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THE EFFECTS OF EMANCIPATION ON  
FEMALE CRIMINALITY, 1975-1984

COLETTE T. DUBOIS  
1986

Submitted to the Department of  
Criminology, University of Ottawa,  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Criminology

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ISBN 0-315-36498-X



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my most sincere appreciation to my advisor, Dr. C.H.S. Jayewardene for his constructive criticism, constant support and assistance in completing this thesis. I feel extremely fortunate to have worked under Dr. Jayewardene because he not only provided an intellectual challenge, but also demonstrated and encouraged a level of dedication and professionalism that I will strive to maintain in my future endeavors.

I would also like to extend my undying gratitude to my brother Larry for his assistance on the computer and his constant interest and enthusiasm in all that I do.

To the rest of my brothers and sisters, I thank them for their love and support. Each and every one provided constant faith and encouragement in my work and at times, provided a much needed diversion. I am not only fortunate to have such a wonderful family, but I am most grateful.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my parents, to whom I dedicate this work. They were my strength when I was tired, my encouragement when I was faltering and my spirit when I was low. I can not possibly express my feelings of love and appreciation for all that they have done for me. Perhaps the best way is to say that this thesis, and the years of school which preceded it are a reflection of both of them and all that they have taught me.

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CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of female criminality has been marginal at best, to the studies conducted on male criminality resulting from the common belief that because female criminals are fewer in number, female criminality is not an important issue (Mukherjee and Schutt, 1981:31). In addition, the notion that women are "criminologically much less interesting" than men remains a common theme (Cowie, Cowie and Slater, 1968:1). Nevertheless, there has been some interest evidenced in female criminality, and in recent years, with the suggestion that there has been an increase in female criminality, the interest in exploring this phenomenon has expanded. In early times, the focus had been the differences between the incidence and nature of male and female criminality. In more recent times, the focus has shifted to the increase in the incidence and change in the nature of female criminality.

The earlier, traditional school of thought expounded upon the psychological and physiological factors inherent in the nature of women which influences criminal activity. These theorists upheld a belief in biological or

psychological determinism suggesting that the responsibility for crime lay in an individual's biological or psychological make-up.

One of the first major works on female criminality was Lombroso and Ferrero's The Female Offender (1980, first published in 1895). Their theory was one of biological determinism based on the concept of atavism which involved the belief that true criminals - the born criminals - were biologically inferior, as they were throwbacks to an earlier evolutionary stage in human development. They believed that these criminals had had their ontogenical development arrested at a phylogenical level which resulted in criminal man rather than civilized man. Tell-tale anatomical features, they called stigmata of crime, permitted the two to be distinguished from each other. At least four of these stigmata had to be present for the identification of a born criminal. According to Lombroso and Ferrero, the true female criminal possesses all of the criminal characteristics of male criminals in addition to all of the worst qualities of women in that they are cunning, revengful and deceitful. Women, they claim, possess many qualities common in children such as jealousy and cruelty, but "in ordinary cases, these defects are neutralized by piety, maternity, and want of

passion, sexual coldness, by weakness and an undeveloped intelligence" (1980:151). When, however, such qualities are absent, women possess the capacity to transform into a criminal worse than any man.

In addition to the born criminal, they postulated the existence of two other types of criminals - the occasional and the hysterical criminal. According to Lombroso and Ferrero, the occasional criminal, unlike the born criminal, does not possess any characteristics indicative of degeneration. In the case of the occasional criminal,

perversity and vice are of a milder form (than the born criminal) and there is no want of the higher virtues of the sexes, such as chastity and maternal love

(1980:192)

They state that the occasional criminal is often reluctantly led into crime through the suggestion of a lover, father or brother (1980:196). They also claim that learned women who are naturally moral are often reduced to suicide, crime and prostitution because they are unable to utilize their skills to earn a living in offices or

professions due to a lack of opportunities. The authors also suggest that the excessive temptations of otherwise normal women cause many to commit offences, particularly against property. Therefore, the occasional criminals are described by the authors as normal or nearly normal women who periodically acquiesce to their temptations, lack of opportunity or the suggestions of others.

Of the hysterical offender, the authors state:

their absorbing preoccupation with themselves makes the love scandal and a public sensation. They are excessively impressionable, consequently easily moved to cholera, ferocity, to sudden and unreasonable likes and dislikes.

(1980:219)

The hysterical offender is irrational, has a mania for lying and a single hysterical offender may be found guilty of several offences: "one will wound, rob, poison, burn, and bear false witness. Another will prostitute herself, steal children, calumniate, and steal"

(1980:232). There is no limit to the type or viciousness of an offence committed by an hysterical offender. Like the born criminal, the hysterical female offender can often surpass their sex and become worse than any man.

To test their theory in connection with women, the authors studied photographs of female offenders, measured craniums and counted the moles and tattoos of imprisoned women to detect signs of atavism. However, as the signs of atavism discovered among the criminal women they studied were so few, Lombroso and Ferrero conceded that few women are 'born criminals'. The majority of female offenders were consequently considered to be occasional criminals - a breed of lesser dangerousity than the born criminals, in that their criminality was situationally generated.

In their explanation of why true criminals are seldom found among the female population, the authors suggest that modern day women are nearer to their origin than modern day men in that they exhibit two of the most salient characteristics of primitive women: precocity and a smaller degree of differentiation in stature, cranium, brain and muscular strength. In addition, women are less active than men, more law abiding and their biologically determined role of mother renders them less likely to resort to criminal activity. However, Lombroso and Ferrero suggest that for what the true female criminal

lacks in numbers, she makes up in the immense viciousness and atrocity of her crimes.

Another terrible point of superiority in the female born criminal over the male lies in the refined, diabolical cruelty with which she accomplishes her crime. To kill her enemy does not satisfy her, she needs to see him suffer and know the full taste of death.

(1980:148)

Thus, Lombroso and Ferrero viewed female offenders as doubly exceptional, as a woman and as a criminal (1980:151). They suggest that crime is an unnatural and biologically abnormal activity for women and that it is more normal for men to commit criminal acts. A born female criminal consequently, the authors state, is not only an abnormal woman, but she is biologically similar to a man.

A second work exists in Otto Pollak's The Criminality of Women (1961, originally published in 1950) which parallels the biological determinist position of Lombroso. However, unlike Lombroso, Pollak extends the causal factors of female criminality to include social and psychological influences.

Central to Pollak's work is his contention that female criminality is largely 'masked' as a result of the under-reporting of offences committed by women, the lower

detection rates of female offenders as compared to men, and the greater leniency shown to women by the police and courts. Hence, he suggests that the propensity for female criminality is probably far more extensive than the criminal statistics indicate.

Pollak asserts that the position which women occupy in the social order and the roles which they assume by virtue of their sex is a protection against the crimes they commit. He suggests that women are not suspect because of their social situation and roles such as homemaker or domestic servant. "Many crimes which are considered highly detectable lose this quality when they are committed by women because of the way in which they are carried out" (1961:3). The author states that the opportunities afforded to females to commit crimes are not the same as those of their male counterparts and that crimes committed by men are highly publicized. The means they use also taints the nature of the crime. As an example, he points out:

Murder is considered a crime of high public character. If committed by a woman, however, this crime may not be so highly detectable because female murderers resort to poison to a much higher degree.  
(1961:3)

In addition to this, he maintains that the victim of a female offender of a violent crime is often a husband, child or lover and that the offence is committed within the confines of the home, most notably the kitchen or bedroom. Smart (1976:19), however, challenges Pollak's opportunity theory noting that men too have the protection of their homes in which to commit crimes such as wife assault and incest which may also go undetected.

Pollak further suggests that:

Women's social roles give her many opportunities for theft. These opportunities, although very different in many respects, have one thing in common: they give the woman offender a chance to steal and remain undetected or at least unprosecuted to an extent which male thieves can never hope to enjoy.

(1961:31)

A domestic servant is in a position to steal from her employer as is a prostitute from her client, committing property crimes which go largely undetected.

Pollak contends that women are inherently deceitful, as evidenced by their ability to conceal menstruation and disguise sexual response. This deceitful nature extends

to women both within and outside the ambit of crime. Female offenders, however, use their social roles to prey upon unsuspecting victims. Citing theft as an example, he states, "the common characteristic of the various ways in which female pickpockets go about their trade is the deceptive use of a feminine role which throws the victim off his guard and facilitates the theft" (1961:31). Pollak suggests that the women offender uses her sex as bait for the victim thus paving the way to commit an offence and decreasing the risk of being caught (1961:31).

Pollak attributes the under-reporting of female crime to the often precarious positions in which some offenders leave their victims. A prostitute who steals from her client is unlikely to be reported to the authorities by the victim who would rather avoid legal action against a prostitute than risk social stigma. Similarly, a victim of an offence by a female may not wish to report the incident by virtue of the fact that he has fallen prey to a woman, which could often result in embarrassment. In addition, Pollak claims that it is part of our culture that women should be protected by men and, therefore, male victims are less inclined to report females to the

authorities. He suggests that if a female is not the offender, then she is often the instigator and will be protected by the person whom she manipulated into committing the offence. Therefore, Pollak states that "the cover of one of woman's social roles, her modus operandi, and the type of victim, seem to mask female criminality to a very high degree" (1961:26).

"Misplaced gallantry" (1961:4) is offered as another contribution to the masked criminality. He suggests that men have deceived themselves by believing that women cannot become criminals. Pollak also adds that chivalry on the part of the police, prosecutors and courts in protecting women from the stigma of criminal prosecution accounts for much of the hidden criminality among women.

The biological issues surrounding the nature of female criminality are put forth by Pollak in what he terms the generative phases, namely menstruation, pregnancy, and menopause. Here, Pollak continues to expand upon Lombroso's basic premise of anatomical and physiological differences of men and women as they influence personality. He suggests that the physical and psychological changes which accompany menstruation, pregnancy and menopause result in weakened inhibitions

which can, and often do, result in the commission of a crime.

The author cited studies which showed a high correlation between certain property and violent crimes and the menstrual cycle. This cycle, he states, is a constant reminder to a woman that she is not like her male counterpart and cannot, therefore, achieve what he is able to achieve. Thus, this generative phase provokes frustration which may result in crime.

Concerning pregnancy, Pollak states, "the psychological characteristics of pregnancy, such as unmotivated changes of mood, abnormal cravings and impulses and temporary impairment of consciousness, points also in the direction of criminal causation" (1961:130). Menopausal women, he asserts, are fraught with frustration, depression, mood swings, and if married, the fear of losing her sexual appeal and ultimately, her husband. These feelings leave women more vulnerable to commit certain crimes. Implicit in his theory, notes Smart (1976:51) "is an attempt to show that there is some biological, psychic or social imbalance present in women when they commit criminal offences", a theory which she claims is empirically unfounded.

Despite his biological orientation, Pollak sees an environmental component in female criminality. Turning to the effect of emancipation on crime, he states that women's pursuit for equality in the labour force and the attainment of same, is causing female crime to increase. He notes that World War Two which forced women out of the home and into the labour force saw a dramatic increase in female crime. Conversely, when the returning men resumed their positions in the labour force and the women returned to the home, female crime rates fell. He suggests that with her increased social functions and responsibilities, her opportunities for crime have correspondingly increased and she is embracing those opportunities.

Pointing out that:

Ever since the 1870's, criminologists have predicted that the progressing social equilization between the sexes and particularly the entrance of women into ever wider fields of economic pursuits would lead to an increase in the volume of female crime.

(1961:58)

Pollak claims the prediction has transpired. Relying on crime statistics of various countries during war times, Pollak states that the sudden emancipation of women which

opened new social roles and opportunities had an effect on female crime, stating that "there seems to be sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that an increase in female crimes against property is a concomitant of social emancipation of women" (1961:75). The absence of an increase in violent crimes during the war time, Pollak explains with the absence of husbands and lovers during the war. They were usually the victims of a woman's violent attack.

Another major work with a biological determinist base is Cowie, Cowie and Slater's Delinquency in Girls (1968), a study of delinquent juveniles in training school. Like Pollak, Cowie and his colleagues recognize that social factors are related to delinquency, but they suggest that such factors play a more important role in male delinquency (1968:175). The authors contend that biological and somatic variances determine differences in both delinquent boys and girls and between delinquent and normal girls. In their attempt to identify qualities which separate delinquent and normal girls, the authors studied three hundred and eighteen (318) delinquent girls in a training school in London, England. The authors

found that not only were delinquent girls being raised in poorer homes with lower moral standards, worse discipline and more conflict, they were more likely than normal girls and delinquent boys to suffer from brain abnormalities, psychiatric disorders and other forms of impaired health such as being "oversized, lumpish, uncouth and graceless" (1968:166). The authors viewed the criminal as a product of defective heredity or a genetic anomaly and state "the greater the degree of masculinity, the greater the delinquent predisposition" (1968:171).

Cowie and his colleagues found that delinquent girls were obstinate in their behavior. They also found that the offences for which they were incarcerated were petty and trivial when compared with the offences of boys. Nevertheless, they maintain that delinquent girls deviate from social and psychological norms to a greater degree than delinquent boys (1968:166).

Psychological factors are used by Cowie et al to explain the low incidence of crime by females. The pattern of personality and behavioural development is more stable and constant in women than men, and women can take more stress from the environment before reacting to it.

The authors hypothesize that the lower level of delinquency is because women have "lower liability or relatively better protection against the stresses that provoke delinquent behavior"(1968:169). The minor involvement of women in crime is due to a greater constitutional resistance, rather than a lower incidence of deviance-inducing stress in their lives.

When the problem shifted from differences in the incidence and nature of crime to an increase in and a change in the nature of crime, a second school of thought has been developed by theorists who postulate the significance of social and cultural factors. (Gora, 1982:1). This most recent school of thought challenges some of the fundamental assumptions of the earlier theorists and attempts to explain the increase in female criminality in terms of the emancipation of women and the change in their role in the last several decades.

Freda Adler's work Sisters in Crime (1975), highlights the effects of women's liberation on crime suggesting that women are shedding their feminine roles and emulating men not only in their educational and occupational pursuits, but also in their criminal careers.

Adler refers to the 'darker side' of liberation noting that just as women are gaining opportunities in legitimate fields, many are entering the field of major crime once thought exclusively a male domain. As a socially rising group, women are closing the social and criminal gaps which have historically separated them from men.

She suggests that the barriers which have prevented women from entering the "major leagues of crime" are related more to social than sexual factors (1975:28). Ability and opportunity has restricted women to petty crimes such as shoplifting. Because of their role as homemaker, they were condemned to the commission of those crimes. Men, on the other hand, are employed in a number of occupations in which more lucrative crimes can be committed. However, as their needs and abilities are similar to those of men, women have begun to reassess their traditional roles and have attempted to gain equal footing with men. Adler states that the women's liberation movement in conjunction with the fight for equal rights has succeeded, albeit gradually, in increasing the abilities and opportunities of women. The 'new feminism' which has transpired has opened the doors to

a broader spectrum of legal and illegal activities and as a result, women are discarding their feminine roles and are becoming more manlike in both legal and illegal spheres (1975:253)

As women begin to reap the benefits of success in the jobs, occupations and positions traditionally designed for men, they are broadening their scope of criminal proclivities.

Like her legitimate based sister, the female criminal knows too much to pretend or return to her former role as a second-rate criminal confined to 'feminine crimes' such as shoplifting and prostitution. She has had a taste of financial victory. In some cases, she has had a taste of blood. Her appetite, however, appears to be only whetted.

(1975:15)

Adler disputes the notion that women are inherently more honest than men stating that once women enter the heretofore male dominated fields, they will be subjected to the same temptations experienced by male offenders. She states that "as the position of women approximates the position of men, so does the frequency and type of criminal activity"(1975:251), and she predicts that white-collar crimes committed by women will achieve par with men in the future.

Adler seeks to support her position with reference to the color imbalance among female offenders witnessed in previous years. She states that black women have had a higher propensity for crime only because their economic circumstances and the lack of legitimate opportunities led them to criminal activity. White women, on the other hand, have been less inclined to resort to deviant methods of behavior because they have been relatively protected both financially and socially by their white counterpart. However, as they are no longer willing to accept protection at the price of submission, they are being forced into other legitimate and illegitimate means of support.

Although white women will soon match the criminality of their black sisters, Adler notes that the type of crime in which they will be involved is likely to differ. The socio-economic positions of black women and their lack of legitimate opportunities will lead them in the direction of blue collar crime while white women will be more inclined to commit white collar crime as a result of greater opportunities.

Adler suggests that "the simplest and most accurate way to grasp the essence of woman's changing patterns (in

crime) is to discard dated notions of femininity. This is a role fewer and fewer women are willing to play" (1975:30). This change, however, leaves many adolescents in psychological limbo in their attempts to use role models who themselves are in a tenuous position (Adler, 1978:163). "Struggling with the changing roles and perceptions of females in society, young girls are recognizing that their social positions are approximating that of males and their activities, criminal or otherwise, are no longer fraught with socio-sexual limitations.

With the technological advances reducing the number of unskilled jobs and cultural changes redefining a woman's place, never before have so many young females had so much incentive to desert traditional roles and so few opportunities to find new ones. A rise in delinquency under such turbulent conditions is predictable.

(Adler, 1978:163)

Finally, Adler states that the equality which women are demanding will reflect the treatment of women within the criminal justice system. The chivalrous treatment women have received in the past will be reduced and the "conditions of being a woman in a man's world will carry less protection" (1975:252). In addition, equal employment

opportunities will extend themselves to women in all areas of law enforcement and criminal justice administration. Therefore, we can expect to see female policemen, prosecutors, judges and prison personnel deal with female offenders more on the facts and merits of the case rather than on emotional considerations. The lack of distinction between male and female crime will also cause women to be prosecuted more rigorously in keeping with their demand for equality (1975:252).

To conclude, Adler asserts that the female crime wave is a social reality and that women are slowly moving from the shadows of society to the foreground of criminal and noncriminal activity - a manifestation that is here to stay.

In Women and Crime (1975), Rita Simon also attempts to show a correlation between the women's movement and crime by providing a statistical picture of female criminality over two decades and details on the status of women in the labour force, marriage, income and education. According to Simon, the oppression and discrimination which women have experienced since the 1940's has been reflected in the crime statistics by way of minor crimes

such as shoplifting and bad cheques. She hypothesizes that as women become more liberated from the hearth and home and become involved in full-time jobs, they are more likely to become engaged in the types of crimes for which their occupations provide them with the greatest opportunities"(1975:1). She suggests that as women begin to penetrate the labour force and begin to acquire white collar jobs, crimes such as embezzlement, larceny and forgery will increase. While these types of crimes will undoubtedly rise because of occupational opportunities, she states that violent crimes, particularly murder and manslaughter will decrease. Violent crimes, she claims, are often committed by women who are frustrated by the subservient and dependent roles which they occupy. Increased participation in the labour force and education will alleviate these feelings of frustration and exploitation, thus minimizing their motivation to commit violent crimes (Simon, 1975)

Simon notes that notwithstanding the increase in female participation in the labour force, there is little evidence which indicates a shift in occupational patterns among women. Traditionally, women who enter the work force have been given low paying sales and clerical

positions and this pattern has remained constant even though their participation in the labour force between 1948 and 1971 has increased by forty percent (1975:24). Noting that there are more women in the labour force today (1975) than there has ever been during periods of peace, and that more women are attending college, Simon states that employment statistics indicate that women continue to occupy low-status positions. She claims:

Before women's contribution to crime can be expected to match their representation in society, women must have the opportunities for committing these crimes....It is not enough that almost half of all the women work; they must also have those types of jobs that will provide them with the opportunities to commit offences that are important enough to report

(1975:106)

Therefore, she concludes it is only when women begin to occupy white collar and managerial positions will their contribution to crimes which will enhance their economic positions in life, such as fraud and embezzlement, rise.

Relying heavily on Uniform Crime Report statistics, Simon indicates that arrest rates of men and women involved in property crimes such as forgery and

embezzlement in 1972 was approximately four to one. However, Simon speculates that this ratio should even out by the 1990's once women begin to penetrate high-status occupations and hence, seize the opportunities to commit such crimes.

Although Simon highlights the fact that arrest rates for property crimes among females in 1972 are higher than they have ever been in American history, her efforts are concentrated on identifying the fact that female arrest rates are not commensurate with their representation in society. She claims a rise in opportunities should lead to crime, particularly forgery, embezzlement and larceny but these opportunities have still not materialized.

In discussing the impact of the contemporary women's movement on crime, Simon states:

Given the characteristics of the members of the women's movement, it is unlikely that it has had a significant impact, or that indeed it has made much of an impression on women already involved in crime. Indeed, most of these women have yet to hear of consciousness raising, and of sisterhood in a political sense; and those who have may well ridicule these sentiments or attack them as empty mouthings of women whose lives have always been characterized by material comfort, stability and security.

(1975:18)

Simon suggests, however, that the goals of the women's movement, most notably equal pay may well open doors of high-status white collar positions to women, thus facilitating the commission of certain offences.

One area in which women appear to be receiving equal treatment as a result of the women's movement notes Simon, is in the area of law enforcement. She states that law enforcement officials feel that if it is equality under the law women want, that is what they will get - the consequences being more arrests and convictions. It would appear that this has, in fact, manifested itself in the arrest statistics, states Simon, the beginning of the contemporary women's movement having reduced the amount of chivalry shown by the police and courts.

Notwithstanding the strong conviction of Adler and Simon, many researchers (Austin, 1982; Smart, 1976; Weis, 1976, Mandle, 1979; Steffensmeier, 1978; Leventhal, 1977; Rans, 1978; Hirsh, 1981; Giordano and Cernkovich, 1979; Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973, Cameron, 1964) dispute that there exists a direct causal relationship between women's liberation and crime.

Austin (1982) states that if the movement is to be implicated, "an increase in female criminality must occur disproportionately among middle class women" (1982:411). The women's movement is indeed primarily middle class and it is within this class that occupational opportunities exist. However, Austin points out that according to Durkheim's anomie theory, it is the lower class women who benefit least from the movement, while having their aspirations and expectations raised that are most likely to resort to deviant modes of behavior (1982:411). Although many female offenders view themselves as liberated, their beliefs about women in general do not necessarily denote liberated attitudes. Austin notes that "it is their self-image, not their expectations of others that is likely to influence their behavior" (1982:412).

The increase in female criminality that official crime statistics indicate is thought to be the result of changes in police policy and discretion and in citizen reporting practices rather than an increase in female participation in criminal activity (Austin, 1982; Leventhal, 1977; Nettler, 1978; Schur, 1983)

Austin suggests that increased participation in the labour force may, in fact, be related to the rise in crime

rates, though he states that the increase in embezzlement, larceny and theft are not concomitants of female emancipation. Rather, robbery and auto theft which are not directly related to occupational opportunities "are offences for which a female emancipation effect is greater and more certain" (1982:427).

Other factors that may be responsible for the increase in female criminality are put forth by Austin. The increase in self-service establishments may account for the rise in larceny and theft offences because women are gaining greater access to consumer goods. Additionally, "differential male/female exposure to television advertising of consumer goods and to programs suggesting that crime is profitable" is hypothesized by Austin as other causes of crime (1982:427)

He states that empirical evidence does not support the theory that the women's movement is the cause of increased female criminality. Rather, he postulates that increased participation of women in the labour force and social evolution which are related to, but not consequences of women's liberation, may account for the rise in female crime rates.

In one of the few empirically tested studies conducted on female criminality and its relationship to the women's movement, Gloria Leventhal (1977) studied twenty-five female criminals and twenty-five non-criminal college students, administering three attitudinal scales, to determine if a relationship exists between feminist attitudes and crime. The three scales administered were (1) The Attitude Towards Women Scale, to measure the attitudes towards the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. (2) The Open Subordination to Women Scale, which measures one's attitude toward women's alleged inferiority, narrowness and offensiveness, and (3) The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) Scale used to measure one's own femininity as defined by traditional roles (1977:1180).

The results of the two former scales indicated that the "criminal sample's attitudes toward women in general was that they were weak, less capable and unable to control their emotions...they felt women should be submissive, faithful to their husbands, should not drink, curse or smoke. In short, that a woman's place was in the home" (1977;1181). In addition, all but two of the criminal sample gave negative reactions to the Women's

Liberation Movement. In contrast, the non-criminal sample indicated that women should be assertive and gain equality in all levels of employment, education and socio-sexual matters.

The results of the third scale which measures one's own feminity indicated that the non-criminal women had more traditionally feminine values and interests, stating that they were passive, submissive, weak and inferior to men. The criminal women indicated that they were "less feminine<sup>3</sup> in nature in a world where they believed women should follow traditionally feminine roles" (1977:1181), a view unquestionably contrary to the Women's Liberation Movement.

Leventhal, therefore, concludes that there does not exist a relationship between the women's movement and crime and states that women may not be committing more crimes as many theorists suggest, but that many more of them are being apprehended, convicted and sentenced now more than in previous years.

Other theorists have begun to recognize the importance of empirical evidence in examining the alleged increase in female criminality. As such Steffensmeier

(1978), in his analysis of changing levels of female property crime between 1960 and 1975 states that many theorists, most notably Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) have interpreted the UCR data incorrectly, and suggests that two fundamental issues are being overlooked in the analysis of data . First, one must examine the correlation between female arrest rates and the female population during the same period. If the latter is greater than the former, then to contend that there is a female crime wave is somewhat tenuous. Second, an examination of the increase in female arrests vis-a-vis male arrests is needed to examine the extent, if any, that female crime rates are increasing (Steffensmeier, 1978:567).

From his analysis of UCR data in conjunction with census data, Steffensmeier concluded that with respect to property crime, the increase in the female rate is not commensurate with the increase in the rates for men. Yet, he claims that as the demand for equality increases, women's propensity for committing property crime too should increase, though this increase should not extend to violent crimes (1978:578) Contending:

our data suggests that, although there may be general changes in the female role, there is little evidence for the unique influence of the women's movement on changes in women's propensities for crime, (1978:578)

he asserts that an extension of traditional female role activities are responsible for the increase in property offences committed by females rather than the establishment of new role patterns.

The increase in property crimes such as larceny may be attributed to greater participation of women in sex specific activities such as shopping. Steffensmeier agrees with Austin that the modernization of shopping centers and self-service emporiums have enhanced a woman's ability to shoplift (1978:579). At the same time, he suggests that increased arrest rates for crimes such as shoplifting may be due to technological improvements in surveillance methods and an increased desire on the part of store officials to press charges.

Steffensmeier contests Adler and Simon's theory that as women acquire white-collar jobs, embezzlement and fraud will increase. He states that this implies that female criminals are becoming more masculine and insidious in the

commission of their crimes. He states that the idea of women as corporate embezzlers and architects of sophisticated business frauds is "wishful thinking that women are indeed making inroads into traditional male dominated white-collar and corporate criminal endeavors" (1978:578).

Rather than attributing the increased participation of females in crime to the women's movement, it may be more accurate to suggest that a juxtaposition lay in the shift in the traditional sex-specific division of labour. Citing the passing of bad cheques as an example, he states that as women begin to assume more responsibilities within the home as a result of such things as the rise in divorce rates and single parent families, "the temptations for the fraudulent activities of passing bad cheques and welfare fraud have greatly expanded" (1978:580). In addition, offences such as these are most likely to be committed by women who are removed from any association with the women's movement, namely minority groups and lower class women (Steffensmeier, 1978; Crites, 1976; Datesman and Scarpetti, 1980). Therefore, he states that the new female criminal is a social myth rather than an empirical fact. Women have, and will continue to commit

offences associated with their traditional roles:

From shopper to shoplifter, from cashing good checks to passing bad ones, from being a welfare mother to being accused of welfare fraud.

(1978:580)

In another vein, Joseph Weis (1976) and Laurel Rans (1978) propose that depressed economic conditions are responsible for the increase in female criminality, particularly property offences. Weis suggests that widespread unemployment forces women to seek illegitimate means of support when legitimate opportunities are unavailable to them (1976:26), and Rans points out that in the 1960's and 1970's, women were concentrated in low-paying clerical, operative and service positions, that "in 1974, the median income of full-time women workers was 57% that of full-time men workers" (1978:48), and that the number of families headed by women has increased dramatically in the past two decades (1978:49). As a result, Rans suggests that many women are forced to commit crimes out of economic necessity.

Weis disputes the theory that a relationship exists between the women's movement and crime stating, "female criminal behavior is an illegitimate expression of

legitimate female role expectations. Rather than being a reflection of symbolic masculinity or liberation, it is an alternative means of female role validation (or oppression)" (1976:19). He suggests that the property offences which women are committing reflects sex-determined opportunities and he notes that sexism is as prevalent in the illegitimate arena as it is in the legitimate world. The opportunities to commit certain crimes such as larceny and fraud existed prior to the onset of the women's movement and the movement, therefore, cannot be credited with the responsibility for the increase in female criminality.

Continuing along the line of sociological explanations of crime, Dale Hoffman-Bustamante (1973) suggests that female criminality is the result of five major social factors; sex differences in socialization patterns and application of social control; structurally determined differences in opportunities to commit particular offences; differential access to or pressures toward criminality oriented subcultures and careers, and; sex differences built into the crime categories themselves (1973:117). All of these factors account for the sex differential in arrest rates. That differential

socialization and use of social control is responsible for the vast differences in arrest rates (1973:120) is explained by the author:

Females are more closely supervised and more strictly disciplined in our society yet social control in the form of informal sanctions applied by primary and secondary groups is imposed more consistently and for more minor deviations from accepted standards. This results in a situation where females have been taught to conform to more rigid standards and rewarded for such behavior, whereas males are told to conform, yet are rewarded for flaunting many conventional standards"

(1973:120)

The aforementioned factors are allegedly further enhanced by the sex-specific skills acquired by an individual in committing a crime. Women are seldom taught how to use weapons. In the course of growing up, they are rarely encouraged to learn to fight as are young boys. Hence, in the commission of crimes involving violence, they are limited to the use of household implements (1973:122).

The fact that women overwhelmingly use knives and other household implements in the commission of homicide supports the theory that a women's sex role, the skills

she has acquired, and her network of social relations is closely associated to the nature of the criminal act which she commits (1973:123).

Hoffman-Bustamante contends that property crimes such as larceny are closely linked to sex roles (1973:123). Relying on data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Crime In the U.S. (1970), the author points out that proportionately more women than men are arrested for shoplifting which is a result of the majority of women doing the department and grocery store shopping.

Cameron (1964), however, attributes this to the fact that most of the female shoplifters are amateurs and are therefore arrested more often than men (1964:56). Burglary is another offence which Hoffman-Bustamante identifies as a sex specific offence, though committed by men rather than women. She suggests that burglary usually involves forcible entry which often necessitates the use of physical strength and that men are more likely than women to be out at night when many burglaries occur (1973:124). Furthermore, boys are more likely to acquire the skills necessary to commit such a crime in the course of growing up (1973:124).

The author points out that women are less likely to become involved in a crime that involves force, threat of force or actual or potential confrontation with the victim. As a result, women generally involve themselves in crimes in which the victim may not be aware an offence is being committed such as shoplifting, forgery or fraud.

To conclude, the author states that women tend not to be arrested for stereotyped male crimes such as robbery and burglary but when they are, they have usually played auxiliary roles. She further contends that "where the crime requires behavior that is consistent with expected female roles, women appear to make up a large number of petty criminals (forgery, fraud, embezzlement, prostitution, vagrancy, curfew and runaway)" (1973:131). These offences, however, provide lesser returns and often make women more vulnerable to arrest.

Carol Smart, in her 1978 work, Women, Crime and Criminology acknowledges a possible correlation between women's liberation and crime, but also offers other explanations for the increase in female deviancy. She states that the notion that female emancipation is responsible for the new trend in female criminality is

premised on two underlying assumptions, the first being that females are becoming more masculine and particularly, more violent. Second, that the women's movement denotes an attempt to imitate the male sex (1978:71).

Smart states that most studies do not provide a statistical picture, yet there exists a widely held notion that females are not only becoming more criminal but also the violence associated with their offences is increasing (1978:72). Smart attributes this belief of increased crime and violence among women to what she terms a "moral panic" (1978:72). This belief apparently stems from the opinion expressed by social workers and the like who report that their young female clients are more violent than in previous years, and it is augmented by the media which labels female criminality as a serious social problem. Smart claims that the increase in female criminality is an apparent rather than a real one due to a change in definition rather than a change in behavior. "Police, social workers, and other agents of social control are more ready to define deviant behavior by women and girls as violent or 'masculine' because of the apparent changes in the social and economic position of women" (1978:73). Therefore, Smart contends that the

preception of female criminality and its increase is the result of a new appraisal of the problem rather than a change in the offender herself or the frequency of her criminal offences.

Smart contends that to suggest that the women's movement and its followers are attempting to emulate men is an over-simplification. Rather, she suggests that the movement refers to:

the ability to resist stereotyped sex roles and to reject limiting preconceptions about the inherent capabilities of the sexes. If some women seem to be emulating men, it is not because of the philosophy of the women's movement, it is primarily because there are at present only two socially acceptable identities available to individuals, the stereotypical and polarized masculine and feminine models. If one is rejected the only other 'acceptable' model available is that of the other sex, there are as yet no other socially legitimate alternatives.

(1978:74)

She suggests that changes in the rate of female criminality can not be attributed solely to the women's movement. Economic, social and political changes that have transpired and evolved have also made their contribution. Supporting this point, she notes that the

majority of female offenders are working class women who are not advocates of the women's movement. However, she concedes, these women may be dissatisfied with the sexism that hampers and restricts them in their endeavors, "but the changes in their consciousness are as likely to be caused by the changing material conditions as by the principles of the women's movement" (1978:74). Therefore, Smart states that a simple causal relationship between the involvement and increased female criminality postulated by many theorists ignores the changes, both material and structural, that women who are independent of the demand for sexual equality are experiencing.

Hartz-Karp (cited in Mukherjee and Scutt, 1981), provides insight into the prevalence of female criminality in Western Australia and its relationship to the contemporary women's movement. The author states that the myth which surrounds modern day theories in North America that female criminality is related to the women's movement has found its way to Western Australia. However, the author notes that the court and prison statistics in Western Australia do not support this relationship. He points out that the majority of female offenders in

Western Australia have always been aboriginal tribal women for whom the women's movement has no meaning (1981:171). Few women prisoners were actually employed in the work force which contradicts the theory that women employed in the work force have greater access to economic crime. Further, a result of the women's movement would be the involvement of more females in masculine type crimes such as aggressive and violent offences. However, court data indicates that violent crimes committed by females though rising, are rising at a much slower rate than male violent crimes. (1981:172). Finally, the author states that the impact of the women's movement on crime cannot be substantiated because there exists no incontrovertible evidence that female crime rates have risen significantly over the past decade (1981:172).

Girodano and Cernkovick (1979) state that it is not enough to suggest that women's liberation and its accompanying attitudes and freedoms are responsible for augmented female crime statistics:

The simple liberation-causes-crime argument ignores the fact that gender roles must be conceptualized as multidimensional, and that there can be important differences between and actor's attitudes about women in general and herself in particular

(1979:479)

They suggest, as Leventhal does, that delinquent girls have more liberated attitudes about what constitutes appropriate behavior. However, they warn that although it may be true that women are entering occupational fields previously occupied solely by men, the majority of women arrested are either unemployed or employed in low status and low paying jobs. Therefore, they suggest that it is necessary to examine other factors such as socio-economic status and race in order to develop a more comprehensive explanation of female criminality.

In conclusion, therefore, the foregoing review has indicated that there are two very distinct theories which have arisen from the research, one relating to the biological nature of female criminality and the other surrounding the social factors associated with female criminality. While the biological theorists looked at the differences between male and female criminality, the social theorists looked at the changing volume and nature of female criminality and its approximation to male criminality. These theorists, most notably Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) suggest that female criminality is approximating male because of changes in social roles.

resulting from the contemporary women's movement. Other theorists suggest that although there have been no appreciable increase in female criminality, the women's movement has indeed highlighted the approximation of females to male criminality.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

A review of the literature indicates that many theorists view emancipation and the concomitant contemporary women's movement as causal factors related to an increase in female criminality. These authors suggest that the emancipation of women, as evidenced by the increased opportunities in the labour force will give rise to a profusion in the number of female offenders, and that their crimes will transform from petty theft to crimes more serious in nature.

Other theorists, though unwilling to acknowledge a simple A causes B relationship concede that social evolution and a shift in traditional sex-specific roles may be related to the increase in female criminality witnessed in the last several decades.

This thesis seeks to test the former theory and in doing so, ascertain the extent of the effect of female emancipation on female criminality utilizing data relating to Ontario from 1975 through 1984. For this test, it is hypothesized that:

- (1) Female crime rates in Ontario have increased in absolute terms;

- (2) Female crime rates in Ontario have increased disproportionately vis-a-vis male crime rates in Ontario;
- (3) Female crime rates have increased with an increased participation of women in the labour force; and,
- (4) Female property crime rates have increased vis-a-vis female participation in executive-white-collar and white-collar positions and within the tertiary sector.

There are a number of studies investigating the relationship between female criminality and the emancipation of women. Adler (1975), who first put forward the idea in the form of a more or less definitive theory which claimed that the improvement of opportunities related to education and employment derived from the emancipation of women will cause an increase in female crime, did not empirically test her theory but rather provided a brief and scant descriptive analysis of UCR data to support her claim that female crime is increasing at a rate greater than males. She related the increase in female criminality in part to the women's liberation movement and the accompanying struggle to reach parity with men in addition to the changing way which women relate to the world.

There are, however, a number of other studies which have sought to test the hypothesis empirically. Austin (1982) examined crime rates to determine whether the female contribution to the American crime rate rose for certain male-oriented offences during the 1960's and 1970's. Then he went on to ascertain whether the increase in female crime was related to changes in female emancipation. He operationally defined emancipation, in terms of (1) divorce rates stating "an increase in these rates suggest that males and females feel less dependent both financially and emotionally on one another" (1982:413), and (2) female participation in the labour force claiming "increased labour force participation by women reflects a lessening of restrictions on the useful roles allowed to them" (1982:413).

The dependent variables in his study consisted of female contribution to arrests for burglary, robbery, auto-theft, and fraud/embezzlement. His study used arithmetic co-ordinate charts and polynomial regression (1982:414). Based on the analysis of trend lines, Austin concluded that the percentage of females involved in all of the offences examined have, in fact, increased over

time and in conjunction with an increase in divorce and labour force participation rates. However, he has expressed a reluctance to conclude a relationship. He points out that "contrary to the dominant position in the literature, the evidence does not show a stronger or more likely effect of female emancipation on larceny-theft than on more serious offences" (1982:427). In the case of burglary, while there is a clear relationship, he points out that the relationship cannot be concluded because the skills required for burglary are unlikely to be produced by emancipation alone (1982:425)

Steffensmeier (1978) conducted a similar study in which he sought to determine whether there has been an increase in females arrested for property crimes from 1960 to 1975 and whether changes in female participation in crimes can be attributed to the effects of the women's movement (1978:568). Using regression analysis with multiple correlation coefficients, the author compared the dependent variables of arrest statistics of males and females based on UCR data with the independent variable of property crime. Five indices of property crime were used:

(1) burglary (2) larceny-theft (3) auto-theft (4) fraud/embezzlement, and (5) stolen property. Two different calculations were used on the UCR data. First, UCR arrest data and census reports were combined to calculate offence specific arrest rates which have been refined to account for sex distributions in the population (1978:569). The second calculation gave the percentage that females contribute to the total arrest rate for each offence and the combined property crime index.

From the regression analysis, Steffensmeier concluded that :

A comparison of the multiple correlations coefficients....reveals that the coefficients are so high (97.8 and higher) for the basic equation that there is little variation left to be explained....and the impact of the women's movement have a negligible effect on the amount of variation explained. This analysis, then, offers little support for the position linking the women's movement to observed increases in the level of female property crime.

(1978:573)

Rita Simon (1975) explores the relationship between emancipation and crime hypothesizing that "women's participation in selected crimes will increase as her interests, desires and definitions of self shift from more traditional to a more 'liberated' view" (1975:36). To

test her hypothesis, she used the percentage of females arrested as well as comparing male and female arrest rates for homicide, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft, auto-theft, embezzlement and fraud, and forgery and counterfeiting.

However, like Adler, Simon fails to actually test her hypothesis. Although she provides statistics to highlight the increase in female criminality vis-a-vis males, she does not use any independent variables to demonstrate the hypothesized link between emancipation and crime. She simply assumed emancipation. In this respect, Simon has done little to corroborate an otherwise interesting hypothesis.

Timothy Hartnagel (1974) conducted a similar study to those aforementioned, suggesting that "the female crime rate varies inversely with the rate of involvement of females in the social roles of wife and mother and directly with the rate of female participation in occupational and educational roles" (1975:5). The effect of these social roles on female crime rates was examined, with the years 1931 through 1968 being selected for the study.

The dependent variable was the female crime rates measured by the female conviction rate for indictable offences and using the specific offence category of theft. The independent variables consisted of (1) fertility rates (2) marriage rates (3) divorce rates, (4) labour force participation and, (5) educational attainment.

The female involvement in the social role of wife and mother was measured by the marriage and divorce rates (per 100,000 population), and the total fertility rate (live births per 100,000) women respectively (1974:8)

Labour force participation rates (per 100,000 females aged 14 and over ) was used to measure female participation in the social role of worker. Finally, education was measured by the rate of female granted post-secondary school degrees (per 10,000 females aged 20 through 34) (1974:8).

The statistical technique employed by the author was path analysis with "the total effect of an independent variable on the dependent variable given by the zero-order correlation coefficients" (1974:11). The author's findings revealed that only education had a consistent and hypothesized effect across the four conditions examined.

The role of mother had the predicted negative effect on conviction rates for all offences but not for theft (1974:17). The author suggests that while the role of wife and mother may preclude women from becoming involved in serious indictable offences, it may not limit her opportunities to commit crimes of theft such as shoplifting (1974:17),

A positive direct effect was found with respect to female participation in education and labour force participation on theft conviction rates: "as females become more involved in extra-familial roles, they are exposed to greater opportunities for crime and this appears to be particularly relevant in the case of property crimes" (1974:16). It was found that female occupational roles measured by labour force participation did not have a strong positive effect as was hypothesized. The author suggests that this may be the result of the "relative small degree of variability of female labour force participation rates over the time period of interest (1974:16).

A review of the empirically tested studies indicates that a variety of statistical methods have been employed

to determine whether a relationship exists between emancipation and female criminality. This study seeks to test the hypothesized relationship between female criminality and emancipation with data from Ontario. Basically, what it seeks to do is to ascertain whether there is a relationship between female criminality and indices of female emancipation.

For the purposes of this study, emancipation is defined as the freedom from control and the release from subordinate positions and civil disabilities. It also includes the lessening of restrictions of the social roles of wife and mother which allows women to take on extra-familial roles in such areas as employment and education. Emancipation consequently could be measured by indices of participation of females in roles outside the family. Such an index exists in labour force participation and associated with it would be occupation.

Labour force participation -the independent variable- will be central to the measurement of emancipation. The labour force is defined as "the civilian non-institutional population 15 years of age and over who were (during the

survey period) employed or unemployed". (The Labour Force Annual Averages, 71-529, P.528). Data on labour force participation are obtainable from The Labour Force Annual Averages. A labour force participant is defined as:

A person aged 15 years or over (14 years prior to 1976) who worked or looked for work at any time during the reference year. If a person neither worked nor looked for work at any time during the reference year, he/she is considered to be not in the labour force

(Earnings of Men and Women  
Cat. 13-577:14)

Since the operational definitions of the labour force includes those who are employed and unemployed, a distinction must be made between the two.

Employed persons are those who, during the reference period:

- (1)
  - (a) did any work at all.
  - (b) had a job but were not at work due to:
    - own illness or disability
    - personal or family responsibilities
    - bad weather
    - labour dispute
    - vacation
    - other reason not specified above (excluding persons on lay off and persons whose job attachment was to a job to start at a definite date in the future).

Unemployed persons are those who, during the reference period:

- (a) were without work, had actively looked for work in the past 4 weeks (ending with reference week) and were available(2) for work.
- (b) had not actively looked for work in the past 4 weeks but had been on layoff (3) and were available for work.
- (c) had not actively looked for work in the past 4 weeks but had a new job to start in 4 weeks or less from reference week, and were available for work.

(Labour Force Annual Averages,  
Cat. 71-529 p.528)

Occupation has two dimensions that must be considered (Murphy and Morris, 1961). The first is the place of work- the industrial sector into which the work has been categorized. These sectors are 1) Primary, which consists of agriculture (farming, fishing, hunting and forestry - logging occupations); 2) Secondary, which is comprised of non-agriculture, transportation, other primary, communication and other utilities, manufacturing and construction, and; 3) Tertiary, which includes trade, finance, insurance, real estate, service, and public administration.

The second is the type of work which is more or less an indication of the status of an individual in the sector in which he/she is employed. Type of work has been categorized as 1) Executive white collar which includes management, professional etc.; 2) White collar which includes clerical, sales, service and primary occupations, and; 3) Blue collar which includes processing, construction, transportation, material handling and other crafts. These data are available in Labour Force Annual Averages.

The dependent variable in this study - the crime rate- will be measured by the number of persons charged for selected offences in Ontario, obtained from Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. These offences will consist of murder, manslaughter, break and enter, assault, theft over \$200.00, theft under \$200.00, robbery, fraud, and possession of stolen goods. The number of persons charged has been selected as the measurement of crime rates owing to the fact that it is the only UCR category which is sub-divided by sex and by adults and juveniles. This category is operationally defined as:

The number of persons - not charges - counted. A person simultaneously charged with more than one type of offence is scored only once and against the most serious offence....Individuals under this heading are broken down into adults and juveniles, and sub-divided into sex. "Adult" is any person of sixteen years or over or such age as may be directed in any province.

(Silverman et. al. 1975:384)

Inherent in any empirical study are limitations with the data selected for analysis. When doing a longitudinal study of this nature, one is committed to the use of officially published statistics. To test the reliability and validity of the social indices would necessitate the use of independent sources. However, such sources do not exist.

There are, however, factors which affect the validity and reliability of the UCR data, especially when the data spans a period of time. Legislative changes occurring during the period result in changes in definitions and consequently the nature of the data collected. The change from capital murder to first degree murder is an example. There are also changes in the reporting and recording techniques of police departments due to legislative, policy and administrative changes during the period under study.

In addition, UCR purports to measure crime in Canada. However, recent victimization surveys, namely the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, indicate that there is a great deal of crime that remains unreported (Solicitor General of Canada, 1983). Additionally, UCR data is designed to measure crime reported by the police, however, actual measurement is crimes reported by the police, which calls into question the validity of the data. However, crimes reported to the police vis-a-vis all crimes is particularly important for this study because of the possibility of crimes committed by females may not be reported to the police.

Silverman and Teevan (1975) highlight some of the more salient limitations to UCR data, and with the number of persons charged in particular. They suggest that there are problems with the number of persons charged based on the counting procedure. They state:

The number of persons are counted rather than the number of charges. A person simultaneously charged with more than one type of offence is scored only once, and for the most serious offence. This procedure makes it difficult to compare criminals with criminal offences, since only one criminal may be responsible for many crimes.

(1975:73)

When tests of hypotheses involve the use of measures of phenomena over a period of time, the statistical technique that presents itself not only as a possibility, but even as a desirability is the technique of Time Series Analysis. This method of analysis, though it does not permit the drawing of a causal relation reveals the relationship of the one to the other over a period of time.

A time series is a collection of observations generated sequentially through time. The special features of a time series are that the data are ordered with respect to time, and the successive observations are usually expected to be dependent.

(Vandaele, 1983:1)

Time series analysis is appropriate for use in this study, however, such an analysis calls for the use of a sufficiently long series to avoid the undue influence of cyclical movements and erratic fluctuation. Labour force data collection and reporting practices were changed after 1983 so that the post 1983 data would be incomparable with the pre 1983 data. The collection and reporting procedures prior to 1975 were similarly changed and, therefore, the series has to be limited to 1975-1983. The

period of time under study is not sufficiently long enough for the use of the sophisticated technique. However, as the interest is in the change over a period of time, the technique of indexing will be used to study the changes.

For establishing the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variable, the relationship between the changes in the one to changes in the other over time using the slopes of the trend equations cannot be used. Instead, recourse has to be to the technique of regression analysis.

"Regression analysis is a mathematical-statistical technique for transforming one set of descriptions into another set of descriptions such as observations into functional relationships" (McKay et. al, 1983:1). However, regression analysis would treat the data as cross-sectional and not as the logitudinal data they really are. A simple regression analysis will be used in order to generate correlations between the two variables and to establish whether the relationship between the variables is significant.

END NOTES

(1) Work includes any work for pay or profit, that is, paid work in the context of an employer-employee relationship or self-employment. It also includes unpaid family work where family work is defined as unpaid work which contributes directly to the operation of a farm, business or professional practice owned or operated by a related member of the household.

(2) Persons in this group meeting the following criteria are regarded as available.

(i) were full-time students seeking part-time work who also met condition (ii) below. Full-time students looking for full-time work are classified as not available for work in the reference week.

(ii) reported that there was no reason why they could not take a job in a reference week, or if they could not take a job, it was because of "own illness or disability", "personal or family responsibilities" or "already had a job".

(3) Persons are classified as being on lay-off only when they expect to return to the job from which they were laid off.

(Labour Force Annual Averages  
71-529, p.528)

CHAPTER THREE

THE FINDINGS

During the period under study, the years 1975 through 1984, female criminality in Ontario, as measured by the number of females charged with criminal code offences per 100,000 females in the province, has shown an increase. The rate was 635.873 in 1975. It was 729.667 in 1984. The increase during this period, however, was not achieved by a steady upward change. There was an initial increase which was followed by a decline. The change in trend occurred in 1981 when a peak rate of 815.147 was reached (Table 1 and Figure 1).

Male criminality during this period was much greater than female criminality but the two show similar trends. There was an initial increase followed by a steady decline. The peak, however, was reached not in 1981 but in 1980. In 1975, the male rate for all crime was 3612.34. At the peak in 1980 it was 4321.97 and at the end of the period in 1984 it was 3876.60 (Table 1 and Figure 2). When the female/male ratio is considered, it shows that there were 17.6 females charged per 100 males in 1975 and then changed to become 18.8 females per 100 males in 1984. The change, it should be noted, is very small. All in all, it would be reasonable to conclude

TABLE 1

Male and Female Total Crime Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Total Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	635.873	100
1976	712.331	112.0
1977	685.093	107.7
1978	754.487	118.7
1979	745.031	117.2
1980	789.607	124.2
1981	815.147	128.2
1982	769.537	121.0
1983	768.668	120.9
1984	729.667	114.8

	<u>Male Total Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	3612.34	100
1976	3897.49	107.9
1977	3928.57	108.8
1978	4130.84	114.4
1979	4088.09	113.2
1980	4321.97	119.6
1981	4258.12	117.9
1982	4093.97	113.3
1983	4000.32	110.7
1984	3876.60	107.3

	<u>Total Crime Female/Male Ratio</u>
1977	17.6
1978	18.3
1977	17.4
1978	18.3
1979	18.2
1980	18.3
1981	19.1
1982	18.8
1983	19.2
1984	18.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 1 RATE OF CRIME (TOTAL) - FEMALES

1975-1984

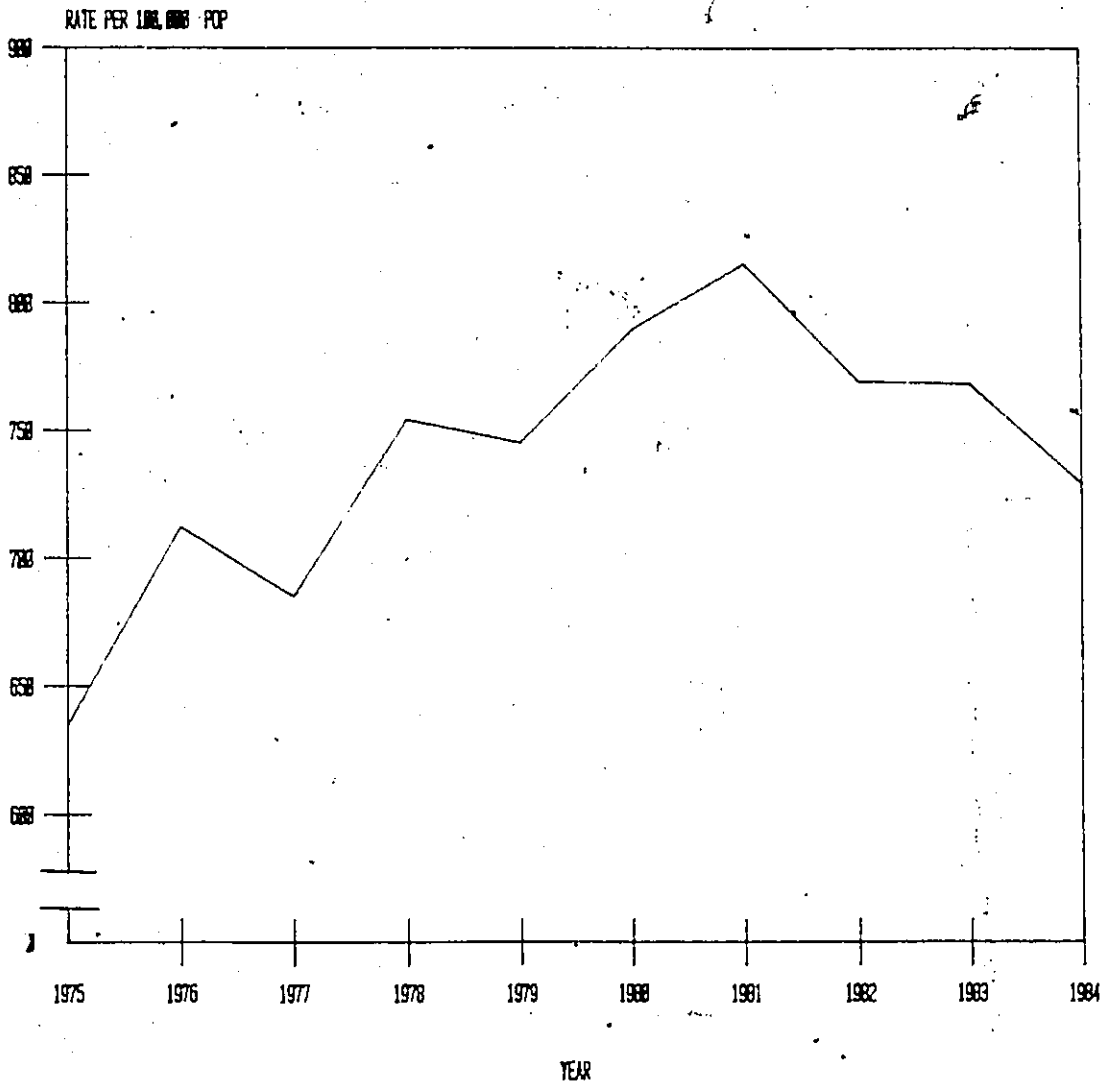
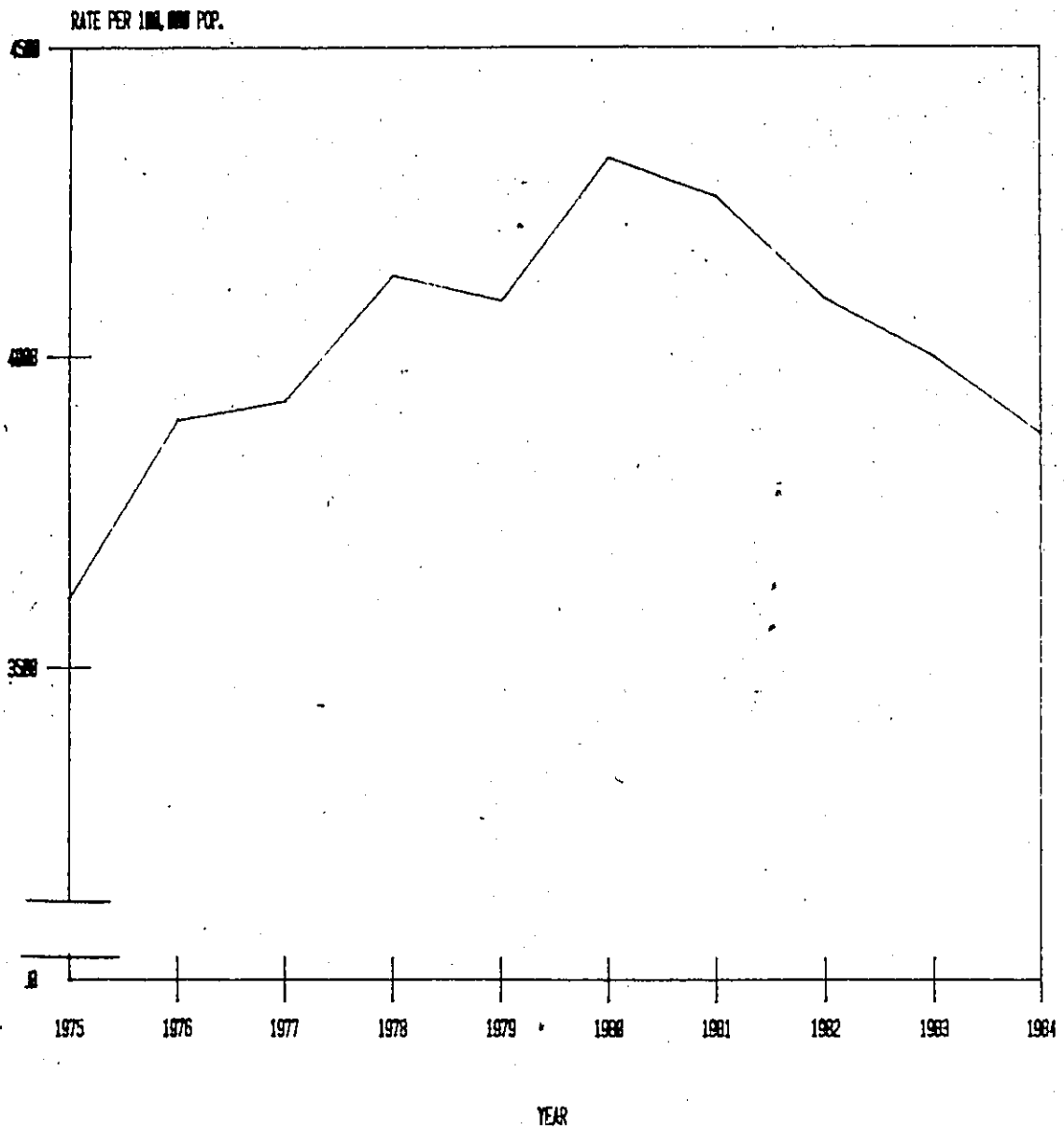


FIG. 2 RATE OF CRIME (TOTAL)-MALES

1975-1984



that the changes that occurred in male and female criminality during this period were more or less similar. However, when the different types of crime are considered separately, the picture obtained is different.

The rates for violent offences, which include homicide, both murder and manslaughter, assault and robbery are shown in table 2 and figures 3 and 4. These rates have increased for both males and females during the period under study. The male rate increased from 510.897 in 1975 to 678.710 in 1984. The increase was initially small but towards the end of the period there was a sharp increase. The female rate increased from a rate of 50.3998 in 1975, slowly at first but with a massive jump from 61.4989 in 1979 to reach a peak rate of 96.1095 in 1980. The rate then dropped to 70.9591 in 1981 and rose again to 80.8577 in 1983 and finally fell to 77.9755 in 1984.

When the female/male ratio is considered, it is apparent that the number of females charged with violent crimes increased at a faster rate than males. In 1975 there were 9.9 females charged with violent crimes for

TABLE 2

Male and Female Total Violent Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Violent Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	50.3998	100
1976	54.2144	107.6
1977	52.2608	104.1
1978	59.3523	118.2
1979	61.4989	122.0
1980	96.1095	170.7
1981	70.9591	140.8
1982	71.9210	142.7
1983	80.8577	160.4
1984	77.9755	154.7

	<u>Male Violent Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	510.897	100
1976	522.929	102.4
1977	526.102	103.0
1978	550.894	107.8
1979	544.947	106.7
1980	581.222	113.8
1981	558.530	109.8
1982	560.796	109.3
1983	667.689	130.7
1984	678.710	132.8

	<u>Total Violence Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	9.9
1976	10.4
1977	9.9
1978	10.8
1979	11.3
1980	16.5
1981	12.7
1982	12.8
1983	12.1
1984	11.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 3 RATE OF VIOLENT CRIMES -FEMALES

1975-1984

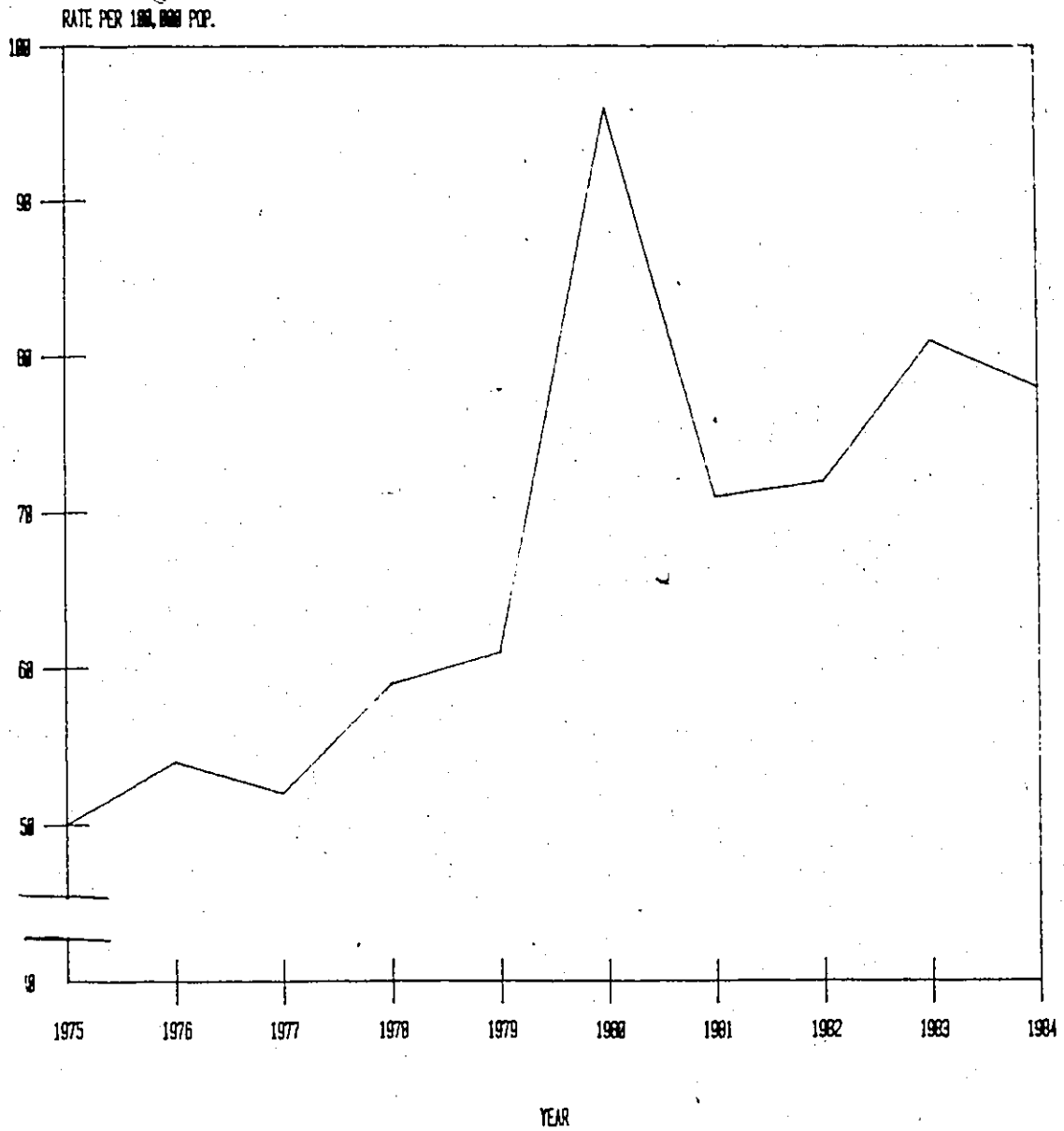
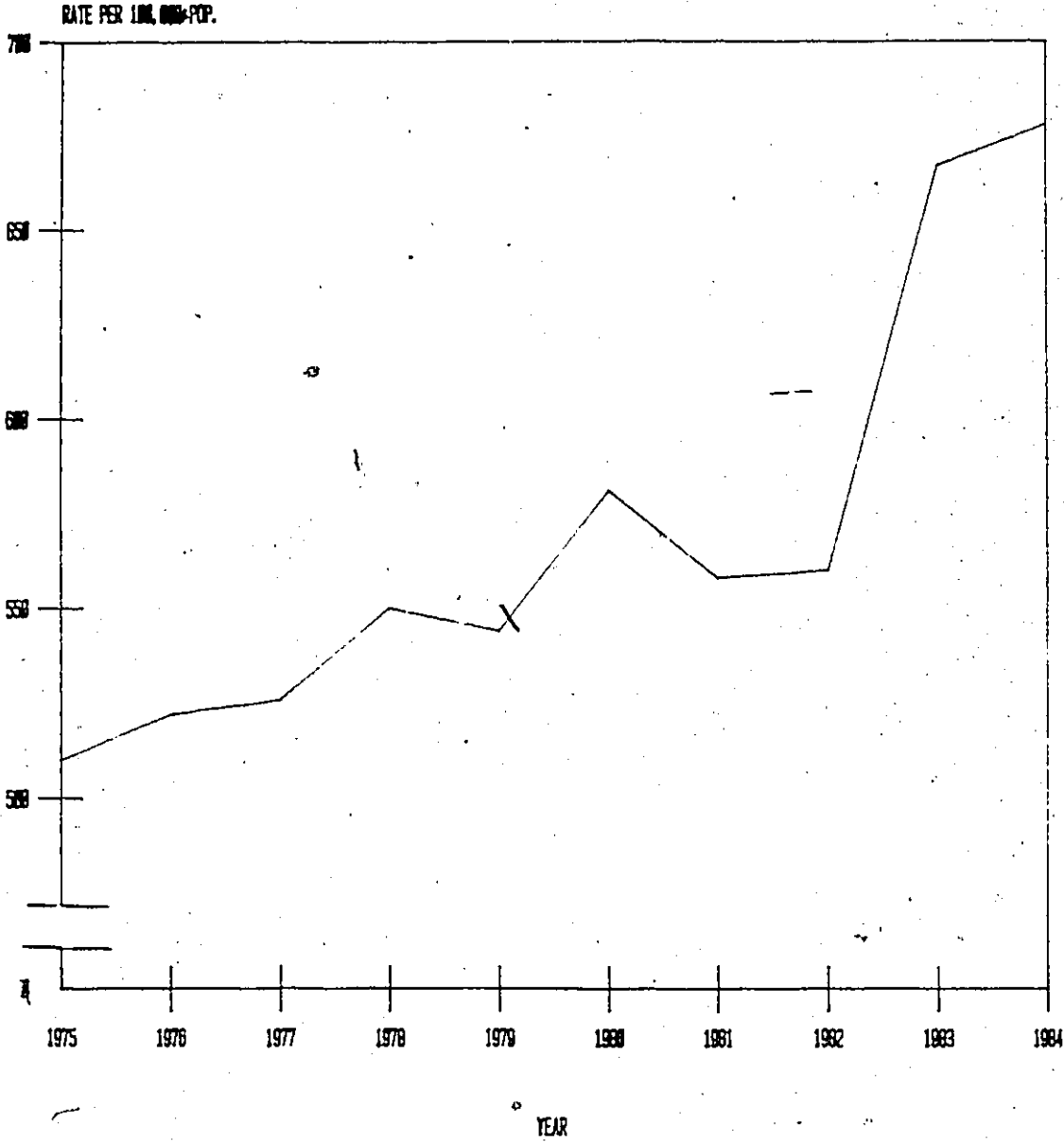


FIG. 4 RATE OF VIOLENT CRIMES - MALES

1975-1984



every 100 males so charged. In 1980 when the female rate reached its peak, the figure had changed to 16.5. Since then, the figure has steadily declined until in 1984 there were 11.5 females charged for every 100 males, still much larger than the 1975 figure (Table 2).

Property crimes which include break and enter, theft over \$200.00, theft under \$200.00, possession of stolen goods and fraud, show that more or less similar changes have occurred in the rate of males and females charged.

The rate of males charged with property offences (Table 3 and Figure 5) increased, though somewhat erratically from 1465.70 in 1975 to a peak of 1838.31 in 1981, and then decreased to 1631.20 in 1984.

Females charged with property offences (Table 3 and Figure 6) also increased, again somewhat erratically from 401.831 in 1975 to a peak of 531.775 in 1981, and then dropped to 450.963 in 1984. The female/male ratio (Table 3) indicates that the ratio has remained relatively constant from 1975 (27.4) to 1984 (27.6).

Offences under the Narcotic Control Act have declined when the entire period under study is considered (Table

TABLE 3

Male and Female Property Crime Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Property Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	401.831	100
1976	444.071	110.5
1977	419.328	104.4
1978	476.492	118.6
1979	488.710	121.6
1980	501.341	124.8
1981	531.775	132.4
1982	505.986	125.9
1983	486.306	121.0
1984	450.963	112.2

	<u>Male Property Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	1465.70	100
1976	1556.05	106.2
1977	1486.10	101.4
1978	1612.63	110.0
1979	1779.02	121.4
1980	1798.03	122.7
1981	1838.31	125.4
1982	1833.80	125.1
1983	1711.46	116.8
1984	1631.20	111.3

	<u>Total Property Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	27.4
1976	28.5
1977	28.2
1978	29.5
1979	27.5
1980	27.9
1981	28.9
1982	27.6
1983	28.4
1984	27.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 5. RATE OF PROPERTY CRIMES-MALES

1975-1984

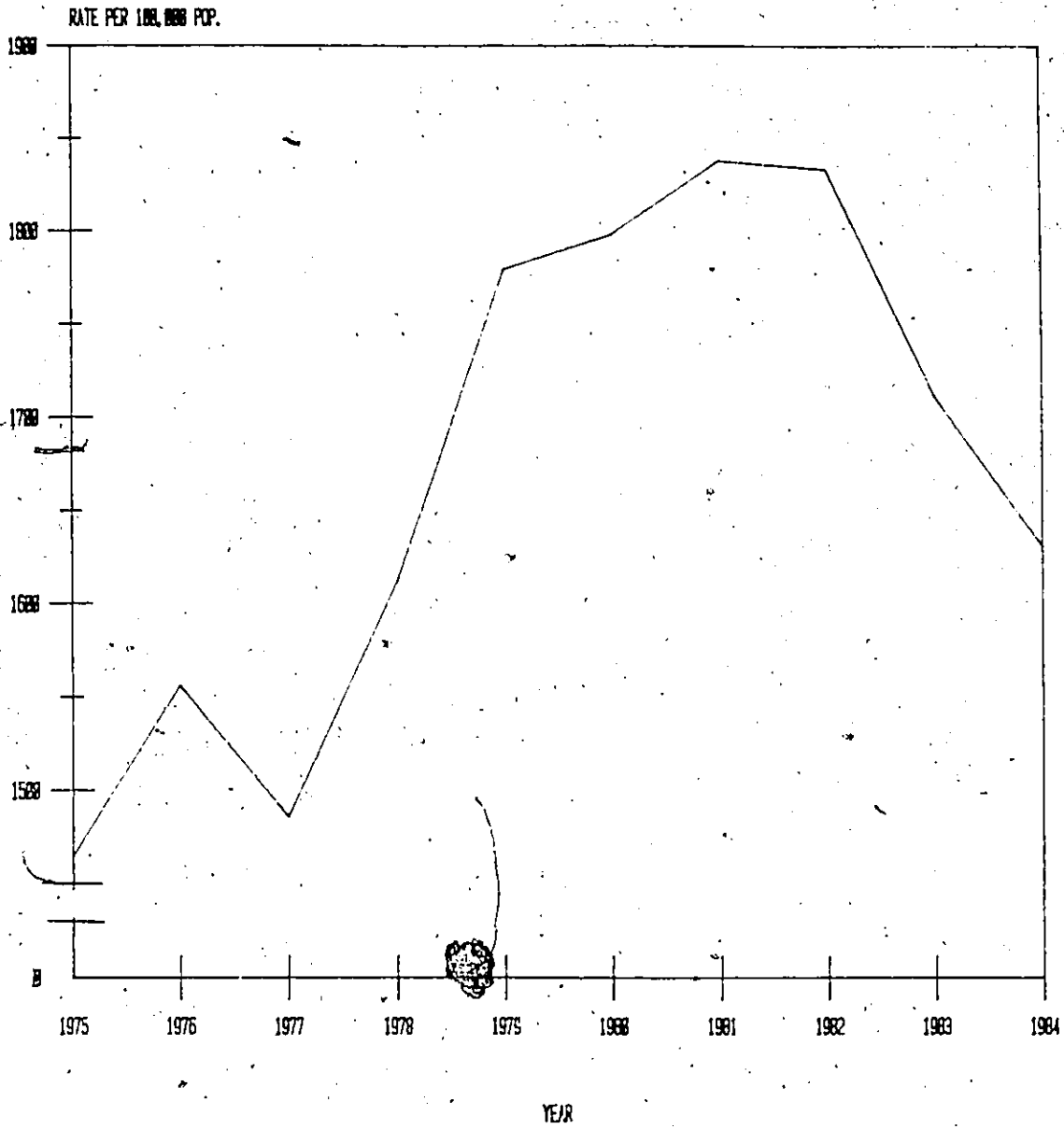
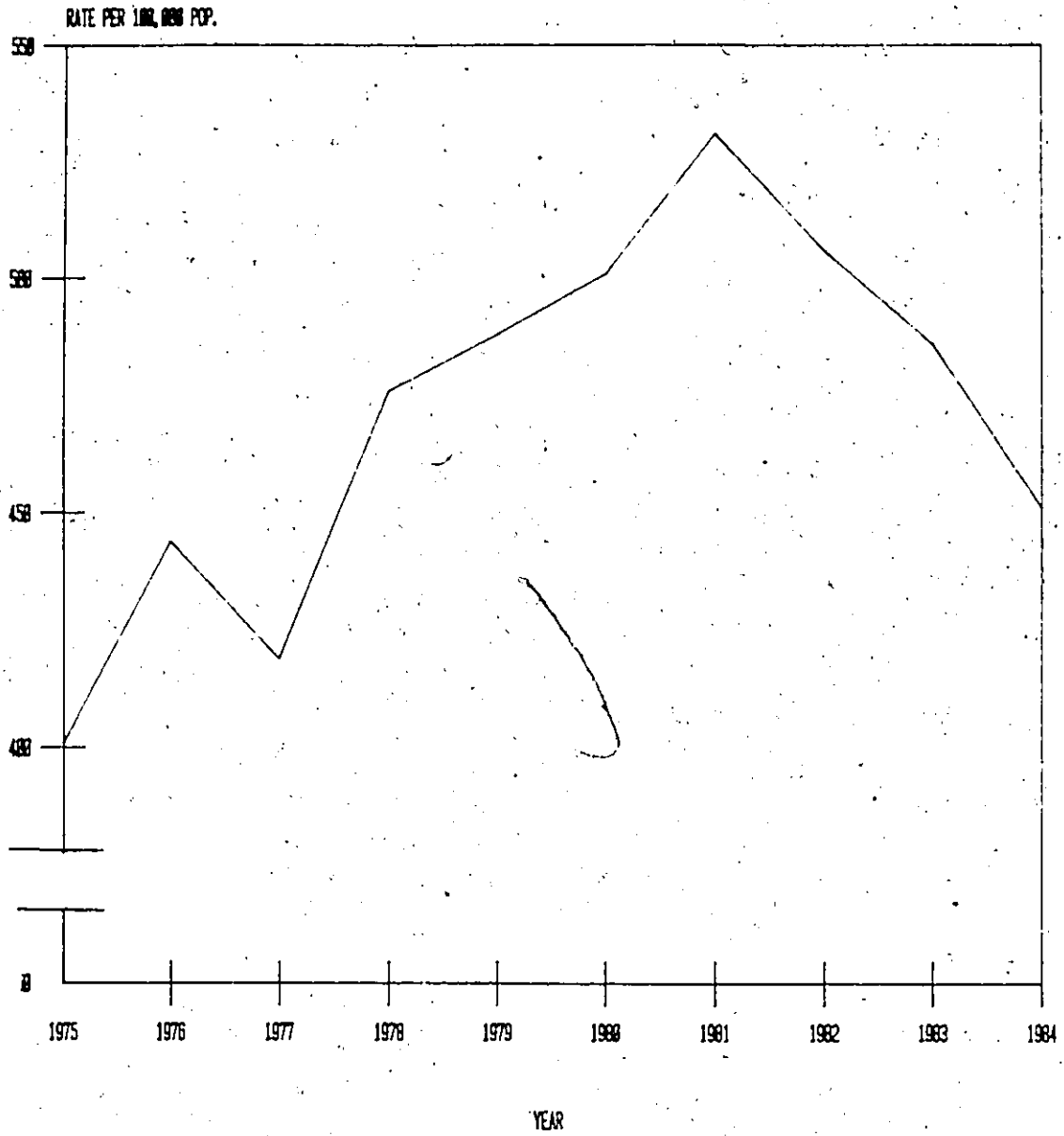


FIG. 6 RATE OF PROPERTY CRIMES-FEMALES

1975-1984



4). In 1975, the rate of males charged with narcotic offences was 589.999 and in 1984 it was 373.825. The rate for females was 66.9893 in 1975. It was 39.0023 in 1984. In the intervening years, the rates for both males and females showed fluctuations. In the case of males, there was an initial increase to 695.732 in 1980. Thereafter, the rate decreased to 373.825 in 1984 (Figure 7).

A similar trend was witnessed with the rate of females charged with narcotic offences. There was an initial increase to a peak of 76,7677 in 1980 and then a decrease to 39.0023 in 1984 (Figure 8). The changes indicate a much greater decline in the female rate than the male. This is supported by the changes in the female/male ratio. This ratio decreased from 11.4 in 1975 to 10.4 in 1984 (Table 4). The only exception was 1983 when the ratio was 12.4. The decrease in both male and female rates could perhaps be attributed to legislation changes in the Narcotic Control Act but these changes cannot account for the differences in the changes in the male and female ratio.

When individual crimes within these offence categories are considered separately, entirely different

TABLE 4

Male and Female Drug Offence Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Drug Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	66.9893	100
1976	74.6177	111.4
1977	67.6909	101.0
1978	58.1712	86.8
1979	67.6102	100.9
1980	76.7677	114.6
1981	73.3151	109.4
1982	55.3075	82.6
1983	45.1126	67.3
1984	39.0023	58.2

	<u>Male Drug Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	589.999	100
1976	654.893	111.0
1977	665.397	112.8
1978	574.690	97.4
1979	659.127	111.7
1980	695.732	117.9
1981	672.853	114.0
1982	469.763	79.6
1983	362.354	61.4
1984	373.825	63.4

	<u>Total Drugs Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	11.4
1976	11.4
1977	10.2
1978	10.1
1979	10.3
1980	11.0
1981	10.9
1982	11.8
1983	12.4
1984	10.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 7 RATE OF DRUG RELATED OFFEN. MALES

1975-1984

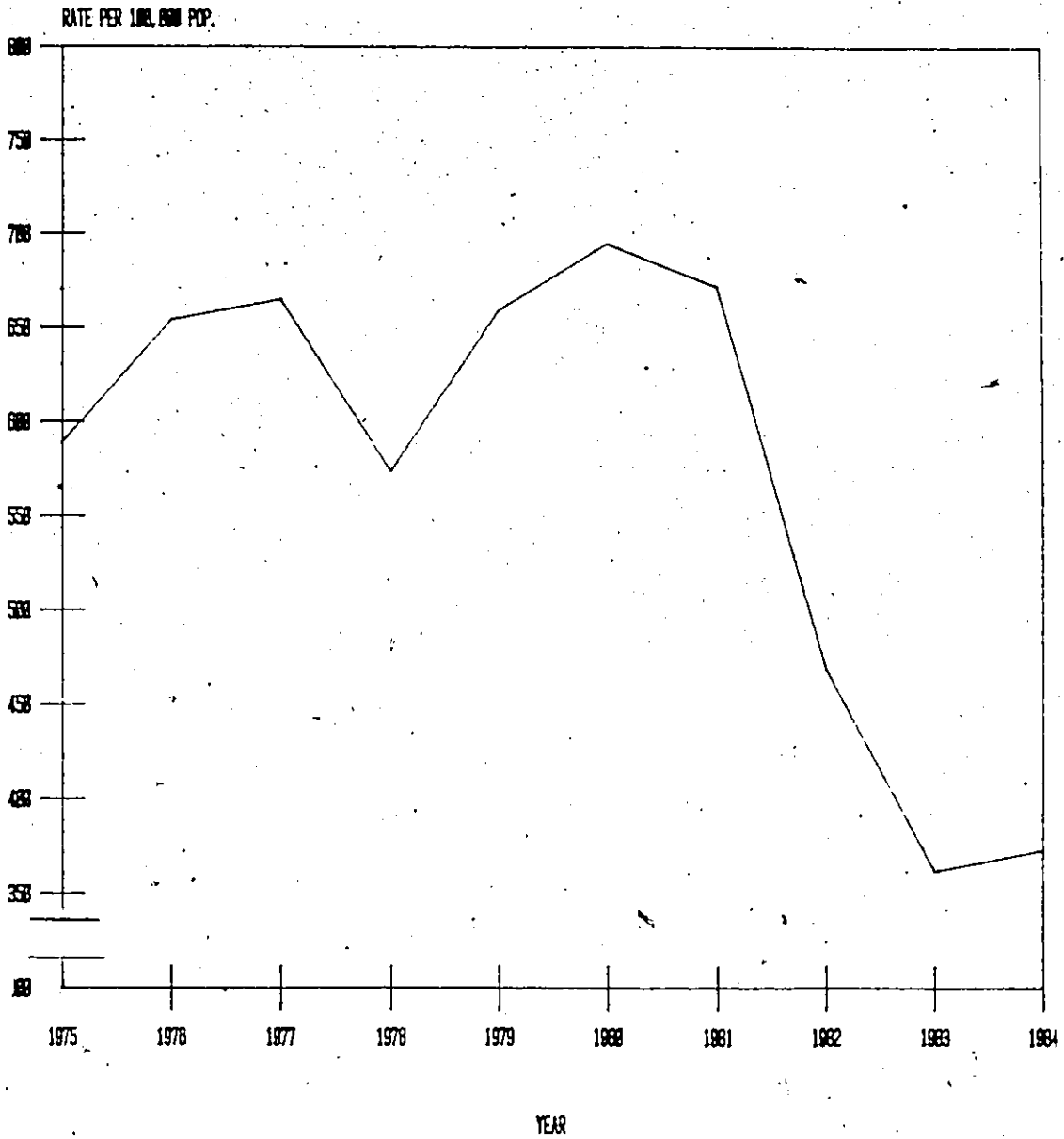
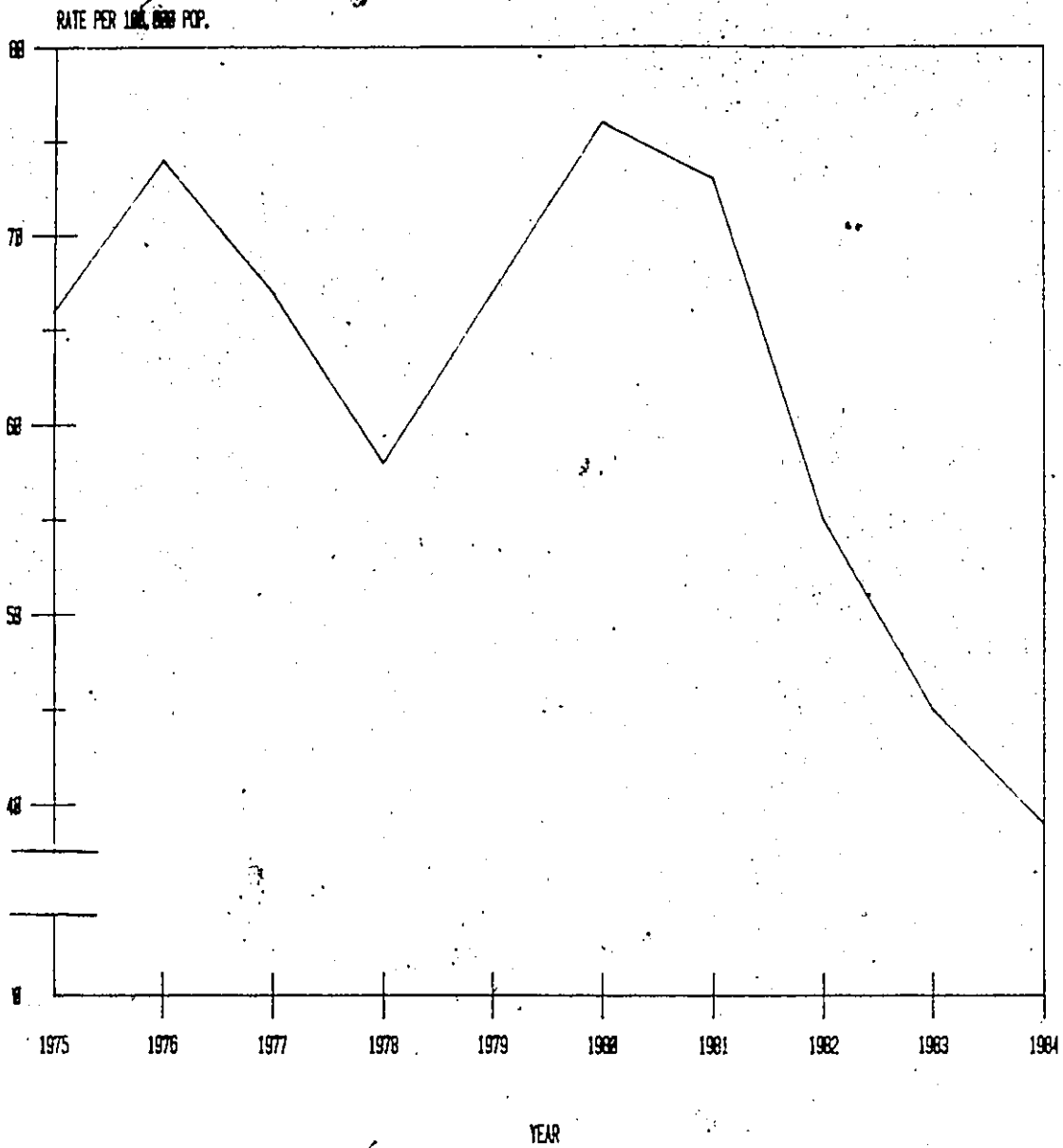


FIG 8 RATE OF DRUG RELATED OFFEN. FEMALES

1975-1984



pictures are obtained. The data indicates that charges laid for violent offences were on the increase for both males and females. But homicide offences show a decrease in the case of both males and females. The rate of males charged with homicide decreased sharply from 10.5298 in 1975 to 5.0714 in 1976 and continued to decrease gradually to 4.8380 in 1984 (Figure 9). Similarly, the rate of females charged decreased from 1.64843 in 1975 to 0.89157 in 1976 and continued to decrease to 0.57896 in 1980. In 1981, the rate decreased to 0.86800 but by 1984, the rate had dropped to 0.43757 (Table 5, Figures 9 and 10)

The decrease is more marked for females charged with homicide as evidenced by the changes in the female/male ratio. The ratio shown in table 5 increased from 15.7 in 1975 to 17.6 in 1976 and then fell to 12.6 in 1977. Thereafter, the ratio remained more or less the same until 1981 when it rose to 17.8. It fell in 1982 to 10.9, rose to 16.0 in 1983 and fell in 1984 to 9.0.

While charges for homicide showed a decline, charges for assault showed an increase commensurate with the

TABLE 5

Male and Female Homicide Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Homicide Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	1.64843	100
1976	0.89157	56.3
1977	0.63733	37.5
1978	0.65619	43.8
1979	0.57896	37.5
1980	0.59950	37.5
1981	0.86800	56.3
1982	0.51632	31.3
1983	0.74345	43.8
1984	0.43757	25.0

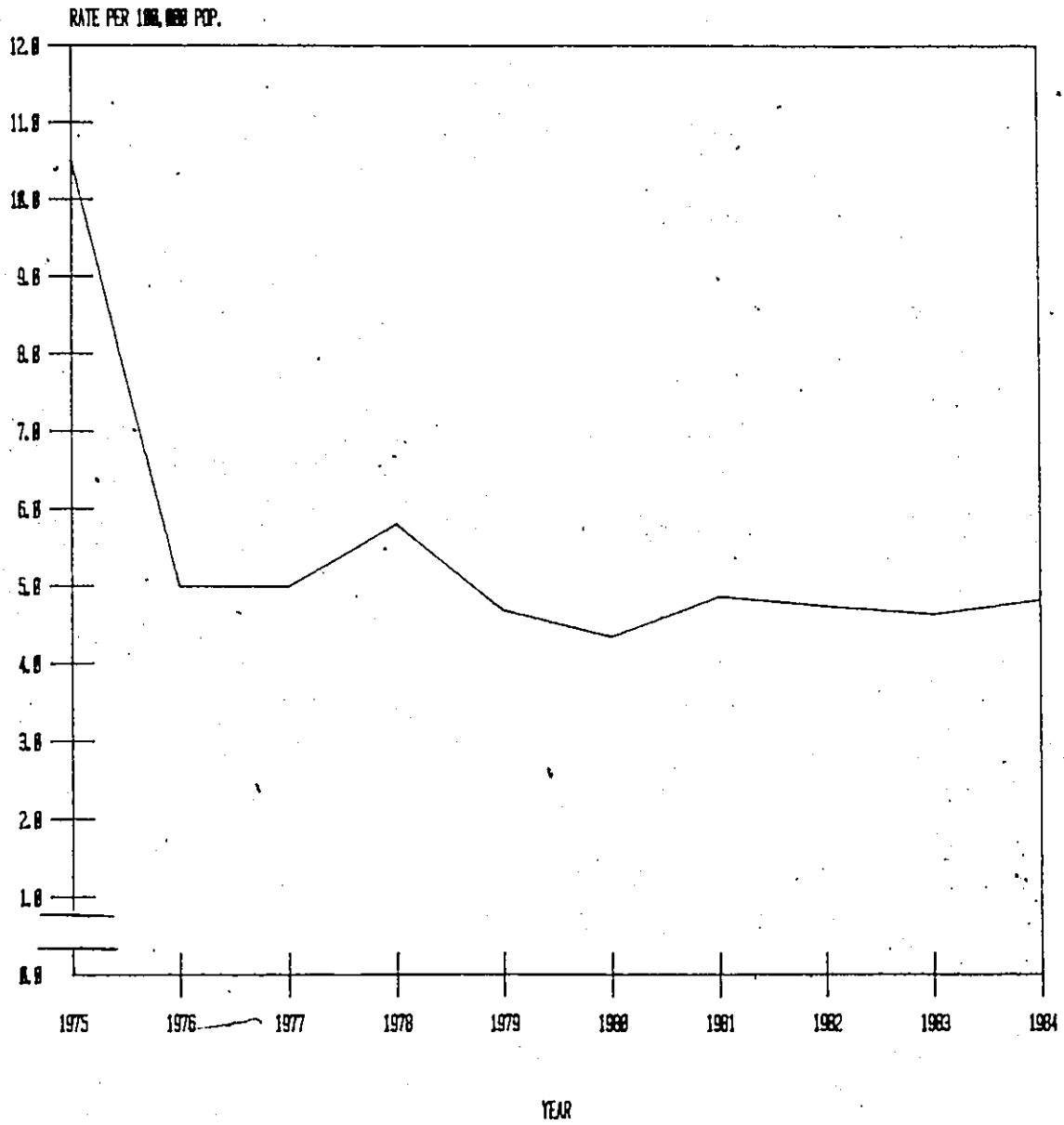
	<u>Male Homicide Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	10.5298	100
1976	5.0714	48.6
1977	5.0441	47.6
1978	5.8105	55.2
1979	4.6937	44.8
1980	4.3515	41.9
1981	4.8789	46.7
1982	4.7487	44.8
1983	4.6488	43.8
1984	4.8380	45.7

	<u>Total Homicide Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	15.7
1976	17.6
1977	12.6
1978	11.3
1979	12.3
1980	13.8
1981	17.8
1982	10.9
1983	16.0
1984	9.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

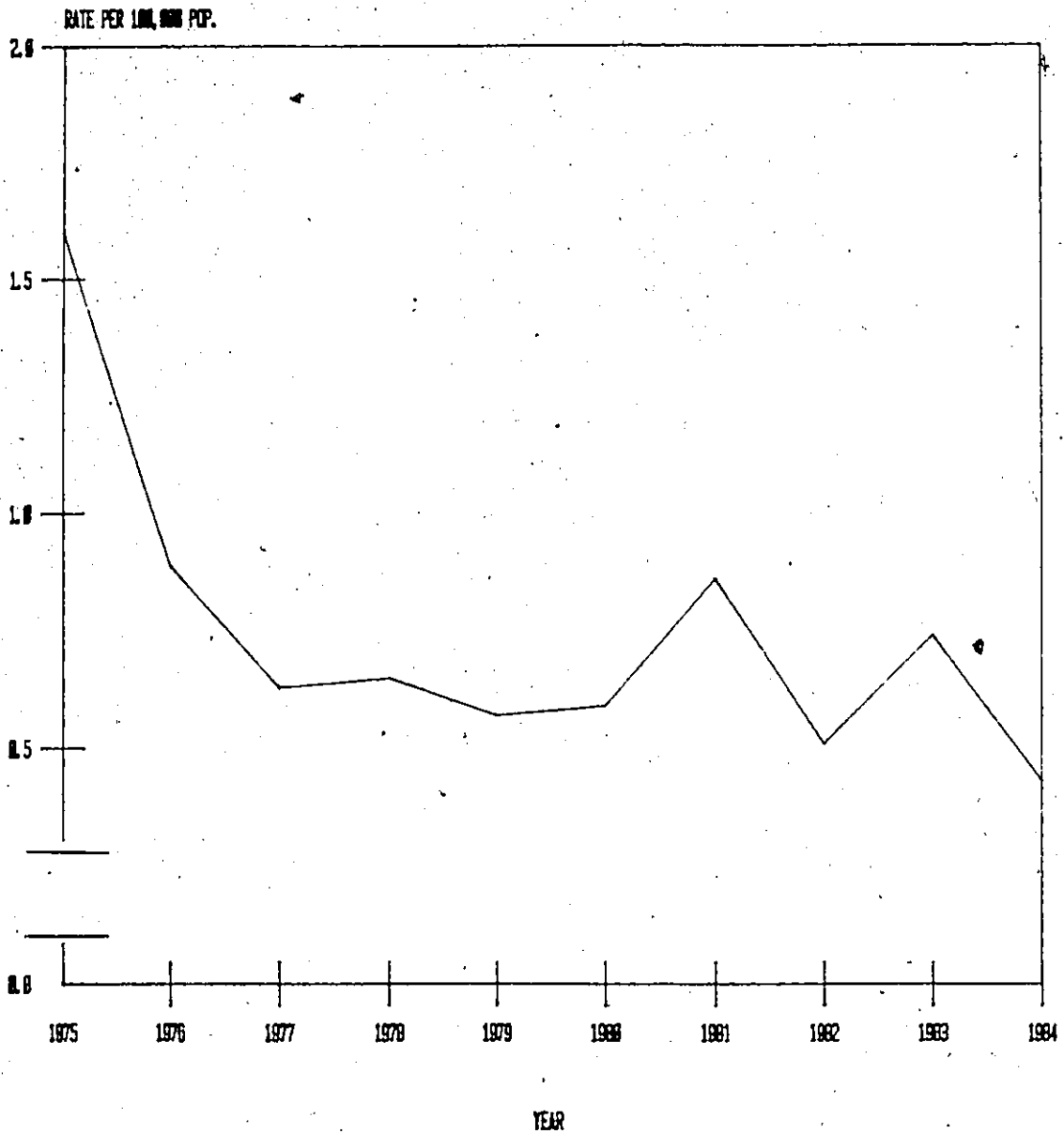
FIG. 9 RATE OF HOMICIDE (TOTAL) - MALES

1975-1984



# FIG 10 RATE OF HOMICIDE (TOTAL)-FEMALES

1975-1984



increase in charges for all violent offences. The rate of males charged with assault gradually increased from 436.234 in 1975 to 614.173 in 1984 (Table 6 and Figure 11). The rate of females similarly charged also increased though more markedly (Table 6 and Figure 12). From a rate of 44.3322 in 1975, there was a marked and consistent increase in females charged with assault to a peak rate of 76.0698 in 1983. By 1984, the rate had shown a slight decrease to 73.2497.

Although the rate of males and females charged with assault have increased during the period under study, the female/male ratio indicates that females so charged have increased at a rate faster than males. In 1975, there were 10.2 females charged for every 100 males. When the rate for females peaked in 1983, the ratio correspondingly changed to 12.7. By 1984, the figure dipped slightly to 11.9

The rate of charges for robbery showed a pattern different from property crimes. The rate actually decreased for both males and females between 1975 and 1984. The decline in the rate of males charged with this

TABLE 6

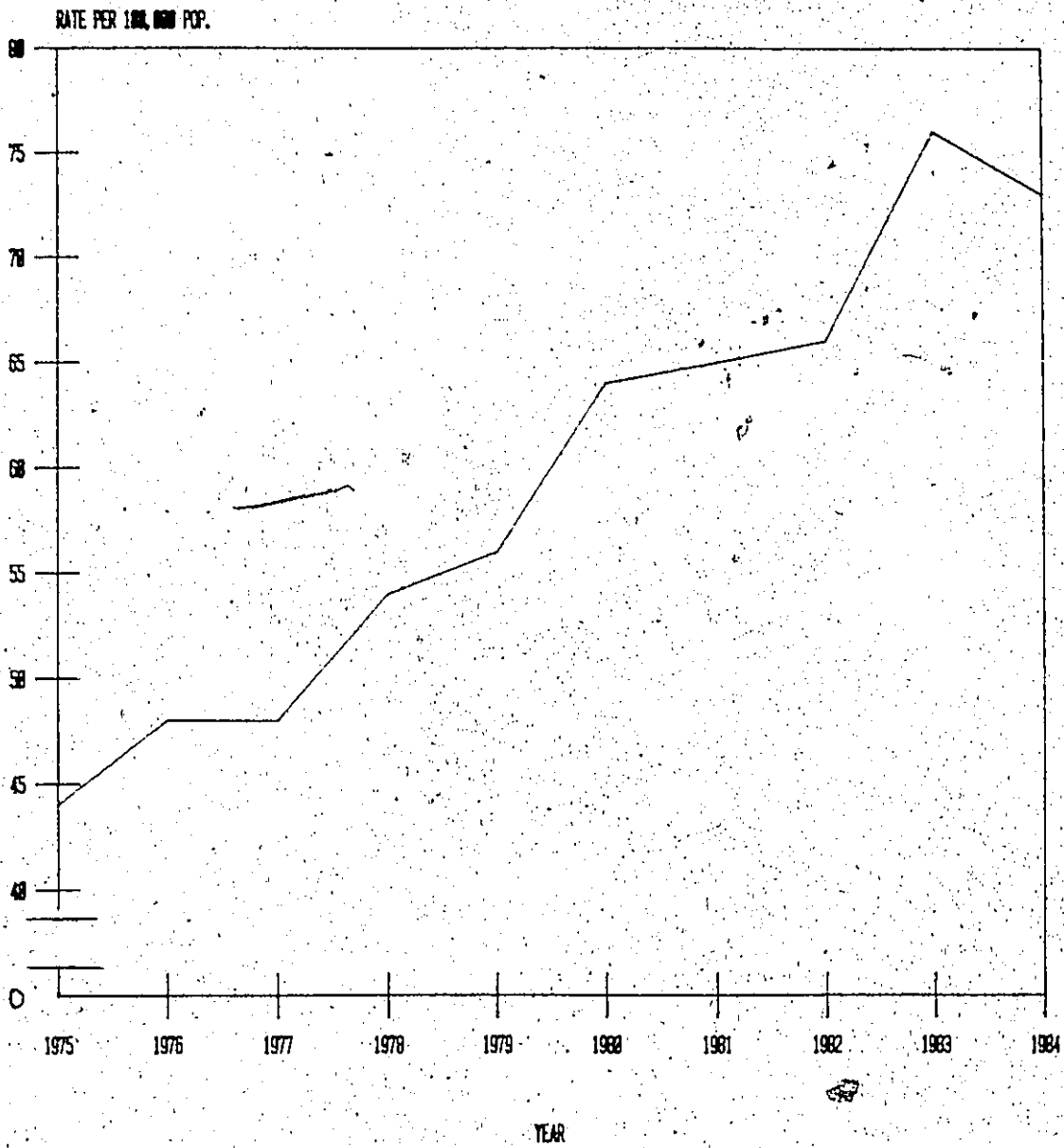
## Male and Female Assault Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Assault Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	44.3322	100
1976	48.4535	109.5
1977	48.1350	108.6
1978	54.3981	122.8
1979	56.7063	128.0
1980	64.5884	145.8
1981	65.9061	148.8
1982	66.3629	149.9
1983	76.0690	171.8
1984	73.2497	165.2
	<u>Male Assault Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	436.234	100
1976	458.440	105.1
1977	459.400	105.3
1978	481.617	110.4
1979	480.154	110.1
1980	503.331	115.4
1981	489.896	112.3
1982	493.022	113.0
1983	600.772	137.7
1984	61.173	140.8
	<u>Total Assault Female/Male Ratio</u>	
1975	10.2	
1976	10.6	
1977	10.5	
1978	11.3	
1979	11.8	
1980	12.8	
1981	13.5	
1982	13.5	
1983	12.7	
1984	11.9	

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

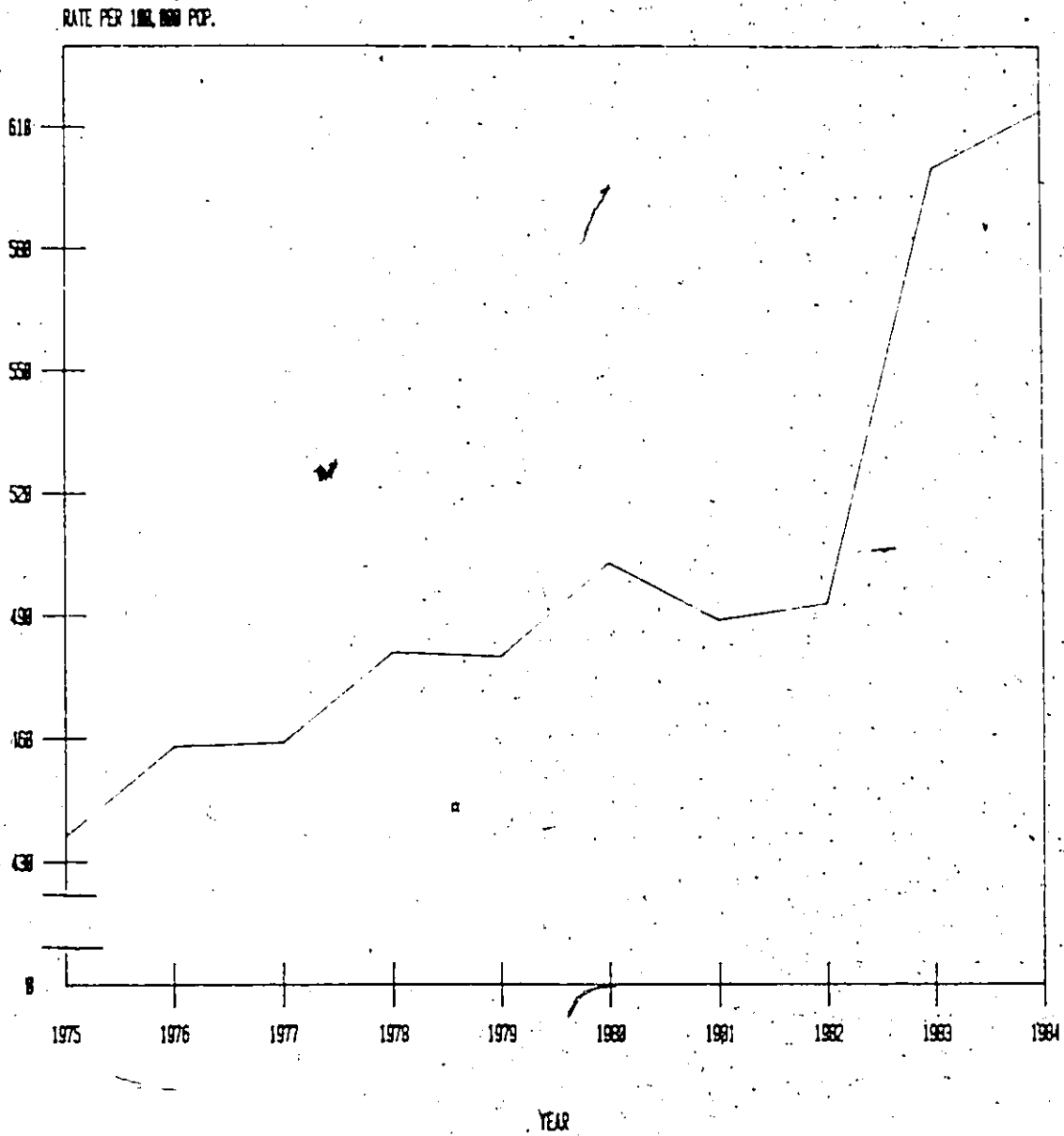
FIG. 11 RATE OF ASSAULT - FEMALES

1975-1984



# FIG. 12 RATE OF ASSAULT - MALES

1975-1984



offence was greater than the decline in the rates of females so charged. In 1975, the rate of males charged with robbery was 64.1327 and remained somewhat constant until 1980 when it increased to 73.5397 (Table 7 and Figure 13). After 1980, the rate decreased gradually to 59.6992 in 1984. The decrease in females charged with robbery was not as visible. The rate was 4.41919 in 1975 and peaked to 5.26930 in 1980 and again in 1982 to 5.04176. By 1984, the rate had decreased to 4.28821 (Table 7 and Figure 14)

When the female/male ratio is considered, it is clear that the number of females charged with robbery has increased faster than males. In 1975 there were 6.9 females charged with robbery for every 100 males charged with the same offence. There was a sharp increase to 8.2 in 1976 then a brief decline to 5.7 in 1977. Between 1978 and 1981, the ratio fluctuated between 6.8 and 7.2 and then increased to 8.0 in 1982. The ratio fell to 6.5 in 1983 and rose to 7.2 in 1984.

The number of persons charged with property offences had increased for both males and females during the period

TABLE 7

Male and Female Robbery Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Robbery Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	4.41919	100
1976	4.86935	111.4
1977	3.48853	79.7
1978	4.29804	97.7
1979	4.21357	95.5
1980	5.26930	120.5
1981	4.18501	95.5
1982	5.04176	113.6
1983	4.04437	90.9
1984	4.28821	97.7

	<u>Male Robbery Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	64.1327	100
1976	59.4180	92.7
1977	61.6579	96.3
1978	63.4663	99.1
1979	60.1000	93.8
1980	73.5397	114.7
1981	63.7547	99.5
1982	63.0249	98.3
1983	62.2687	97.2
1984	69.6992	93.1

	<u>Total Robbery Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	6.9
1976	8.2
1977	5.7
1978	6.8
1979	7.0
1980	7.2
1981	6.6
1982	8.0
1983	6.5
1984	7.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 13 RATE OF ROBBERY - MALES

1975-1984

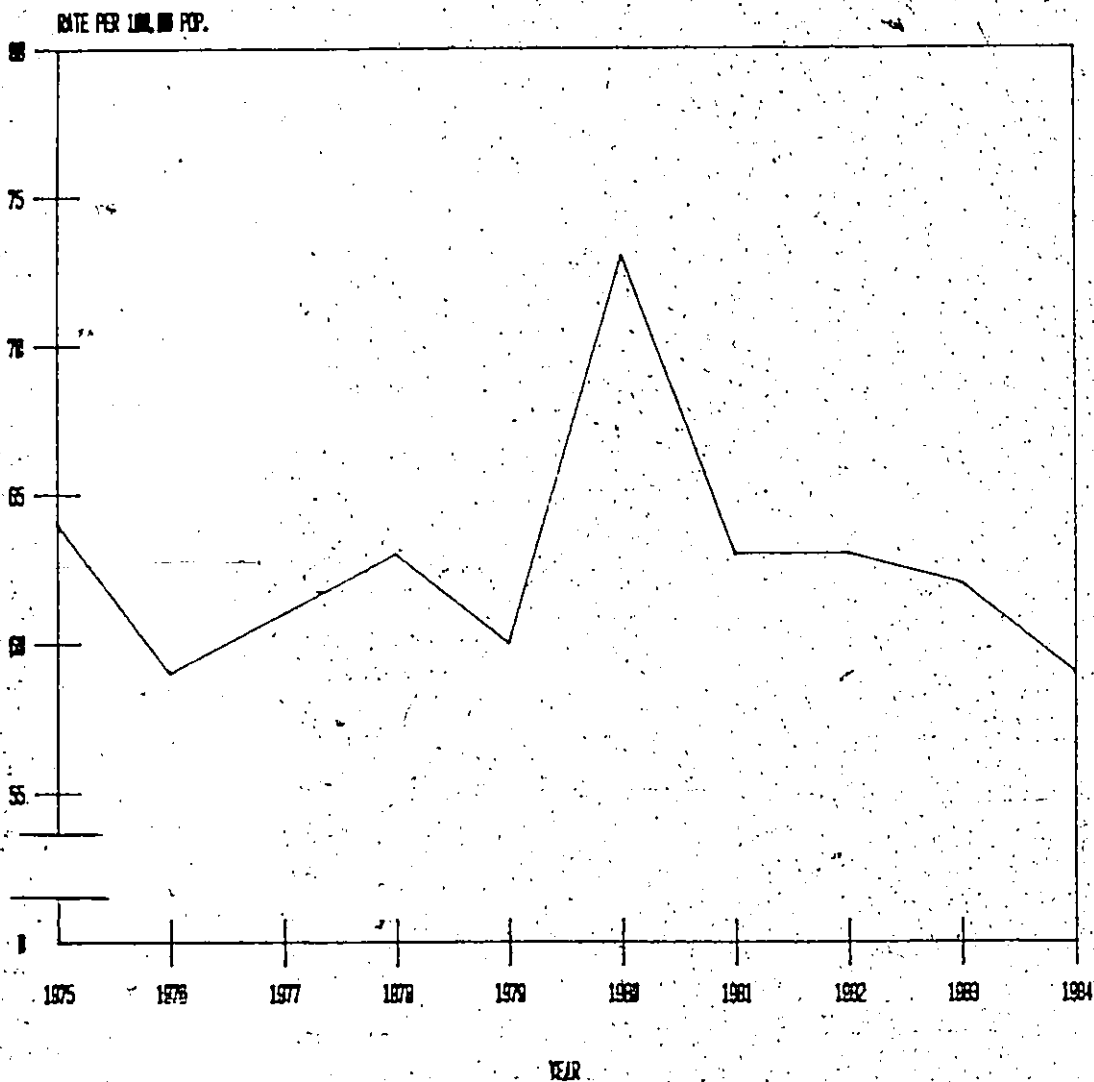
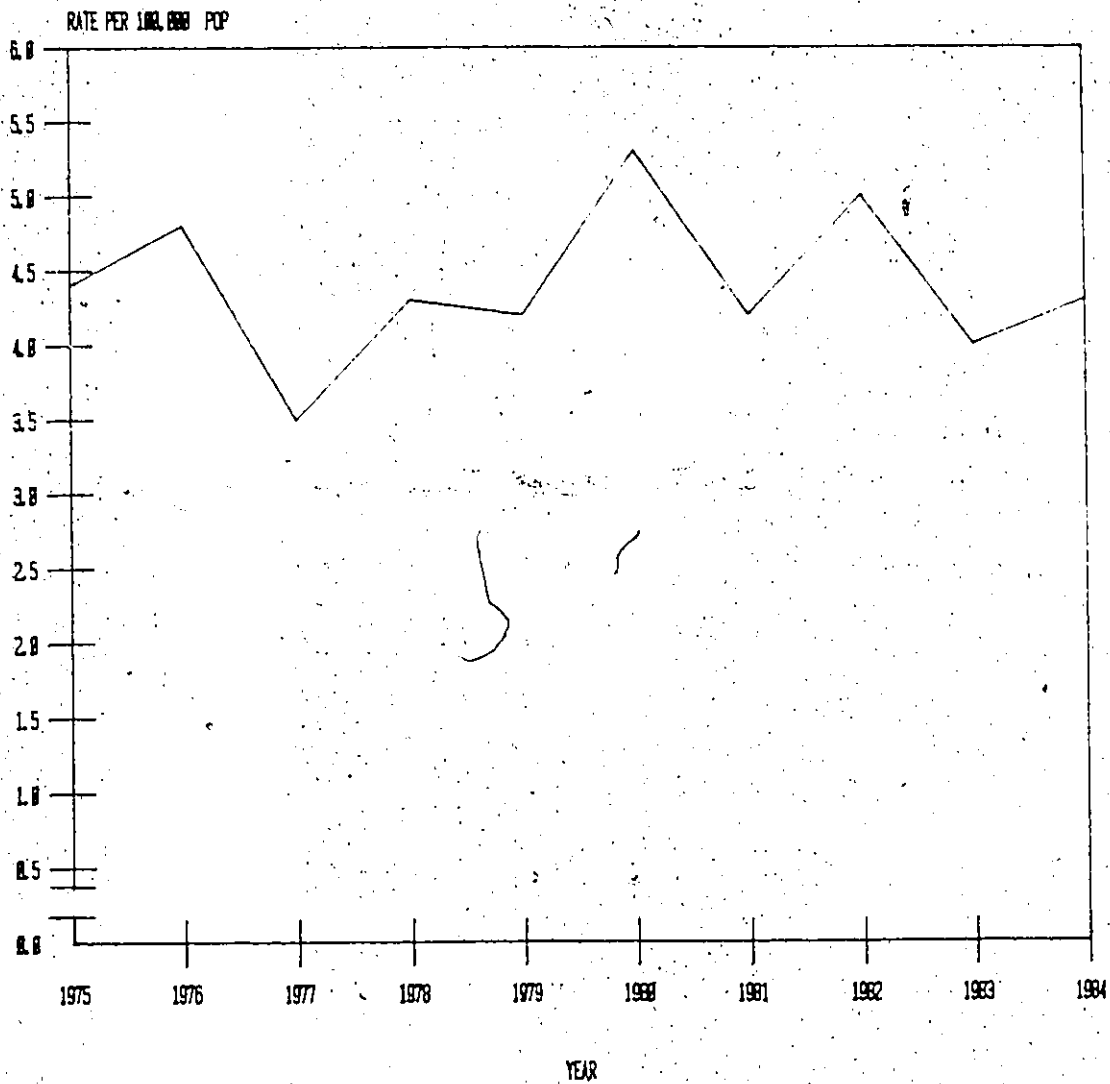


FIG. 14 RATE OF ROBBERY - FEMALES

1975-1984



under study. Unlike in the case of robbery, the rate of both men and women charged with property offences such as break and enter (Table 8), theft over \$200.00 (Table 9), possession of stolen goods (Table 11), and fraud (Table 12) increased. Charges for theft under \$200.00 (Table 10) remained more or less the same. However, the increases for males were different from the differences for females.

The male break and enter rate was 413.010 in 1975 and with a slow increase, the rate peaked at 513.908 in 1980. The rate declined thereafter, slowly until 1982 and rapidly to 423.197 in 1984. In the case of females charged, the rate went from a low of 15.0463 in 1975 to a high of 25.6524 in 1980 and decreased slowly to 18.5239 in 1984. The female/male ratio indicates that the rate of increase was greater for females than for males. In 1975, there were 3.6 females charged for every 100 males and by 1980 when the rate for females charged peaked, the figure increased to 5.0. By 1984, there were 4.4 women charged with break and enter for every 100 males so charged.

For the offence of theft over \$200.00, both male and female charging rates have increased markedly during the

TABLE 8

Male and Female Break and Enter Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Break &amp; Enter Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	15.0463	100
1976	17.1799	114.7
1977	15.5977	104.0
1978	19.7513	132.0
1979	20.9070	139.3
1980	25.6524	171.3
1981	23.7770	158.7
1982	19.9241	132.7
1983	19.2405	128.0
1984	18.5239	123.3

	<u>Male Break &amp; Enter Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	413.010	100
1976	430.889	104.3
1977	416.543	100.8
1978	465.535	112.7
1979	465.324	112.7
1980	513.908	124.4
1981	506.873	122.7
1982	507.171	122.8
1983	459.442	111.2
1984	423.197	102.5

	<u>Total Break and Enter Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	3.6
1976	4.0
1977	3.7
1978	4.2
1979	4.5
1980	5.0
1981	4.7
1982	3.9
1983	4.2
1984	4.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 15 RATE OF BREAK & ENTER - MALES

1975-1984

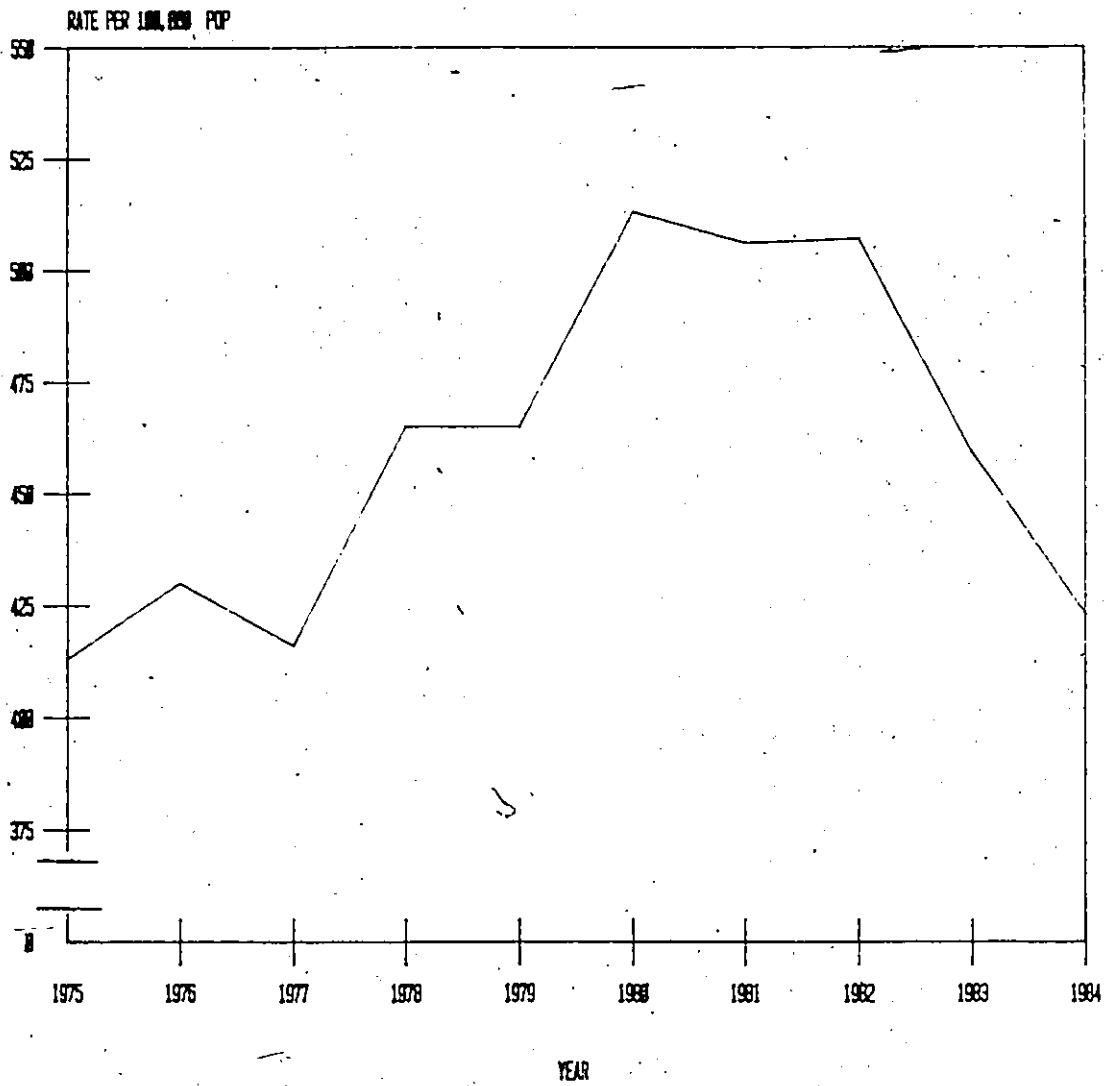
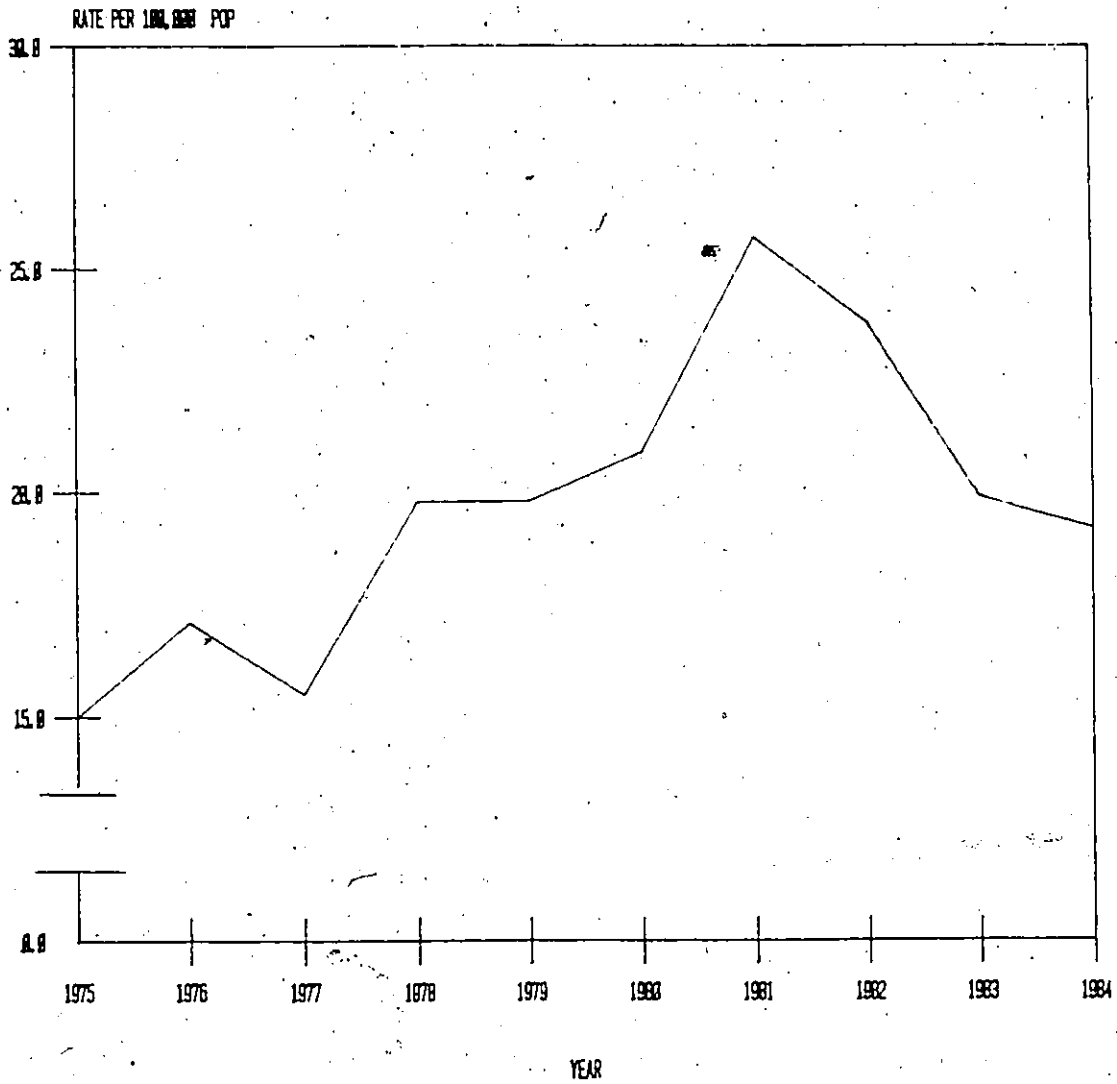


FIG. 16 RATE OF BREAK & ENTER -FEMALES

1975-1984



period under study. The rate of males charged with theft over was 93.264 in 1975. There was a gradual increase until 1981 when the rate peaked at 179.397. The rate had dropped thereafter until it was 159.280 in 1984 (Table 9 and Figure 17).

The rate changes were similar, though more pronounced for females charged with theft over. In 1975, the rate was 13.3979 and although the increases were small initially, females charged with theft over had reached 23.2551 by 1979 and continued to increase rapidly to 32.9930 by 1984 (Table 9 and Figure 18).

When the female/male ratio is considered, the figures show that while there were 14.4 females charged for every 100 males so charged in 1975, this figure increased to 20.7 by 1984 indicating that females charged with theft over has increased at a rate faster than males.

The males charged rate for the offence of theft under \$200.00 increased to 629.716 in 1976 from 592.237 in 1975. By 1982, the rate had peaked at 678.318 followed by a sharp decrease in 1984 to 603.628. The female rate

TABLE 9

Male and Female Theft Over Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Theft Over Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	13.3979	100
1976	16.1854	120.9
1977	15.2959	114.2
1978	18.0452	134.3
1979	23.2551	173.9
1980	26.3465	196.3
1981	29.8221	222.4
1982	31.0706	232.1
1983	29.8570	223.1
1984	32.9930	246.3

	<u>Male Theft Over Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	93.264	100
1976	99.989	107.2
1977	104.056	111.6
1978	116.038	124.3
1979	132.172	141.7
1980	164.921	176.7
1981	179.397	192.3
1982	178.641	191.4
1983	171.626	183.9
1984	159.280	170.7

	<u>Male and Female Theft Over Ratio</u>
1975	14.4
1976	16.2
1977	14.7
1978	15.6
1979	17.6
1980	16.0
1981	16.6
1982	17.4
1983	17.4
1984	20.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 17 RATE OF THEFT OVER - MALE

1975-1984

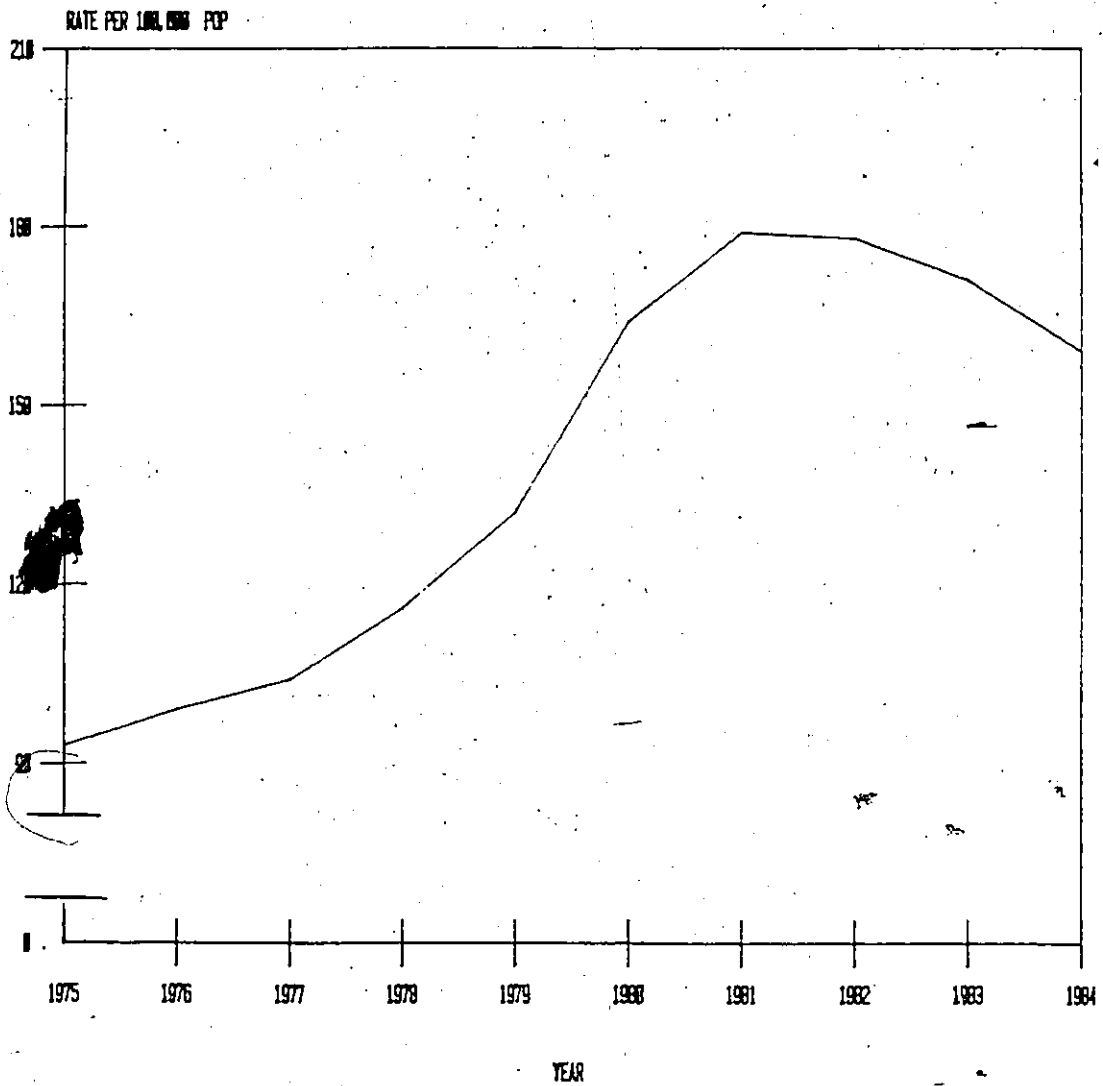
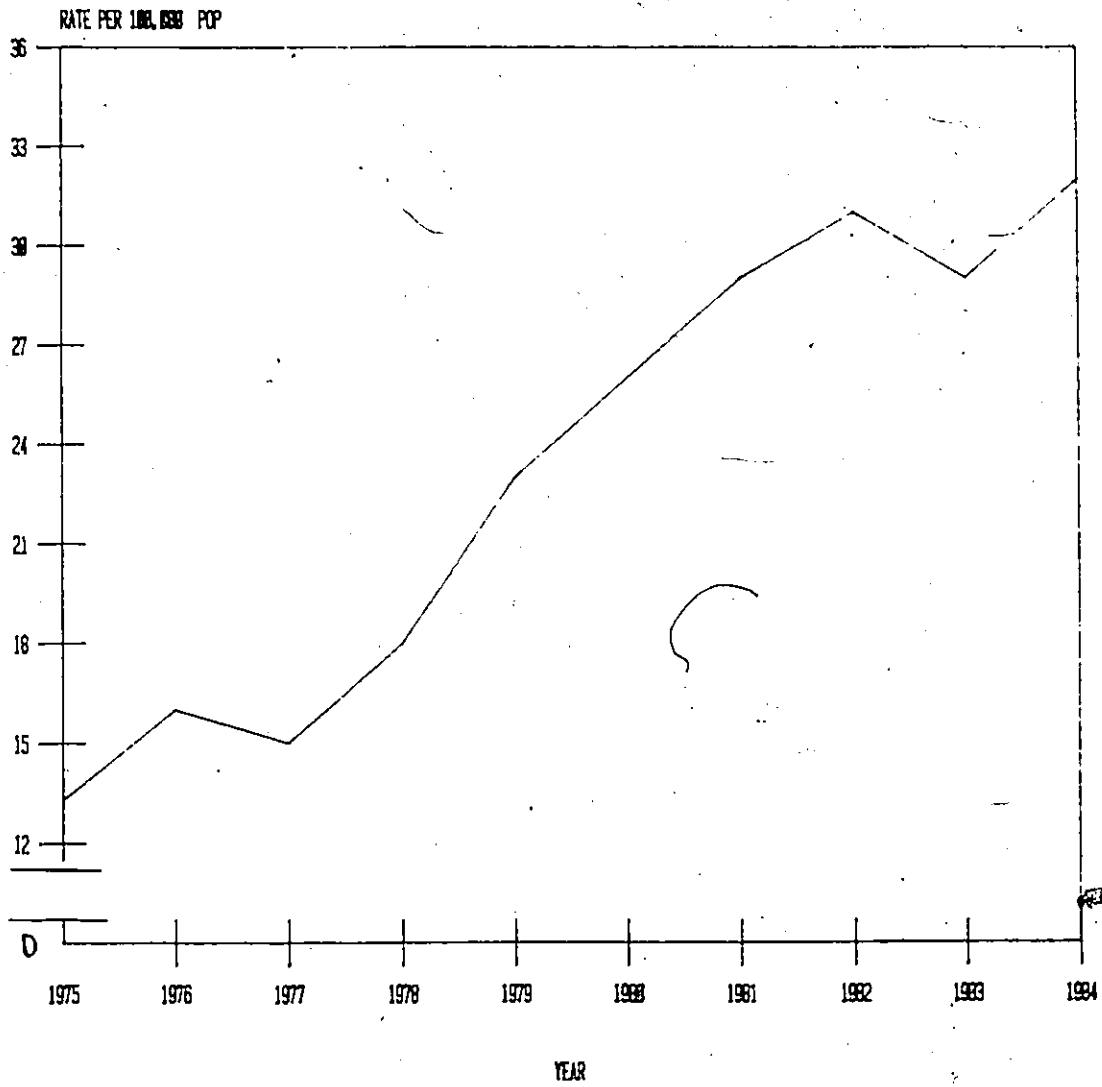


FIG. 18 RATE OF THEFT OVER- FEMALE

1975-1984



followed a similar trend. There was an initial sharp increase to 310.850 in 1976 from a rate of 288.335 in 1975 and reached a peak rate of 340.753 in 1981 and decreased to 293.843 in 1984 (Figures 19 and 20)

It is apparent from the female/male ratio that the number of females charged with theft under increased at a faster rate than males. In 1975, there were 48.7 females charged with theft under for every 100 males so charged. In 1981, when the female rate had reached its peak, the figure had changed to 50.6. Since then, the figure had declined somewhat in 1984 when there were 48.8 females charged for every 100 males (Table 10)

Males charged with possession of stolen goods (Table 11 and Figure 21)) increased steadily from a rate of 149.252 in 1975 to 212.552 in 1980. The rate decreased gradually thereafter to 185.326 in 1984. The rate change between 1975 and 1984 for women charged with the same offence was not as high as was the case for males. Over the nine year period, the rate of females charged with possession of stolen goods went from 21.4296 in 1976 to 30.7008 in 1980 and by 1984, the rate had decreased to 25.3209 (Table 12 and Figure 22).

TABLE 10

Male and Female Theft Under Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Theft Under Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	288.335	100
1976	310.850	107.8
1977	282.806	98.1
1978	320.220	111.1
1979	321.036	111.3
1980	319.282	110.8
1981	340.753	118.2
1982	329.537	114.3
1983	322.509	111.9
1984	293.845	101.9

	<u>Male Theft Under Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	592.237	100
1976	629.716	106.3
1977	559.436	94.5
1978	603.327	101.9
1979	608.211	102.7
1980	651.615	110.0
1981	673.512	113.7
1982	678.318	114.5
1983	641.884	108.4
1984	603.628	101.9

	<u>Total Theft Under Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	48.7
1976	49.4
1977	50.6
1978	53.1
1979	52.8
1980	49.0
1981	50.6
1982	48.6
1983	50.2
1984	48.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 19 RATE OF THEFT UNDER - MALE

1975-1984

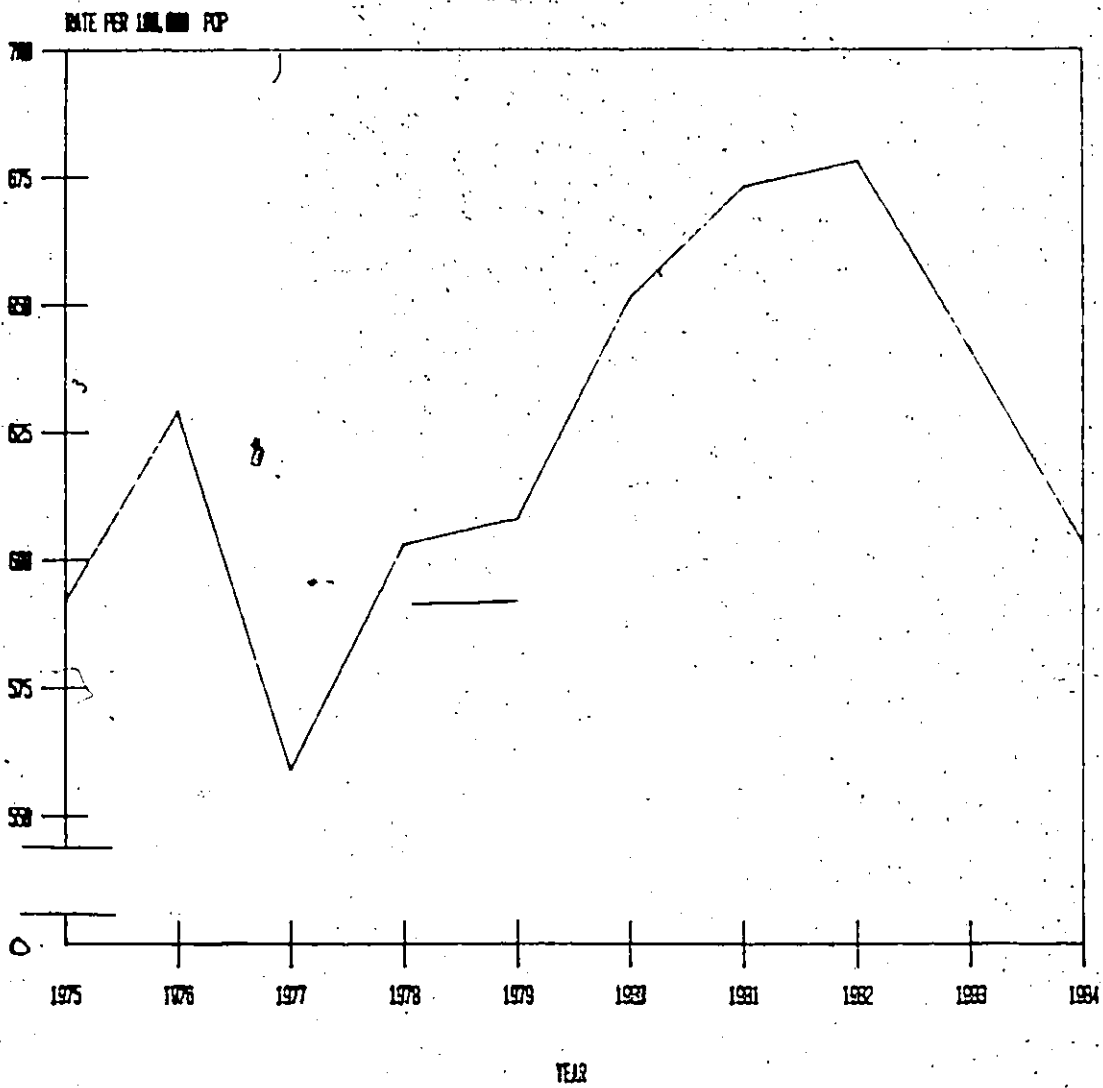


FIG. 20 RATE OF THEFT UNDER -FEMALE

1975-1984

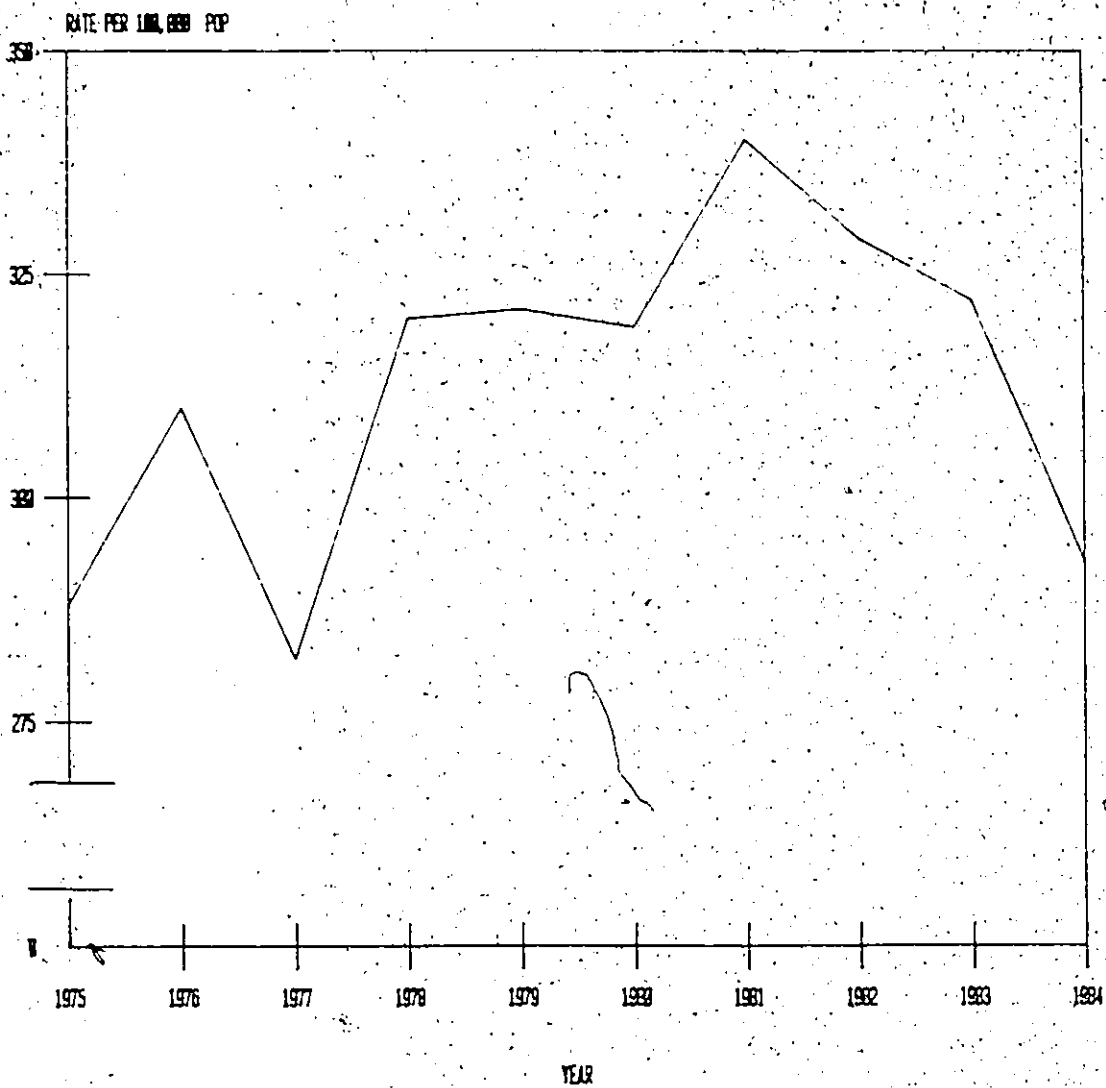


TABLE 11

Male and Female Stolen Goods Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Stolen Goods Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	21.4296	100
1976	21.5692	100.9
1977	23.8159	111.2
1978	26.1820	122.4
1979	27.7260	129.4
1980	30.7008	143.5
1981	30.3801	142.1
1982	27.4563	128.5
1983	25.9910	121.5
1984	25.3209	118.2

	<u>Male Stolen Goods Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	149.252	100
1976	153.724	102.9
1977	168.289	112.7
1978	181.994	121.9
1979	193.973	129.9
1980	212.552	142.4
1981	211.900	141.9
1982	207.003	138.6
1983	191.202	128.1
1984	185.361	124.2

	<u>Total Stolen Goods Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	14.4
1976	14.0
1977	14.2
1978	14.4
1979	14.3
1980	14.4
1981	14.3
1982	13.3
1983	13.6
1984	13.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 21 RATE OF STOLEN GOODS -- MALE

1975-1984

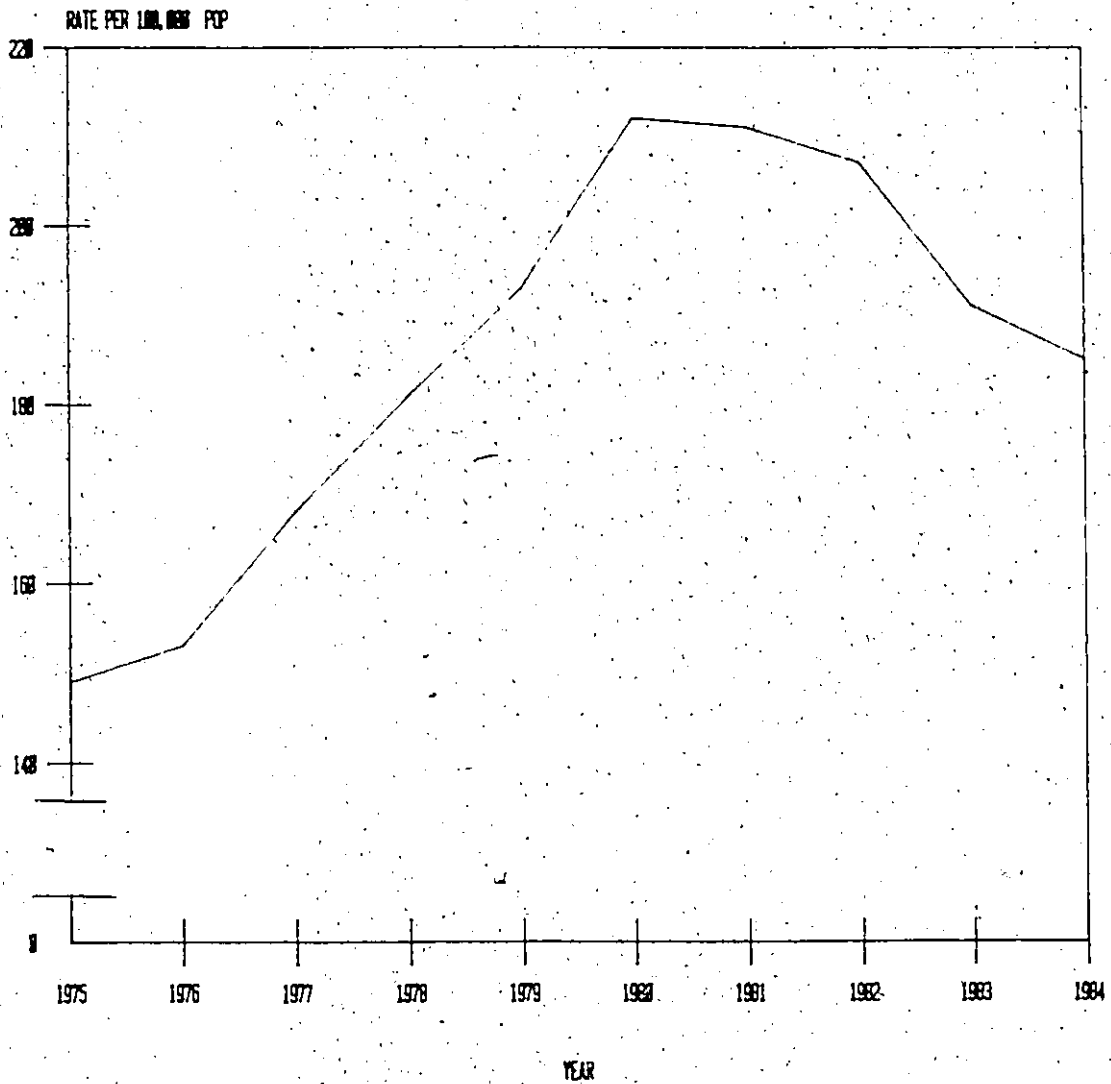
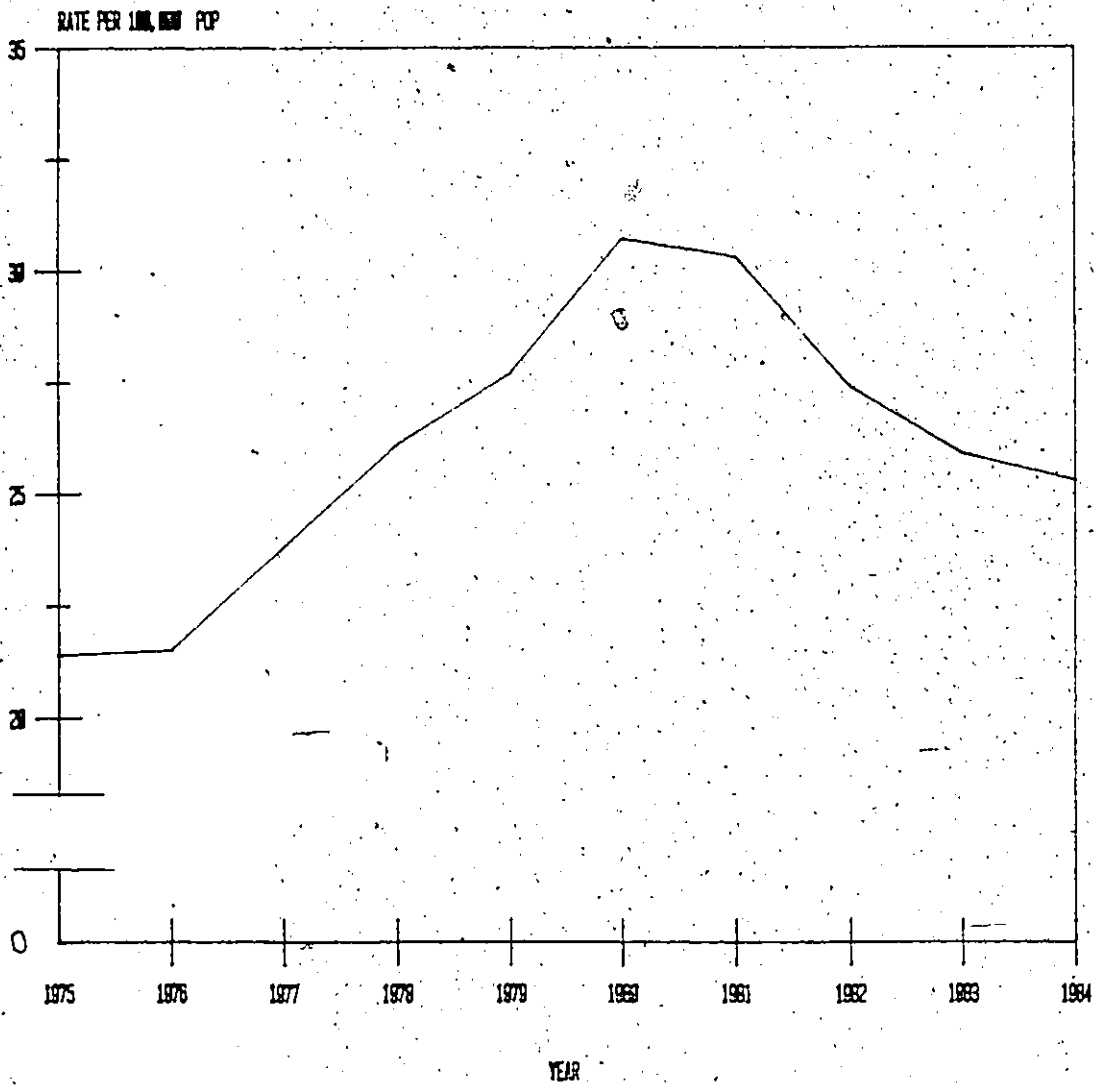


FIG. 22 RATE OF STOLEN GOODS - FEMALE

1975-1984



The female/male ratio shows that in 1975, there were 14.4 females charged with possession of stolen goods for every 100 males so charged. This figure remained relatively constant until 1982. When the charging rates for males sharply increased in 1982 and the female rate — decreased, the ratio dropped to 13.3. By 1984, the figure had increased only slightly to 13.7 females charged for every 100 males. Accordingly, with the offence of possession of stolen goods, the males charged rates increased at a faster rate than the females charged rate.

The number of persons charged with fraud has increased faster for females than for males. From a rate of 217.934 in 1975, the male rate increased slowly though erratically to a rate of 266.623 in 1981 and leveled off to a rate of 259.730 by 1984 (Table 12 and Figure 23). The female rate grew quickly from 63.622 in 1975 to 107.043 in 1980, and then levelled off to a rate of 98.804 by 1984 (Figure 24).

The ratio of female to male indicates that while the rates for both males and females charged with this offence increased during the period under study, the increase is

TABLE 12

Male and Female Fraud Rates 1975 - 1984

	<u>Female Fraud Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	63.622	100
1976	78.287	123.1
1977	81.813	128.6
1978	92.293	145.1
1979	95.786	150.6
1980	99.359	156.3
1981	107.043	168.2
1982	97.980	154.1
1983	88.709	139.5
1984	98.804	155.3

	<u>Male Fraud Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	217.934	100
1976	241.736	110.9
1977	237.778	109.1
1978	245.737	112.8
1979	237.781	109.1
1980	255.029	117.0
1981	266.623	122.3
1982	262.663	120.6
1983	247.304	113.5
1984	259.730	119.2

	<u>Total Fraud Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	29.2
1976	32.4
1977	34.4
1978	37.6
1979	40.3
1980	39.0
1981	40.1
1982	37.3
1983	35.9
1984	38.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement  
Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 23 RATE OF FRAUD - MALE

1975-1984

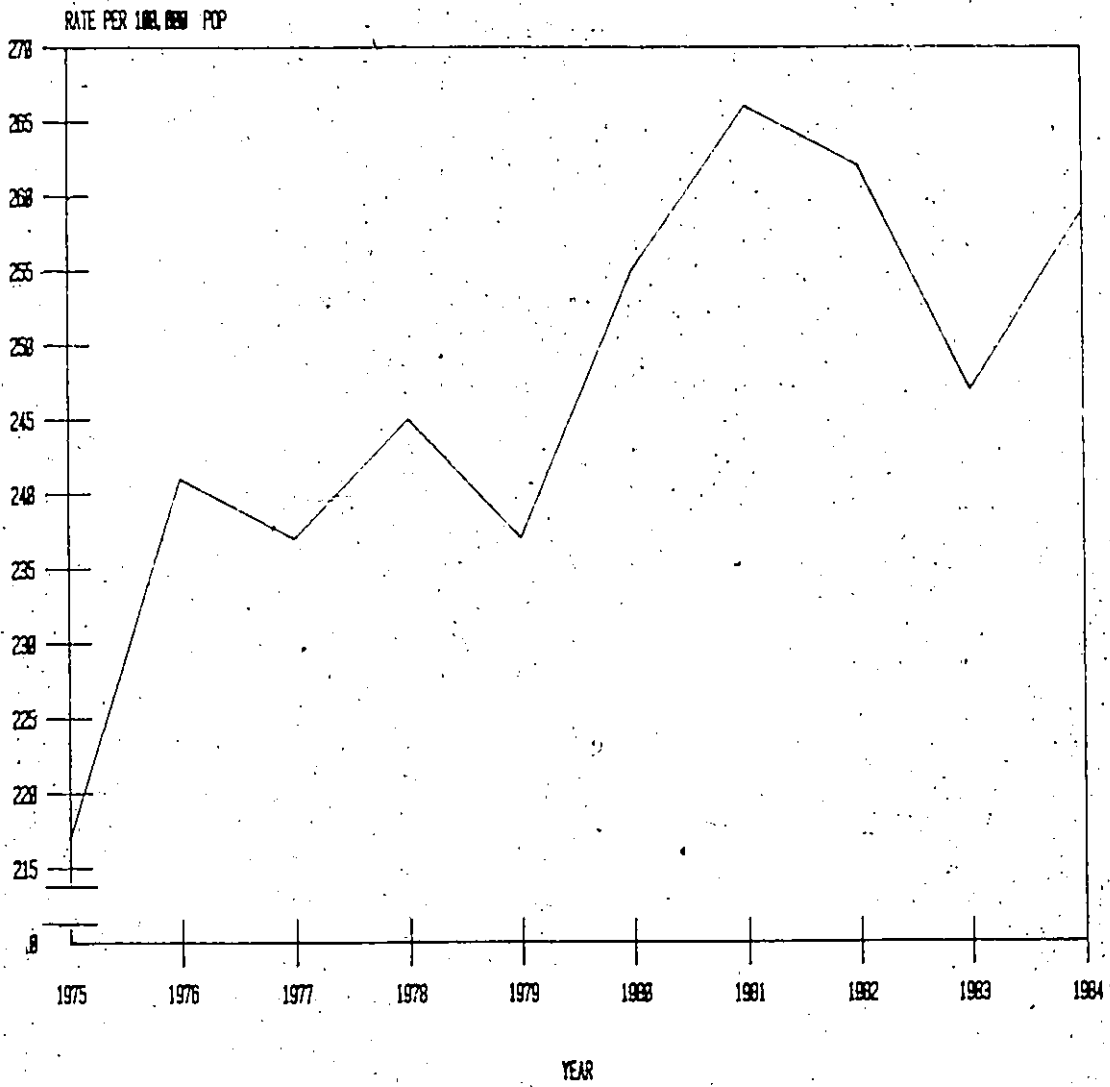
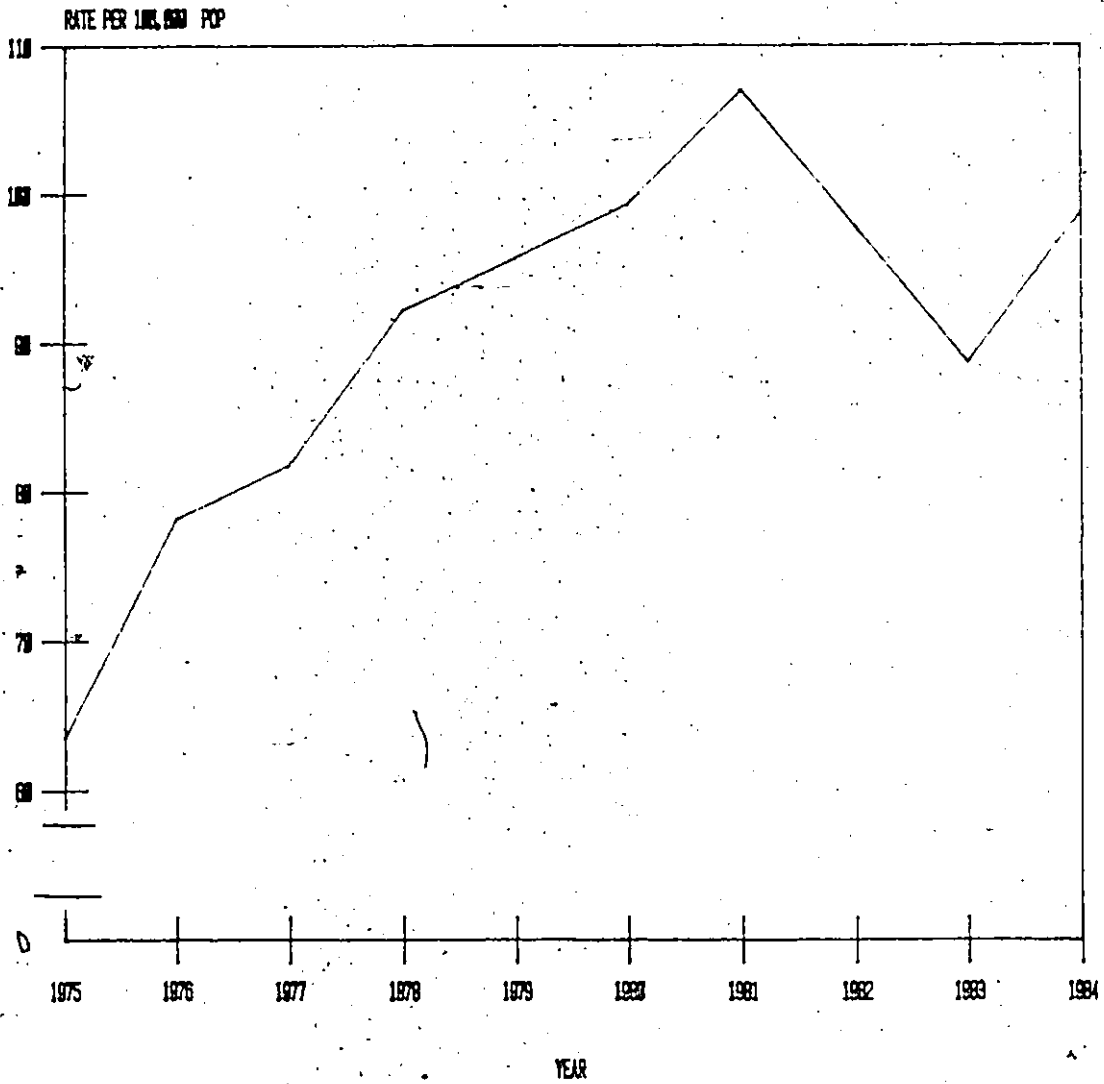


FIG. 24 RATE OF FRAUD - FEMALE

1975-1984



larger for females. In 1975, the female to male ratio was 29.2. This figure increased to 40.3 in 1979, but by 1984, the ratio had decreased slightly to 38.0 females charged for every 100 males.

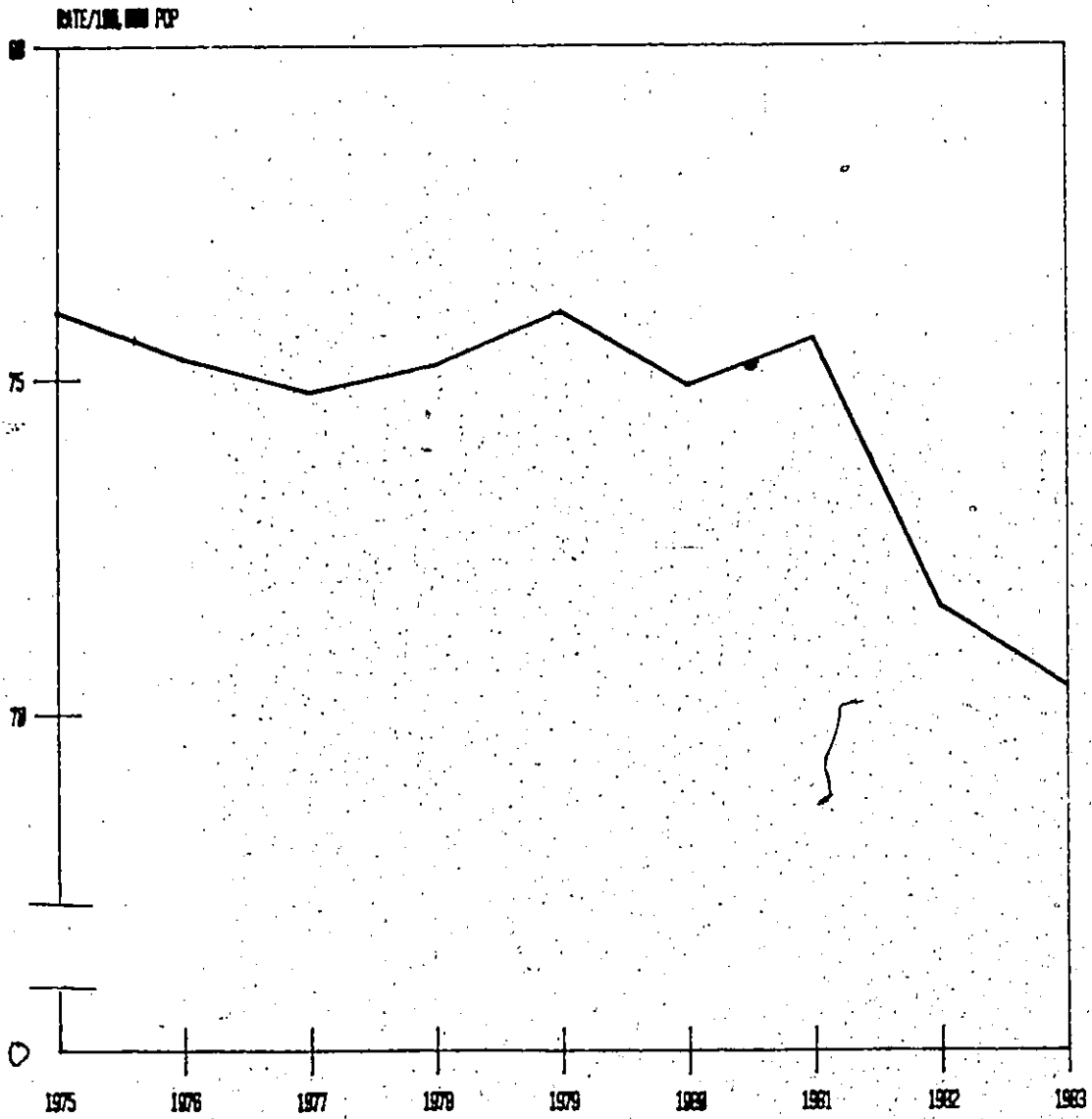
From the foregoing analysis of crime data, it is apparent that with the exception of homicide offences and violations of the Narcotic Control Act, female crime rates have increased both in absolute terms and vis-a-vis male criminality. Ratios calculated for male and female crime rates indicate that during the period under study, not only has female crime increased, but it has done so at a rate faster than males.

Patterns of labour force participation during the period under study - 1975 to 1983 - changed differently for males and females. In the case of males, 76.0 per 100,000 of the males of employable age in Ontario were either at work or in search of work in 1975. This figure decreased to 74.8 in 1977 then increased to 76.0 in 1979, after which time the rate decreased gradually to 70.4 in 1983 (Figure 25)

In the case of females, in 1975, 44.8 per 100,000 of the females of employable age in Ontario were either at

FIG. 25 MALE LABOUR FORCE PARTIC. RATES

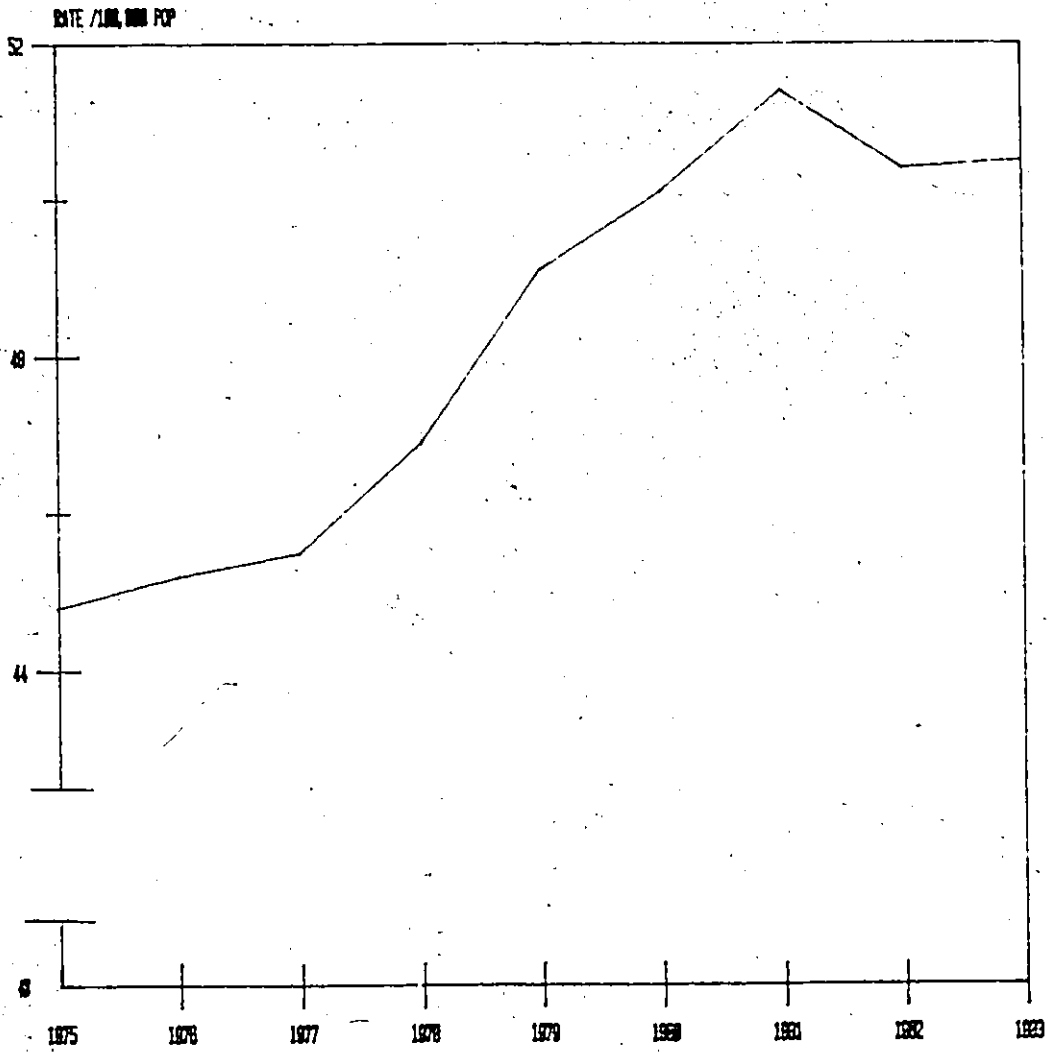
1975-1983



YEAR

FIG. 26 FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTIC. RATES

1975-1983



YEAR

work or in search of work. The increase initially was small but towards the end of the period, there was a sharp increase to reach a peak rate of 51.4. By 1983, the rate had decreased somewhat to 50.5 (Figure 26).

When the different sectors of the economy are considered, the patterns show even more marked differences. In the case of the primary sector - agriculture - female participation rates increased to a peak rate of 1451.42 in 1980 from 1052.19 in 1975. After 1980, the female participation rate in the primary sector decreased to 1367.95 in 1983 (Table 13 and Figure 27)

The male participation rate in the primary sector shows a different picture. In 1975, the rate was 3191.96. In 1976, the rate had decreased to 2949.32. By 1977, the rate began to increase and reached a peak of 3537.29 in 1979 and decreased to 2846.21 in 1983. The female/male ratio shows that in keeping with the female primary industry participation rates, the number of females employed per 100 males increased rapidly and consistently. In 1975, the ratio was 33.0 and had increased to 48.1 by 1983 (Figure 28)

In the secondary sector - manufacturing - the male rate increased from a rate of 41055.2 in 1975 to a high of

TABLE 13

Male and Female Primary Industry Rates 1975 - 1983

	<u>Female Primary Industry Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	1052.19	100
1976	1028.74	97.8
1977	1207.57	114.8
1978	1246.76	118.5
1979	1350.92	128.4
1980	1451.42	137.9
1981	1395.00	132.6
1982	1306.00	124.1
1983	1367.95	130.00

	<u>Male Primary Industry Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	3191.96	100
1976	2949.32	94.2
1977	3174.60	99.5
1978	3216.55	100.8
1979	3537.29	110.8
1980	3280.33	102.8
1981	3230.59	101.2
1982	2842.74	89.1
1983	2846.21	89.2

	<u>Total Primary Industry Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	33.0
1976	34.9
1977	38.0
1978	38.8
1979	38.2
1980	44.2
1981	43.2
1982	45.9
1983	48.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 27 RATE OF PRIMARY INDUSTRY- MALE

1975-1983

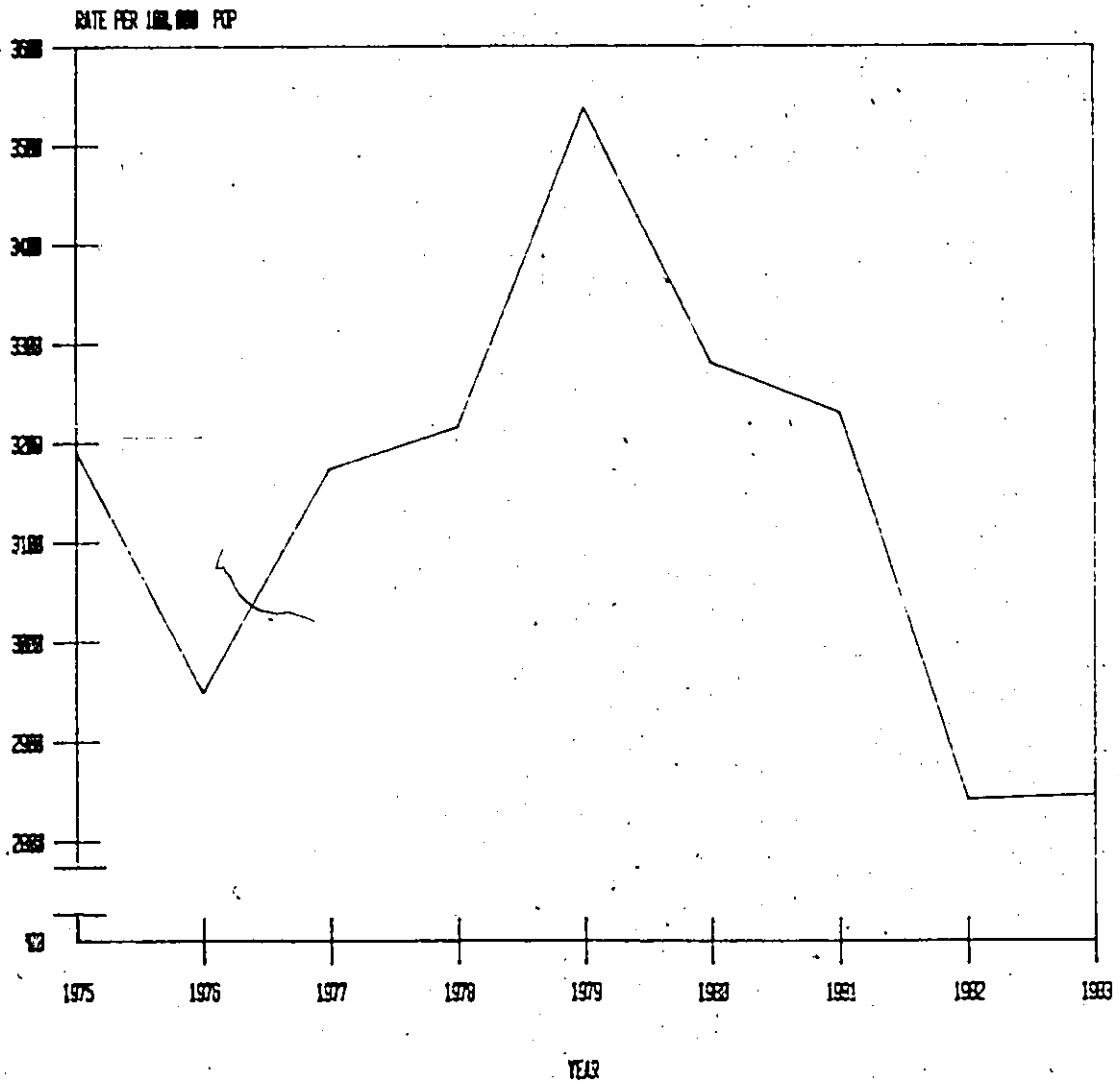
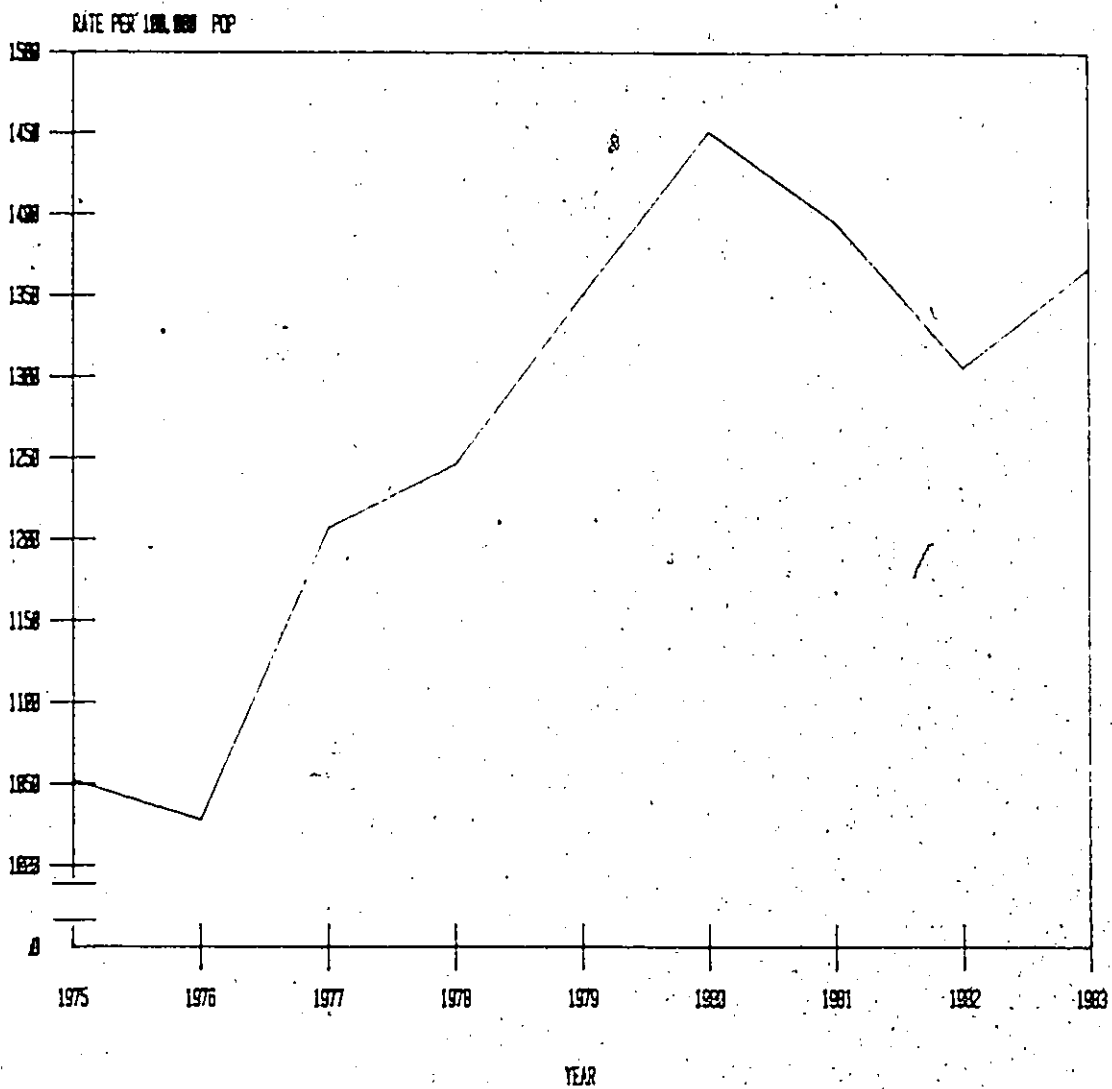


FIG. 28 RATE OF PRIMARY INDUSTRY-FEMALE

1975-1983



41326 in 1976 (Table 14). After 1976, the rates decreased over the remaining years to 34660.5 in 1983. Females in this sector increased from a rate of 9925.6 in 1975 to peak at 12084.7 in 1980 and began to decrease until in 1983, the rate was 11241.0. The female/male ratio showed that female participation in the secondary sector has increased faster than males. In 1975, the ratio was 24.2 and increased each year to 1983 when there were 32.4 females in the secondary sector for every 100 males (Figures 29 and 30)

In the tertiary sector - services - the data reveals that although the participation rates for males and females were more or less similar, the patterns were different. The male rate tended to decline while the female rate tended to increase. In fact, by 1977, the rate of women employed in this sector had exceeded the male rate (Table 15). In 1975 the male rate was 36982.7. The female rate was 36616.2. In 1977 the male rate had decreased to 36190.5 while the female rate increased to 36797.3. The male participation rate increased slightly in 1978 to 36419.6 then decreased to a rate of 34344.3 by 1983 (Table 15 and Figure 31).

Females, on the other hand, increased after 1977 to a peak rate of 40734.1 in 1981, and then decreased to

TABLE 14

Male and Female Secondary Industry Rates 1975 - 1983

	<u>Female Secondary Industry Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1976	9925.6	100
1976	10150.2	102.3
1977	10331.4	104.1
1978	10859.9	109.4
1979	11579.3	116.7
1980	12084.7	121.8
1981	11904.0	119.9
1982	11176.9	112.6
1983	11241.0	113.3

	<u>Male Secondary Industry Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	41055.2	100
1976	41326.5	100.7
1977	40493.8	98.6
1978	40500.8	98.6
1979	41087.0	100.1
1980	40602.5	98.9
1981	40514.3	98.7
1982	36471.1	88.8
1983	34660.5	84.4

	<u>Total Secondary Industry Female/Male Ratio</u>
1977	24.2
1976	24.6
1977	25.5
1978	26.8
1979	28.2
1980	29.8
1981	29.4
1982	30.6
1983	32.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 29 MALE SECONDARY RATES

1975-1983

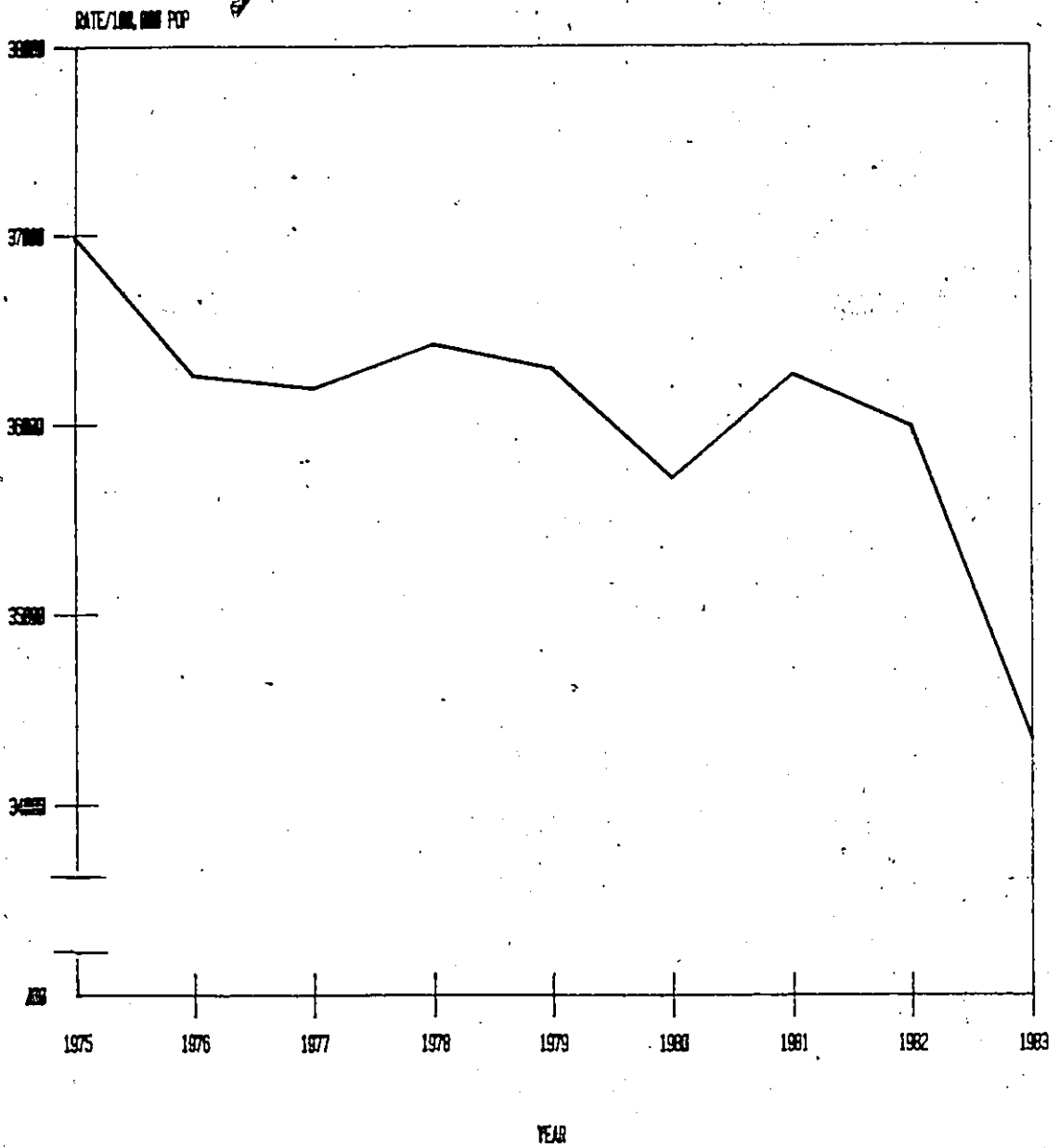
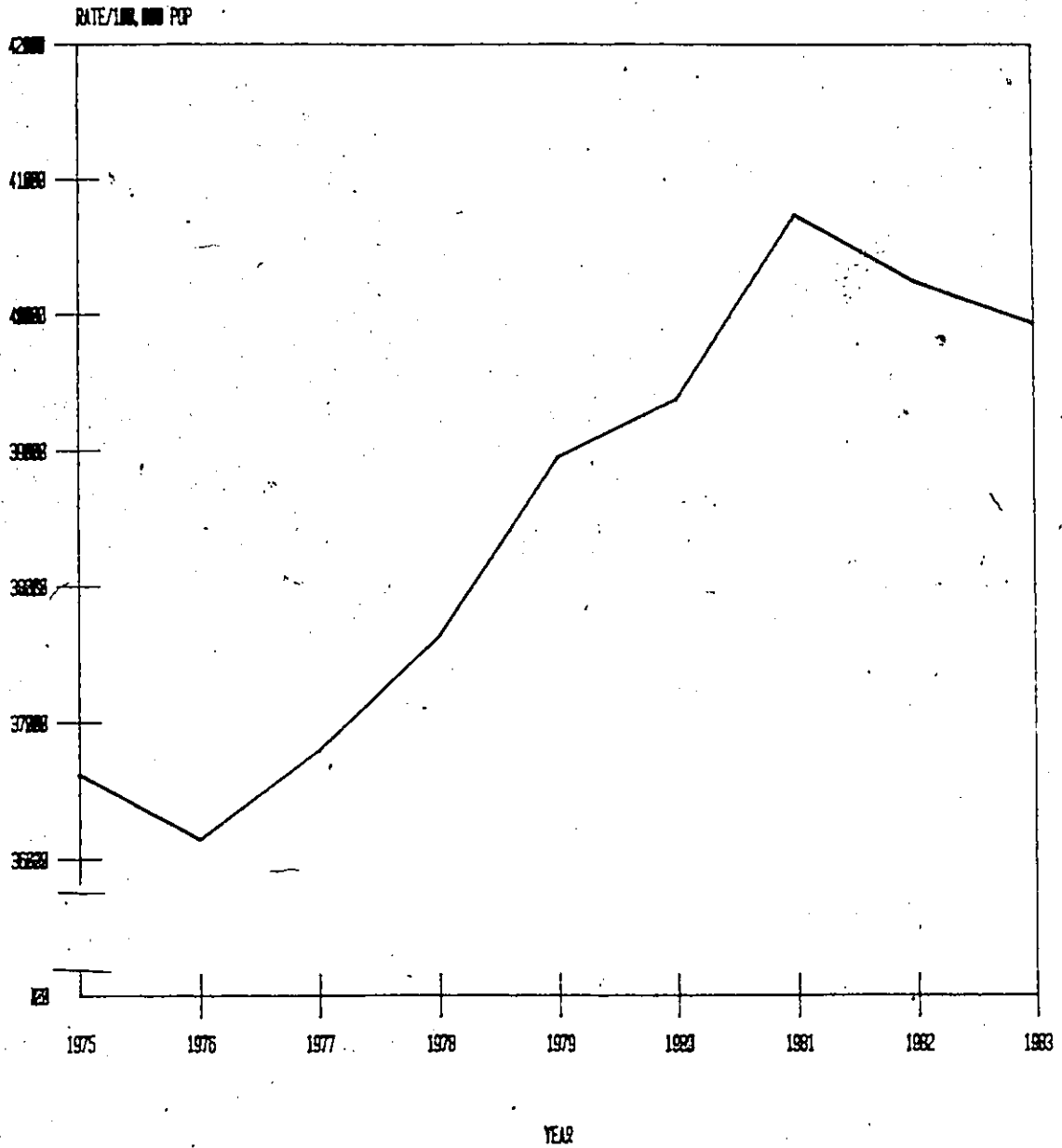


FIG. 30 FEMALE SECONDARY RATES

1975-1983



**Male and Female Tertiary Industry Rates 1975 - 1983**

	<u>Female Tertiary Industry Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	36616.2	100
1976	36142.9	98.7
1977	36797.3	100.5
1978	37632.5	102.8
1979	38951.4	106.4
1980	39377.8	107.5
1981	40734.1	111.2
1982	40243.0	109.0
1983	39939.1	109.1

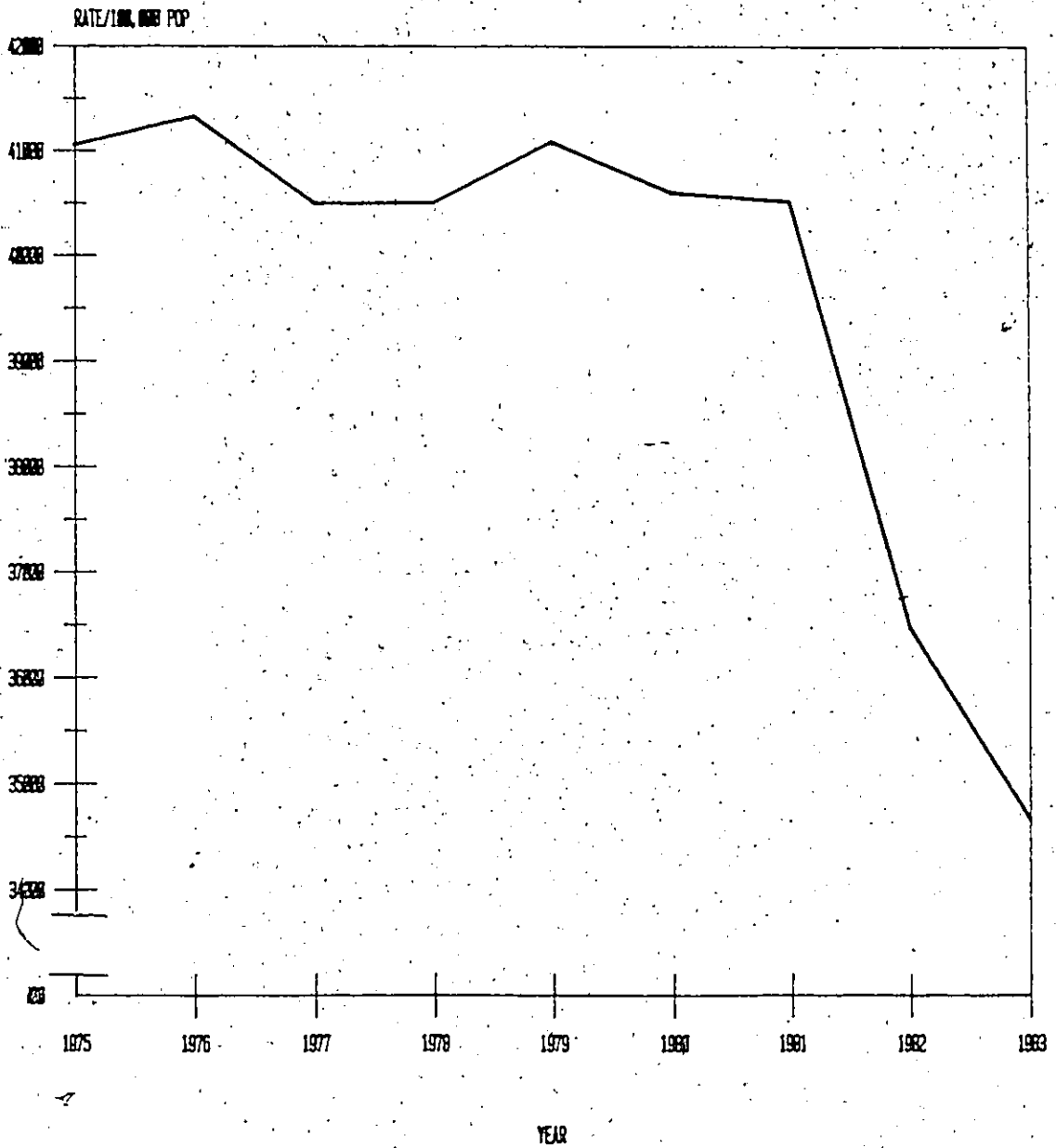
	<u>Male Tertiary Industry Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	36982.7	100
1976	36255.1	98.0
1977	36190.5	97.9
1978	36419.6	98.5
1979	36291.3	98.1
1980	35715.5	96.6
1981	36261.7	98.1
1982	35986.6	97.3
1983	34344.3	92.9

	<u>Total Tertiary Industry Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	99.0
1976	99.7
1977	101.7
1978	103.3
1979	107.3
1980	110.3
1981	112.3
1982	111.8
1983	116.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

### FIG. 31- MALE TERTIARY RATES

1975-1983



39938.1 in 1983. The fact that female participation in the tertiary sector has increased faster than males is supported by the female/male ratio. There were 99.0 females for every 100 males employed in this industry in 1975. This figure increased by an average of 2.0 per year until in 1983, there were 116.3 females per 100 males in the secondary sector (Table 15 and Figure 32)

When the "type of work" rather than the "place of work" is considered grouping the "type of work" into the three classes - executive white collar, white collar and blue collar - interesting facts are revealed. Executive white collar employment rates increased for both males and females. In the case of males, the rates dropped slightly initially from 18381.3 in 1975 to 17989.4 in 1977 and then increased to 18276.2 in 1980, 19152.8 in 1981, 18768.6 in 1982 and 19006.4 in 1983. In the case of females, the increase was a steady one starting with 10872.6 in 1975 and ending up with 13828.2 in 1983 (Table 16 Figures 33 and 34)).

The female/male ratio shows that females employed in executive white collar positions has not only increased over the period under study, but has done so at a rate

### FIG. 32 FEMALE TERTIARY RATES

1975-1983

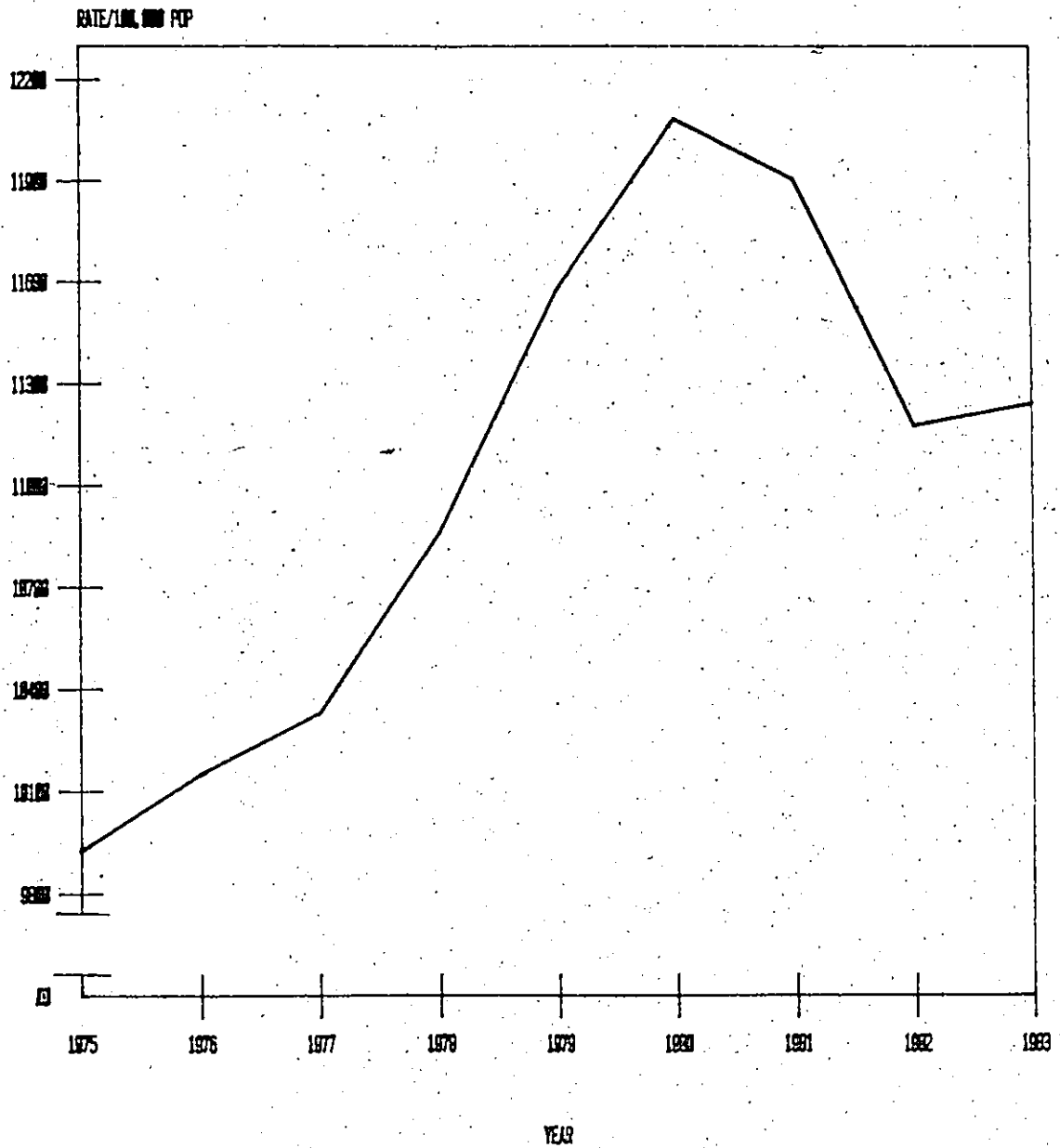


TABLE 16

Male and Female Executive White Collar Rates 1975 - 1983

	<u>Female Executive White Collar Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	10872.6	100
1976	10938.9	100.6
1977	11371.3	104.6
1978	11417.7	105.0
1979	11997.4	110.3
1980	12210.9	112.3
1981	12741.0	117.2
1982	13515.6	124.3
1983	13828.2	127.2

	<u>Male Executive White Collar Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	18381.3	100
1976	18271.5	99.4
1977	17989.4	97.8
1978	18157.9	98.8
1979	17992.6	97.9
1980	18276.2	99.4
1981	19152.8	104.2
1982	18768.6	102.1
1983	19006.4	103.4

	<u>Total Executive White Collar Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	59.1
1976	59.9
1977	63.2
1978	62.9
1979	66.7
1980	66.8
1981	66.5
1982	72.0
1983	72.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205.

FIG. 33 MALE EXECUT. WHITE COLLAR RATES

1975-1983

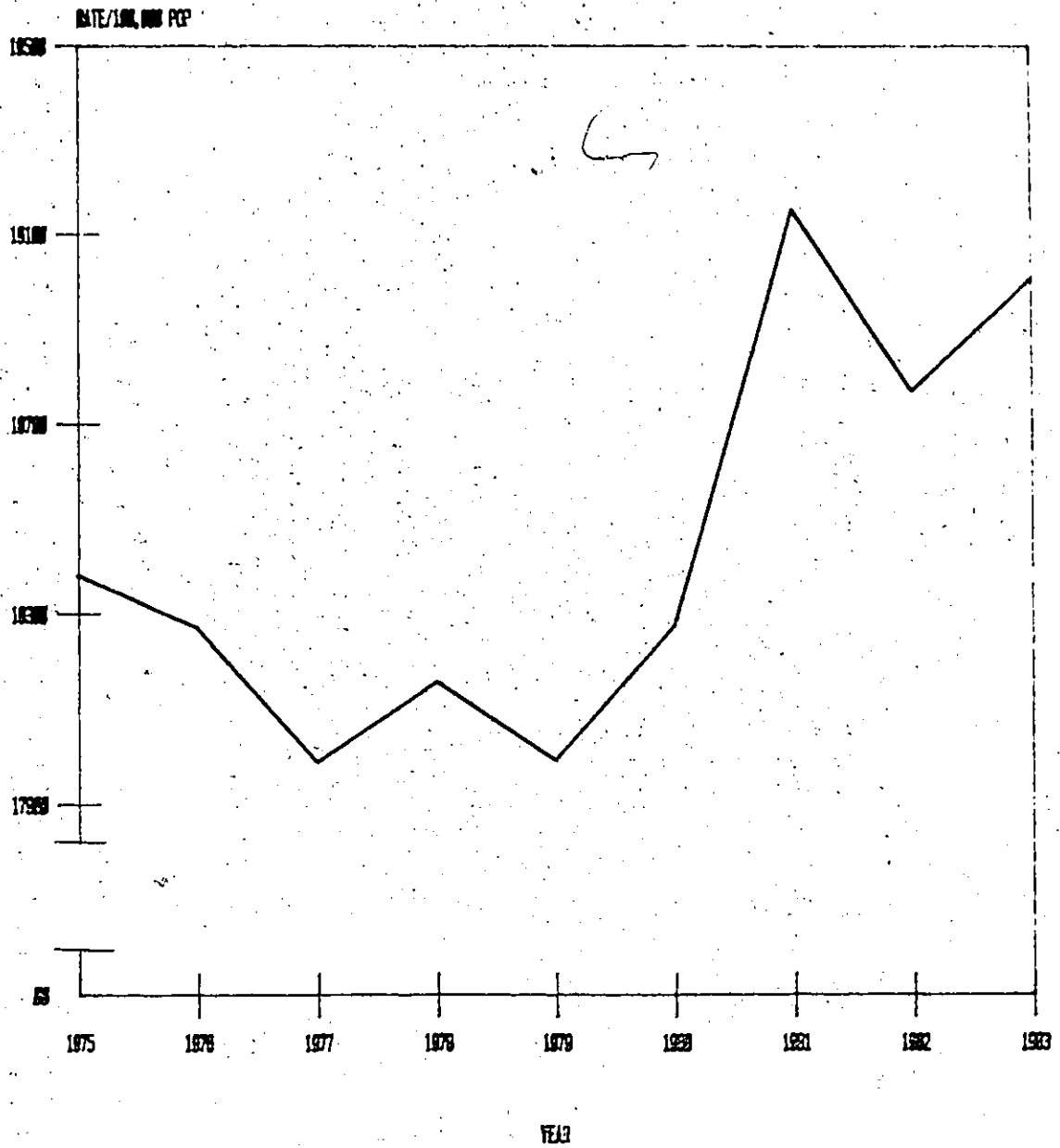
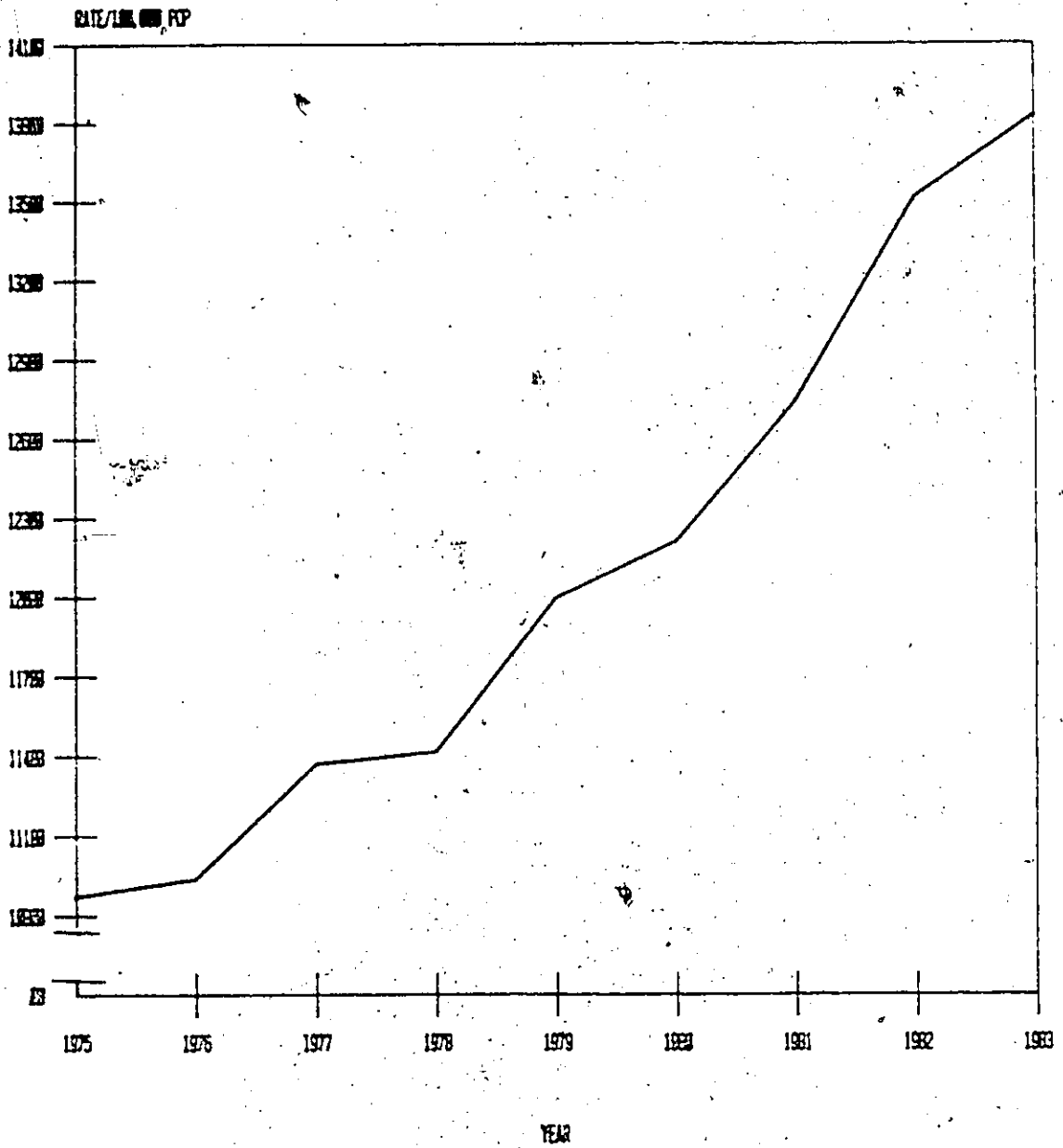


FIG. 34 FEMALE EXECUT. WHITE COLLAR RATES

1975-1983



faster than males. In 1975, the female/male ratio was 59.0 and the figure increased steadily to 72.8 in 1983.

The white collar employment rate for males fell consistently from 27516.9 in 1975 to 25078.3 in 1983. In the case of females, the white collar employment rate showed an increase from 31320.1 in 1975 to 35030.1 in 1981 and then a sudden drop to 33530.7 in 1982 and 31581.8 in 1983 (Table 17). The female/male ratio shows that in 1975, there were 113.8 females employed in white collar positions for every 100 males so employed. Like the employment rates for this type of work, the ratio increased to 132.8 in 1981 and then dropped suddenly to 125.9 in 1983. The data reveals that not only were there more females per 100,000 employed in white collar positions than males, but that their rate of increase was faster (Table 17 and Figures 35 and 36).

The blue collar employment rate for males fluctuated between 35368.4 in 1975 and 36189.2 in 1979, and began to decrease to 29569.0 in 1983 (Table 18 and Figure 37).

The trend was slightly different for females. In 1975, the rate was 5506.45, increased in 1976 (5726.63) then decreased to 5266.34 in 1977. The rate increased to

**Male and Female White Collar Rates 1975 - 1983**

	<u>Female White Collar Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	31320.1	100
1976	31376.4	100.2
1977	31698.6	101.2
1978	32678.2	104.3
1979	33515.6	107.0
1980	34171.6	109.1
1981	35030.1	111.8
1982	33530.7	107.1
1983	31581.8	100.8

	<u>Male White Collar Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	27516.9	100
1976	27011.5	98.2
1977	27054.7	98.3
1978	26527.9	96.4
1979	26699.8	97.0
1980	26343.1	95.7
1981	26372.2	95.8
1982	25294.0	91.9
1983	25078.3	91.1

	<u>Total White Collar Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	113.8
1976	116.2
1977	117.2
1978	123.2
1979	125.5
1980	129.7
1981	132.8
1982	132.6
1983	125.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 35 MALE WHITE COLLAR RATES

1975-1983

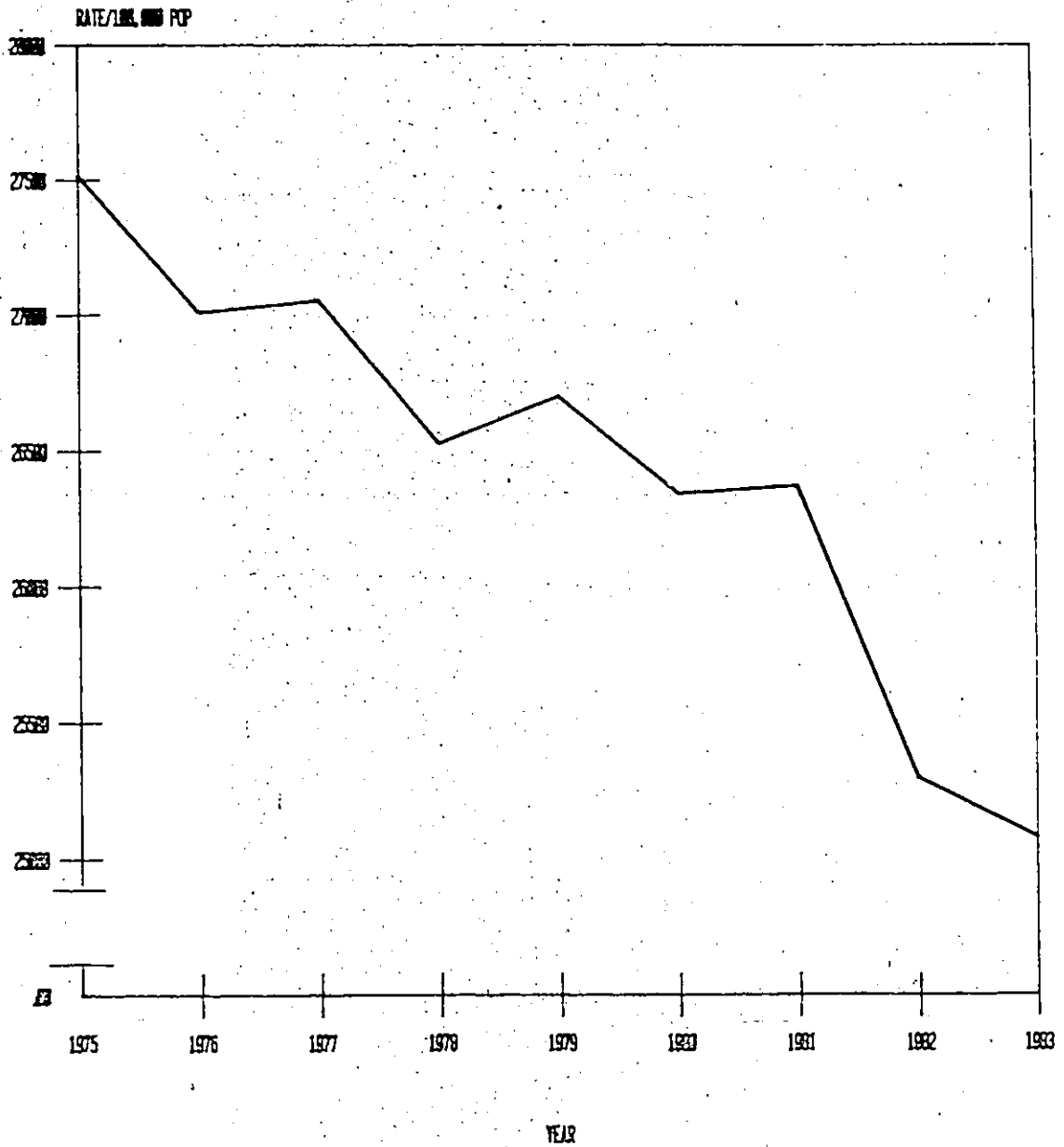


FIG. 36 FEMALE WHITE COLLAR RATES

1975-1983

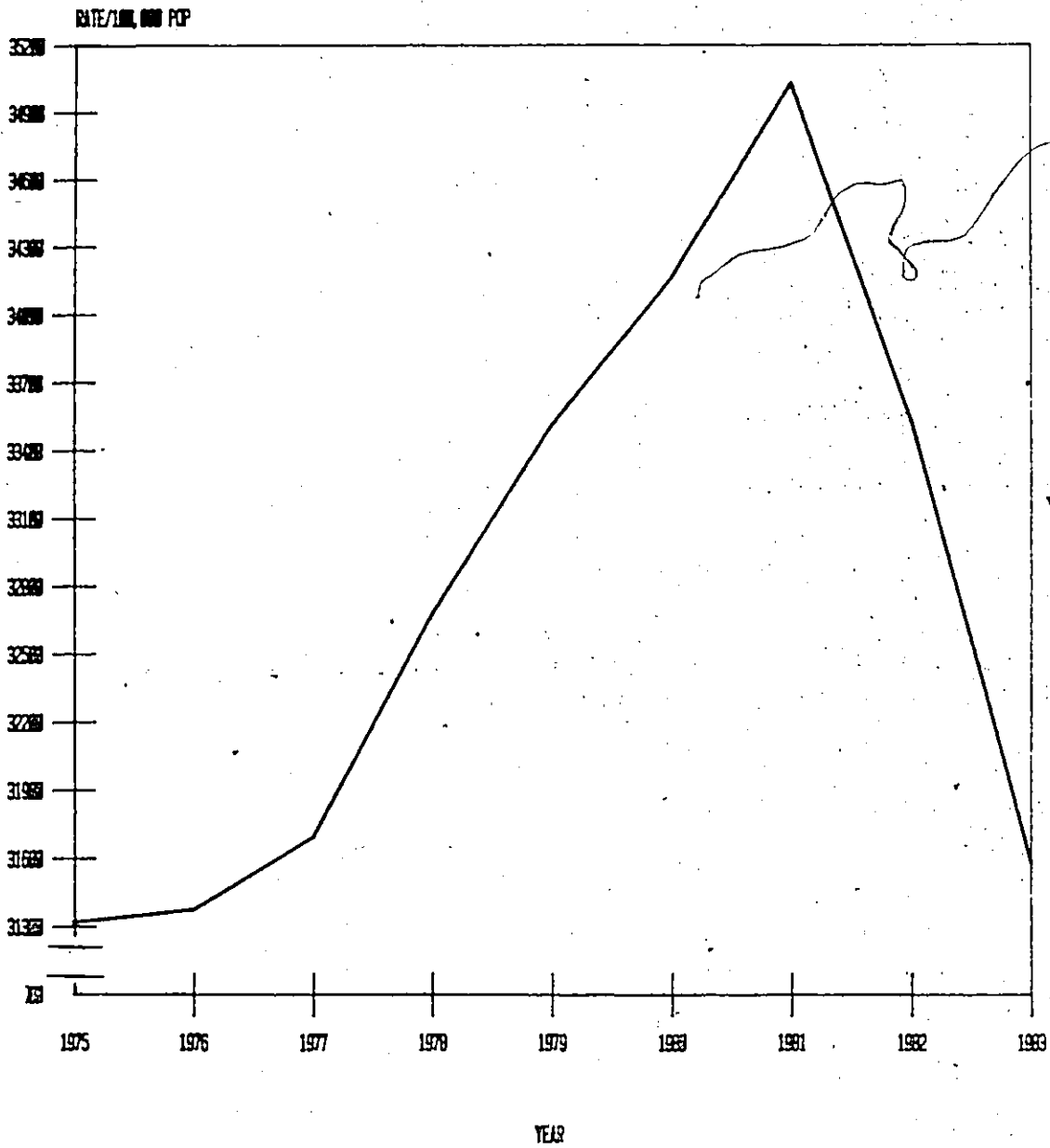


TABLE 18

Male and Female Blue Collar Rates 1975 - 1983

	<u>Female Blue Collar Rate</u>	<u>Female Index</u>
1975	5506.45	100
1976	5726.63	104.0
1977	5266.34	95.6
1978	5610.42	101.9
1979	6175.62	112.2
1980	6405.20	116.3
1981	6169.01	112.0
1982	5649.20	102.6
1983	5947.60	108.0

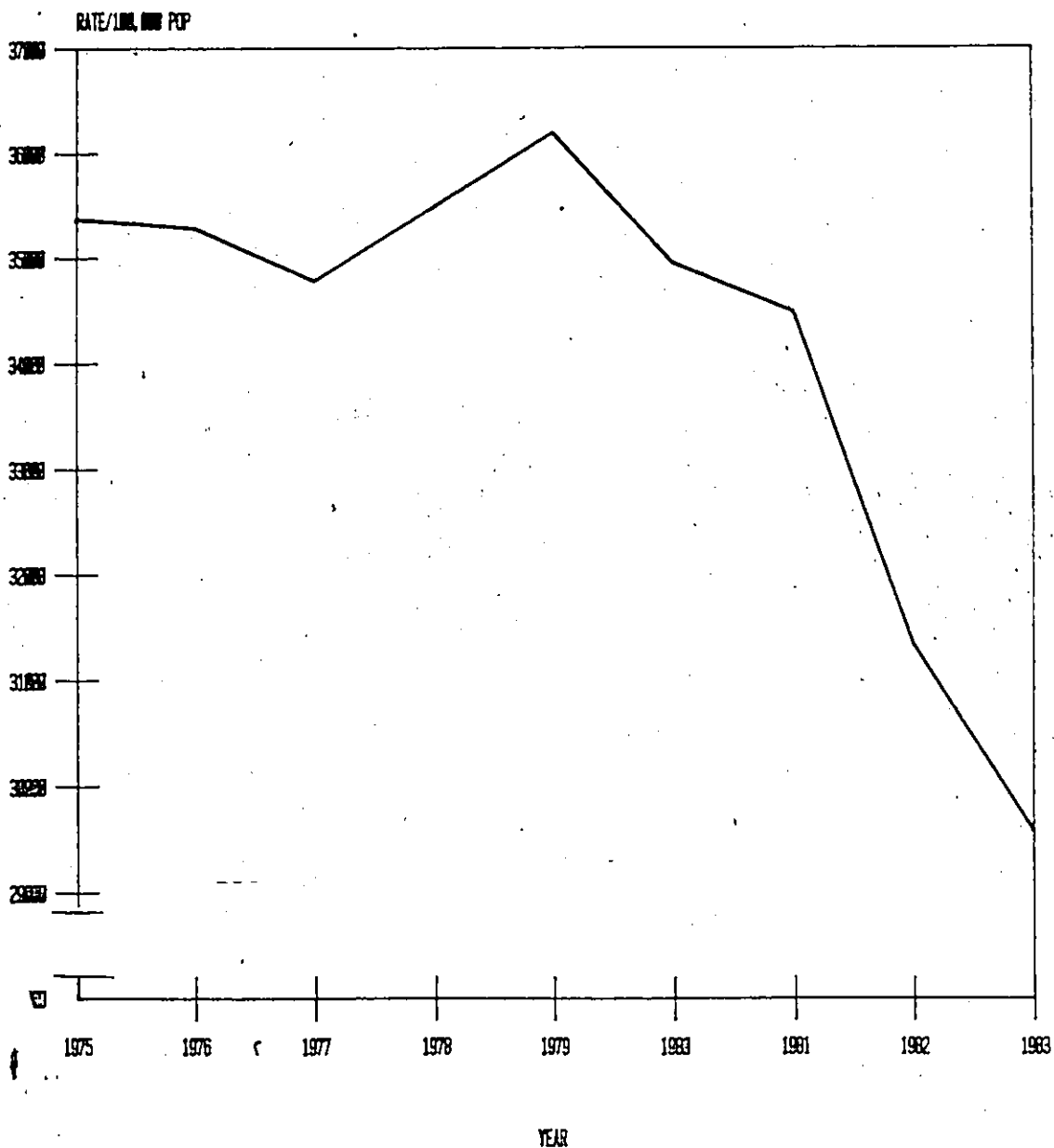
	<u>Male Blue Collar Rate</u>	<u>Male Index</u>
1975	35368.4	100
1976	35283.0	99.8
1977	34779.5	98.3
1978	35483.8	100.3
1979	36189.2	102.3
1980	34945.6	98.8
1981	34481.6	97.5
1982	31334.8	88.6
1983	29569.0	83.6

	<u>Total Blue Collar Female/Male Ratio</u>
1975	15.6
1976	16.2
1977	15.1
1978	15.8
1979	17.1
1980	18.3
1981	17.9
1982	18.0
1983	20.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Cat. 85-205

FIG. 37 MALE BLUE COLLAR RATES

1975-1983



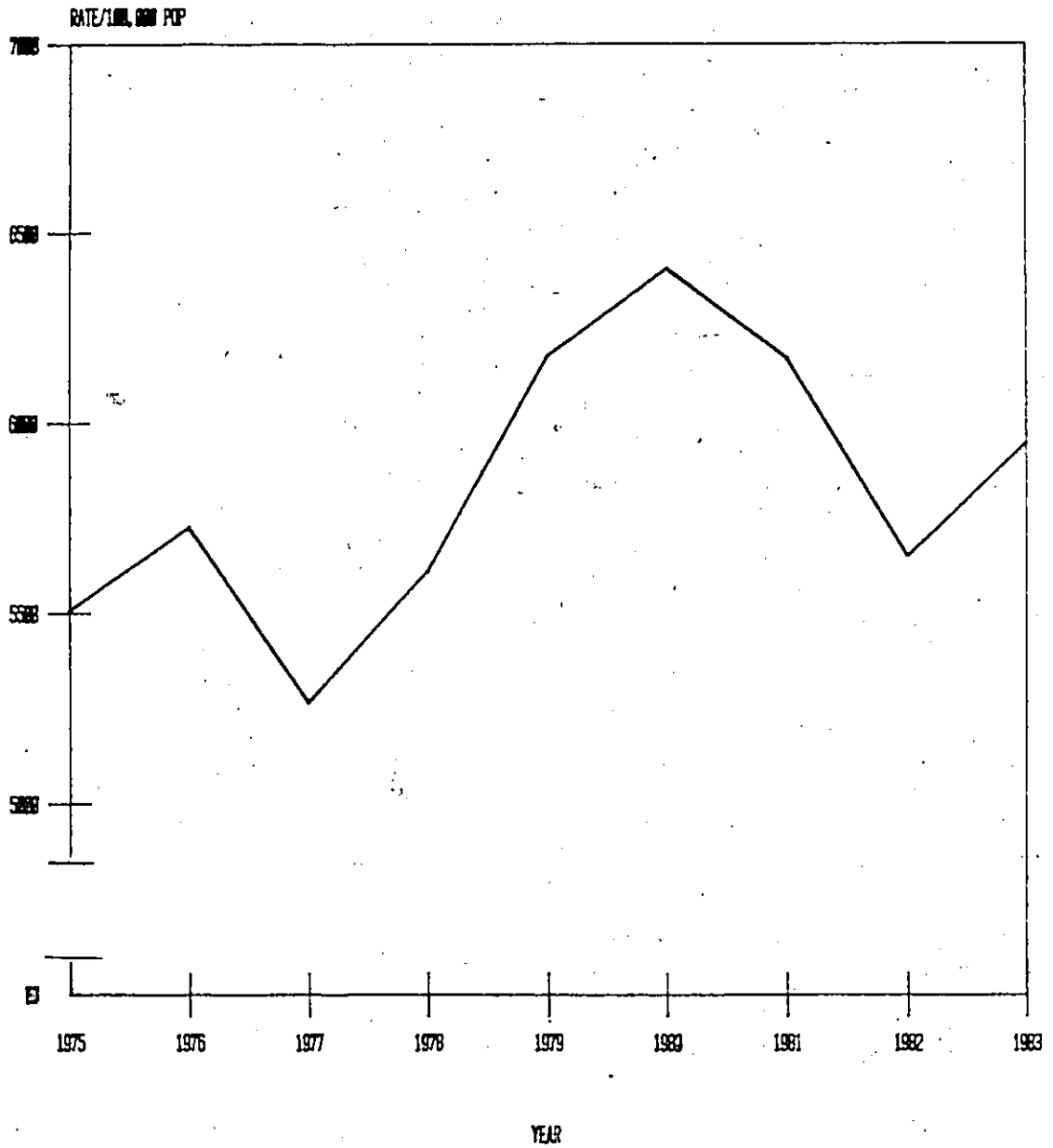
5610.42 in 1978 and reached a peak rate of 6405.20 in 1980. The rate decreased to 5649.20 in 1982 then increased again to 5947.60 in 1983. The female/male ratio shows that there were 15.6 females employed for every 100 males in 1975. It increased to 16.2 in 1976 and fell to 15.1 in 1977. Thereafter it increased to reach a high of 20.1 in 1983 (Table 18 and Figure 38)

From the foregoing analysis of labour force data, it is clear that not only has the rate of female labour force participation increased, it has done so when the male participation rate has either decreased or increased only slightly. The data also reveals that an increase has occurred in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors as well as in executive white collar, white collar and blue collar positions, indicating that the changes in labour force participation is not only an increased involvement in traditional female occupations but also an incursion into what may be considered non-traditional female occupations.

The thesis that is being tested here is that changes in female criminality attributed to the emancipation of women would reflect changes in female participation in the

FIG. 38 FEMALE BLUE COLLAR RATES

1975-1983



labour force. Adler and Simon's opportunity theories suggest that increased participation in the labour force will provide women with the opportunity to commit more crimes which will be less traditional in nature. In order to do so, women must be employed in occupations which will facilitate the commission of certain offences such as theft and fraud.

The data reveals that there has been not only an increase in the female participation in the labour force but also in the non-traditional female occupations and that this increase has been not only in absolute terms but also in terms relative to male participation. If Adler and Simon's theories are correct, we should find:

- 1) An increase in female criminality both in absolute terms and vis-a-vis male criminality.
- 2) An increase in female participation in non-traditional areas of employment - both in "place of work" and in "type of work".
- 3) An increase in female criminality vis-a-vis female labour force participation, particularly in executive white collar employment and white collar employment and an increase in such crimes as theft over \$200.00, theft under \$200.00, fraud, and possession of stolen goods.

Regression analysis utilizing the rates for the major crime groupings and the rates of participation in the labour force reveals a high correlation (.931) between female property crime rates and female labour force participation. This was the highest correlation that appeared from the three crime groupings (Table 19). The correlation coefficient between female participation in the labour force and 1) total female crime rates was .896 2) female violent crimes was .796 and 3) female rates for violation of the Narcotic Control Act was .231.

The picture is no different when the correlation is between female labour force participation rates and various crimes considered individually. Table 19 shows that the assault rate gave a correlation coefficient of .923. The crime of theft over \$200.00 gave a correlation coefficient of .977, while the crime of fraud gave a correlation coefficient of .886.

What these correlations suggest is that an increase in the female participation in the labour force was associated with an increase in all crimes except Narcotic Control Act offences. What is more, the coefficients of

Correlation Coefficients Between Rate of Female  
Participation in Labour Force and Crime Rates

<u>Offence Type</u>	<u>Correlation Coefficient</u>	<u>Level of Significance</u>
Total Crime	.896	.01
Violent	.798	.05
Property	.931	.05
Narcotic	-.231	.1
Assault	.923	.01
Theft over \$200	.977	.01
Fraud	.886	.01

correlation are of such an order as to suggest that most of the variance in the crime rates could be explained by variance in the labour force participation rates.

An analysis of female crime rates and the occupational groupings (Table 20) provide interesting correlations. With executive white collar employment 1) total crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .889, 2) violent crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .680, 3) property crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .725, and 4) Narcotic Control Act offences a correlation coefficient of -.591.

With white collar employment rates, the coefficient of correlations were a little higher. 1) total crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .959, 2) violent crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .556, 3) property crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .849 and, 4) violations of the Narcotic Control Act gave a correlation coefficient of .311.

With blue collar employment rates, 1) total crime gave a correlation coefficient of .908, 2) violent crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .753, 3) property

**CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS (TYPE OF WORK) AND FEMALE CRIME RATES**

	<u>EXECUTIVE WHITE COLLAR</u>		<u>WHITE COLLAR</u>		<u>BLUE COLLAR</u>	
	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.
Total Crime	.889	.01	.959	.01	.908	.01
Violent	.680	.05	.556	.1	.753	.05
Property	.725	.01	.849	.01	.735	.05
NARCOTICS	-.591	.1	.311	.1	.270	.1

offences showed a correlation coefficient of .735 while 4) Narcotic Control Act offences showed a .270 correlation coefficient.

When various crimes are considered individually, the results are similar. There was a high correlation coefficient for theft over \$200.00 (.941) and .951 for assault for executive white collar women. With white collar positions, fraud showed a correlation coefficient of .886, possession of stolen goods gave a correlation coefficient of .924 while the offence of break and enter gave a correlation coefficient of .885. Blue collar workers showed low correlations for all offences except for break and enter which gave a correlation coefficient of .886 (Table 21).

When the "place of work" is considered, some interesting correlations are obtained. Table 22 shows that participation rates in the primary sector for females and 1) total crime rates gave a correlation coefficient of .932, 2) female violent crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .818, 3) female property crimes gave a correlation coefficient of .833 and, 4) female rates for violation of the Narcotic Control Act was .-

TABLE 21

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS (TYPE OF WORK) AND VARIOUS CRIME RATES

	EXECUTIVE WHITE COLLAR		WHITE COLLAR		BLUE COLLAR	
	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.
Theft Over	.941	.01	—	—	—	—
Fraud	—	—	.886	.01	—	—
Stolen Goods	—	—	.924	.01	—	—
Break & Enter	—	—	.825	.01	.886	.01
Assault	.951	.01	—	.01	—	—

TABLE 22

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS (PLACE OF WORK) AND FEMALE CRIME RATES

	PRIMARY INDUSTRY		SECONDARY INDUSTRY		TERTIARY INDUSTRY	
	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.
Total Crime	.932	.01	.964	.01	.952	.01
Violent	.818	.01	.816	.01	.737	.05
Property	.833	.01	.906	.01	.901	.01
Narcotic	-.136	.01	-.065	.1	-.284	.1

With the secondary sector, the correlation coefficient between female participation rates and 1) total crime was .964 2) female violent crime was .816, 3) female property offences was .906 and, 4) female Narcotic Control Act offences was .065.

The tertiary sector showed a correlation coefficient between female participation rates and 1) total crime of .952, 2) female violent crimes of .737, 3) female property offences of .901 and 4) violation of the Narcotic Control Act of 1.56

When correlations between the "place of work: and various crimes are considered individually, the picture is more focused. Female participation in the primary sector correlated with female fraud rates gave a correlation coefficient of .865, and the female break and enter rate gave a correlation coefficient of .846 (Table 23). The female secondary sector rates and female theft over \$200.00 rates gave a correlation coefficient of .814. The female fraud rate gave a correlation coefficient of .909 and the break and enter rate gave a correlation coefficient of .954 (Table 23).

With female participation in the tertiary sector, the correlations between various crimes were much higher. Female theft over \$200.00 rates gave a correlation coefficient of .971 and female theft under \$200 gave a correlation coefficient of .818. The female assault rate gave a correlation coefficient of .903, the female fraud rate gave a correlation coefficient of .828 and the female rate for possession of stolen goods gave a correlation coefficient of .853 (Table 23).

TABLE 23

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS (PLACE OF WORK) AND VARIOUS CRIME RATES

	PRIMARY INDUSTRY		SECONDARY INDUSTRY		TERTIARY INDUSTRY	
	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.	Corr. Coef.	Level of Signif.
Theft Over	—	—	.814	.05	.971	.01
Theft Under	—	—	—	—	.818	.01
Assault	—	—	—	—	.903	.01
Fraud	.865	.01	.909	.01	.826	.01
Stolen Goods	—	—	—	—	.853	.01
Break & Enter	.846	.01	—	—	—	—

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

Explanations of female criminality have revolved around two theoretical schools of thought. Firstly, there were the biological determinists theories which suggest that the responsibility for crime lay in an individual's biological or psychological make-up. These theorists explained that female crime levels were low due to the fact that few females are born criminals - biological throwbacks to an earlier evolutionary stage in human development. Rather, they suggested that the majority of female offenders were occasional criminals.

When female criminality began to increase, a new school of thought developed which suggests that the increase in female criminality is situational rather than biological. It is suggested that opportunities afforded to women in such areas as education and employment will give rise to a profusion of female criminality because women are discarding their traditional feminine roles of wife and mother and entering non-traditional spheres of employment and education. As a result, women are gaining access to heretofore male dominated fields and seizing the opportunity to commit crimes conducive to their newly found social position such as fraud, embezzlement and theft.

The purpose of this study has been to ascertain whether there is a 'real' increase in female crime and whether that increase is disproportional to male criminality. Further, it was intended to determine whether there is a relationship between female criminality and female labour force participation.

Freda Adler (1975) and Rita Simon (1975), two of the chief proponents of the theory relating changes in female criminality to female emancipation suggested that in the past, women have been restricted to committing petty crimes such as shoplifting because of their role as homemaker and their lack of opportunity to commit more lucrative offences. They suggest that as women improve their education and opportunities and gain access to all legitimate fields of employment, they not only can enjoy the benefits of the success in the jobs, occupations and positions traditionally designed for men, they are broadening their scope of criminal proclivities.

Specifically, they hypothesized that as women begin to penetrate executive white collar and white collar positions, crimes such as fraud, embezzlement and theft over \$200.00

will increase. They state that the barriers which have prevented women from committing offences which are more serious and ultimately more lucrative are related to social rather than sexual factors.

Most often this theory has not been tested. Instead, the increase in female criminality has been demonstrated and its relation to female emancipation assumed. These studies have accepted as a matter of fact the increasing emancipation of women with the passage of time.

There have been some studies that have tried to test the hypothesis empirically. These studies have attempted to operationalize emancipation in terms of divorce rates, marriage rates, fertility rates, educational attainment and labour force participation on the grounds that divorce, employment, education and the like indicate a financial and emotional independence from males. In addition, it has been suggested that increased labour force participation indicates that the restrictions on the roles allowed to women are lessening.

This thesis sought to test Adler and Simon's 'opportunity' theories. It was hypothesized that:

- (1) Female crime rates in Ontario have increased in absolute terms;
- (2) Female crime rates in Ontario have increased disproportionately vis-a-vis male crime rates in Ontario;
- (3) Female crime rates have increased with an increased participation of women in the labour force; and,
- (4) Female property crime rates have increased vis-a-vis female participation in executive-white collar, and white collar positions and within the tertiary sector.

Crime rates - total crime rates, rates for the different categories of crime and the rates for specific offences within these categories - for both males and females was examined to determine the changes that occurred. The purpose of the analysis was not to merely ascertain the changes but also to ascertain the types of crime where the changes have occurred - crimes that are thought to be traditionally female or crimes that are thought peculiarly male. Results showed that in all categories except drug offences, there was an overall increase in the rate of females charged as well as the rate of males charged. The increases, however, were not consistent in that some years showed an increase and some years showed a decrease. The increases for females were greater than the increases for males and the decreases in the

female charging rates were less than the decreases for male charging rates. The analysis of the data permits the conclusion that not only has there been an increase in female criminality, but that the increase is relative vis-a-vis male criminality.

Labour force participation data was also similarly analyzed. The data revealed that while male participation actually decreased during the period under study, female labour force participation increased. Of the three labour force sectors tested - primary, secondary and tertiary - the data revealed that although female participation rates increased in all three, the augmentation occurred most in the tertiary sector which incorporates trade, finance, insurance, real estate, service and public administration.

Labour force participation was further analyzed in terms of "type of work" - executive white collar, white collar and blue collar. The data revealed that female participation in all three sectors increased but that executive white collar positions increased most during the period under study and that this increase exceeded male executive white collar positions.

The analysis of the data on male and female crime rates and labour force participation revealed that there has, in fact, been an increase in female criminality and labour force participation both in absolute terms and vis-a-vis male rates. The analysis also revealed that the increase in the labour force participation was not only an increase of traditional female labour force participation but also an incursion into non-traditional occupations. As far as the crime rates were concerned, they revealed an increase in all crimes with the exception of drug related offences. The increase was particularly apparent in the category of property crimes especially fraud and theft, suggesting support for the hypothesis tested.

Regression analysis was utilized to test directly, the relationship between emancipation - labour force participation - and female criminality. Crime data was regressed against participation rates to ascertain whether crime is associated with labour force participation. If emancipation is to be implicated, however, it is not the total number of crimes that would equate crime with emancipation, but rather that females are beginning to commit crimes previously committed by men. However, increases in not all crimes considered peculiarly male can be attributed

to female emancipation. For example, crimes such as robbery and break and enter which were considered male offences can not, if an increase transpires, be attributed solely to the effects of emancipation because of the tools and expertise required to commit such offences which cannot be attained from emancipation alone.

Total crime correlated against total labour force participation netted a higher correlation for females than for males. When crime rates were grouped into violent, property and narcotic offences, female property crimes showed the strongest correlation with employment. When employment was broken down to "place of work" and "type of work", property offences again, showed the highest correlation.

The offences for which the relationship between emancipation and crime appeared strongest were theft over \$200.00, assault, fraud and possession of stolen goods. These correlations were most pronounced within the tertiary sector and executive white collar positions. It can, therefore, be seen that women have moved from traditional occupations and the crimes associated with those positions to non-traditional occupations and are gaining access to

heretofore male dominated opportunities for employment and the commission of criminal offences.

Based on the analysis of the data on crime rates and labour force participation, there is evidence to suggest that social rather than sexual barriers have restricted women in the past to petty crimes and that the increase in employment opportunities witnessed in the last several years, particularly executive white collar and white collar positions has afforded women with the opportunity to commit crimes more serious in nature.

As more women occupy positions conducive to committing crimes such as fraud, embezzlement, theft over \$200.00 and the like, more of them appear to be seizing the opportunity to commit these crimes.

In the performance of this study, one major obstacle was encountered. This study was hampered by a lack of labour force data as a result of changes in recording and reporting patterns prior to 1975 and after 1983. This compelled the analysis to be restricted to a short period of time. Perhaps a longer time span would have allowed for a clearer picture

of the relationship between emancipation and crime.

The research model utilized was also not conducive to an accurate test of the theory. The problem was conceptualized in terms of its magnitude under varying conditions. The questions to which answers were sought revolve around changes in the rates of females charged for certain offences with changes in the female participation in different segments of the labour force. An inordinate increase in females charged with fraud associated with an inordinate increase in female participation in executive white collar jobs suggest a relationship between female crime and female emancipation through intermediation of opportunity. This theory carries the implicit assumption that it is these females in the executive white collar positions who have the opportunity to commit fraud and who do consequently commit fraud. There is no evidence of this. The design of the study should have called for the identification of the occupation of the fraud offender. The data is not available for the performance of such a study.

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## ABSTRACT

The study of female criminality has been marginal, at best, to the study of male criminality, resulting from the common belief that because female offenders are fewer in number, female criminality is not as important.

Two schools of thought have sought to explain the nature of female criminality. The classical school of thought found in such works as Lombroso (1895) expound upon the biological determinist theory of female criminality while the contemporary theorists such as Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) suggest that women are shedding their feminine roles and emulating men not only in their educational and occupational pursuits, but also in their criminal careers. They state that women have been restricted to committing petty crimes such as shoplifting because of a lack of opportunity to commit crimes more serious in nature. They hypothesize that as women gain access to non-traditional jobs, occupations and opportunities, there will be a profusion in the number of female offenders and that their crimes will transform from petty theft to crimes that are more serious.

This thesis sought to test this theory and in doing so, ascertained the extent of the effect of female emancipation on female criminality utilizing data relating to Ontario from 1975 through 1984 and employing the time series method of analysis.

For this test, it was hypothesized that (1) female crime rates in Ontario have increased in absolute terms; (2) female crime rates in Ontario have increased disproportionately vis-a-vis male crime rates.

in Ontario; (3) female crime rates have increased with an increased participation of women in the labour force; and (4) female property crime rates have increased vis-a-vis female participation in executive white-collar and white-collar positions and within the tertiary sector.

The dependant variable - crime rates - were measured by the number of persons charged and the independant variable of labour force participation was central to the measurement of emancipation.

Based on the analysis of the data on crime rates and labour force participation, there is evidence to suggest that social rather than sexual barriers have restricted women in the past to petty crimes and that the increase in employment opportunities witnessed in the last several years, particularly executive white-collar and white-collar positions has afforded women with the opportunity to commit crime more serious in nature. As more women occupy positions conducive to committing crimes such as fraud, embezzlement, theft over \$200.00 and the like, more of them appear to be seizing the opportunity to commit these crimes.

One obstacle of this study is that it carries with it the implicit assumption that it is these females in the executive white collar positions who have the opportunity to commit crimes such as fraud and who do consequently commit such crimes. There is no evidence of this. The design of the study should have called for the identification of the occupation and the particular offender (i.e. fraud). The data is not available for the performance of such a study.