

Feminist Theories of Crime

Edited by

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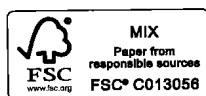
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Series Preface

Because of its pervasive nature in our mass mediated culture, many believe they are experts in understanding the reasons why offenders violate the law. Parents and schools come high on the public's list of who to blame for crime. Not far behind are governments and legal systems that are believed to be ineffective at deterring offenders – too many legal protections and too few serious sentences. Some learn how to behave inappropriately as children, while others are said to choose crime because of its apparent high reward/low cost opportunity structure. Yet others hang out with the wrong crowd, or live in the wrong neighborhood, or work for the wrong corporation, and may get their kicks from disobeying rules in the company of like-minded others. A few are seen as evil, insane or just plain stupid. While such popular representations of the causes of crime contain glimpses of the criminological reality, understanding why people commit crime is a much more complex matter. Indeed, for this reason the quest to establish the causes of crime has been one of the most elusive searches confronting humankind.

Since the mid-19th century, following the advent of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, those who sought scientific knowledge to understand crime abandoned philosophical speculation and economic reductionism. In its place they founded the multifaceted interdisciplinary field of criminology. Unlike criminal law and legal theory that explored the logic of prohibitions against offensive behavior, and in contrast to criminal justice that examined the nature and extent of societies' responses to crime through systems of courts, police and penology, criminology's central focus is the systematic examination of the nature, extent and causes of crime. Criminological theory as a subset of criminology, comprises the cluster of explanation seeking to identify the causes or etiology of crime. This *Library of Essays in Theoretical Criminology* is designed to capture the range and depth of the key theoretical perspectives on crime causation.

While there are numerous criminological theories, most can be clustered into 10 or 12 theoretical perspectives. Moreover, each of these broad theoretical frameworks is, itself, rooted in a major academic discipline. The most predominant disciplines influencing criminological theory include: economics, anthropology, biology, psychology, geography, sociology, politics, history, philosophy, as well as the more recent multi-disciplinary fields such as gender studies, critical race studies and postmodernist social theory.

Criminological theories are rarely discrete. Although they often emphasize a particular disciplinary field, they also draw on aspects of other disciplines to strengthen their explanatory power. Indeed, since 1989 a major development in criminological theory has been the emergence of explicitly integrative theoretical approaches (See Gregg Barak, *Integrative Criminology*; Ashgate, 1998). Integrative/interdisciplinary approaches bring together several theories into a comprehensive explanation, usually to address different levels of analysis; these range from the micro-individual and relational approaches common in biology and psychology, to the meso-level institutional explanations that feature in sociological analysis, to the macro-level geographical, political, cultural and historical approaches that deal with

societal and global structures and patterns. Recent developments in criminological theory have seen an acceleration of this trend compared with that of single disciplinary explanations of crime (See Stuart Henry and Scott Lukas, *Recent Developments in Criminological Theory*; Ashgate, 2009).

Although there are now over 20 English-language criminological theory textbooks and numerous edited compilations, there is a need to make available to an international audience a series of books that brings together the best of the available theoretical contributions. The advantage of doing this as a series, rather than a single volume, is that the editors are able to mine the field for the most relevant essays that have influenced the present state of knowledge. Each contribution to the series thus contains many chapters, each on a different aspect of the same theoretical approach to crime causation.

In creating this series I have selected outstanding criminologists whose own theories are discussed as part of the literature and I have asked each of them to select a set of the best journal essays to represent the various facets of their theoretical framework. In doing so, I believe that you will receive the best selection of essays available together with an insightful and comparative overview placing each essay in the context of the history of ideas that comprises our search to better understand and explain crime and those who commit it.

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Introduction

Criminology was, at its inception, the study of male crime and largely male victimization, and theorizing about crime and justice followed much the same intellectual trajectory (see Deegan, 1990). Theories that were generated to explain 'delinquency' and 'crime' were actually theorizing male deviance and criminality with a specific focus of showcasing the utility of applying the scientific paradigm to the study of the distributions and causes of these crimes. This development came over the very pronounced objections of prominent women scholars of the time such as Jane Addams, who lamented the lack of concern for what we would today call social justice. In 1899, when she addressed the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Addams took the opportunity to reflect on the role of the social science of her day:

As the college changed from teaching theology to teaching secular knowledge the test of its success should have shifted from the power to save men's [and women's] souls to the power to adjust them in healthful relations to nature and their fellow men [and women]. But the college failed to do this, and made the test of its success the mere collecting and dissemination of knowledge, elevating the means unto an end and falling in love with its own achievement. (Addams, 1899, pp. 339–40)

Almost a century later, another prominent woman scholar and activist, Jessie Bernard, would correctly identify one more important aspect of criminology's problematic legacy as an offshoot of the sociology done at the University of Chicago. She noted in 1973 that 'practically all sociology to date has been a sociology of the male world' (Bernard, 1973, p. 782). She went on to say that this myopic focus concerned her not so much because of its effects on the women in the field (although she was clearly concerned about that), but more importantly because of 'the costs of this bias to the discipline itself' (Bernard, 1973, p. 776).

Writing about the multiple schools of feminist thought embedded in numerous academic disciplines in the twenty-first century, past-president of the scholarly association Sociologists for Women in Society, Joey Sprague, reinforces a crucial point that is directly relevant to a core aspect of feminist criminology. She argues that there is a virtual consensus that across disciplines, feminist theory and research are characterized by a commitment to social justice. Echoing Jane Addams, she notes that 'understanding how things work is not enough – we need to take action to make the social world more equitable' (Sprague, 2005, p. 3). Expressed slightly differently, we, as feminist scholars shoulder many burdens, but perhaps the most daunting is the one articulated by a British researcher on sexualized violence, Liz Kelly: 'Feminist research investigates aspects of women's oppression while seeking at the same time to be a part of the struggle against it' (Kelly, 1990, p. 107). Feminist theorizing in criminology is ultimately about addressing the twin intellectual deficiencies – the failure to create and use knowledge to promote social justice and the exclusion of gender as a central focus of the discipline.

To recognize the unique contributions of feminist criminological theory, it is important to consider what is missed by other paradigms. Prior to the development of feminist criminology, theorists almost completely overlooked women's crime and they ignored, minimized and trivialized female victimization (Hughes, 2005). This neglect was certainly not justified by the actual scope of social control exerted over girls and women. In the United States, for example, research on the early history of separate justice systems for girls and boys showed that concern for girls' immoral conduct fuelled the so-called 'child-saving movement' which established a separate system of justice for youth and ended up incarcerating large numbers of girls for sexual offenses for many decades into the twentieth century (Chesney-Lind, 1973; Schlossman and Wallach, 1978; Odem, 1995).

When non-feminist theory did consider women, it considered them in relation to men, and discussions of these relations never included details of the horrific violence that women suffered at the hands of those men. As yet another example of the blind spots in criminological theory, even though boys and men have always committed the most crime, especially of a violent type or in the 'crimes of the powerful' category (see, for example, Daly, 1989; Schwartz, Steffensmeier and Feldmeyer, 2009; Steffensmeier, Schwartz, Zhong and Ackerman, 2005), criminologists by and large failed to address the gender gap. Feminist criminologists were also the first to recognize that many girls penetrated into the justice system after they had run away from a sexually abusive parent; they were then arrested for running away or for 'survival crime' and were then criminalized by the system (Chesney-Lind, 1989). This discovery stimulated much research on girls' and women's unique pathways into illegal activity and institutions of control (see, for example, Belknap and Holsinger, 2006; Davis, 2007; Holsinger, 2000; Van Voorhis, Wright, Salisbury and Bauman, 2010) and on the high prevalence of victimization among women offenders (Browne, Miller and Maguin, 1999; Moe, 2004; Richie, 1996). Another first for feminist criminologists was their connection of masculinity and gender arrangements to men's widespread perpetration of harm (see, for example, Anderson and Umberson, 2001; Messerschmidt, 1993). As shown by these examples, feminist criminologists challenged the masculinist bias in their field, and they continue to do so today. Given the growing significance of crime policy and the criminal justice system in an era of government investment and involvement in the 'penal state' – that is, 'governing through crime' (Simon, 2007) – and the resulting mass incarceration of women in many parts of the world (Carlen, 2002; Carlen and Tombs, 2006; Lee, 2007; Mauer, 1999), the feminist perspective on crime and crime policy in modern society is increasingly relevant and necessary.

Another limitation of much social science theory is its failure to explain the privilege and behaviour of powerful people and its complementary concentration on understanding people who lack power (Sprague, 2005, pp. 11–12). Feminist criminologists in particular need to be quite careful about 'studying down' – that is, focusing exclusively on the powerless – which can result in pathologizing crime victims or girls and women in conflict with the law rather than showing how oppressive gender arrangements lead to victimization and harsh punishment. Sprague (2005, p. 195) recommends a corrective in research, to 'work from the standpoint of the disadvantaged' and create knowledge that 'empowers' them.

Feminist Theory and Criminology

In a collection devoted to showcasing important contributions that feminist theory brings to any field, it is essential to describe the 'theory'. The inclusion of women in criminological research was catalysed by the second wave of the feminist movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.¹ A first task of the earliest feminists was to direct attention to important areas neglected by prior scholarly literature. Adler's studies of women offenders and women addicted to drugs documented issues related to their children, their needs, inadequacies of the justice system, and their uniqueness from male offenders (Flynn, 1998). Adler's book, *Sisters in Crime* (1975), preceded several essays she wrote on women offenders as well as other scholars' research and critiques concerning the changing patterns of women's criminality. Also in 1975, Simon's book, *Women and Crime*, generated interest in women offenders. To explain their empirical findings about women, the justice system, and crime, Adler drew on the work of sociologist Durkheim, and Simon identified the women's movement as the key causal factor.

As might be expected, many feminist criminologists of this period brought the insights of other feminist theorists into their ground-breaking work and focused on women's oppression as a key cause of injustice and victimization. In the United States, Klein and Kress (1973) edited a classic special volume of *Issues in Criminology* on women and crime. The scope and significance of women's victimization was then explored in two very influential books: Brownmiller's exposure of the extent of rape in *Against our Will* (1975) and Martin's *Battered Wives* (1977). British feminists were early to spark the development of criminological theory with the appearance of Heidensohn's path-breaking paper, 'The Deviance of Women' in 1968 (also see Heidensohn, 1985) and Smart's *Women, Crime and Criminology* in 1976. Clearly, a signal event was the founding of the Women and Crime Division of the American Society of Criminology in 1982 (Rafter, 2000, p. 9).

Since the ground-breaking publications and events that began at the end of the 1960s, the exponential growth in feminist criminology makes it increasingly impossible to do justice to all its dimensions in one book. This collection, as a consequence, focuses on the challenges facing our important field in the new millennium. Contemporary criminologists who work from a feminist perspective continue to borrow heavily from the disciplines of women's studies, gender studies and feminist scholarship in other social sciences and fields of study. Often their insights come when they transgress criminology – that is, when they focus on concepts apart from crime, victimization and the justice system; these imported concepts shed light on the operation of gender as these operations pertain to the core interests of criminology (Cain, 1990). All of these disciplines that rely on feminist theory have different strands that vary in degrees of theoretical attention to race, class, ethnicity and other status markers that have their effect on social life and individuals in combination with gender. Yet, there are important key concepts, as well as epistemological and theoretical assumptions, which cut across the variants of feminist theory.

¹ The women's movement has traditionally been divided into two historic 'waves', despite the fact that work on the status of women can be dated well before the first of these events, and continued in a rather clear form after the first 'wave' had passed. Generally, however, the first 'wave' is recognized as starting with the Seneca Falls Convention in 1948, and the second 'wave' is dated to the publication of Betty Friedan's influential book, *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963.

Patriarchy Matters

While the dictionary defines feminism as simply ‘the theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes’ (Merriam Webster, 2009), the terrain has been made much more complicated in the years that followed that 1895 definition. The sex/gender system (also referred to as gender organization and gender arrangements) stands as a central concept in feminist theory. The sex/gender system exists globally and in countries, cultures, regions, communities, organizations, families and other groups. It affects individuals by impacting on their identities, imposing gendered expectations on them, and prohibiting and sanctioning ‘gender inappropriate’ behaviour. Patriarchal sex/gender systems are characterized by men’s exercise of power and control to oppress women (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). The degree and the form of patriarchy vary by place and time and even for subgroups (for example, social class, racial, ethnic and age groups) sharing the same geography and period (Lerner, 1986; Lown, 1983; Pateman, 1988, 1989).

The sex/gender system typically functions as a system of social stratification in which both men and women, and the tasks performed by them, are valued differently – with men’s assumed qualities and the work they do valued more highly (Conway, Pizzamiglio and Mount, 1996; Eagly, Wood and Diekmann, 2000; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu, 2002; Gerber, 2009). One component of a sex/gender system is the social regulation of sexuality, in which particular forms of sexual expression are positively and negatively sanctioned (Renzetti and Curran, 1999, p. 3).

The feminist conceptualization of the sex/gender system contrasts sharply with representation of a person’s biological sex category as an individual-level variable. In feminist theory, gender is not a variable nor is it an unchanging personal trait. A person’s gender is constructed through actions and interactions to produce a form of ‘masculinity’ or ‘femininity’ that either reproduces or challenges common expectations for gender-appropriate behaviours (West and Zimmerman, 1987; see also West and Fenstermaker, 1995). The sex/gender system at the macro (or structural) level affects individuals by affording them access to influence and resources depending on their sex and gender. Thus, in order to begin to fully explain key phenomenon, such as the gender gap in crime, as well as the sometimes perplexing responses of the criminal justice system to girls and women as both victims and offenders, we must *theorize* gender in terms of identity and interactions at the individual level embedded in a broader macro-level system.

Feminist criminologists (for example, Hunnicutt, 2009; Ogle and Batton, 2000) struggle to keep attention focused on how different forms of patriarchy influence crime, victimization, the justice system and workers in that system. They document inequities and suffering introduced by patriarchal arrangements in order to protest and change them.

Schools of Feminist Criminological Theory

To best undertake feminist theoretical work that incorporates gender into thinking about crime and justice, criminologists must become familiar with the best work on the sex/gender system in contemporary society – which is to say, the major schools of modern and postmodern feminist theory. A number of writers describe in some detail various schools of feminist criminology, legal thought or social science (Britton, 2000; Chesney-Lind and Faith, 2001;

Daly, 1990; Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988; Lorber, 1994; Messerschmidt, 1988; Ogle and Batton, 2009; Rafter and Natalizia, 1981; Tong, 1998). Here, we highlight selected differences to lay the groundwork for understanding the degree to which these various theoretical strands offer great promise to the field of criminology. These different theoretical strands informed the choices of essay for inclusion in this volume, since each essay selected not only tends to contribute to the field of criminology, but also demonstrates the utility of particular feminist perspectives to the discipline.

The best known of the early theoretical influences on criminology were the notions of *radical feminist theory*, *liberal feminist theory* and *socialist feminist theory*. *Radical feminism* stresses that patriarchal gender arrangements lead to men's efforts to control women's sexuality (and their reproductive capacity) often through violence and abuse (for example, rape and wife-battering). Men dominate women throughout society, and meaningful change requires the obliteration of gender differences in power and opportunities (Millett, 1970; Brownmiller, 1975). *Liberal feminism* suggests that gender oppression would be reduced or eliminated by altering the way in which girls and boys are socialized and by reforming laws and their implementation – for example, by eliminating bias in the sentencing of women and men and between racial groups (Bickle and Peterson, 1991; MacDonald and Chesney-Lind, Chapter 15, this volume). *Socialist feminism* made an important contribution to understanding that not just gender, but also class, results in oppression, so, for example, countries where women receive little education and hold low occupational status experience high levels of sexual violence against women and are characterized by women's tremendous fear of crime (see Borer, Chapter 23, this volume; also Martin, Vieraitis and Britto, 2006; Whaley, 2001; Yodanis, 2004). According to socialist feminists, since gender oppression takes on alternative forms and intensity depending on social class, reforms require change in the economic system (for example, a shift towards socialism), not just in the sex/gender system.

New schools of thought continue to appear on the feminist theoretical landscape and they, too, are of clear relevance to criminology. Each school has challenged both mainstream criminology and other feminist theory to more fully account for the complexity of how gender is connected to crime and justice. Although feminism, by definition, is grounded in women's experience, critical male and other scholars have increasingly adopted feminist perspectives in their own research on men and male behavior, as well as on women (Danner and Carmody, Chapter 9, this volume; Messerschmidt, 1993; Bui and Morash, Chapter 10, this volume; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997). A focus on different masculinities encourages research on the links between the pressure to conform to particular aspects of manhood and male involvements in crime. Another example of a productive new direction, *multicultural feminism*, highlights how race, class, sexual orientation, age and myriad other differences intersect with gender to explain the nature of gender oppression (see Jiwani, Chapter 13, this volume; Laidler and Hunt, Chapter 7, this volume). *Black feminist theory* highlights the intersection of race and gender (Collins, 1990; Flavin, 1998; Potter, Chapter 11, this volume) as they affect crime, victimization and justice system processing. Recognitions of diversity are clearly vital to the study of women and crime or criminal justice (since girls and women of colour are overrepresented among those in American jails and prisons), and, for this reason, this literature is particularly relevant to feminist criminologists.²

² This same issue relates to differences between and among lesbians and heterosexual women.

Postmodern feminist theory analyses direct important attention on the role of professional and bureaucratic language (or 'discourse') in the domination of one group over another. This theory also focuses on the 'construction' of truth in such cultural outlets as the media, which, as we shall see in Chapters 9 and 21 of this volume, by Danner and Carmody and Websdale respectively, can play a very critical role in the public's perception of the crime 'problem'. Finally, *global feminism* introduces a world perspective by clarifying how economic and political conditions across First World, Third World, colonialist and colonized countries influence gender oppression (see Erez, Adelman and Gregory, Chapter 14, this volume).

All strains of feminism recognize the oppression of women, but they identify different causes of that oppression, and thus different ways of reducing and eliminating it. The question that readers of this collection can ask about each essay is whether the theoretical framework identifies a source for oppression that then suggests changes in gender arrangements as well as in class, race and other structures. Finally, what does the essay suggest about the necessary role for criminologists in promoting such changes?

Each of the essays in this volume considers the sex/gender system (or more specifically patriarchy) and its effect on crime and justice. Part I, on feminist epistemology, explores the dilemmas and offers solutions relevant to fruitful research on individuals in patriarchal systems, on the nature and impact of those systems, and on how to do research that not only exposes, but also improves, lives. Part II includes essays on patriarchy, crime and the justice system. Part III focuses on masculinities and femininities, thereby calling attention to gender as it exists at the micro level where people enact their version of being 'women' and 'men' or 'girls' and 'boys' in light of patriarchal norms and gender arrangements. The essays in Part IV complicate our understanding of patriarchy by showing the intersections of gender with race, class and immigration status. These same themes are evident in Part V which considers the criminal justice system's perpetuation of inequities and oppression due to gender, race, class and country. This fifth section provides critiques of the justice system that are grounded in feminist perspectives on social justice – notably, empowering the disadvantaged, and placing emphasis on restoring and healing human relationships, non-violence and community (Sprague, 2005; Daly and Stubbs, Chapter 22, this volume). Finally, Part VI explores the ways in which the various strands of feminist thinking might revise and re-envision how we respond to crime in the twenty-first century.

We do not attempt to categorize the essays according to the many strains of feminist theory, both within and outside of criminology. The separation of feminist theories into clear, distinct 'ideal types' (or labels) is fraught with difficulties,³ given cross-fertilizations and the resultant hybrid theories.⁴ In addition, very few feminist criminologists label themselves as to which kind of feminism they represent. However, exploring some major types of feminist theory, and illustrating their impact on the field of feminist criminology, will clearly show how vital these perspectives are to a criminology that includes girls and women. In selecting essays

³ Feminist typologies of feminisms began with the work of Alison Jaggar and colleagues in 1978 (Jaggar and Struhl, 1978), and typologies appeared in the appendices of essays on feminist criminological theory (cf. Daly and Chesney-Lind, 1988).

⁴ In 1991 two Canadian scholars stated: 'For the past twenty years, theoretical and militant debates and positions have co-existed, mutually influencing, interpenetrating, clashing, even contradicting each other in the discursive space occupied by women' (Descarries-Bélanger and Roy, 1991, p. 1).

for this volume (within the constraints of availability of literature in English and the need to limit ourselves to one volume) we have tried to provide exemplars of theory development that consider patriarchy but also take class and other 'intersections' into account, and recognize globalization as a force that impacts on women's status and quality of life worldwide. We have also tried to achieve some balance in focus on girls, males affected by gender arrangements, women in conflict with the law, gender-related victimization, and the justice system.

Feminist Epistemology

Although all sorts of research methods have been used to develop and improve feminist theory (Sprague, 2005), feminist criminologists have contributed some unique insights on 'how we know' about social life while also challenging masculinist science that renders the researcher invisible. A central idea cutting across the three essays in Part I is that the subjects of research can contribute crucial information about their experiences, and that these experiences must be considered in context to be understood. In their 2001 essay, 'Researching Girls and Violence: Facing the Dilemmas of Fieldwork' (Chapter 1), Michele Burman, Susan Batchelor and Jane Brown exemplify this point by writing specifically about the research methods they used as they sought to understand Scottish girls' experience of violence. Their methods reflect a common feminist understanding of how to do research on girls (and others) in a context marked by hierarchies of gender, class, age and sexuality. As shown by the title of their study, 'View from the Girls Project', they believe that theory should be grounded in the experiences of the people being studied. Thus, researchers must attempt to establish non-hierarchical relationships with those they study, and must think reflexively about how their own experiences shape data collection and interpretation (see also Flavin, 2001). Many feminists insist that research must be done collaboratively with subjects who can provide insight into the key questions to be asked and a credible interpretation of findings (Campbell, Adams and Wasco, 2009; Wahab, 2003).

The second essay on feminist epistemology is Elizabeth Comack's 'Producing Feminist Knowledge: Lessons from Women in Trouble' (Chapter 2). This essay, originally published in 1999, illustrates how, in an improvement on merely applying existing positivist methodologies to more studies of women, examining women's standpoints and postmodern feminism provide opportunities to carry out research that reinvents how knowledge is produced and increases the production of knowledge for women's benefit. Comack provides the concrete example of her study of women in a Canadian provincial jail. She considers the ways in which women in prison experience their lives – in particular, their own histories of abuse. She also describes efforts to communicate selected experiences to her, as 'researcher', and her efforts to understand, present and explain the women's standpoints in writings that challenge dominant understandings of women's oppressions.

In Chapter 3, 'Women's Violence to Men in Intimate Relationships: Working on a Puzzle', Russell and Emerson Dobash link the research issue of appropriate measures of intimate partner violence to the different policy implications that would result if violence is perpetuated equivalently by men and by women, as opposed to usually being directed by men against women. If men's violence often results as a response to women's violence, then conjoint family therapy is appropriate. However, adequate measurement requires adequate theoretical conceptualization of violence and its context (see also Dobash, Dobash, Wilson and Daly,

1992; Loseke, 1991; Melton and Belknap, 2003; Saunders, 2002). Thus, a measure of abuse cannot be just counts of several types of act, but must provide information on severity of injury, victim perceptions and attacker motivations. Guided by feminist theory, Dobash and Dobash collected qualitative and quantitative data from a sample of couples. Their findings justify public policies that emphasize men's violence against women as well as cautions against the practice of double arrests, in which police take couples into custody together.

A central tenet of feminist methodologies is that research methods must be up to the task of producing knowledge that shapes positive social change. Feminist criminologists often collaborate with, and carefully listen to, the people they study. In addition, they often collaborate with advocates to ensure that theoretical discoveries are translated into programme and policy action (Haviland, Frye and Rajah, 2008).

Patriarchy, Crime and Justice

A key contribution of radical feminist theory is the direction of our attention to how daily life reflects 'micro-inequities' stemming from the larger structure of patriarchy (Lorber, 1998, p. 66). Lisa Maher and Kathleen Daly present a clear example of this process at work in their 1996 essay, 'Women in the Street-Level Drug Economy: Continuity or Change?' (Chapter 4). The crack market in one neighbourhood at the beginning of the 1990s failed to provide women with new or equal work opportunities that opened up for men. Players in the drug market viewed women as weak and not 'bad enough' to hold the job of 'seller'. The drug-market economy restricted women to sporadic, low-level jobs selling sex or helping men who took the lead in the most lucrative criminal activities.

Teela Sanders' 2004 essay, 'The Risks of Street Prostitution: Punters, Police and Protesters' (Chapter 5) also shows how several features of a patriarchy combine to impinge on women's daily lives. For women working as prostitutes, these features include violence by clients, overpolicing, and harassment by community protesters seeking to rid the streets of signs of prostitution. Sanders' essay exemplifies the simultaneous occurrences of being labelled 'criminal' and exposure to past and current victimization. Feminist theorists have discovered and, as illustrated by Sanders, continue to document the misleading practice of dichotomously categorizing women as 'victim' or 'offender'. Indeed, many girls and women are labelled both victims and offenders. Another contribution of Sanders' essay is the description of how women actively work to manage various risks within the constraints of punitive police and public policies that make it difficult for women to ensure safety for themselves or their clients.

In the last several decades feminists have exposed the disproportionate violence and resulting harm falling on girls and women in multiple contexts of a patriarchal power imbalance that favours men. Girls and women disproportionately suffer intimate partner violence, child sexual abuse, sexual assault and sexual harassment. To show the continued need for theory development on these issues, Elizabeth Stanko, in 'Theorizing about Violence: Observations from the Economic and Social Research Council's Violence Research Program' (Chapter 6) considers the relevance of gender to findings of government-funded research in Great Britain. Several recent studies sponsored by this programme showed that women continue to be overrepresented as victims and underrepresented as offenders in numerous types of violent encounter. Stanko identifies failures to adequately theorize violence against women. One failure is disinterest and lack of programme and policy attention to many known sorts of

violence against women – for instance, violence documented in medical and social service records. Consistent with feminist epistemology, she also highlights the continued importance of victims', observers' and perpetrators' accounts of violence in revealing social norms that condone such harms.

Masculinities and Femininities

A key feminist contribution is the recognition that men have a gender: masculinity. Consideration of the impact of masculinity on the crime problem has often been rendered invisible because of male dominance. In essence, the feminist perspective calls attention to gender as something that is enacted in the context of patriarchal privilege, class privilege, and racism. The power of this perspective is clearly evident in Mona Danner's and Dianne Carmody's 2001 essay, 'Missing Gender in Cases of Infamous School Violence' (Chapter 9), which documents how the media accounts of school shootings completely missed the role of gender in these crimes that so horrified the American nation. Surveying newspaper coverage of school shootings in Littleton, Colorado, and Jonesboro, Arkansas, and five other communities, they note that while the media was obsessed with the story, all the stories rounded up all the 'usual suspects' – the general culture of violence, violent media, gangs, the access to guns, youth culture and so on – with virtually no realization that *all* the perpetrators were male and the victims were predominantly female.

Masculinity is also the central theme in Hoan Bui's and Merry Morash's work on domestic violence in immigrant communities ('Immigration, Masculinity, and Intimate Partner Violence from the Standpoint of Domestic Violence Service Providers and Vietnamese-Origin Women', Chapter 10). Here, Bui and Morash focus on the ways in which male violence is produced by the stresses that immigration places on men whose masculinity (and male privilege) have been threatened by the consequences of geographic (and social) mobility. The immigrant men they studied experienced dramatic downward mobility and gender role reversals because of the structure of the their new country's economy, with women frequently more readily able to find employment in the service economy. They note, in particular, that immigrant men found troubling ways to deal with this loss of masculinity; they employed displays of aggression, violence and jealousy – essentially using their physical dominance over women as a way of coping with their loss of status in other areas of life.

What about girls? Well, the story is about how girls, particularly girls involved in crime, negotiate feminine norms that tend to reward obedience to authority (particularly male authority), passivity and nurturance. Consider girls who are gang members. Despite the stereotype of gangs as hyper-masculine, girls are also present in gangs, and present in very significant numbers (one estimate is that that girls comprise roughly one-third of gang members; see Snyder and Sickmund, 2006). Exactly how do these girls negotiate what some might imagine as a quintessentially male space? Are they simply embracing a 'bad girl femininity' as aggressive, tough, crazy and violent gang members? In 'Accomplishing Femininity among the Girls in the Gang' (Chapter 7), Karen Laidler and Geoffrey Hunt do an outstanding job of documenting how African-American, Latina and Asian American girls negotiate not only dangerous neighbourhoods and risky peer groups (since most girls are in mixed-sex gangs), but also very complicated cultural notions of femininity. Contrary to the construction of the gang girl as 'a bad ass' (p. 148), Laidler and Hunt note that girls place a

very high value on both 'respect' and 'respectability' They alternately challenge and embrace notions of traditional femininity through interactions with others in a range of settings, but always return to behaviours that involve 'defending one's reputation as respectable' (p. 149).

In 'Girls' Violence: Beyond Dangerous Masculinity' (Chapter 8) Katherine Irwin and Meda Chesney-Lind build on the insight that girls' and women's crime, even violent crime, is not well understood or explained by simply assuming that girls are mimicking their male counterparts and taking up a form of dangerous masculinity (the 'bad ass' perspective). Long dominant in criminology, these theories of 'violence' assume that female violence can be explained by the same factors that have long been studied to explain male violence, since these 'bad' women are seeking equality with men in the area of violence (and acting just like men). Irwin and Chesney-Lind also identify other approaches to female violence that stress not only its roots in female victimization in patriarchal society, but also the role of deteriorated neighbourhoods in producing a female version of the 'code of the streets' tough femininity, particularly for urban girls of colour. Building on these more recent constructions, the authors conclude that one must examine how the multiple systems of oppression (based on class, race and gender) interact in complex but co-equal ways to produce contexts in which girls' violence makes sense (often as a survival mechanism); gender must be understood as something one 'does' or doesn't do while negotiating more robust systems of race and class oppression.

Intersections

As discussed by Hillary Potter in Chapter 11, black feminist criminology recognizes race-related structural oppression, the influence of the black community and culture, intimate and familial relations affected by race, and the nature of women's identities as black, female, of a particular class and so on. Like multicultural feminist theory, it considers the intersections of gender with other status markers (notably race) as components of a person's identity and context. In 'An Argument for Black Feminist Criminology: Understanding African American Women's Experience with Intimate Partner Abuse Using an Integrated Approach' (Chapter 11), Potter examines the multifaceted influences of social structure, community, family and identity on black women's experience of battering, as well as their own and the justice system's response. In the same vein, Nikki Jones in her essay "'It's Not Where You Live, It's How You Live": How Young Women Negotiate Conflict and Violence in the Inner City' (Chapter 12) introduces the reader to her larger research agenda, which is to hear the voices of black girls who confront violence on a daily basis in their communities (see Jones, 2010). Providing an example of feminist theory that attends to identity, context, race and gender, Jones rejects placing the justice system at the centre of the girls' lives and assuming that justice system labelling is a meaningful descriptor for the girls. Instead, she builds theory based on the girls' experience of managing expectations for being 'good girls' in communities and schools that are marked by conflict.

Feminist theory makes a key contribution by identifying and naming often-ignored types of violence directed against women and girls. Also, taking a feminist approach to building theory by hearing from girls and observing their lives, Yasmin Jiwani in 'Walking a Tightrope: The Many Faces of Violence in the Lives of Racialized Immigrant Girls and Young Women' (Chapter 13) has designed a study in a way that minimizes power differences between the researcher and the 'researched'. The immigrant Canadian girls she studied named racism,