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PATTERNS, TRENDS AND CONTROL OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY IN NIGERIA

DECEMBER, 2010

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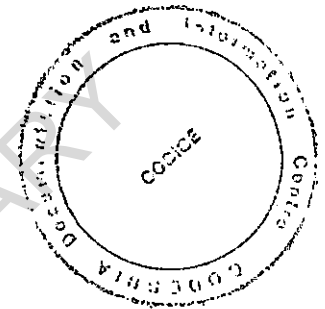
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TITLE PAGE

**PATTERNS, TRENDS AND CONTROL OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY IN
NIGERIA.**

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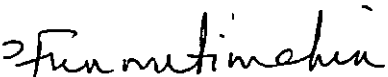



A Thesis in the Department of SOCIOLOGY, Faculty of Social Sciences.
"Submitted to the School of Postgraduate Studies, University of Jos, in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of the degree OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY (CRIMINOLOGY)."

AUGUST, 1997.

CERTIFICATION

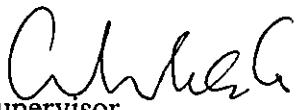
"This is to certify that this thesis has been examined and approved for the award of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PH.D) in Sociology (Criminology).



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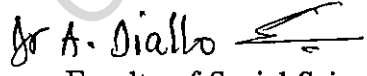
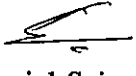
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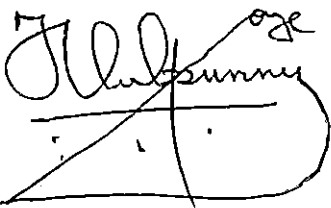

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

This dissertation could never have achieved the magnitude of its present status without the contribution of several persons.

I wish to express my thanks and appreciations to the entire members of staff of the School of Post Graduate Studies, University of Jos, and the Department of Sociology, particularly the academic staff for making themselves readily available for me whenever I needed their assistance and guidance. Prof. Omafume Onoge, Dr. Adelakun, Assos. Prof. Alubo and Dr. Ityavyar are worthy of mention here.

A special note of appreciation is extended to my supervisor, Associate Professor. E. E. O. Alemika. Despite his tight schedule, he worked relentlessly to ensure the success of this work. He was very open, honest and dedicated in his comments, contributions and suggestions. Above all, his patience, tolerance and understanding kept me on especially at the most difficult time.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Director of Prisons, the Controllers and Assistant Controllers and members of staff of all the prisons employed in this research, for their co-operation and assistance. Particular mentions are made of Mr Ladan Babakodong (Assistant Controller-General) and Mr. Okpera for their tremendous assistance. The same appreciation goes to the Inspector general of police, Lagos and Plateau State Police Commands, Mr C. Eseras, Mr. Moses Anegbode and Mrs Okonkwo (Assistant Commissioner of Police).

Special thanks is extended to (CODESRIA) for making me a 1994 laureate of the small grants for Thesis writing in African Universities. I am greatly indebted to the organization.

I wish to acknowledge my former teacher, Professor Blundell, of the Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada, for her kindness, love and inspiration.

I owe my thanks to my parents and all my siblings - the Egbadon's particularly, my elder brother Mike, Joe, Andy, and Henry for their encouragement. I am very grateful to my sister, Mrs Elizabeth Omosun, Mr&Mrs Rose Okoruwa, Prof. Julius Okojie, Mrs Phil Ihenyen, Prof.A.O.Ozo, Prof.& Mrs Eghosa Osagie, Osayomwanbo, Greg, and Osarodion for their encouragement and prayers.

I appreciate the encouragement given to me by my friends: Barrister Pat Onoge(Mrs), Dr.& Dr. Alli (Mrs), Dr.Pat Nwadiaro (Mrs), Barrister Emily Alemika (Mrs), Dr& Mrs Ladeji, Mrs M.Ola, Dr Obot, Barrister & Mrs Idornigie, Dr. V. Adetula, Dr.& Dr Inyang (Mrs), Mr Akintunde, Barrister & Mrs Akumabor, Mr Kenechukwu, Mr Eddy Tuoyo, Mr & Mrs Luke Okojie, Mr Omoayena and many others.

I wish to express my appreciation to Georgina and Tina Igbokwe for the typesetting of this work and also, to IDACS Computer Services, for a job well done.

Finally, my family bore more than a fair share of the burden this project entailed. I am greatly indebted to Pete my husband, an Associate Professor of Economics and to Osas, Osalumese, Osamudiamen and Ofure our children. Their love, understanding and prayers made it all possible and worth while.

Above all, I am grateful to Almighty God for making this work a reality. All Praises, Glory, Honour and Thanksgiving be to His name for ever.

Phil Ibhade Ozo-Eson,
6th August, 1997.

DEDICATION

To Pete, my Husband and Best friend; Osarhieme, Osalumese, Osamudiamen
and Ofure, Our Children.

And

In memory of my ever-cherished late younger brother, Francis Egbadon, who
died while I was in Canada, and never had a chance to say goodbye.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Certification Page	ii
Acknowledgment	iii
Dedication	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	x
Abstract	xi
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Statement of Problem	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Criminology and Female Criminality	4
1.3 Statement of Problem	7
1.4 Objectives	11
1.5 Scope of the Study	12
1.6 Significance of the Study	14
1.7 Conceptual Framework for this Study	15
1.8 Synopsis of the thesis	22
CHAPTER TWO: Review of Literature.	24
2.1 General Introduction	24
2.2 Biology, Psychology and Crime	25
2.3 Sociological Explanation of Criminal Behaviour	29
2.4 Biological and Psychological Models and Female Criminality	39
2.5 Sociological Models of Female Criminal Behaviours: Trends and Patterns	42
2.6 Female Offenders and Criminal Justice	50
2.7 Female Crime in Nigeria	55
2.8 Research Hypotheses	59
CHAPTER THREE: Methodology.	63
3.1 Introduction	63
3.2 Data Collection and Analysis	67
3.3 Secondary Data	69
3.4 Population and Sampling	70
3.5 Survey	72

3.6	Direct Observation	74
3.7	Document Sources	75
3.8	Data Analysis	76
3.9	Limitations	78
CHAPTER FOUR: Analysis of Patterns of Female Criminality.		81
4.1	Introduction	81
4.2	Social Characteristics of Female Offenders in Custody	81
4.3	Women Involvement in Crime	85
4.4	Social Characteristics of Female Offenders and Crime Patterns	87
4.5.1	Gender, Crime, and Police Arrests	95
4.5.2	Patterns of Female Criminality	103
4.6	Summary/Highlights of Patterns of Female Criminality	107
CHAPTER FIVE: Trends of Female Criminality.		109
5.1	Introduction	109
5.2	Gender Distribution of Police Arrests and prison Admission	109
5.3	Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrests (Lagos and Plateau States)	121
5.3.1	Trend of Female Criminality: Prison Admission	124
5.3.2	Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrests, Offenses Against Persons, Property and Others (Lagos and Plateau States)	127
5.4	Conclusion	131
CHAPTER SIX: Control of Female Criminality.		132
6.1	Control of Female Criminality	132
6.2	Women and the Criminal Justice Process	133
6.3	Female Criminals and Perceptions of Crime and Criminal Justice System	139
6.3.1	Perceptions of Criminal Justice Officials by Female offenders	139
6.3.2	Perceptions of Criminal Procedure by Female offenders	140
6.3.3	Female Offenders and Perception of Prison Experiences	142
6.3.4	Perception of Crime and Crime Control by Female offenders	148
6.4	Social Characteristics of Criminal Justice Officials	154
6.4.1	Perception of Female Offenders by Criminal Justice Officials	156
6.4.2	Criminal Justice Officials and Current Female Crime Control Measures	161
6.5	Social Characteristics of Criminal Justice Officials and their Perception of Female Offenders	164
6.6	A Comparative Discussion of the Perceptions of Female Offenders and Criminal Justice Officials on Crime and Criminal Justice	170

CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusion.	173
7.1 Introduction	173
7.2 Major Findings	173
7.2.1 Social Characteristics of Female Offenders	173
7.2.2 Patterns of Female Crimes	175
7.2.3 Trend of Female Crimes	175
7.2.4 Reasons Female offenders Associated with their Criminality	176
7.2.5 Control of Female Criminality	176
7.3 Discussion	177
7.4 Recommendations	179
7.5 Conclusion	183
7.6 Recommendations for Policy Formulation/implementation	186
REFERENCES	190
APPENDIX A: Gender Distribution of Crime Types in Criminal Statistics:	
Police Arrests	197
Appendix B: Interview Scedule for Female Offenders	204
Appendix C: Interview Scedule for Criminal Justice Officials	211

LIST OF TABLES.

Table 1.	Social Background of Respondents	83
" 2.	Distribution of Crimes Among Female Respondents	86
" 3.	Social Backgrounds and Crime Patterns Among Female Offenders	89
" 4.	Social Backgrounds and Specific Crime Patterns Among Female Offenders	93
" 5a.	Gender Distribution of Offenses: Police Arrest Lagos State	97
" 5b.	Percentage of Female Offenders in Criminal Statistics: Lagos and Plateau States	102
" 6.	Distribution of Crime Against Property and Crime Against Persons Among Female offenders in Criminal Statistics, Police Arrests (Lagos and Plateau States)	104
" 7.	Percentage Distribution of Crime Types Among Female Offenders in Criminal Statistics Police Arrest (Lagos and Plateau States)	105
" 8.	Female Criminality and Criminal Process	134
" 9.	Cross Tabulation of Female Criminality and Criminal Process by Crime	137
" 10.	Female Offenders and Perception of Prison Experiences	147
" 11.	Perceptions of Crime and Crime Control by Female Offenders ..	152
" 12.	Social Backgrounds of Criminal Justice Officials	155
" 13.	Perception of Female Offenders by Criminal Justice Officials	158
" 14.	Criminal Justice Officials and Current Female Crime Control Measures	163
" 15.	Cross Tabulation of Social Backgrounds of Criminal Justice Officials And their Perception of Female Offenders	166

LIST OF FIGURES.

Figure 1	Daily Average Inmate Population in Nigeria	110
" 2	Lagos State Police Arrest, 1986-1992	113
" 3	Plateau State Police Arrest, 1983-1992	114
" 4	Police Arrest Plateau State: Offenses Against Persons	117
" 5	Police Arrest Plateau State: Offenses Against Property	118
" 6	Police Arrest Lagos State: Offenses Against Persons	119
" 7	Police Arrest Lagos State: Offenses Against Property	120
" 8	Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrest, Lagos State	122
" 9	Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrest, Plateau State	123
" 10	Trend of Female Criminality: Prison Admission	126
" 11	Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrest By Crime Types, Lagos State	129
" 12	Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrest by Crime Types, Plateau State	130

ABSTRACT

This study examined the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria. Both primary and secondary data were employed. Female prisoners (convicted and awaiting trial) and officials of the criminal justice system - police, lawyers, Judges/Magistrates and prison officials were interviewed in order to better understand the pattern and control of criminal activities of women in Nigeria.

In order to obtain primary data on female criminality and its control, samples of female prisoners were obtained from the Kiri-kiri female prison in Lagos, the female arm of Kaduna prisons, the female arm of Benin and Oko prisons (both in Benin City,) and the female arm of Jos prisons. The respondents were interviewed with a view to obtaining information on their social backgrounds, criminal records and experiences with the criminal justice system.

The study shows that women in Nigeria commit crimes, traditionally attributed to women in the literature, such as stealing, abortion, and fighting. However, women were also involved in drug trafficking. There were indications that when women are involved in traditional male crimes, such as armed robbery, murder, robbery, they usually assist the men in the perpetuation of the crimes. Also, women who were involved in crimes of murders were usually associated through domestically related conflicts. Female offenders rarely kill or assault strangers or acquaintance for monetary gains.

Many factors, particularly, economic hardship, frustrations and unfulfilled desires of women were associated with female crimes in Nigeria.

The quest for wealth and necessities of life by female criminals in the country was exemplified by the types of crimes Nigerian women commit - drug trafficking

52.7%, stealing 10.7%, robbery 2.7%, fraud 5.3% and so on. The findings of this research showed that even though the trend of female criminality is on the increase, a comparison of gender distribution shows that women are very much under-represented in the criminal population. The official crime control mechanisms for women are not different from that of men. However, the control measures generally are very repressive, based mostly on apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment.

Finally, it is obvious that the problem of female criminality is real, irrespective of its minimal contribution to official crime figures. Women and men alike are experiencing great difficult time : socio-economic problems, political instability, religious and ethnic conflicts, sexism and so on. These factors contribute to criminality.

In our recommendation, we have suggested that meaningful crime control measures in Nigeria, must incorporate policies and programmes that are directed toward social change and development aimed at restructuring society in a manner that it becomes less crime-prone. Problems of inequality, oppression and exploitation of the less privileged individuals, sexism, economic mismanagement and looting of public money by a handful of individuals (ruling class) must be addressed. The society must be restructured to meet the needs of the masses.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

1. 1. INTRODUCTION

Female involvement in crime is increasing in many parts of the world, including Nigeria. But female criminality was until recently little understood and explained. This is because women criminality was not considered problematic, until recently (Smart, 1977; Heidensohn, 1993; CLO, 1993). Even though women criminality has been acknowledged, as far back as the fourteenth century, when women were convicted of petty theft/stealing, pickpocketing and prostitution as well as by the incidence of female criminals who murdered their lovers or husbands in defiance of the patriarchal society (Culliver, 1993), it constituted an insignificant fraction of recorded crimes. Women, it was observed, until recently, performed less visible criminal roles such as assisting their male partners by serving as watch dogs, or baits to entice victims (Clinard, 1968; Ebbe, 1985; Oloruntimehin, 1981). Consequently, societies have not often considered women as constituting a serious criminal group.

In most traditional Nigerian societies, female crimes were not often serious as to call for formal action. Informal control mechanisms were employed to dispose of such offenses (Ebbe, 1985). Also, as in many parts of the world, and as a result of the low crime rate of women, criminologists focussed their attention on male criminality (Culliver, 1993). However, since the 1970s, there has been considerable concern in several countries about the involvement of women in crime (Adler, 1975). Recently, women in Nigeria have been getting involved in crimes that used to be called 'male crime'. Like their female counterparts in developed countries, Nigerian

women are being arrested, tried, and found guilty of such crimes as murder, grievous harm and wounding, assaults, armed-robbery, drug trafficking, child abandonment, child stealing and so on (Ebbe, 1985; Oloruntimehin, 1981; Ego, 1990).

The increase in the rate of female criminality in both developed and developing countries including Nigeria is aptly illustrated by crime statistics which are by no means comprehensive. In the United States for instance, Clinard (1968) noted that by 1965, women committed about 12 percent of a selected group of major offenses such as crimes of embezzlement and fraud, homicide, murder, assault, robbery and so on.

In Nigeria too, Nigerian prison records show the percentages of female inmate population in all Nigerian prisons as follows: 2.2. percent in 1975; 2.7. percent in 1976; 2.9 percent in 1977; 3.4 percent in 1978; 3.6 percent in 1979; and 3.7 percent in 1980 (Ebbe, 1985: 83). Although the percentage of Nigerian women in the criminal population is quite small compared to men, nonetheless, this small percentage shocks an average Nigerian as there is the belief that women are naturally incapable of engaging in any serious criminal activity (Ebbe, 1985). But contrary to this popular belief, both the electronic and print media in the country have reported an alarming increase in the number of women who are engaged in criminal activities. This increase in female criminality as reported by the media is supported by the data presented in our later chapters in the research.

A recent and serious dimension in female criminality in Nigeria is the involvement of women in drug trafficking across several national borders. It has been frequently reported in the mass media that the number of Nigerians (males

and females) arrested and convicted abroad for criminal activities especially drug trafficking offenses between 1982 and 1990 has reached an alarming proportion. Besides, female criminals employ unusual methods to conceal their crimes. Women have been found using their private and reproductive organs to smuggle hard drugs from one country to another. Some have even gone to the extent of using dead babies as containers for illicit drugs (*National Concord*, October 2, 1986). Some female drug traffickers have been caught concealing drugs in hair attachment, hem of dresses, raw meat, lady shoes with high heel and loaves of bread. Some women have also been reported to stuff fresh fish with cocaine before it is smoked while some swallow the drugs while in transit.

In an attempt to curb drug related criminal activities and several other crimes in Nigeria, the Federal Military Government promulgated the Special Tribunal (Miscellaneous Offenses) Decree No. 20 LFN, CAP 410, of (1984) which instituted capital punishment for drug trafficking and related crimes. This decree was however replaced by the Special Tribunal (Miscellaneous offenses) Amendment Decree, No. 27 LFN, CAP 389 of (1986) which abolished capital punishment for drug offenses and substituted it with life imprisonment and other penalties.

In view of the public concern about worsening conditions of insecurity in the nation, the Nigerian government has invested a lot of money in training police officers and to acquire patrol vehicles and other logistics, for curbing crime in the country. The police force, has been reorganized in the last few years in an attempt to enhance its capacity to combat crime. Punishments like death by hanging or firing squad have been instituted, for cases of armed robbery, as some of the control measures (Onoge, 1988; Ikechukwu, 1986). In addition to this, the National

Drug law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) was established to handle the problem of drug trafficking in Nigeria. The impact of these efforts on the nation's crime problem appears insignificant judging by growing incidence of serious crimes.

Many social scientists have tried to advance explanations for the increasing number of women in criminal population. While some relate women criminality to structural problems such as increasing opportunities, temptations, strains and challenges, to which women have become subjected, in recent times, (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; 1966; Simon, 1975; 1993; Smart, 1977), others relate it to biological, and differential treatment of women by the criminal justice system (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1898; Polak, 1961). We shall return to these explanations of female criminality, later in the study. Meanwhile, it is appropriate to examine how the discipline of criminology approaches and constructs female criminality.

1. 2. Criminology and Female Criminality

Criminology has been interpreted to mean various things, and there is a controversy as to what criminologists should study. While some writers expressed the view that criminology should be more embracing, covering anti-social behaviours other than those defined within the confine of the law (Sellin, 1966), others observed, and emphasized the importance of the legal definition of crime in the study of criminal behaviour (Tappan, 1966). Nonetheless, according to Sykes, modern criminology is:

the study of the social origins of criminal law, the administration of criminal justice, the causes of criminal behaviour, and the prevention and control of crime, including individual rehabilitation and modification of the social environment (Sykes, 1978:6).

Many disciplines have made contributions to criminology. They include biology, psychology, psychiatry, endocrinology, law, anthropology and mostly sociology which has offered, different approaches to the scientific study of crime, criminals and the treatment of offenders (Wolfgang, 1966). One of the major subject matter of traditional criminology has been the determination of the 'causes' of crime. As a result of this, criminology has become the study of crimes and criminals. This is associated with the legal definition of crime which states that a crime is " a violation of the criminal law" (Clinard, 1968: 208). This means that an act is a crime only when statutes so specify.

Tappan (1966) gave a more elaborate form of legal definition. According to him, crime is:

an intentional act in violation of the criminal law (statutory and case law), committed without defence or excuse, and penalized by the state as felony or misdemeanour (Tappan, 1966: 32).

Such legal definition of crime imposes limitations upon research as criminologists are forced to study only convict population (Sellin, 1966). The legal framework for the definition of the concern of criminology has also created an artificial boundary for the researcher as criminologists define their problems or subject matter in terms of the most available theoretical concepts (Sellin, 1966). Moreover, the law does not define all wrong doings as crime. Some acts are defined as civil wrongs, while in some particular cases, the law examines the intent of the actor as well as the act before declaring or establishing a criminal case. The law also attempts to distinguish between serious and minor offenses (Ikechukwu, 1986). Further, some criminologists are of the view that the official portrait of crime, including criminal statistics, is highly selective, serving to conceal the crimes of the powerful while the

crimes of the powerless are revealed and exaggerated (Alemika, 1990; Box, 1979; Clinard, 1968; Odekunle, 1978).

Box (1979) observed that:

it has long been suspected that as a result of variations in the visibility of offenses, in the willingness of victims and witnesses to complain, and in the use of police discretionary powers, official criminal statistics are seriously deficient and misleading (Box, 1979:66).

In the same vein, Odekunle (1978) argued that, crime statistics must be seen as grossly unrepresentative of the true volume or character of crime in Nigeria. There is inefficient record keeping by the Nigeria Police Force, all official crime statistics omit those crimes undiscovered, unreported, and unrecorded. Despite all this, the crime known to the police is the best available index of criminality.

Criminology as a part of the general study of human behaviour must embrace all behaviours injurious to society, all anti-social conduct or norms. This brings us to the sociological definition of crime, which offers a broader perspective to the study of crime. Crime is defined as "any act which is considered socially injurious and which is punished by the state, regardless of the type of punishment" (Clinard, 1968: 213). Civil matters which are regulated by the state are included in this definition. Criminologists should study normal and abnormal behaviours, concentrate on issues which motivate an individual to conform or to break the law and conduct norms of society. This would provide a better framework for the development of scientific categories than a study of crime as defined in the criminal law (Sellin, 1966).

Contrary to the sociological view of the legal definition of crime, Tappan (1966) insists that the legal definition of crime provides precision for what a

criminologist should study, only those persons (offenders) who have been arrested, arraigned, indicted or prosecuted and passed or certified as criminals. He argued that such terms as "injurious" "anti-social", "white collar crime", "discrimination" and so on usually employed by most sociologists invite the subjective value-judgements of the investigator (Tappan, 1966). As he puts it, a criminal is not made through sociological "name-calling" but through politically constituted authority (Tappan, 1966). Thus, while disagreeing with sociological definition of crime, Tappan agreed with those sociologists who view crime as a political construct. In general, criminologists are involved in the study of sources, patterns, trends, control of crime, as well as the societal treatment of criminals and victims of crime. Available criminological information are about male criminals, because until recently, female criminals were considered insignificant.

For the purpose of this research the legal definition of crime is adopted. This is because the study is set out to investigate female criminality as recorded or reflected in the criminal statistics in Nigeria. Moreover, only female offenders who have been apprehended by the police, prosecuted by the court, convicted or awaiting trial would be interviewed.

1. 3. Statement of Problem

Attempts to explain why some people commit crimes, while others conform is central to criminology. It is accepted that in every society there will always be crime (Durkheim, 1964). A society is said to have a crime problem when the occurrence of crime is systematic rather than random (Odekunle, 1988). In such a society with crime problem, the incidence is high and the phenomenon is

prevalent. Its operation takes a definite character, complexity, and organization and almost all sectors of society participate in its perpetuation. The prevention, control, and correctional measures become virtually ineffective (Odekunle, 1988). In addition, there is the general experience of the loss and distress caused by actual criminal victimization or the fear, anxiety, and helplessness about potential victimization (Odekunle, 1988). Onoge observed that crime constitutes a problem when "its incidence is so rampant in the society as to constitute a threat to security of persons and property, as well as to social order and solidarity" (Onoge, 1988:108).

Criminal activities in Nigeria, including female criminality have started to take the above dimension. It has been observed that in traditional Nigerian society, women were engaged in only petty thefts which were disposed of informally. But in contemporary Nigeria the case is different. Women are now reported to engage in crimes such as murder, grievous harm and wounding, armed-robbery, child abandonment and so on. They carry out these criminal activities either alone or in company of others (Ebbe, 1985; Oloruntimehin, 1981). The *National Concord* reported that the '419' swindle crime (tricksters) in the country, usually work in groups with at least one female member in their midst (*National Concord*, February 11, 1992:1). Trade malpractices (419) have created a negative image for the country and Nigerians abroad. Every Nigerian is viewed as a potentially dishonest person until he/she proved otherwise (*New Nigeria*, May 5, 1992:5).

The crimes of armed robbery, robbery, theft, murder, grievous harm and wounding, assaults, drug trafficking, child abandonment, and the like among Nigerians including women, have created uncertainty in the political, economic,

cultural and social lives of the entire society. The report of crimes committed by women by both the electronic and print media, and the police, is an indication that women criminality has recently become a matter of interest and concern to the nation. It has been defined by the whole society as a problem. The present rate of crime waves in Nigeria has become a source of embarrassment to the government and threat to the life and property of its citizens (Odetola and Ademola, 1990:1). In the last few years, women's involvement in the trafficking of cocaine and other illicit drugs, have brought negative image to Nigerian women generally. This reached its peak when it became a source of national embarrassment, humiliating searches and shabby treatment of Nigerian travellers abroad. It has been reported that there were cases of pregnant Nigerian women who lost their pregnancies due to the crude manner they were searched by airport security officials in foreign countries (Gabriel, 1990). In addition, it was reported that the Nigerian football players - the Super Eagles at world cup '94 developed:

low morale in the training camp following the humiliation of the team in Dakar-Senegal, and at the Dallas Forth-Worth Airport, where they were subjected to the kind of security checks never seen before at the airports (*The Guardian*, June 17, 1994: 20).

Crime is generally classified by the police in the country under the following categories:

1. **Offenses against persons:** These are crimes such as murder, assault, grievous harm and wounding, manslaughter, child stealing, suicide, kidnaping and slave dealings etc.
2. **Offenses against property:** This category includes armed robbery, robbery, all manner of theft and arson, shoplifting, false pretense, cheating,

forgery, smuggling, possession of stolen property, illegal foreign exchange dealings, and possession and selling of marijuana or cocaine. Others are bribery, corruption, embezzlement and gambling, etc.

3. **Moral and Public Order crimes:** These include, prostitution, drunkenness in public places, breach of public peace, and other related offenses.

Crime, especially female criminality, is a sign of social decay. It constitutes hindrance to any form of development. Women in Nigeria have a major role to play in all aspects of life, especially in the area of national development. They should be encouraged to contribute their quota to the political, economic, social and cultural development of Nigeria, instead of utilizing their intellects and potentialities in criminal acts.

The phenomenon of female criminality demands an explanation and control which this research attempts to explore. Crime represents an immediate threat to the majority of Nigerians, and there is a constant demand that something should be done. The damage caused by crime could be physiological, psychological, economic and the like. Thus, it is important and imperative to undertake a research of this nature to clarify the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria.

Further, the prominence given to female criminality in Nigeria by the media, and the public at large, especially in the area of drug trafficking in the 1980s ignited our interest and curiosity. We felt the need to investigate this problem so as to ascertain the extent of women involvement in crime. Furthermore, criminological research mainly treat crime as a male affair and there is the need to correct this

impression. The impression has prevented society from addressing problems that lead women to crime as well as assisting women criminals to become law abiding citizens, and to address the difficulties faced by victims of female criminals.

Several questions which are critical to the understanding and solutions of female crime problem in Nigeria, include the following:

1. To what extent are women involved in criminal activities and represented in Nigerian criminal statistics?
2. What is the recent trend of female criminality in Nigeria?
3. What is the pattern of female criminality in Nigeria?
4. What factors do women offenders identify as 'causes' of their criminality?
5. What could be done to prevent/contain female criminality in the country?

These questions need to be investigated with a view to understanding and controlling female criminality in the country. This study is designed to contribute to such an investigation.

1. 4. Objectives

The major objective of this study is to investigate the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria.

The specific objectives which are addressed to the questions raised above are:

1. To investigate the extent of women contribution to the crimes recorded or reflected in the criminal statistics in Nigeria.

2. To examine the patterns of crime committed by women in Nigeria as reported/recorded by the police and prisons over a ten year period, from 1983 to 1992.
3. To investigate the trends of female criminality in Nigeria between 1983 and 1992.
4. To examine the reasons advanced by women convicts and offenders for their criminality.
5. To investigate the types of correctional measures and facilities provided for women convicts in Nigeria.
6. To suggest possible measures for the prevention and control of female criminality in Nigeria.

1. 5. Scope of the Study

The study is basically analytical and descriptive. That is, it analyses and describes patterns and trends of female criminality in Nigeria from 1983 to 1992. This period was chosen for the following reasons.

Prior to this period in Nigerian society, there was very little or nothing to report about female criminality. Female criminality was no problem at all neither were increasing opportunities available to women. Women committed insignificant crimes such as petty thefts by house-wives, fighting, prostitution and the like. These crimes were not serious enough to attract formal action. Thus, informal mechanism were employed to dispose of these crimes (Ebbe, 1985). Just like in many parts of the world, in Nigeria, crime was defined as male domain, hence most criminology books were about male criminals. However, by the 1980s this situation suddenly

took a different dimension. The invisibility of women in the criminal population became a thing of the past. For the first time in the history of Nigeria, the society witnessed a high publicity of female criminality in the media. The focus on female crime was boosted in 1985, when a lady called Gladys Iyama was sentenced to death for drug trafficking. She claimed, she was abandoned by her husband with 3 disabled children. She needed money to survive, so she went into drug trafficking business. Her situation evoked public sympathy. Individuals, and concerned people filed in appeals for mercy on her behalf. Her death sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. In the same year, Gloria Okon, was also arrested for drug trafficking and was equally given wide publicity by both the electronic and print media. The case of Gloria Okon has remained a mystery in the history of Nigeria (rumour has it that she died in prison; others claimed she was smuggled out of the country by drug barons).

The report of crimes committed by women by both the electronic and print media, and the police between the 1980s and 1990s, and recent women's involvement in violent and drug trafficking crimes have raised female crime to the status of a social problem. All these factors greatly influenced our choice of this period, 1983 to 1992.

Both primary and secondary data would be employed in the research. The population to be studied include incarcerated female offenders and suspects (who had been arrested for any type of crime, including those awaiting trials and those who were already convicted and serving jail sentences) in the Nigerian prisons. The Kiri-kiri female prison in Lagos accommodates only female offenders and thus, provide us with the largest number of female inmates for the study. Jos, Benin, Oko

and Kaduna Prisons have female wings and they were also included in the sample that was studied. These prisons provide us with reasonable number of female inmates for the study. In addition to the inmates, data on the subject of investigation were collected from criminal justice officials (the police, lawyers, judges, and prison officials). The study also examined current crime control/practices, particularly as they affect women.

1. 6. Significance of the Study

This is a study of the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria. Women have been reported to be committing various crimes despite the imposition of death penalty and life imprisonment on certain crimes. Many Nigerians are familiar with what became known as "the bar-beach show", whereby several convicted armed robbers were tied to sand-filled drums and shot dead in the full view of thousands of curious viewers (Odetola and Ademola, 1990:2). Further, in a single day in Lagos, 43 condemned prisoners were executed at the Kiri-kiri maximum security prison on 23th July, 1995. The execution was witnessed by about 3,000 spectators, including women and children (*Daily Times*, July 24, 1995:1&24). Furthermore, *The Guardian* reported that a mother, her 18 years old son and two others were publicly executed by firing squad in Kano recently (*The Guardian*, May 27, 1994:5). The justification for the severe penalties in the country was that these punishments would reduce the number of criminal activities. But empirical evidence and experience show that the reverse has been the case (Onoge, 1988; Odetola and Ademola, 1990). This is an indication of the seriousness of the crime problem in Nigeria. It is therefore important, in fact

necessary, to examine other measures, including this research, which will help to reduce the problem. The data collected (documentary, and survey) for this study and their analyses are expected to provide vital information, for the formulation of policies for an effective and efficient control of female criminality in Nigeria.

In addition, women's potentials have to be developed, mobilised and channeled towards political and economic development of the country. But high rate of criminality will work against such efforts. Therefore, we hoped this research will create new awareness, consciousness and understanding of the patterns, trends, and control of female criminality in Nigerian society, and in criminology as a discipline. Women studies, especially female criminality is still at its developmental stage, and this research will therefore, contribute to the much needed literature on female criminality all over the world and in Nigeria in particular.

Female criminality is quite a sensitive area, and hence difficulties are experienced in eliciting information and participants. Thus, whatever techniques or methodologies are employed to elicit information in this research would be an experience which would benefit other researchers, in the future.

1. 7. Conceptual Framework For This Study

Biological and Psychological explanations of Female Criminality.

Before, we review the literature in the next chapter, we need to briefly articulate the conceptual framework for this study in this section. Many of the earliest explanations for the criminal activities of women were anchored on physiological and psychological features of the individual woman (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1898). The physiological view emphasises that women's character and conduct are

biologically determined. Women are biologically different from men and these differences are reflected in their roles and statuses in society, which also manifest in the types of crime committed by women (Lombroso and Ferrero, 1898). Women are considered as conformists, and are also associated with kindness, fairness, gentleness and so on. Women according to the biological model of behaviour, possess special hormones or glands which propel them and make them behave differently from men. Their hormones, reproductive role and other feminine composition determine their emotion, and explain the unreliability, childishness and deviousness of women. These, Lombroso and Ferrero suggest, lead to female crime. Women, according to this biological perspective, are inherently maternal, passive and domestic, and at the same time driven by uterine ailments of excessive or repressed sexuality which could lead to hysteria and psychological instability. Based on these factors individual female behaviour is said to be motivated by four basic wishes derived from some biological instincts which are either expressed in legal or illegal behaviour, depending on the impact of socialization (Thomas, 1967). These basic wishes are the desires for new experiences, security, response and recognition. Delinquent girls are said to be motivated by the desire for new experiences. In other wise, Thomas' study was designed to illustrate the dominance of these four key "wishes" in human behaviour. Thomas, like Lombroso and Ferrero, assumed a 'natural' male-female dichotomy corresponding to "active" and "passive" states and according to Heidensohn (1993) ranked men higher in the evolutionary ladder than women.

Thomas stated that women were more likely to be "unadjusted" because they suffer more and were aware of their deprivations during a period of social change.

For him women live a life of repressed wishes. Loneliness has been expressed as a causation factor in women criminality. It is argued that adolescent girls experience loneliness and also are exposed to mother-daughter competition later in their lives and all this could result in criminal behaviour (Thomas, 1967). These explanations for female criminality have however, failed to recognize the social structural factors in crime causation.

The Chivalry Hypothesis

The 'chivalry hypothesis', attempts to account for the relatively low figures of women in criminal statistics, and argues that the level of female criminality is under-represented relative to their male counterparts. That is, women benefit from lenient treatment by criminal justice officials, and their crimes tend to be under-recorded (Polak, 1961; Reckless and Kay, 1984).

Visher (1983) however suggested that chivalrous treatment of women by criminal justice officials involves a bargain between female offenders and law enforcement officials. If a female offender fails to conform to traditional role expectations, such as exhibiting appropriate gender behaviours, then chivalrous treatment is not extended (Visher, 1983:6). Further, Curran (1983) is of the opinion that the much popularized idea of preferential treatment for women holds no weight, because other criteria take priority over gender issues in law enforcement. Such criteria include, the age of the offender, race, the seriousness of the offense, nature and type of offense, victims' inputs or reaction, history of the defendant and so on. These factors play significant roles in handling cases of arrest, prosecution, sentencing and incarceration.

Marxist Feminism

Marxist feminists viewed gender inequality as resulting from the unequal power of men and women in society. Traditionally, men and women are assigned different roles and statuses in society. They traced the origin of gender differences to the development of private property and male domination over the laws of inheritance (Siegel, 1995). Marxist feminists argued that capitalist society is marked by both patriarchy and class conflict. As capitalists control the labour of workers, men control women both economically and biologically. There is 'double marginality' which explains why females in a capitalist society commit fewer crimes than males. Women have been traditionally isolated in the family and have fewer opportunities to engage in elite deviance such as white-collar and male dominated street or organised crimes. Marxist feminists also focused on the social forces that shape women's lives and experiences to explain female criminality; males are socialised to be aggressive and exploitative of women. Through gender segregation of the socialization of males and females, girls are forced to internalise inferiority complex and to accept second class position in society vis a vis their male counterparts. This theory thus, incorporates the female sex-role explanation of crime in society. That the position of women in society also determines the types of crimes they commit. Female crime is related to their roles in society. For instance, it has been argued that women shoplift because shopping is an attribute of female sex-role (Rosenblum, 1980, cited in Olowu, 1983).

However, Marxist feminists stressed that women are exposed to double exploitation and marginalised in society. In many instances, they are deprived of their rights just because they are women, and also marginalized along with other

men as members of the working class. Crime is therefore viewed as a direct result of the frustration and anger and deprivation suffered by women in society. In an attempt to make ends meet women experience strains; their inability to achieve the social and financial successes they desire lead them to commit crimes.

Marxist feminism is concerned with the eradication of all forms of oppression and exploitation in society which create criminogenic state. To reduce female crime in society, Marxist feminists advocate for the empowerment of women both physically, socially, economically, politically, educationally and other wise. This also entails women having full control over their own lives, access to means of livelihood, taking decision on issues that affect them, and the total elimination of all discriminatory tendencies towards women.

The Women Liberation/Opportunity theory

The women liberation framework was developed as an explanation for female criminality. This theory borrowed extensively from Cloward and Ohlin's opportunity theory (1960) which explains differential access to legitimate and illegitimate opportunities. According to Cloward and Ohlin, individuals in all strata of society share the same success goals. However, individuals in the lower class have limited means or access to achieve these goals. Thus, those who perceive themselves as failures within conventional society will seek alternative means to gain success. However, Cloward and Ohlin pointed out that the opportunity for both successful conventional and criminal careers is limited. Using this theory, (Simon, 1975) and (Adler, 1975), argued that women liberation movement has exposed women to more opportunities (legitimate and illegitimate) which they were denied in the past.

This exposure led to the increase in female criminality (Simon, 1975;1993; Adler, 1975). Women criminality especially their involvement in property crimes, is due to the recent increase in women participation in the labour force which exposes them to criminal opportunities like embezzlement, forgery, fraud and so on (Simon, 1975; 1993). In addition, recent shifts in sex-role attitudes and orientations have been expressed as reasons for female criminality (Adler, 1975).

Austin (1982) explained that there is a relationship between women liberation and criminality of women. This view has been expressed in the sense that the role changes that have occurred for females whether through pressure from the women's movement or from other social forces, might have been sufficiently extensive to reduce or prevent the ability of society to limit the ambitions of women. It also followed that, as women became more assertive and liberated from home, and traditional behaviour, the traditional tendency for law enforcement officials to be lenient with female offenders began to disappear. This led to increasing enforcement of laws against misconduct by women, and consequently their increasing representation in official law enforcement statistics.

Theoretical Framework

Insights from different theories may be employed to explain female criminality due to the fact that no single theory is capable of offering total explanation of female criminality. However, in this study the women liberation, differential legitimate and illegitimate opportunities theory, are combined with Marxist feminism to explain female criminality in Nigeria.

The physiological theories locate the problem of female criminality in female biology, that is, the biological differences between men and women, while psychological theories reduced female criminality to lack of proper socialization. We believe that the problem of female criminality is more than reducing it to maternal or paternal deprivation and thereby neglecting the whole issue of socio-economic and political definition of crime. We also believe that the problem of female criminality is the problem of human beings, and thus, everyone including men and women, must work towards its elimination in society.

The Women liberation, differential legitimate and illegitimate theory and Marxist feminism are interwoven and have directly or indirectly exposed the effects of the changing roles of women in a dynamic society such as Nigeria and their relationship with female criminality. In Nigerian society, the majority of the women occupy the lower strata of the economy. They are likely the last to be hired and first to be fired in case of economic crisis. It therefore follows that women who are denied legitimate avenue for success may innovate by engaging in crimes such as drug trafficking, smuggling contraband and the like to survive. These theories are thus, more appropriate as they provide insight on how the socio-political and economic developments influence the patterns, trends and control of female criminality.

Differential opportunities relate to the fact that, even though women liberation movement have led to a different perception of women, shifts in sex-roles attitudes, and created new opportunities for women to participate in public life than in the past, these opportunities are however, not equally distributed among women. Marxist feminists recognise that all women do not suffer oppression and exploitation

in the same way. The issue of class differences among women is quite glaring in Nigerian society. Many women still suffer from deprivations, such as lack of access to education, food, shelter and other means of livelihood. It is therefore expected that women who are denied access to these opportunities are likely to innovate by engaging in criminal activities or behaviours to meet their needs.

Also, women like their male counterparts are increasingly exposed to the pressures that lead to crime. For instance, women who have acquired education and are at the same time denied job opportunities may experience economic strains, particularly if they observe that other women are successful and comfortable. This will create pressure for them to seek avenue including criminal activities to succeed. In addition, women who are aware of their deprivation may live a life of repressed wishes which could lead to frustration and criminal behaviours.

Thus, if to be wealthy, educated and recognised are the accepted goals of society and the means to achieve these goals are denied some members, they are likely to engage in armed robbery, stealing, embezzlement, corruption, prostitution, drug trafficking and any other kind of ways to achieve these goals, what Merton referred to as "innovation" (Merton, 1957). This may explain why more women are getting involved in criminal activities.

1. 8. Synopsis of the Thesis.

The next chapter reviews the literature, that is different theoretical perspectives on crime and female criminality in particular.

Chapter three discusses the methodology adopted in the study. Chapters four, five and six involve the presentation and analysis of data. Each of the chapters take the form of description, analyses and discussion of trends, patterns and control employing analytical methods and statistical tools like percentages and contingency table. Narrative analysis is also used where necessary.

In the analysis of the data, we consider the explanations for the increase or decrease in female crimes. We also explain the types of crimes and reasons associated with these crimes. Analysis of court and prisons experiences by the inmates as well as their social characteristics are presented.

The discussion ends in chapter seven with a summary of the conclusions of the study with specific emphasis on the two hypotheses examined. Suggestions or recommendations were also included in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Section A.

2.1. General Introduction

Moran (1978) has analyzed the historical changes in the conception, explanation and control of crime. Criminal behavior was until the last century explained in terms of demonism (Moran, 1978). Criminals were said to be under the influence of evil spirits or demons. The criminals of this era according to Moran, were regarded as sinners and through the vehicle of assigning penance at public confessions the clergy came to manage, the sin/crime problem. But with the development of the jurist and criminal justice system, "much sin became crime; that which was formerly deemed immoral became illegal. Sinners became known as criminals" (Moran, 1978: 335). Further, the authority for managing criminals passed from the clergy to the jurist and criminal justice system.

Even though there was a commonly shared belief among thinkers, that the people who break the law were defective, Moran argued that the nature of these defects remained a contentious issue. For some thinkers, particularly those in the mystic arts, demonology and a few in theology, criminals or deviants were persons possessed by evil forces, and individuals were viewed as helpless to their fate, as they had no other alternative (Box, 1979; Moran, 1978). Moran has suggested that in the past ten decades, with few exceptions, the trend has changed to perceiving of crime as disease and the criminal as patients.

The classical school, influenced by the enlightenment period have applied the notion of free-will in their analysis and treatment of crime problems (Jenkins, 1982). The free-will concept stipulates that an individual could determine his or her own destiny through reason and knowledge. That is, man has the ability to reason, and act under free will and that the desire to avoid pain and pursue pleasure was the strongest motivational force for criminal activities. In short, an individual has a choice as to whether or not to abstain from criminal acts. Hence, emphasis was placed on punishment to deter individuals (Moran, 1978; Jenkins, 1982). The development of criminology has however stressed the application of various scientific disciplines such as medicine, psychology, sociology, and the humanities to the explanation and control of crime.

2. 2. Biology, Psychology and Crime

The notion of man's free-will as determinant or explanation of behaviour was undermined by positivist theory which emphasized materialism and determinism. That is, the positivists argue that crime is conditioned by social environment or by an individual biological constitution. Therefore, punishment could not deter criminals, and the positivist viewed the concept of retribution or revenge as barbarous and useless (Jenkins, 1982). The positivist instead recommended treatment and confinement of the criminals until they were 'cured' or 'rehabilitated'. The treatment models recommended by the positivists relied much on the objective authorities of doctors, administrators and social workers. And by the middle of the 1960s, the wide discretion entrusted to experts such as doctors, and others were considered gravely abused (Jenkins, 1982). These positivist rehabilitative ideas

were later viewed as ineffective and in fact oppressive. With the intervention of the positivist's ideology, the criminal became identified with some bio-physiological defects, but for most of them the actual defect remained a mystery; although some thought it was the quality which "divided primitive man from civilized man" (Box, 1979). As a result of this confusion, researchers concentrated on the search for indicators of criminals. The human anatomy was one of such indicators. Deviants were characterized as:

having deviations, in their head shapes, peculiarities in their eyes, receding foreheads, weak chins, compressed faces, flared nostrils, long ape-like arms and agile and muscular bodies (Box, 1979:3).

The early version of bio-physiological theories was provided by Lombroso (1898). He was one of the leading proponent of positivist criminology. Having been influenced by Auguste Comte's positivist philosophy and Charles Darwin's Origin of the Species, he challenged the notion of free-will. He shifted attention away from the criminal law and toward the study of the criminal. He identified the criminal with large jaws, high cheek bones, large ears, extra nipples, insensitivity to pain and so on. Thus, Lombroso re-inforced the notion of the "criminal type". The criminal became characterised as 'subspecies' distinct from the rational or conformist (Moran, 1978).

Bio-medical understanding of crime has been more and more in terms of sickness and disease. Crime has been viewed as a medical or scientific problem and thus dis-associating it from political, moral, social, economic or ethical issues (Moran, 1978). Experts are continually invited to diagnose and prescribe appropriate treatment for criminals.

Another attempt to explain criminal behaviour is based on psychological theories. Psychological theories explain criminal acts as abnormality which is learned instead of being genetically determined. The individual criminal, according to this model, lacked proper socialization in his/her early years. Bowlby (1946) was of the view that a child has certain basic needs of life, of which emotional security is the most important. This can be provided most effectively by a close intimate relationship with the mother and when a child is deprived of this maternal love, particularly during its early years, a psychopathic personality can develop. A child's exposure to parent's desertion and divorce, broken homes such as long-term hospitalization, military service, or employment of breadwinner away from home may bring some serious consequences for members of a family (Monahan, 1968; Bowlby, 1946). Psychopaths tend to act impulsively with little regard for the consequences of their actions. They rarely feel guilty, and show little or no response to punishment or treatment. Chronic recidivists were diagnosed as having suffered from 'maternal deprivation' (Odetola and Ademola, 1990). Further, lack of love in childhood has been associated with a feeling of insecurity which promotes hostile relationships with parents and the rest of society.

The individual psychological make-up or personality has also been used to explain criminal behavior. It is argued that criminality results when there is a conflict between the individual and the social self. When a person experiences a state of harmony or equilibrium, that is enjoys physical, mental and social health, between the different elements of her personality, she is normal. But she becomes abnormal when her harmony is disturbed or eliminated through the inability of the personal and social self to maintain harmony as enumerated above. Extroverts have also

been associated with criminality. It is argued that extroverts crave excitement and willing to take chances, more impulsive and thus more likely to be deviant or criminal (Odetola and Ademola, 1990:192).

Odetola and Ademola, have argued that early childhood socialization upon which much of these arguments are based, does not take adult experience and socialization into account. Further, Clinard (1976) explained that the problems of alcoholism represents far more than a product of anxieties or mere personality traits left over from early childhood experiences or mal-socialization. In addition, Young (1979) dismissed the view of associating mesomorph with criminality. He argued that lower working class children who are more likely to be found in the criminal statistics, are by virtue of their class position, diet, continual manual labour, physical fitness and strength, more likely to be mesomorphic. Mesomorphs are people with stocky and rounded builds. Alemika (1990) argued with respect to the biological and psychological theories of crime that:

the entire theoretical and research edifices of the models are built on erroneous ontological and epistemological assumptions ..., having failed to recognize or give explicit recognition to the fact that crime is a violation of criminal codes which are in turn product of political processes rather than biological and psychological determinism. Thus, whatever influences are exerted by biological and psychological forces, are secondary and mediated by socio-economic and political processes (Alemika, 1990:3).

Still arguing in the same vein, Pearson (1978) demonstrated how vandalism, smashing and wrecking which were dismissed as mere problems of social background or criminal psychopath, or 'chromosome defect' or 'broken home' challenged criminology to shake itself out of its a-historical slumbers to come to a

new understanding of crime. These crimes were discovered to be associated with economic, political and socio-cultural factors (Pearson, 1978:128-129).

2. 3. Sociological Explanation of Criminal Behaviour

The sociological explanation of criminal behaviour lay emphasis on the social structure of society. Criminal behaviour, according to sociological perspectives on crime should not be viewed as the manifestation of a defective human being, but the indicator of a defective society. Criminal behaviour has to be explained 'primarily' as a result of the unfavorable and pathological circumstances of their environment (Box, 1979:5).

Emile Durkheim, a pioneer sociologist, argued that crime is inevitable in any society and its incidence is only dysfunctional when its rate becomes 'unusually high' (Durkheim, 1966:10). Durkheim sees crime as an integral part of all healthy societies. Crime is normal in the sense that a society exempt from it is impossible. People cannot all behave in a similar manner. There may be a replacement of old forms of crimes by new forms, but crime can never disappear entirely in a society. Further, since there cannot be a society in which the individuals are not differentiated more or less from the collective type, it becomes inevitable that among these divergences, there are some with a criminal behaviour or character (Durkheim, 1966:12). He argues that crime performs certain functions for the society. Changes in society for instance, begins with deviation from the normal. According to him, crime is an anticipation of future morality, but warns that such deviation from the norms may be useful as long as it is not so great as to offend collective sentiments.

Merton (1957) modified Durkheim's formulation of 'anomie' to explain criminal behaviour. He focused on the structure of the society stating that in every society, there is value consensus, a system of shared values and goals. But there are differences in the status of members of the society which produce differential access to these goals. Criminal behaviours result from differential access to success goals by legitimate means. The society, according to Merton, exert a definite pressure upon certain individuals in the society to engage in non-conformist rather than conformist conduct. Anomie arises where the access to societal defined goals and values becomes problematic. According to Merton, individuals respond to anomic situation in different ways as shown below:

- a. Conformity is one way of handling the problem of anomie. The individual accept the goals and the means instituted by the society as the only acceptable means to reach the goals.
- b. Innovation is another way of adjusting to a state of anomie. The individuals accept the goals but reject the means stipulated by the society to reach such goals. Instead, they devised alternative means, which may include illegal ones, of reaching the goals.
- c. Ritualism involves the rejection of the success goals of society. Individuals lower their aspirations and would rather not innovate.
- d. Retreatism involves people withdrawing from both the goals and the means of access to such goals. Such people may become alcoholics.
- e. Another method of coping with the problem of anomie is rebellion. Individuals reject both the goals and the culturally stipulated means of

achieving these goals, and such individuals substitute their own goals and means.

Innovation is what is relevant to us here, as most people who commit crimes are only trying to innovate.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) reported that delinquency arises from the disparity between what the lower-class youths are led to believe and what is actually available to them. They are reared to desire, such goals as economic and educational achievement. But at the same time they are faced with limitations on legitimate avenues of access to these goals. Because they are unable to reverse their goals downwards, they experience frustration and turn to delinquency if the opportunity is made available to them (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Cloward and Ohlin, were the first to stress the importance of illegitimate opportunities. They argued that there are socially structured variations in the availability of illegitimate means just as in the case of legitimate means. Access to illegitimate roles is not freely available to all, as is commonly assumed and conceived. Their use of 'opportunities' - legitimate and illegitimate, implies access to learning and performance structures as regards criminality. That is, individuals must have access to appropriate environment for the acquisition of the values and skills associated with the performance of the criminal role or a particular role. Further, the individual must be supported in the performance of the role once he has learned it (Cloward and Ohlin, 1966:256). One important point that may be observed therefore is that increasing involvement of women in crime may be interpreted as response to increasing opportunity to engage in crime for them.

The theory of cultural transmission formulated by Shaw and Mckay (1929) proposed that certain environment have the characteristics of perpetuating certain kinds of crimes over a period of time, despite changes in the human populations. This emanated from their work in Chicago neighborhood. They found a persisted high crime rates in the same Chicago neighborhoods for 20 years despite the fact that the character of the neighborhoods had changed in other ways as different ethnic groups had come and gone.

In an attempt to explain this they felt that deviant behaviour must be learned. Where deviant behaviour already exists as a cultural pattern in some group or community, it is usually transmitted to new comers and the young. New arrivals in a criminogenic neighbourhood, learn criminal behaviour in play groups, in teenage gangs, and in other contexts of social interaction with the people who lived there (Shaw and Mckay, 1929).

In the same vein, Surtherland (1951) demonstrated that criminal behaviour is learned and like all social behaviour it is learned from other people. Criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with others who have already imbibed criminal values. This learning process is similar to all the elements present in other forms of learning. Learning criminal and non-criminal behaviour depends, however, on the intensity of contacts with others, the age at which the contacts take place, frequency of the contacts, the duration of contacts with others, and the number of contacts. In other words, the ordinary person has no access to the knowledge, the techniques or the justifications that are available to the deviant or criminal. Given the recognition that the availability of illegitimate opportunity for criminal acts is important for criminal activities, Wolfgang (1966) suggested that in a given social

location, where illegal or criminal means are not readily available, then we should not expect a criminal subculture to develop among adolescents.

Cohen (1955) explained criminal behaviour from the point of view of sub-culture. Certain groups develop distinctive norms and values which deviate from the main-stream culture of society. Delinquency is a collective rather than an individual response to the culturally proscribed goals of society. Lower working-class boys accept success goals of the mainstream culture, but as a result of their class position, in society, their access to legitimate means to these goals are blocked. Thus, they suffer status frustration. They resolve their frustration not by turning to criminal paths to success but by rejecting the success goals of the mainstream culture and replacing them with an alternative set of norms and values within which they can achieve success and gain prestige.

The notion that when something is stolen, it could be useful to the criminal in one way or the other was dismissed by Cohen. He reinforced the fact that much gang stealing has no such motivations at all (Cohen, 1966:244). Gang members steal things which are often discarded, destroyed, or casually given away. A group of boys, according to Cohen, may enter a store, steal things like a hat, ball or light bulb and move into another store where these things are exchanged for like items. They continue the game indefinitely. Cohen argued that:

if stealing itself is not motivated by rational utilitarian considerations, then a kind of malice, an enjoyment in the discomfiture of others, a delight in the defiance of taboos itself could be deduced to explain these behaviours. They obtain their norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down (Cohen, 1955; 1966).

Like Durkheim, Cohen believes that crime acts as a safety valve for the expression of dissatisfactions in society. Thus, criminal behaviour constitutes an early warning mechanism of problems in the social structure.

The Marxist theory of criminal behaviour lay emphasis on the role of class in the criminalization process. It seeks to expose the way in which the poor and powerless are held responsible for the problem of crime and vastly over-represented in the official statistics (Chambliss, 1977; Quinney, 1975; Taylor *et al*, 1992; Smart, 1977; Young, 1979). The theory holds that power is held and controlled by those who own and control the means of production in society. The law, they argue, represents the instrument of the state which it uses to promote and legitimize the ruling class power and interest. Thus, a general commitment to laws by members of society as a whole, in practice benefits only the ruling minority.

Marenin (1982) reinforced this view when he stated that law enforcement agencies act in the interest of the ruling class and dominant groups of a society.

Marenin, summarised the Marxian views of crime as follows:

in any social formation the state and its agents can do no other than act repressively against actual and potential challenges to established order; and that the police (as are the other structure in the criminal justice system - legal norms, courts, corrections,) are one of the main defence mechanisms, alongside welfare programs and the manipulation of consciousness, on which the safety and continuance of the state and, therefore, of the social formation rest (Marenin, 1982: 241).

Radical thinkers continue to develop on the works of Karl Marx and their implications for the study of crime. They appear in the name of "new criminology" or "radical criminology" (Quinney, 1975; 1977; 1978; Taylor *et al*, 1992; Smart, 1977). Marxists emphasized the economic interest behind legislation and criminal justice

activities. Crime generally is seen as inherent within the capitalist mode of production.

Quinney (1978) associates the cause of crime with "the capitalist mode of production; the practice of criminology - especially criminal justice work is likewise part of capitalist structure" (Quinney, 1978:278). Criminological theory and practice he argues are materially based and criminology is a cultural production. Crime in capitalist society is seen as a reflection of the contradiction or tension between the two primary economic classes, in capitalist society: namely the capitalists who control economic wealth and workers who are forced to supply labour. Criminology according to Quinney has been and continues in large measure to be a body of thought and practice that seeks to control anything that threatens the capitalist system of production and its social relations. The capitalist class continues to exploit the labour power of the working classes. This is because it survives by appropriating the surplus labour of the working class. Quinney, therefore questions the assumed "objectivity"-value free stance, of science, arguing that it is an illusion that masks an identification with the interest of capitalism.

The capitalist system creates an unequal relationship between the workers and the capitalist. The workers suffer from mass unemployment and poverty and also have to compete with one another for low wages employment, in the face of ever rising cost of living. Quinney, classified crimes into two categories: "accommodation and adaptation". These are crimes committed by the workers and the poor due to deprivations stemming from their class position. Such crimes as predatory acts and personal violence stemming from anger and frustration. Even

when these crimes are committed against other workers, Quinney posits that they represent unconscious rebellion against the capitalist social formation.

Radical criminologists view the prisons, the police, the school, the mass media and even the nuclear family as undemocratic, manipulative and coercive. They are facade which pacifies the masses and mislead them as these institutions are functional and beneficiary to capitalism. Thus, they must be removed. Their only solution to crime crisis is to smash the existing institutional order and replace it with proletarian institutions (Quinney, 1975; 1977; 1978; Taylor et al, 1992).

While identifying with Marxist theorists, Young (1979) warned against the dismissal of all law and the notion that all crime is some kind of displaced revolutionary activity.

The foregoing theories touched on many crucial issues in society. For instance, the every glaring inequality in society, the biased nature of the criminal justice system, and the criminalization of the poor. As Young (1979) rightly pointed out:

the ever-present disparity between effort and reward, the emphasis on equal opportunities yet the unequal reality of a class society, the stress on individual competition yet the handicapped nature of the race are all the factors which create a criminogenic environment (Young, 1979).

In any society or social formation, which accommodates discrimination, favouritism, poverty, sexism, injustice and the like, those individuals who cannot acquire the societal defined goals through the legitimate means may resort to illegitimate means to meet their demands if the opportunity is available. And those who do not want to resort to illegitimate means to succeed, may resort to violent crimes due to frustrations and anger.

The theoretical perspectives on crime as reviewed in the passage could be related or applied to the Nigerian situation. The different theories are capable of explaining some dimensions of crime crisis in Nigeria. Odekunle, 1978; Odetola and Ademola, 1990 observed that in Nigerian society, there are culturally or societal defined goals and values. For instance, emphasis is placed on wealth, success, power, good education, and so on. But the legitimate access to the means of achieving these goals are not available to all individuals in society as a result of differences in status and social class. As Odetola and Ademola (1990) rightly pointed out:

In Nigeria, the conspicuously displayed wealth of the newly rich men, characterized by distributing money indiscriminately at social functions, highlights obvious inequality in income distribution, wealth and power (Odetola and Ademola, 1990:2).

Individuals who have already been socialized to cherish and appreciate such values, as wealth, power, and at the same time denied legitimate access to achieve these goals may find illegitimate means as the only option. This explains Merton's 'innovation' as a means of adaptation to a situation of anomie, due to inability to meet goals. Further, the high incidence of unemployment, mass retrenchment from jobs, injustice in sharing the 'national cake', social amenities, and other social policies adopted by the ruling class especially in the last two decades, in Nigeria, have contributed to increase in crime in Nigeria. Odetola and Ademola, observed, that 'armed gangs' find ready recruits among the jobless and frustrated.

The cultural transmission and differential association theories can be used to explain another dimension of crime problem in Nigeria. The emphasis expressed in the theories is that access to illegitimate roles is not freely available to all as is

commonly assumed. Access to illegitimate roles, like the legitimate roles could be limited or denied by physical, social and psychological factors. Each individual occupies a position in the illegitimate opportunity structure as happens in the case of legitimate opportunities. These theories could be adopted to explain why our urban centers and large cities have continued to provide fertile ground for all kinds of crimes ranging from crimes of prostitution, child abandonment, armed robbery, robbery, '419' swindle crime, and drug trafficking.

Marxist theory could be employed to explain some of the behavioural patterns which leads to criminal behaviour in Nigeria. Marxism for instance gives primacy to material conditions especially, economic conditions in analysing social behaviour. In capitalist societies,(both developed and underdeveloped) such as Nigeria, wealth is the measure for every other thing. Behaviour is motivated by economic self interest and production is for profit. Individual achievement is promoted at the expense of community well-being. The system is characterized by perpetual competition, which breeds aggression, hostility, and frustrations, especially for those who are marginalized and denied access to wealth as a result of their class position in society. Criminal activities such as armed robbery, murder, bribery and corruption, drug trafficking should be explained as responses to the capitalist competitive urge to pursue monetary acquisition, wealth and success without regards to the legitimate institutionalized means of achieving the societal defined goals. The Marxist theory also explains the "cut throat" methods used in accumulating wealth in Nigerian society. There is the constant urge to accumulate more and more wealth - accumulate capital and make more investment (capitalist greed). This explains why those Nigerians who are already very wealthy still get

involved in criminal activities to make more money. There is insatiable urge to amass more monetary gains.

These theoretical perspectives enable us to understand and analyse the social structural factors involved in crime causation.

Section B.

2. 4. Biological and Psychological Models and Female Criminality

There is a great deal of confusion, and disagreement over the explanatory power of the theories of female criminality especially among feminists. The black feminists for example, have accused white feminists for marginalizing the problem of female criminality to selective categories such as gender, and ignoring the entire issue of racism which affect black women (Rice, 1990).

Most criminologists have located causation factors in the bio-physiological, hormonal and psychological make up of the individual female criminals: that is the biological or psychological composition of women (Brown, 1990). Consequently, the proponents of this perspective suggest that women are by nature, physically different from men and this difference make women conduct inherently different from men's behaviour even to the extent of criminal activities. Women are said to be inherently maternal, passive, and domestic. They are driven by uterine ailments of excessive or repressed sexuality and tendencies to hysteria and psychological instability. In short, biological explanation of female criminality posits a 'male' and 'female' nature, each attributed with distinct attributes and modes of conduct (Brown, 1990; Hudson, 1990). This theory implies that all women's character and

conduct are biologically determined. This belief is reflected in almost all criminological theories (Brown, 1990; Hudson, 1990; Heidensohn, 1993).

Heidensohn (1985) has commented that:

Women, in this view, are determined by their biology and their physiology. Their hormones, their reproductive role, inexorable determine their emotionality, unreliability, childishness, deviousness, etc. These factors lead to female crime (Heidensohn, 1985:112 quoted by Brown 1990).

An important work on biological explanation of female criminality is that of Lombroso and Ferrero (1898). The work expressed the belief that women's biological nature gives them a fundamental different orientation to criminality from men. According to Lombroso, women are nature's conformists. They as a group are predisposed to non-criminal behaviour. Thus, women naturally lack the initiative to break laws, unlike men who are endowed with such advantages. Female crime was therefore viewed as a deviation from the basic female nature. Women offenders were seen as mere law breakers rather than criminals. Lombroso called them "occasional offenders". According to him, for women to be criminals, they must overcome their constituted nature as conformists. Such women could then share a criminality as real as that of male criminals. The ordinary female criminal is thus, perceived as particularly unnatural, masculine, virile and shows an inversion of all the qualities which especially distinguish the normal woman - such as being reserved, docility and sexual apathy.

As far as Lombroso was concerned, prostitution is the 'natural' state of regression for women. Women who are criminals other than prostitution are said to be unnatural and are more like men, lacking maternal feelings and carrying virile stigmata.

Canter (1982) has observed that women who are not contented with their roles as wives and mothers are said to be maladjusted. Giordano summarized the conceptualization of criminality as personal pathology, thus:

The bulk of the literature, then has perpetuated the notion that personal maladjustments characterized the female delinquent. She either must have a psychological problem, be unable to adequately perform her proper sex roles, or suffer from ill effects of a bad home life (Giordano, 1980: 24, quoted by Canter, 1982).

Smart (1977) has emphasized the implications of portraying female offenders as 'sick'. She argued that this view reflects women's status in society, a status which is also reflected in criminology. She raised the issue as to whether women are turning mentally ill for the same reason men become criminal. As she put it, portraying female criminals as 'sick' has formed the basis for which women's criminality has been considered.

In the same vein, Heidensohn (1993) has argued that Lombroso and Ferrero defined distinctive sub-species of women as 'good' and 'bad', 'natural' and 'abnormal' and equated these with conformity and crime. According to her, these writers told us little about female criminality but much more about themselves and their ideas about women. Her opinion is that these writers' view of women is heavily stereotyped. Women are defined according to domestic and sexual roles and dominated by biological imperative (Heidensohn, 1993). Olowu (1983) stated that those who explain female criminality in terms of bio-physiological factors, search for specific biology in women. For example, aggressive behaviour in women and menstruation have been investigated, and it was argued that menstruation, which is a particular biological feature is a cause of criminal behaviour.

The psychological theories like the bio-physiological, locate causation factors in the individual women. Female criminals have been described as passive victims of social disequilibrium and the venality and brutality of men (Block, 1977). Female criminals especially prostitutes have been described as lonely, detached and confused. They have the characteristics of maladjustment; such as early maternal or paternal deprivation, failure to identify with family role models and thus, failure to internalize social norms which acts as insulator against pressure towards criminal behavior. Further, the effects of a broken home, quarrelsome and negligent homes, have been viewed to have more impact on girls than on boys because generally, the family exercises more control over girls than boys (Block, 1977; Riege, 1972).

Both bio-physiological and psychological theories of female criminality ignored the notion of the political and economic implications of crime and criminality. It is important to emphasize that there is a close relationship between the political and economic institutions and the definition of criminality and the pattern of law enforcement. In short, the definition of crime is a political issue (Chambliss, 1977; Alemika, 1990; Quinney, 1977).

2. 5. Sociological Models of Female Criminal Behaviours: Trends and Patterns

In the field of criminology, official statistics has been the means through which female criminality is assessed (Visher, 1983). Currently, criminology is witnessing a development in the interpretation of female criminality. There are different views as regards the trends and patterns of female criminality. Some feel women criminality does not warrant the publicity it enjoys from the media, the

government and the society at large. This is because from the available statistics women commit far less crime than men (Ego, 1990; Heidensohn, 1993; CLO, 1993).

Others have argued that social control agencies respond to men and women offenders differently (Polak, 1961). Police officers, and other law enforcement officials have historically treated female offenders more leniently than their male counterparts. Thus, it is argued that, there is really no actual shift in the criminal behaviour of women but 'a diminishing 'chivalrous' attitude among law enforcement officers which also explain the changes in officially recorded female criminality. Chivalry refers to "the phenomenon whereby women receive preferential treatment during the criminal justice process" (Visher, 1983). The chivalry hypothesis has gained prominence in the interpretation and analysis of female offenders.

Phillips and Defleur (1982) noted that the explanations of male and female deviants/criminals for the past decade have focussed on differences in gender role-expectation. There is the assumption that there is something about a female criminal that permits her being defined differently and treated differently by law enforcement officials. They argued that all those who have written about women perceive them in either ways:

One group perceives women who commit crimes as poor, benighted creatures who are victims of male oppression and society's indifference and disinterest. The other group perceives women offenders as being more cunning and more crafty than men; as having learned how to commit crimes that are more difficult to detect; and as counting on the chivalry of male law enforcement officials to avoid arrest, conviction, and imprisonment (Simon, 1975:84 quoted by Phillips and Defleur, 1982:433).

Further, police may be reluctant to arrest women because of the belief that women are unpredictable in such situations and using coercion as a means of controlling

them is contrary to cultural norms. Furthermore, charges of sexual harassment from arrested females are not unlikely in such situations and which are difficult to defend. Apart from all these factors, the normal woman is that which fits and is satisfied with the stereotypic traits of femaleness (Phillip and Defleur, 1982).

Polak (1961) analysed the visibility of female crime. She stated that the low representation of female offenders in the criminal statistics is not because women are 'saints' as the society tend to believe, but because women's crime went undetected for a series of reasons. She examined data on recorded criminality in several countries and over time, to show that female crime has been vastly underestimated. She argued that female crime is perhaps the 'outstanding area of undiscovered' or at least unprosecuted crime in our culture. Further, the actual amount of female criminality has been greatly underrated. She put forward a theory to explain this "masking". She stated that women are inherently deceitful and vengeful, exploiting a flow of helpless victims and aided by men's chivalry. Women commit crimes more likely to be hidden, under-reported such crimes as abortions and shoplifting, thefts by domestic servants, offenses by prostitutes, domestic revenge, poisoning and violence carried out by women on their helpless families. She went further to state that women are more devious than men. Women can fake an orgasm and still have sex whereas man must achieve an erection in order to perform the sex act and will not be able to hide his failure.

Even when women commit visible crimes and are reported, they are less likely to be arrested, prosecuted or convicted as a result of the chivalry of the law enforcement officials. Such stance or tolerance has been attributed to paternalistic attitudes toward women held by male agents of the criminal justice system. Polak

saw the greater conformity of women as a 'myth'. To break this myth, law enforcement officials and male criminals must work together in terms of perceptions, attitude and behaviour towards women so as to reveal or expose the criminality of women. It is only when male chivalry is abolished that one can appreciate the true participation of women in crime.

Heidensohn (1993) however disagreed with these analyses, arguing that these theories, assumed that women are different species from men, differently made and motivated. The bone of contention is that even though men and women are biologically different, the factors which motivate women to commit crime (socio-economic and others) are similar to that of men.

Curran (1983) attributed chivalry - this protective stance taken by men, to have originated from traditional role-playing dictated by cultural patterns and practices that reflect status differences between the sexes (Curran, 1983: 44). Moreover, male victims are too embarrassed or chivalrous to report crimes that concern women. When women are involved in team or organized crimes, the men are likely to be caught and punished, since they are the active ones. Women act to entice victims or assist to organize the plan. Males usually avoid involving their women due to chivalry (Curran, 1983). As a result of this, women usually go scot-free.

Reckless and Kay (1964) are in support of the chivalry thesis. They indicated that the low population of women in the criminal statistics is due to chivalry. Victims and observers of women offenders are unwilling to take action against them because of their gender. The police are more willing to arrest men than women. Even the courts are lenient with women. This differential treatment of women and

men are as a result of the in-built cultural attitude towards women. Our cultures consider women as incapable of aggressive (criminal) acts. This has been the reason for lack of concern for female crimes, since most crimes have been committed by males (Reckless and Kay, 1964).

While employing chivalry in the explanation of the low representation of women in the criminal statistics, we have to highlight the bargaining nature of the whole exercise. Chivalry involves a bargain between female offender and law enforcement officers. Women receive special treatment in return for displaying appropriate sex-role behavior. Visher (1983) summarized it thus:

When law enforcement officials (e.g. police, prosecutors, judges), most of whom are male, interact with female violators, the encounter is transformed into an exchange between a man and a woman. In this situation, appropriate gender behaviours and expectations may become more salient than strictly legal factors in the official sanctioning of female offenders. Indeed, if women fail to conform to traditional female roles, then the assumed bargain is broken and chivalry treatment is not extended (Visher, 1983:6).

In other words police are reluctant only to arrest female offenders who display 'appropriate' sex-role behaviour. Female suspects who are antagonistic or hostile and uncooperative, are more likely to be arrested than "civil" suspects. Antagonism is a sex-role violation for females. Thus, women who exhibit such tendencies may be treated the same way as men. Moreover, previous research on police arrest practices suggests that the characteristics of the suspect, such as race, age, demeanour, presence and actions of victim, location and time of encounter, and the nature of offense take priority over gender (Box, 1979; Visher, 1983).

If a victim requests an arrest, chivalry is minimized. Even younger female offenders have been known to receive harsher treatment than do old females. This

is because police officers tend to adopt a more paternalistic and harsher attitude toward younger female offenders to deter any further violation of appropriate sex-role behavior. In addition, African-American women, in the United States, who have a distinctive social and cultural background that denounced the middle class women dependent behaviour, that is, sex- role expectations, may be denied chivalrous treatment. It is well established (Visher, 1983) that African-American women are more independent than white American women as they frequently occupy the role of head of household. They also usually have equal or greater status than African-American male members of their household. Thus, African-American females may be less inclined than white American females to exercise traditional sex-role behaviour in their encounters with the law enforcement officials. Similarly, older suspects may receive favourable treatment both inside and outside the court (Visher, 1983).

Demeanour plays important role in police arrest irrespective of the sex of the suspect. Police generally arrest antagonistic suspects because hostile behaviour by suspects challenges officers' authority (Visher, 1983). They may therefore assert control by arresting uncooperative or trouble-some suspects.

Female offenders who commit property offenses are more likely to enjoy chivalrous treatment from police and the courts, than women suspects who commit crimes typically perpetrated by male, like murder, and assault (Visher, 1983). This is because, violent offenses are traditionally associated with male while property offenses are traditionally associated with women. Thus, females who commit traditional male crimes are evaluated no differently from male offenders. Heidensohn (1993) argued that such female offenders may actually receive a

harsher punishment for deviating from female sex-role. As she puts it; failure to comply with conventional feminine stereotypes may lead to greater chances of imprisonment.

From the review above, we could argue that chivalry is not automatically accorded to every woman. Chivalry only appears to extend to some women and not to others as against the general belief that chivalry extends to all women. Women who violate gender expectations and are hostile or aggressive are denied preferential treatment by the police, and courts. Further, those who engage in criminal activities in public places or at night go against sex-role behaviour and may be denied chivalrous treatment. Furthermore, those who engage in non-female types of crimes may not be accorded chivalrous treatment. Infact, these women may receive more severe sanctions from the criminal justice system for transcending the confined limit of sex-role behaviour (Visher, 1983; Heidensohn, 1993).

In a study of female inmates in Holloway Prison, Woodside (1976) associated economic reasons as the primary factor for women's involvement in criminal activities. For instance, he observed that the prisoners were mostly unskilled domestic and catering workers. At the time of apprehension, many were unemployed or had only been in casual short-term employment. Most of the prisoners had no permanent or settled home. The prisoners associated marital trouble, homelessness, depression, loneliness, and unemployment, with their criminality. The social factor in recidivism was clearly brought out by one of the prison doctor's report in a 69 year old widow with 16 sentences for drinking. It was stated that she gave up drinking while house-keeping for a man she was fond of but

when the man died, she felt lonely and unhappy and went back to drinking again (Woodside, 1976). Some of the prisoners referred to class distinction in police handling of offenses. The police pick on individuals they know whether they are really guilty of the crime or not.

In another research, Miller (1983) identified female crimes as petty street crimes, credit card fraud, larceny of shoplifting, and forgery (by signing others names to stolen personal checks which are cashed for petty amounts).

Hudson (1990) further emphasized that the behavior which bring young women to the attention of social welfare services departments or the courts, are distinct from those which attract male delinquents to courts. She found that for young women, behaviour that may warrant attention of welfare homes or court, are staying out at night, association with 'disreputable' men; being thought to be at risk of prostitution, promiscuity and pregnancy, verbal aggression, defiance and the like. In short, behaviour which challenges the sex-role expectation. Hudson, therefore observed that young women constitute a problem not because of their actions against others but because of their seemingly individualized 'trouble' (Hudson, 1990:115 and 117).

Heidensohn (1993) is of the opinion that women commit very little crime, and most of their offenses (about 80%) relate to property or to fraud and forgery. She found that women are generally involved in petty and trivial offenses. The commonest group of offenses for which women were imprisoned were those of dishonesty: theft, handling fraud and forgery. Violence against persons was next then followed by burglary. Only few were found in organized crime. She argued that most studies used absolute increases in female crime, rather than relative

share and this leads to an exaggeration of the female contribution (Heidensohn, 1993).

2. 6. Female Offenders and Criminal Justice.

In the review of literature, the major theoretical perspective in the analysis of female offenders is Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) opportunity theory. This theory explains increased legitimate and illegitimate opportunities which must have resulted from the emancipation of women. Thus, women liberation/opportunity theory have been evolved to explain female criminality. It has been argued that women liberation has exposed women to different opportunities (both legitimate and illegitimate) which they were denied in the past, hence the increase in female criminality.

Women liberation theory emanated from the work of Freda Adler, Sisters in crime and Rita Simon's Women and Crime. Even though these work were on the American society, they have become important framework for the analysis of female criminality at the international level. The thrust of this theory is that female criminality especially their involvement in property crimes, is due to objective change - recent increase of women in the labour force which exposes them to criminal opportunity like embezzlement, forgery, fraud and so on (Simon, 1975), and subjective change - recent shifts in sex-role attitudes and orientations (Adler, 1975). Changes in sex roles have resulted in higher rate of crime among women. For instance, Austin (1982) stated that the role changes that have occurred for females whether through pressure from the women's movement or from other social forces,

might have been sufficiently extensive to reduce or prevent the ability of society to limit the ambitions of women (Austin, 1982:408).

The anomie theory derived from Durkheim (1951) by Merton (1957) suggests that disjuncture between goals and means is a major cause of deviance. Further, radical theory, such as Quinney (1977) leads to the expectation that women who are much more aware of sexism as a form of exploitation will have an increased likelihood of participating in predatory crimes such as burglary and robbery.

As women become more liberated from domestic roles and move into public life, they get involved in crimes in which their occupations or positions provide the greatest opportunities. For example, a highly placed woman in the political or economic mainstream is more likely to engage in crimes of corruption and embezzlement than her less opportunized counterpart. This may be illustrated by a fraud case reported by *Weekend Concord* (1991), which stated that 26 workers including a woman of the Plateau State Ministry of Finance have been dismissed for defrauding the state government, of the sum of 1.5 million naira. The highest figure of the fraud, #1.1 million was reported to have been committed by the only lady among them (*Weekend Concord*, July 27, 1991:8).

As female roles and occupational opportunities are changing, so also the types of crimes that women commit are changing, or/and increasing. And as women's educational and employment opportunities expand, so also their feelings of being victimized and exploited increase and their motivation to attack the source of their exploitation increase.

In contemporary Nigeria many women are becoming more literate, outspoken and want to occupy their rightful positions in society. Women want to be

involved in political, economic and social issues that affect them in particular and the society in general. Women want to be both seen and heard. For example, *New Nigeria* (1991), reported some cases where women protested against the action of the Federal Military Government, because the government's decisions were not favorable to them. One of such cases was when the Federal Military Government created additional states and local governments, in 1991. Bini Women in Edo State, went to the streets in protest over the non-creation of any local government area there by the Federal Military Government (*New Nigeria*, October 2, 1991:9). Similarly, in Shagamu recently, market women staged a peaceful demonstration round the town in protest against an arbitrary taxation and exorbitant levies being imposed on them by the state government (*Daily Times*, September 28, 1995:16).

Further, in the governorship election held in November, 1991, 7 women contestants for governorship positions were recorded. Women in Nigeria like their fellow counterparts in the developed world, have formed different women organizations to emancipate themselves from oppressive tendency. Among such organizations in Nigeria, are the National Council of Women Societies (NCWS), International Federation of women Lawyers (FIDA), and Women in Nigeria (WIN). Others are, Women in Development (WID), and Nigeria Association of Media Women. These organizations especially WIN, advocates equal rights for men and women in every spheres of life - the home, the place of work and the society at large. In addition, the Babangida administration established the National Commission for Women (NCW) to coordinate all women organizations in Nigeria, in an attempt to facilitate the full integration of women in the development process.

This was further followed up by the establishment of the Ministry of Women Affairs, with a woman as its Minister, by the Abacha regime in 1995.

There are also initiatives from outside organizations, such as the United Nations General Assembly (1975) which encourage government programmes aimed at the full integration of women in development. The UN General Assembly Decade for women, created new awareness for women, gave legitimacy to women's hopes, presenting women's condition as the concern of society as a whole and strengthened women's struggles for recognition and for greater control of their lives (Turok, 1990). New ideas and activities were opened up and this further heightened international consciousness on the position of women in society.

The report of the South Commission, *Challenge to the South*, emphasized that any development strategy committed to equity, sincere and participation must also give priority to raising the social, political and economic status of women.

Also, the recently concluded Fourth World Conference on Women, in China, 1995, of which the "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action" was adopted, stressed the urgent necessity for gender balancing of power and decision making roles. These developments created awareness and consciousness in women themselves and the society at large. Over the past decade in Nigeria, women deputy governors, women vice chancellors, directors-general, commissioners at both the federal and state parastatals have been appointed. (*Classique*, October 7, 1991:20). Thus, more and more women are becoming involved in public life than in the past.

These new trends and developments of women can be explanations for the types, patterns and trends of crimes by women. For instance, the anomie theory

derived from Durkhiem (1951) by Merton (1957) suggests that disjuncture between goals and means is a major cause of deviance. It therefore follow that, women who are deprived of access to job opportunities even though they are qualified for employment are likely to engage in property crimes, such as drug trafficking, fraud, stealing, robbery, prostitution and smuggling contraband.

Radical theory, such as Quinney (1977), also leads to the expectation that women who are much more aware of sexism as a form of exploitation will have an increased likelihood of participating in predatory crimes such as burglary and robbery. What this implies is that, women who have acquired education, like their male counterparts and at the same time, denied job opportunities may suffer frustration and economic strains, particularly, if they observe that their male counterparts are 'successful'. This will create pressure for them to seek avenue including, criminal activities to succeed. Thus, these women are more likely to engage in property and violent crimes such as armed robbery and assault.

Also, these awareness and opportunities created by these new trends led to women's attempt to fight the source(s) of their exploitation when the opportunity arise. Thus, those women who see lack of job opportunities as a form of exploitation, are likely to engage in drug trafficking as means of emassing wealth like their male counterparts. These women also when giving job opportunities are likely to embezzle public money.

Further, as women become more liberated from domestic roles and more into public life, they become physically mobile and commit crimes in which their occupations or positions provide the greatest opportunities. Thus, women who are

in political and economic main-stream (outside their traditional roles) are likely to commit crimes, than their less opportuned counterparts.

2. 7. Female Crime in Nigeria

Women studies is a recent phenomenon, particularly in Nigeria. This has resulted in researchers working on this areas facing the problem of literature. The problem of unavailable materials in the field of female criminality was first highlighted by Ebbe (1985). However, we wish to review the relevant literature that are available.

In Nigeria society, not much work has been done in the field of female criminality and the literature in this area is therefore very limited. One of the earliest published work that was done on female criminality in Nigeria was that of Oloruntimehin (1981). She examined the nature, and extent of female (adults and juveniles) participation in crime in Nigeria between 1968 and 1974. Her sources of data was the prison records and the mass media reports. These she analysed and arrived at the conclusion that, the types of crimes committed by Nigerian women between 1968 and 1978 were mainly such offenses as drug trafficking, smuggling contraband, corruption, illegal foreign exchange transactions, child abandonment, infanticide, abortion, child stealing, possession of stolen property, hoarding and profiteering (Oloruntimehin, 1981). She found that a small number of the offenders were engaged in 'masculine crimes' such as armed robbery, willful homicide and aggravated assault. Oloruntimehin, suggested that women are not usually the 'master minds' in the planning and execution of such crimes, rather the few women involved were used as baits to entice men. She observed that:

the few women connected with armed robbers were used only as means to achieve the desires of the males. For example, women were used as bait to entice victims who were later robbed of their cars and other property by armed robbers. The women also receive and dispose of the stolen goods. Women have rarely been found to be directly involved in any gun-welding attack on victims (Oloruntimehin, 1981:162).

Oloruntimehin, suggested that many of the crimes women commit seem to relate to their socio-cultural positions in society. She emphasized that the increase in female criminality may be related to the influence of socio-economic factors on the roles of women in a rapid developing country like Nigeria, rather than as a conscious attempt to achieve equality with men.

The study was not aimed at presenting the characteristics of the female offender. She suggested an investigation of socio-economic characteristics and family background of female criminals in order to establish a relationship.

Another published work on female criminality is that of Ebbe (1985). He investigated a sample of incarcerated female offenders in Kiri-kiri prison. He identified offenses committed by female inmates as, smuggling contraband, stealing, possession and selling of marijuana or cocaine, buying and possession of stolen property, forgery, robbery, assault, illegal foreign exchange transactions, man-slaughter, child stealing, and shoplifting. Ebbe, explained that the types of crimes committed by Nigerian women have affinity to the contemporary roles of women in Nigeria. Most Nigerian women are traders and hence most of their crimes are property crimes, and crimes without victims. He reported that, women are driven into crime due to economic conditions. This is exemplified by the high involvement in smuggling contraband. Smuggling he argued, was accepted as way

of importing cheap goods to the country. The criminals saw themselves not as criminals but the "unfortunate ones" (Ebbe, 1985).

In the same work, Ebbe associated female criminality with the rising population of unmarried women in Nigeria. He associated urbanization and Christianity with this development, which he claimed had erased the institution of polygamy in Nigeria hence the excess of unmarried women all over the place. As he put it :

A married woman depends on her husband for her essential needs, and this makes her less vulnerable to crime than an unmarried woman. The decline of polygamy, therefore, has negative consequences. Among them is the creation of an independent woman, who is vulnerable to crime (Ebbe, 1985: 94).

Ebbe, observed though, that Nigerian female offenders are not yet highly involved in violent, masculine, and serious crimes as is observed in developed countries like, the United States. He agreed with Oloruntimehin findings, that the majority of the female offenders are not 'master-minds' in the crime they engaged in. For example, one or more men were involved in:

47 percent of the cases of smuggling, 62 percent in the cases of possession and selling of marijuana or cocaine, 45 percent in the case of buying and possession of stolen property, 56 percent in the cases of robbery, and 60 percent in the cases of illegal foreign exchange dealings (Ebbe, 1985:94).

Ebbe, concluded that female criminality in Nigeria can be described as a product of two main factors, the breakdown in kinship ties and increased women participation in the labour force. He suggested an investigation into these areas.

The most recent published work on female criminality in Nigeria is that of CLO (1993). CLO (Civil Liberties Organisation) tried to investigate the conditions of imprisoned women and children in Nigeria. Five prisons were investigated, Kiri-

kiri women's Prison, Lagos, Jos Prison, Kaduna Prison, Oko Prison, and Agodi Prison, Ibadon. Information were gathered from ex-inmates, visitors to the prisons as well as prison officials. Data were not obtained directly from the inmates themselves, that is, inmates still serving jail term. The research was carried out between November, 1991 and February 1992.

The study was aimed at presenting the conditions of female prisoners in Nigeria. Areas of investigation included, Sanitation, Clothing, Feeding, medical facilities and so on. The study showed that, the incarceration conditions of the female inmates fall far below the standards set by the United Nations. Most female prisons were littered with filth. Their cell buildings were drab and poorly kept. The cells were congested and their ventilation was bad in most cases. The food was not fit for human consumption and the women suffered all kinds of deprivation (CLO, 1993: 22-23).

CLO reported that many of these female prisoners suffered from illegal arrest - violation of international and local law. Also, the rights of many female offenders were abridged or denied outright through the process by which many of them got to prison, from arrest through detention and trial to imprisonment.

According to CLO, many of the women in prison did not get a fair trial, and several ex-inmates claimed they had no legal representation in their trial. Further, women prisoners depend on the charity of individuals and religious bodies for most of their material needs. Sanitation in the prisons were extremely bad, and furthermore, as a result of the non-existence of an adequate system of medical care in them, many of the female inmates suffer various health problems, including mental disorders (CLO, 1993). The study was not geared at presenting the socio-

economic characteristics of the female inmate nor was it to present an empirically explanatory supported evidence for female criminality in Nigeria.

2. 8. Research Hypotheses.

Formal hypotheses testing procedure is not adopted in this study. Under such a procedure hypotheses are formulated in form of relationships between two or more variables. A statistical procedure is chosen to determine the plausibility of the stated hypotheses or otherwise. In this study, we identified 4 major and 6 minor hypotheses derived from the literature on female criminality. The increasing rate of female criminality since the 1980s had been attributed to increasing opportunities available to women in contemporary societies. Consequently, women like their male counterparts are being increasingly exposed to the pressures that lead to crime. Women who are exploited, oppressed and deprived of legitimate means of livelihood would likely seek alternative in criminality. The success of some women also constitute pressure for other women to seek avenues, including criminal means to success. Consequently, the following hypotheses are offered as the explanations of increasing trend and diversity of female criminality in Nigeria.

Major hypotheses

1. The increasing opportunities available to women in the modern sectors of society has contributed to the increasing trend and diversity of female criminality in Nigeria.

2. Unfulfilled expectations of women in society contribute to pressure for crime among women and to the increasing trend and diversity of female criminality in Nigeria.
3. The changing sex-role of women as bread winners particularly in single parent families has contributed to female criminality in Nigeria.
4. The denial of means to satisfy societally defined goals such as education, wealth, marriage, etc. have contributed to female crimes in Nigeria.

Minor hypotheses

In consonance with these four major hypotheses we expect:

1. That female convicts will tend to be resident in the urban areas than rural areas before their incarceration.
2. That female offenders were more likely to be literate than being illiterate.
3. That a significant proportion of female offenders was more likely to report having a non-supportive spouse before their present arrest.
4. That female offenders were more likely to be arrested for property crimes than for personal crimes.

5. That female offenders are more likely to be single (unmarried, widowed, divorced separated) than married before their arrest or incarceration.
6. That female offenders who committed crimes generally associated with males e.g violent crimes would likely be denied lenient treatment by law enforcement officials.

These major and minor hypotheses derived from theories and ideas/literature on the role of women liberation and female criminality, Marxist feminism and anomie theory are justified by the proposition that it is the more liberated women who are more likely to be exposed to criminogenic influences. And also that women who are oppressed, exploited and denied legitimate opportunities to achieve their goals in society may likely innovate by engaging in criminal activities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to review the theoretical perspectives on crime. The biological, psychological and sociological explanations/theories of crime were highlighted and analysed to explain crime problems in Nigeria. The theoretical perspectives on female criminality including Marxist feminism were equally examined. The perspectives and studies of female crime trends and patterns were reviewed and it was suggested that while biological and psychological compositions of women could contribute to female criminality, this could also be secondary, as the primary 'causes' lie in the attempt to meet basic material needs of life, such as food, clothing and shelter. This was supported by

Ebbe's findings as well as Oloruntimehin's research, as most women offenders were found to be engaged in crimes in order to keep their body and soul together. The under representation of females in the criminal statistics was explained in terms of the chivalrous treatment of women by the criminal justice system. There was also the use of women liberation movement to explain some aspects of female criminality. For example, the exposure of women to both legitimate and illegitimate opportunities has led them to criminal behaviours like embezzlement and other related crimes.

In the proceeding chapter, we shall examine the methodology employed in this research.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3. 1. Introduction

In the field of criminology, various methods are employed in the study of criminals or offenders. Such methods include the use of official statistics, self report and interview. Official statistics include police and prison reports/records and other relevant document/ materials.

The social construction of official criminal statistics, has been criticized by many criminologists (Odekunle, 1978; Box, 1979; Alemika, 1990). This is because a substantial proportion, or the majority of the population engage in criminal behaviour for which they could technically have been committed to prison or subjected to other penal sanctions but are not detected or reported. But this fact is not reflected in official records. Most offenders either get away with their offenses or at least avoid official recognition (Box, 1979:18).

The police at work, according to Box, must consider certain issues such as societal pressure to enforce certain laws. Behaviour may only become meaningful when influential persons have decided what meaning to attribute to it. What a policeman does is frequently coloured by his ideological values, his moral standards, his belief about the causes of criminal behaviour and his stereotypical conception of criminals (Box, 1979:186).

In most studies on the social construction of the official statistics of criminal behaviour the role of the complainant is crucial though, underplayed. In the majority of the cases, they inform the police that an incident has occurred, indicate and influence the response the police should make of the incident.

The issue of bias in handling suspects was highlighted by Box, when he referred to racial factors. He pointed out that in Cameron's study of the private records of department store detectives, she found that detectives had particular theories about who was likely to engage in shoplifting. They were particularly keen to observe and follow adolescents and Negroes, and not to be suspicious of white, middle-class shoppers. In addition even after suspects were apprehended by detectives, the stores were biased and discriminatory in informing the police or pressing for official prosecution. As a result of this, whereas in the store data 6.5 percent of all adults arrested were Negroes... 24 percent of all prosecutions were Negroes. The store formally charged 10.9 percent of all arrested non-Negroes with larceny, 58 percent of Negroes with larceny. White women constituted 8.85 percent larceny, Negro women were 42 percent (Box, 1979:175).

Within respectable (white-collar) crime, Box pointed out that Robin's examination of the files of a private detective agency employed by American industrial and commercial enterprises revealed that public prosecution was the fate of only one-third of the executives who had been apprehended for illegal conduct while at work. On the other hand, for cleaners, the management decided to prosecute in two-third of the cases.

The distinction between private and public areas also affect official statistics of criminal report. Free access to public areas enables the police to directly or indirectly observe criminal offenses which occur. But these advantages of free entrance is lacking in private areas, without special legal permission (Box, 1979:178-179). These analyses are indicative of selective procedures and thus

make official statistics of criminal reports far from being conclusive (Box, 1979: 190-191). If such official reports are not carefully handled, they could be misconstrued.

One method which criminologists have adopted to overcome this set back in official statistics is self-report. The method of self-report was developed from the notion that there are several people who often commit crimes that if apprehended attract either a fine, an imprisonment, or any other penalty, but because they escape the law, parade themselves as "honest citizens". Thus, this method entails researchers going to the public (people outside the prison) to interview them on their criminal activities. Self-report studies, are questionnaires administered anonymously and confidentially to various population samples which demand respondents which of a list of offences they have ever or frequently committed.

Most self-report studies have been conducted on rather youthful groups who tend to be conveniently available, "en masse" in schools and colleges and also, tend to be in the age ranges in which the peak rate of offending is found (Heidensöhn, 1993).

Canter (1982) adopted this method in his study of delinquency. Data for the study was obtained through a structured one-hour interview with each respondent. Interviews were carried out by trained interviewers in a private setting. Information of delinquent behaviour and drug use for the year 1976 was solicited in the interview (Canter, 1982:152). The result of the study showed evidence of respondents engaging in criminal behaviours without being apprehended.

Another self-report study was carried out by Wilkinson *et al* (1982) among students. Participation was voluntary and participants were assured of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses. Measuring the rate of self-reported

delinquent behaviours, the students were asked to report how many times in the previous twelve months, they have committed each of twenty offenses - theft, armed robbery, robbery, auto-theft, pre-marital sex, homosexuality, defiance of parents, drinking alcohol and so on. In all, a substantial report of delinquent behaviour was recorded (Wilkinson *et al*, 1982). These studies show that official records exaggerate the 'real' differences in delinquency or criminality between the offenders in custody and the "honest citizens" living in the free world. However, the comparison is vulnerable to criticism in the sense that the research samples are not representative of adolescents as a whole, whereas official records, being nationally based, are representative (Box, 1979). This criticism can be over-come by directly comparing the official delinquents with the self-reported delinquents.

Chambliss and Nagasawa as reported by Box, obtained self-reported delinquency from 3 racial groups - White, Negro and Japanese. They found that the first 2 were very similar in criminal behaviour. Yet, the percentage of their respondents who had been arrested revealed that the Negro rate was nearly three and a half times greater than that of the white boys. The data led the authors to conclude that "the notion that official statistics provided a reliable index of either actual or relative involvement in delinquent acts by racial groups is wrong" (Box, 1979: 192-193). The controversy over criminal statistics has not been resolved, except that it is acknowledged that research problem will determine which sources of criminal statistics to be utilized.

3. 2. Data Collection and Analysis

The data for this study were obtained from secondary sources (official criminal statistics reports) and primary sources (survey of female offenders in custody, and criminal justice officials). These methods were considered appropriate for the problem under study for several reasons. The information required for the study cover ten years from 1983 to 1992. It was therefore necessary to collect and analyse secondary data to enable the acquisition of adequate information for these years. Survey method was necessary to complement the secondary data in order to address the aspects of the study relating to offenders' social background, their motivation towards crime and experiences in the criminal justice process. According to Black and Champion (1976) survey method is generally associated with the following advantages:

1. It enables the researcher to accumulate information from individuals at relative low cost. Questionnaires could be mailed to respondents or the use of assistants in interviewing is also possible as long as one does not make use of professional interviewers, which is very costly.
2. Large numbers of persons are usually included in a survey, and this allows for generalizability to larger populations. For example, public opinion polls of presidential elections or trends about population behaviours are frequently of the survey type.

3. Surveys are flexible, thus a variety of data collection techniques such as observation, interviewing, and/or questionnaires could be employed to elicit information from individuals.
4. Survey sensitizes the researcher, to potential problems that were originally unknown or unanticipated such as uncovering facts previously unknown to the investigator. In this sense it may actually be performing an exploratory function. Investigators verify their theories by using surveys as useful tools.

Thus, survey is one way of obtaining support or lack of support for particular theory about any problem or people.

These advantages notwithstanding, the method is associated with a few disadvantages:

1. Surveys are superficial reflection of population sentiments in the sense that seldom can researcher take the time to obtain in-depth information about the personal opinions and attitudes expressed by respondents particularly when questionnaires are used.
2. Surveys particularly political one, are unstable reflections of population characteristics. For instance, a survey of opinions of a sample of individuals one week could be quite different from a similar survey of the same individuals a week or two later.

3. In survey methods, the researcher has little or no control over individual responses.
4. Statements, about population from which samples are obtained are tentative in that, the researcher manipulates the data obtained by tabular and statistical analyses and arrives at tentative conclusions relative to some notion held about the population (Black and Champion, 1976; Walizer and Wienir, 1978; Rosenberg, 1968).

3. 3. Secondary Data

Official criminal statistics and records were obtained to analyse patterns, trends and control of female criminality in the years between 1983 and 1992. For example, prison/ police annual records and other related materials for these periods were collated and analysed.

The major advantages of secondary data include the following:

1. There is enormous saving in terms of time and money. It is frequently not possible to accumulate all the data bearing on a problem. Therefore information already in existence expand scientific curiosity.
2. There is real possibility of using the work of others to broaden the base from which scientific generalizations can be made. This is more apparent when information from several cultural setting is being examined.

3. Secondary data can be used to verify findings already obtained in primary research by an investigator.

One of the pitfalls of secondary data is that, it is difficult to avoid the tendency to acquire the facts before knowing what the scientific problem is, that is the problem in need of solution. There is the need to take special care to guard against using data simply because those are the ones that are available.

Another problem with secondary data is that it is sometimes not possible to comprehend the process of the original data gathering. Further, knowledge of the sources, is not necessarily available to all social scientists on an equal basis. The potential accessibility of secondary information can be hindered by long distances from archives, library holdings, facilities for processing data and related conditions.

3. 4. Population and Sampling

The target population for the aspect of this study employing questionnaire method of data collection was female offenders who had been arrested and/or imprisoned for any type of crime. The population include all female inmates awaiting trials and those already convicted and serving different terms in Nigeria prisons. However, samples were obtained from the Kiri-kiri female prison in Lagos, the female arm of Kaduna Prison, the female arm of Benin Prison, the female arm of Oko Prison, and the female arm of Jos Prison.

The Kiri-kiri female prison in Lagos accommodates only women, it thus provided us with the largest number of female inmates for the study. Jos, Kaduna, Benin and Oko prisons were included in the sample though they accommodate both

male and female offenders. These prisons were included to increase the number of female offenders in the sample.

In addition to female prisoners, criminal justice officials such as the police, lawyers, judges/magistrates, and prison officials were interviewed on their perceptions of trend, pattern and control of female criminals, as well as their treatment of women within the criminal justice system. These officials were interviewed because law enforcement officials are familiar with the female offenders and their problems, and hence would be able to provide the information relevant to the study. Their responses and views concerning the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria provide useful information for the understanding and control of female criminality.

Sampling was carried out at two levels of the research; the selection of the prisons to be included in the study, and the selection of the law enforcement officials. The sampling method employed for choosing the prisons was purposive, and justified on the following grounds. Kiri-kiri female prison is the only institution built exclusively for female offenders. Other prisons were chosen based on their relatively large inmate capacity and prospect of finding sizeable number of females for study within them. All the female offenders in the above named prisons were interviewed except a few who went to court, refused to be interviewed or mentally ill.

A simple random sampling may not provide adequate representative and too costly for a study such as this. We recognise the weakness of purposive sampling method as compared to other sampling methods such as random sampling. But this notwithstanding, the utility of purposive method is quite recognized in social

research where emphasis is on the ability of respondents to provide needed information, moreso when capacity to provide desired information are highly differentiated across institutions and respondents.

The sampling techniques employed in selecting the law enforcement officials was the same as aforementioned method. The attempt to interview lawyers, police, judges/magistrates, and prison officials was purposively predetermined. Officials' participation in the interview was voluntary. That means only willing individuals were interviewed. Details of the interview will be discussed later.

3.5. Survey

The primary data of this study were collected through the process of interview, questionnaire, informal discussion and observations among the inmates and the law enforcement officials. Interview allows for dialogue - "face to face interviews allow for the possibility of talking through any distress" (Kelly, 1990). Questions were designed to elicit information on the problem under study namely, patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria.

All female inmates in the selected prisons previously mentioned, were interviewed except a few who were insane, refused to be interviewed or away to court . In each prison visited, inmates were called to the female yard and the mission of visit explained to them. The researcher also addressed the inmates and explained the usefulness of the research to them and the country in general.

The importance of providing honest responses to the questions was emphasized. It took an average of 40-50 minutes for an interview to be completed with an inmate. In addition to interviewing the inmates one after the other,

questionnaires were distributed to inmates who were literate to fill, with the contents and nature of the questionnaires explained and necessary clarifications made.

The contents of the questionnaire/interview were questions which covered several areas among which were age, religion, marital status, education, employment, nature of offenses, number of previous arrest, number of children, number of wives (i.e, married polygynous or monogamous), income, residential area, bail, condition of bail, option of fine and conviction. Others were, the use of the services of a lawyer, extent of involvement in offense committed, experiences with the police, Court, and prisons, and reasons for committing or involving themselves in crime. There were also questions on post prison discharge, and the control of crime in Nigeria, that is, what can be done to solve the problem of crime. A total number of 150 inmates were interviewed. In Kiri-kiri prison Lagos, there were 120 inmates, of which 108 were interviewed. In Jos prison, there were 16 inmates but 14 were interviewed. In Oko prison, 12 inmates were present and all were interviewed. In Kaduna prisons, 10 inmates were present and all were interviewed. In Benin prison, 8 inmates were present but 6 were interviewed. The data collected from the inmates were supplemented by an unstructured interview/questionnaire, with criminal justice officials and by observations made during the period that these data were being gathered in the prison.

The contents of the interview schedules for the criminal justice officials, include: age, period of employment, education, religion, increase or decrease in women arrested, reasons for female criminality, crimes committed by women and handling of female offenders. Others were treatment of female offenders, factors for arrests, prosecutions, sentences and control measures for female criminality.

There were also questions on the effectiveness of these control measures and the welfare of female prisoners in Nigeria. Also, a total number of 150 criminal justice officials were interviewed.

3. 6. Direct Observation

This method was used as a means of assessing the correctional programmes for the female inmates, like structural facilities and amenities available for use in prison. Further, this method enabled us to assess the general environment like the female cells, the workshop, the kitchen, the female clinic and the nature of relationships among the inmates and between inmates and staff or the law enforcement officials. Male cells were also assessed although the opportunity of gaining entrance was limited. According to prison officials, male prisoners could be dangerous especially seeing a lady in their cells. So, I was only able to see male cells from a-far.

It is advantageous to see behaviour in its natural setting, devoid off all artificialities and this is only made possible by direct observation (Yaro, 1987). Further, direct observation enables the researcher to discern ongoing behaviour as it occurs, thus the observed can not deny his/her behaviour. Attempt is made to have an in-depth, study of the whole individual with particular concentration on any variable that proves to be important. This method allows for an intimate relationship between the observer and the observed. There is the opportunity to find out in more detail what the participants are really like and those variables not included in the questionnaire (Anakani, 1987).

Interviewing and observation have some weaknesses, and the most common is personal bias (Black and Champion, 1976: 158). What the observer sees may be misinterpreted or he may fail to see something that is important to the group she/he is observing.

Further, the interviewer may misinterpret or misread what he/she hears in an interview. Furthermore, it is likely that observer/interviewer will influence the individuals he is interviewing or observing.

The fact that a person is being watched may cause him to alter his natural behaviour to a degree. This is known as reactivity on the part of the respondent (Black and Champion, 1976:158).

There is also the problem of social desirability the fact that the respondent is often prone to give answers he believed the interviewer wants to hear. Social desirability operates to affect the respondents' answers, and affects the reliability of data. These weaknesses notwithstanding, observation has become one of the important methods, in social research when information is needed in the natural setting.

3. 7. Document Sources

Accessible relevant newspapers, articles, journals, books, magazines, annual prison and police reports and other related materials were consulted. While these were intended to provide information on the patterns, trends and control of female criminality, it was also intended to provide data on social backgrounds of female offenders to supplement our survey.

Our intention was to obtain police statistics for the country for a period of ten years from 1983 to 1992, but there was limitation to the amount of data available due to lack of reliable statistics and the nature of record keeping by the police. After

several fruitless trips to the police Headquarters in Lagos where such statistics should be obtained, we decided to settle for two states where information were available. Thus, police statistics were obtained from Lagos state police command and Plateau state police command. Prison statistics for the country were obtained from prison headquarters Abuja.

The police and the prison annual reports do not usually publish separate records for crime-types/group of offenses committed by males and females. Crimes committed by both sexes are lumped together. Thus, we had to locate these data directly from the police and prison files/records. These data were re-organised and re-grouped into categories for a more meaningful interpretation of the patterns, trends and control of female criminality. For instance, types of crimes - murder, theft, assaults, prostitution e.t.c. were re-grouped into offenses against persons, property, moral and public order. Also specific crimes associated with women in criminological literature were identified and re-grouped to suit our purpose. The total number of males and females in the criminal population as recorded by the police and prisons were also located and re-arranged for effective and efficient analysis of the data.

3. 8. Data Analysis.

The objective of this study is to provide a descriptive analysis of:

1. The patterns of female criminality in Nigeria
2. The trend of female criminality in Nigeria.
3. The official control measures for female criminality in Nigeria.

The analysis of the data would take the form of description, and discussion of patterns, trends and control of female criminality employing such analytical devices and statistics like percentages and cross-tabulation. In addition, computer would be employed to facilitate data processing.

These statistical methods are necessary in order to bring the phenomena into a form that can be manipulated statistically. That is, to enable us make 'sense' of the information collected. In the analysis of the data, we consider the explanations for the increase or decrease in female criminality. We also explain the types of crimes and reasons for these crimes. Further, analysis of court and prisons experiences are discussed, including inmates social background.

Percentages and contingency table analysis allow one to observe at a glance the number of occurrences of a series of events or measurements. Contingency table analysis is valuable when considering group data (Walizer and Wienir, 1978). If we wanted to get a distribution of the variable of the monthly income of the inmates, we might not wish to record the frequency of people at every income level, but the frequency of people in income groups. When data are recorded in such way that the categories of the variables include more than one distinct group of observation, or score, or value, we call such data 'grouped data'. We observed the weakness of percentage analysis as compared to other methods like chi-square. However, percentage analysis has been chosen bearing in mind that the purpose is to explain the patterns, trends and control of female criminality.

Another method of data analysis adopted is narrative. Some respondents in addition to filling the questionnaires, were given note books to provide/write down any information they may like to reveal. Some also reported verbal information

outside the questionnaire, which were relevant in answering problems concerning the patterns, trend and control of female crimes in Nigeria. Thus, narrative analysis was necessary to report such information or report verbatim issues as expressed by the inmates and/or criminal justice officials.

3. 9. Limitations.

The result of this study should be interpreted with caution, particularly in terms of generalization. The study focuses only on patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria. There are other areas such as the effects of female criminality on their families, the implications of incarceration of women on their children; and many others, which could form research topics for interested researchers, but which are outside the objectives of this research.

Also, the survey does not approximate a random or probability sampling. The effort here is to obtain information from defined sub-population - 'female criminals'. Therefore, the findings should not be unduly generalised beyond this group to the general population of women.

In the process of collecting data several problems were encountered. The most serious was gaining access to secondary sources of data from the police and the prisons. Working on criminality is quite different from other fields where access to information could be easily made available. Permission to gain access to the prisons and the police had to be granted by the Controller General of Prisons and the Inspector-General of Police respectively. Even after such permits were obtained, there was limitation to the amount of data available due to lack of proper record keeping and the nature of record keeping by these agencies. For instance,

it was our intention in this research to compute the percentage distribution of crime-types/group of offenses for male and female from 1983 to 1992, based on official statistics (police and prisons) to enable us appreciate the relative composition of crime statistics by gender. Unfortunately, we found that the police/prisons Annual Reports do not usually publish separate records for crimes committed by males and females. Both male and female crimes are lumped together. What we then did was to locate these data directly from the police and prison files/records. Even then, a few years were missing from police files/records from both Lagos and Plateau States police commands. Moreover, we were unable to locate crime-types by gender from the prison records due to the aforementioned reasons. Thus, we had to rely mostly on the data (crime-types) from the police records. However, we were able to locate complete data on prison admission for male and female for the years 1983 to 1992.

In the light of all these problems, I suggest that the police/prisons should endeavour to collect its information in such a way to facilitate the appreciation of male and female crimes. This will greatly enhance the work of future researchers and a better understanding of female criminality in Nigeria.

Also, the presentation of information on male and female offenders should be separated in annual Police and Prison Report instead of the present situation where they are lumped together. This will facilitate and make the study of female criminality less frustrating and more fascinating.

All these problems notwithstanding, the whole exercise was rewarding and yielded data which analyses enhance our understanding of the patterns, trends and prospects for the control of female criminality in the country.

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CHAPTER FOUR.

ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY

4. 1. Introduction

This section of the dissertation focuses on the analysis of the data on patterns of female crimes in the country. The data were obtained from female prisoners, criminal justice officials and from secondary sources of information on crimes and imprisonment in Nigeria.

4. 2. Social Characteristics of Female Offenders in Custody.

The information on the social background of female offenders in the sample for the study is presented in Table 1.

The majority of female offenders in the sample were 39 years old or younger. Only 1.3% were 50 years old or older. This finding supports McCord's (1993) observation that elderly women are less likely to engage in criminal activities than younger women. But this trend also holds for men as well (Mannheim, 1965).

A majority (51.3%) of the respondents were single while about a third (32.7%) were married. A very high percentage (70.7%) of the respondents were Christians. The religious distribution of offenders may be partly attributed to the dominance of the Christian religion in the southern parts of Nigeria from which majority of the sample were drawn.

More than two-thirds (68%) of the respondents had secondary and post-secondary (non-university) education. This proportion is probably higher than what obtains in the population. The types of jobs in which the female offenders were

employed before apprehension are shown in Table 1. The data showed that (42.7%) of the sample were unemployed at the time of their arrest. The large number of unemployed offenders may be partly attributed to the general unemployment crisis in Nigeria. Some criminological researchers have found that most female offenders are unemployed, underemployed, and impoverished (Steffensmeier and Streifel, 1993). Odekunle (1978) identified unemployment as a major social problem in Nigeria and possible factor in criminal activities.

Female offenders without regular income were over represented in the sample. Also, a majority of female offenders (85.3%) were resident in urban areas prior to their arrest. Urban environments provide illegitimate opportunity for criminal activities than the rural environment. These findings accord with the findings of Shaw and Mckay (1929) and Wolfgang (1966). Shaw and Mackay, observed that criminal behaviour tend to be learned over a period of time in an urban, socially disorganised environment, while Wolfgang (1966) found that the availability of illegitimate opportunity for criminal acts is an important factor in the incidence of criminal activities.

Table 1: Social Backgrounds of Respondents.

Age	Frequency	Percent
Under 20	10	6.7
20 - 29	77	51.3
30 - 39	43	28.7
40 - 49	18	12.0
50 and above	2	1.3
Column Total.	150	100.0
Marital Status		
Single	77	51.3
Married	49	32.7
Divorced	12	8.0
Separated although Married	2	1.3
Widowed	10	6.7
Column Total	150	100.0
Religion		
Christianity	106	70.7
Islam	33	22.0
Traditional	9	6.0
None	2	1.3
Column Total	150	100.0
Education		
None	18	12.0
Primary	17	11.3
Secondary	67	44.7
(Non-University) Post Secondary	35	23.3
University degree.	13	8.7
Column Total	150	100.0
No. Of Children		
None	61	40.7
1 - 2	42	28.0
3 - 4	26	17.3
5 - 6	18	12.0
7 and above	3	2.0
Column Total	150	100.0

Occupation Before Arrest		
Unemployed	64	42.7
Civil Servant	20	13.3
Business - Trading	56	37.3
Farming	4	2.7
Retired	1	.7
Student	5	3.3
Column Total	150	100.0
Estimated Monthly Income		
No income	67	44.7
Under ₦ 500.0	48	32.0
500 - 999.9	23	15.3
1000 - 1999.9	2	1.3
2000 - 2999.9	3	2.0
3000 and above	7	4.7
Column Total	150	100.0
Place of Residence		
Urban	128	85.3
Rural	18	12.0
Other (Abroad)	4	2.7
Column Total	150	100.0

4. 3. Women Involvement in Crime.

Data on patterns of crimes among female offenders in prisons obtained through interviews in this study show that women commit offenses such as drug trafficking, murder, manslaughter, robbery and stealing/theft. Other offenses include assault/fighting, fraud, fire-arm possession and child abuse. Prostitution, wandering, abortion, smuggling and armed robbery were other offenses for which women were either imprisoned or remanded. However, drug trafficking offense is top on the list with (52.7%), followed by stealing/theft and murder which accounted for (10.7%) each.

The current emphasis on drug trafficking control and the national and international concern attached to the crime may have accounted for the large number of women imprisoned for drug trafficking. Generally, the chivalrous practice will be minimal when society defines a crime as serious and set in motion machinery for its curtailment. Thus, women who commit less serious crimes may be granted bail or when convicted, sentenced to pay fines - both of which will be denied drug offenders.

An analysis of the data show that female offenders are more involved in economic crimes (drug trafficking and property). There is a startling differences between drug trafficking offense and other offenses. Drug trafficking and other property offenses accounted for more than 70% of all reported crimes. The female drug traffickers alone accounted for 52.7%, more than half of the total number of crimes among the women in custody. The data show that women have moved readily into drug dealing. Drug trafficking is a way of making "quick money". The pattern of crime identified in these findings accord with Wilson (1993). He found

that women offenders are more likely to commit economic crimes such as prostitution, drug offenses, amateur theft, burglary, armed robbery, forgery, fraud and the like.

Table 2: Distribution of Crimes Among Female Respondents.

Patterns of Crime	Frequency	Percent.
Drug trafficking	79	52.7
Murder	16	10.7
Manslaughter	4	2.7
Robbery	4	2.7
Stealing/theft	16	10.7
Assault/fighting	9	6.0
Fraud	8	5.3
Unlawful possession of firearms	1	.7
Street trading	2	1.3
Child abuse	1	.7
Child's custody problem	1	.7
Prostitution	4	2.7
Abortion	2	1.3
Land property problem	1	.7
Smuggling contraband	1	.7
Armed robbery	1	.7
Column Total	150	100.0

4. 4. Social Characteristics of Female Offenders and Crime Patterns .

The information on the social backgrounds of female offenders are cross-tabulated against offenses among female offenders in Table 3. The data showed that 50% of offenders who were under 20 years old committed personal crimes, while 30% committed property crimes. However, more than one-half (54.5%) of the offenders in 20 to 29 years age category and more than three-fifths (62.8%) of those in 30 to 39 years as well as 50.0% of those in 40 to 49 years age category were involved in drug trafficking crimes.

Among single, 51.9% committed drug offense, and 27.3% committed crime against property. Among the married 59.2% were involved in drug trafficking crime while 24.5% were involved in personal crimes. Also half (50%) of divorced, 30.0% of widowed as well as 50% of separated female offenders, were involved in drug trafficking crimes. Moreover, 50% of separated, and 50% of widowed committed crime against persons respectively.

The significance of the high percentage of females detained for the three offenses - drug trafficking, crime against persons and property, show that they are the more serious offenses where chivalry is less likely to operate.

Further, the data revealed that 56.7% of those who had secondary education, 62.9% of those who had (non-university) post secondary education, and 92.3% of those who had university education committed drug trafficking crime.

There seems to be a relationship between education and involvement in drug trafficking. The overwhelming representation of literate women in drug trafficking offense can be explained, in the sense that drug trafficking requires some amount of literacy in communication both written and verbal because of the international

nature of the crime. For instance, an illiterate girl from the village with no knowledge of communication in English language may not be able to carry drugs from Nigeria to Britain or United States of America, and back to Nigeria.

This finding supports the finding of McCord (1993). He noted that physical and geographical mobility and freedom from other daily responsibilities are necessary for active participation in criminal behaviour. This is likely to explain why more than two-thirds (68%) of female offenders in the sample for this study had secondary and post-secondary (non-university) education. Literate women usually have higher physical and geographical mobility than their illiterate counterparts. Urban residence were highly represented in drug trafficking crime, while rural residence were more involved in crimes against persons and others.

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Table 3: Social Backgrounds and Crime Patterns Among Female Offenders.

Age	Drug Trafficking	Crime Against Persons	Crime Against Property	Others	Row Total
Under 20	10.0	50.0	30.0	10.0	10 (6.7)
20 - 29	54.5	13.0	28.6	3.9	77 (51.3)
30 - 39	62.8	18.6	14.0	4.7	43 (28.7)
40 - 49	50.0	44.4	-	5.6	18 (12.0)
50 and above	-	100.0	-	-	2 (1.3)
Column Total	79 (52.7)	33 (22.0)	31 (20.7)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)
Marital status					
Single	51.9	15.6	27.3	5.2	77 (51.3)
Married	59.2	24.5	14.3	2.0	49 (32.7)
Divorced	50.0	25.0	8.3	16.7	12 (8.0)
Separated although married	50.0	50.0	-	-	2 (1.3)
Widowed	30.0	50.0	20.0	-	10 (6.7)
Column Total	79 (52.7)	33 (22.0)	31 (20.7)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)
Education					
None	16.7	61.1	11.1	11.1	18 (12.0)
Primary	23.5	29.4	41.2	5.9	17 (11.3)
Secondary (Non-University)	56.7	13.4	25.4	4.5	67 (44.7)
Post Secondary	62.9	22.9	11.4	2.9	35 (23.3)
University	92.3	-	7.7	-	13 (8.7)
Column Total	79 (52.7)	33 (22.0)	31 (20.7)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)
No of children/size of family.					
None	52.5	14.8	29.5	3.3	61 (40.7)
1 - 2	47.6	28.6	16.7	7.1	42 (28.0)
3 - 4	53.8	26.9	15.4	3.8	26 (17.3)
5 - 6	61.1	22.2	11.1	5.6	18 (12.0)
7 and above	66.7	33.3	-	-	3 (2.0)
Column Total	79 (52.7)	33 (22.0)	31 (20.7)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)
Occupation					
Unemployed	54.7	21.9	18.8	4.7	64 (42.7)
Civil servant	55.0	5.0	40.0	-	20 (13.3)
Business/trading	53.6	26.8	12.5	7.1	56 (37.3)
Farming	-	50.0	50.0	-	4 (2.7)
Retired	100.0	-	-	-	1 (.7)
Student.	40.0	20.0	40.0	-	5 (3.3)
Column Total	79 (52.7)	33 (22.0)	31 (20.7)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)

Estimated monthly income.					
No income	49.3	25.4	20.9	4.5	67 (44.7)
Under 500	47.9	16.7	27.1	8.3	48 (32.0)
500 - 999.9	56.5	30.4	13.0	-	23 (15.3)
1000 - 1999.9	50.0	50.0	-	-	2 (1.3)
2000 - 2999.9	100.0	-	-	-	3 (2.0)
3000 and above	85.7	-	14.3	-	7 (4.7)
Column Total	79 (52.7)	33 (22.0)	31 (20.7)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)
Place of Residence					
Urban	55.5	18.8	21.1	4.7	128 (85.3)
Rural	22.2	50.0	22.2	5.6	18 (12.0)
Other (abroad)	100.0	-	-	-	4 (2.7)
Column Total	79 (52.7)	33 (22.0)	31 (20.7)	7 (4.7)	150 (100.0)

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The information on the social background of female offenders are cross-tabulated with specific crimes associated with women in Table 4.

Some specific crimes have been associated with women in criminological literature. They include abortion, prostitution, stealing/theft, cheating/fraud, assault/fighting and drug trafficking. These crimes were further pulled out for detailed analysis.

The data showed that 25% of offenders who were under 20 years old committed stealing while 50% committed assault/fighting. However, 64.6% of the offenders in 20 to 29 years age category and 77.1% of those in 30 to 39 years as well as 90.0% of those in 40 to 49 years age category committed drug trafficking.

Among the single, 61.5% were involved in drug trafficking, compared to the married (76.3%), and the divorced (60.0%).

Also 28.6% of female offenders who had primary education, 65.5% who had secondary education, 84.6% who had (non-university) post secondary education, as well as 92.3% of those who had university education committed drug trafficking.

Among female offenders who had no children, 61.5% committed drug trafficking while among those who had 1 to 2 children 69.0% committed drug trafficking. Further, 70.0% of female offenders who had 3 to 4 children, 78.6% of those who had 5 to 6 children, as well as 66.7% of those who had 7 children and above committed drug trafficking.

The forgoing analysis showed that women are still very much involved in crimes traditional associated with females such as abortion, prostitution, stealing, cheating, fighting and drug trafficking. However, drug trafficking offense was the most prevalence of all female offenses. It is overwhelmingly represented when

compared to other crimes such as abortion, prostitution, fighting, stealing and cheating.

These findings accord with the findings of some criminologists (Ebbe, 1985; Oloruntimehin, 1981). They found that the patterns of crime committed by Nigerian women are mainly such offenses as drug trafficking, stealing, abortion, prostitution and the like.

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Table 4: Social Backgrounds and Specific Crime Patterns Among Female Offenders.

Age	Abortion	Prostitution	Stealing	Cheating/ Fraud	Assault/ Fighting	Drug Trafficking	Row Total
under 20	-	-	25.0	12.5	50.0	12.5	8(6.8)
20 - 29	1.5	3.1	20.0	7.7	3.1	64.6	65(55.1)
30 - 39	-	5.7	2.9	5.7	8.6	77.1	35(29.7)
40 - 49	10.0	-	-	-	-	90.0	10(8.5)
50 and above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Col. Tot	2 (1.7)	4 (3.4)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	9 (7.6)	79(66.9)	118(100.0)
Marital status							
Single.	1.5	3.1	15.4	9.2	9.2	61.5	65(55.1)
Married.	-	-	13.2	5.3	5.3	76.3	38(32.2)
Divorced.	-	20.0	10.0	-	10.0	60.0	10(8.5)
Separated although married.	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	1(.8)
Widowed	25.0	-	-	-	-	75.0	4(3.4)
Col. Total	2 (1.7)	4 (3.4)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	9 (7.6)	79(66.9)	118(100.0)
Education							
None	14.3	14.3	-	-	28.6	42.9	7(5.9)
Primary	-	-	42.9	7.1	21.4	28.6	14(11.9)
Secondary	1.7	3.4	13.8	8.6	6.9	65.5	58(49.2)
Post secondary Non-university	-	3.8	7.7	3.8	-	84.6	26(22.0)
University	-	-	-	7.7	-	92.3	13(11.0)
Col. Total	2 (1.7)	4 (3.4)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	9 (7.6)	79(66.9)	118(100.0)
No of children/size of family							
None	-	-	17.3	11.5	9.6	61.5	52(44.1)
1 - 2	3.4	10.3	13.8	-	3.4	69.0	29(24.6)
3 - 4	-	5.0	10.0	5.0	10.0	70.0	20(16.9)
5 - 6	-	-	7.1	7.1	7.1	78.6	14(11.9)
7 & above	33.3	-	-	-	-	66.7	3(2.5)
Col. Total	2 (1.7)	4 (3.4)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	9 (7.6)	79(66.9)	118(100.0)

Occupation							
Unemployed	-	5.7	15.1	1.9	11.3	66.0	53(44.9)
Civil servant	-	-	15.8	26.3	-	57.9	19(16.1)
Business /Trading	-	2.6	7.9	2.6	7.9	78.9	38(32.2)
Farming	33.3	-	66.7	-	-	-	3(2.5)
Retired	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	1(.8)
Student	25.0	-	-	25.0	-	50.0	4(3.4)
Col. Total	2 (1.7)	4 (3.4)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	9 (7.6)	79(66.9)	118(100.0)
Estimated monthly income							
None	3.7	5.6	16.7	1.9	11.1	61.1	54(45.8)
under 500.0	-	2.5	15.8	13.2	7.9	60.5	38(32.2)
500-999.9	-	-	6.7	6.7	-	86.7	15(12.7)
1000-1999.9	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	1(.8)
2000-2999.9	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	3(2.5)
3000 & above	-	-	-	14.3	-	85.7	7(5.9)
Col. Total	2 (1.7)	4 (3.4)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	9 (7.6)	79(66.9)	118(100.0)
Place of residence							
Urban	1.0	2.9	12.6	7.8	6.8	68.9	103(87.3)
Rural	9.1	9.1	27.3	-	18.2	36.4	11(9.3)
Abroad	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	4(3.4)
Col. Total	2 (1.7)	4 (3.4)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	9 (7.6)	79(66.9)	118(100.0)

4.5.1 Gender, Crime, and Police Arrests.

Criminological literature has shown that men are over-represented in crime statistics. Criminal behaviours, until recently were seen as the preserve of men. Researchers have however discovered, increasing involvement of women in crimes.

This section shows the percentage distribution of group of offenses by gender from 1983 to 1992 based on official statistics (police reports). It also shows crime-types (i.e stealing, murder drug trafficking and so on), for male and female from 1983 to 1992. The purpose is to enable us appreciate the relative composition of crime statistics by gender.

Tables 5a and 5b present statistics on police arrest for group of offenses by male and female offenders from 1983 to 1992.

Generally in Lagos State, female offenders constituted less than one-fifths of total arrests for all the years. For instance, in 1986 female involvement constituted 17.7% for offenses against persons, 11.1% for offenses against property, 10.3% for drug offenses and 10.9% for other offenses. However, in 1987, female involvement constituted 22.6% for offenses against persons and 23.1% for other offenses. In 1988, female offenders represented 18.9% for offenses against persons and 24.8% for other offenses. In 1989 female offenders constituted 21.3% of those apprehended for offenses against property and 24.8% for other offenses.

The percentage of women involvement in crime is generally lower in Plateau State and generally less than 10%. However, in 1983 female offenders constituted 45.6% of those arrested for drug offenses.

This finding is in line with our earlier expectation that urbanization will have influence in women involvement in crime. For example, women liberation and

opportunity theory, both suggest that as more women are exposed to socio-economic opportunities, they are likely to experience strain that will lead to their involvement in crime. Lagos State is more urbanized and industrialized than Plateau State. Therefore, Lagos State has more opportunity for women to participate in socio-economic opportunity as well as expressing the stress that such involvement and expectation engender and the effects of all these and involvement in crime.

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Table 5a: Gender Distribution of Offenses.
Police Arrests Lagos State

1986			
	Male	Female	Total
Offenses Against Persons	18399	3945	22344
%	82.3	17.7	100
Offenses Against Property	23802	2958	26760
%	89	11.1	100
Drug offences	340	39	379
%	89.7	10.3	100
Other Offenses	6256	766	7022
%	89.1	10.9	100
1987			
Offenses Against Persons'	24122	7027	31149
%	77.44	22.56	100
Offenses Against Property	25747	3149	28896
%	89.10	10.90	100
Drug Offences	321	11	332
%	96.69	3.31	100
Other Offenses	6703	2010	8713
%	76.93	23.07	100
1988			
Offenses Against Persons	26890	6246	33136
%	81.15	18.85	100
Offenses Against Property	34395	4360	38755
%	88.75	11.25	100
Drug Offences	281	14	295
%	95.25	4.75	100

Other Offenses	6382	2105	8487
%	75.20	24.80	100
1989			
Offenses Against Persons	21975	5944	27919
%	78.71	21.29	100
Offenses Against Property	33586	4713	38299
%	87.69	12.31	100
Drug Offenses	141	9	150
%	94.00	6.00	100
Other Offenses	5227	1721	6948
%	75.23	24.77	100
1990			
Offenses Against Persons	19184	4722	23906
%	80.25	19.75	100
Offenses Against Property	32845	4311	37156
%	88.40	11.60	100
Drug Offenses	171	18	189
%	90.48	9.52	100
Other Offenses	4052	1221	5273
%	76.84	23.16	100
1991			
Offenses Against Persons	13737	3916	17653
%	78	22	100
Offenses Against Property	13258	1818	15076
%	88	12	100
Drug Offenses	293	24	317
%	92	8	100
Other Offenses	2480	686	3166
%	78	22	100

1992			
Offenses Against Persons	17686	3209	20895
%	85	15	100
Offenses Against Property	24020	2399	26419
%	91	9	100
Drug Offences	18	1	19
%	95	5	100
Other Offenses	3287	747	4034
%	81	19	100
Source: Major cases and Local Acts returns (1986-1992) of the Nigeria Police Force, Lagos State.			
Police Arrests Plateau State 1983			
Offenses Against Persons	1550	121	1671
%	92.76	7.24	100
Offenses Against Property	2499	98	2597
%	96.23	3.77	100
Drug Offences	43	36	79
%	54.43	45.57	100
Other Offenses	1086	163	1249
%	86.95	13.05	100
1985			
Offenses Against Persons	2208	188	2396
%	92.15	7.85	100
Offenses Against Property	3760	115	3875
%	97.03	2.97	100
Drug Offences	59	1	60
%	98.33	1.67	100

Other Offenses	577	71	648
%	89.04	10.96	100
1987			
Offenses Against Persons	3573	375	3948
%	90.50	9.50	100
Offenses Against Property	4776	318	5094
%	93.76	6.24	100
Drug Offences	70	0	70
%	100.00	0.00	100
Other Offenses	1485	184	1669
%	88.98	11.02	100
1988			
Offenses Against Persons	3078	364	3442
%	89.42	10.58	100
Offenses Against Property	5695	322	6017
%	94.65	5.35	100
Drug Offences	56	3	59
%	94.92	5.08	100
Other Offenses	727	42	769
%	94.54	5.46	100
1989			
Offenses Against Persons	2568	144	2712
%	94.69	5.31	100
Offenses Against Property	5463	297	5760
%	94.84	5.16	100
Drug Offences	24	1	25
%	96.00	4.00	100
Other Offenses	617	47	664
%	92.92	7.08	100

1990			
Offenses Against Persons	3793	508	4301
%	88.19	11.81	100
Offenses Against Property	6821	510	7331
%	93.04	6.96	100
Drug Offences	15	0	15
%	100.00	0.00	100
Other Offenses	946	139	1085
%	87.19	12.81	100
1991			
Offenses Against Persons	3771	495	4266
%	88	12	100
Offenses Against Property	7179	412	7591
%	95	5	100
Drug offences	44	5	49
%	90	10	100
Other Offenses	1140	233	1373
%	83	17	100
1992			
Offenses Against Persons	4691	561	5252
%	89	11	100
Offenses Against Property	9280	499	9779
%	95	5	100
Drug offenses	68	0	68
%	100	0	100
Other Offenses	1125	203	1328
%	85	15	100

Source: Monthly major cases and Local Acts Returns (1983 - 1992) of the Nigeria Police Force, Plateau State.

Table 5b: Percentage of Female Offenders in Criminal Statistics: Lagos and Plateau States .

Years	Lagos State				Plateau State			
	Crime against Persons	Crime against Property	Drug Trafficking	Others	Crime against Persons	Crime against Property	Drug Trafficking	Others.
1983					7.24	3.77	45.57	13.05
1984	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	7.85	2.97	1.67	10.96
1986	17.66	11.05	10.29	10.91	-	-	-	-
1987	22.56	10.90	3.31	23.07	9.50	6.24	0.00	11.02
1988	18.85	11.25	4.75	24.80	10.58	5.35	5.08	5.46
1989	21.29	12.31	6.00	24.77	5.31	5.16	4.00	7.08
1990	19.75	11.60	9.52	23.16	11.81	6.96	0.00	12.81
1991	22.0	12.00	8.0	22.00	12.00	5.00	10.00	17.00
1992	15.0	9.0	5.0	19.0	11.0	5.00	0.00	15.00

Source: Monthly major cases and Local Acts Returns (1983 - 1992) of the Nigeria Police Force, Lagos and Plateau States.

4.5.2. Patterns of Female Criminality.

The information on groups of crime and crime types among women in criminal statistics (Lagos and Plateau States) are presented in Tables 6 and 7. The data revealed that crimes such as grievous harm and wounding, assault, theft/stealing, breach of public peace and false pretence recorded very high percentages as compared to other crimes such as murder, manslaughter and armed robbery. For instance, in 1985, assault constituted 35% of total crimes committed by women in Plateau State, while grievous harm and wounding constituted 15.8%. Also, in 1988 assault accounted for 31.6% of total crime by women in Lagos State, while theft/stealing accounted for 26.0% (see Table for more details).

The type of crimes committed by female offenders is of importance if we are to understand the phenomenon in question. It is obvious from the tables that the increase in female property crime are due to increase in the theft/stealing and false pretence categories. Also the increase in violent crimes are due to increase in grievous harm and wounding, and assault/fighting categories. The conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that female crime is increasing, both numerically and as a percentage of total crime.

These data support the findings of some criminologists (Ebbe, 1985; Oloruntimehin, 1981). They stated that women, when they commit crimes are more likely to be involved in property crimes like smuggling, and drug trafficking, and personal crimes such as assaults, grievous harm and wounding, false pretences and the like.

Table 6: Distribution of Crime Against Property and Crime Against Persons among Female Offenders in Criminal Statistics Police Arrests (Lagos and Plateau States).

Lagos State				Plateau State.		
Year	Persons	Property	Total	Persons	Property	Total
1983	-	-	-	121	98	219
%				55.3	44.8	100
1984	-	-	-	-	0	0
%						
1985	-	-	-	188	115	303
%				62.0	38.0	100
1986	3,945	2958	6903	0	0	0
%	57.1	42.9	100			
1987	7,027	3149	10176	375	318	693
%	69.1	30.9	100	54.1	45.9	100
1988	6,246	4360	10606	364	322	686
%	58.9	41.1	100	53.1	45.9	100
1989	5944	4713	10657	144	297	441
%	55.8	44.2	100	32.7	67.3	100
1990	4,722	4311	9033	508	510	1018
%	52.3	47.7	100	49.9	50.1	100
1991	3,916	1818	5734	495	412	907
%	68.3	31.7	100	54.58	45.42	100
1992	3,209	2399	5608	561	499	1060
%	57.2	42.8	100	52.9	47.1	100

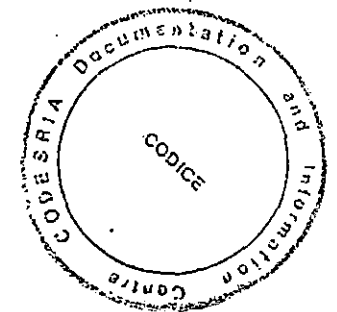
Source: Monthly major cases and Local Acts Returns (1983 - 1992) of the Nigeria Police Force, Lagos and Plateau States.

Table 7: Percentage Distribution of Crime Types Among Female Offenders in Criminal Statistics Police Arrests (Lagos).

Types of Crime	1986		1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
Murder	28	0.7	14	0.2	1	0.0	2	0.0	5	0.1	14	0.2	9	0.1
Manslaughter	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0
Grevous Harm & Wounding	1080	25.2	1484	16.9	554	5.5	1536	13.8	1011	10.5	1152	15.7	1696	23.1
Assault	1095	25.6	2211	25.2	3153	31.6	3037	27.3	2630	27.2	2126	29.0	1002	13.7
Child Stealing	1	0.0	10	0.1	12	0.1	10	0.1	12	0.1	9	0.1	10	0.1
Kidnapping	21	0.5	14	0.2	6	0.1	13	0.1	8	0.1	6	0.1	5	0.1
Armed Robbery	15	0.4	8	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Thefts/other stealing	1485	34.7	1671	19.1	2602	26.0	2974	26.8	2863	29.6	1310	17.9	1746	23.8
False pretence Cheating	303	7.1	324	3.7	372	3.7	417	3.8	354	3.7	179	2.4	201	2.7
Forgery	11	0.3	23	0.3	20	0.2	16	0.1	9	0.1	6	0.1	4	0.1
Receiving Stolen Propety	12	0.3	8	0.1	23	0.2	17	0.2	12	0.1	13	0.2	3	0.0
Drug Trafficking	39	0.9	11	0.1	14	0.1	9	0.1	18	0.2	24	0.3	1	0.0
Breach of Public Peace	195	4.6	1001	11.4	1245	12.5	1092	9.8	756	7.8	502	6.8	665	9.1
Total	4285	100.0	8766	100.0	9990	100.0	11115	100.0	9668	100.0	7333	100.0	7334	100.0

Table 7 continued : Plateau State.

Crime	1983		1985		1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
Murder	7	3.06	1	0.42	2	0.44	0	0	0	0	9	1.2	12	1.6	4	0.45
Manslaughter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grevous Harm & Wounding	33	14.4	38	15.8	63	13.9	68	15.4	0	0	78	10	7	0.94	94	10.48
Assault	55	24	84	35	75	16.6	104	23.5	53	16	189	25	221	29.5	258	28.76
Child Stealing	0	0	0	0	1	0.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kidnapping	5	2.18	0	0	0	0	1	0.23	0	0	3	0.4	0	0	7	0.78
Armed Robbery	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.11
Thefts & Other Stealing	45	19.7	65	27.1	173	38.2	195	44	181	54.7	272	36	210	28.1	279	31.10
False Pretence & Cheating	27	11.8	17	7.08	41	9.05	36	8.13	55	16.6	87	11	76	10.2	50	5.57
Forgery	2	0.87	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1	2	0.27	0	0
Receiving Stolen Property	2	0.87	0	0	4	0.88	7	1.58	4	1.21	17	2.2	6	0.8	24	2.68
Drug Trafficking	0	0	1	0.42	0	0	3	0.68	1	0.3	0	0	5	0.67	0	0
Breach of Public Peace	53	23.1	34	14.2	94	20.8	29	6.55	37	11.2	104	14	209	27.9	180	20.07
Total	229	100	240	100	453	100	443	100	331	100	760	100	748	100	897	100



4. 6. Summary/highlights of Patterns of female criminality

The objective of the analysis of this section was to examine the extent of women contribution to crime as well as the distribution of criminal behaviours as revealed by criminal statistics as well as by female offenders themselves. Thus, detail of the patterns/kinds of crimes for which women have been convicted/awaiting trial as recorded by the police and among female offenders were analysed. The percentage contributions of crimes by male offenders and females were considered to enable us appreciate gender distribution of crimes.

The data revealed that majority (86.7%) of female offenders in the sample were 39 years old or younger. Both single and married women were highly represented in the crime statistics, although the percentage of single women slightly outnumbered that of married women. More than two-thirds (68%) of the respondents had secondary and post secondary (non-University education). The unemployed and those without regular income contributed the highest percentage of the total crimes committed by women. It was found that the majority of female offenders were resident in the urban areas before their incarceration.

The pattern of crimes of women continue to reflect the idea in criminology that women, when they commit crimes are more likely to be involved in crimes such as stealing, fighting, abortion, drug trafficking and the like. Also, women continued to be under represented in traditionally male-dominated crimes such as murder, robbery and armed robbery.

Finally, it was found that most of the crimes committed by female offenders in the prison custody were mainly economic crimes, such as drug trafficking (52.7%) and

stealing (10.7%). However, 92.3% of respondents who had university degree committed drug trafficking offense.

These findings support other criminological researchers (Oloruntimehin, 1981; Ebbe, 1985; Steffensmeier and Streifel, 1993). They all found that women are driven into crime due to economic conditions.

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CHAPTER FIVE

TRENDS OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY

5. 1. Introduction

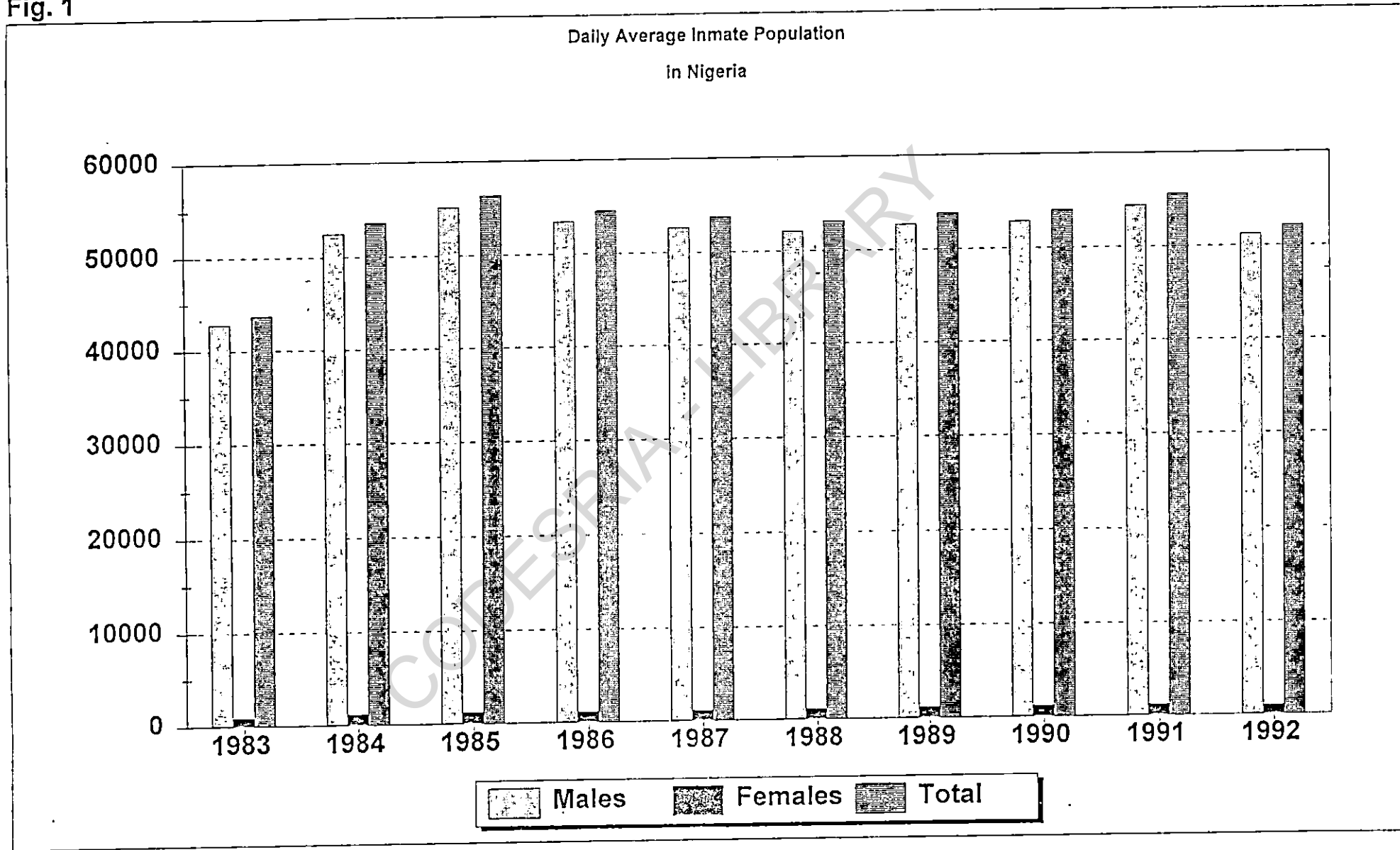
It has been argued in criminological literature and in the media that women are getting more involved in criminal behaviour like their male counterparts than in the past. Thus, the following section examines the trend of female criminality in Nigeria. The objective is to enable us make an appropriate assessment and suggestions which would enable us control female crimes in Nigeria.

In order to provide a comparative frame of reference, trends in female admission to prison were compared to trends in male admission. Also, trends in female arrests by police were compared to trends in male arrests. Therefore, a more complete picture of gender differences and similarities in admission and arrests were obtained. Finally, female admission in Nigerian prisons and police arrests were analysed to determine upward or downward trends in female criminality.

5. 2. Gender Distribution of Police Arrests and Prison Admission

Figure 1 presents daily average population in prison between 1983 and 1992. The figure shows increase in male population in 1984 and 1985, marginal decline in 1986, relatively stable between 1987 and 1990, marginal increase in 1991, and decline in 1992. Female population remain relatively stable as compared to men and also very minimal.

Fig. 1



The differences in figures of male and female prisoners may reflect the less serious nature of female crimes relative to male crimes. Many female offenders commit minor offenses that are less likely to result in arrest, prosecution, detention and imprisonment.

This observation supports the findings of Steffensmeier and Streifel (1993). They argued that female offenders are likely to receive more lenient sentencing, as many female arrestees commit minor offenses that are less likely to result in imprisonment. Consequently, official criminal statistics may under-represent female crimes/criminals relative to their male counterparts. However, the increase in male admission to prison could be attributed to the dwindling economy and socio-economic and political changes of the early 1980s. The economic crisis prompted the Shagari administration to institute the 'temporary stabilization act' of 1982. Nevertheless, the economic crisis continued. The Buhari/Idiagbon administration, which seized power from Shagari through Coup d'etat, embarked on massive retrenchment of workers. This greatly affected the lives of the working class. There was general unemployment crisis in Nigeria. Odekunle (1978) identified unemployment as a major social problem in Nigeria and possible factor in criminal activities.

Figures 2 and 3 present gender arrests in Lagos and Plateau States between 1983 and 1992. For instance, in Lagos State, the figure shows consistent increase from 1986 to 1988, drastic decline in 1989, substantive increase in 1990 and decline in 1991 and 1992. In Plateau State, the figure seems fairly stable between 1983 and 1985, and substantive increase in 1987. There is marginal decline in 1988, substantive decline in 1989 and continuous increase from 1990 to 1992.

Generally, for both males and females, arrest rates increased. The increase in both male and female arrests, could be attributed to the negative impact of the structural adjustment programme (SAP) which was introduced in 1986 by the Babangida's administration. There was a deliberate cut in government expenditure such as investment in education, health care services, housing, transportation and the like. Cuts in public spending led to a marginalisation and impoverishment of increasing numbers of people, particularly women. Many men and women further lost their jobs due to retrenchment induced by SAP. It also followed that many more women had to play the role of bread winners in many families. Female headed household became a common feature as many men left their wives and families in search of employment. These factors created strains for women as they struggle to make ends meet. In a society such as Nigeria that stresses the goals of acquiring wealth, success, and power, it is not surprising that those denied the access to achieve these goals through the conventional means, would turn to criminal ways (innovation) to succeed (Merton, 1957). This suggests that the rates for both genders are influenced by similar social and legal forces, independent of any condition unique to women.

In addition, it is likely that change in attitude towards female criminals, that is the willingness of the public to report female offenders to the police than in the past, and more likely also, the police willingness to handle female suspects in less traditional ways, contribute to increase in female crime rates. This becomes more imperative particularly, if offenses which female suspects commit are defined by the society as serious crimes.

Fig. 2

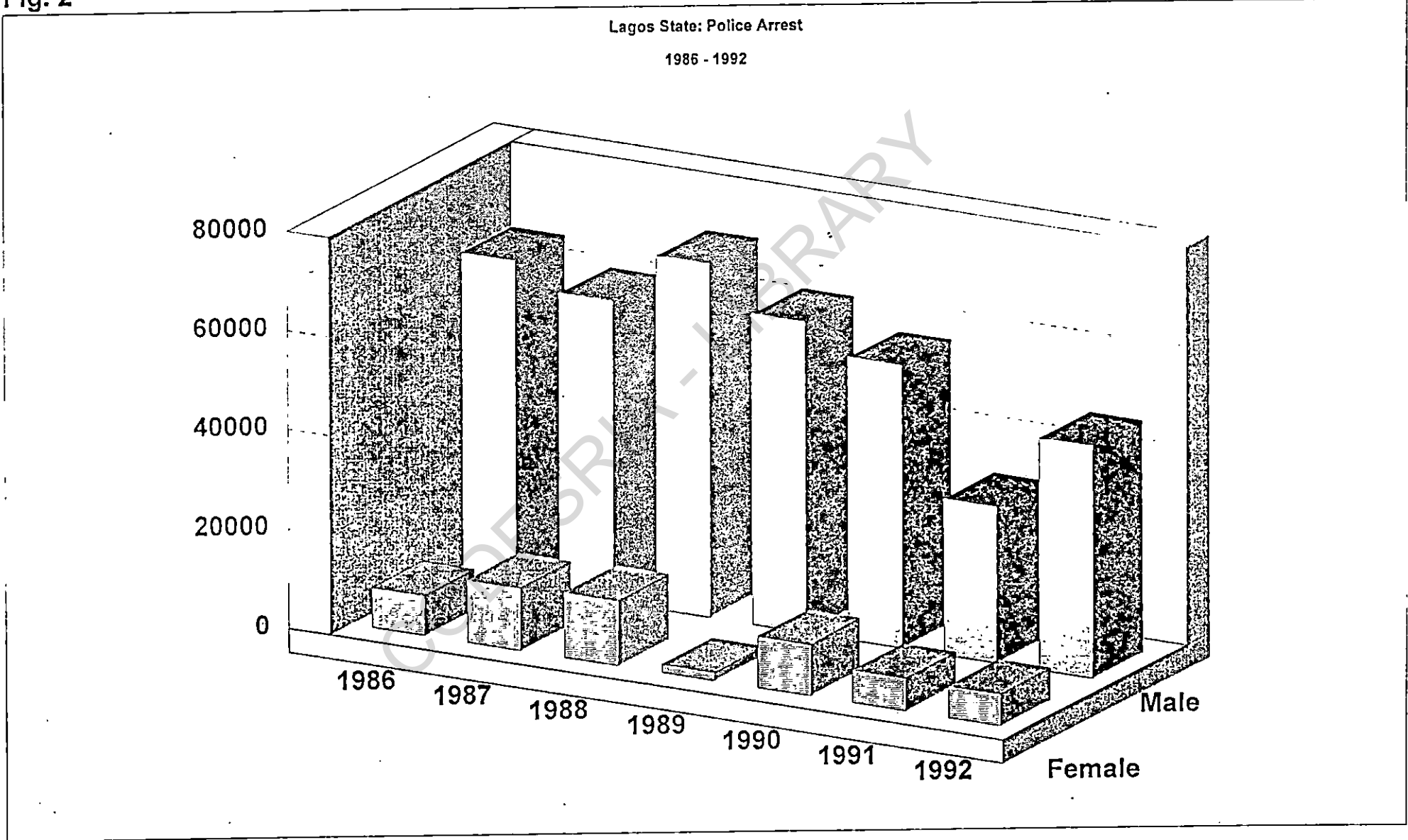
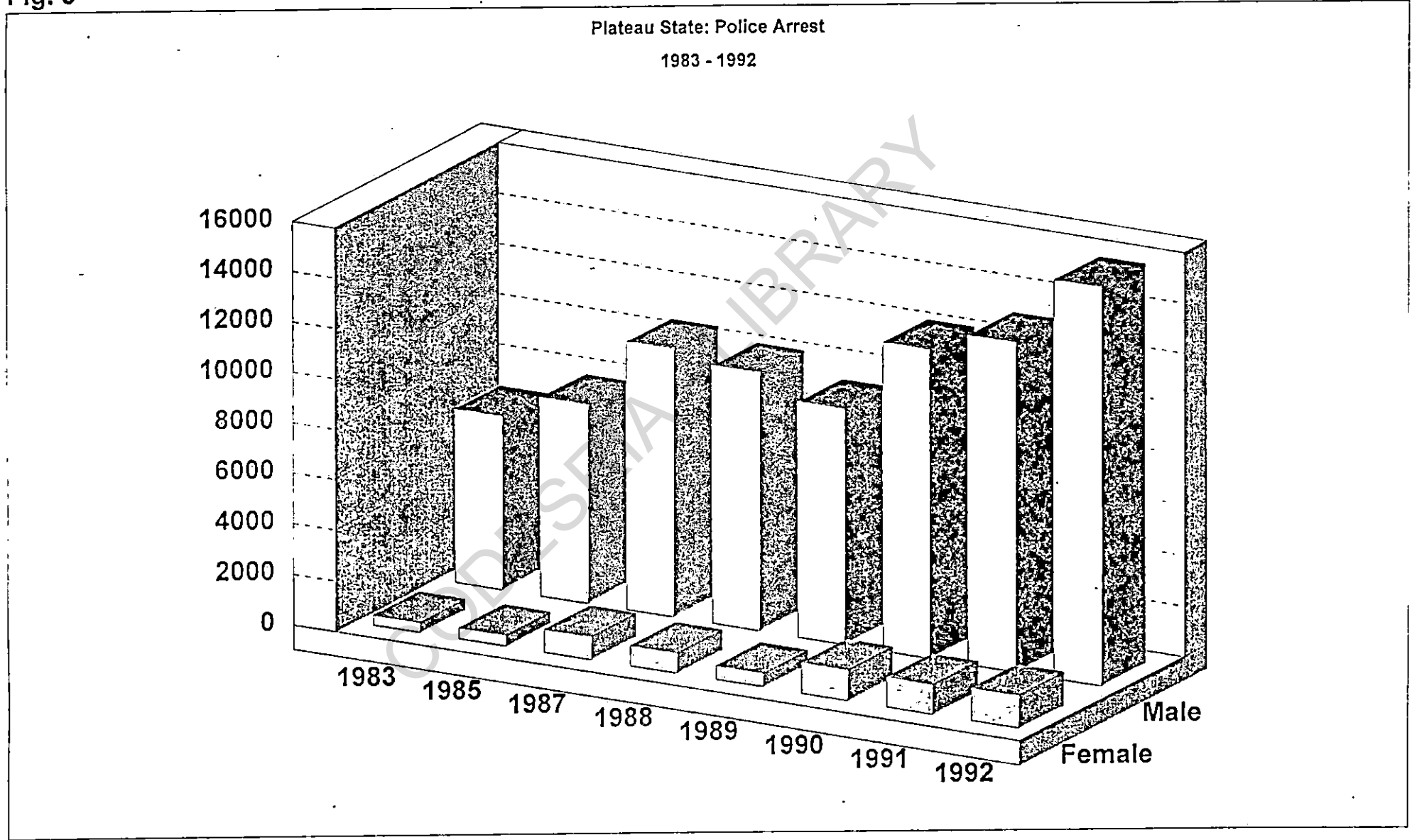


Fig. 3



Gender arrests for offenses against persons and property in Plateau State, between 1983 and 1992 are presented in figures 4 and 5. Figure 4 shows increase in offenses against persons, between 1983 and 1988, drastic decline in 1989 and continuous increase between 1990 and 1992. Figure 5 shows increase in offenses against property, between 1983 and 1992, except 1989 and 1991 which witnessed slight decline. The Figures reveal a considerable increase in arrests for all categories of offenses particularly, property and personal crimes.

The depreciation of the country's currency which has resulted in permanent inflationary trend in Nigeria has greatly impoverished the masses particularly women. The liberalization of the economy and privatization of public property heightened the prices of goods and services. All these factors have created criminogenic conditions in Nigerian society.

The consistent increase in arrests for property crimes in all the years, is in line with our earlier expectation that female offenders were more likely to be arrested for property crimes than for personal crimes.

Figures 6 and 7 present gender arrests for offenses against persons and property in Lagos State, between 1986 and 1992. Figure 6 shows increase in offenses against persons in 1987, over 1986, stable between 1988 and 1989, and continuous marginal decline between 1990 and 1992. In Figure 7, the trend of offenses against property reflects the overall pattern for both male and female - a consistent increase between 1986 and 1990, over 1986 and a decline in 1991.

The Figures show that women arrest is generally lower in Plateau State than in Lagos State. This can be explained, in the sense that Lagos State is more urbanized

than Plateau State and also more likely to provide opportunities (both legitimate and illegitimate) for women.

This finding is in line with our earlier expectation that female offenders will tend to be resident in urban areas than rural areas.

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Fig 4: Police Arrest, Plateau State: Offenses Against Persons

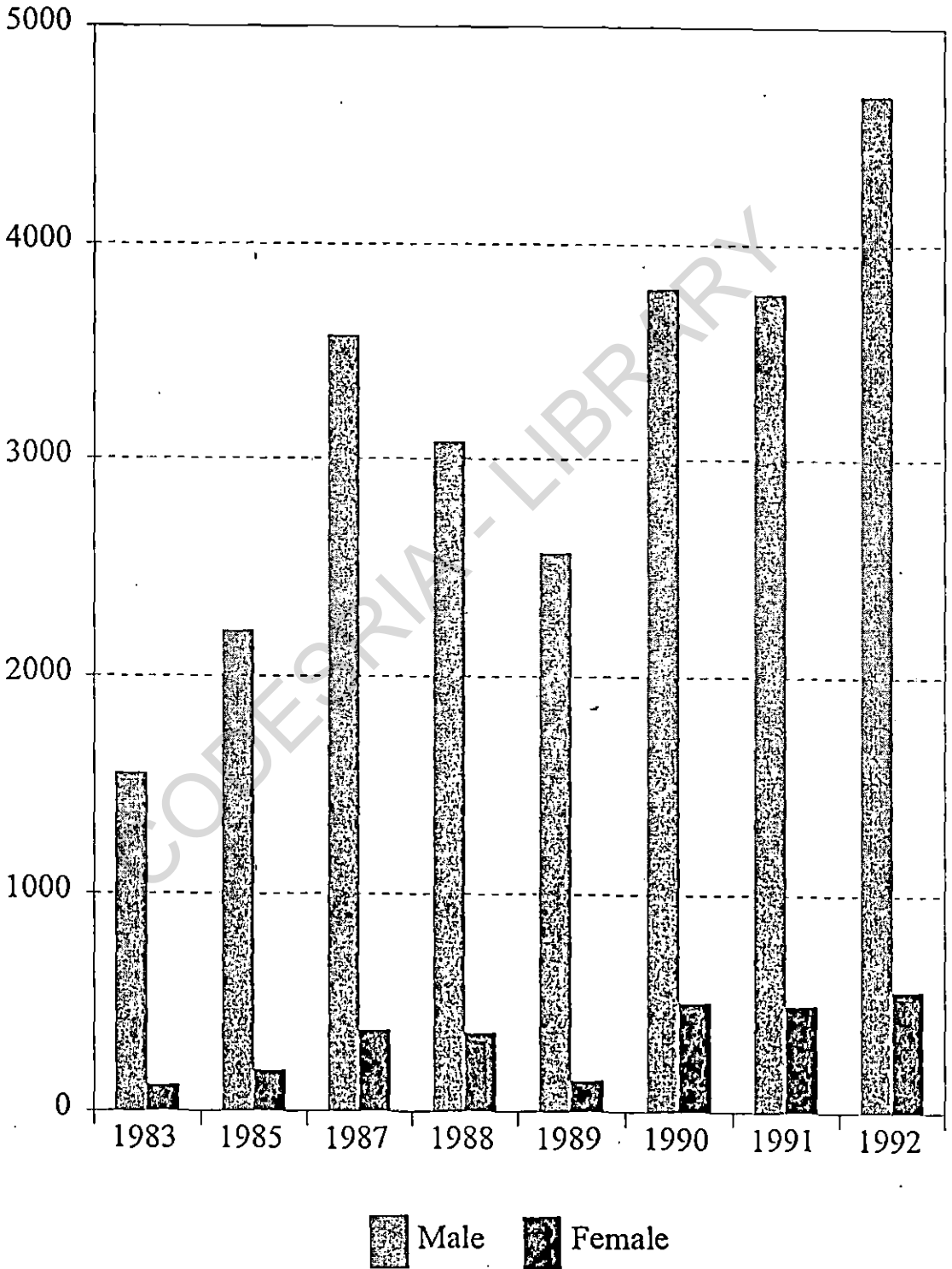


Fig 5: Police Arrest, Plateau State: Offenses Against Property

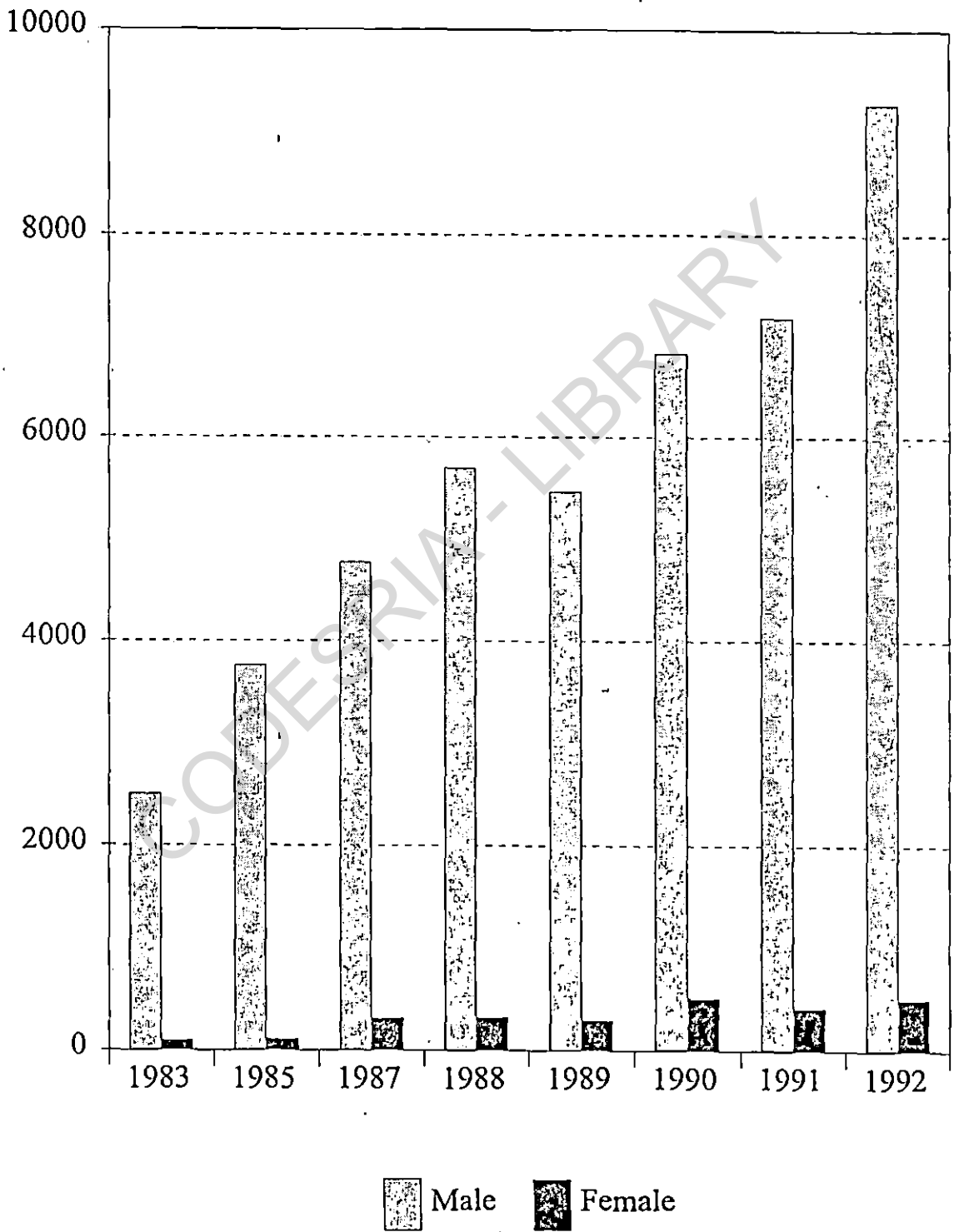


Fig. 6: Police Arrest, Lagos State: Offenses Against Persons

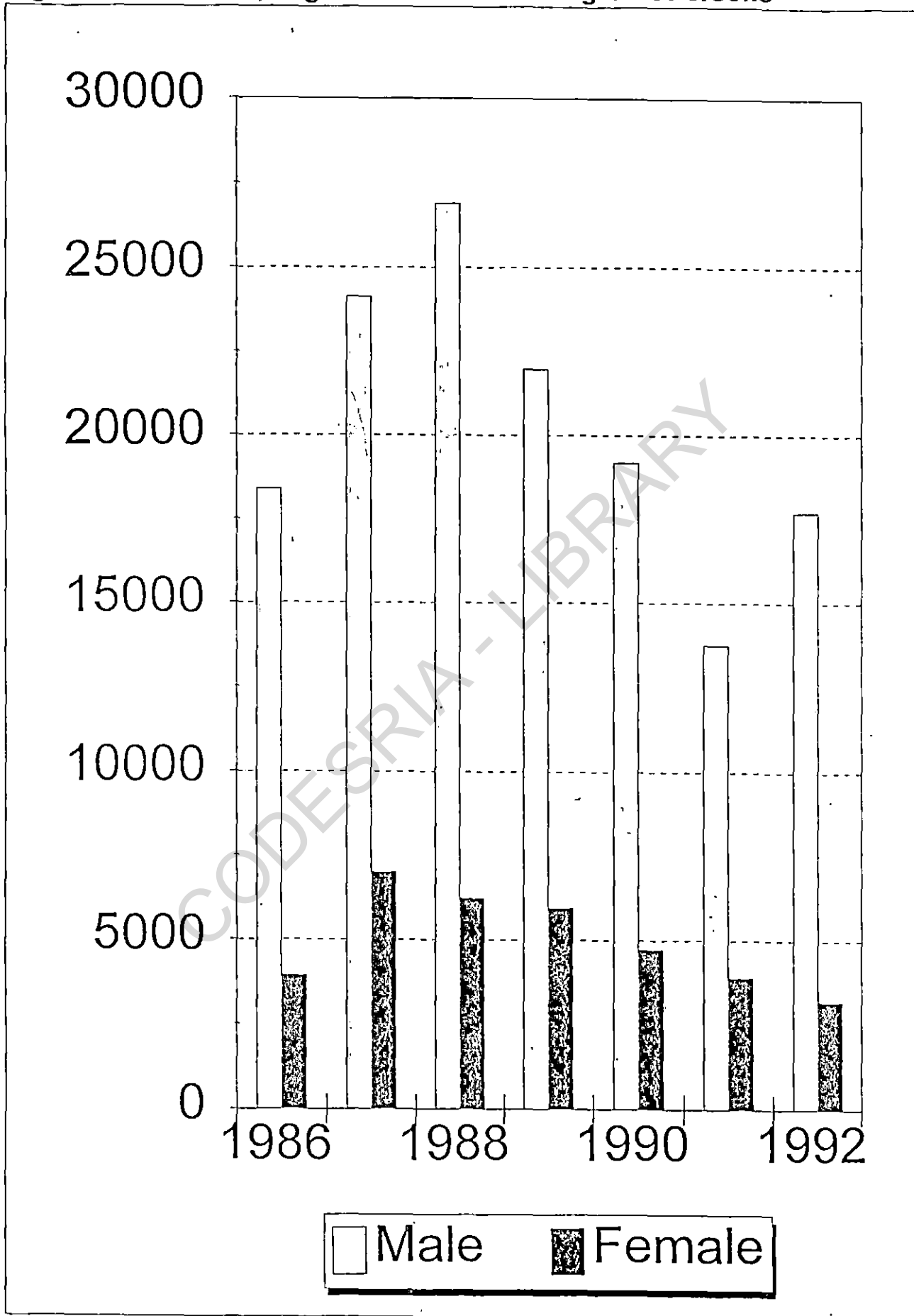
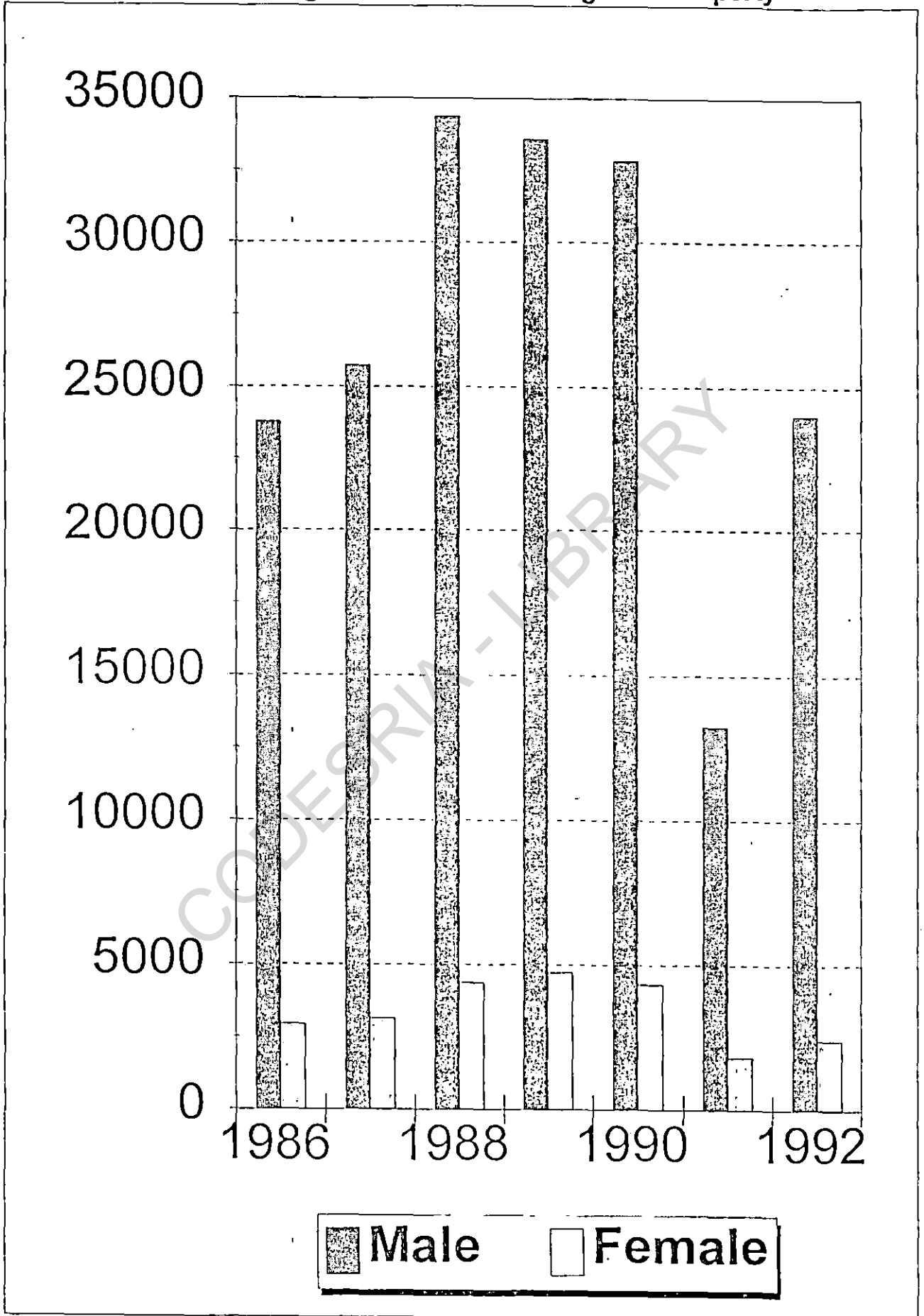


Fig. 7: Police Arrest, Lagos State: Offenses Against Property



5. 3. Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrests (Lagos and Plateau States).

The trend of female arrests in Lagos and Plateau States are graphically represented in figures 8 and 9. In Lagos State, the figure shows a consistent increase in police arrests, between 1986 and 1988, decline in 1989, marginal decline in 1990, drastic decline in 1991 and marginal decline in 1992. In Plateau State, the figure shows a decline in police arrests in 1985, substantive increase in 1987, decline in 1988, substantive decline in 1989, and drastic increase between 1990 and 1992.

A comparison of the trend of arrests in Lagos and Plateau State shows that the trend is higher in Lagos State than in Plateau State. This is because, Lagos State with its urbanism is more likely to provide criminal opportunities for women than Plateau State which is less urbanized. Another observation is that, while Plateau State shows substantive increase in female arrests between 1990 and 1992, Lagos State shows marginal decline in 1990, drastic decline in 1991 and marginal decline in 1992.

This finding supports the findings of other researchers. Shaw and Mckay (1929) found that certain environment constitute opportunities for criminal activities.

Fig. 8

Trend of Female Criminality:
Police Arrest, Lagos State

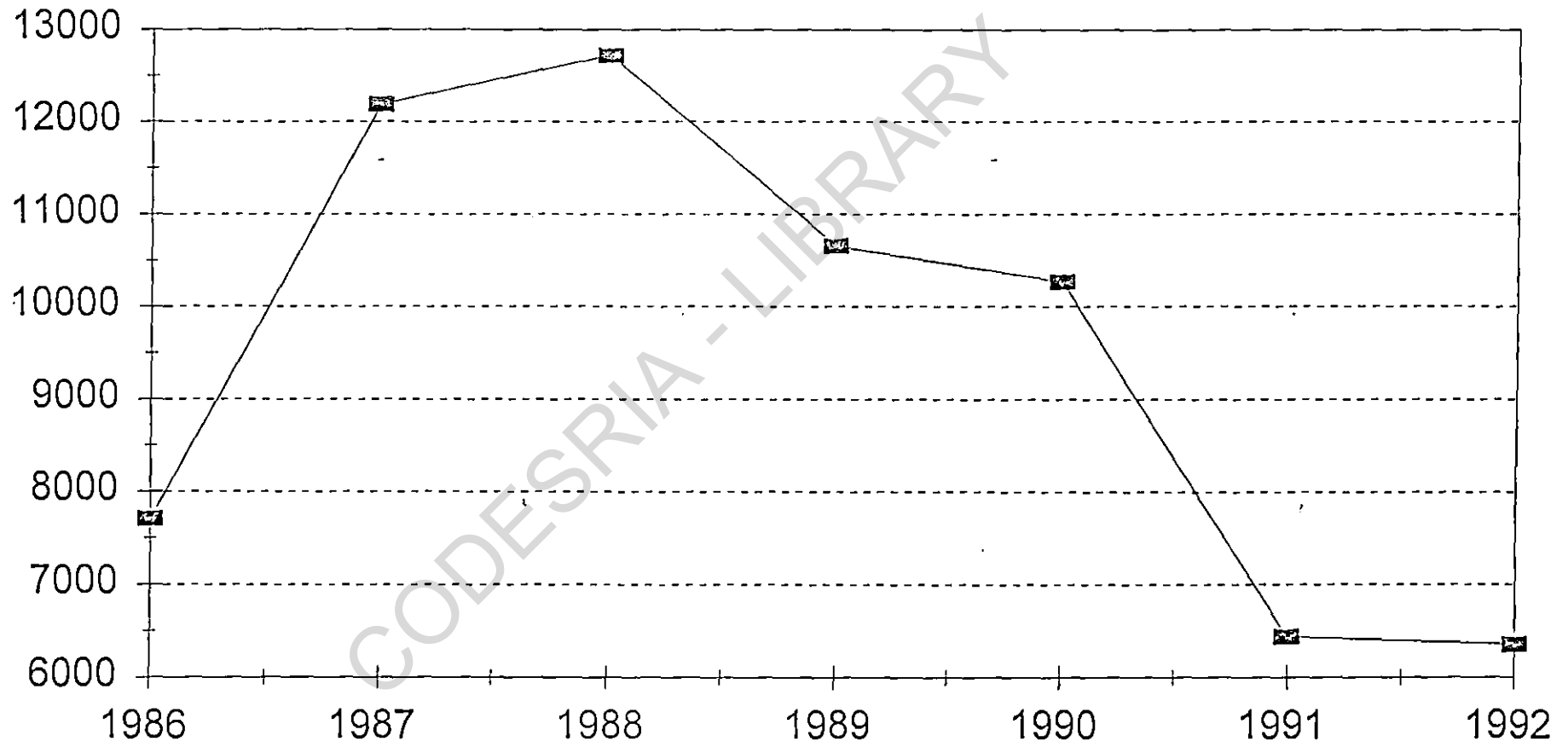
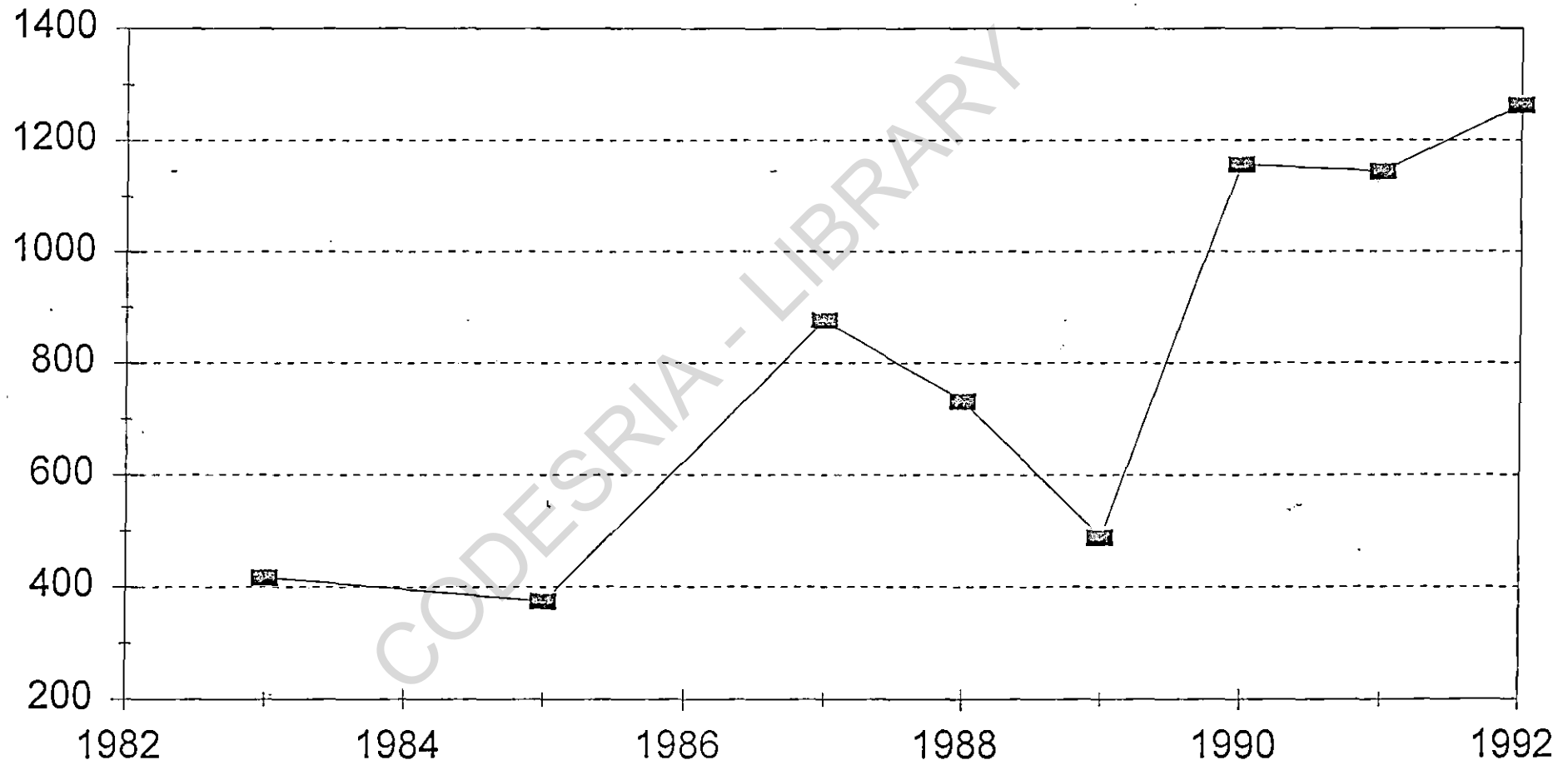


Fig. 9

Trend of Female Criminality:
Police Arrest, Plateau State



5.3.1 Trend of Female Criminality : Prison Admission.

Figure 10 presents prison admission for women between 1983 and 1992. The Figure shows a decline in prison admission among the convicts in 1984, substantive increase in 1985, decline in 1986, stable in 1987 and marginal increase between 1988 and 1989. The Figure shows a decline again in 1990, and increase in 1991, with substantive decline in 1992. Among the non-convicts, there was increase in prison admission between 1984 and 1985, decline in 1986, increase between 1987 and 1989 and decline between 1990 and 1992. The Figure also shows that the total number of non-convicts admitted to prison was more than the convict population.

These data on prison admission conform with our primary data where, we found that close to half of the respondents in prison custody, were awaiting trial. The awaiting trials in prisons undergo worse conditions unlike convicts, because of some discriminatory rules which exist within the prisons. Moreover, many are treated as criminals when they should be presumed innocent until they are proved otherwise. The United Nations rules on the treatment of prisoners especially as they relate to awaiting trials, and free legal aid are not observed in the country. This is likely to explain why, there are more female non-convicts in Nigeria prison statistics than convicts.

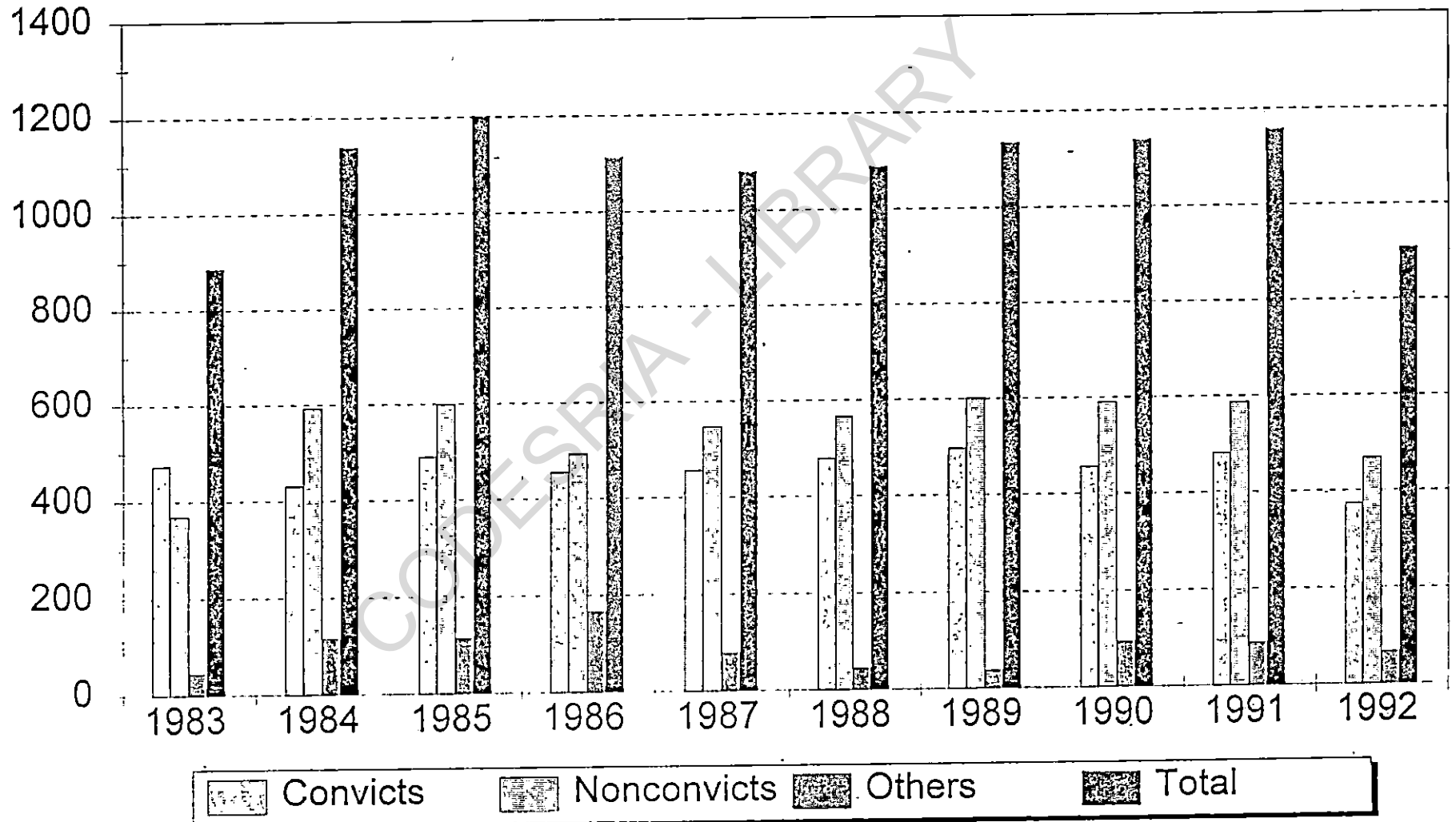
From the total column, it is obvious that between 1983 and 1992, the proportion of female admission to prisons was on the increase. For instance, the figure shows a drastic increase in prison admission from 1983 to 1985, decline in 1986 and 1987, and increase between 1988 and 1991. The figure shows a relatively stable upward trend in female admission to prison. These trends of female criminality could be attributed to the socio-economic problems facing women in society. For instance, for the past one or two decades for women and men alike in Nigeria, their immediate concerns are

simply how to exist, and it is the problems of the struggle for existence that sometime create criminality.

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Fig. 10

Trend of Female Criminality:
Prison Admission



5.3.2. Trend of Female Criminality: Police Arrests, Offenses Against Persons, Property and Others (Lagos and Plateau States).

Figures 11 and 12 present police arrests for offenses against persons, and property in Lagos and Plateau States. Lagos State recorded substantive increase in crime against persons in 1987 over 1986, increase between 1988 and 1990, over 1986, and decline between 1991 and 1992. Offenses against property experience consistent increase from 1986 to 1989, and slight decline in 1990. However, there was substantive decline in 1991 but increase in 1992.

For Plateau State, the Figure shows consistent increase for both categories of crimes from 1983 to 1992, except a few years which experienced decline. For instance, there is slight decline 1988, drastic decline in 1989 and marginal decline in 1991 for crimes against person. Also, crimes against property witnessed decline in 1989 and 1991. Generally, Figures 11 and 12 showed a trend towards a growing female arrests.

The increase in the trend of female criminality can be viewed from different levels. Women are moving away from their traditional roles as mothers and wives to income earners. More women are receiving formal education. Education creates awareness and consciousness in an individual. It serves as an "eye-opener". Education also creates opportunities for both physical and geographical mobility. In addition, women are becoming exposed to the same societal pressures, temptation and strains as their male counterparts, as a result of a dynamic society that is changing very fast. Also, with education there is rural-urban drift for 'greener pasture' among women. No sooner do they arrive urban centers then they realize that it is not all that 'rosy' in the cities. They are faced with the problems of unemployment, accommodation, feeding and

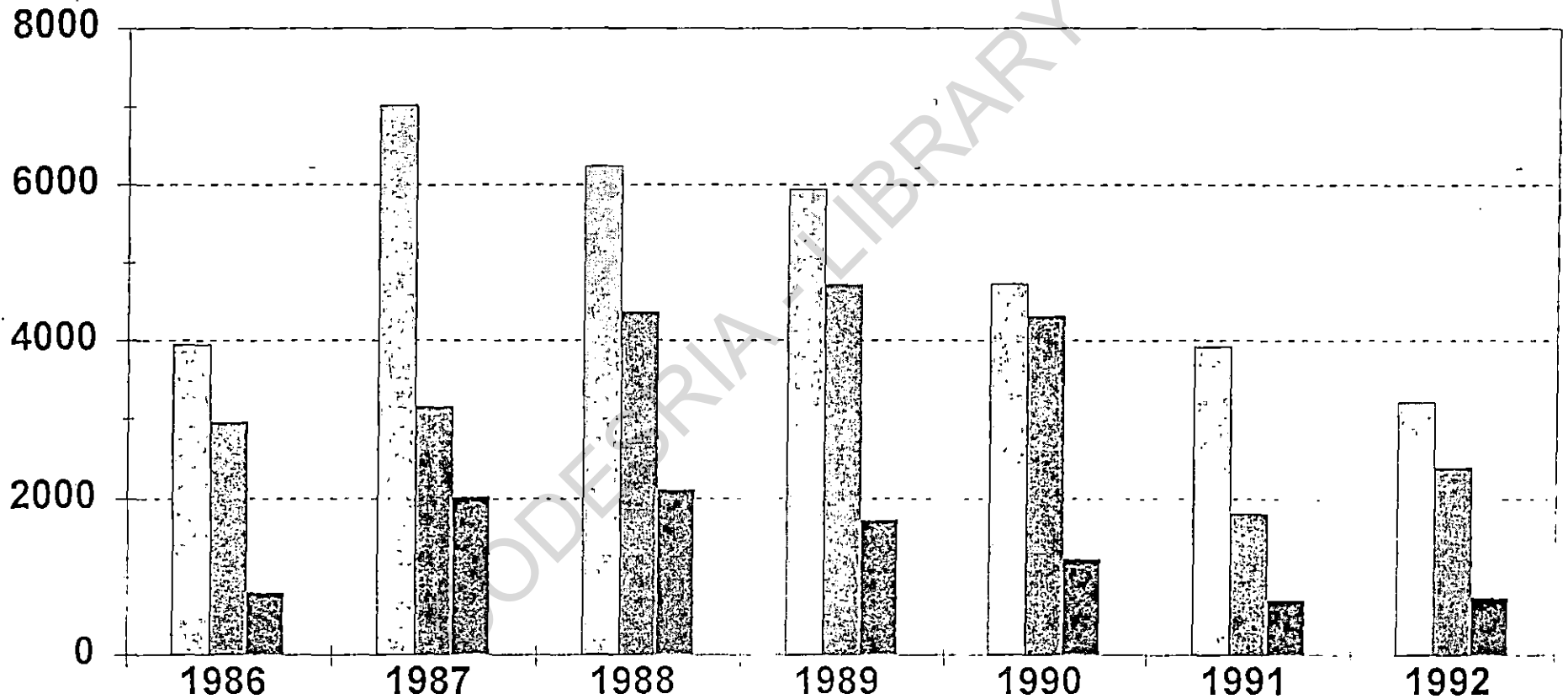
impoverished. Many become victims of drug trafficking, prostitution, robbery, violent crime, and any other criminal behaviour to survive.

The upward trend in female criminality accord with the findings of some criminological researchers (Simon 1975; 1993; Steffensmeier and Streifel 1993; Austin 1982). They observed that the role changes that have occurred from women liberation movement or from other social forces might prevent the ability of society to limit the ambitions of women.

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Fig. 11

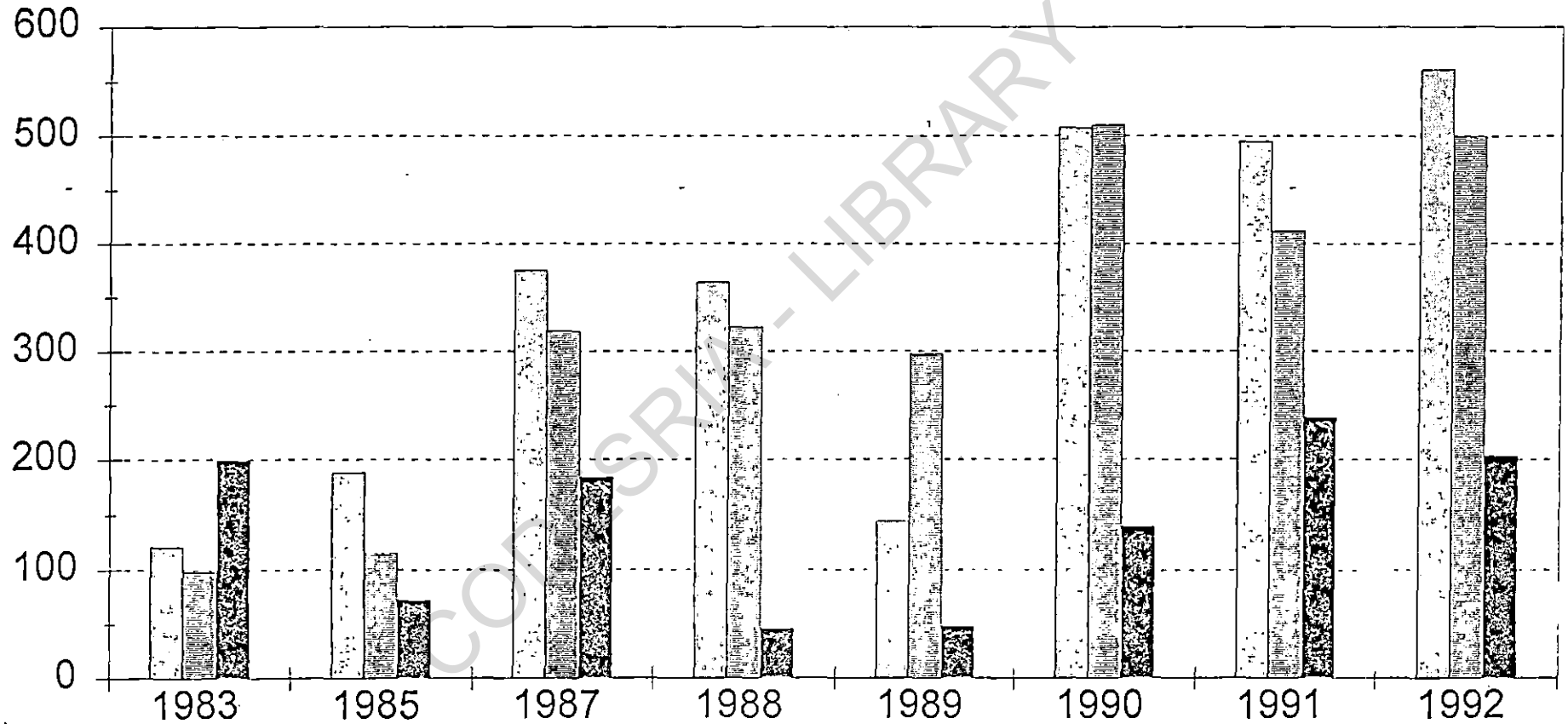
Trend of Female Criminality: Police
Arrest By Crime Types, Lagos State



Offense Against Persons Offense Against Property Others

Fig. 12

Trend of Female Criminality: Police
Arrest By Crime Types, Plateau State



Offense Against Persons Offense Against Property Others

5. 4. Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to examine the trend of female criminality in Nigeria. In this regard, trend in male police arrests and admission to prison were compared to that of female. Also, trend in crime types by women were also analysed to determine upward and downward trend in female criminality.

Generally, it was found that female criminality is an issue that can no longer be disregarded. Though still in its infancy, as compared to male, (see appendix) the study of women and crime has moved centre stage.

The next chapter discusses the control of female criminality in Nigeria.

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CHAPTER SIX.

CONTROL OF FEMALE CRIMINALITY.

6.1. Control of Female Criminality.

The existing crime control measures are largely very punitive. They tend to rely on solving the crime problem by means of legal repression without adequate attention to the economic - political determinants of such behaviours (Alemika, 1990) that are capable of being manipulated to reduce crime rates by providing potential offenders with non-criminal values and means of livelihood.

The institutions responsible for crime control are the police, the courts and the prisons. In their interaction with the criminal justice system, the offender's first contact is with the police. The police are charged with the responsibilities for the prevention and detection of crimes, apprehension of offenders, preservation of law and order, protection of life and property and enforcement of laws and regulation and so on.

The court is charged with the responsibility of sieving the guilty from the innocent. The prison executes the sentences of the court pertaining to incarceration. It serves the following objectives.

1. To keep persons legally interned.
2. To identify the causes of the criminal anti-social behaviour and to treat and reform them.
3. To train the criminals so that they could be useful to themselves and the society at large.

The prison as an institution and particularly prison officials hold the values relevant to rehabilitation even if such values have usually not been significantly put to practice possibly for some reasons. These reasons include, poor staffing of the prisons,

insufficient funding by the government, bad working conditions, lack of amenities such as telephones, vehicles, fire arms and the like.

6. 2. Women and the criminal justice process.

Table 8 presents several information on the experiences of the female offenders in the sample, concerning criminality and criminal processes. The data show that a large proportion of female offenders in the sample (58.0%) were arrested at the airport. The remaining were arrested at home and in the street respectively. The pattern of arrest of offenders can be attributed to the dominance of drug traffickers in the sample. Drug traffickers are usually apprehended at the airports as they try to export or import illicit drugs into the countries concerned. This finding accords with other criminological researchers. Steffensmeier and Streifel (1993) noted that in recent years women have become useful for successful drug trafficking because they are likely to have clean records, create less suspicion, and can conceal drugs more easily.

A very high percentage (97.0%) of the respondents had no previous criminal record.

A large proportion (64.7%) of female offenders claimed they were either remotely involved or not involved in the crime of which they were in prison custody.

The majority (75.0%) of the respondents were not granted bail. This results from the types of offenses committed. For instance, offenses against murder, manslaughter and drug trafficking hardly attract bail. Also, close to half (46.0%) of female offenders were not represented by a lawyer. More than two-thirds (72.0%) of the respondents experienced 1 month to 1 year and longer period of trial. A very high percentage (68.0%) of the respondents was sentenced to 7 or more years imprisonment.

Table 8: Female Criminality and Criminal Process

Place of Arrest	Frequency	Percent
Airport	79	58.0
At home	45	32.0
The street	13	10.0
Column Total	137	100.0
Custodial/legal Status		
Convicted	88	58.7
Nonconvicted/Awaiting Trial	62	41.4
Column Total.	150	100.0
Previous Criminal Record		
No Previous Criminal record	142	97.0
Had previous criminal record	4	3.0
Extent of involvement in crime for which offender is in prison custody.		
Very much	32	21.3
Much	21	14.0
Little	52	34.7
Not at all	45	30.0
Column Total	150	100.0
Granting bail to offenders		
Was granted bail	13	25.0
Was not granted bail	39	75.0
Column Total	52	100.0
Legal representation		
Was represented by a lawyer	65	54.0
Was not represented by a lawyer	55	46.0
Column Total	120	100.0
Length of Trial		
less than 1 week	11	10.0
1 week to less than 1 month	19	18.0
1 month to less than 1 year	48	46.0
1 year and above	27	26.0
Column Total	105	100.0

Length of Sentence / Jail		
less than 1 year.	13	14.0
1 to 2years.	0	0.0
3 to 4years.	2	2.0
5 to 6years.	3	4.0
7years and above.	68	74.0
life	2	2.0
capital	3	4.0
Column Total	91	100.0

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The information on female criminality and criminal process are cross tabulated with crime patterns among female offenders in Table 9 .

A large proportion (69%) of respondents who committed drug trafficking offense claimed they were either remotely involved or not involved in the crime of which they were in prison custody. Close to half (46.0%) of female offenders who committed crime against persons claimed they were very much involved.

The data show that (100%) of female offenders who committed drug trafficking offense were denied bail. In other words all drug trafficking offenders were not granted bail. Also, in crimes against persons, property and others a very high percentage, more than 70% were not granted bail. A large proportion (67%) of female offenders who were involved in property crimes had no legal representation during trial.

Among drug trafficking offenses 54.0% of the respondents experienced 1 month to less than 1 year length of trial. Also, (98.0%) of the respondents who committed drug trafficking offense were sentenced to 7 or more years imprisonment while 2.0% were sentenced to life imprisonment. Respondents who committed crimes against persons represented 20% of Capital punishment.

These findings accord with the findings of CLO (1993). CLO found that many female prisoners suffer from illegal arrest, denied bails and legal representation. These they claim violate human rights, both local and internationally. CLO stated that the rights of many female offenders are denied outright through the process by which many of them get to prison, from arrest through detention and trial to imprisonment.

Even female offenders who were granted bail from the statistics could not avail of themselves the opportunities, due to the conditionalities attached to bail - sureties and fees.

Table 9 : Cross tabulation of female criminality and criminal process by crime.

Degree of involvement in crime.	Offense against drug trafficking	offense against persons	offense against property.	Others.	Row total
Very much	11.0%	46.0	26.0	-	32 (21.3)
much	20.0%	6.0	-	43.0	21 (14.0)
little	50.0	15.0	19.0	29.0	52 (34.7)
Not at all	19.0	33.0	55.0	29.0	45 (30.0)
Total	79 100.0	33 100.0	31 100.0	7 100.0	150 (100.0)
Was granted bail					
Yes	-	9.0	29.0	14.0	13 (8.7)
No	100.0	91.0	71.0	86.0	137 (91.3)
Total	79 (100.0)	33(100.0)	31 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	150 (100.0)
Legal representation					
Yes	65.0	59.0	33.0		65 (43.3)
No	35.0	41.0	67.0	100.0	55 (36.7)
Total	79 (100.0)	33 (100.0)	31 (100.0)	7 (100.0)	120 (80.0)
Length of trial					
less than 1 week	5.0	16.0	15.0	40.0	11 (7.3)
1 week-less than 1 month	15.0	5.0	40.0	10.0	19 (12.7)
1 month - less than 1 year	54.0	32.0	35.0	40.0	48(32.0)
1 yr & above	26.0	47.0	10.0	-	27(18.0)
Total	61 (100.0)	19 (100.0)	20 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	105 (70.0)

Length of sentence					
less than 1yr	-	40.0	18.0	80.0	13 (8.7)
1 to 2 years	-	-	-	-	-
3 to 4 years.	-	-	-	-	-
5 to 6 years.	-	-	-	-	-
7 years and above.	98.0	40.0	76.0	20.0	73 (48.7)
Life.	2.0	-	6.0	-	2 (1.3)
Capital	-	20.0	-	-	3 (2.0)
Total	54 (100.0)	15 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	91 (60.7)

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6.3. Female Criminals and Perceptions of crime and Criminal justice system.

6.3.1. Perceptions of criminal justice officials by female offenders.

As has been mentioned earlier, female offender's first contact with the criminal justice officials is usually the police at the time of arrest, followed by prosecution (investigation and interrogation) and finally judges/magistrates for sentencing or acquitted.

It is argued in criminological literature that women receive lenient treatment from law enforcement officials during arrest, prosecution and sentencing (Polak, 1961; Reckless and Kay, 1964). But very little research has addressed instances of differential processing at each of these stages. This section examines these areas for better understanding and control of female criminality.

The findings of this research revealed that more than 40% of female offenders experienced difficulties with the police at the time of arrest and interrogation. Female offenders were beaten, slapped, tear gased and forced to make confessional statements. Others, were deceived with false promises by the police. A female offender had this to say:

Some of us were told to mention our drug baron in exchange for our release. We did, but the police refused to release us. They just deceived us. And, some of us here were called in as witnesses but we turned the accused.

In the same vein, another female offender narrated her experiences thus:

I told the police my drug baron (my employer) she was arrested for few days after which she was released. Apparently, she had "settled" the law enforcement officials with huge sum of money. But I was sentenced to several years of imprisonment while my employer was freed because she had money to "bribe".

A high percentage (68.0%) of female offenders pointed out class distinction in police handling of offenses. They claimed that their social status in society affected the way their cases were handled by the police. They insisted that the poor and powerless were usually treated more harshly by the police. This is because the poor is at the disadvantage of not having the resources to manipulate the system to their benefit. These findings are in line with the findings of some criminological researchers (Radosh, 1993; CLO 1993; Ebbe 1983). Ebbe (1983) found that female prisoners do not see themselves as criminals but the "unfortunate ones". In otherwise, they wouldn't be in prison if they had money to "bribe" the police. Also, CLO found that many female prisoners have no access to lawyers hence they are imprisoned.

6.3.2. Perceptions of Criminal Procedure by female offenders.

A very high percentage (75%) of female offenders in the sample remained in police custody throughout their trial period. They described their trial experiences as terrifying, horrible and hectic. The remaining 25% described it as very bad and unjust.

A majority of female offenders agreed that the trial judges/magistrates were particularly hostile, biased and wicked to them because they are women. They claimed that female offenders who committed similar offenses (drug trafficking) with men were given more years of sentences than their male counterparts. The female prisoners claimed that the judges saw women's involvement in crimes as unnatural, masculine and shows an inversion off all the qualities which especially distinguish the normal woman such as reserve, loving, kind, gentle, docile and so on. Female offenders claimed that some trial judges saw it is an aberration for women to engage themselves in criminal activities.

In support of this analysis, Radosh (1993) found that crime is defined as male, thus, women who commit crime must possess characteristics that make them distinct from other women. Women who commit crimes not only violate the legal protection of persons and property distributions, but they also overlap the moral requirements of loyalty to the family and society at large. They have thus committed a moral offense that may be even less pardonable than the criminal offense. Hence, women frequently receive more severe sentences than those assigned to men for similar offense (Radosh, 1993:278).

However, within the prisons, (21.3%) of female offenders claimed they experience favourable treatment from prison officials while (76.7%) claimed they are given the same treatment as men.

Our interview with female offenders showed that the favourable differential treatment women enjoy are mainly in terms of accommodation, relatively better sanitary conditions within the female section, physical violence on male prisoners and inmate on inmate violence. There is less congestion in female cells due to their smaller population compared to male population.

Further, female offenders were generally spared much of the physical violence inflicted on male prisoners, except for a few "stubborn" female prisoners. Also inmate on inmate violence which is almost absent in female section is very rampant in male section. There is a continued systematic brutalization of the young and weaker prisoners by the hardened criminals in male section, as reported by female offenders. The extent of this brutalization system was illustrated by CLO (1993). According to its Report, each male cell has a cell government. The cells are regarded by these hardened suspects/criminals as 'indescent' with its own laws and officials. These

conditions as illustrated make the female prisoners a little better off than their male counterparts. This also make some of them to think they receive favourable treatment.

6.3.3. Female Offenders and Perception of Prison Experiences.

Table 10 presents the data on female offenders and perception of prison experiences.

A very high proportion (90.4%) of the respondents described their prison experiences as either horrible or very bad. The distributions of the most pleasant and unrepresentative prison conditions as reported by female prisoners are also presented in the Table.

Our interview with female offenders show that a crucial part of reformation programme in all the prisons visited for this research was religious activities. Evangelists were welcome visitors. Both Christians and Moslems come in to preach the words of God. In Kiri-kiri female prison, this was a daily affair. Also, at Oko prison, female prisoners spend a lot of time with preachers. The reason was that hearing the word of God will soften the hearts of the prisoners, make them repentant and change for good. The prison officials agreed that without religion it would have been difficult for them to control the prisoners. 'Opened up' gives the female prisoners the opportunity to interact with one another and to share problems and feelings common to them. They are released daily from cells for varying periods. However, freedom of movement outside the prison is strictly restricted, although there is freedom of movement within the female yard.

In Kiri-kiri prison, the convict women are opened in the morning and locked up at 1.30 pm. They are opened again at 5 pm and finally locked up for the day at 6 pm. However, not all female offenders enjoy these rights. The awaiting trial/detained, are

opened once in the morning to take their bath. At Oko prison, female offenders are open everyday and Sunday is treated special; they are open all day. Workshop activities have to do with vocational training and rehabilitation. They are aimed at keeping the prisoners occupied during the period of imprisonment. Also, they aimed at equipping them to relocate and rehabilitate themselves in society after release.

Observations in all the prisons visited during this research showed that even though the prison authorities allow reasonable time for workshop activities, facilities for these are mostly absent. For instance, at Kaduna prison, there was no evidence that female offenders were provided with training in skill or trade. Contrary to this, in Oko prison, Jos prison and Kiri-kiri prison, there were facilities such as workshops and equipment although these were limited.

In Kiri-kiri prison, there were opportunities for learning type-setting, fashion design, catering, knitting and weaving, crochet, plaiting and handcraft. However, charitable organizations supply most of the things used in these vocational sectors. Also in Jos prison, female prisoners relied mostly on the good will of charitable organizations who supply them the things used at the workshop. Vocational training were not extended to awaiting trials. The reason was that awaiting trials would stay in prison only for a very short period during which it would be neither feasible or profitable to the prisoner to participate in such programmes. However, available data reveal that many awaiting trials stay in prison longer than the two or three years it usually takes to complete an apprenticeship.

Another reason for excluding awaiting trials was that the government does not make any provision for them. Thus, it was appropriate to meet the needs of the convicts before attending to awaiting trials. A large proportion (59.3%) of the respondents claimed bad

feeding, drinking well water, and lack of medical facilities were their most unpleasant experiences in the prison. Female offenders were unanimous in considering prison food unfit for human consumption. They described the food as nauseating, a mixture of a little paste-garri (eba) and some bitter liquid 'so-called' soup. They conclude that the food is nutritionally unbalanced, quantitatively insufficient, and prepared under the most unhygienic conditions. They described the sight of the food as horrifying. The food is without salt and sometime without pepper, not well cooked and 'like food for the insane'. The soup they claimed, looks like dirty water from the drainage. Thus, many female offenders who can afford it resort to feeding themselves. In addition to bad feeding, female offenders, particularly those in Kiri-kiri prison complained of drinking well water which is not stationed far from suck-away, thereby mingling with the well water.

Medical facilities in all the prisons were almost collapsed. There were nurses alright but no drugs in the health Centre. As one female offender pointed out: "the prison officials often remind us that even 'hospitals outside' do not have drugs let alone the prisons medical Centre. "Thus, female offenders who are unable to buy drugs may end up dying. Fortunately, death rate has been low in the female section as reported by the prisoners, unlike the male section where male prisoners experience death daily.

Emergency cases of female offenders were usually referred to the general or teaching hospitals in that city. However, a few female inmates have been said to have developed strokes due to lack of medical attention by the prison authorities. Cases of mentally ill female prisoners were observed in each of the prisons. These prisoners were mixed up with other female prisoners. There was a particular case of a young girl

in Benin Prison. She was both mentally ill and epileptic. The prison officials claimed the family of the girl had abandoned her in prison.

Other unpleasant prison experiences pointed out by the respondents were the environment and the general sanitation in the prisons. In Kiri-kiri prison, female offenders complained of having to use their hands and buckets to remove excreta from the suck-away which was full and overflowing. Further, they complained that some times exposing stinking excreta were observed in the yard or compound. Furthermore, in Kaduna prison, the section to the female prison smells badly. Human excreta were observed within the yards which presented an unpleasant smell. Accounts of the situation of sanitation remained eventually the same in the prisons visited for this research, except for Oko prison which was relatively quite clean and apparently still very new.

At the personal level, the female prisoners claimed they had no bathing soap and sponge. Even when soap was provided once in a blue moon, it was usually very tiny. Therefore, the prisoners have to buy these things with their personal money, in order to avoid developing rashes. The same applies to things like sanitary towels or toilet tissue and soap for washing clothes. Those who cannot afford these things particularly sanitary towels resort to unsafe alternatives such as using discarded clothing or cut bed foam, which were washed and re-used. The effects of imprisonment is felt most among female offenders during "lucked up". The reality of being a prisoner is deeply felt. They feel alone and imprisoned both physically and mentally.

The searching of prisoners cells was highly distasted by the female prisoners. Frequently, prison officials come to their cells in search of contraband, such as news papers, magazines, radio, money and so on. Bodily searchers to reveal any hidden

materials or money were also embanked on. Female prisoners consider these bodily and cell searches as humiliating. During such searches the prison officials usually make away with any thing they consider contraband. A female prisoner in Kiri-kiri prison had this to say:

I could not go to court for a long time due to lack of taxi money. The prisons authority does not provide us with vehicles. So, I had to beg for money from people. But the evening before the day I was to appear in court, prison officials 'invaded' our cells, in search of contraband. They made away with my taxi money. I begged them but they refused to listen to me. The next thing they did was to send for soft drinks with the money. They sat down in my presence and drank everything. They told me the money was 'exhibit'. I felt very helpless and miserable. It took me several days to recover from the pains and shock I went through.

Finally, the admission of teenagers in prisons was viewed as one of the unpleasant prison experiences by female prisoners. According to them, the teenagers get corrupted by mixing up with "hardened criminals" who train them on all criminal tricks of survival both in the prison and outside. The teenagers are traumatized by the experience of imprisonment, hardened by the travails of prison life and they come out more deviant and criminal than they went in. This situation, as the female prisoners stated is very rampant in the male section.

These findings accord with the observations of CLO (1993). CLO found that if a detainee committed minor offense, such as fighting or even stealing a small amount of money, he would be dealt with by the "O. C. Torture" within the cell, for disgracing their "profession" by committing minor offences. If on the other hand the new detainee is brought in because of a serious criminal offense such as armed robbery, he would be praised and given a more dignified treatment" (CLO, 1993:16).

Table 10: Female Offenders and Perception of Prison Experiences.

Description of prison experiences	Frequency	Percent
Horrible	76	47.1
Very bad	65	43.3
bad	9	6.3
Alright	5	3.3
Column Total	150	100.0
Most Pleasant Prison Condition		
Religious activities	82	54.8
'Opened up'	47	31.3
Workshop	11	7.3
Siesta	5	3.3
Nothing	5	3.3
Column Total	150	100.0
Most unpleasant prison condition		
Bad feeding, drinking well water and lack of medical facilities;	89	59.3
cutting grass, using hands and buckets to empty excreta from suck away and the general sanitation.	46	30.7
The admission of teenagers in prisons, 'lucked up' and the searching of cells.	9	6.0
Column Total	150	100.0

6.3.4. Perception of Crime and Crime Control by Female Offenders.

The information on the perceptions of crime and crime control by female offenders are presented in Table 11. A very high percentage (85.3%) of the respondents associated unemployment, economic hardship and financial difficulties with female criminality in Nigeria. A very high proportion (94.0%) of female offenders claimed they personally got involved in crime due to the general economic hardship, unemployment and the 'get rich quick' syndrome in the country. Other reasons associated with female criminality were greedy government, frustration, family problems and injustice within the country and the criminal justice system.

It has been documented in criminological literature that economic hardship and financial difficulties lead to frustration which manifest itself in different forms. Such as fighting, murder cases, stealing, armed robbery and drug trafficking. For instance, Radosh (1993) observed that women who commit crimes most frequently come from the ranks of the poor who are frustrated by declining economic opportunity. Also women suffer intensely in the face of unemployment. She found that in periods of unemployment, women are often perceived as expendable labour sources.

The respondents claimed that bad and greedy government contribute to crimes in Nigeria. Records have shown that successive governments in Nigeria have always neglected the needs and interest of the masses particularly women. The urge to loot public property had always be the priorities of all successive governments in Nigeria since independence. This attitude had left so many Nigerians impoverished particularly women. This finding support the work of (Odekunle, 1978 ; 1988; Alemika, 1990; Quinney, 1975; 1977).

Ill-health was another reason associated with criminal behaviour by the respondents. Ill-health sometime leads to unpremeditated crimes particularly murder crimes. We observed a particular case of a female offender in Oko prison. She narrated her ordeal thus:

I woke up and found myself in prison. They said, I killed somebody. I did not know when I did it, and what I was doing. I was very ill at the time of this incident. I was unconscious of my behaviour. Now that I am well, they have refused to release me. Please, help me beg the government to forgive me and release me.

A large proportion (73.4%) of the respondents claimed that law enforcement authorities ignore some known criminals. The reasons for their responses are shown in Table 11.

The criminal justice system as it is today has a reputation of injustice and corruption. The affluent the respondents claimed, buy themselves out of any criminal indictment and use their power and wealth to manipulate the laws and the entire criminal justice system. One of the female prisoners in Kiri-kiri prison sadly put it this way: "Criminal Justice officials do not judge the truth, they judge money." Thus, the poor and powerless are scape goat and vastly over-represented in the official statistics. These findings accord with the findings of some criminological researchers (Odekunle, 1978; Alemika and Best, 1988). For instance, Alemika and Best stated that in Nigeria, leadership is synonymous with roguery and self-seeking, a way to amass quick money. Thus, there is concealment and normalization of the crimes of the rich. Successive state governors/administrators, both military and politicians, business individuals, foreigners etc, who loot billions of Naira from the country's treasury and precipitate years of economic crisis, political instability, shortage of life-sustaining resources which has resulted in death of so many people, destitution, mental instability etc., are hardly

arrested, prosecuted nor jailed. Instead they are rewarded with chieftaincy titles, honorary degrees, ministerial appointments, contracts and the like (Alemika and Best, 1988). It has been well documented that crimes of armed robbery, stealing, theft etc have caused Nigeria far less harm than the corruption, roguery and mismanagement of the country's leadership since independence (Alemika and Best, 1988).

To control female criminality in Nigeria a very high percentage (89.4%) of the respondents suggested that equal opportunities for education, employment and other spheres of life must be given to everyone irrespective of sex and socio-economic background or State of origin. Also, there should be a radical change to reflect equal distribution of wealth of society, payment of alimony in case of divorce, monogamous marriages and equal distribution of family responsibilities.

These findings are explained in the sense that historically in Nigeria, women have been known to experience discrimination in all spheres of life - within the family, work place and society at large. For instance, within the family, where parents are unable to sponsor the education of their children, it is usually the female children who are withdrawn from school and married out for bride wealth to enable them pay their brothers' school fees. The effect of such attitude is that the female's educational opportunity is ruined, and her future enterprises destroyed.

Women constitute labour reserve. They are found in occupations that are extension of domestic work, such as nursing, teaching, secretaries etc. Women are employed in the labour force in greater numbers than at any other time, but they are employed in jobs aligned with traditional, sexual division of labour and are associated with low status, low remuneration, little professional authority and so on. Radosh (1993) found that 99% of all secretaries, 97% of all receptionists, 97% of child care workers,

and 96% of registered nurses are women (US Bureau of census 1984) quoted by Radosh 1993:279).

Monogamous marriages and payment of alimony in case of divorce were also recommended by the respondents. Many Nigerian families particularly, the rural areas practise polygyny, popularly known as polygamy - one man to plural wives. It has been documented that this pattern of relationship gives room to exploitation, oppression, subordination and powerlessness of the women. In most polygynous marriages, each woman usually takes responsibilities for supporting herself and her children (Ozo-Eson, 1987; WIN Document, 1985). Polygyny breeds corruption, favouritism, 'husband-wife' violence and 'co-wives' violence. These domestic violence sometime result in non-premeditated murders as the respondents revealed in this study.

In Nigeria society, divorce and widowhood are almost like a "crime" for women. A divorced wife has no right to take away any property acquired by the partners during the period of their marriage. In the same vein, a widow is deprived of the property she created with her husband. She becomes a total stranger in the house she had helped to build (Ozo-Eson, 1987). All these behavioral patterns are perpetuated in the name of culture, undermining that such cultural factors usually result in criminogenic state. For instance, a woman who lost her husband and at the same time deprived of her late husband's property including the house they built together and forced into the street like 'a prodigal child' because the culture demands so, is likely to "innovate" in drug trafficking.

Thus, while we must retain our precious heritage - culture, there is the need to eradicate some cultural behaviours that consider certain categories of individuals as inferior or sub-human.

Table 11: Perceptions of Crime and Crime Control by Female Offenders.

Causes of Crime	Frequency	Percent.
Unemployment, economic hardship and financial difficulties.	128	85.3
Bad and greedy government.	17	11.4
Frustration and family problems	5	3.4
Column Total	150	100
Reasons for personal involvement in crime		
The general economic hardship in the country, unemployment and desire to get rich quick.	141	94.0
Injustice within the country and particularly, within the criminal justice system.	6	4.0
Ill-health.	3	2.1
Column Total	150	100.0
Do law enforcement authorities ignore some known criminals?		
Yes	110	73.4
No	40	26.6
Column Total	150	100.0
Reasons for ignoring known criminals		
The general corruption in society, particularly within the criminal justice system.	128	85.3
Lack of evidence.	22	14.7
Column Total	150	100

What do you think can be done to control female crimes?		
Equal opportunity for education, employment and short sentences.	74	49.4
A radical change to reflect equal distribution of wealth of society, payment of alimony in case of divorce, monogamous marriages and equal distribution of family responsibilities.	60	40.0
Control of inflation, provision of stores at affordable prices for market women and serious prayers for Nigeria.	16	10.
Column Total	150	100.0

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6.4. Social Characteristics Of Criminal Justice Officials.

The information on the social background of criminal justice officials in the sample for the study are presented in Table 12. The majority of criminal justice officials in the sample were 49 years old or younger. Only 3.3% were 50 years or older. The respondents who had university education were 24.7% while secondary education was 38.7%.

A majority (54.0%) of the respondents had been employed for 9 years and above.

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Table 12 : Social Backgrounds of Criminal Justice Officials

Age	Frequency	Percent
Under 20	1	.7
20-29	44	29.3
30-39	71	47.3
40-49	29	19.3
50 and above	5	3.3
Column Total.	150	100.0
Education	Frequency	Percent
None	1	.7
Primary	24	16
Secondary	58	38.7
Post Secondary non-University	30	20.0
University.	37	24.7
Column Total	150	100.0
Length of employment	Frequency	Percent
under 1 year	6	4.0
1 - 4 years	39	26.0
5 - 8	24	16.0
9 and above	81	54.0
Column Total	150	100.0

6.4.1 Perception of Female Offenders by Criminal Justice Officials.

Table 13 presents the data on the perception of female offenders by criminal justice officials. The objective here is to provide useful information for the understanding and control of female criminality. This is necessary because criminal justice officials are familiar with female offenders and their problems. Thus, information elicited from them would not only enhance this study but would provide a better understanding of female crimes and crime control.

The bulk (85.0%) of the respondents claimed that more women are being arrested in the last 5 years. A very high percentage (85.0%) attributed the reasons for this increase to economic hardship in the country, excessive desire for wealth, and deteriorating morality in Nigeria. The crimes responsible for increasing arrests are identified in the Table, with drug trafficking (50.7%) standing out high above all other offenses.

These findings accord with the findings of some criminological researchers (Ebbe, 1985; Oloruntimehin, 1981). Odekunle (1978) argued that economic hardship and excessive desire for wealth (greed) have become features of Nigerian society. The ruling class continue to loot public property and amass wealth for themselves, and this has led to the impoverishment of the masses and increase in criminal behaviour. Oloruntimehin (1981) and Ebbe (1985) observed that the types of crimes committed by Nigerian women are socio-cultural and economically related. They include mainly drug trafficking and other petty crimes.

More than two-third (68%) of the respondents claimed they find it easier to handle female offenders while (32.0%) claimed they find it more difficult. The reasons for their responses are also stated in the Table. Almost half (49.0%) of law enforcement officials

(Police) claimed they accord female offenders favourable treatment during arrest. The reasons are that women are less troublesome than male offenders, the majority of female offenders are young and first offenders lured into criminal activities, they commit minor offenses and their involvement in criminal activities are mostly accidental. However, (66.0%) of the respondents (prosecutors) claimed they treat both female and male offenders the same, while (10%) claimed they are stricter with female offenders than male.

Finally, the most important factor which motivates criminal justice officials to arrest, prosecute, and sentence/jail an offender is the seriousness of the offense. This was represented by more than (83%) of the respondents. These findings support the findings of (Visher 1983; Heidensohn, 1993; Curran, 1983). Visher (1983) and Heidensohn (1993) found that favourable treatment for female offenders (chivalry) only appears to extend to some women and not to others as against the general belief that chivalry extend to all women. Women who violate gender expectations and are hostile or aggressive are denied preferential treatment by the police, and courts. Also, those who engage in criminal activities in public places or at night go against sex-role behaviour and are denied chivalrous treatment. Further, those who engage in non-feminine types of crimes, may be denied chivalrous treatment. They argued that infact, these women may receive more severe sanctions from the criminal justice system for transcending the confined limit of sex-role behaviour. Curran (1983) found that seriousness of the offense, among others rather than the sex of offenders play significant roles in handling cases of arrest, prosecution, sentencing and incarceration.

Table 13 : Perception of Female Offenders by Criminal Justice Officials.

Are more women arrested in the last 5 years?	Frequency	Percent.
Yes	121	85.0
No	22	15.0
Column Total	143	100.0
Reasons for increase in arrest	Frequency	Percent.
Deteriorating morality in Nigeria.	29	20.0
Lack of parental care.	9	6.0
Women liberation.	12	9.0
Economic hardship in the country.	64	45.0
Excessive desire for wealth.	28	20.0
Column Total	142	100.0
Crimes responsible for increasing arrest	Frequency	Percent.
Abortion	9	6.0
criminal conspiracy	4	2.7
Cheating / fraud	9	6.0
Drug trafficking	76	50.7
Smuggling	4	2.7
Enticement	3	2.0
Prostitution	11	7.3
Disturbance of the peace.	2	1.3
Child stealing	5	3.3
Child abandonment	4	2.7
Infanticide	3	2.0
Theft/Stealing	10	6.7
Armed Robbery	3	2.0
Fighting/assault	5	3.3
Murder	2	1.3
Column Total	150	100.0
Do you find it more difficult or easier to handle female offender	Frequency	Percent.
Easier	95	68.0
More difficult	44	34.0
Column Total	139	100.0

Reasons for saying easier	Frequency	Percent.
It is easier to extract truth from them	14	14.0
They are more obedient	50	50.0
They are not hardened criminals like men	36	36.0
They never contemplate escape	1	10.0
Column Total	101	100.0
Reasons for saying more difficult	Frequency	Percent.
Female offenders sometime have temperament	8	18.0
Some of them have "strong connections" with high criminal justice officials.	6	14.0
They expect criminal justice officials to treat them differently because they are women.	30	68.0
Column Total	44	100.0
Do you give female offenders favourable treatment at the time of arrest?	Frequency	Percent.
Yes	55	49.0
No	57	51.0
Column Total	112	100.0
Reasons for favourable treatment	Frequency	Percent.
They are less troublesome than male offenders	45	62.0
A majority of them are first offenders.	5	7.0
Most female offenders are young women lured into criminal activities.	15	21.0
They commit minor offenses.	4	6.0
Their involvement in criminal activities are mostly accidental.	3	4.0
Column Total	72	100.0
Are you stricter or more lenient with female offenders during prosecution?	Frequency	Percent.
Stricter	13	10.0
More lenient	32	24.0
Treat them the same as men.	86	66.0
Column Total	131	100.0

Reasons for being more lenient	Frequency	Percent.
They easily feel sorry for their crimes	10	31
They commit less serious crimes	12	38
It is traditional to be lenient with women.	10	31
Column Total.	32	100.0
Do you accord women more favourable sentence?	Frequency	Percent.
Yes	17	19.0
No	74	81.0
Column Total	91	100.0
Reasons for favourable sentences	Frequency	Percent.
Women admit their guilt easily	7	41.2
They are usually accomplices	5	29.4
The majority of them are first offenders	5	29.4
Column Total	17	100.0
What factors motivate you to arrest female offender?	Frequency	Percent.
Seriousness of the offense.	75	84.0
Socio-economic background.	4	5.0
Demeanour/sex of the offender	10	11.0
Column Total	89	100.0
What factors motivate you to prosecute female offender?	Frequency	Percent.
Seriousness of the offense.	76	95.0
Socio-economic background.	2	3.0
Demeanour/sex of the offender	2	3.0
Column Total	80	100.0
What factors motivate you to sentence female offender?	Frequency	Percent.
Seriousness of the offense,	76	97.4
socio-economic background.	1	1.3
Demeanour/sex of the offender	1	1.3
Column Total	78	100.0

6.4.2. Criminal Justice Officials and Current Female Crime Control Measures.

The information on perception of criminal justice officials on current female crime control measures are presented in Table 14. Apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment accounted for a very high percentage (74.0%) of female crime control measures in Nigeria. These control measures are not different from that of male offenders. Both males and females are exposed to general control measures. The details on the effectiveness of these measures and the general welfare of female offenders are shown in the table. More than (55%) of the respondents described the welfare of female offenders as bad, very bad and deplorable.

These findings are in line with the findings of some researchers (Alemika, 1990; CLO, 1993). Alemika (1990) observed that the existing crime control measures are largely very punitive. They tend to rely on solving the crime problem by means of legal repression without adequate attention to the economic-political determinants of such behaviours that are capable of being manipulated to reduce crime rates by providing potential offenders with non-criminal values and means of livelihood. CLO (1993) also observed that the welfare of female prisoners are far below the standard set by the United Nations.

To control female criminality in Nigeria, a very high percentage (80.7%) of the respondents suggested good education and job opportunities for all. Among other suggestions were the prohibition of forced and early marriages (8.7%) and stronger family ties/family planning (3.3%). These suggestions from criminal justice officials derived from their interaction with female offenders. Just as we have mentioned earlier, women have always being denied equal opportunities in education, job opportunities and the like. These denials are usually likely to produce criminogenic conditions.

Forced and early marriages are very rampant in the rural areas of Nigeria. These women find themselves in marriages without even understanding what they have been forced into or what marriage is all about. Most of them become frustrated, angry and marginalized. Most of these marriages finally end up as broken homes. The effects of broken marriages are very costly to society. They create criminogenic conditions - lack of parental care, child abuse, etc.

There is a sexist and discriminatory application of some of Nigerian laws, for instance, the abortion and child abandonment laws. It is usually women who are arrested, prosecuted and imprisoned for abortion and child abandonment. The men who lured these naive and innocent girls with money and sweet promises, got them impregnated are never questioned or mentioned in the processes of arrest, prosecution and sentencing. Instead the court and its agencies, empower such men; they go about and impregnate other young women and the vicious circle of abortion, child abandonment and imprisonment of these girls continues.

Table 14: Criminal justice officials and Current female crime control measures

What are the current control measures for female crimes?	Frequency	Percent
Apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment.	96	74.0
Police Patrol.	2	2.0
Training and Rehabilitation, religious knowledge and campaign against crime.	23	25.0
Column Total	130	100.0
Are these measures different from that of male offenders?	Frequency	Percent.
Yes	2	2.0
No	131	98.0
Column total	133	100.0
How would you describe the effectiveness of these measures?	Frequency	Percent.
Very effective	12	10.0
Relatively effective	67	55.0
Ineffective	42	35.0
Column Total	121	100.0
How would you describe the general welfare of female offenders?	Frequency	Percent.
Good	52	42.0
Bad	45	36.0
Very bad	19	15.0.
Deplorable	8	7.0
Column Total	124	100.0
What are your suggestions for the control of female criminality in Nigeria	Frequency	Percent.
Good education and job opportunities for all.	121	80.7
Radical change in Nigerian society.	3	2.0
Stronger family ties/family planning.	5	3.3
Law should be applied equally to both the rich and the poor; and moral education .	5	3.3
Prohibition of forced and early marriages.	13	8.7
Rehabilitation centers should be created for ex-convicts to enable them adjust into the society.	3	2.0
Column Total	150	100.0

6.5. Social Characteristics of Criminal Justice Officials and Their Perception of Female Offenders.

The information on the social background of criminal justice officials are cross-tabulated with their perception of female offenders in Table 15. A very high percentage (95.7%) of the respondents who had been employed for a period of 5-8 years claimed that more women are being arrested in the last 5 years.

This analysis is important in the sense that the more years in employment the more experience and thus, in a better position to assess women's contribution to crimes.

Also 87.8% of the respondents in 20 to 29 years age category, 82.1% of those in 30 to 39 years age category, 86.2% of those in 40 to 49 years age category as well as those in 50 years and above age category, stated that more women are being arrested in the last 5 years. A similar trend was observed when the question was asked against Highest educational level. A very high proportion more than (71%) of the respondents of all educational levels, claimed that more women are being arrested in the last 5 years.

A very high percentage (83.3%) of respondents who were employed under 1 year claimed they find it more easier to handle female offenders. However, more than (67%) of age category 49 years and younger claimed they find it easier to handle female offenders. However, there was no striking differences in the percentage distributions of length of employment, age, and highest educational level and favourable treatment of female offenders at the time of arrest.

Among respondents who had been employed for 1 to 4 years, (76.7%) claimed they treat female offenders and male the same during prosecution while among 5 to 8 years of employment (68.4%) claimed they treat both the same.

Also 75% of respondents who had post secondary (non-university) education, and 81% of those who had university education, claimed they treat female offenders and male the same during prosecution.

A high percentage (84.2%) of respondents who were employed for 5 to 8 years claimed they do not accord women favourable sentences. Also (91.7%) of age category 20 to 29 years claimed they do not accord female offenders favourable treatment during sentencing

More than (75%) of the respondents of educational level secondary to university degree, claimed they do not accord women favourable sentences. These findings seem to contradict the findings of some criminologists who argued that women are usually favored in arrests, prosecutions and sentencing (Polak, 1950). This is more important, as this finding supports our earlier finding from the female offenders that they were given harsher treatment by the trial judges for involving themselves in crime and behaving 'unwomanly'

Table 15 : Cross tabulation of the social background of criminal justice officials and their perception of female offenders.

Are more women being arrested in the last 5 years?			
Length of employment	Yes	No	Row Total
Under 1 year.	50.0	50.0	6 (4.2)
1 - 4 years	77.1	22.9	35 (24.5)
5 - 8 years	95.7	4.3	23 (16.1)
9 years and above	87.3	12.7	79 (55.2)
Column Total	121(84.6)	22 (15.4)	143 (100.0)
Are more women being arrested in the last 5 years?			
Age			
under 20	100.0	-	1 (.7)
20 - 29	87.8	12.2	41 (28.7)
30 - 39	82.1	17.9	67 (46.9)
40 - 49	86.2	13.8	29 (20.3)
50 and above.	80.0	20.0	5 (3.5)
Column Total	121 (84.6)	22 (15.4)	143 (100.0)
Are more women being arrested in the last 5 years?			
Highest educational level.			
None	100.0	-	1 (.7)
Primary	83.3	16.7	24 (16.8)
Secondary	93.0	7.0	57 (39.9)
Post secondary (non-University)	82.8	17.2	29 (20.3)
University	71.9	28.1	32 (22.4)
Column total	121(84.6)	22 (15.4)	143 (100.0)
Do you find it easier or more difficult in handling female offenders.			
Length of Employment	Easier	More difficult	Row Total
under 1 year	83.3	16.7	6 (4.3)
1 - 4 years.	58.8	41.2	34 (24.5)
5 - 8 years.	77.3	22.7	22 (15.8)
9 years and above.	68.8	31.2	77 (55.4)
Column Total	95 (68.3)	44 (31.7)	139 (100.0)

Do you find it easier or more difficult in handling female offenders			
Age			
under 20	100.0	-	1 (.7)
20 - 29	70.0	30.0	40 (28.8)
30 - 39	67.7	32.3	65 (46.8)
40 - 49	69.0	31.0	29 (20.9)
50 and above	50.0	50.0	4 (2.9)
Column Total	95 (68.3)	44 (31.7)	139 (100.0)
Do you find it easier or more difficult in handling female Offenders			
Highest Educational level.			
None	100.0	-	1 (.7)
Primary	66.7	33.3	24 (17.3)
Secondary	68.4	31.6	57 (41.0)
Post Secondary (non University)	56.7	43.3	30 (21.6)
University.	81.5	18.5	27 (19.4)
Column Total	95 (68.3)	44 (31.7)	139 (100.0)
Do you give female offenders favourable treatment at the time of arrest?			
Length of employment.	Yes	No	
Under 1 year	40.0	60.0	5 (4.5)
1 - 4 years.	50.0	50.0	20 (17.9)
5 - 8 years.	47.4	52.6	19 (17.0)
9 years and above	50.0	50.0	68 (60.7)
Column Total.	55 (49.1)	57 (50.9)	112 (100.0)
Do you give female offenders favourable treatment at the time of arrest			
Age			
under 20	-	100.0	1 (.9)
20 - 29	54.8	45.2	31 (27.7)
30 - 39	46.9	53.1	49 (43.8)
40 - 49	46.4	53.6	28 (25.0)
50 and above	66.7	33.3	3 (2.7)
Column Total	55 (49.1)	57 (50.9)	112 (100.0)

Do you give female offenders favourable treatment at the time of arrest?			
Highest Educational level.			
Primary	31.8	68.2	22 (19.6)
Secondary	53.7	46.3	54 (48.2)
Post Secondary (non university)	55.0	45.0	20 (17.9)
University.	50.0	50.0	16 (14.3)
Column Total	55 (49.1)	57 (50.9)	112 (100.0)

Are you stricter or more lenient with female offender during prosecution?

Length of employment	Stricter	More lenient	Treat them the same	Row total
under 1 year	16.7	33.3	50.0	6 (4.6)
1 - 4 years	13.3	10.0	76.7	30 (22.9)
5 - 8 years	10.5	21.1	68.4	19 (14.5)
9 years and above	7.9	30.3	61.8	76 (58.0)
Column total	13 (9.9)	32 (24.4)	86 (65.6)	131(100.0)

Are you stricter or more lenient with female offenders during prosecution?

Age				
under 20	-	-	100.0	1 (.8)
20 - 29	14.3	17.1	68.6	35 (26.7)
30 - 39	6.5	29.0	64.5	62 (47.3)
40 - 49	14.3	25.0	60.7	28 (21.4)
50 and above	-	20.0	80.0	5 (3.8)
Column Total	13 (9.9)	32 (24.4)	86 (65.6)	131(100.0)

Are you stricter or more lenient with female offenders during prosecution?

Highest educational level				
None	-	-	100.0	1 (.8)
Primary	9.1	27.3	63.6	22 (16.8)
Secondary	17.0	30.2	52.8	53 (40.5)
Post secondary (non University)	3.6	21.4	75.0	28 (21.4)
University	3.7	14.8	81.5	27 (20.6)
Column Total	13 (9.9)	32 (24.4)	86 (65.6)	131(100.0)

Do you accord women more favourable sentences?			
Length of Employment.	Yes	No	Row Total
Under 1 year.	-	100.0	5 (5.5)
1 - 4 years.	15	84.2	19 (20.9)
5 - 8 years	28.6	71.4	14 (15.4)
9 years and above.	18.9	81.1	53 (58.2)
Column Total	17 (18.7)	74 (81.3)	91(100.0)
Do you accord women more favourable sentences?			
Age			
Under 20	-	100.0	1 (1.1)
20 - 29	8.3	91.7	24 (26.4)
30 - 39	17.1	82.9	41 (45.1)
40 - 49	28.6	71.4	21 (23.1)
50 and above	50.0	50.0	4 (4.4)
Column total	17 (18.7)	74 (81.3)	91 (100.0)
Do you accord women more favourable sentences?			
Highest educational level			
Primary	21.1	78.9	19 (20.9)
Secondary	21.6	78.4	37 (40.7)
Post secondary (non University)	5.3	94.7	19 (20.9)
University	52.0	75.0	16 (17.6)
Column Total	17 (18.7)	74 (81.3)	91(100.0)

6. 6. A comparative discussion of the perceptions of female offenders and criminal justice officials on crime and criminal justice.

From the data obtained in this study, both female offenders and criminal justice officials share certain beliefs. For instance, both agreed that more women are involved in criminal activities now than in the past. However, female offenders still commit crimes traditionally associated with women, such as stealing/theft, assault/fighting, fraud, drug trafficking, and prostitution. Other crimes mentioned were infanticide and abortion. But, drug trafficking offense occupied the highest percentage of all female offenses. These were expressed in the data as reported by female offenders themselves (52.7%) and criminal justice officials (50.7%) respectively.

Also, it was the perception of both the female offenders and criminal justice officials that female criminals are not hardened criminals unlike their male counterparts. Female offenders are eager to accept their guilt, repentant for their crimes and never contemplate escapes. Further, female offenders are mostly first offenders. This was confirmed in the data which showed that (94.2%) of female offenders had no previous criminal record.

Both female offenders and criminal justice officials perceived that even though female criminality has been on the increase, when compared with male crimes, female crimes become very minimal. However, both agreed that the problem of female criminality is real, irrespective of its minimal contribution to official crime figures.

The perception on the 'causes' of crime from the point of view of criminal justice officials and female offenders were similar. Economic hardship, unemployment, desire for wealth, government greed and early marriages were some of the reasons mentioned. They all associated economic hardship as the primary factor for women's

involvement in criminal activities. The major area where the perception of female offenders and criminal justice officials differed was in their experiences with the criminal justice system. Some female offenders claimed they were ill-treated, deceived, mis-handled and abused by some criminal justice officials. The police forced them to make confessional statements, while the judges were biased against them in the administration of justice. Further, female offenders claimed they have no faith in the criminal justice system. They believe that bribery and corruption do not allow justice to prevail. As they put it, "wealthy guilty persons can always buy themselves out of jail; it is us only the poor that are kept in the prison". Nevertheless, criminal justice officials claimed, that only "stuburn" female offenders who refuse to co-operate with them are subject to ill-treatment.

The current control measures for both female and male criminals are based mostly on apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment as the data revealed. The perception of both female offenders and criminal justice officials on these control measures are similar. They believe that there is a lot more the government can do, like providing the basic needs for existence, than just locking individuals in prisons. They stated that to control crimes in Nigeria, good education and job opportunities must be provided for all irrespective of socio-economic background or state of origin. In addition, sexism in all its manifestations and in all spheres of life should be eradicated. Other control measures mentioned were campaign against crimes, abortion and forced/early marriages.

On the whole, the conditions or welfare of female offenders were said to be better than that of their male counterparts, in terms of accommodation, medical facilities and

so on. However, this was 'only possible because of the fewer numbers of female offenders as against male.

But in comparison with the standard set by the United Nations for female prisoners, the conditions of female prisoners in Nigeria is considered to be far below standard.

The proceeding chapter focuses on discussion and conclusion.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction.

This study analysed the pattern, trend and control of female criminality in Nigeria. In this way, this study examines patterns and trends of crimes committed by women in the country, as reported/recorded by the Police and Prisons; the patterns and trends of crimes as reported by the prisoners themselves and criminal justice officials; the reasons advanced by women offenders for involving themselves in criminal activities; reasons associated with crimes in society as given by criminal justice officials; and the correctional measures and facilities for women convicts in Nigeria. Suggestions on crime control measures were also given. Essentially the research was based on descriptive and narrative analyses of the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria from 1983 to 1992.

The different theoretical perspectives on crime and female criminality were discussed in the research. These include, physiological, psychological and sociological models including Marxist or radical theory. Others were the female sex-role, women liberation/opportunity, and the strain theory. However, women liberation - legitimate and illegitimate opportunities theory was combined with Strain theory and female sex-role theory to explain female criminality in Nigeria.

7.2. Major Findings.

7.2. 1. Social Characteristics of Female Offenders.

In this research, we analysed the social characteristics of a sample of female offenders in Nigeria. Generally, the majority of them were 39 years old or younger.

Only 1.3% were 50 years old or older. This is significant because the former age category is much more vulnerable to the problems of society, and also much demands and pressure are brought to bear on people under forty years.

More than two-thirds (68%) of the respondents had secondary and post-secondary (non-university) education. This proportion is probably higher than what obtains in the population. Moreover, drug trafficking which is crime the majority of female offenders committed is an international crime and a fairly good education is required to facilitate the business. This is exemplified by the high percentage (92.3%) of women in prisons who had university degree, were involved in drug trafficking offense. This finding also confirmed our earlier expectation that female offenders were more likely to be literate than being illiterate, in line with the propositions derivable from the 'women liberation' and 'differential opportunity' perspectives of female criminality.

The findings showed that a significant proportion (67.3%) of female offenders were alienated from their spouse before their arrest (unmarried, widowed, divorced, and separated). However, 32.7% of the female offenders were married.

A significant proportion of the female offenders, (more than 42.0%) had no employment or regular income at the time of apprehension. Also, the findings showed that the majority of female offenders (83.3%) were resident in urban areas before their incarceration. This is associated with the effects of rapid urbanization, rural-urban migration and inadequate opportunities to meet both developments. Many young school leavers go to cities hoping to get employment and 'better life'. Soon, their hopes and aspiration of job opportunities shattered, as anticipated jobs are not forthcoming. Further, the traditional norms and values which acted as checks on the behaviour of the individuals are lacking in urban areas due to diversity of backgrounds and cultures, thus,

there is nothing for them to serve as culture - induced social control. They fall prey as prostitutes, drug traffickers or any other crime that would give them 'quick money'.

The findings show that almost all female offenders (97.0%) had no previous criminal record. This shows that in Nigeria, female offenders are mostly first offenders.

7.2.2. Patterns Of Female Crimes.

The findings of this research showed that women still largely commit crimes that are traditionally associated with women, such as fighting, stealing, grievous harm and wounding, abortion, and child stealing. The findings showed that female offenders were arrested for property crimes, including drug trafficking, than personal crimes. Drug trafficking and other property offenses accounted for (more than 70%) of all reported crimes. The percentage of drug trafficking alone was more than half (52.7%) of the total crime. Drug trafficking is a way of making 'quick money.'

Women who were in prison custody for crime against persons (murder or manslaughter) as revealed by the respondents, were involved in such crimes through domestically related conflicts. They did not kill or assault strangers or acquaintances for monetary motives. Rather, their victims were intimates such as spouses, lovers, children, parents, co-wives (mates), co-tenants and the like.

7.2.3. Trend Of Female Crimes.

The findings of this research showed a general upward trend in gender distribution of prison admission and police arrest from 1983 to 1992. However, while in some years there were consistent increases, other years experienced decline. This notwithstanding, the overall trend for female crime is increase. But when the trend was

analysed by gender, women contribution was very small as compared to men. The same trend was observed in police arrests in Plateau and Lagos States.

7.2.4. Reasons Female Offenders Associated with their Criminality.

Most female offenders (more than 90%) gave economic reasons - economic hardships, unemployment, frustration, strain, unfulfilled desires, and family responsibilities as the predisposing influence on their involvement in crime. Both genders are influenced by similar social, economic, and legal forces, independent of any condition unique to a particular sex.

7.2.5. Control of Female Criminality.

The crime control measures in Nigeria are generally the same for male and female. The whole system is mostly based on apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment. The whole process of control measure is generally repressive. The system is like what Bouza (1993) called "lock-'em-up-and-throw-away-the key" approach. This response to crime is aggressive and they have rarely worked. Moreover, the repressive measures of apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment seem to contradict what female offenders associated with their criminality. Effective control measures for crime in society should be based on the factors which women associated with their criminality, namely, unemployment, economic hardship, strain, inequality, greed of the ruling class and the like. Moreover, alternatives to incarceration, such as solving the problems of poverty, discrimination, inequality, hopelessness, bad economic policies, mismanagement of public funds and stealing/looting of public money etc, were highly favoured by female offenders themselves.

Among the findings of this research was that the rehabilitation of female offenders, that is, providing them with vocational training to occupy them during imprisonment and there after, is almost a failure. These centres lack the facilities to carry out the rehabilitation programmes. The centres depend on the charity of individuals and religious bodies for most of their material needs. Thus, the purpose of establishing these programmes had been grossly undermined.

7.3. Discussion.

Criminology over time has concentrated on the study of crimes and criminals. However, most criminological books have been on male criminals. This has made it impossible to address and treat the problem of female criminals and their victims. The field of criminology should direct more attention than before to writing books and research on female criminality. It is obvious that the problem of female criminality is real, and therefore criminological information should be about female criminals as well as male criminals.

It is equally significant for society to address the problem of women who commit crimes. The society need to re-define her priority and address the socio-cultural and economic factors associated with crimes. The implication here is that, the problem of poverty, inequality, sexism, and other deprivations suffered by women in the name of preservation of culture have to be addressed. The society must put pressure on the government or ruling class to address the needs of the masses instead of viewing the prisoners as the sole "enemy" of society. Further, the society should be ready to accept ex-prisoners back and absorb them in the labour market. The significant of this is that

when they are re-habilitated and employed, this will greatly reduce their chances of going back to criminal activities.

It is significant that the society and the criminal justice system in particular, utilize the data presented, and their analyses, for the formulation of policies for an effective and efficient control of female criminality. The implication is that when our analyses are adopted in the formulation of policies, we shall be working towards a long-term crime control measures in Nigeria. Furthermore, less emphasis would be placed on repressive measures such as apprehension, prosecution and incarceration, while more emphasis would be on other controls such as the provision of the basic needs of life as suggested earlier. This will go a long way to reducing crime in society.

This research has created new awareness, consciousness and understanding of the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigerian society and criminology as a discipline. It has been shown that even though men and women are biologically different, the factors which motivate women to commit crime (socio-economic and others) are similar to that of men. And this information is very relevant in the control of female criminality in Nigeria and criminology as a discipline.

Female offenders must realise that as women become more assertive and liberated from traditional behaviour, the traditional tendency for law enforcement officials to be lenient with them will begin to disappear. The implication here is that chivalrous practices become minimal. Both criminal justice officials and female offenders must note that generally, the chivalrous practices will be minimal when society defines a crime as serious and set in motion machinery for its curtailment. Thus, women who commit serious offenses should expect the same treatment or punishment as their male counterparts.

7.4. Recommendations

In the light of this research, it is obvious that the criminal population generally is growing at a faster rate than the criminal justice system ability to cope. It is also obvious that the current control measures in Nigerian society contradict what female offenders associated with their criminality.

Criminality is mostly a product of socio-economic and political forces, over which the criminal justice system has no control. All the arrests, imprisonments, killings, and other modes of suppressing crime had failed to stem the rising tide of crime (Alemika, 1990). The concern of the government in solving the crime problem had been geared towards erecting more prisons to accommodate the ever increasing criminal population, hiring and training more police personnels, execution of armed robbers, creating more special military tribunals, cruel and unusual punishment, and creating more decrees some which are back dated. The fact remains that the fundamental issues as far as crime problem in Nigeria is concerned have not been raised, either by previous governments or the present military regime. The issues of poverty, 'the haves' and the 'have nots', oppression and exploitation, sexism, unequal distribution of the wealth of society simply are not addressed. Effective control measures for crime in Nigeria society must address these problems. We are of the opinion that if our social, political and economic systems make criminal behaviour inevitable, we must look to those conditions, and their correction, as the only viable hope for long-term control measures. In Nigeria today, many individuals have been rendered jobless as indicated in this research. Health has become a commodity to be sold and bought by the privileged few individuals. This was revealed by our respondents, when they mentioned that prisoners who cannot afford to buy drugs are left by themselves. The war against

poverty, injustice, "human inhumanity to human", the dilemma of female oppression should be addressed in any attempt to control female criminality in Nigeria. Economic opportunities for poor masses including women have declined significantly in the last two decades. Our research showed that women who commit crimes most frequently come from the ranks of the unemployed, no income, and frustrated by declining economic opportunity. The burden of supporting a family has become difficult for women especially single mothers and particularly when they are unemployed, underemployed or have no income at all. These problems are more complicated as Nigeria has no programmes such as child support, old age and unemployment scheme benefits. We therefore suggest that the government should institute such welfare programmes like unemployment support, child support, etc. to ameliorate the hardships of individual Nigerians. The successful control of female criminality in Nigeria can only be possible where all forms of injustice, oppression and exploitation, are drastically reduced. It follows that the solution to female criminality cannot be divorced from that of male - that is, the struggle to eliminate criminogenic conditions. The political, socio-economic policies of Nigeria should be geared towards meeting the basic needs of life such as food, shelter, clothing, and the like. This is more important when we realise that for the past two decades for women and men alike in Nigeria, their immediate concerns are simply how to exist, and it is the problems of the struggle for existence that sometime create criminality.

To add to the above, the specific ways in which women are discriminated against should be addressed. For instance, in the areas of education, employment, child marriages, inheritance etc. In many families, particularly among the low income, male education is preferred to that of female (Ozo-Eson, 1984). This should not be so. Every

child should be given equal opportunity irrespective of the gender. This is more crucial as education enhances job opportunities in the labour market, serves as a function of high income and other opportunities.

Further, many cultures in Nigeria, consider a woman as the property of a man (either as father or husband). Thus, a woman is denied the rights of inheritance either from her own father or husband. All these have implications for long term solution to female criminality in Nigeria. The Nigeria law (both customary and statutes) should be reformed to remove all forms of female biases and to enable women own and inherit property like their male counterparts.

We would also suggest that a gender balanced curriculum in nursery, primary and secondary school levels should be introduced. The norms of comradeship, consideration and mutual respect should be taught early both at home and in schools. Material wealth should be de-emphasized in this new gender balanced curriculum. The norms of honesty, justice and fair play should be paramount. The end products of all this, would be a relatively just/egalitarian society and also less crime prone.

Injustice within the law and society has to be redressed urgently. Individuals among the ruling class (both past and present) who have looted Nigerian treasury which has resulted in economic and political crises should be apprehended, prosecuted and sentenced if found guilty. To buttress this point, I quote the head of State, General Sani Abacha:

The colossal waste of public funds through mismanagement, fraud, embezzlement and other white-collar crimes have contributed in no small measure to the poor state of our economy and social services (The Guardian, Tuesday May 21, 1996:1)

In the same vein, Alemika (1988) stated that:

in Nigeria leadership has become synonymous with roguery, self-seeking and a way to amass quick money. Thus, there is concealment and normalization of the crimes of the rich.

It is therefore our suggestion, that this problem should be corrected to reflect justice and fair play in society. Crime must be punished irrespective of who is involved if we are to control crime problem in Nigeria.

With reference to female offenders, suspects should be granted bail and the conditions for bail made affordable to the accused persons. A situation where almost half of the prisoners as reported in this study were awaiting trial represent gross violation of the human rights of the defendants. Suspects are deemed innocent until proven guilty, but many are already treated as if they were guilty, by their continual stay in prison custody. There is the need for judges/magistrates to liberalize the conditions for bail and reserve pre-trial detention for very serious offenses. Also, less serious offenses should be given an option of fine and set at such level that the convict will be able to avail herself of the opportunity.

The condition of services of the police and prisons need to be overhauled; their salaries, working conditions and the provision of amenities such as telephones, vehicles and fire arms so as to facilitate their work. A situation whereby armed robbers were sometime more armed and equipped than the police, as articulated by some of our respondents (criminal justice officials) should be avoided.

Further, the prisons and police need qualified personnels. The present poor staffing of the prisons and police needs to be redressed. In contemporary Nigeria where criminals have gone sophisticated, adequate trained personnel are needed to handle offenders. The present situation where (16.0%) of criminal justice officials still had ordinary primary school education as their highest educational qualification is highly

inadequate. This does not level with the type of criminals of today. Recruitment of highly qualified personnel - sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, lawyers, statisticians, computer scientists, and financial experts should be encouraged to handle female offenders. The present poor salary of prison staff and the police gives room to bribery, corruption and injustice within the system. As aptly stated by the female offenders, "the criminal justice officials sometimes administer 'injustice' instead of justice, as the highest 'bidder' eventually win the case". Furthermore, the working conditions of the police and prison officials must be generous and attractive like their counterparts in the customs and the army to attract young university graduates.

The perpetuation of military regimes in Nigeria has witnessed extensive criminalization of every behaviour considered anti-military. So many decrees are enacted frequently to protect the interest of the military oligarchy most of which are enacted retro-actively. Thus, transfer of government from military dictatorship to democratically elected civilian government will reduce criminalization process and criminality in Nigeria generally.

Finally, ex-convicts should be employed if they are to refrain from criminal activities. Family members of the ex-convicts must play crucial role, be ready to accept their members back into the family, and provide them with all necessary support.

7.5. Conclusion.

This research concerns patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria. We have been able to obtain information about the factors that women identify as disposing them to criminal activities in Nigeria. We also observed that the present

control measures in Nigeria do not give cognisance to the factors that female criminals attributed to their criminality.

Crime is a product of political, socio-economic processes and thus a long lasting measure of controlling crime must need the re-structuring of the nation's economic and political process to reflect justice, human dignity, personal liberties, national security, self-fulfillment and the like. All crime control policies and strategies should incorporate legal, economic, social, political measures designed to address criminality at its roots. The working for a more effective crime control measure is not one which can afford to concentrate all its efforts on the "criminals - i.e. how to destroy them all," but one that must recognize the complex inter-relationship of crime and criminality with overall societal development. That also means there can no longer be a separation of criminal policy from other social policies. Thus, planning for crime control becomes planning for political, economic and social development and vice versa (Oyayobi, 1990). Crime measures must reflect policies formulation and implementation for social change and development aimed at restructuring society in a manner that it becomes less crime-prone. That is, address problems of inequality, oppression and exploitation of the less privilege individuals of which women are in the majority, economic mismanagement and the like.

The relationship between economic, political and social structure and crime cannot be over emphasised. Where a country is politically, economically, structurally viable, and capable of producing a sound economy, it is also able to tackle many of the correlates of criminality such as poverty and unemployment . Similarly, such country has funds available for the development and improvement of overall social conditions, such as investing in education, health care services, housing, transportation etc., which

go a long way for crime prevention and effective criminal justice dispensation (Oyayobi, 1990).

Presently, the prisoners perceive the criminal justice system as a system for the exploitation and oppression of the marginalized masses in Nigeria. They termed it corrupt and unjust. This becomes more glaring when we look at the way criminal justice system handles cases of armed robbery, theft/stealing, abortion, child abandonment and so on. Offenders of these offenses are sentenced to imprisonment and in cases of armed robbery death. But the crimes of the ruling class such as looting of public treasury, mismanagement of public fund and property, which had caused Nigeria the present economic crisis and stupor are trivialized (Alemika, 1988).

Sexual exploitation of many young girls by "money bags-sugar daddies" which frequently leads to crimes of abortion and child abandonment and eventually the imprisonment of such girls are also trivialized. All these should be given serious attention by the criminal justice system. The men involved should be arrested, prosecuted and imprisoned along with their female counterparts.

Majority of Nigerians today live in abject poverty and de-humanized conditions. This should be redressed quickly so that every Nigerian, irrespective of gender and social class will have a decent fulfilled life, security and self-esteem. Above all, equal opportunities should be given to individuals in terms of education, employment and the like. Egalitarian families and society generally should be encouraged. This will go a long way to reducing inequality, exploitation and oppression of 'human by human' and also producing less crime-prone society.

Finally, it is obvious that the problem of female criminality is real, irrespective of its minimal contribution to official crime figures. Women and men alike are experiencing

great difficult time - socio-economic problems, political instability, religious, ethnicity, sexism and so on. The rich is getting richer and the poor, poorer. These factors create discrimination and injustice within the society and contribute to criminality.

7.6. Recommendations for Policy Formulation/implementation.

1. The field of criminology should direct more attention than before to writing books and research on female criminality.
2. The society should address the problem of women who commit crimes; and redefine her priority and address the socio-cultural and economic factors associated with crime.
3. The problems of poverty, inequality, sexism and other deprivation suffered by women in the name of preservation of culture have to be addressed urgently.
4. The society must put pressure on the government or ruling class to address the needs of the masses instead of viewing the prisoners as the "sole enemy" of society.
5. The society should be ready to accept ex-prisoners back and absorb them in the labour market to reduce their chances of going back to criminal activities.

6. The society and the criminal justice system in particular, should utilize the data presented and their analyses, for the formulation of policies for an effective and efficient control of female criminality.
7. Less emphasis should be placed on repressive measures such as apprehension, prosecution and incarceration, while more emphasis would be on other controls such as the provision of the basic needs of life.
8. Female offenders who commit serious offenses should expect the same treatment or punishment as their male counterparts.
9. The government should institute such welfare programmes like unemployment support, child support, etc. to ameliorate the hardships of individual Nigerians.
10. The political, socio-economic policies of Nigeria should be geared towards meeting the basic needs of life such as food, shelter, clothing, and the like.
11. Specific ways in which women are discriminated against should be addressed - education, employment, child marriages, inheritance etc. Every child should be given equal opportunity irrespective of the sex.
12. The Nigeria law (both customary and statutes) should be reformed to remove all forms of female biases and to enable women live fulfilled and dignified life.

13. All dehumanizing practices/cultures that affect women, particularly the ordeals of widowhood and other such customs should be abolished.
14. Family code specifying the rights and duties of spouses, and equitable distribution of domestic labour as practiced in countries such as Cuba should be entrenched in the Nigerian constitution.
15. Polygynous marriage which tends to relegate women to second class position in the family, and therefore dehumanises women should be redressed urgently.
16. A gender balanced curriculum in nursery, primary and secondary school levels should be introduced. The norms of comradeship, consideration and mutual respect should be taught early both at home and in school. Egalitarian families and society generally should be encouraged.
17. Material wealth should be de-emphasised in this new gender balanced curriculum. The norms of honesty, justice and fair play should be paramount.
18. Injustice within the law and society should be redressed urgently. Individuals among the ruling class (both past and present) who have looted Nigerian treasury which has resulted in economic and political crises should be apprehended, prosecuted and sentenced if found guilty.

19. Sexual exploitation of many young girls by "money-bags-sugar-daddies" which frequently leads to crimes of abortion and child abandonment and eventually the imprisonment of such girls must be addressed urgently. The men involved should be arrested, prosecuted and imprisoned along with their female counterparts.

20. The condition of services of the police and prisons should be overhauled; their salaries, working conditions and the provision of amenities such as telephones, vehicles and fire arms so as to facilitate their work.

21. The military Oligarchy should be persuaded to hand over power to the civilians; the transfer of government from military dictatorship to democratically elected civilian government would certainly reduce the criminalization process in Nigeria.

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Appendix A:

Gender Distribution of Crime Types in Criminal Statistics: Police Arrests.
Plateau State

CRIME	1983						1985					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Murder	113	94.0	7	6.0	120	100.0	78	99.0	1	1.0	79	100.0
Manslaughter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grievous Harm & Wounding	388	92.0	33	8.0	421	100.0	386	91.0	38	9.0	424	100.0
Assault	662	92.0	55	8.0	717	100.0	1006	92.0	84	8.0	1090	100.0
Child Stealing	5	100.0	0	0.0	5	100.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	2	100.0
Kidnaping	5	50.0	5	50.0	10	100.0	22	100.0	0	0.0	22	100.0
Armed Robbery	28	100.0	0	0.0	28	100.0	6	100.0	0	0.0	6	100.0
Thefts and Other Stealing	119	96.0	45	4.0	1164	100.0	1842	97.0	65	3.0	1907	100.0
False Pretence & Cheating	212	89.0	27	11.0	239	100.0	319	95.0	17	5.0	336	100.0
Forgery	15	88.0	2	12.0	17	100.0	20	100.0	0	0.0	20	100.0
Receiving Stolen Property	20	91.0	2	9.0	22	100.0	38	100.0	0	0.0	38	100.0
Narcotics	36	100.0	0	0.0	36	100.0	59	98.0	1	2.0	60	100.0
Breach of Public Peace	664	93.0	53	7.0	717	100.0	274	89.0	34	11.0	308	100.0

Crime	1987						1988					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Murder	46	96.0	2	4.0	48	100.0	32	100.0	0	0.0	32	100.0
Manslaughter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grievous Harm & Wounding	454	88.0	63	12.0	517	100.0	463	87.0	68	13.0	531	100.0
Assault	788	91.0	75	9.0	863	100.0	679	87.0	104	13.0	783	100.0
Child Stealing	3	75.0	1	25.0	4	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Kidnaping	8	100.0	0	0.0	8	100.0	10	91.0	1	9.0	11	100.0
Armed Robbery	12	100.0	0	0.0	12	100.0	18	100.0	0	0.0	18	100.0
Thefts and Other Stealing	2421	93.0	173	7.0	2594	100.0	2752	93.0	195	7.0	2947	100.0
False Pretence & Cheating	499	92.0	41	8.0	540	100.0	706	95.0	36	5.0	742	100.0
Forgery	17	100.0	0	0.0	17	100.0	8	100.0	0	0.0	8	100.0
Receiving Stolen Property	59	94.0	4	6.0	63	100.0	74	91.0	7	9.0	81	100.0
Drug Offenses	70	100.0	0	0.0	70	100.0	56	95.0	3	5.0	59	100.0
Breach of Public Peace	379	80.0	94	20.0	473	100.0	329	92.0	29	8.0	358	100.0

Kidnaping	22	100.0	0	0.0	22	100.0	32	82.0	7	18.0	39	100.0
Armed Robbery	79	100.0	0	0.0	79	100.0	65	98.0	1	2.0	66	100.0
Thefts and Other Stealing	3061	94.0	210	6.0	3271	100.0	3980	93.0	279	7.0	4259	100.0
False Pretence & Cheating	920	92.0	76	8.0	996	100.0	1096	96.0	50	4.0	1146	100.0
Forgery	35	95.0	2	5.0	37	100.0	14	100.0	0	0.0	14	100.0
Receiving Stolen Property	104	95.0	6	5.0	110	100.0	255	91.0	24	9.0	279	100.0
Drug Offenses	44	90.0	5	10.0	49	100.0	68	100.0	0	0.0	68	100.0
Breach of Public Peace	863	81.0	209	19.0	1072	100.0	796	82.0	180	18.0	976	100.0

Source: Major cases and Local Acts Returns (1983-1992) of the Nigeria Police Force, Plateau State.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

Lagos State

Crime	1986						1987					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Murder	105	79.0	28	21.0	136	100.0	103	88.0	14	12.0	117	100.0
Manslaughter	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	4	100.0	0	0.0	4	100.0
Grievous Harm & Wounding	2688	71.0	1080	29.0	3768	100.0	3831	72.0	1484	28.0	5315	100.0
Assault	6801	86.0	1095	14.0	7896	100.0	7303	77.0	2211	23.0	9514	100.0
Child Stealing	14	93.0	1	7.0	15	100.0	19	66.0	10	34.0	29	100.0
Kidnaping	76	78.0	21	22.0	97	100.0	57	80.0	14	20.0	71	100.0
Armed Robbery	381	96.0	15	4.0	396	100.0	593	99.0	8	1.0	601	100.0
Thefts and Other Stealing	12244	89.0	1485	11.0	13729	100.0	12551	88.0	1671	12.0	14232	100.0
False Pretence & Cheating	3379	92.0	303	8.0	3682	100.0	2851	90.0	324	10.0	3175	100.0
Forgery	281	96.0	11	4.0	292	100.0	249	92.0	23	8.0	272	100.0
Receiving Stolen Property	95	89.0	12	11.0	107	100.0	81	91.0	8	9.0	89	100.0
Drug Offences	340	90.0	39	10.0	379	100.0	321	97.0	11	3.0	332	100.0
Breach of Public Peace	3133	94.0	195	6.0	3328	100.0	3600	78.0	1001	22.0	4601	100.0
Crime	1988						1989					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Murder	61	98.0	1	2.0	62	100.0	48	96.0	2	4.0	50	100.0
Manslaughter	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	83.0	3	17.0	18	100.0
Grievous Harm & Wounding	3904	88.0	55	12.0	4458	100.0	3869	72.0	1536	28.0	5405	100.0
Assault	10839	77.0	3153	23.0	13992	100.0	9367	76.0	3037	24.0	12404	100.0
Child Stealing	12	50.0	12	50.0	24	100.0	11	52.0	10	48.0	21	100.0

Kidnaping	63	91.0	6	9.0	69	100.0	47	78.0	13	22.0	60	100.0
Armed Robbery	240	100.0	0	0.0	240	100.0	177	100.0	0	0.0	177	100.0
Thefts and Other Stealing	17843	87.0	2602	13.0	20445	100.0	17885	86.0	2974	14.0	20859	100.0
False Pretence & Cheating	3314	90.0	372	10.0	3686	100.0	3598	90.0	417	10.0	4015	100.0
Forgery	353	95.0	20	5.0	373	100.0	228	93.0	16	7.0	244	100.0
Receiving Stolen Property	157	87.0	23	13.0	180	100.0	76	82.0	17	18.0	93	100.0
Drug Offenses	281	95.0	14	5.0	295	100.0	141	94.0	9	6.0	150	100.0
Breach of Public Peace	3884	76.0	1245	24.0	5129	100.0	3276	75.0	1092	25.0	4368	100.0
Crime	1990						1991					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Murder	71	93.0	5	7.0	76	100.0	80	85.0	14	15.0	94	100.0
Manslaughter	12	100.0	0	0.0	12	100.0	16	94.0	1	6.0	17	100.0
Grievous Harm & Wounding	4398	81.0	1011	19.0	5409	100.0	4146	78.0	1152	22.0	5298	100.0
Assault	9064	78.0	2630	22.0	11694	100.0	5914	74.0	2126	26.0	8040	100.0
Child Stealing	7	37.0	12	63.0	19	100.0	11	55.0	9	45.0	20	100.0
Kidnaping	101	93.0	8	7.0	109	100.0	44	88.0	6	12.0	50	100.0
Armed Robbery	174	100.0	0	0.0	174	100.0	155	100.0	0	0.0	155	100.0
Thefts and Other Stealing	17600	86.0	2863	14.0	20463	100.0	7173	85.0	1310	15.0	8483	100.0
False Pretence & Cheating	3165	90.0	354	10.0	3519	100.0	1793	91.0	179	9.0	1972	100.0
Forgery	248	96.0	9	4.0	257	100.0	119	95.0	6	5.0	125	100.0
Receiving Stolen Property	98	89.0	12	11.0	110	100.0	41	76.0	13	24.0	54	100.0
Drug Offenses	171	90.0	18	10.0	189	100.0	293	92.0	24	8.0	317	100.0
Breach of Public Peace	2218	75.0	756	25.0	2974	100.0	1496	75.0	502	25.0	1998	100.0

Crime	1992					
	Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Murder	98	92.0	9	8.0	107	100.0
Manslaughter	1	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Grievous Harm & Wounding	6222	79.0	1696	21.0	7918	100.0
Assault	8129	89.0	1002	11.0	9131	100.0
Child Stealing	10	50.0	10	50.0	20	100.0
Kidnaping	35	88.0	5	13.0	40	100.0
Armed Robbery	242	100.0	0	0.0	242	100.0
Thefts and Other Stealing	13236	88.0	1746	12.0	14982	100.0
False Pretence & Cheating	3254	94.0	201	6.0	3455	100.0
Forgery	74	95.0	4	5.0	78	100.0
Receiving Stolen Property	51	94.0	3	6.0	54	100.0
Drug Offenses	18	95.0	1	5.0	19	100.0
Breach of Public Peace	2459	79.0	665	21.0	3124	100.0

Source: Major cases and Local Acts Returns (1983 - 1992) of the Nigeria Police Force, Plateau State.

Appendix B: Interview Schedule for Female Offenders

Dear Respondent,

I am carrying out a research on Patterns, Trend and Control of Female criminality in Nigeria. Your understanding and cooperation is highly needed.

We therefore solicit for your honest information in filling out this questionnaire.

Your anonymity will be highly preserved and respected.

Your sincere responses to these questions will go a long way in providing understanding of problems and solutions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Philomena Ozo-Eson(Mrs)
Department of Sociology
School of Postgraduate
Studies, University of Jos
Jos.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FEMALE OFFENDERS.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1. What is your age (by your last birthday)?
2. What is your marital status?
 1. Single
 2. Married
 3. Divorced
 4. Through married
 5. Widowed
3. What is your religion?
 1. Christianity
 2. Islam
 3. Traditional religion
 4. Others (Please specify)
4. What is your highest formal educational attainment?
 1. None
 2. Primary
 3. Secondary
 4. Post - Secondary but not University Degree
 5. University Degree
 6. Others (Specify)
5. How many children have you?
6. How many wives has husband?
7. What was your occupation before you were arrested?
8. What was your estimated monthly income?.....
9. What was your normal place of residence before you were arrested?
 1. Urban centre
 2. Rural area
 3. Other (specify)
10. Have you been convicted or are you detained pending trial?
 1. Convicted
 2. Detained pending trial

11. If convicted, for what offence(s) were you sentenced to prison?
.....
12. What is the length of your present sentence?
1. Months
 2. Years
 3. Life sentence
 4. Capital sentence
 5. Not applicable
 6. Others (Please specify)
13. Were you granted an option of fine?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Not applicable.
14. If Yes why did you not fulfil the condition of fine instead of serving the prison sentence?.....
15. Were you represented by a lawyer?
1. Yes
 2. No
16. If No, why not?
- If Yes, was the lawyer hired by you or your representative provided by court?
1. Hired by me/my representative
 2. Provided by court.
17. If you were been detained pending trial for what offence were your arrested?
18. Have you applied for bail since your arrest?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Not applicable
19. If Yes, were you granted bail?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Not applicable
20. If granted bail, what were conditions attached to it to secure your release? (That is the number of suretees, amount of money, landed property etc.....)

21. If granted bail, why did you not fulfil the conditions of the bail?.....

22. If you were denied bail, what reasons were given for the decision?.....

23. Have you ever been arrested for any offence before the present case?

1. Yes 2. No

24. If you had been previously arrested, for what crimes were you apprehended?

First arrest

Second arrest.....

Third arrest

Fourth arrest

Fifth arrest

Sixth arrest

25. Have you been imprisoned before?

1. Yes 2. No

26. If you have been imprisoned before state the crime for which you were convicted

First imprisonment

Second imprisonment.....

Third imprisonment

Fourth imprisonment.....

Fifth imprisonment.....

Sixth imprisonment

27. To what extent were you involved in the crime for which you are currently arrested/convicted?

1. Very much (2) Much (3) Little
4. Not at all (5) Others (Please specify)

EXPERIENCES WITH THE POLICE

28. **Where were you arrested?**
1. Your house 2. Work place 3. In the Street
4. Other (lease Specify).
29. **Did the police use force on you (i.e. beat, push or slap) when you were been arrested?**
1. Yes (2) No
30. **If Yes, what is the nature of the force?**
.....
31. **Were you subjected to any force during investigation by police?**
1. Yes (2) No
32. **If Yes, what is the nature of the force?**
.....
33. **Were you induced or deceived by promises during your interrogation by the Police?**
1. Yes (2) No
34. **If Yes, what is the nature of the inducement, deception or promises?**
.....
35. **Do you think the way the police handled your case has to do with your social status?**
(1) Yes (2) No
36. **Do you feel that you were treated fairly by police?**
1. Yes (2) No
37. **If no, why do you think so?**
.....
38. **Do you think you were treated differently from male offenders?**
1. Yes 2. No
39. **If Yes, give reasons**
.....

THE COURT

40. **How long did your trial last?**
1. Days (2) Weeks (3) Months
4. Years (5) Not applicable
41. **Were you released on bail during your trials?** Yes No
42. **Please could you describe your experiences during your trial**
.....
43. **Do you think the judge or magistrate was fair during trial?** Yes No
44. **If no, why did you think so?**
45. **Do you think the judge or magistrate treated you differently from male offenders?**
1. Yes (2) No
46. **If Yes, give reasons for your answer**
47. **Do you think your social status in society played any role in the way the court handled your case?** (1) Yes (2) No
48. **Give reasons for your answer**
49. **How would you describe your experience in prison?**
1. Pleasant 2. Horrible 3. Alright
4. Very bad 5. Others
(Specify).....
50. **What aspect of prison conditions do you find most pleasant?**
.....
51. **What aspects of prison conditions do you find most unpleasant**
.....
52. **Do you think you are treated differently from your male counterparts in prison?**
1. Yes (2) No
53. **If Yes, give reasons for your answer**
.....

54. Do you consider yourself as receiving favourable treatment from the prison warders compared to your male counterparts?
 1. Yes 2. No
55. If Yes, give reasons for your answer
56. Generally, do you think women are committing more serious crimes than before?
 1. Yes 2. No
57. If Yes, what do you think is the reason for this increase?
58. What problems do you anticipate after your discharge from prison?.....
59. Which of the following agencies treated you most fairly?
 1. Police 2. Courts 3. Prisons
60. Please, give reasons for your answer
61. In your opinion, what do your think can be done to control female criminality in Nigeria?

62. In your opinion, what do you think make people commit crimes

63. In your own case, what was responsible for your association with the crimes for which you are currently in prison?

64. Do you think that there are people who commit crimes which are known to the, law enforcement authorities but nothing is done to them?
 1. Yes 2. No
65. If Yes, why do you think this is the case?.....
66. What do you think can be done to solve the problem of crime in Nigeria?

Thank you.

Appendix C: Interview Schedule for Criminal Justice Officials

Dear Respondent,

I am carrying out a research on Patterns, Trend and Control of Female criminality in Nigeria. Your understanding and cooperation is highly needed.

We therefore solicit for your honest information in filling out this questionnaire.

Your anonymity will be highly preserved and respected.

Your sincere responses to these questions will go a long way in providing understanding of problems and solutions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

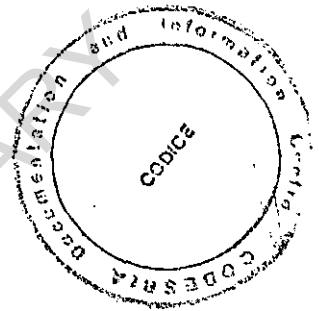
Philomena Ozo-Eson (Mrs)
Department of Sociology
School of Postgraduate
Studies, University of Jos
Jos.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE OFFICIALS

1. How long have you been employed in the law enforcement and administration?
2. How old are you?
.....
3. What is your highest educational attainment?
 1. None
 2. Primary School
 3. Secondary School
 4. Post Secondary but not University degree
 5. University degree
4. What is your highest professional education
.....
5. Are more women been arrested by the police during the past five years than in the past.
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Not applicable
6. If Yes, why is this the case?.....
7. For what crimes are women been increasingly arrested?
.....
8. What do you think accounts for increase or decrease of women crime?
.....
9. Do you find it easier or more difficult to handle female offenders than their male counterparts.
 1. Easier
 2. More difficult
 3. Others (Specify)
.....
10. Why do you find it easier or more difficult to deal with female offenders?
.....
11. Do you accord female offenders favourable treatment during the time of arrest?
 1. Yes

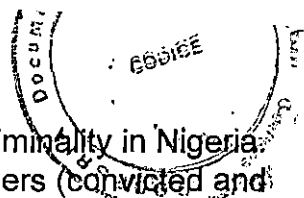
2. No
 3. Not applicable
 4. Others (Specify)
12. If Yes give reasons
13. Are you stricter or more lenient with female offenders than their male counterparts during prosecution?
1. Stricter
 2. More lenient
 3. Treat them the same as male offenders
 4. Not applicable
14. Please give reasons for your answer
15. Do you accord women more favourable sentences?
1. Yes
 2. No
 3. Not applicable
 4. Others (Specify)
16. If Yes, why is this the case
17. What factors motivate you to arrest an offender?
1. Seriousness of the offence
 2. The sex of the offender
 3. Socio-Economic background
 4. Demeanour
 5. Others (Please specify)
 6. Not applicable
18. What factors motivate you to prosecute an offender?
1. Seriousness of the offence
 2. The sex of the offender
 3. Socio-Economic background
 4. Demeanour
 5. Others (Please specify)
 6. Not applicable
19. What factors motivate you to sentence offenders to prison
1. Seriousness of the offence
 2. The sex of the offender
 3. Socio-Economic background
 4. Demeanour
 5. Others (Please specify)
 6. Not applicable

20. What are the current control measures for women criminality?
21. Are these measures different from that of men or general control measures?
22. How would you describe the effectiveness of these measures?
23. How would you describe the general welfare of female prisoners in Nigeria?
24. What in your opinion can be done to control female criminality in Nigeria?



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ABSTRACT



This study examined the patterns, trends and control of female criminality in Nigeria. Both primary and secondary data were employed. Female prisoners (convicted and awaiting trial) and officials of the criminal justice system - police, lawyers, Judges/Magistrates and prison officials were interviewed in order to better understand the pattern and control of criminal activities of women in Nigeria.

In order to obtain primary data on female criminality and its control, samples of female prisoners were obtained from the Kiri-kiri female prison in Lagos, the female arm of Kaduna prisons, the female arm of Benin and Oko prisons (both in Benin City) and the female arm of Jos prisons. The respondents were interviewed with a view to obtaining information on their social backgrounds, criminal records and experiences with the criminal justice system.

The study shows that women in Nigeria commit crimes, traditionally attributed to women in the literature, such as stealing, abortion, and fighting. However, women were also involved in drug trafficking. There were indications that when women are involved in traditional male crimes, such as armed robbery, murder, robbery, they usually assist the men in the perpetuation of the crimes. Also, women who were involved in crimes of murders were usually associated through domestically related conflicts. Female offenders rarely kill or assault strangers or acquaintance for monetary gains.

Many factors, particularly, economic hardship, frustrations and unfulfilled desires of women were associated with female crimes in Nigeria.

The quest for wealth and necessities of life by female criminals in the country was exemplified by the types of crimes Nigerian women commit - drug trafficking 52.7%, stealing 10.7%, robbery 2.7%, fraud 5.3% and so on. The findings of this research showed that even though the trend of female criminality is on the increase, a comparison of gender distribution shows that women are very much under-represented in the criminal population. The official crime control mechanisms for women are not different from that of men. However, the control measures generally are very repressive, based mostly on apprehension, prosecution and imprisonment. Finally, it is obvious that the problem of female criminality is real, irrespective of its minimal contribution to official crime figures. Women and men alike are experiencing great difficult time : socio-economic problems, political instability, religious and ethnic conflicts, sexism and so on. These factors contribute to criminality.

In our recommendation, we have suggested that meaningful crime control measures in Nigeria, must incorporate policies and programmes that are directed toward social change and development aimed at restructuring society in a manner that it becomes less crime-prone. Problems of inequality, oppression and exploitation of the less privileged individuals, sexism, economic mismanagement and looting of public money by a handful of individuals (ruling class) must be addressed. The society must be restructured to meet the needs of the masses.