean for beating her best friend. Tucker had stated in an interview that at the time of the murders, she felt as if she finally measured up to her male counterparts. Yates' motive for killing her children was to punish herself for being a bad mother. She felt her children were not progressing due to her inadequacies as a mother. After the arrest, Yates stated that the devil was residing in her. Yates believed

all men were demanding and maddening. Smith's motive to murder was to maintain her relationship with her boyfriend, who did not want the responsibility of raising children.

Victims

The Victims involved in each scenario shared close relationships with each female criminal. These victims were not chosen at random. This fact also supports Adler's theory. Tucker's victims were Dean and the female in bed with Dean. Tucker and Dean shared a personal relationship through Tucker's best friend. Yates' victims were her five children. Smith's victims were her two children.

Society Reaction

Society Reaction reflects the sentences determined by a jury of the case studies' peers. Tucker received the death penalty for her crime. Yates received life in prison. Smith received thirty years in prison.

Final Discussion on Case Studies

According to Adler's theory, each of these three females committed crimes of accessibility. None of the three individuals sought to commit a premeditated act or to

murder unknown victims. They were motivated by emotions arising at a point in time when access/opportunity presented itself.

Adler stated that as women become more independent, the independence would be evident in criminal activity. In looking at all three case studies, it appears that two of the females had some degree of independence. Tucker and Smith appeared to be more independent due to their employment outside of the home. Yates did not have outside employment and was completely dependent upon her husband.

The study has provided evidence that all three female criminals conform to Adler's theory of why females commit crime. Each of the case studies supports Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior. All three individuals were reared to act and behave in certain ways. Tucker was to behave like her mother who was a prostitute. Yates was to behave like her mother who was submissive to her father and cared for the matters of the home as dictated by him. Smith was to behave as her mother ordered and say nothing when her stepfather sexually abused her. Each female followed the path of her socio-economic influences. Each female arranged her life matters and responsibilities as directed by her environment.

Tucker wanted to measure up to being accepted in a family as she stated in an interview that she finally measured up after she committed the murder. Tucker did not feel acceptance due to being an illegitimate child. Her physical appearance differed from her two siblings who were blonde, blue-eyed and fair-skinned.

Yates was the dutiful wife and lived according to her husband's directions as she did under her father's directions as a child. Yates showed signs of mental stress after the fourth child, yet she had stated to medical personnel that she and her husband would continue to have as many babies as nature would allow. After the death of her children, Yates stated that she believed all men were demanding and maddening. It is possible that Yates was attempting to measure up to how she was raised by her father and mother. Yates married someone just like her father. She was totally submissive in that relationship just as her mother was with her father. Yates committed her crime as she stated because she was a horrible mother, she must be punished. Additionally, her accessibility to the victims was the only opportunity that was provided to her as an escape from her mental illness or demanding environment.

Smith wanted a relationship. Smith's view of a relationship with a man had not been in balance. At a young age, Smith watched her father and mother who had argued and divorced. Her father later committed suicide. Smith was sexually abused by her stepfather and received no support from her mother when she learned of the crime.

There is a pattern evident in each of the case studies and the specific crimes committed which conforms to Adler's theory. The pattern that each case study followed was accessibility in the opportunity to commit the act, accessibility in the weapon chosen, and accessibility in the victims chosen. Each female case study did not select an unknown victim. Each female offender chose someone within her specific environment, with which she shared a relationship. Additionally, there is a pattern

among the female case studies with their upbringing. Each female offender came from an environment that was not nurturing, balanced, or directed for future success as a female adult. The pattern of their environment intertwined among broken homes, abuse, and mental illness. Their patterns affirm Adler's theory concerning socio-economic influences with regard to each of their specific criminal acts.

V. CONCLUSION & IMPLICATIONS

Conclusion

In summary, Dr. Freda Adler's theory states society has established role assignments for the female gender. This was as submissive and secondary to the male. Adler's theory affirms that female criminal activity is based on access and opportunity. She explains that the female criminal does not seek to commit premeditated acts of crime, but is influenced by social and economic factors to commit illegal acts. The crimes females commit seem to be based on accessibility more so than premeditation. They seem to be involved in criminal activity through social, environmental, cultural, professional, background, and religious influences (Adler, 1975).

The mechanisms of Adler's theory are the following: (1) Females may not stray from the acceptable dictated behavior defined by society; (2) As females gained more independence, part of that independence would be evident in criminal activity; (3) The independence is acquired by education and expanded opportunities for employment status; (4) Adler's theory maintains that females commit crime based on accessibility (Adler, 1975).

Adler's theory was written in 1975. Tucker committed her crime in 1983 and was executed in 1998. Yates committed her crime in 2001 and was sentenced to life in prison in 2002. Smith committed her crime in 1994 and was sentenced to thirty years in prison in 1995. The case study crimes occurred eight to twenty-six years after the

publication of Adler's theory. Each of the women's criminal acts conformed to the theory espoused by Adler. My selected case studies support Adler's theory regarding socio-economic influences on female criminal behavior. Each was influenced by their environment and upbringing. Accessibility was the primary element in each of their criminal acts. The case studies selected represent the extreme female criminal. I selected these three individuals because they had all committed murder which is the most extreme act of criminal behavior. Even though it has been nearly thirty years since Adler's theory was published, case study analysis confirms that females commit a majority of their crimes based on accessibility and social and economic influences.

Adler's research and ideas were unique at the time of their publication. She was the forerunner in the study of female crime. In summary of my research paper, Adler's theory is still true today. It offered great insight when she wrote it in 1975 and even now holds true in 2004.

Implications for Future Research

Ruth T. Zaplin (1998) believes both qualitative and quantitative studies should be employed when researching female criminals. These methods of study consider diverse measurements and may be applied to future programs and policies to assist female offenders. These programs and policies could address the study of female crime, the prevention of female crime, sentencing the female offender, rehabilitating the female offender and educating of the female offender. The most important factor in studying

the female offender lies in the development of intervention programs to deal directly with this gender. The following points address my recommendations on implications for future research:

(1) Research should be implemented with the study of both female and male criminals to demonstrate contrasts in social and economic influences, differences of opportunity, weapons, types of crimes, reasons and motivations for committing crime. This type of study should be completed by both feminist and mainstream criminologists. By studying the contrasts of both genders, we are able to address separate intervention programs to deal appropriately with each gender.

(2) New qualitative studies should focus on the female's socially and economically subordinate status, gender differences in employment, sexuality and parenthood. New studies should also address arrest, sentencing, and incarceration. Improved programs for females including health and child issues need updating or implementation as addressed by Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988. The aforementioned studies should be completed by both female and male criminologists to reduce gender bias and expand gender-limited perceptions. The studies would create a contextualization of the female offender and her specific needs within the male-paradigm dominated criminal justice system. This would allow planners to identify problem areas and foster implementation of necessary programs as appropriate in a gendered model of crime.

(3) Future examination by other researchers would need to focus on a far greater sampling of female criminals to determine the applicability of Adler's theory.

This study should focus on all types of female crime with a higher degree of sampling. Both qualitative and quantitative studies should be employed. These methods of study should consider diverse measurements and be utilized to create future programs and policies to assist female offenders as addressed by Zaplin (1998).

The results of my analysis led me to these conclusions concerning Implications for Future Research. Based on my findings, it is imperative to continue future qualitative and quantitative studies with a larger sampling of female criminals in order to make clearer assessments and develop effective intervention programs. Yates and Smith will require treatment for mental health issues before any potential release is considered.

Implications for Policy

Qualitative differences in motivation and mechanisms of female criminality require unique response for this gender in the criminal justice system. The female offender may be seen in two ways by society: (1) the victim who has had no other choice but to commit crime in order to make a living; (2) the criminal that has been clever enough to commit a crime and yet attempt to plead and use her feminine persuasion to receive a lesser sentence for the crime. There are two different points of view to answer these observations. One point of view is from the women's movement who believes there should be no double standards for the female criminal. The female criminal should be prepared to receive the same penalty as their male

counterpart whether they are the main breadwinner of the family or simply a mother. The other point of view is from judges who state they are not as strict in their sentencing with the female offender as the male offender. The judges look toward probation for the female offender as a penalty for their crime and resolution of the criminal case (Simon, 1975).

If one examines the rehabilitative programs available to male and female prisoners, a discrepancy is evident. Prisons (in Michigan, Louisiana, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Nebraska) offer men vocational training in twenty areas compared to female's vocational training in only five areas. Male vocational training encompasses a variety of subjects including programs leading toward a college degree in business administration. Female vocational training encompasses training in cooking, crafts such as sewing, and a certificate, not a degree, in secretarial technology. American prisons in the 1990s seem transported back to the 1950s, where males learned a trade and females learned home economics. The feminist perspective strives to revise the rehabilitative standards applied to incarcerated females (Schulhofer, 1995). The following addresses my recommendations for Implications for Policy:

(1) Rehabilitation programs providing the greatest benefit to all prisoners should be implemented. Gender-based segregation should not be included in specific program development or availability to inmates. Programs should accommodate special participant requirements related to issues such as child visitation rights or restrictions, counseling, and/or medical circumstances.

(2) Policy for preventing female crime should include intervention for those children subjected to living environments which contribute to increased susceptibility to criminal activity later in life. Programs should focus on restorative measures such as counseling, education, and socialization. The identification of children exposed to these environments is vital. Increased resources would be required for this purpose. Communities must accomplish this through additional tax fund allocation, personal and commercial donations, and/or volunteerism. Addressing the problem of potential female criminality before the age of criminal capability will benefit all.

The results of my analysis led me to these conclusions regarding Implications for Policy. Equipping female inmates with the tools necessary to avoid repeat offenses is essential. All three subject cases suffered some form of childhood abuse. The commitment to address childhood issues at the foundation level is the most logical approach to preventing female crime. Increased vigilance and awareness of gender-based differences in experience will be necessary to accomplish this goal.

This thesis reflects my research using reference books, the Internet, law journals, and magazines. The paper is derived from various sources and does not serve as a complete guide on the female criminal. It simply offers a sample in examining the female criminal and who she might be. It is presented with great respect for the individuals whose research and ideas I draw from and will hopefully be beneficial to those who follow in this important area of research.

REFERENCES

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

Adler, Freda. (1984). The Incidence of Female Criminality in the Contemporary World. New York: New York University Press.

Adler, Freda. (2002, March 12). Telephonic Interview. Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Adler, Freda & Simon, Rita J. (1979). The Criminology of Deviant Women. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Beck, A., Karberg, J., & Harrison, P. (2002). Prison and jail inmates at midyear 2001. Washington D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Berg, Bruce L. (2004). Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences. Pearson Education, Inc.

Bonger, William A. (1916). Criminality and Economic Conditions. Little, Brown, Boston.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1994). Washington, D.C.
<http://www.amnestyusa.org/rightsforall/women/report/women-061.html> (17 July 2003).

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2000). Washington, D.C.
<http://curry.edschool.virginia.edu/prisonstudy/suppages/facts/facts.html> (17 July 2003).

Cooper, H. H. A. (1977). The Terrorist and His Victim. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Internal Security, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

Daly, Kathleen & Chesney-Lind, Meda. (1988). Feminism and Criminology. Justice Quarterly. 5:497-535.

Galliard, D., & Beck, A. (1997). Prison & Jail Inmates at Midyear.
<http://www.amnestyusa.org/rightsforall/women/report/women-061.html> (17 July 2003).

Geringer, Joseph. Black Widows: Veiled in Their Own Web of Darkness.
<http://www.crimelibrary.com/serial7/widow/> (10 February 2002).

Geringer, Joseph. Karla Faye Tucker: Texas' Controversial Murderess.
http://www.crimelibrary.com/notorious_murders/women/tucker/1.html (10 February 2002).

Glueck, Eleanor & Glueck, Sheldon. (1934). Five Hundred Delinquent Women. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Greenfield, L. & Snell, T. (2000). Women Offenders. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Heidensohn, Frances. (1995). Women and Crime. New York: Washington Square.

Hewitt, Bill. (2002, March). Life or Death. People. 83-87.

Heyl, Barbara (1974). The Madam as Entrepreneur. Sociological Symposium. 11:61-82.

Hickey, Eric W. (2002). Serial Murderers and Their Victims. California: Wadsworth/Thomson.

Holmes, Ronald M. & Holmes, Stephen T. (1998). Contemporary Perspectives on Serial Murder. California: Sage Publications.

Jacobs, Ann L. (2001, Spring). Give' Em a Fighting Chance: Women Offenders Reenter Society. Criminal Justice.

Kelleher, Michael & Kelleher, C. (1998). Murder Most Rare: The Female Serial Killer. New York: Dell.

Klein, Dorie. (1973, Fall). The Etiology of Female Crime: A Review of the Literature. Issues in Criminology. Volume 8, Number 2. 3-30.

Klein, Dorie & Kress, June. (1976, Spring/Summer). Any Woman's Blues: A Critical Overview of Women, Crime, and the Criminal Justice System. Crime and Social Justice. Number 5. 34-49.

Leonard, Eileen B. (1982). A Critique of Criminology Theory, Women Crime & Society. New York: Longman Inc.

Langford, Terri. (2002, February). Doctor: Yates was insane. The Dallas Morning News. 23A-25A.

Lombroso, Cesare & Ferrero, William. (1899). The Female Offender. New York: The Wisdom Library, 1958 [originally published in 1899].

Lopez-Rey, Manuel. (1970). Crime: An Analytical Appraisal. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Mannheim, Hermann. (1965). Comparative Criminology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Myers, Michael D. (2004). Qualitative Research in Information Systems.
<http://www.qual.auckland.ac.nz> (10 March 2004).

Nagel, Ilene H., & Johnson, Barry L. (1994, Summer). The Role of Gender in a Structured Sentencing System: Equal Treatment, Policy Choices, and the Sentencing of Female Offenders under the United States Sentencing Guidelines. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.

Pergament, Rachel. Susan Smith: Child Murderer or Victim?
<http://www.crimelibrary.com/filicide/smith/> (10 February 2002).

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

Pope, Carl E., Lovell, Rick, & Brandl, Steven G. (2001). Voices from the Field Readings in Criminal Justice Research. Belmont, CA.

Richie, Beth E., Tsenin, Kay, & Widom, Cathy Spatz. (2000, September). Research on Women and Girls in the Justice System. National Institute of Justice.

Roberts, Dorothy E. (1993, October). Motherhood and Crime. Iowa Law Review.

Roche, Timothy. (2002). The Yates Odyssey.
http://www.time.com/time/archive/preview/from_related/0,10987,1101020128-195325,00.html (10 February 2002).

Schulhofer, Stephen J. (1995, June). The Feminist Challenge in Criminal Law. University of Pennsylvania Law Review. 1-42.

Simon, Rita. (1975). Women and Crime. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath.

Snell, T. (1991). Women in Prison – Survey of State Prison Inmates. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Washington, D. C.
<http://www.amnestyusa.org/rightsforall/women/report/women-061.html> (17 July 2003).

Taylor, Laurie J. (1986, August). Provoked Reason in Men and Women: Heat-of-Passion Manslaughter and Imperfect Self-Defense. University of California Law Review.

Ward, David A., Jackson, Maurice & Ward, Renee E. (1969). Crimes of Violence. Washington, D.C.: Donald Mulvihill.

Wolfgang, Marvin B., & Ferracuti, Franco. (1982). The Subculture of Violence. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Wolfgang, Marvin E., Figlio, Robert M., & Sellin, Thorsten. (1972). Delinquency in a Birth Cohort. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zaplin, Ruth T. (1998). Female Offenders, Critical Perspectives and Effective Interventions. Gaithersburg, Maryland, Aspen Publishers, Inc.