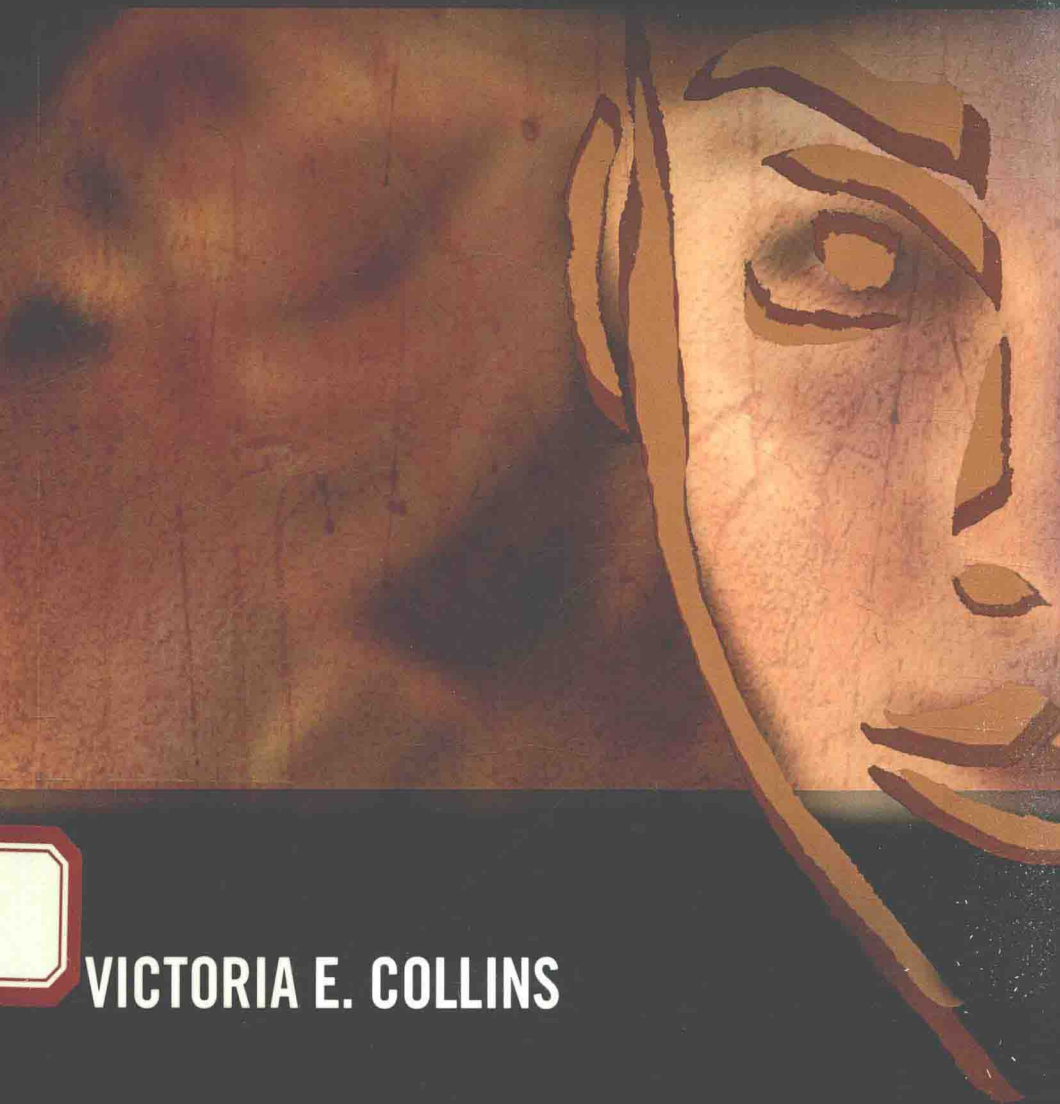


> ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN CRIME AND SOCIETY



State Crime,
WOMEN AND GENDER



VICTORIA E. COLLINS

State Crime, Women and Gender

Victoria E. Collins

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This work is dedicated to my Dad whose sense of humor and kind heart always provide perspective.

Foreword

Dawn Rothe

As I write the Foreword to this important book about state crime, women and gender, International Women's Day (March 8, 2015) has just passed reiterating the ongoing inequalities and lack of female representation in positions of power. Yet, females are now increasingly becoming a part of the national and international political power structures, making this volume not only timely but important in this recognition and the role women play in state crime commission and the processes of legitimating it through law and politics that surround the violence and harms perpetrated by the powerful. Consider that, historically, it was not until 1960 that Sri Lanka became the first state to have a female elected Premier Minister and in 1974 Argentina became the first country to have a female President. In all there have been 36 female heads of state since the "modern state" system. Today, of the 193 member states of the United Nations there are 29 female leaders including those that hold the presidency position in Argentina, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chile, Croatia, Kosovo, Liberia, Lithuania, Malta, South Korea and Switzerland and serve as prime ministers in Bangladesh, Denmark, Germany, Jamaica, Latvia, Norway, Peru, Poland, and Trinidad and Tobago. Collins has rightly noted that while still marginalized and grossly underrepresented within the broader political structures, women play a role in the broader political process and state criminality, harms, and violence, yet, scholars of state crime, myself included, have unacceptably not paid attention to or incorporated with any depth feminist perspectives or the role that females and gender play in this process, directly and indirectly. For example, in 2012 the former first lady of Côte d'Ivoire was indicted by the International Criminal Court – though officially outside the formal hierarchies of power and government (Burke-White, 2012, p. 1). In 2007, Spain arrested the former Argentinian President Isabel Perón, based on an international arrest warrant alleging massive human rights abuses during her rule in the 1970s. On the other side, women are actively participating in and serving in high-ranking official capacity in the process of law creation and implementation of controls for state crime. For example, there are the female judges serving on the International Criminal Court and ad hoc International Tribunals that actively participate in the social control arm of international justice.

Females have and continue to play a central role in state rebuilding and resistance to crimes of the state from Afghanistan to Liberia to Rwanda. This also

includes resistance movements against rape and female violence by governmental agencies using social media to publicize cases of rape (e.g., Egypt) to standing up against states' and international financial institutions' policies that directly impact females, from the use of theater (e.g., Afghanistan) to films (e.g., *India's Daughter* 2014–2015; *Mother of the Dunes* 2007, 1997; *Finzan* 1992) to art and clothing (e.g., Hawaii) to social protests and social media sites of empowerment (e.g., Russia and Ethiopia). While forms of resistance need to be included in any analysis of state crime, the role of women is especially important, though, admittedly, glaringly absent to date. It is this that Collins has taken issue with and attempts to eradicate with this volume.

Having highlighted the "great" achievements of women involved in current high-profile political positions of power and as active agents of resistance, I, like Collins, refer back to the still dominant ideology, hegemonic discourse, knowledge that subjugates females in all facets of social, political and economic life. Victimization of females by states, state policy, and agents of social control continue to far outweigh the victimization of males. Collins begins this volume with one such story involving a rape in Saudi Arabia where the state victimized the girl after reporting her attack: the Girl of Qatif was charged with the crime of being alone with a man, something that is illegal in the highly segregated Saudi society, found guilty and then sentenced to receive 90 lashes, later increased to 200 lashes and six months in jail after she was accused of "exhibiting disrespectful behavior towards the court" for speaking to the media. The formalization and institutionalization of female inequality cannot be understated, including the lack of ownership by a woman of her own body where the state is able to dictate childbearing. For example, in El Salvador a recent reversal of the Supreme Court of Justice issued a pardon for Carmen Guadalupe Vásquez Aldana after serving seven years in prison for having an abortion which was labeled as aggravated homicide. Carmen suffered a miscarriage after being raped. An additional 17 other cases of women imprisoned for the same offense were also considered in 2014, though not receiving the pardon Carmen was afforded. Undoubtedly, there is a long history and continuation of systematic victimization of females by states, directly and indirectly (UN News Centre, 2015). As Nelson Mandela stated in 1996 in a speech in Pretoria,

The legacy of oppression weighs heavily on women. As long as women are bound by poverty and as long as they are looked down upon, human rights will lack substance.... As long as the nation refuses to acknowledge the equal role of more than half of itself, it is doomed to failure.

(Mandela, 1996)

Collins decorously notes that "despite the increased criminological attention to the issue of state crime over the last three decades, research on women as victims and perpetrators of state crime has existed in the periphery, something that is reflective of broader patterns within criminology as a field." This volume is one step towards filling that gap as she skillfully combines feminist

and state crime research with an international focus. In this sense, Collins is rejecting taking or having a complicit role in the subjugation of females by the state that so many of us are guilty of by remaining silent on this important topic.

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1 State crime, women and gender

An introduction

Violence against women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.... In all societies, to a greater or lesser degree, women and girls are subjected to physical, sexual and psychological abuse that cuts across lines of income, class and culture.

(Beijing Declaration and Platform for Change, 1995, para. 122)

In November 2006, the international news media began reporting on the story of the rape of a 19-year-old girl in the small Saudi Arabian village of al-Awwamiya. The young woman was being driven home by a male friend when they were ambushed by two men. Having blocked their car, the men kidnapped the young woman and her companion and drove them to a deserted area where they, as well as five other men, brutally and repeatedly raped the young woman (Setrakian, 2007). Despite the shocking nature of this attack, the reason for the international news scrutiny was not the violent rape itself, but the events that occurred after the women reported her attack to the police. Instead of treating her as a victim of a horrendous crime, the young woman, known as the Girl of Qatif, was charged with the crime of being alone with a man, something that is illegal in the highly segregated Saudi society, and as a result was found guilty and sentenced to receive 90 lashes (NBC, 2006). This sentence was later increased to 200 lashes and six months in jail as she was accused of "exhibiting disrespectful behavior towards the court" (CNN, 2007) for speaking to the media. In an official statement from Saudi Arabia's Supreme Judicial Council a spokesperson said, "the case was treated normally through the regular court procedure" (CNN, 2007). Although international outcry has been expressed over this particular case, something which is indeed warranted, this is not an isolated incident of barbaric treatment of a woman by the very power structures that are supposed to protect her from harm.

As a perpetrator of violence against women the state is overrepresented. The examples are innumerable and span the course of history. As noted in the above extract from the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Change (1995), violence against women persists across all cultures and societies impacting women from all social groups. A brief browsing of recent media stories exposes many different

examples of the victimization of women and girls where there is evidence of state involvement. For example, consider the recent coverage from Burma that indicates that since the implementation of the nominal civilian government in 2010, there have been reports of over 100 rapes perpetrated by government soldiers in the northern region of the country (Women's League of Burma, 2014). Also consider the sentencing of rape victim Gulnaz to twelve years in prison in Afghanistan (BBC News, 2011), the gang rape of a Danish woman in Delhi (BBC News, 2014), the saving of a woman from stoning in the Taliban controlled region of Kanduz (BBC News, 2013), and the recent reporting on the culture of impunity for perpetrators of rape in India where there has been a 7.1 percent increase in rape rates since 2010 (Tilak, 2013).

Violence against women has been called the “most pervasive yet least recognized human rights abuse in the world” (United Nations Population Fund, 2014). Reports indicate that between 35 and 70 percent of women have experienced non-partner sexual abuse and physical violence at the hands of an intimate (World Health Organization, 2013), over 46 million girls are child brides (Black, 2001), and women represent 55 percent of all people trafficked into forced labor (Pinheiro & Ward, 2008). In addition, 40 to 50 percent of women in countries in the European Union have reported experiencing unwanted sexual advances and harassment at work, including unwanted physical contact (Directorate-General for Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs, 1998). Furthermore, women and girls are particularly vulnerable during times of conflict where they have been systematically targeted as a tactic of war as demonstrated in both the genocides in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda (Mullins, 2009). Based on the statistics listed above, violence against women can be likened to a global pandemic with far-reaching consequences including deaths, injuries, psychological harm, infringement on freedom and liberty, as well as devastating health consequences (UN Women, 2014).

There is a long history of the systematic victimization of women by the state especially as it relates to conflict (i.e., rape as a weapon of war, genocidal rape, enslavement, and the victimization of women as the “spoils” of war). State-perpetrated violence against women also occurs during peacetime where women are not afforded the same protections as men by the state and in some situations are even persecuted by the criminal justice system for their victimization by men, such as in the practice of sentencing a woman to death for being raped and punishing women and girls with violence for pursuing an education. Although there has been state crime scholarship investigating such abuses, the focus has been on explaining specific cases of state-perpetrated violence where gender and sex have not been the primary focus. State-perpetrated gender-based violence takes many forms, direct and indirect, specific and general, targeted and institutionalized, systematic and chaotic, as well as acts and omissions. Whether the focus is the short sentences received by the perpetrators of these crimes, or the lack of protections for women and children against male-perpetrated harms, the common threads that link them all is that they disproportionately impact women and are perpetrated overtly by the state or within a state structure that is supposed to protect the victims from these types of harm.

Interestingly, there has yet to be a more holistic criminological exploration of the relationship between state-perpetrated violence, or *state crime*, and women. This is not to say that state violence against women and girls has not been addressed in its various forms as there is a vast literature especially from feminist, victimology, and state crime scholars that has examined patterns of victimization, some of which have included examinations of state involvement, implicit and explicit, that have either directly caused or facilitated violence against women. For example, there is considerable research on the use of rape as a weapon of war (Baaz & Stern, 2009; Brownmiller, 1975; Buss, 2009; Farr, 2009; Meger, 2010; Mullins, 2009; Mwavita, 2002). This research recognizes that the violent victimizations perpetrated during conflict are experienced differently for men and women with women being particularly vulnerable to systematic sexual violence. But to restrict discussion of state-perpetrated violence to female victimization during times of conflict does not acknowledge larger issues of power that shape relations between the sexes and institutional structures of power that not only impact patterns of violence that disproportionately impact women and children, but also affect female criminality and the construction of control structures that have been implemented to prevent these varying forms of violence.

State Crime, Women and Gender broadens the focus of prior literature and takes an interdisciplinary and global approach to state-perpetrated violence against women as well as state crime committed by women. My argument here is not that the blatant abuses of state power and the resulting harms have not garnered significant attention from criminologists, nor that the large feminist literature on marginalization issues surrounding women and crime ignores the subject of state: rather my purpose is to link these two literatures to advance a literature on state crime and women. It is my suggestion that given the increased access to, and reporting of, state-perpetrated violence that specifically involves and/or impacts women, the experiences of women will become more and more relevant to contemporary criminological inquiry. Informed by state crime, feminist scholarship, international criminal justice and victimology this book takes an interdisciplinary approach to extend the discussion of state crime to include women and gender. Interestingly, and despite the increased criminological attention to the issue of state crime over the last three decades, research on women as victims and perpetrators of state crime has existed in the periphery, something that is reflective of broader patterns within criminology as a field.

Definitional issues and the problem with language

The concepts of gender and sex are often confused in everyday language and are frequently used interchangeably in their meaning and application. Sex makes reference to biological characteristics that differentiate males from females, such as chromosomes, anatomy, genitalia and hormonal profiles (Braidotti, 2002; Cranny-Francis, Waring, Stavropoulos, & Kirkby, 2003; Jegerstedt, 2000). In most societies a person's sex is decided at birth by a medical professional based solely on their biological presentation. When sex cannot be easily determined

through visual inspection of genitalia, then medical professionals will often rely on chromosomes to establish sex. As medical technologies have been improved and techniques refined, the determination of sex has also evolved. For example, reassignment surgery at birth is no longer a common practice for intersexed infants; instead it has been deemed controversial due to the possible social, sexual and emotional harms it can cause (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). In the case of intersexed persons there is considerable historical and cultural variation in how sex is determined – i.e., the criteria used to establish whether an infant is male or female is not, nor has it ever been, consistent (Devor, 1989). Although traditionally conceptualized as conveying purely biological characteristics, sex cannot be limited to biology. Sex is *both* biological and social through the way different societies parse out the different categories of sex – male, female, intersexed and other (Johnson & Repta, 2012).

Gender, like sex, is also multidimensional. More general conceptualizations define gender as social manifestations of a person's sex, creating a social classification system. This includes societal expectations, roles, limitations and statuses that are assigned to a person based on social constructions of what it means to be a man or a woman – such as social, political and cultural ideals of masculinity and femininity. Masculinity can be defined as a set of characteristics that are ascribed to a man and femininity makes reference to a set of qualities that are considered to be typical of a woman (Braidotti, 2002; Butler, 2004; Johnson & Repta, 2012). There is a range of characteristics that are considered masculine and feminine, yet hegemonic forms of masculinity and femininity do exist – i.e., dominant understandings of what it means to be a man or a woman (Connell, 1987). For example, in the United States a typical¹ way for a man to convey masculinity is to provide for his family and to exercise and adopt positions of power and leadership. In this example masculinity is a behavior, as opposed to a quality, which also demonstrates that gender is more than a societal label, as it can be *done* through action as men and women fill gender roles, also termed gender embodiment. As noted by Judith Butler (1999), gender is performative whereby most individuals follow traditional scripts that have been more broadly socially constructed. Therefore, the varying differences in grooming habits between men and women for example, are also indicative of masculinity and femininity and are behaviors that are part of societies' accepted gender roles (Connell, 2002, 2005).

Gender embodiment can lead to a quantification of sorts, where value is placed on greater displays of hegemonic masculine or feminine qualities. This means that two individuals or a group of people can be compared to another based on their degree of masculinity and femininity. The ramifications of such a process can be the idolizing of a person for possessing such qualities. This has been demonstrated throughout history in the case of icons of popular culture and mythology such as Heracles from Greek mythology, the medieval knight who wins the joust, the cowboy characters played by American actor John Wayne, as well as fictional characters such as He-Man and Superman. Many of the aforementioned idols are known for displays of dominance, aggression and independence, and historically have been rewarded for possessing such qualities.

Therefore, qualities of masculinity have become intertwined with status, power and authority (Franklin, 2005; Johnson, 1997; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 2000). However, masculinity and femininity are not static qualities, but rather they vary considerably over time and place as there is considerable variation in characteristics that denote masculinity and femininity (Walby, 1990). In fact, there can be considerable change in what is promoted as being qualities of masculinity and femininity. For example, in Victorian England femininity was equated with domesticity, purity, motherhood and respectability. Queen Victoria was iconized as representing domestic virtue and marital stability (Abrams, 2001). Today, the Victorian ideal of femininity has been challenged and ideals of femininity have changed, women are no longer expected to represent purity, domesticity and marital stability in the same manner. Masculinity and femininity are therefore fluid terms, and despite there being hegemonic forms of the gender binary, there are also alternatives that counter the dominant constructs. Gender, however, is not limited to ideals of masculinity and femininity; it includes other conceptualizations, such as gender identity.

Gender identity makes reference to how an individual conceives of themselves. It is reflective of their innermost concept of self as being either female or male, both or neither. An individual's gender identity also incorporates how they perceive themselves and self-identify. Very often individuals express their gender identity through their presentation of self to society – termed gender expression. This sense of self develops at different times for different people, however, general patterns indicate that most people become self-aware between the ages of 18 months and three years. For most people their gender and sex correspond, termed gender normative, however, for others their gender identity does not match their biological or assigned sex. Individuals can be transgender, cross gendered, gender nonconforming, or gender variant which are different ways in which an individual can identify as having their gender identity and/or expression conflict with their biological sex. Some people choose to align this difference by presenting themselves as they truly feel socially, or in some cases seeking medical assistance such as hormone treatment, or in the case of transsexuals, reassignment surgery to match their physical presentation with their gender identity (Marchbank & Letherby, 2014). Gender is fluid, temporal and culturally specific. Gender is therefore rooted in and shaped by larger forces.

Gender is produced largely by social systems and reinforced through institutions such as religion, family, education, politics, the economy and the media. This creates a larger gendered social structure that is historically and socially entrenched with different groups and individuals being assigned different roles, responsibilities, expectations and values. As a consequence of it being so ingrained, the gender structure is rarely questioned with consequences that impact all people (Barrett, 2002; Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Hearn, 1996; Johnson, Greaves, & Repta, 2007) but in different ways. Gender therefore, is “a system of power and not just a set of stereotypes or observable differences between women and men” (Brod & Kaufman, 1994, p. 4). This structure values men more than

women, placing them in positions of power and giving them greater opportunities and more resources than women.

As the terms sex and gender are often used interchangeably in the literature, I want to state plainly that my use of the term gender does not extend beyond the binary category of men and women to include other populations (i.e., transgendered). In many instances the types of victimizations analyzed refer specifically to the targeting of women's bodies. This is more easily illustrated through the example of sexual violence perpetrated during conflict where women are targeted primarily because of the anatomy, as well as the value given to their bodies within the larger society. This value (or lack of) assigned to women and their bodies, although entrenched in social systems, is a product of power structures that revolve around the sex-role socialization of males and females that shape understanding of acceptable interactions between the two sexes. Therefore, it is the administration of the violence that is gendered as the types of harm perpetrated against women take on different forms than those suffered by men. This does not mean that such behaviors are not justified by larger social and cultural structures that inform understandings of male-perpetrated violence against women as demonstrated by the prevalence of a rape culture that acts to normalize rape and can undermine and marginalize women's claims to victimization, their rights to security and justice, as well as their treatment by the larger society. This is something that has been recognized by feminist scholars for decades as illustrated by the emergence of gender as a focus of interest within the field of criminology.

Gender as a focus within criminological studies

As has been well established by feminist scholars across the globe, the field of criminology has been slow to include issues of gender and sex in discussions of criminality, crime causation and victimization. In early discussions of women and crime, women and girls were defined in terms of male characteristics (Lombroso, 1876; Morris, 1987; Thomas, 1907). This changed in the 1970s with a few key works from women working in the field who adopted a feminist perspective (Adler, 1975; Brownmiller, 1975; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Simon, 1975). Many other notable works followed and an expansive literature on feminist criminology has developed focusing on what Belknap (2007) conceptualizes as three often overlapping foci of study: (1) women as victims, (2) women as offenders, and (3) women as employees in the criminal justice system. In the United States, scholarship on female victimization has traditionally drawn attention to different and prevalent forms of individual acts of violence perpetrated against women (Burt, 1980; Russell, 1991; Sherman & Berk, 1984), and as the field developed there have been increased studies that extend focus beyond the individual to include environmental and structural factors that either overtly or covertly support, condone, or ignore these forms of violence (Boakye, 2009; Carrington, 2015; Chesney-Lind, 2006; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hagan, Simpson, & Gillis, 1987; Hunnicutt, 2009). These studies examine the historical

and current role of institutions in subordinating women and their impact on gender relations, cultural and societal expectations, as well as access to justice (Chesney-Lind, 2006; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; Hagan et al., 1987; Messerschmidt, 1986; Meyers, 1997; Parker & Reckdenwald, 2008; Websdale & Johnson, 1997).

Similar patterns emerge from the criminological literature on the mass victimization of women and girls (Websdale & Chesney-Lind, 2003) where scholars have tackled the systematic violence perpetrated against women during conflict: where women are targeted victims of murder, rape, forced imprisonment and/or conscription into military groups, and genocidal rape (Baaz & Stern, 2009; Buss, 2009; Hagan, Raymond-Richmond, & Parker, 2005; Lenning & Brightman, 2009; Mullins, 2009; Mullins & Rothe, 2007; Park, 2006). Additionally, other studies have focused on systemic forms of violence, although not always termed violence, perpetrated during times of peace addressing the consequences for women and girls related to imprisonment (Owens, 2003; Reed & Reed, 2003; Sudbury, 2003), immigration, borders and migration (Boyd, 1999; Ezeonu & Koku, 2008; Piper, 2003; Simon, 2001; Weber & Pickering, 2011; Wonders & Michalowski, 2001), as well as the feminization of homelessness and poverty (Balfour, 2006; Ehrenrich, 2008; Raphael, 2000). Thus, attention has been paid to the institutionalized, individual and systemic forms of violence perpetrated by men against women, yet, there has been lesser attention on the direct and indirect role of the state as a central perpetrator and/or facilitator of violence against women.

The same pattern emerges when examining the current literature on female offending as historically there has been little attention to female criminality. The irony being that sex is the most important predictive factor for street crime offending (Belknap, 2007; Leonard, 1982). As feminist inquiry broadened, it has been instrumental in establishing that victims and criminals are not exclusive categories for both men and women (Arnold, 1990; Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Coker, Patel, Krishnaswami, Schmidt, & Richter, 1998; Shavelson, 2001), and becoming an offender is not equally distributed across all people, instead, it is shaped by larger power structures of class, age, race, sexual orientation, gender and sex (Sokoloff, Price, & Flavin, 2003). The tremendous growth in feminist research has not only furthered theoretical understanding of female criminality but also enriched understandings of criminal experiences of men and boys. However, the study of gender, sex and victimization has thus far neglected the role of women in the commission of state crime, especially as it relates to examining male and female perpetrators who have committed crimes as actors of the state (i.e., genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes).

The third strain of research that has emerged from feminist scholars, arguably the one that has garnered the least attention, is the topic of female integration into criminal justice-orientated career fields. This research has examined women's entry into varying occupations in policing (Harrington & Lonsway, 2003; Martin, 2003; Miller, Forrest, & Jurik, 2003; Schultz, 2004; Seklecki & Paynich, 2007; Shelley, Morabito, & Tobin-Gurley, 2011; Walker, 1985), the courtroom (Crocker, 2005; Schafran, 2003; Toobin, 2003), and corrections (Belknap, 2003;

Ireland & Berg, 2006; Lawrence & Marian, 1998; Rader, 2007). Despite advancements in balance between the sexes in domestic systems in many countries across the world, even in Western states such as the United States, statistics indicate that criminal justice professions remain male-dominated (Irving, 2009; Langton, 2010; Schulz, 2004). Notably absent from criminological inquiry is any discussion of gender as it relates to states' systems of social control, most notably criminal justice systems. This of course includes domestic systems, as well as international criminal justice mechanisms due to the complementary nature of international justice and state crime controls.

As illustrated above, there has been relatively little focused discussion of state-perpetrated violence where gender is the central focus. This is not to say that there is no discussion of the role of the state (i.e., primarily through the administration and enforcement of law) as to make such a claim would ignore the instrumental development of theories that have attempted to address the larger societal structures of patriarchy in which institutions, groups and individuals both operate and interact. Nevertheless, there are few comprehensive works where the state as an actor has been the *primary* focus of study as it relates to state crime victimization and perpetration as it relates to women and gender, or as it relates to the role of state in control systems designed to address state violence. This void in the literature may be related to the relative infancy of the study of state crime as a sub-discipline within the field of criminology, the study of which has only recently developed over the last 25 years.

Criminology, state crime and women

Inspired by the Presidential address of William Chambliss to the American Society of Criminology in 1989 (Chambliss, 1989), a small group of criminologists began to examine the state as a criminogenic entity. These scholars have focused on a range of behaviors either initiated or facilitated by states (Kramer & Michalowski, 1990), including state-corporate crime (Kramer, 1992; Kramer & Michalowski, 1990, 2006; Kramer, Michalowski, & Kauzlarich, 2002; Lynch, Burns, & Stretesky, 2010; Mullins & Rothe, 2008; Rothe & Ross, 2010), state crimes including atrocity crimes (Friedrichs, 1992; Green & Ward, 2004; Kauzlarich & Kramer, 1998; Mullins & Rothe, 2007; Rothe, 2009; Rothe & Ross, 2008; Schatz, 2006; Smeulders & van Niekerk, 2009), state crimes of omission (Faust & Kauzlarich, 2008; Kauzlarich & Kramer, 1998; Collins, 2014), crimes of globalization (Friedrichs & Friedrichs, 2002; Friedrichs & Rothe, 2012; Rothe, 2010a; Rothe, Muzzatti & Mullins, 2006; Rothe & Friedrichs, 2015), crimes of empire (Iadicola, 2008, 2010), as well as international social control mechanisms (Doria, Rothe, & Mullins, 2010; Ewald, 2008; Grono, 2006; Rothe, 2010b; Rothe & Collins, 2013; Rothe & Schoutz, 2013). This has resulted in a growing literature on issues related to state crime (Chambliss, Michalowski, & Kramer, 2010; Friedrichs, 1998; Green & Ward, 2004; Rothe, 2009; Rothe & Kauzlarich, 2014; Rothe & Mullins, 2008, 2011; Stanley & McCulloch, 2014). Within many of these works and in other studies of state criminality, gender and