An exploration of family criminality among incarcerated female offenders

An exploration of family criminality among incarcerated female offenders

by

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Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the

degree

MA (Criminology)

in the Department of Social Work and Criminology

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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June 2021

DECLARATION

I, Lerato Seshigwana, hereby declare that the dissertation *'An exploration of family criminality among incarcerated female offenders'* in fulfilment of the MA (Criminology) at the University of Pretoria is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted for a degree at another university. In addition, I declare that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged.

Lerato Seshigwana Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you, God. Thank you for the opportunity to be afforded the grace to do a MA degree and thank You for holding my head up in my darkest hours. I appreciate the comfort and strength.

Thank you to my supervisors Ms Sadiki and Prof Steyn. Prof Steyn thank you for showing interest and faith in my capabilities and for seeing me through. Ms Sadiki, your efforts, time and encouragement has not gone unappreciated, I thank you.

Mama and Papa thank you for your investments in my future, your patience, love and your prayers. I hope I have made you proud.

To all my friends and acquaintances who have listened to me rant, given me advice and continuously encouraged me, I appreciate your kindness, optimism and the confidence you have in me.

To my respondents, thank you ladies for your time. I appreciate your participation and for openly offering your stories to me. To my internal guide, area managers and correctional officers from Bizzah Makhate, Kgosi Mampuru II Female and Johannesburg Female Correctional Centres, thank you for your humble assistance.

ABSTRACT

Female offenders have been neglected in many Criminology theories which limits understandings of women's offending behaviour. The basis of the research is to explore the criminal histories of the families of female offenders through the social control and bonding theories thus informing both Criminology theories and female crime. The aim of the study is to determine if female offenders consider family criminality as a contributing factor to their own criminal behaviour.

The study was positivist in nature which allowed the researcher to acquire and provide objective and accurate data. By means of the quantitative approach, the researcher was able to provide numeric evidence obtained from the 34 women from Kgosi Mampuru II Female and 32 women from Johannesburg Female Correctional Centres. The type of research was basic as the social control and bonding theory was chosen to descriptively and exploratively delve deeper into the women's familial criminal history. A cross-sectional survey was made use of in an interview setting and the researcher ensured the institutions' ethical standards by assuring the reliability and validity of the study.

The respondents were made up of 66 female offenders aged between 18 and 66 years. Majority of the women were African (80.3%) with a bulk (78.9%) of respondents having had some type of employment prior to incarceration. The women were mostly incarcerated for murder (45.5%), fraud (14.8%) and robbery (12.1%). The women were mostly motivated by financial reasons (28.5%) to commit their crimes. Only four of the women were coerced by family members to commit a crime. The family members with criminal histories were the male cousins (26.2%), brothers (21.9%) and uncles (19.5%) of respondents. The crimes committed the most by the family members were sexual assaults (13.3%), fraud related offences (11.1%) and by assault (11.1%). One in five respondents (19.7%) considered their families to have influenced their criminal trajectories.

The family members with whom respondents had the closest ties were female while most of the family members with criminal histories were men. The offences commonly committed between the female offenders and their family members were violent and economic offences. Almost half of the family members with a criminal history were sentenced to imprisonment suggesting that they committed seriousness offences. Instead of the family members being the great influences of the women's criminality, it was rather other societal pressures that came with being an adult that turned the women to crime. Even with family members who had a history of criminality, most of the female offenders believed familial backgrounds did not have an influence on their criminality.

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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The family creates the first idea a child has of their place, role and worth. From a young age, women are socialised to be loving and caring figures in society. Women are expected to be pure, obedient, unambitious, and passive bystanders who are always victims (Naffine, 2015:12). Socialisation begins at birth and refers to how parents help their children pre-adjust to life (Taylor & Workman, 2019:1). The behaviour of women who participate in violent, criminal, or other unconventional manners to what is socially accepted are perceived as taboo. These women not only break the law, but they also break the stereotypes and misconceptions that society has about women (Hübschle, 2014:32). Female lawbreakers are distinguishable from non-law breakers; their deviancy may be innate (physiological and psychological) or socially determined (Andersson, 2020:13-14). The environment that girl children are born into, grow up and live in as adults affects their decision-making and how they value and obey socially accepted laws. Giving the necessary attention to female offenders' socio-economic and cultural history, examining past events and circumstances in their lives could aid in understanding their criminal behaviour (Dastile, 2013:5298). As much as female offenders are independent, rational beings who are fully capable of committing crimes by themselves for their own gain, their gender roles, socialisation and familial bonds may explain their criminal behaviour. The lack of systematic theory building around women in Criminology has been a central issue hampering the development of theories surrounding women's offending behaviour (Artz, 2013:155).

1.2 Origin of the study

The Department of Correctional Services (DCS) (2020:45) reports upward trends in the number of women incarcerated in South African correctional centres from 4 118 in 2014/2015 to 4 316 in 2018/2019, with the number of incarcerated women decreasing to 3 982 in 2019/2020. Scott (2009:1) states that, in the past, a lack of literature in Criminology that focused on female crime may be attributed to the smaller number of female offenders. In addition to the small numbers, the low frequency and rate at which women commit crimes did not justify research (Mallicoat, 2019:176). The lack of knowledge and statistics on the nature and extent of female crime in the past in South Africa may have been due to the perceived petty and non-serious nature of the crimes the women committed (Jantjies & Popovac, 2011:1).

In South Africa, records of girls in detention date back to as far as 1929 where "50 White girls,

1 332 black and coloured girls and five Indian girls were in institutions at that time" (Ovens, 2013:21). Although these figures could not be confirmed as some of the detainees had mental disabilities and were not convicted for crimes (Ovens, 2013:21), women have, throughout history, committed crimes. In the past, women conformed to their domestic roles and were confined to their homes which allowed their crimes to go unnoticed as their freedom was restricted and they were perceived as being physically weak (Pistorius, 2004:3). Furthermore, women were kept indoors to protect them from immoral influences and situations that could tempt them to commit crimes (Pistorius, 2004:2). When women were introduced into the workplace and other social spheres, they became more competitive, aggressive and confident in committing crimes (Agboola, 2014:26)**.** Women's crimes have evolved from poisoning and prostitution to robbery, gang-related crimes and drug offences. Transitioning from their disadvantaged or inferior positions to positions of power and respect in the workplace has influenced their increased participation in crime (Agboola, 2014:63). When it comes to the crimes committed, findings show consistency in that firstly, females commit fewer crimes and secondly, the rank order of minor violations committed, such as shoplifting and vandalism, are similar for both sexes (Steketee, Junger & Junger-Tas, 2013:100). This shows that sex differences in delinquent behaviour hold true all over the world (Steketee et al., 2013:100).

Society has a very strong influence on children and how they understand their gender roles, and gender identity and the family reinforce these roles with the type of behaviour expected and accepted for each gender (Stockard, 2006:215-217). For instance, some behaviour may be encouraged for boys, such as fighting off an attack, while the same behaviour may be discouraged for girls as they may be less physically capable of fighting (Rader & Haynes, 2011:294). It is the degree to which a person internalises these traditional norms that influences their experiences and behaviours (Isom-Scott & Mikell, 2019:395). Families therefore voluntarily and involuntarily affect children's social development as they have a strong influence on what the children are allowed to do, see and experience as they grow up (Baferani, 2015:417). Families, parents in particular, need to be conscious of their actions which may create confusing attitudes in children towards crime in cases where there are adults who participate in crime and create hostile environments within the household but expect the children to uphold socially acceptable behaviour (Baferani, 2015:421-422).

Research on family criminality goes as far back as 1952 when Ferguson (1952) demonstrated that the percentage of boys convicted increased with the number of other convicted family members. This may be because of intergenerational continuities in exposure to certain risk factors such as poverty or disrupted families (Farrington, Jolliffe, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber & Kalb, 2001:593). Only a few quantitative studies have investigated the underlying theoretical

assumptions, namely, that a cohesive relationship with strong emotional bonds and ongoing investment should be expected to influence offending (Nielsen, 2018:336). The limited literature available on female offenders and their families' history of crime shows that the subject requires attention in order to understand the role families play in women's criminality. Steyn and Booyens' (2017:50) study on incarcerated female offenders found that short-term and medium-term offenders had a likelihood of having family members who had been arrested for criminal activities, especially brothers and uncles.

1.3 Problem statement and rationale for the study

Limited research in South Africa focuses on women's criminality which means that few data and statistics on female offenders and their pathways to crime are available. Women offenders have normally been treated as an afterthought in research or their experiences have been moulded to fit with the male offenders' narratives. Demystifying female offenders' familial history could be beneficial in understanding their circumstances and reasons for committing crime as families create the women's first social experiences and expectations. The type of family criminality and the bonds amongst family members may indicate why women participate in criminal activities and may also present reasons why they committed particular types of crimes. The research question for the present study is, therefore:

> *What are the potential linkages between female offenders' criminality and their families' criminal histories?*

Women have and are still mostly gendered in Criminology literature; their behaviour is stereotyped and they are seldom studied separately from their male counterparts (Artz, 2013:155). An example of the ways in which women have been excluded from literature is the Van de Rakt, Nieuwbeerta and De Graaf (2008:543) study which had 344 women and 4 271 males initially included as research subjects but, in the final study, only the data on the 4 271 men were included as the study's control group was only males. Other studies report that female offenders choose to date or get married to male offenders which often results in dysfunctional relationships which, in turn, affect the children (Farrington et al., 2001:593). Researchers often neglect to consider the background of these women who have unstable and unhealthy relationships with men (Bosick & Fomby, 2018:1499). From the researchers' observations, three generation studies on inter-generational criminality have not completely excluded women as subjects in their studies. Women are often included in the first generation, as mothers of the subjects (which are males) and in the third generation as daughters of the subjects but very seldom is the focus of the studies as the second generation. The lack of

women samples, even in male studies, has affected the volume of data that can be generalised about female offenders.

How an individual values relational and societal rules influences the individual's decision making. A family that has been negatively affected by unemployment has little or no education, perpetuates unhealthy family dynamics, has negligent parents, volatile relationships with siblings, divorce, a lack of emotional support, abuse of all kinds, the use of drugs and alcohol, and, most importantly for the present study, criminality which could raise a girl child who holds the same values. The information obtained from the study will therefore introduce an underappreciated part in the cycle of criminality in society. The proposed research aimed to contribute to the limited available literature on female offenders, from a South African perspective, particularly within mainstream criminological theories.

1.4 Aim and objectives

The study aimed to determine potential linkages between female offenders' criminality and their families' criminal histories. In pursuit of the aim, the objectives were to:

- profile the types of offences committed by imprisoned women;
- determine the characteristics of the families of female offenders prior to their contact with the criminal justice system;
- describe the criminal activities, arrest and prison histories of female offenders' family members; and
- determine if female offenders consider family criminality as a contributing factor to their own offending behaviour.

1.5 Value of the research

The research has the potential to close many of the knowledge gaps in Criminology research, Criminology theories and the field of female crime. Starting where female offenders come from and the effects of their familial relationships can create a better understanding of these women as opposed to relying on male data that may not be relatable to women. The results obtained will enrich the information that exists about female criminal pathways.

Society can be challenged to consider how its socialisation of girl children affects their future decision making as an environment filled with familial criminality may encourage criminal

behaviour amongst women. The bonds women have with their close family members can influence their judgement and taint their beliefs. Theoretically, this study can cause researchers to re-evaluate how they choose to include and represent female pathways and women's criminal careers and could further influence how incarcerated women are understood.

Lastly, the research also has the potential to offer insight into female offenders and their needs, rehabilitation programmes, post release support and reintegration, and measures that could be put in place to curb recidivism. These women must be able to cope in the families they go back to especially if they are the same families that contributed to their criminality. Law and policy makers can be influenced to be more conscious of the effects offenders may have on their own children while they are still incarcerated and after being released.

1.6 Summary of the research methods

A more thorough and detailed description of the research methods is presented in Chapter 3, therefore only a summary is provided here. A quantitative approach was chosen for the study which enabled the researcher to obtain true and factual results substantiated by statistics, therefore, more informed conclusions were obtained about the women's criminality and their family histories (Garwood, 2011:251). The purpose of the research was both explorative and descriptive given the novelty of the research topic. The research was basic/pure in nature because the information obtained will increase scientific knowledge on women's criminality in South Africa (Lawrence, 2014:26:26). A cross sectional survey was used to make the data gathering process timeous and effective. Female offenders from two Gauteng prisons, namely, Kgosi Mampuru II Female Correctional Centre and the Johannesburg Female Correctional Centre were included in the sample using a non-probability voluntary sampling method. The data were analysed using the Statistical Packaging for Social Sciences (SPSS) (v27.0) and the results are mainly presented in tables and figures.

1.7 Definition of concepts

Criminal behaviour is the behaviour that is in violation of the criminal code (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:2). Criminal behaviour is prohibited by the state and is punishable under the law (Brown, Serin, Forth, Nunes, Bennell & Pozzulo, 2017:5). In the current study, criminal behaviour relates to the unlawful behaviour of the women that led to their incarceration.

A **family** is a complex interpersonal system with its own hierachy and rules that govern family members' behaviour (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2014:46). It relates to a group of persons who live

together and provide for themselves jointly with food and/or other essentials for living (Victims of Crime Survey, 2017/2018:104). For the current study, family refers to the individuals that the women grew up around, lived with in a household, has/had relationships with and learned social behaviour from.

Female crime is any offence committed by a female of any age, who has been found guilty by a court of law for transgressing any behaviour prescribed by criminal law as an offence (Dastile, 2011:291) that resulted in their incarceration (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013:9). For the purpose of this study, female crime alludes to all types of crimes committed by adult women.

An **offender** is any person who is detained in any correctional centre (Booyens, 2020:66) due to participation in criminal activity (Van Gundy, 2016:16). In the current study, an offender refers to women who have been found guilty of an offence/crime.

Incarceration is the state of being deprived of liberty in prisons, including pretrial detention facilities (United Nations, 2021:2). Incarceration is also known as imprisonment and is the admission, confinement, and detention of a person in a correctional centre (Booyens, 2020:82). For the present study, incarceration relates to any correctional centre where an offender is held.

Inter-generational criminality is the effect of a parent or a guardian with a criminal history on a child's propensity to offend (Goodwin & Davis, 2011:3). It is the association between antisocial and criminal behaviour of parents and their offspring (Repo-Tiihonen, Tiihonen, Lindberg, Weizmann-Henelius, Putkonen & Häkkänen, 2010:116). For the purposes of this study, inter-generational criminality relates to any form of criminal behaviour that is passed down from one generation to another.

1.8 Structure and layout of the report

Chapter 1: In the first chapter, the background of the study was introduced. The study was then justified in the origin of study, rationale and the value of the study sections. The aim and objectives were provided, followed by the summary of research methods and lastly, the key concepts were defined.

Chapter 2: Relevant literature on how intergenerational criminality may affect women's criminality is discussed. The researcher considered the history of women's criminality and its current state in South Africa and internationally. The researcher thoroughly perused current

literature to understand the available findings around the family's influence on women's criminality in order to identify where knowledge gaps may be filled. The researcher consulted literature relating to the socialisation of women, the types of crimes women commit and the role and effects of familial criminality on women's criminality.

Chapter 3: The social control and bonding theory is thoroughly discussed from its original focus on males to how it can be used in explaining female crime. A feminist perspective contending Hirschi's male theory is also discussed.

Chapter 4: The fourth chapter explains the scientific methodology the researcher used to obtain the relevant data to gauge the possible relation between family criminality and female crime in a South African context. The research paradigm, approach, purpose and type of research are discussed as well as the research design, sampling methods, data gathering methods, data analysis, data quality, and the ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter 5: The chapter includes all the empirical data obtained from the quantitative analysis. The data are reported in tables and graphs.

Chapter 6: The researcher discussed the findings of the study by focusing on the aim and objectives of the study. Recommendations are also included.

1.9 Summary

The first chapter introduced the study focus. The introduction highlights how socialisation and familial relations may influence how women value societal rules and how they choose to behave in society. The origin delved into the basis or inspiration of the research, explaining the knowledge gap that was identified that the researcher aimed to fill. The rationale showed why the research was necessary and what the researcher hoped to achieve using the stated aim and objectives of the research. The value of the research explained how and in which areas of female crime the research could contribute to South African and international Criminology research. The research methods familiarised the reader with the design used in the study and the concepts that were used throughout the research report. Lastly, a summary of how the whole research report is laid out and what each chapter will entail is provided. The next chapter, being the literature review, focuses on critically assessing the information available on familial criminality and its possible effects on female offenders.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to critically review both national and international literature that focuses on female offenders and family criminality. Majority of literature available on female offenders is scarce and limited, therefore, some of the sources consulted may be outdated.

Socialisation is big part of how individuals, in this case women, are raised. Family is the cradle not only for the ideas, feelings and attitudes of a child but also of its insecurities, anxieties, tensions and other emotions. Family is the most important social group in society, one of the primary agencies of socialisation that shapes an individual's personality (Gavin & Porter, 2014:158; Grusec, 2011:245). Family has exclusive contact with a child during the period of their greatest dependency and can influence the child (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:80). All families are different and therefore individuals have different social and inter-personal relationships (Gavin & Porter, 2014:158). From the 1960s onwards, nuclear families[1] became only one of many types of families (Scott, 2006:144) that include blended families with stepparents or stepchildren, foster and adoptive families and other unconventional family structures.

The socialisation of children that results in delinquency may be a result of inappropriate socialisation processes where wrong moral codes were instilled in the child (Taylor & Workman, 2019:1). In socialisation and re-socialisation, the acquisition of knowledge, skills and habits is aimed at enabling the individual to function by conforming to social norms and expectations (Bugental & Grusec, 2007:394). Children learn to imitate behaviour, learn their identity in the world and learn the values, norms and social customs within the family (Baferani, 2015:417; Taylor & Workman, 2019:1). Being valued and accepted in a group motivates an individual to conform to and uphold the standards of that environment (Bugental & Grusec, 2007:394).

Despite the change in social beliefs, social expectations of women still centre on beauty, virtue, nurturing and stereotypes of femininity that are incompatible with qualities valued with the criminal underworld (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:78). Society does not perceive women as offenders and they are inadequately dealt with systematically, socially and legally (Twea, 2013:18).

[1] Nuclear families comprise a mother, a father and their genetically related children (Cutas & Chan, 2012:1)

Social factors, such as the social environment a person grows up in, play a significant role in influencing individuals to commit crime (Burton, Pelser & Gondwe, 2005:11). Childhood factors may include having the family pre-dispose children towards offending, anti-social or delinquent behaviour, cognitive development and performance, the presence of both parents or single parent households, parental disharmony and family size (Burton et al., 2005:12). Youth coming from broken homes are at a significantly higher risk of delinquency than youth from "intact" homes (Schroeder, Osgood & Oghia, 2010:581). Although research has established that delinquent offending is higher among adolescents residing in broken households where elements of family dysfunction (parental attachment and supervision) are evident the degree to which such factors are amplified by family transition processes has not been well established (Schroeder et al., 2010:580). The absence of suitable role models of father figures and the additional stress placed on the single parent leaves insufficient time for attention to the children and their needs (Burton et al., 2005:13). The presence of both parents does not necessarily result in suitable role models as parental harmony and sufficient attention and supervision are important for children (Burton et al., 2005:13, Taylor & Workman, 2019:1). A broken home, with constant discord, fighting, uncertainty and discontent, impact negatively on growing children (Burton et al., 2005:13). Large families are often related to greater delinquency as a result of social factors such as parenting style (Burton et al., 2005:13). An authoritarian parenting style may cause children to resent the parents and rebel, a lenient parenting style can cause children to think they can live without restraint and children who are ignored or neglected show little appreciation for moral behaviour (Taylor & Workman, 2019:2). A lack of harmony and instability in family relationships or the disintegration of family life mainly explains crimes committed by women (Mili, Perumal and Cherian, 2015:74-75).

2.2 Women as offenders

The male crime rate exceeds the female crime rate universally in all communities and age groups and in all periods of history for which statistics are available (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:69). In Munnik's (1997) study in which the focus was the community's perceptions regarding female crime, most of the respondents, who were the residents in suburbs in Pretoria East, had no knowledge of the nature of female crime as their crimes were not seen as a pressing social problem due to a minority of offenders (Munnik, 1997:64). A 2018 study by Swartbooi provided more conscious feedback from the public in relation to female offenders. The participants in this study gave several reasons for the causes of female criminal activity which included substance abuse, unemployment and longing for a sense of belonging amongst others (Swartbooi, 2018:77-78). Although there are only a few women incarcerated, women are

represented in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) extensively (Barzano, 2012:82). Although correctional service agencies have used the same assessment tools for men and women, assuming that they have similar criminogenic factors there is rising evidence of gender differences in criminal behaviour and causal dynamics of anti-social behaviour (Brennan, Breitenbach & Dieterich, 2010:35). Women's motives for committing crime may differ from men as they may have their own motives. There are several gender-neutral factor such as education, job skills and social bonds that identify the risks and needs of women offenders (Brennan et al., 2010:35). These include the consequences, modus operandi, weapons used and the choice of the victim (Barzano, 2012:82). Another difference is the statistics on gender-difference in various categories of offences and age groups (Barzano, 2012:82). Women may be labelled criminals not because of their criminal tendencies but because their family male members were so labelled (Mili et al., 2015:74). Women practitioners, feminists and researchers are concerned whether gender-neutral factors, such as education, job skills, and social bonds, validly identify risks and needs of female offenders (Brennan et al., 2010:35).

The cultural concept or accepted societal understanding and expectations of gender shape how females are likely to behave (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:69). Female crime rates are higher in countries where women enjoy more equality and freedom that result in increased opportunities to commit crime (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:69). In countries, such as India, where women's rights are not upheld, women do not have opportunities which affect their financial independence and economic status (Mili et al., 2015:73-74). Low crime rates for women may be attributed to domestication and responsibilities that give them little free time to engage in criminal behaviour (Vikström, 2008:343).

Crimes committed by women may be outward manifestations of inner medical imbalances or social instability (Mili et al., 2015:74). Crime rates for women may also be increasing due to moral issues in countries where the legislation is derived from interpretations of religious laws (domestic violence, running away from a forced marriage). In many countries, drug related crimes are being more seriously punished which contributes to the rising numbers of women in prisons as women are often used as drug mules. Another factor is the women's inability to afford bail and lawyers, so they stay in pre-trail detention (Barzano, 2012:84). Many studies validate traditional assessments that women mainly commit crimes out of desperation due to a lack of skills for legitimate jobs and a lack of resources to support themselves and their families (Barzano, 2012:82). Women usually commit less rewarding crimes instead of more lucrative organised crimes committed by men (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:70). The types of crime women commit may be determined by the threat of sexual victimisation which hinders some women's mobility and access to some opportunities of criminality (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:70)

as they need to consider their safety and wellbeing during the commission of that crime. Not only would they be risking the chances of getting caught but also being victimised in the process. Another factor may be their physical capabilities in pulling of more violent, or physically taxing crimes (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:70). Serious problems of poverty and a lack of opportunities mean that girls suffer from homelessness, unemployment, drug use, fraud, gang-life and prostitution (Van Wormer, 2001:220). Some women might offend as a reaction to assault/abuse and feeling constrained (Barzano, 2012:82).

Daly (1992:28-44) studied 40 female offenders highlighting the common issues they experienced in their lives under the feminist pathway perspective after which she provided reasons that may be used to explain female offending which included:

- Harmed and harming women with childhood experiences of abuse and neglect leading to adolescents leaving school and family problems.
- Delinquency, which is hostile aggression or withdrawn suspicious demeanour, could ultimately lead to chronic adult criminality.
- Battered women are situational offenders with violent abusive intimate partners. Criminal behaviour by women is seen as unlikely except for their involvement in abusive relationships where they may exhibit violence as retaliation. Their subsequent criminal behaviour is therefore linked to basic coping and survival.
- Street women who escape violence and abuse for survival and enter street life by becoming drug addicts, prostitutes and drug dealers to survive.
- Drug connected women, who become users, are co-opted into trafficking drugs, often in collaboration with intimate partners or family members.
- Instrumental or economic crimes, such as fraud, theft, and embezzlement, are often committed by two types of women that include women experiencing poverty and women motivated by greed or social aspirations.

2.2.1 Types of crimes committed by women

2.2.1.1 Economic offences

The economic marginalisation hypothesis states that the lack of opportunities and continued financial instability of women will increase female criminality (Heimer, 2000:428). Women, who

are unemployed and have little formal education, commit economic offences (Dastile, 2010:102). Women's emancipation, which allowed them to enter the workplace, also contributes to the high rates of economic offences by women as their positions enable them to access more financial resources (Hesselink & Mosert, 2014:40). Women in the workplace have been perceived as weak and not likely to take risks which results in their involvement in crime being undermined (Kruger, 2016:53). Women have advanced in crimes such as theft, embezzlement, fraud and other white-collar crimes. Their motives for economic crimes include financial need, trying to impress and keep romantic partners, providing for their families and an individual's personal attitude and history with crime (Hesselink & Mostert, 2014:39). Women tend to steal luxury items that they feel they deserve but cannot justify spending household income on (Van Wormer, 2001:212). Much of their crime is related to poverty and drug use (Van Wormer, 2001:212). The increase in welfare fraud and other petty crimes reflects the end of the generosity that was once extended to female criminals by virtue of their being of the weaker sex and primary caregivers for their children (Van Wormer, 2001:194). Criminal experiences of many incarcerated women are therefore characterised by, amongst other things, extreme economic deprivation (Hesselink & Mostert, 2014:40).

2.2.1.2 Substance related offences

Women often encounter the CJS due to drugs or alcohol (Van Wormer, 2001:470). Drug use leads to criminal behaviour when women cannot hold a job and they need to make money (White & Gorman, 2000:170). This means that there is a relationship between drugs and crime although it is unclear which causes the other (Bennett & Holloway, 2005:1). In some instances, drug use and crime are not causally related but are the result of a third factor (Johnson, 2004:15) such as unemployment, abuse or other societal risk factors. Most addicts are criminals first and addicts second (Ray, 1978:64). Illicit substance abuse may affect women even if they are not the substance users themselves (i.e., women who are victims of domestic violence while their partners are under the influence). In other drug related circumstances, women may also grow, manufacture or sell drugs (Hübschle, 2014:42). Women may also act as mules, intermediaries between drug dealers and clients, launder money or bestow the queen pin[2] role (Hübschle, 2014:42-43). Drugs and alcohol aid women to deal with various situations such as abuse, conflict and sex work where they perform sexual services in exchange for drugs (van Wormer, 2010:38-39). Due to substance related incidents, more non-violent women are being imprisoned (Van Wormer, 2001:217).

[2] Women who hold powerful positions within transnational network (Hübschle, 2014:45).

2.2.1.3 Sexual offences

Sex work relates to action of receiving money or other material goods for providing sexual favours (Barkhuizen, 2013:256). The exchange is made for "consensual sexual services or erotic performances which may occur on a regular basis or occasionally" (Kempen, 2016:32). Some women, due to their lack of education, skills and work experience, resort to sex work or prostitution out of desperation to gain an income (Boudin & Richter, 2009:185). Consensual sex work is not a human rights violation according to the South African Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007 but sex work in South Africa is criminalised, therefore many sex workers are not accommodated by health, legal or social services (Kempen, 2016:32-34). There are brothel prostitutes, streetwalkers, massage parlour prostitutes, call girls and other variations. Sometimes it occurs as a means of securing economic well-being for the family (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:435). Female sex workers are more likely to be abused and controlled by their pimps[3] and johns[4] and can contract viruses such as HIV/AIDS (Van Wormer, 2001:214). Women engage in prostitution for economic reasons, drug use, as a result of running away from home and sometimes it is a viable option for unskilled women who want to make money (Winham & Higgins, 2016:183).

Apart from sex work, there are also female sex offenders. Female sex offenders commit sexual crimes such as rape or sexual assault (Cain & Anderson, 2016:1044). The limited research available about women sex offenders results in the offenders receiving the same risk assessments and treatments as males (Wijkman, Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2011:35) which may prove to be ineffective as women have different criminogenic needs and risks.The limited rates and literature available may be due to female sexual abuse being uncommon or under reported (Gakhal & Brown, 2011:112). Some characteristics of women sex offenders include dependence on their male partners, low intellectual levels, and psychological and psychiatric disorders which creates the impression that women sex offenders may develop different offending patterns and may specialise more than males (Wijkman et al., 2011:37). Women sex offenders mostly abuse those close to them, betraying their trust as they are perceived as loving caregivers (Wijkman, Bijleveld & Hendriks, 2010:138). The victims of the women sex offenders are usually the age the female offenders feel they are at on the inside at the time of the offence (Van Wormer, 2001:215). Female sex offenders lack compulsive sexual fantasies

[3] Someone who facilitates prostitution and profits from that facilitation through the use of force, fraud and/or coercion (Dank, Khan, Downey, Kotonias, Mayer, Owens, Pacifici & Yu, 2014:9).

[4] A man who buys sex (Wandsberg, 2015:4).

about children; they are completely dependent on men during the commission of the sexual abuse; may initiate the abuse; seem unconcerned about the loss of their parental rights and may have also experienced childhood abuse (Van Wormer, 2001:215-6).

Vandiver & Kercher (2004:133) produced a cluster of six distinct groups of female sexual offenders based on demographics, victim characteristics and criminal histories. The groups are categorised as follows (Vandiver & Kercher, 2004:130-134):

- Heterosexual nurturer offenders are women who victimise young males around the age of 12. These females play the role of a mentor, caretaker, or teacher to the young boys. Heterosexual nurturers may be motivated by the love of intimacy and therefore do not recognise the inappropriateness of the relationship, nor do they categorise the relationship as abusive.

- Non-criminal homosexual offenders are women at the average age of 32 at their time of arrest. Most of their victims are female with an average age of 13. They may work with a male accomplice.

- Female sexual predators have an average age of 29. Most of their victims are male with an average age of 11. Their sexual offending may be part of their criminal dispositions.

- Young adult child exploiters are the youngest at the time of their arrest and most likely to commit sexual assaults. Their victims are both female and male with an average age of seven with half of the victims being related to the offender. This group includes mothers molesting their own children but also includes women who are not related to their victims.

- Homosexual criminals are an average 30 years old and have high rates of arrests. They primarily choose female victims averaging age 32 with some averaging 11 years old. This group has different motivations for their offences including forcing behaviour such as prostitution, indecency with a child and sexual performance of a child. These offenders may be motivated by the financial gain as their offending appears to be a small part of their criminal careers and may reflect underlying antisocial personality traits. Homosexual sexual offenders are the most likely to get in conflict with the law.

- Aggressive homosexual offenders comprise the oldest group of offenders with female victims with an average age of 31. Their victims include adults rather than children. Their offences involve sexual assault and their motivation is the need to have sexual contact with females. Majority of these offenders know their victims before the offence occurs which

alludes to some type of relationship preceding the offence.

Kramer (2010) conducted research on 8 eight incarcerated South African female sexual offenders. In her study she characterised these women on several issues including the different sexual acts the women committed (Kramer, 2010:58). The acts ranged from rape, prostitution, grievous bodily harm, indecent assault amongst others and in this study the acts were all against children (Kramer, 2010:58). Majority of the women were charged with child abuse which is an interesting find as all these women are mothers and most of the victims were their own children (Kramer, 2010:58). Most offences involved a male accomplice which reinforces the gendered construction of the male aggressor (Kramer, 2010:58). The participants came from a similar background in class, all the women were from a lower-class populace although they were all different in age and ethnicity (Kramer, 2010:58). The women's ages ranged from mid-thirties to mid-sixties (Kramer, 2010:58). The one disparity that is questionable from the criminal justices' side is that women with similar offences were often sentenced differently (Kramer, 2010:59). The ambiguous and unpredictable sentencing patterns may signify the legal systems inability to negotiate the opposing gender and sexual behaviours of these women (Kramer, 2010:60).

2.2.1.4 Violent offences

In the past, women who physically abused their male partners due to jealousy, anger or possessive behaviour would be seen as committing a minor offence whereas today it is regarded as a violent offence leading to serious criminal charges (Freiburger, 2016:120). It is in instances where the woman's violence is as severe as the partners abuse towards them or the violence is not in response to an attack where the woman will be the perpetrator of husband abuse (Barkhuizen, 2010:46). Women participate in violent crimes that include robberies, assaults, filicides, neonaticides, infanticides, intimate partner killings and other types of murders (van Wormer, 2010:78-82). Girls also participate in gangs which in no ways contradict their normal sex-role behaviour as they offer each other a family-type set up and protection (Van Wormer, 2001:212). Women use violence to deal with personal issues where they could not find help with the police, social workers and other social aids (Pretorius & Bester, 2009:373). Their victims include their own children, intimate partners, parents, siblings, extended family members and even strangers. Women can go from being victims to becoming perpetrators of domestic violence when they are defending themselves (Reddi, 2005:270). In such cases, the phenomenon of the battered woman syndrome occurs when a woman kills or injures her intimate partner to escape abuse (Hesselink & Dastile, 2015:335). Women who are perpetrators of violent crimes reveal the discrepancy between modern and traditional social

beliefs of how women should behave (Dastile, 2013:5304). Women serial killers have multiple typologies, including gang membership, black widow,[5] cold-blooded, premediated murder, sexual predators, revenge, profitable crime and team killers (Freiburger, 2016:124). Another type of female killers are the ones who mastermind and plot someone else's death in a contract killing (Seal, 2010:40). They are not there during the commission of the killing but it was their thoughts and desires that lead to the act (Seal, 2010:40).

2.3 Effects of socialisation and family criminality

Findings in Besemer, Dennison, Bijleveld & Murray (2019:70) show that it is difficult to draw general conclusions regarding the effects of parental imprisonment on delinquency and offending in offspring across countries. Farrington, Coid and Murray (2009:109) propose that offending runs in the family. Children who become delinquents are often brought up in dysfunctional, unstable families where their socialisation encourages negative attitudes which eventually may lead to delinquency (Mwangangi, 2019:54).). The parental transmission of criminogenic attitudes may influence delinquency (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:80). Parents play an big role in producing inadequately socialised children, who do not have the desired social values, standards, and conduct (Mwangangi, 2019:55). Certain genetic factors may also play a role in criminality (Maree, 2018:102). Genes do not cause the way individuals behave or feel but facilitate tendencies or dispositions to respond to their environments (Maree, 2018:101). When biological factors, such as low self-control, combine with unhealthy environments filled with violence, substance abuse and absent parents, this may lead to criminal behaviour (Maree, 2018:89). It is the child's individual unique combinations of personal assets and social experiences that determine how they will turn out (Giordano, 2010:132).

In a familial setup, the lack of proper supervision and discipline in early and middle adolescence might lead to children becoming homeless and turn to crime to survive (Bezuidenhout, 2013:162). Consistent discipline means that the discipline is predictable and fits the offence, the intensity relates to the severity and rationality of the punishment and the quality of punishment should be the same from both parents (Farrington, 2011:136). Parents' criminal behaviours and lifestyles expose children to an array of victimisation experiences that may evoke strong emotional responses and heighten the children's risk of involvement in delinquency (Giordano, 2010:138). The children may also perceive their parents' violent and

[5] Black widows are women who murder multiple spouses, intimate partners, family members or others with whom they have developed close personal relationships (Freiburger, 2016:124).

criminal actions as demoralising and alienating (Giordano, 2010:138).

A significant number of boys who become delinquent have no positive role models; their fathers, brothers and uncles take drugs and are involved in gangs and are frequently in and out of prison (Yablonsky, 2000:311). Younger siblings may therefore imitate this behaviour, or the older generation may encourage the same anti-social behaviour (Farrington, 2011:133). In Johnson (2004:13) one finds the factors which influence drug use and criminal offending amongst women that include family problems, such as drug and alcohol abuse, and crime, which is more prominent in families of drug addicted and criminal women. Many youths who become delinquent often have parents who are alcoholics or drug addicts (Yablonsky, 2000:314). Parents who abuse substances are self-centred and sociopathic in relation to their children (Yablonsky, 2000:314-315). The chaotic family environment and parental negligence leads to unattached and unsympathetic children who do not trust anyone which facilitates low self-control and delinquent behaviour (Yablonsky, 2000:315, Farrington, 2011:139). There is a difference between imitation and interactions between parents and their children that foster delinquency (Giordano, 2010:127) as parents impart knowledge or attitudes about criminal and non-criminal behaviours to their children (Giordano, 2010:128). Family and social conditions affect behaviour related to levels of crime (Bhandari, 2018:111) while the involvement in crime weakens ties to conventional society (Johnson, 2004:15).

Children of criminal parents do not begin childhood development with a clean slate in society (Giordano, 2010:132). Before they can form their own identities, they face an identity legacy in forms of labelling and judgements from the wider community and concerns that the children will turn out to be criminals (Giordano, 2010:132). Children of incarcerated parents are also likely to have had contact with the criminal justice system prior to their parent's incarceration (Wakefield & Montagnet, 2019:28). A parent's incarceration causes fear, instability and uncertainty in the child (Wakefield & Montagnet, 2019:28). Children may be angry, upset or depressed when unable to be with the incarcerated parent but there is also fear, anger and other emotions in the family life of a criminal parent (Giordano, 2010:138). Studies that measure children's exposure to parental incarceration have concluded that there is growth in children's exposure to parental incarceration over time; there is a cumulative increase in exposure to parental incarceration over the life course; and there is inequality in children's exposure to parental incarceration, both over time and over life course, across social and demographic groups (Sykes & Pettit, 2019:13).

Women provide many reasons why they participate in crime including traumatic experiences, child and adult abuse, victimisation and drug usage, among others (Steyn & Hall, 2015:83).

Pertaining to abuse, Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2013:29) report that girls are more likely than boys to be the victims of family-related sexual abuse as girls remain under the rules and guardianship of the parents which makes it difficult for them to get help or leave the home as the parents can report them missing and get them back under their care (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013:30). This forces girls to stay at home where the perpetrator has access to them (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013:30). Running away from sexual abuse at home causes girls to fight for survival in the streets which may, in turn, lead them to crime (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013:28).

Independent studies conducted in countries, such as Tanzania, America, Sweden and Denmark, provide a correlation between children with criminal parents and siblings and the children's own criminal behaviour (Maree, 2018:77). According to Siegel and Welsh (2012:290), children may be affected by the negative stigma attached to their families and afraid of failing to prove that they are different to their criminal parents. Protective factors mediate the effects of risk factors and explain why those in areas with risk factors cease to commit crimes and why those who have been involved in criminal activities cease anti-social behaviour (Maree, 2018:83). Strong familial risk factors include having a criminal or antisocial parent, a large family size, poor parental supervision, parental conflict, disrupted families, child abuse and young mothers (Farrington & Welsh, 2008:75). A criminal family is characterised by being large in number, having parents who have marital conflict and are poor role models to their children; these parents use harsh and inconsistent disciplinary measures; they also abuse alcohol, participate in criminal acts and are cold and unaffectionate towards their children (Pardini, Waller & Hawes, 2015:201-205).

2.4 International studies

2.4.1 Intergenerational transmissions

Parental criminality is linked to criminal offending of adolescents in empirical research, but analysts differ substantially in their interpretation of these effects (Wakefield, 2007:124). Quantitative research may provide evidence that parental incarceration has direct effects while qualitative interviews suggest a multitude of ways in which this happens (Wakefield, 2007:124). A child's delinquency may be genetic, environmental, and psychological or stem from child rearing factors (Siegel & Welsh, 2012:290). An American study by Shlafer (2010:5) had a sample of 187 men and women and examined intergenerational criminality in a prospective, longitudinal sample of high-risk mothers and their first-born children. The results pointed to the fact that maternal, paternal and family criminality occurred relatively infrequently

(Shlafer, 2010:29-30). Associations between crime in generations one and two may depend on the level of disruption criminal behaviour has on the family system and on the children's direct exposure to their parents and family members' criminal behaviour (Shlafer, 2010:30-31). The frequency and severity of first-generation criminality may moderate associations between generation one and generation two criminality (Shlafer, 2010:32). In a similar American study, Beaver (2013:151) had 15 701 respondents with which he sought to measure the concentration and transmission of crime and shed light on the potential underlying mechanisms that give rise to the familial concentration and transmission of crime. There was a significant prediction of probability with the criminal status of parents and children's experiences of criminal justice outcomes (Beaver, 2013:149). There was also an association between the parents' criminality and the families' environment and status, which had significant effects on the children's criminality (Beaver, 2013:149).

Giordano et al. (2017:27) opine that a history of parental incarceration is linked to the increased potential of being arrested as a juvenile or as an adult. Hardy (2018:136-137) also states that parental incarceration can increase a child's risk of engaging in delinquent behaviour as incarceration plays a role in increasing intergenerational transmission of crime, especially for racialised populations, due to factors such as labelling and stigma which may lead to lower chances of intergenerational mobility. Confirming Hardy's (2018) findings is the study by Murray and Farrington (2005:1272) on 411 boys that reports that separation due to a parent's imprisonment was a strong predictor of antisocial and delinquent behaviour through the life-course. In Murray & Farrington (2005:1273) boys with separation had more anti-social delinquent outcomes and more negative outcomes than boys whose parents were incarcerated before they were born. Similar to Hardy (2018) and Wakefield (2007), Murray and Farrington (2005:1276) also observed that parental incarceration affects children because of separation, stigma, loss of family income, reduced quality of care, poor explanations given to children and children modelling parent's behaviour. Farrington et al., (2009:111-112) investigated the intergenerational transmission of offending between three generations and the extent to which family factors, such as poor parental supervision, play a role. The sample included 265 generation three females and 6% of them were convicted before age 25 (Farrington et al., 2009:116). There was a significant intergenerational transmission of offenders from generation one females to generation two males; generation one grandmothers and generation three granddaughters also showed strong intergenerational transmissions (Farrington et al., 2009:117). None of the family risk factors significantly predicted convictions of generation three females.

Junger, Greene, Schipper, Hesper and Estourgie (2013:119) studied the official criminal

records of grandparents, parents and siblings of an entire birth cohort, which were used to estimate the risk and the increasing representativeness of the sample. The sample included 1 674 children and families that had a child born in 2006 in a Dutch city (Junger et al., 2013:120). Less than a tenth (7.2%) of mothers and 18% of fathers had been arrested, 3.3% had both mothers and fathers who had been arrested, and 20.3% had either mother or father arrested (Junger et al., 2013:122). Less than a fifth were born into families with older siblings who already had registered arrests, 25.2% were born into families with at least one family member with a prior involvement with the police, including grandparents and other relatives (Junger et al., 2013:122). Similar to Junger et al. (2013), Williams, Papadopoulou and Booth (2012:4) conducted a longitudinal cohort study on 1 303 male and 132 female adults 18 years and over in London to explore, collate and contextualise the past and present circumstances of prisoners and their associations with reoffending (Williams et al., 2012:24). They found that both men and women short- and long-term prisoners were equally likely to report having someone in their family found guilty of a crime (Williams et al., 2012:11). Those with a convicted family member (30% of the whole sample) whose family members had been in prison or in a young offenders' institution (Williams et al., 2012:11) were more likely to re-convict following their release from custody (59% compared to 48%) although rates did not vary with whether that family member had been in prison or not (Williams et al., 2012:11).

Repo-Tiihonen et al. (2010:119) determined the frequencies of different crimes amongst the offspring of homicidal offenders in Finland in order to clarify whether Psychopathy Check-list-Revised (PCL-R) gives new opportunities to identify homicidal offenders' offspring who may be at a higher risk of criminal offending. The study consisted of 179 participants; 47 were violent female offenders and their offspring who were over 15 years and had been prosecuted for one or more criminal offences (Repo-Tiihonen et al., 2010:117). Half of the female homicide offenders had children with a criminal history. With 21.5% of the offenders who have multiple children, over half the children had a criminal history (Repo-Tiihonen et al., 2010:117). Female offenders were more likely to have children who committed vandalism and crimes against persons (Repo-Tiihonen et al., 2010:117). Almost half (45.9%) of the offenders had children who had committed one or more violent offences (Repo-Tiihonen et al., 2010:117). A study in Amsterdam explored the extent of intergenerational continuity of crime in families of organised crime offenders and the mechanisms underlying intergenerational continuity and discontinuity (van Dijk, Kleemans & Eichelsheim, 2019:359). The sample comprised 25 organised male crime offenders with 25 daughters (van Dijk et al., 2019:351). It was found that the daughters of the organised crime offenders under study did not follow in their fathers' footsteps (van Dijk et al., 2019:359). One in five of the daughters registered as suspects in police data for minor

crimes, such as petty theft or traffic violations, two daughters (12%) were suspects of three or four more crimes and only one daughter had spent time in prison (van Dijk et al., 2019:353). This means that the daughters either remained criminally active while staying out of sight or were not criminally active at all (van Dijk et al., 2019:359).

Intergenerational criminality also occurs through assortative mating which occurs when people who engage in criminal behaviour seek partners who also engage in criminal behaviour which expose their children to high-risk genetics and environment (Tzoumakis, Burton, Carr, Dean, Laurens and Green, 2019:1). Assortative mating is characterised by children modelling adult behaviour, children actively being recruited by the adults around them into criminality, a genetic predisposition towards criminal behaviour, environmental influences plus their parents' criminal history which is monitored by criminal agencies (Maree, 2013:90-91)**.** The results in Tzoumakis et al's. (2019:8) study show high levels of assortative mating for the mother while in Farrington et al's. (2009:116) study, there was a tendency for convicted generation one females to mate with generation one males. There is evidence that there is a gene-environment interaction at play in inter-generational transmission (Goodwin & Davis, 2011:5).

2.4.2 Effects of family structure on crime

If early family instability does not directly contribute to adulthood criminality, it may fuel adult crime by undermining transition-to-adulthood experiences that may curtail it (Bosick & Fomby, 2018:1484). A study by Bhandari (2018:109) in India focused on the role of family before and after marriage in crime causation of women (including, amongst others, family type, family environment and family history of crime). Out of 180 convicted and under trial women, only 16.67% of the women had a history of crime in the families they were raised in (Bhandari, 2018:111-112). This shows that it is unlikely that there is a correlation between the type of family the women were raised in, the circumstances prevalent in childhood, their upbringing and the committing of crimes (Bhandari, 2018:112). The study by Wei (2014:78) reported on opposing views as the long-term impact on early adulthood of females, included the likelihood of conviction in early adulthood due to family structure changes regardless of the types of changes. Families were viewed in various ways, which included parental divorces, one-parent, two-parent families, or cohabitating families (Wei, 2014:1). From single parents to cohabitating families there was an increased fivefold chance of females being convicted in adult courts due to increased depression levels and reduced parental control and attachments (Wei, 2014:79). Increasing parental control had a stronger impact on criminal conviction among males than females (Wei, 2014:80). Another study reporting a positive correlation between female criminality and the effects of family structure was conducted by Bhosle (2009:123) who

analysed female criminality with 90 under trial female offenders in Mumbai, India. Just over a fifth (23%) of the crimes were committed with a companion and 25.6% with a family member (Bhosle, 2009:132). Of the 90 women, 70 resided with a nuclear family and a majority had committed property offences (50.0%) (Bhosle, 2009:151). Those from joint families (25) committed offences against the person (44.0%) (Bhosle, 2009:151). Joint families who commit offences with others emphasise the role of family in criminality (Bhosle, 2009:152).

The Swedish study by Hjalmarsson and Lindquist (2013) positively correlated adopted sons and adoptive parents' criminal behaviour. Criminal records of both adoptive parents matter regardless of whether a crime is measured at the extensive or intensive margin even though adoptive mothers seem to be more important (Hjalmarsson & Lindquist, 2013:35). At an extensive margin, parents' influence on child's criminality occurs approximately equally through pre-birth and post-birth channels (Hjalmarsson & Lindquist, 2013:35). Intensive margin post-birth channels are more important than pre-birth channels and adoptive mothers are particularly important while being adopted has a minimal impact on the overall strength of intergenerational criminal relationships (Hjalmarsson & Lindquist, 2013:35). In a study focused on biological parents that included 62 girls between the ages of 13 and 17 years who were referred for placement and treatment from the Oregon Youth Authority for serious delinquency problems (Leve & Chamberlain, 2004:442), parental transitions and biological parent criminality were strong predictors of early onset status (Leve & Chamberlain, 2004:499). Biological parent criminality increased the odds of early onset arrest by 15 to 283 times (Leve & Chamberlain, 2004:499). For girls, having a parent convicted of a crime may initiate risk factors and negative consequences making them prone to similar experiences (Leve & Chamberlain, 2004:499). Parental convictions make parental transitions likely as one parent might become incarcerated (Leve & Chamberlain, 2004:499).

Children, intentionally or unconsciously, ignore non-biological parents creating loose relationships with residential parents that relate to a lack of supervision leading to juvenile delinquency (Wei, 2014:13). It is hard for single parents to form intimate bonds with their children as they have busy schedules (Wei, 2014:13). There are no guidelines for stepparents or cohabitating parents which creates confusion and misunderstanding (Wei, 2014:13). An American study by Kjellstrand (2009**:**41) that analysed the relationship between childhood parental incarceration and the child's externalising behaviour had a sample of 671 mostly white families and children in lower to middle socio-economic classes in 5th to 10th grade (Kjellstrand, 2009:38). It was found that children with parental incarceration during their first ten years had higher levels of external behaviour in the 5th, 8th and 10th grades (Kjellstrand, 2009:101). Similarly, Farrington et al. (2001:593) maintain that the arrest of any relative,

particularly the father, before a boy turns 13, predicts the boy's delinquency. Direct effects on children revealed that 10.3% of the children had one parent incarcerated during their first 10 years, 3.3% had an incarcerated mother, 8.2% had incarcerated fathers, and 1.2% had both parents incarcerated (Kjellstrand, 2009:60). A greater number of children had single parents or stepfamilies (Kjellstrand, 2009:69).

2.4.3. The effects of familial relationships on criminality

Internal family dynamics are more closely related to delinquency than structural elements of the family (Hoffman, 2015:170). Socialisation of males and females occurs at a young age where children learn different roles with rewards and values (Stockard, 2006:215). As mentioned by Giordano (2010:132) infants are not clean slates as they are gendered and predisposed to interact with others and to exhibit certain behavioural tendencies. Social experiences influence biological characteristics and capabilities as females experience different exposure to hormones prenatally, adolescence and in adulthood (Stockard, 2006:215). Individuals vary in the extent they adhere to roles and exhibit gendered type behaviour and nature of those roles and behaviour have changed overtime and varies from one setting to another (Stockard, 2006:217). The study by Booth, Farrell and Varano (2008:431) determined the generational effect in America to social control by checking different impact on both genders. They had 1366 final sample of which (50%; n=686) were females. Involvement in pro-social activities had multiple and complex effect in delinquent and risky behaviour (Booth et al., 2008:448). Involvement variables remain significantly protective factors from risky behaviour such as drinking, drunk driving and smoking. Sports protected girls which may be due to positive peer relations. Attachments to parents did not have effect on serious/risky behaviour which may be due to how parental attachments were measured (Booth et al., 2008:447-448).

Effective parenting may add to intergenerational discontinuity (Shlafer, 2010:33). Changes in life circumstances including neighbourhood conditions, family income and employment opportunities may have impact on transmission of criminal behaviour from one generation to the next (Shlafer, 2010:34). Changes in the family structure/parents affects the bond between juveniles and parent's ability to give rules, supervision and sanctions which may cause delinquency (Wei, 2014:11). Criminal parents are less likely to have close relationships with their children as parental neglect is prominent (Siegel & Welsh, 2005:164). The family plays an important role in understanding why some of the youth offender's behaviour persists and why some desists in their lifetime (Bosick & Fomby, 2018:1484). Being raised in homes where

family members hardly ever lose their temper, do not resort to physical violence when they became angry, and where parents/caregivers do not employ physical punishment significantly predicts membership on the non-offender category (Burton et al., 2009:96).

Lane's (2003:6) study examines the underlying risk factors of criminal behaviour of American female juveniles; the individuals, family and socio demographics. The sample consisted of 162 randomly selected adolescent females present at Ventura School (Lane, 2003:6-7). The more risk factors there were the earlier the respondents would receive their first sentence. The independent variables were the marital status of parents, family criminality activity, parent's education and receipt of public assistance (Lane, 2003:7-8). Family risk factors were not significantly related to age of first sentencing and individuals who have high numbers of individual risk factors may not need the push of family risk factors to participate in crime (Lane, 2003:11). Parental criminality is an important aspect of family risk factors and some children have a very clear understanding of why their parents are incarcerated. Giordano (2010:139) exemplifies children's awareness of parental criminality in a longitudinal with a sample of 158 pre-adolescence and adolescent girls in Ohio who indicated understanding why the parent was incarcerated or taken away. The children's indicated awareness of the parent's involvement in anti-social behaviour which contradicts one of Hirschi's key findings that parents, even if deviant, generally hide such activities from their children (Giordano, 2010:139). The parents realise that the children are aware of their actions as the children will show signs of concerns and ask questions about the parent's wellbeing (Giordano, 2010:142-143).

Young people who do not have criminal role models, like parents with criminal convictions, are three times more likely not to engage in criminal behaviour (Burton et al., 2009:98). A study by Hurd, Zimmerman & Xue (2008:780) investigated whether negative adult influences (role models) increase adolescent risk to negative outcomes. The sample were 659 African American adolescents in the ninth grade, 51% being females, in Michigan (Hurd et al., 2008:780). Over half (56%) of the female's role models were mothers/stepmothers, 11% sisters, 9% grandmothers, 8% aunts and 3% cousins (Hurd, et al., 2008:783). The negative effects of adult behaviour on externalising behaviour were most pronounced for adolescent with no role models (Hurd, et al., 2008:784). Females had more positive school outcomes if they had a female role model (Hurd et al., 2008:784). Having two parental role models was associated with positive school outcome than two non-parental role models (Hurd, et al., 2008:785). Van de Rakt et al. (2008:542) study which focused on development and life-course criminality exemplified the total opposite of Hurd et al.'s. (2008) study. The more time a child spends with a father who commits delinquent acts that teaches skills, norms and values

needed to display anti-social behaviour, the more probability that the child will commit delinquent acts (van de Rakt et al., 2008:542). The resemblance in conviction is not the result of criminal behaviour between the fathers but of poor social circumstance in which both father and child live (van de Rakt et al., 2008:543). Changes in living arrangements would improve or deteriorate their chances of delinquent lifestyle (van de Rakt et al., 2008:543). Genotypes transmits from one generation to another which tend to display that anti-social behaviour is transmitted as well (van de Rakt et al., 2008:542).

Cvetan's (2015:41) study included 19924 undergraduates and 2276 graduates with 55.9% being females from Illinois State University in 2013. The study similar to Hurd et al. (2008), explored who most influences student's criminal behaviour between parents, siblings, childhood friends, current friends or romantic partners (Cvetan, 2015:47). Data suggests students who participate in criminal activities have siblings and childhood friends who are delinquents (Cvetan, 2015:49). Of the siblings, 73, 5% had committed minor crimes and 12.6% had committed major crimes (Cvetan, 2015:48). Just like in the Cvetan study, the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-being (NSCAW) found the attachment to criminal parents/family was a significant predictor of delinquency (Laster, 2008:50). The unique factor about this study was it focused on 5501 children aged birth to 14 who had been subject to child abuse/neglect and had contact with child welfare system (Laster, 2008:30). Nearly a third of the sample reported sexual maltreatment (Laster, 2008:47). The trauma scale predicted 280 females had physical abuse however the beta analysis indicated that the more trauma the less delinquency there is (Laster, 2008:48-49). The beta weights demonstrated that as closeness to family increases delinquency decreases (Laster, 2008:50).

Wei's (2014:1-2) study which had a sample of 3630 respondents and focused on the short-term effects on adolescents and long-term effects on early adulthood that showed that family instability affects adolescents more as it is a stressful time in their lives due to puberty, school and early dating behaviour. The study showed that females who participate in property-related crimes are likely to be depressed (Wei, 2014:74). From both genders, the respondents who committed property crimes were found to have similar impacts of parental attachments (Wei, 2014:73). Changes in family structure were found to be insignificantly related to propensity of violent crimes regardless of gender (Wei, 2014:73). For females, increased depression and reduced parental attachments related to reduced rate in propensity to engage in violent crimes (Wei, 2014:73). To further support Weis's study, another American study by Liles included 18 women with delinquent histories who had childhoods that began with family/relationship instability that continued throughout their lives (Liles, 2015:101). Family/relationship instability occurred in childhood for 16 of 18 women with delinquent histories, some experiencing more

than one event (Liles, 2015:101-102). Five women had a father with criminal history or drug use problem and six experienced mothers with criminal history or drug use leading to further instability (Liles, 2015:102). Six women were raised by siblings, aunts, grandparents and one woman was permanently placed in foster care while some had to be the stand-in parent (Liles, 2015:102). Four of the women began criminality in childhood from age's seven to 12, 14 women initiated criminal behaviour in adolescence, two served time in juvenile detention and three continued offending into adulthood (Liles, 2015:106-107).

2.4.4 The effects of the parents' gender on the child's criminality

The criminality transmitted is strong regardless of the sex of the parent (Beaver, 2013:149). In an Australian study, Goodwin and Davis (2011:3) investigated the parental gender and offending patterns that influence the transmission of criminality to the next generation. The sample included six extended families, 714 family members of which n=153 (48.9%) were females with offending history spanning several generations in Tasmania (Goodwin & Davis, 2011:3). If neither parent had a criminal record, the probability of the daughter having no criminal record was 80.5% and 8.7% for serious offences (Goodwin & Davis, 2011:5). If both parents had criminal records, 41% of the daughters were likely to escape criminal records, 43.8% were more likely to obtain a criminal record and 8.7% had criminal records for serious offences (Goodwin & Davis, 2011:5). If only the father had a criminal record, the daughter's probability of having a criminal record dropped to 53.7% and 26.7% for serious offences (Goodwin & Davis, 2011:5). Lastly, when only the mother had a criminal record, 73.1% and 17% had criminal records with serious offences respectively (Goodwin & Davis, 2011:5). In an American study reporting on parental criminality with 48% females, and 50% of those who were in the adolescent and adult sample (Finkeldey, 2017:54), 1 444 of the females had maternal incarcerations and 844 had paternal incarceration regressions (Finkeldey, 2017:43). One of the objectives of this study was to assess the influence parental incarceration had on an individual. Maternal incarceration was a more consistent predictor of general antisocial behaviour, instrumental crime, and arrest in adulthood than paternal incarceration (Finkeldey, 2017:103). The effects of paternal incarceration on adult children were more consistently detrimental when a mother experienced a negative label (Finkeldey, 2017:103-104). The paternal incarceration had no consistent influence on the children's behaviour outcomes because the father had little contact with the children (Finkeldey, 2017:104).

In a similar study in Australia by Tzoumakis et al. (2019:3), the researchers aimed to determine the extent to which maternal and paternal offending influences a child's behaviour prior to formal involvement with the justice system. Even though the questionnaire was administered

to 10 867 females (49.5%) of the sample, results were not represented per gender but were combined generally from the sample. Seventy percent of children whose mothers had a history of offending also had a father with a history of offending. Of children with a father with a criminal history, 24.3% also had a mother with a criminal history (Tzoumakis et al., 2019:7). The strength of association that was observed between maternal offence type and conduct problems increased in line with the seriousness of offending (Tzoumakis et al., 2019:8). Another American study examining how paternal timing in their children's lives affected internalising and externalising antisocial behaviour was done by McDaniel (2019:147). With a sample of 15 701 original cohort aged 24 to 32 with 769 females for paternal incarceration and 257 for mother's incarceration (McDaniel, 2019:136-139), the results showed that both parents' incarceration had a greater impact on male than female offending (McDaniel, 2019:160). Individuals' closeness to their mothers decreased the likelihood of offending even for those who were close to the incarcerated father (McDaniel, 2019:161). The closeness may provide a strong sense of attachment to conventional values that incarceration cannot disrupt whether the mothers were imprisoned for a short or a long period of time (McDaniel, 2019:161). As with the other studies, paternal closeness did not moderate the effect of committing crimes and this may be due to the mother's role as the caregiver (McDaniel, 2019:161). A child's father may typically be incarcerated at an earlier age than the mothers and the child's outcomes may be related to developmental timing of paternal incarceration (McDaniel, 2019:161). Females were more sensitive to developmental timing of paternal incarceration and both early and late incarcerations produced higher levels of female criminality (McDaniel, 2019:162). Females below 18 years were reported to be sensitive to interpersonal conflict associated with paternal incarceration (McDaniel, 2019:162). Not having a stable home also became a norm for children with either parent incarcerated (Geller, Garfinkel, Cooper & Mincy, 2009:8).

2.4.4.1 Incarcerated fathers

An American study by Mathis (2013:4), in which the impact of having an incarcerated father on the delinquency outcomes of their children was assessed, included 48% females. The results of a father's incarceration had salience during adolescence and the results supported the relationship between incarceration and delinquency via mediating factors of identity (Mathis, 2013:158). Identity is a dominant preoccupation for young people trying to avoid a replay of their parents' problematic lifestyles and anger mediates the association between parental incarceration and delinquency (Mathis, 2013:158). These negative emotions may directly inhibit the child's ability to see a way out or make concrete decisions away from

delinquency (Mathis, 2013:158). Geller, Cooper, Garfinkel, Schwartz-Soicher, & Mincy's (2012:71) study similarly assessed the child's emotions and suggested that paternal incarceration has significant and damaging consequences for the socioemotional wellbeing of the child (the upper limit age in the study was age five). There was a robust relationship between incarceration and the child's aggression as the father's incarceration had stronger effects on a child than other forms of father absence (Geller et al., 2012:71). After controlling for attention problems at age three, children displayed more attention problems at age five (Geller et al., 2012:71). The effects of incarceration on aggression are twice as high for boys than girls although both are significant (Geller et al., 2012:72). In an earlier study by Geller et al. (2009), which looked at children born between 1998 and 2000 in 20 large cities in America, fathers with criminal histories were more likely to be unemployed or working inconsistently and earning less than their counterparts (Geller et al., 2009:1196). Their children therefore experienced more material hardships at age three (Geller et al., 2009:1196).

Huschek and Bijlveld's (2015:391) study in the Netherlands concurred with Geller et al. (2009) in most instances as the study examined the influence of family criminality and other family risk factors on children's life courses. The sample of 522 included 263 daughters from 141 families (Huschek & Bijlveld, 2015:383). The fathers' offending was found to have direct influence on family-life trajectories particularly for the daughters (Huschek & Bijlveld, 2015:391). Fathers who offended but were not removed from the parental home were more present in the break-up cluster and the single/late childless marriage cluster (Huschek & Bijlveld, 2015:391). It could be that the daughter is socialised into deviant behaviour or escapes her home situation by marrying an unsuitable partner and carries on the stigma preventing family formation (Huschek & Bijlveld, 2015:391). The children of these families were socialised to reject certain conventional norms and behaviours (for instance, divorce over marital conflict) (Huschek & Bijlveld, 2015:391). Gender differences may also be that the girls were more exposed to and affected by a present criminal father (Huschek & Bijlveld, 2015:391). Another gender difference reported in Klinteberg, Almquist, Beijer and Rydelius (2011:11) study proved that having a father who uses alcohol appeared to be more important for the women's criminal behaviour and even more important than the father's criminality or any mental disorder of the parents. These associations were similar only when violent crimes were considered as the outcome (Klinteberg et al., 2011:11).

In Singapore, data were obtained through probation reports of 312 boys and 70 girls at the Juvenile Court from the year 2005 (Huan, Ang & Lim, 2010:572). One of the objectives was to examine whether the relationship between a father's criminality and recidivism in youth offenders can be accounted for by the youth offenders' prior delinquent behaviours (Huan et

al., 2010:575). The father's criminality first influences the juvenile's prior delinquent behaviours which, in turn, influence juvenile's recidivism (Huan et al., 2010:576). The father's incarceration at an early age leads to a child experiencing a longer stretch of cumulative disadvantages, placing them at greater risk for earlier criminal activity (Huan et al., 2010:576). The father's incarceration is significantly associated with increases in the child's attention problems especially if the child lived with the father prior to his incarceration (Geller et al., 2012:14). The effects operate at least partially through channels unrelated to the father-child contact as incarceration significantly increases attention and aggression problems for children who do not live with their fathers (Geller et al., 2012:14). A study also measuring the effects a father's incarceration has on a child's development is by Anderson (2016:151) who compared the differences between Denmark and America and focused on children's educational outcomes and criminality in relation to the frequency and duration of the fathers' incarceration. There were children who had experienced paternal incarceration before their 15th birthday and also children who did not have the paternal incarceration experience (Anderson, 2016:163-164). Even with the short incarceration, different penal policies, incarceration rates, conditions of confinement and the risks of experiencing parental incarceration, there were no differences between Danish and American consequences of paternal incarceration (Anderson, 2016:153). Paternal arrests are harmful to children when the fathers are low-level offenders (Anderson, 2009:164). Absent fathers negatively influence their children because of the lack of supervision, provision, attention and affection, the lack of consideration for elders and a lack of guidance which results in misconduct, abuse of drugs and alcohol, and social and cultural isolation (Eddy, Thomson-de Boor & Mphaka, 2013:30-31; Lesejane, 2006:176).

The Dutch study by Van de Rakt et al. (2008) included 4 271 convicted men and women with 6 952 of their children. The research found that the influence of the father's criminal behaviour seems to be alike for both daughters and sons (Van de Rakt et al., 2008:548). Daughters had fewer convictions than sons as the fathers belong to a more persistent trajectory group (Van de Rakt et al., 2008:547). Children of sporadic offenders committed more offences (Van de Rakt et al., 2008:550). From the moderate rate desisters, 12.6% had between two and five delinquent acts (Van de Rakt et al., 2008:549). Daughters of the moderate-desisters likely peak early in life and remain relatively stable in committing offences at a moderately high level after the age of 30 (Van de Rakt et al 2008:550). The trajectory group children had 21.6% daughters who belonged to the high-rate persisters, 6.1% belonged to the moderate-rate desisters and 1.4% belonged to the high-rate persisters (Van de Rakt et al., 2008:552).

2.4.5 Correlation between siblings

In most sociologically orientated criminological research, family relates to parental influences on their delinquent children, neglecting their siblings who are also an influential part of the family (Anderson-Bond, 2009:1). When siblings are included in research, it is in terms of how they are treated by the parents and not how they influence each other (Anderson-Bond, 2009:4). Family dynamics must be considered not only in unidirectional ways the relationships can be between the parents, the parents and each child, the child's relationship to the parent, and the children and their siblings (Yablonsky, 2000:324, Pardini et al., 2014:210). There are some shared experiences within some families' unhealthy environments (Maree, 2013:90-91). In some instances, siblings with a close relationship and bond may affect how the other siblings behave as they mimic the others' behaviour (Maree, 2013:90-91). The study by Beijers, Bijleveld, van de Weijer and Liefbroer (2017) examined the effects of sibling offending on individuals' offending. Their sample included 924 biological siblings in the Netherlands (Beijers et al., 2017:7). The results show that sibling offending has an elevated risk of offending for individuals (Beijers et al., 2017:11). There was not only intergenerational but also intra-generational transmission of offending between siblings and the age differences did not influence the relationship between sibling offending and offending risk (Beijers et al., 2017:12). Individuals without criminal siblings showed a higher risk of offending than individuals with non-offending siblings and there was no proof that having same sex offending siblings increases risk of offending (Beijers et al., 2017:12).

An analysis done by Beaver (2013:149) proved that siblings are similar in criminal justice outcomes. The ordinal position of the siblings influences the personality and the possibility of being delinquent, with later born children being more susceptible to being delinquents (Yablonsky, 2000:324, Farrington, 2011:135). The changing environment in homes may explain why some children may become law-abiding and some may not (Yablonsky, 2000:324). In the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, the relationship between sibling structure and delinquency was not supported (Anderson-Bond, 2009:73). Only households with two biological parents were included and the sample included one child who was randomly selected per household (17 907 cases). None of the sibling structure variables had a direct effect on delinquency (Anderson-Bond, 2009:73) which opposes Abderhalden and Evans' (2018:32) study which reported that more sibling arrests are associated with more total arrests which raises the question of imitation and whether siblings operate similarly to deviant peers. In a study focusing on another aspect of a sibling influence by Chen and Gueta (2016:742), the sibling's substance abuse and crime positively predicted physical abuse amongst female inmates. Female inmates reported that severe sexual abuse and sibling

substance abuse and crime positively predicted sexual abuse (Chen & Gueta, 2016:742); age and sibling substance abuse and crime positively predicted involvement in crime; and older participants whose siblings were more involved in substance abuse and crime were themselves more involved in crime (Chen & Gueta, 2016:743). Significant interactions between family mental health problems and gender reveal that family mental health problems positively predicted involvement in crime for female inmates (Chen & Gueta, 2016:743). Parents' substance abuse and crime positively predicted violent offences for male and not female inmates (Chen & Gueta, 2016:743).

Anderson-Bond (2009:73) further reported that where there is no direct relationship, parental warmth and supervision cannot meditate a relationship which does not exist. The lack of direct relationship prior to the inclusion of parenting variables suggests that indirect effects are consistent with resource dilution and are largely neutralised by additional indirect effects of relationships which contradict the resource dilution dynamic (Anderson-Bond, 2009:74-75). The resource dilution hypothesis posits that, the more children there are in a household, the fewer resources there are to be allocated to each child (Strohschein, Gauthier, Campbell & Kleparchuk, 2008:671). Most measures of parental warmth and supervision did have a direct effect on offending (Anderson-Bond, 2009:75). A study with 643 cases of offenders in California by Abderhalden and Evans (2018:32) intended to extend prior knowledge of chronic offenders by looking directly at sibling effects of criminality using the life course theory and the learning theory (Abderhalden & Evans, 2018:35). The results showed that the number of arrests a sibling has results in a significantly higher rate of total arrests for the offender and the number of siblings an offender has results in a significantly lower rate for the offender (Abderhalden & Evans, 2018:35). Parental criminality was associated with fewer total arrests which indicates that sibling relationships can have influence independent of parent relationships (Abderhalden & Evans, 2018:36).

2.4.6 Familial risk factors for female criminality

Under-functioning in one realm, such as family, creates opportunities for negative influences in another – deviant peer culture (Mullis, Cornille, Mullis & Huber, 2004:213). A deteriorating quality of relationships in the family and of the adolescent with other institutions of potential prosocial influence (such as the school) coincides with deviant peer culture influence during mid and late adolescence (once antisocial behaviour has taken root) (Mullis et al., 2004:213). The study by Zoutewelle-Terovan, Geest, Liefbroer and Bijleveld (2014:1225) focused on the effect that family life events have on serious offending and used a sample of 540 high risk males and females (n=270) who were discharged from a judicial treatment institution in the

Netherlands. Zoutewelle-Terovan et al.'s (2014:1230) results showed that women who perform caretaker roles seem to be charged and prosecuted less often than men. Expectations and responsibilities for women are linked to motherhood, which is less dramatic, and their offending seems to decline with age but is not significantly affected by childbirth (Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014:1229). Female criminal behaviour is related to child support and increases are therefore expected for single mothers (Zoutewelle-Terovan et al., 2014:1229).

In Chen and Gueta's (2016:742) study focusing on abuse, the sample of 50 women from four Israeli states reported higher parental substance abuse and crime, and a family history of mental health problems with females rather than males. There were no significant differences between sibling substance abuse and crime (Chen & Gueta, 2016:742). Female inmates, whose parents were involved in substance abuse and crime, reported higher rates of both emotional and sexual abuse than males with similar family histories (Chen & Gueta, 2016:743). Females whose siblings were involved in substance abuse and crime reported higher rates of emotional and sexual abuse (Chen & Gueta, 2016:743). Other risk factors include antisocial behaviour, family or parenting anti-social associations, substance abuse, the use of leisure time and other anti-social attitudes (Taylor-Kindrick, 2010:63). Specific risk factors include the seriousness of offending history, breadth of offending history, family attachment and bonds, parental discipline and supervision, low self-control and impulsivity and gang activity (Taylor-Kindrick, 2010:63). Gender specific risk factors included abuse history, mental health diagnosis and family bonds and attachments while other predictors included parental and sibling criminality, family structure and social service involvement (Taylor-Kindrick, 2010:64). Family circumstances correlated to arrest, adjudication and recidivism coefficients (Taylor-Kindrick, 2010:89).

On a psychosocial scale, between families and the individual criminality and morality in Sweden, Klinteberg et al. (2011:5) had 6 989 females, 257 with a father's criminality, 459 with criminality of all crimes, 68 with violent offences and 441 with non-violent crimes. Females' use of alcohol and drugs overrode effects of family characteristics on criminality (Klinteberg et al., 2011:11). Looking at mental health issues, Dixon, Howie and Starling (2004:1151) conducted a study in five Sydney metropolitan high schools that examined the association between mental health and the key socio-demographic trauma and family indicators of crime for 100 female juvenile offenders from the ages of 13 to 19. Of the respondents, 71% were detained for violent crimes, 25% for property only crimes (Dixon et al., 2004:1151), 4% for drug related offences, 58% had multiple offences and 80% committed violent crimes at some point in their lives (Dixon et al., 2004:1152). Within the sample, 38% viewed family in the extreme category of family functioning with familial criminality amongst other factors found in

63% of the offenders (Dixon et al., 2004:1154). Family attachments were evident with the girls expressing that family is the most important thing in their lives (Dixon et al., 2004:1156).

2.5 African studies

2.5.1 Familial history

Modie-Moroka (2003:152) conducted 80 life history interviews with incarcerated women, who were between 16 and 65 years of age, in six prisons in Botswana. Most of their crimes were infanticides (n=22; 28.6%), theft/robbery and possession of dagga (n=18; 23.4%). Loss of parents preceded criminal involvement in infanticides (Modie-Moroka, 2003:168). The women's family members with criminal convictions included brothers (16%), fathers (5%) and mothers and sisters (3%) (Modie-Moroka, 2003:153). To support their substance abuse habits, 40% of the women obtained money through criminality (Modie-Moroka, 2003:168). In a Malawian study looking into the history of 40 female offenders by Burton et al. (2005) the offenders reported family dysfunction but no family criminality. The women were convicted for crimes that were theft related (n=19), manslaughter (n=3), grievous bodily harm (n=2), malicious damage which included domestic violence (n=5), unlawful wounding, which was limited to family, sisters and other relatives (n=3), and miscellaneous such as infanticides and abortions (n=3) (Burton et al., 2005:48-49). The offenders reported that their parents were unable and unwilling to provide adequate supervision (Burton et al., 2005:13). Thus, they engaged in anti-social behaviour and associations with other children or youth with negative influences on them (Burton et al., 2005:14). In another Malawian study by Twea (2013:19), 2% (n=69) of the population were female offenders. In this study, it was perceived that women were not criminal and crimes were gender related and women were afraid of crime (Twea, 2013:44). The highest numbers of crimes committed were murder (34) and theft (8). Twenty-four percent of the women murdered their own children and one female killed their husband with their son-in-law (Twea, 2013:20). This study also reports that the types of crimes committed coincided with the women's occupations (Twea, 2013:44).

2.5.2 Correlation between siblings

As mentioned above, siblings may also play a critical role in having a criminal influence as they share and grow up in the same environments. Resource dilution was used in the study by Anderson-Bond (2009). The closer the age gap between the children, the fewer resources there are for each child which could be detrimental to the development of the child (Anderson-Bond, 2009:10). If there are many children, parents also lack giving an input into their

children's educational and social lives (Anderson-Bond, 2009:10). Parental warmth and supervision are impacted by the sibling structure which affects the children's rate of offending (Anderson-Bond, 2009:11).

2.6 South Africa

The DCS reports that, by the end of the 2019/2020 financial year, there was an average of 3 982 female offenders and 150 467 men inside South African correctional centres (DCS, 2020:45). In South Africa and many other countries, women represent a significantly lower presence than males in correctional centres (Prinsloo & Hesselink, 2015:67). In South Africa, the public's views differ from sound research findings (Beukman, 2002:52). Most often, when the media pays attention to crimes committed by women, it is related to their gender (Beukman, 2002:52). Society will label the women as bad or mad women because they go against social gender stereotypes (Brennan & Vandenberg, 2009:145-146). This agrees with the argument that female offenders are wrongly socialised into male roles (Herrington & Nee, 2005:6). Dastile opined that looking at the women's experiences departs from early studies that focused on how social institutions viewed women departing also from universalised views on women offenders (Dastile, 2013:5307).

2.6.1 Family criminality

Burton (2008) study had 12 794 primary and secondary school children including 53.1% girls from primary schools and 50.2% girls from secondary schools (Burton, 2008:10-11). Less than a quarter (22.5.%) of the learners reported seeing household members intentionally hurt each other (Burton, 2008:61). A quarter (24.6%) of the primary school learners with parents who have been incarcerated reported experiencing violence at home and school, with the percentage being 32.9% for secondary school learners (Burton, 2008:57). From the primary school learners, 13.1% parents and 18.1% siblings had been imprisoned with 9.2% parents and 20.2% siblings from the secondary school learners (Burton, 2008:56). Despite the parents being involved in illegal behaviour such as drugs and having contact with correctional centres, 74.7% primary school and 49.4% secondary school learners talked to their parents the most about their problems (Burton, 2008:63). A study by Prinsloo (2016:205) exhibited the types of crimes 77 female offenders from two Gauteng prisons committed. A majority of the women had committed theft and fraud (41.2%), followed by robbery and aggressive robbery (18.4%) and 9.2% had committed murder and/or attempted murder (Prinsloo, 2016:205). Less than a tenth (6.4%) had possessed illegal substances, 6.4% committed crimes deemed violent in nature, such as aggravated assault, 42.2% contained violence and aggression, and 16%

trafficked dangerous illicit substances with risky and dangerous behaviour (Prinsloo, 2016:205).

Da Costa, Coetzee and Prinsloo (2018:2) conducted research that focused on eight female youth sex offenders between the ages of 12 and 18 to broaden the limited literature and information on female sex offenders in South Africa. Three of the eight female offenders mentioned having family members who had been arrested (Da Costa et al., 2018:6). Two of the girls experienced domestic violence where one father was even arrested for hitting the mother (Da Costa et al., 2018:6). One father was arrested for drug possession, three of the participants' uncles were arrested, one for attempted murder, and the others were notorious for hitting people (Da Costa et al., 2018:6). This illustrates that family criminality, amongst other factors, was present in the female youth sex offenders' lives (Da Costa et al., 2018:6). In the study by Malherbe & Haefele (2014:51) about how substance abuse may affect filicide, five cases were chosen from court reports and media reports of which three involved female offenders. One mother murdered her son, the other murdered her two daughters and the other killed her son and her husband (Malherbe & Haefele, 2014:51). Some common themes and risk factors in the five cases stated above and in most literature tracing a family's circumstances that may lead to crime include: substance abuse by the offenders, unemployment and poverty, family violence and abuse, neglect, displacement and instability while growing up, parental conflict, a lack of family support or guidance in appropriate behaviour during their upbringing, traumas and rejection of children, ignoring of family, excused criminal behaviour and making the child feel guilty for wanting basic necessities (Malherbe & Haefele, 2014:52-53; Frank, 2006:17).

Research by Artz, Hoffman-Wanderer and Moult (2012:41) on 55 women in Pollsmoor and Worcester Correctional Centres showed that 47% had a family member who had been imprisoned. Brothers were the most reported family members with previous convictions (28%), daughters with previous incarcerations (5%), fathers (15%), cousins (8%), sons (5%), stepfathers (3%), uncles (8%) and step grandfathers (3%) who had been incarcerated (Artz et al., 2012:41). Williams et al. (2012:24) reported that those who had convicted family members also had higher rates of reconviction on release and similar to Arts et al. (2012), most of the family members with criminal histories were males (56% were brothers or stepbrothers and 35% were fathers or stepfathers) (Williams et al., 2012:11). Some of the women were asked by their fathers to cover up for their criminal activities (Artz et al., 2012:98). According to Artz et al. (2012:94), the exposure and experiences of the women having family members and siblings who were incarcerated had a profound impact on them. They viewed their experiences of having parents and siblings who were involved in crime as the turning point in their lives,

which contributed to their criminality (Artz et al., 2012:97). In a study with similar results by Steyn and Booyens (2017:42) at Kgosi Mampuru II Female Correctional Centre in Tshwane, researchers found that among 120 respondents, 40% had a brother and 42% had an uncle who had been arrested in the past (Steyn & Booyens, 2017:53). The study's respondents had mostly been imprisoned for economic crimes followed by narcotics related incidents (Steyn & Booyens, 2017:45). The respondents' family members' arrests amounted to 39% economic and 39% violent offences (Steyn & Booyens, 2017:53). Moreover, the researchers found a significant association between having a family member who was arrested and the women's own previous arrest record (p=0.003) (Steyn & Booyens, 2017:53).

2.6.2 Pathways to criminality

Burton, Leoschut and Bonora (2009:2) conducted a study intended to yield a thorough understanding of the resilience factors amongst youth in South Africa by underpinning the correlates of youth criminality and examining the factors that strengthen resilience to crime among the youth. The sample included 395 young offenders, 4.8% of which were females who had mainly committed violent crimes (Burton et al., 2009:18-19). One in three reported knowing family members who engaged in illicit activities that could get them into trouble (35.9%) and imprisonment was a common experience with a total of 165 of 395 (41.8%) reported that members of their families had been imprisoned before their own incarceration (Burton et al., 2009:35). The respondents were less likely to have received emotional and financial support from their fathers and to have spent time with or received financial support from their mothers throughout the course of their lives (Burton et al., 2009:29).

In a study about children being asked by adults to commit crimes, the Community Law Centre at the University of Western Cape (Frank, 2006:13) used a sample of 121 children in secondary schools and 420 children who were awaiting trial in Secure Care Facilities (Frank, 2006:14). Nearly a third (30%) of the total group was involved in illicit activities and 2.5% of the school group used illicit means to earn money (Frank, 2006:15). Of the 41 children, 21 were coerced and/or threatened by family members and 39% of them made the decisions themselves to commit crimes according to the nature and/or reward at stake (Frank, 2006:16-17). Tangible rewards included money, drugs and clothes while intangibles included praise, acknowledgement and respect (Frank, 2006:18). When it comes to prevention and early intervention strategies rank (2006:18) believes that these programs should consider how these children should respond to these risks.

2.7 Intervention strategies

As females commit more crimes, treatment programmes specific to females are needed (Laster, 2008:5). With more female offenders and serious long-term implications of early offending, studies of female juvenile offenders need to adequately address intervention and prevention strategies (Mullis et al., 2004:206). The aetiology and treatment of delinquency are needed to curb delinquency rates and recidivism (Laster, 2008:5). There are three scientific breakthroughs for female adolescent problem behaviour: identification of basic behavioural dimensions or parameters of development that relate directly to the antisocial behaviour (Mullis et al., 2004:210-211); specification of the steps or sequences in developmental pathways towards female delinquency; and identification of the predisposing or precipitating contributors to such development (Mullis et al., 2004:211).

Family, as a learning, discovery and socialising environment, is a key productive factor in the development of children and adolescents (Savignac, 2009:1). Dysfunction within the family is a risk factor (Savignac, 2009:1) therefore disrupting the intergenerational transmission should happen prior to the child being in contact with the CJS (Tzoumakis et al., 2019:9). Intergenerational transmission is facilitated by mediating factors such as inadequate parenting skills of the mother, the famous or violent reputation of the father, and deviant social learning (van Dijk et al., 2019:359). To break intergenerational chains of crime and violence, protective factors that could work, particularly for girls, include supervision from child protection service and the mother's ability to provide warmth and stability in the chaotic lives of the children (van Dijk et al., 2019:359).

Lawson (2008:338) suggests that one needs to determine if offenders have the experience, resources and attitudes needed to meet personal, intimate and social needs and provide specific instrumental support for meeting those needs. Many people overcome risks or do not develop antisocial behaviour patterns despite their exposure to high levels of risk (Mullis et al., 2004:210). Remediate offenders have deficits in social skills (Lawson, 2008:338). Interventions neglect to focus on what the offenders are doing when they are not offending (Lawson, 2008:338). Individual or environmental characteristics reduce the possibility of female juvenile offending (Mullis et al., 2004:210). Therefore, intervention programmes should include social skills training and values clarification (Lawson, 2008:338). Pro-social behaviours should be advocated where the treatments will be based on the individual so that offenders have a view of themselves and how they relate to those around them (Lawson, 2008:338). Interventions should focus on mothers and fathers, but mothers need gender-specific interventions as they encounter other disadvantages within the CJS (Tzoumakis et al.,

2019:9).

2.7.1 Parental training programmes

Parenting with Love and Limits (PLL) is a programme targeting boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 18 years who committed a first offence or are at risk of adopting delinquent behaviour/dropouts (Savignac, 2009:13). PLL accommodates youth who have already offended, youth at risk of delinquency and dropouts (Savignac, 2009:13). Their problems include amongst others, gang-related activities, substance abuse, aggression and academic problems (Savignac, 2009:13). Risk factors include poor parental supervision, mismanagement of family conflict, poor family bonds, family violence, siblings with behaviour problems, use of corporal punishment, inconsistent discipline, parents involved in crime or criminal history, and the use of corporal punishment (Savignac, 2009:13). Another programme, Focus on Families focuses on families with three to 14-year-old girls and boys with one parent going through methadone treatment (Savignac, 2009:14). Problems that are dealt with in this programme are substance abuse and the children's risk factors include poor parental supervision, mismanagement of family conflicts, poor family bonds, family violence, siblings with behaviour problems, use of corporal punishment and inconsistent discipline (Savignac, 2009:14).

2.7.2 Family therapy programmes

Family therapy programmes follow the multidimensional approach combining parental training sessions, youth training sessions and improvement in family dynamics. The programme firstly targets the families in which youth display emotional and behavioural problems but without indications of more serious behaviour such as delinquency and are designed to treat problems before they become serious. Secondly, it targets families in which youth exhibit delinquent behaviour that is clearly identified and diagnosed as such. The programme is designed to treat and rehabilitate youth and their families, reduce the risk of re-offending and prevent more serious delinquency (Savignac, 2009:14). Functional family therapy is for 11 to 18-year-old girls and boys who present delinquent behaviour or youth currently involved in criminal activities (Savignac, 2009:15). Their problems include aggression, violence and substance abuse. Risk factors include poor parental supervision and mismanagement of family conflicts.

Multi-Dimensional Treatment Foster Care caters for 11 to 18-year-old girls and boys with chronic delinquent behaviour who are at risk of incarceration. The problems that the programme deals with include delinquency, aggression and violence. Brief strategic family

therapy caters to eight to 18-year-old boys and girls who present or who are at risk of adopting delinquent behaviour. The programme also addresses dropouts and youth with substance abuse problems. Their targeted problems include delinquency and substance abuse. Multi-dimensional Family Therapy is for 11 to 19-year-old girls and boys with substance abuse and present behavioural problems. Problems include substance abuse, aggression and violence. Risk factors include poor parental supervision, mismanagement of family conflicts, use of corporal punishment and inconsistent discipline. A positive-parenting programme focuses on girls and boys below 16 years of age with behavioural or emotional problems (Savignac, 2009:17). Problems include behavioural problems. Risk factors include mismanagement of family conflicts and depressed parents.

2.7.3 Integrated approach programmes

Integrated approach programmes are based on the principle that a youth and his or her family do not live in isolation (Savignac, 2009:17). An effective intervention must replace the family into its environment and focus on risk factors coming from the community or personal issues (Savignac, 2009:17). An integrated approach involves participation by several key players including health and social services, education, justice, mental health and substance abuse professionals (Savignac, 2009:17).

An example of an integrated approach includes the Multi-Systemic Therapy which is for 12 to 17-year-old girls and boys with chronic violence problems, substance abuse problems and those who are at risk of placement. Problems include aggression, violence and substance abuse. Risk factors include mismanagement of family conflicts and poor parental supervision (Savignac, 2009:18). CASASTART (striving together to achieve rewarding tomorrows) focuses on eight to 13-year-old girls and boys at risk of being involved in criminal activities or youth who present substance abuse problems. Problems include delinquency, substance abuse, aggression, violence and academic problems. Risk factors include parents who are involved in criminal activity or who have a criminal history, poor parental supervision, mismanagement of family conflicts, poor family bonds, family violence and family instability (Savignac, 2009:19).

“Wraparound Milwaukee” is for 13 to 17-year-old girls and boys who present emotional and behavioural problems or mental health needs. Problems include delinquency, substance abuse, aggression and violence. Risk factors include parents who are involved in criminal activity or who have a criminal history, poor parental supervision, mismanagement of family conflicts, family violence, siblings with behaviour problems, use of corporal punishment and

inconsistent discipline.

“All Children Excel” focuses on six to 15-year-old girls and boys who present a high-risk chronic delinquency and violence. The children’s problems include delinquency, aggression, violence and academic problems. Their risk factors include parents who are involved in criminal activity or who have a criminal history, poor parental supervision, mismanagement of family conflicts, poor family bonds, family violence, siblings with behavioural problems, use of corporal punishment and inconsistent disciplines (Savignac, 2009:20).

It is difficult to formulate a policy that intervenes mainly from the parents’ actions (Wakefield, 2007:133). Gaining a better understanding of intergenerational linkages between parental offending and sex-specific patterns of delinquent behaviour can inform intervention methods focused on modifying dynamic risks associated with male and female behavioural problems (Connolly, Schwartz, Jackson & Beaver, 2018:57). Having a parent or any family member in prison may act as an indicator for more serious interventions when the child first becomes involved in delinquency (Wakefield, 2007:133). Waiting for the child to enter criminal justice system is not an attractive alternative (Wakefield, 2007:133).

For adult women offenders the following family focused interventions may be considered (Farmer, 2019:38-40):

Checkpoint plus: a diversion program focusing on the women offenders and their families while also acting as a barrier for the women’s children being involved in crime. The women get parenting support, they may work with other agencies around domestic abuse issues and/or restorative justice mediation with their family members. Dialogues need to be initiated to iron out issues between the women and their families. Peer support from other women is often a key element.

The women may need one-on-one sessions to either leave learn how to deal with partners or family members who trigger or entice criminal behaviour in the women and to deal with the lack of support once the women have left those unsupportive relationships. Better relationships with peers, staff at the agencies or other family members may help the women to cope.

Programs such as Within My Reach aid women, especially those who have been abused from childhood, identify signs of abuse in partners therefore setting boundaries and avoiding toxic, detrimental relationships that might spiral them in the wrong direction.

The programmes these women are diverted to must include help to improve their family lives and other relationships especially if there are criminogenic risk factors that are likely to remain. The intervention programs should help them exit these safely where appropriate.

2.8 Summary

Family plays a role in how we are socialised and how we internalise societal values, norms and rules. In the past, women were socialised to be dependent, passive individuals who relied on men, for the most part, with any decision. Social patriarchy has allowed us to minimise women and their natural abilities to be criminals by neglecting female criminality. Some females may be born with criminal genetic makeup and some may be moulded and influenced by their criminally prone family members. Fathers have the biggest impact on a child's possible criminality. A father's presence affects whether the child will decide to commit crime or not. Mothers have the potential to buffer a child from crime. The environment siblings share and the way they relate to each other determines whether their actions will influence delinquency. Some risk factors to intergenerational criminality include absent parents, lack of supervision, substance abuse, violence in the household and other assertive mating factors. Chapter 3 discusses the theories that were considered to explain the familial influences of women's criminality.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The basic goal of a theory is to explain why things are the way they are and suggest what might be done to change them (Barlow & Kauzlarich, 2010:4). A theory helps us to make sense of facts we already know and that can be tested against new facts. A properly developed theory is about real situations, feelings, experiences and human behaviour (Akers, 2013:1). A scientifically oriented theory has at least five characteristics, firstly, actual explanations that satisfactorily answer questions of why and how, secondly, the breadth which explains as wide a range of the phenomena as possible, thirdly, comprehensiveness which entails all the operative causes of the phenomena in question (Tittle, 2015:26-27). The fourth characteristic is precision, which includes several factors, such as spelling out the incidences under which causal forces unfold with greater or less strength or completeness, spelling out the various forms of likely effects and the details of the amount of time that must transpire before a causal variable produces the theorised outcome (Tittle, 2015:27-28). Lastly, a good theory has depth which specifies how the concepts of the formulation fit together in sequences of effects and/or interactions (Tittle, 2015:28).

The researcher started by consulting the feminist school of thought together with the feminist control theory which is an example of a feminist theory under which the social control and bonding theory was discussed. As the focus of the study was female offenders, feminism had to be considered as it encapsulates the history of thinking around female offenders within the field of Criminology. Feminism has not only developed a critique of accumulated knowledge about female offenders and victims, but has illuminated institutionalised sexism within criminological theory, policy and practice (Gelsthorpe, 2003:8). The feminist control theory adds to the shortfalls and loopholes of the social control and bonding theory which the research heavily relied on in examining familial relations. Due to the focus of the study being the possible familial influence on the incarcerated women's criminality, the social control and bonding theory was the main theory guiding the current study. All elements suggested by Hirschi (1969) that would determine familial bonds were considered when exploring the female offenders' familial relations. Furthermore, the application of the theories mentioned above in relation to the current study are discussed.

3.2 Feminist school of Criminology

Historically, Criminology theories were limited to theorising male deviance, male criminality, and male victimisation (Chesney-Lind & Morash, 2013:287). Feminists reject the assumption

that the same criminogenic factors can explain both male and female criminality (Brennan et al., 2010:35). Female offenders were perceived as being masculine for their deviancy, resulting in women being included in male theories (Van Gundy, 2016:15). Feminists believe that male-centred theories ignore factors that appear unique and specifically relevant to female criminality (Brennan et al., 2010:35). Since theories of crime were developed by men to explain male behaviour, not only was female criminality overlooked so too were females as victims and women as researchers as well as practitioners (Marganski, 2020:625-626). Feminist perspectives contest patriarchy within criminological knowledge which has previously been constructed, produced, spread and dominated by men and men's discourse (Gelsthorpe, 2003:8).

On-going feminist critique focuses on theoretical gaps and weak content validity on current gender-neutral assessment instruments that are applied to female offenders (Brennan et al., 2010:35). The rise in attention for female criminality may be due to the change in attitude from academics, researchers and Criminology theorists and the emancipation from patriarchy that women have experienced. The inclusion of female offenders in criminological theory occurred in three waves. The first wave included focusing on women as offenders (Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2011:231). Most male theories neglect female offenders and their unique experiences subsequently creating gendered stereotypes about female offenders (Mallicoat, 2019:176). Another issue was whether the class, race and age that were used as the core for male criminological theories would fit the same with women (Adler, 2019:432). In the 1960s to the 1990s feminist criminologists focused only on White female offenders neglecting black woman who have experiences and compounded forms of discrimination which have multiplicative effects that makes their experiences of oppression substantially different (Marganski, 2020:631). Within the already marginalised female offenders, there is further exclusion of black female offenders which emphasises that the data obtained cannot be generalised to all women as black women’s experiences were ignored. Within the first wave researchers did not understand the social worlds of women (Adler, 2019:432). Together with the racial issues, the second wave, which occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, also saw theories being built that linked crime to gender roles (Lilly et al., 2011:231). The second wave contributed to some feminist critiques of criminology and to questions about equality raised by feminists (Adler, 2019:433). The emancipation of women and their participation in the workplace also encouraged the thoughts for law enforcement and courts to treat men and women the same (Adler, 2019:435). This wave also included the questioning of women’s crimes rates as their crimes were considered more seriously and they had more opportunities in spaces like the workplace (Adler, 2019:435-436). The third wave provided tactical and practical solutions that responded

to some of the theoretical problems found in the second wave (Snyder, 2008:175). The third wave placed women in inflexible categories breaking the boxes women were put in within society (Adler, 2019:469). Third wave women were deemed to be economically and socially emancipated and therefore did not have to deal with concerns about inequality and related issue (Adler, 2019:471). Action is required as opposed to theoretical justification (Snyder, 2008:175). Women are individualised with a multi-perspective approach and third wavers reserve no judgement for the political boundaries from the second wave (Lilly et al., 2011:252).

The different types of feminist perspectives (liberal, Marxist, radical and socialist feminism) allow for different views and approaches to explaining female offenders. Just as with female Criminology, the researcher is interested in the types of crimes women commit, the increasing involvement of women in criminal activities, the women's motivations to commit crimes and the economic situation the women lived in prior to their deviancy (Van Gundy, 2016:19).

Feminist Criminology directs attention towards gender as a key force that shapes crime and social control (Chesney-Lind & Morash, 2013:288). The family is an important part of social life and affects the decisions made by an individual. The researcher made use of traditional risk factors to further explore gender-specific criminogenic and familial risk factors that would be relevant to female offenders (Brennan et al., 2010:35). Feminism also affects the way the criminal justice system understands female criminality and treats female offenders. Currently, female offenders are sanctioned appropriately where their sentences fit their crimes as opposed to the past where leniency would be shown to women, especially mothers. This leniency would be characterised in a phenomenon called the chivalry hypothesis which posits that mainly men who held high ranks in the criminal justice system were more lenient on women as they are perceived as more vulnerable, weaker and unable to survive prison (Andersson, 2020:17). The feminist stance may be complemented by the gender-specific factors that may be revealed by the respondents in the current study. Following are examples of a feminist approach to women's offending, which are individualistic, asserting that women have to be satisfied with their life in society in order to abide by the law (Carlen, 1987:130).

3.3 Hirschi's social control and bonding theory

The most important aspect of the social bonding theory is that criminal behaviour occurs when the bond of an individual to society is broken or weak (Ozbay & Ozcan, 2008:137). Travis Hirschi developed the social control theory as a response to differential association theory and the strain theories (Lilly et al., 2011:110). He argues that these theories did not provide clarity as to why people do not break the law (Lilly et al., 2011:111). The theoretical task of the social

control and bonding theory was therefore to identify the nature of social controls or social bonds that are present when people do break the law (Lilly et al., 2011:111). Hirschi proposed four elements, namely, attachments, commitments, involvement and beliefs. It is expected that the strength of these elements of the social bond will be inversely related to juvenile delinquency (Ozbay & Ozcan, 2008:137). The four elements Hirschi used to measure an individual's bond to society and which are used in this research are discussed in greater detail below (Hirschi, 1969:16-26):

- Attachments relate to the bonds an individual has with key role players in their life such as friends and family. Attachments create an ability to internalise society's rules, develop a conscience and consider consequences (Van der Westhuizen, 2011:187). Impulsivity and aggression can be perceived as natural consequences of freedom from moral or societal restraints. Being alienated is based on active interpersonal conflict which can create hostility in relationships and account for the aggressive behaviour of those whose attitude towards others has weakened (Hirschi, 1969:18). As humans, the level at which one internalises and values social norms determines their morality. If one violates or ignores societal norms, one can deviate (Hirschi, 1969:18).

- Commitments to conventional activities affect how people choose to behave in society. People with strong commitments to relationships and reputations in society would not want to risk losing their position in society by breaking the rules. Human beings obey rules because they fear consequences of deviating (Van der Westhuizen, 2011:187). A person invests their time and energy into an activity thus they would not want to jeopardise their investments (Hirschi, 1969:20). In the social control theory, a person calculates the consequence of their actions. Therefore, ignorance and consequences of a person's errors are possible explanations of deviant behaviour (Hirschi, 1969:21). The esteem individuals hold in belonging to organisations in society creates awareness that a person's interests would be endangered if they engage in criminal acts (Hirschi, 1969:21). Ambition and aspirations play a role in producing conformity (Hirschi, 1969:21). Conventional activities, such as education and careers, create an assurance that people will abide by the societal rules (Hirschi, 1969:21).

- Involvement in conventional activities with other law-abiding peers will result in individuals being occupied and focused on activities rather than on criminal activities. Maintaining their positive involvement makes individuals reliable role models in society (Van der Westhuizen, 2011:187). If a person participates in conventional activities, they have little time to engage in deviant behaviour therefore recreational facilities

reduce delinquency (Hirschi, 1969:22). On the other hand, the leisure time adolescents have and the types of peers they associate with may produce values which may lead to delinquency (Hirschi, 1969:23).

- Belief relates to how an individual values and accepts societal rules. People will thus follow the rules of society if they deem it necessary or important (Van der Westhuizen, 2011:187). Beliefs are the common value systems within society. A person has to have been socialised into a particular group in order to conform to its values (Hirschi, 1969:23). Beliefs mean nothing if other forms of control are missing. Deviants rationalise violating rules and maintain their belief in their behaviour (Hirschi, 1969:24). Some people do not respect the rules of society and thus do not feel a moral obligation to conform to rules regardless of personal advantage (Hirschi, 1969:25). Hirschi assumes that beliefs that free a person to commit deviant acts are unmotivated in that the individual does not construct or adopt the beliefs in order to continue with deviant acts (Hirschi, 1969:25). The less a person believes they should obey the rules, the more likely they are to violate those rules (Hirschi, 1969:25).

Hirschi's theory is responsible for developments in family and delinquency research as it is explicit, well developed and amenable to empirical tests (Wells & Rankin, 1988:495-496). Family provides a buffer against deviant behaviour by providing basic family ties and commitments to conventional order (Rankin & Kern, 1994:49). Parents give motivations to conform, they define appropriate behaviours, and they supervise and punish a child's inappropriate behaviour (Rankin & Kern, 1994:49). Hirschi proposes that individuals maintain conformity out of fear that violations will compromise relationships with family, not for the fear of punishment in criminal law (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:195). Applying the social control and bonding theory in the current study assumes that the stronger the familial bonds and the more functional the relationships the female offenders had with their families, the less likely they were to be involved in criminality (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004:20).

Hirschi's four elements allowed the researcher to analyse the offenders' family backgrounds. The four elements are positively related to conformity and to each other and have independent effects on delinquency (Wells & Rankin, 1988:265). Of the four elements, attachment and involvement are most closely related to parental control (Wells & Rankin, 1988:265). When a parent exhibits deviant behaviour, the child is likely to follow suit as parental deviance has a detrimental effect on a child's behaviour (Pardini et al., 2014:204). Contrary to this, parents who themselves violate the law do not condone their children's delinquency and often disapprove of delinquent behaviour just as non-criminal parents do (Wright & Wright, 1994:43).

The parents' involvement in criminality and/or their use of alcohol or drugs hinders their ability to exercise social control in their families (Wright & Wright, 1994:43). Hirschi's four elements were used as a guideline for questions to be asked by the researcher in order to achieve the study's objectives. The researcher included all members of the family that were present in the upbringing of the female offenders. These included biological parents, stepparents and siblings, foster families and extended family members such as cousins, aunts and uncles.

Determining the type of familial criminal background the women came from assisted in understanding their criminal histories. Women, who come from disadvantaged neighbourhoods filled with crime coupled by single-parent homes that experience social isolation from relatives, friends and neighbours, may be more susceptible to being criminal (Siegel, 2004:215). Questions in this study included family sizes and family structures, supervision, attachments, abuse and criminality within the family. Since the elements are to some extent inter-dependent, the attachments the female offenders have with certain people in their families may affect the activities they choose to get involved in, the beliefs they hold about society and how they value societal rules.

Hirschi's theory however is not without limitations. Hirschi only focused on social class and ignored female offending (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004:21). The theory is detached from some realities of the larger society, such as gender differences and racial inequalities - Hirschi did not include black boys in the original study- that may affect individuals differently (Lilly et al., 2011:120). Hirschi was not concerned with societal origins of crime but rather the individual deviation from given societal norms (Hagan & Daigle, 2018:195). The elements of Hirschi's theories may not be equally applicable and the chain of events may decrease the quality of relationships (Siegel, 2016:240). The female offenders' delinquency may weaken their familial bonds rather than the family member with a criminal past influencing the female offenders to show criminal behaviour (Siegel, 2016:240). Hirschi also assumes that humans do not need special motivations to break the law (Siegel, 2016:237) while Carlen, a critic of the control theory and author of the feminist control theory, believes that the control theory does not explain why some women become criminal (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2006:285).

3.4 Carlen's feminist control theory

Carlen whose study focused on 22 women exploring reasons for their involvement in crime theorised that women are controlled by two systems in society, namely, the workplace (class deal) and at home (gender deal) (Carlen, 1987:129). The two deals were intended to obscure, manipulate and engender women to accept working-class womanhood which included them

working and being domesticated (Carlen, 1987:129). The belief was that, if women were busy, either with domestic or paid work, there would be no time for them to get involved in criminality. The male breadwinner was important in this narrative as he represented the psychological and material success that comes with becoming a working-class woman (Carlen, 1987:129). This was to convince women that it is only the working and domesticated woman who will be successful and favoured in society (Carlen, 1987:129). The researcher considered questions that relate to whether the female offenders were educated and working prior to their imprisonment and the types of homes they grew up in (patriarchal, where the father is the bread winner, or polygamous families, where the women do not work), the types of relationships these women had and their possible dependence on men.

According to Carlen (1987:130), women who grow up in care facilities (foster homes/orphanages) and lack a stable family life are likely to be recidivist offenders due to the lack of stability and good role models in their lives**.** Carlen (1987:130) also states that women only conform to rules when it is beneficial to them, when they are not poor or in social isolation. A lack of skills to provide an income coupled with poor school achievement has been associated with delinquent behaviour (Farrington, 2011:143). Carlen (1987:130) correlates delinquency with the lack of status and benefits in society. The status the female offenders held in society and the quality of life they led prior to imprisonment are indications why they committed a particular crime. Carlen (1987:130) points out that the gender deal allows women to stay in the family even after committing a crime because they would still be willing to be caregivers at home (Carlen, 1987:130) and they do not want to lose their gender identity in society. Carlen's theory focuses on the quality of life the female offenders were leading prior to their imprisonment, the types of gender specific socialisation they grew up around and how they viewed their lives, as predictors of their criminality (Carlen, 1987:130).

Hirschi's social control and bonding theory correlates delinquency to weak social bonds while Carlen points out how or why women commit crime without a background of family criminality or weak familial bonds, these women are controlled rather by economic, ideological and penal practices regardless of the care they were brought up in(Carlen, 1987:130).

3.5 Summary

The feminist perspective represents and advocates for female offenders. The feminist perspective shows the importance of having gender-specific research which focuses on female offenders. Theories incorporating feminism aid academics in understanding and interpreting the narratives of female offenders and the history of their criminality. Specific to

this study are the women's familial history of criminality and the effects familial relationships may have on later criminality. The social control theory is used in order to determine the type of environment the female offenders grew up in and the types of relationships the female offenders had with family members who have a criminal history. This, together with the women's beliefs in societal norms and rules, could relay a possible correspondence within those relations. The feminist control theory focuses on the place of women in patriarchal societies. The feminist control theory is gender specific as it focuses on women and the value they hold in society.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter focuses on the research methods applied in the study. It describes the research approach and purpose, the type of research, and the research design. Included in the chapter are the research methods that comprise the sampling procedures, data collection, data analysis, validity and reliability of data quality, the pilot study and the ethical considerations. Lastly, the limitations of the study used are discussed.

4.2 Research approach and purpose

The study made use of the quantitative approach that allowed the researcher to explain the phenomena in numbers (Yilmaz, 2013:311). Numerical data made it possible for the researcher to measure variables (Garwood, 2011:251). A quantitative approach was chosen for the following reasons: firstly, the researcher had to clearly define the operational concepts by determining whether family criminality influenced or affected the female offenders' criminality. Secondly, from its inception, the study had set objectives which guided the research process (Kumar, 2011:14). Thirdly, and linked to the latter, the researcher had to consider the study's objectives by purposefully probing into the women's family lives in order to obtain factual and precise data that would suggest the potential influence of family criminality on women's criminal behaviour (Garwood, 2011:251). Lastly, the researcher had predetermined guidelines of methods and techniques that were used as checklists to allow her to save time and money (Plano Clark & Cresswell, 2015:192). The quantitative approach is suitable for studies that seek to generalise data while representing the data with objectivity and standardisation (Patten & Newhart, 2018:22). The researcher only reported the results and did not have control over variables.

A quantitative data approach allowed for the results to be easily quantifiable for numeric analysis (Patten & Newhart, 2018:20). The data obtained were then used to confirm or contradict previously held beliefs and conclusions relating to how a history of familial criminality may affect women offending. The evidence allowed the researcher to form patterns relating to women's criminality in relation to criminal histories in families (Bryman, 2012:28). The quantitative approach allowed for a more specific and structured research process, which enabled the researcher to test and verify the validity and reliability of the research process and the results obtained (Kumar, 2011:103).

The study was descriptive in nature with exploratory elements. Exploratory research is

preferred when collective knowledge about a phenomenon is incomplete – either no research has been conducted or there is limited research knowledge (Sutherland, 2016:39). Since very little is known about the impact family dynamics and family criminal histories have on women offfenders, an exploratory research purpose allowed an understanding of a topic that is not well known and how it might be researched (Blaikie & Priest, 2019:81). Even though the researcher tried to extend the generalisability of information through the exploratory elements of the research (Patten & Newhart, 2018:22), generalisation across context and geographic spread amongst the female offenders should be made with caution. Descriptive research provides a description of patterns of relationships in a social context, at a particular time, or changes in the characteristics over time (Blaikie & Priest, 2019:81). A descriptive research purpose also minimises bias and maximises the reliability of the data (Sahu, 2013:27). A descriptive research purpose was used to determine the relationships between family attachments and women's criminal behaviour (Kumar, 2011:10). Descriptive research aided the researcher in defining the scope and the reasons for the study, the most efficient ways to perform the data collection, how to select the sample, how to process and analyse the data obtained and, lastly, to determine the best way to interpret the results (Sahu, 2013:27). Therefore, the exploratory and descriptive methods were suitable in exploring a topic about which little is known and to determine and numerically present the results of quantifiable variables relevant to the research.

4.3 Type of research

Basic research was used in the study to determine possible linkages between female offenders' criminality and their family members who may have a criminal history. Basic research provided the scientific data about the subject under study (Lawrence, 2014:26). The information obtained contributed to the limited information on how a family with a history of criminality influences women's criminality in South Africa. The researcher was able to develop, examine, verify and refine the research process in order to attain specific variables of the study, such as the appropriate sample, in order to acquire relevant information (Kumar, 2011:10).

4.4 Research design

A survey research method was used to obtain data from the selected sample. A survey is a way of collecting information by asking questions (Fowler, 2012:2). Surveys have higher response rates as the method allowed the researcher to gather data from a larger number of respondents in a short time (Check & Schutt, 2017:175). Because the researcher was only

four respondents short of reaching her target, she nevertheless achieved a high response rate. The same instrument (questionnaire) was administered to all respondents. The survey was a means for the researcher to gauge the attitudes, activities, opinions and beliefs of the female offenders regarding crime and family criminality. The survey also allowed the researcher to evaluate and understand the results, identify changes and potential differences in relationships and family criminality (Christensen, Johnson & Turner, 2015:336; De Vaus & De Vaus, 2013:7). Although correlations were not tested, the researcher was able to gauge the types of familial relations and family dynamics from the respondents' childhood to adulthood. Questions focusing on the closeness of family members and respondents, the types of parental styles the women experienced and supervision helped the researcher with evaluating the relationships.

Survey research can probe into the situation that exists at a time as well as follow changes over time (Christensen et al., 2015:334). Surveys ease the process of data gathering by allowing as much information to be obtained in one setting (Mentz, 2012:100). Surveys also aid researchers in acquiring information on the possible relationships between two variables, in this research, one variable being the families and the other being the female offenders, without having to plan interventions thereafter (Weisberg, 2011:939). Surveys allow researchers to record exposure to multiple risk factors and assess more than one outcome using cross sectional surveys (Sedgwick, 2014:2). In the present study, the data were recorded only once for each participant and only associations and not causations between variables were made (Sedgwick, 2014:2).

To accommodate the explorative nature of the study where the covariation of the variables was unknown, a cross-sectional survey was undertaken (Spector, 2019:133-134). A cross-sectional survey afforded the research instrument to be administered to one specific group (female offenders) at one point in time to compare that group's attitudes or opinions on the same variables (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2017:135). The researcher was able to examine the effects of a familial criminal history and the general family environment prior to the women's criminality. The researcher had to be conscious of the differences in generations as the respondents ages ranged from 18 to above 60 years. The generations represented in the study may have grown up in different environments or had different personal dilemmas than other generations. The researcher did not manipulate the female offenders on how to answer the questions (Schwartz, Wilson & Goff, 2015:9). With no manipulation to variables, a meaningful outcome indicates a relationship between the women and their criminal family members (Schwartz et al., 2015:10).

4.5 Research methods

4.5.1 Study population and sampling

Researchers obtain data from the sample as the whole population is too large (Fowler, 2012:2). The researcher needed to obtain information about an entire population by only examining a sample that represented the whole female offenders' population (Bell & Waters, 2014:166). The researcher's target sample size was 70 respondents; however, the total sample for the study was 66. The sample consisted of sentenced adult female offenders in two Gauteng correctional centres since the most recorded female offenders in 2019/20 were in Gauteng facilities (DCS, 2019:46). There were 34 women from Kgosi Mampuru II Female Correctional Centre and 32 women from Johannesburg Female Correctional Centre. The sample was chosen through a non-probability sampling technique in order to predetermine the sample size and be inclusive of all crime types committed by female offenders (Kumar, 2011:206). Any women in the correctional centre could be part of the sample if they volunteered and were willing to explain and describe some of their experiences (Patten & Newhart, 2018:89). To avoid bias and misleading information, the sample accommodated women from different backgrounds who had participated in economic, substance related or sexual and violent offences. The study focused on the women's childhood and adolescent years, so the respondents had to, at some point, have lived within a family setting. The respondents were easy to target as they were found in designated areas, namely correctional centres (Check & Schutt, 2017:16) which made the data gathering process less expensive (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena & Nigam, 2013:332).

A flaw of the non-probability sampling technique is that the researcher may not have knowledge about whether the chosen sample represents the entire population (Hussey, 2010:922) resulting in data that cannot be generalised (Check & Schutt, 2017:16). The technique also lends itself to being biased as the researcher may choose respondents who may be favourable to the researcher's point of view (Singh, 2015:16). The peculiarities of the vulnerable sample lead to some women opting not to be part of the research with the fear of exposing sensitive family issues which limited the sampling frame (Hussey, 2010:922).

The sampling method took the form of availability and voluntary sampling for the following reasons: firstly, the two identified correctional centres house a limited number of female offenders and should a random sample be drawn and a meaningful number of potential respondents refuse to participate in the research, the realised sample size might decrease substantially which might compromise the envisioned statistical analyses. Secondly, previous

experience (cf. Steyn & Hall, 2016) showed that imprisoned women work in different sections of the correctional centre, and not necessarily in the section where they are housed. Lastly, the prison routine allowed only a few hours per day between lock-up times to interview female offenders hence the researcher's aim was to interview as many respondents as possible.

The researcher was provided with an internal guide by the DCS that aided her to obtain the relevant contact details of senior correctional officials. The researcher had to liaise with senior correctional centre officials and warders with regards to the finalisation of all logistical matters, such as entering the facilities to conduct the interviews, how many respondents would be interviewed per day, and how many sessions would be required overall. The researcher was assisted by the correctional centre officials in obtaining interest from the female offenders in the different sections of the correctional centres. The prison officials introduced the researcher to the potential respondents and explained why the researcher was there and the respondents thereafter chose whether they wanted to participate or not. Some female offenders were recommended by the prison officials and they too had the option of volunteering. The researcher explained the focus of the research to all the women respondents who volunteered ensuring that they were all comfortable before proceeding with the interview. The researcher used the common areas of the female prison such as the prison school to conduct the interviews.

4.5.2 Data collection instrument and method

The data-gathering instrument used was a questionnaire consisting of a list of questions asked by the researcher and answered by the respondents (Trobia, 2011:653). The questionnaire consisted of open and closed-ended questions. Open-ended questions allowed respondents to provide and emphasise details in their answers (Mentz, 2012:108). Where appropriate, an "other" option was provided in order for the respondents to provide answers that the researcher had not considered. By providing an "other" option, the researcher avoided being biased by only limiting the options to what she considered to be suitable or viable options. In closed-ended questions, respondents choose their answers from a set of options (Mentz, 2012:110). The questions were short and easy to complete which eased the interview process (Bryman, 2012:250). The questions reflected the objectives of the research and were divided into four sections:

Sections	Questions used
Section A: Background information	Age, population group and other background characteristics related to school, employment and economic status.
Section B: Previous and current convictions and arrests	Age of first arrest, previous arrests, current conviction, reasons for criminality and current contact with family members.
Section C: Family background	Who the women were raised by and lived with, the types of relationships they had with other family members, the type of environments they lived in including if there was fair treatment, violence and abuse, parenting styles and supervision.
Section D: Family criminal background	These questions gauged whether any family member had committed any crime or persuaded the female offenders to commit a crime, the types of relationships the female offenders have/had with the family members who were/are involved with the law. Lastly, if the female offenders felt that their families had an impact on their criminality.

The following are examples of the formats used to ask questions:

An example of a close ended question:

What type of economic status did you grow up in?					
Low		Middle		High	

An example of a checklist question:

24. Where there any disruptions in your family life while growing up?				
Death of other family member		Serious illness		Parent's divorce
Parent's separation		Absent parent		Mental illness
Substance abuse (alcohol and illegal drug use)		Family dysfunction (misbehaviour, violence, conflict)		Unemployment

An example of a dichotomous question:

Did you commit the crime alone?	Yes		No	

An example of a scale question:

How often were you supervised?				
Always	Very often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never

An example of a contingency question:

Has any family member asked you to do anything illegal?	Yes		No	
If yes, who?	Person one:		Person two:	

The interview was an interaction where the researcher asked the female offenders predetermined questions and the interviewer recorded the answers (Mentz, 2012:102). The questionnaire was administered by means of face-to-face interviews between the researcher and the respondents. Structured interviews allowed for uniform information that assured answer compatibility amongst the respondents (Kumar, 2011:145). The standardised questioning also eased the processing of data analysis as answers were coded accordingly (Bryman, 2012:210). A face-to-face interview allowed the researcher to gain control over responses and have a high response rate as respondents were more inclined to participate with the interviewer present (Dialsingh, 2011:261). Some of the women may have been made

to feel more comfortable participating when they saw other women participating in the interviews. As the researcher conducted the interviews, the face-to-face interaction allowed the researcher to explain unclear questions as well as probe for clearer answers (Bryman, 2012:223)**.** The researcher had an opportunity to create a rapport with the respondents which improved the interview process (Kumar, 2011:145). The disadvantage of conducting the face-to-face interviews was the expense, especially considering the widely spread geographical sample, and it was also time consuming because only a limited number of interviews could be conducted per day thus necessitating several trips to the correctional centres (Persaud, 2012a:636).

4.5.3 Data analysis

Quantitative data analysis is the translation of results into numerical data that can be statistically presented. Quantitative data allowed for a collective representation of the data (percentages of group) instead of focusing on the individual stories of the female offenders (Patten & Newhart, 2018:24). There were few errors when interpreting the data as all questions were answered in a standard form (Bryman, 2012:210).

The first step of analysing the data was editing or examining the collected raw data by carefully scrutinising for accuracy, uniformity and consistency (Sahu, 2013:77). The second step was coding which is the assigning of numerals to answers so responses can be put into limited categories (Sahu, 2013:79). All the questions on the instrument were assigned codes and the codebook/coding sheet listed which code belonged to each question (Kumar, 2011:298). The coding also included the questions in the categories of “other” and open-ended questions. Most of the options on the questionnaires had numerical values which allowed for the codes to be directly transferred from the original questionnaire (Sahu, 2013:79). The codes from the raw data were inserted on an Excel spreadsheet and were processed through version 27.0 of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The codes used often determined the patterns and/or popular answers which indicated the majority of responses. Only descriptive data were obtained from SPSS (v27.0). The data were presented in pie charts, bar graphs and tables.

4.5.4 Data quality

Data quality ensures the accuracy of the results obtained from the study and the procedures used to obtain those results (Kumar, 2014:177). Data quality measures the extent to which the researcher is able to learn something new about the variables involved, the probability that

meaningful differences will be found during data analysis and the extent to which worthy conclusions may be drawn from the data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014:89). Data validity and reliability ensures that the data are sound, replicable and accurate (Mohajan, 2017:60).

Validity determines whether the instrument being used measures what it is supposed to measure (Bryman, 2012:280). The researcher ensured that the questionnaire used was able to measure the presence and effects of weak/strong family bonds, a history of crime within the family and the women's offending. The researcher employed three methods to ensure validity. Firstly, face validity which measured whether the questions in the questionnaire aligned with and measured up to the objectives of the research and the objectives led the direction of the research instrument (Kumar, 2014:214). Secondly, content validity which measured the extent to which the questions covered all the aspects of the research (Kumar, 2014:214). Questions included the types of crimes women committed, the environment and familial relations the women grew up in, the types of offences committed by the family members and the female offenders' opinions on whether their families had an effect on their own criminality. Lastly, construct validity which refers to whether the instrument measures the dimensions it is supposed to measure (Markus & Lin, 2012:230). Construct validity was employed by ensuring that the questionnaire measured the women's attachments to their family while growing up and if those attachments affected the women's future criminal involvement (Kumar, 2014:215).

Reliability measures the level of consistency and stability of the questions which, in turn, ensures the predictability and accuracy of the questions (Kumar, 2014:215). The following procedures were followed to enhance the reliability of the instrument (Krosnick & Presser, 2010:264; Lune & Berg, 2017:82):

- The questions were worded effectively. Double-barrelled, ambiguous and leading questions were eliminated and complex questions were transitioned for easier understanding.
- The questions were exhaustive and mutually exclusive.
- The reliability of the questionnaire was further enhanced by making use of standardised scales and instruments from previous studies.
- There were standardised questions and instructions that were used across all respondents.
- The researcher was the only interviewer and could create some rapport with the respondents.

- A pilot study was conducted.

4.6 Pilot study

A pilot study was used as a trial run for the study. It was small-scale research which used the same procedures, materials and parameters that were used in the larger study (Bordens & Abbott, 2011:158). The pilot study was conducted in order to measure the relevance and success of the research topic, instruments, data collection methods and sample population (Persaud, 2012b:1033). The questionnaire was piloted with five women from the Bizzah Makhate Correctional Centre. No major changes were made resulting from the pilot study. In question 21.2, "what type of household did you live in prior to incarceration", "alone" was added as an option. In question 23, the fairness of distribution of resources in households, an independent option was included for women who may have moved out of their homes at an early age.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Ethics are the guidelines that the researcher must adhere to in order to ensure that the study protects the respondents as the researcher has the responsibility not to hurt or harm the respondents (Bordens & Abbott, 2011:197) especially in social research where intrusion in the lives of vulnerable respondents, such as female offenders, may occur (Lune & Berg, 2017:43). The researcher had to be accountable and consider how the results might influence the general state of knowledge as well as the effect that science has on the public (Herrera, 2012:430).

The following ethical issues were considered:

4.7.1. Informed consent

The researcher first gained consent from the respondents who agreed to participate out of their free will and ensured that they understood what they were consenting to (Lune & Berg, 2017:46). The researcher explained the purpose of the study, their role in the study, how the interview would be conducted and their freedom to terminate the interview at any time (Patten & Newhart, 2018:35). The researcher notified the respondents of the details and intentions of the study and the reason for their participation. The respondents signed the informed consent letter after understanding what was expected of them. Obtaining permission and having clear intentions created a rapport with respondents, which removed any hostility (Kumar, 2011:244).

4.7.2. Voluntary participation

Respondents were not allowed to participate if they had not freely given their permission to participate in the study (Salkind, 2012:150). The respondents were willing to provide the information required and were not coerced into participating in the study. The researcher did not use a position of authority or superiority against the respondents. No form of bribery or incentive was promised to the women for their participation. The researcher did not use deception to convince the participants to take part in the study (Ntseane, 2013:296).

4.7.3. Avoidance of harm

The research process and the results thereof did not harm the respondents in any way. The sensitive nature of the information required from the respondents also did not harm them mentally or emotionally (Salkind, 2012:149). The researcher informed the respondents of the potential emotional effects that may occur resulting from the line of questioning. The researcher steered clear from infringing on the respondents' cultural diversity, disabilities or sexual orientations. The researcher ensured that the respondents were not distressed or uncomfortable and ensured that counselling was available for them. None of the respondents made use of the counselling services offered.

4.7.4. Sensitive information

The researcher informed the respondents of the type of information needed for the study. The researcher required private and sensitive information that may have been embarrassing for the women to share and could affect their families. The women were given an opportunity to decide if they were comfortable providing the kind of information required or not. The questions were asked with care and sensitivity (Kumar, 2011:245).

4.7.5. Confidentiality

Due to the sensitivity or private nature of the information required, the women's identities have been kept confidential to protect their status and avoid public humiliation. Confidentiality ensures that research records may never indicate the respondents' identities (Lune & Berg, 2017:48) which are only known to the researcher. To protect their identities, the information received from the respondents should never be traced back to them (Kumar, 2011:246). No information that could identify the respondent was recorded or gathered. Confidentiality was of utmost importance with vulnerable respondents such as female offenders. The information

has been seen by a minimum number of people (the researcher and her supervisors) and will be kept in storage for safekeeping (Lune & Berg, 2017:40).

4.7.6. Debriefing

Debriefing entails the researcher ensuring that no harm occurred to the respondents during the interview. During debriefing, respondents asked questions about aspects of the study and about the researcher (Patten & Newhart, 2018:36). The easiest way to debrief is to talk to the respondents immediately after the interview and clarify the intentions of the research for them (Salkind, 2012:153). Debriefing was essential to check whether the respondent's needed attention after the interview as some questions may have provoked unanticipated harm or emotions in the respondents (Patten & Newhart, 2018:36). None of the respondents expressed any harm or discomfort resulting from the interview and the information they provided. The respondents were reassured that their data would remain confidential and the researcher provided respondents with her contact information together with an independent social worker's contact details should future debriefing be required (Patten & Newhart, 2018:36).

4.8 Limitations

Since the research was voluntary, the sample may not represent the population. Thus, the data cannot be generalised to represent the larger population. Within the sample, some women may not have fully known the extent and/or activity of previous criminal behaviour within their families which may have affected the precision of the data obtained. The researcher was unable to interview woman offenders who had committed sexual offences as none volunteered while the researcher was at the facilities, thus female sexual offenders did not make up part of the sample. From the researcher's observation, many women feared exposing details of their crimes and therefore opted not to participate in the interviews.

Because the interviews were face-to-face, the women's hesitation could have been heightened as there was no anonymity during the interview and this could have played a factor in the researcher missing the target respondent rate. The researcher sometimes waited a long time for women to volunteer themselves to be interviewed. Another limitation was that the researcher was finalising her data gathering when South Africa went into Level 5 lockdown due to the Coronavirus pandemic. This meant that restrictions were placed on visitors, including researchers, to access correctional centres thus the researcher was unable to meet the desired respondent number and missed the target by four respondents.

4.9 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher provided a detailed discussion of the methodological procedures used in the study. A quantitative research methodology was employed. The research was basic in nature and it was mainly descriptive with exploratory elements. A survey was used for data collection and face-to-face interviews were conducted in order to obtain the data from the respondents. Respondents were selected using the non-probability sampling method using the availability and voluntary sampling technique. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences was used to analyse the data. Validity was ensured through face-to-face interviews, content and construct validity while reliability was ensured by including questions that related to the objectives of the study, removing unclear items and conducting a pilot study. The ethical considerations that the study adhered to were also discussed. Lastly, the limitations observed from the research methods and throughout the study were outlined. The results obtained from the interviews are discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5: EMPIRICAL RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter focuses on the presentation of the data gathered from female offenders. The results are numerically depicted in tables and figures. The data were collected using a structured questionnaire that was administered during face-to-face interviews. The literature review, the aim as well as the objectives of the study guided the formulation of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was divided into four sections and the results are presented according to these sections. Section A covered the biographic details of the respondents; Section B consisted of information on the respondent's upbringing; Section C related to the respondents' previous and current convictions and arrests; and Section D explored family criminality and how that criminality might have influenced the respondents' criminality.

5.2 Biographic and background information

The study consisted of 66 female respondents. The age of the respondents ranged between 18 and 66 (Table 1). Nearly two in five (n=25; 37.8%) of the respondents were between the ages of 31 and 40 and five (7.5%) of the respondents were 61 years or older. The majority (n=53; 80.3%) of the respondents were African and 13 (18.8%) of the respondents spoke IsiZulu. Over three quarters (n=52; 78.8%) of the respondents were South African and a fifth (n=14; 21.2%) were foreign nationals. Almost half (n=32; 48.5%) of the respondents were born intermediary. More than two in five (n=28; 42.4%) respondents had some secondary schooling and a quarter (n=17; 25.8%) had either a certificate, diploma or degree. Of those who had qualifications, 51 (77.3%) respondents obtained their qualifications prior to incarceration. Over half (n=35; 53.0%) of the respondents were single and the majority (n=56; 84.4%) of the respondents had children.

Table 1: Biographic and background information of respondents

	n	%
Age:		
18-20	1	1.5
21-30	12	18.1
31-40	25	37.8
41-50	16	24.2
51-60	7	10.6
61 and older	5	7.5

Table 1 continued

	n	%
Population group:		
African	53	80.3
White	7	10.6
Coloured	3	4.5
Indian	2	3.0
Asian	1	1.5
Home language:		
IsiZulu	13	18.8
English	10	14.4
IsiXhosa	8	11.5
IsiNdebele	7	10.1
Foreign languages	7	9.8
SePedi	6	8.6
Afrikaans	4	5.7
TshiVenda	4	5.7
SeTswana	4	5.7
XiTshonga	3	4.3
SeSotho	3	4.3
Birth order:		
First born	18	27.3
Intermediary	32	48.5
Last born	15	22.7
Father's intermediate, mother's first born	1	1.5
Highest qualification:		
Some primary schooling	7	10.6
Some secondary schooling	28	42.4
Matric	11	16.7
Certificate/Diploma/Degree	17	25.8
Postgraduate degree	3	4.5
When qualification was obtained:		
Prior to incarceration	51	77.3
While incarcerated	12	18.2
Prior to and while incarcerated	3	4.5

Table 1 continued

Marital status:		
Single	35	53.0
Married	11	16.7
Widowed	9	13.6
Divorced	6	9.1
Separated	3	4.5
Dating/Partnered	2	3.0
Do you have children?		
Yes	56	84.4
No	10	15.2
If yes, how many:		
One	18	32.1
Two to five	35	62.5
More than five children	3	5.4

Nearly half of the respondents (n=30; 45.5%) were permanently employed prior to incarceration while nearly a fifth (n=12; 18.2%) were unemployed (Table 2). Pertaining to their economic backgrounds, 40 (60.6%) respondents grew up in middle-income homes and 21 (31.8%) came from low-income homes. Two in five (n=29; 41.4%) respondents grew up in a township while nearly a third (n=21; 30.0%) grew up in an urban area.

Table 2: Livelihood prior to imprisonment and economic background

	n	**%**
Occupation prior to imprisonment:		
Permanently employed	30	45.5
Unemployed	12	18.2
Self-employed	11	16.7
Part-time worker	10	15.2
Student	2	3.0
Contract worker	1	1.5
Economic status grew up in:		
Low income	21	31.8
Middle income	40	60.6
High income	5	7.6

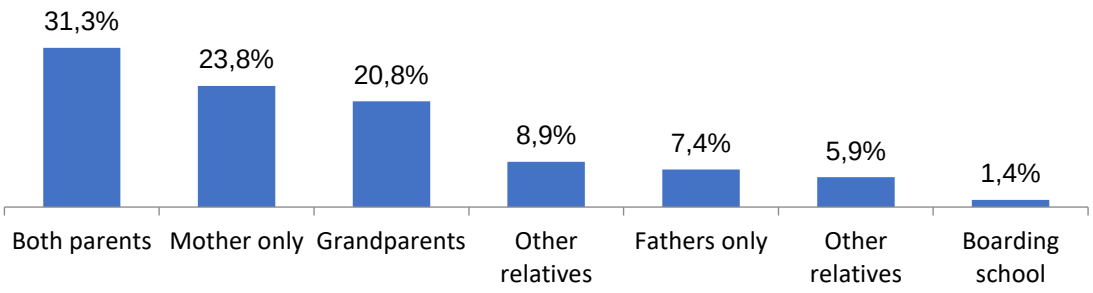
Table 2 continued

Type of area grew up in:		
Township	29	41.4
Urban	21	30.0
Rural	19	27.1
Informal settlement	1	1.4

5.3 Family background

Nearly one in three (n=21; 31.3%) respondents were raised by both parents while 23.8% (n=16) were raised by their mothers only (Figure 1). Grandparents raised 14 (20.8%) of the respondents.

Figure 1: How the respondents were mainly raised



Nearly a third (n=22; 31.8%) of the respondents grew up in a family home while more than a quarter (n=19; 27.5%) of the respondents grew up in a nuclear family (Table 3). Seventeen of the respondents (24.6%) were raised by single parents. Prior to their incarceration, 28 (34.5%) respondents lived with their children and 30.8% (n=25) lived with their partners.

Table 3: Household structure in which respondents grew up

	n	%
Household while growing up:		
Family home	22	31.8
Nuclear family	19	27.5
Single parent home	17	24.6
Blended family	4	5.7
Siblings (child-headed household)	2	2.8
Grandparents	2	2.8
Foster care	1	1.4

Table 3 continued

	n	%
Grandparents' workplace	1	1.4
Grandparents and helpers	1	1.4
Household prior to incarceration:		
Children	28	34.5
Partner	25	30.8
Alone	8	9.8
Siblings	5	6.1
Family home	4	4.9
Single parent home	3	3.7
Friends	2	2.4
Nuclear home	1	1.2
Blended family	1	1.2
Grandparents' workplace	1	1.2
Sisters' family	1	1.2
Family and tenants	1	1.2
Children and grandchildren	1	1.2

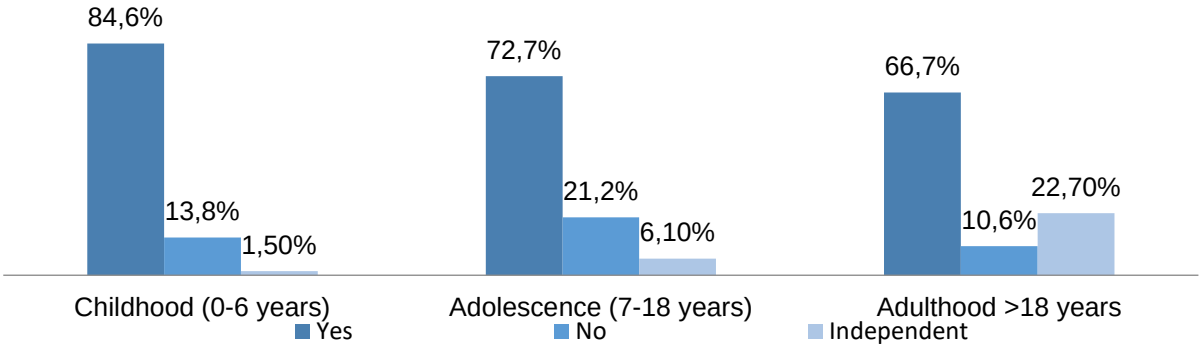
Half (n=33; 50%) of the respondents' parents were married during the respondents' childhood (Table 4). At least 36.4% (n=24) of respondents' parents were married when the respondents were in their adolescent stage. Twenty (30.3%) of the respondents' parents were married while the respondents were in their adulthood.

Table 4: Parents relationship status from childhood to adulthood

	Childhood (0-6 years)		Adolescence (7-18 years)		Adulthood (>18 years)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Married	33	50.0	24	36.4	20	30.3
Separated	2	3.0	4	6.1	3	4.5
Divorced	7	10.6	9	13.6	9	13.5
Cohabitating	3	4.5	2	3.0	1	1.5
Dating	1	1.5	-	-	-	-
Not involved	13	19.7	14	21.2	15	22.7
Repeated change of union	5	7.6	6	9.1	8	12.1
They didn't live together	1	1.5	1	1.5	-	-
Widowed/Widower	1	1.5	5	7.6	8	12.1
Both died	-	-	1	1.5	2	3.0

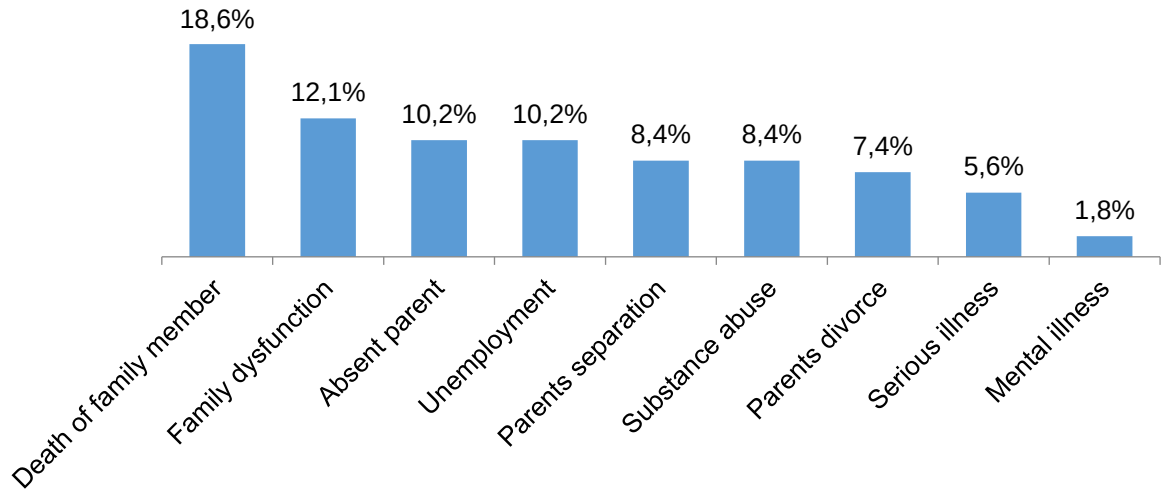
In relation to the distribution of resources (money, food and clothes), 55 (84.6%) respondents noted a fair distribution of resources in their childhood and 48 (72.7%) experienced a fair distribution of resources in their adolescence (Figure 2). Two-thirds (n=44; 66.7%) of the respondents had fair distributions of resources in their adulthood and less than a fifth (n=15; 22.7%) of the respondents were independent in their adulthood.

Figure 2: Distribution of resources (childhood, adolescence and adulthood)



Looking into the disruptions in their family lives, eighteen respondents (16.8%) had no family disruptions. Of the respondents who reported disruptions, nearly a fifth (n=20; 18.6%) reported the death of a family member while growing up and very few (n=2; 1.8%) of the respondents were exposed to mental illness (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Disruptions in family life



Over two thirds (n=46; 69.7%) of the respondents were raised by authoritative parents during their childhood (Table 5). Two in three (n=44; 66.7%) respondents had authoritative parents in their adolescence and 65.2% (n=43) of the respondents had authoritative parents in their adulthood. When it came to supervision, 87.8% (n=58) of respondents were always supervised in their childhood and 40 (60.6%) respondents were always supervised in their adolescence.

Table 5: Parenting styles and supervision

	Childhood (0-6 years)		Adolescence (7-18 years)		Adulthood (>18 years)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Parenting styles:						
Authoritarian	9	13.6	10	15.2	8	12.1
Authoritative	46	69.7	44	66.7	43	65.2
Permissive	4	6.1	5	7.6	7	10.6
Uninvolved	-	-	2	3.0	4	6.1
Authoritarian/Authoritative	2	3.0	1	1.5	-	-
Authoritative and permissive	1	1.5	1	1.5	1	1.5
Authoritative and uninvolved	3	4.5	3	4.5	3	4.5
Permissive and uninvolved	1	1.5	-	-	-	-

Table 5 continued

	Childhood (0-6 years)		Adolescence (7-18 years)		Adulthood (<18 years)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Supervision:						
Always	58	87.8	40	60.6	15	22.7
Very often	2	3.0	2	3.0	1	1.5
Sometimes	4	6.1	15	22.7	15	22.7
Rarely	-	-	2	3.0	5	7.6
Never	2	3.0	6	9.1	30	45.5
Does not remember	-	-	1	1.5	-	-

A fifth (n=19; 20.8%) of the respondents received attention and affection from their biological mothers while 31.5% (n=23) of their mothers also instilled discipline (Table 6). Nearly a quarter (n=16; 23.5%) of the mothers did not give the respondents attention, 12 (17.9%) of the respondents had conflicts with their mothers and 13 (18.8%) respondents reported having controlling mothers.

Table 6: Relationships with family members

	Attention and affection		Instilled discipline		Did not give attention		Had conflicts		Was controlling	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Biological mother	19	20.8	23	31.5	16	23.5	12	17.9	13	18.8
Stepmother	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	1	1.4
Foster mother	1	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Biological father	10	10.9	14	19.1	14	20.5	8	11.9	3	4.3
Stepfather	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	1	1.4
Both biological parents	7	7.6	6	8.2	1	1.4	1	1.4	-	-
Biological sister	12	13.1	3	4.1	2	2.9	8	11.9	5	7.2

Table 6 continued

	Attention and affection		Instilled discipline		Did not give attention		Had conflicts		Was controlling	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Stepsister	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	1	1.4
Biological brother	9	9.8	6	8.2	2	2.9	7	10.4	4	5.7
Stepbrother	-	-	1	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Biological siblings	2	2.1	2	2.1	2	2.9	1	1.4	1	1.4
Step siblings	1	1.0	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	-	-
Grandmother	12	13.1	4	5.4	1	1.4	-	-	-	-
Grandfather	2	2.1	2	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Both grandparents	3	3.2	1	1.3	-	-	-	-	1	1.4
Female cousin	2	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Male cousin	2	2.1	1	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aunt	6	6.5	3	4.1	4	5.8	2	2.9	5	7.2
Uncle	1	1.0	4	5.4	1	1.4	1	1.4	1	1.4
No one	1	1.0	3	4.1	22	32.3	25	37.3	33	47.8
Twin brother/sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.4	-	-

A quarter (n=16; 24.4%) of the respondents were victims of abuse (Table 7) and more than two in five (n=8; 44.4%) of the respondents were abused by their aunts and uncles respectively. More than a quarter (n=9; 26.4%) of the respondents were sexually abused while 23.5% (n=8) of the responents were physically and emotionally abused respectively. More than half (n=9; 52.9%) of the respondents reported their abuse while almost half of the respondents (n=8; 47.1%) did not. Two in five (n=4; 40.0%) respondents reported the crime to their parents and to the police respectively.

Table 7: Childhood abuse

	n	%
Have been a victim of abuse/violence	16	24.4
Have not been a victim of abuse/violence	50	66.6
Perpetrator:		
Aunt	4	22.2
Uncle	4	22.2
Male cousin	2	16.6
Biological mother	2	11.1
Stepfather	1	5.5
Biological father	1	5.5
Biological brother	1	5.5
Type of abuse:		
Sexual	9	26.4
Physical	8	23.5
Emotional	8	23.5
Verbal	5	14.7
Financial	4	11.7
Frequency of abuse:		
Always	6	20
Very often	13	43.3
Sometimes	5	16.6
Rarely	6	20
Was the abuse reported:		
Reported	9	52.9
Not reported	8	47.1
Reported to:		
Parents	2	20
Police	2	20
Both grandparents	1	10
Other relatives	1	10
Neighbours	1	10
Social worker	1	10
Grandmother	1	10
Uncle	1	10

5.4 Respondents' previous and current convictions and arrests

Less than one in five (n=11; 16.7%) respondents were found guilty of a previous offence. Nearly two in five (n=24; 36.3%) respondents were between the ages of 21 and 30 when they were first arrested (Table 8). Five (45.5%) of the respondents were previously arrested for theft. The number of times respondents committed their previous offences varied, with five (45.5%) respondents committing their previous offence only once while four (36.4%) respondents committed their previous offence between two and five times. Over half (n=6; 54.5%) of the women with previous convictions were sentenced to imprisonment.

Table 8: Previous convictions

	n	%
Age when first arrested:		
<18	2	3.0
18-20	4	6.0
21-30	24	36.3
31-40	20	30.3
41-50	13	19.6
51-60	2	3.0
61-65	1	1.5
Type of crime:		
Theft	5	45.5
Financial crimes	2	18.2
Shoplifting	2	18.2
Drug-related offences	1	9.1
Robbery	1	9.1
Frequency:		
Once	5	45.5
Two to five times	4	36.4
Six to ten times	1	9.1
More than ten times	1	9.1
Sentence:		
Imprisonment	6	54.5
Fined	2	18.2
Probation	1	9.1
Withdrawn	1	9.1
Place of safety	1	9.1

Table 8 continued

	n	%
Number of years for imprisonment:		
Less than 6 months	2	28.5
Between 6 months and one year	2	28.5
2 to 5 years	2	28.5
More than 5 years	1	14.2

Two in five respondents (n=31; 41.8%) were currently convicted for murder/conspiracy to commit murder/attempted murder while 11 (14.8%) of the respondents were convicted for financial crimes (Table 9). Nearly half of the respondents (n=30; 45.5%) committed the crime alone while 54.5% (n=36) of the respondents committed the crime with others. More than a quarter (n=22; 28.5%) of the respondents committed their crime for financial gain, more than a tenth (n=9; 11.6%) of the respondents were protecting themselves and a tenth (n=8; 10.3%) of the respondents claimed to have not committed the crime.

Table 9: Current offences

	n	%
Current offences:		
Murder/Conspiracy to commit murder/Attempted murder	31	41.8
Fraud/ Money laundering / Embezzlement	11	14.8
Robbery	9	12.1
Theft	8	10.8
Drug-related offences (possession, trafficking or use)	5	6.7
Shoplifting	3	4.0
Human trafficking, Kidnapping	2	2.7
Housebreaking	2	2.7
Mob justice	1	1.3
Possession of/use of illegal weapon or firearm	1	1.3
Child neglect/abuse	1	1.3

Table 9 continued

	n	%
Reasons for committing the crime:		
Financial gain	22	28.5
Self defence	9	11.6
Did not do it	8	10.3
Anger	7	9.0
Peer pressure	5	6.4
Support	4	5.1
Drug abuse	2	2.5
Bored	2	2.5
Mob justice	2	2.5
Trying to sustain a high standard of living	2	2.5
Fighting	1	1.2
Opportunity	1	1.2
Impulse	1	1.2
Unintentional	1	1.2
Revenge	1	1.2
Intoxication	1	1.2
Provoked	1	1.2
Forced	1	1.2
For admiration	1	1.2
Selfish	1	1.2
Lack of judgement	1	1.2
Desperation	1	1.2
Favour for someone	1	1.2

The majority (n=62; 93.9%) of the respondents had contact with their families and very few respondents (n=4; 6.1%) did not (Table 10). Nearly a third (n=64; 31.6%) of the respondents had contact with their biological siblings, 31 (15.3%) respondents had contact with their children while 26 (12.8%) had contact with their biological mothers. Half (n=31; 50.4%) of the respondents had contact through phone calls of which 25 (22.7%) of the respondents received calls every weekend/once a week while 17 (15.4%) respondents got visits every other weekend/twice a month.

Table 10: Contact with family members

	n	%
Family members:		
Biological sister	32	15.8
Biological brother	32	15.8
Children	31	15.3
Biological mother	26	12.8
Biological father	16	7.9
Cousins	14	6.9
Aunt	13	6.4
Uncle	9	4.4
Niece	9	4.4
Nephew	8	3.9
Grandmother	6	2.9
Foster sister	2	0.9
Grandchildren	2	0.9
Foster mother	1	0.4
Twin sibling	1	0.4
Type of contact:		
Calls	54	50.4
Visits	52	48.5
All (calls, visits and letters)	1	0.93

5.5 Family criminal background

Four (6.0%) of the respondents had been asked to do something illegal by a family member while a majority (n=62; 93.9%) had not. Three quarters (75.0%) of the respondents who were asked to do something illegal, were asked by male family members (Table 11). Two of the four (50.0%) respondents were asked to commit an economic crime. All (n=4; 100%) of the respondents knew at the time they were asked that the act was illegal. Two (50.0%) respondents said the person who asked them to commit the crime was there during the commission of the crime while the other two (50.0%) respondents said the crime did not happen. One (25.0%) respondent committed the crime out of financial need and one respondent (25.0%) out of impulse.

Table 11: Crimes coerced by family members

	n	%
Family members who coerced illegal act:		
Uncle	1	25.0
Biological brother	1	25.0
Male cousin	1	25.0
Aunt	1	25.0
Type of crime:		
Financial crimes	2	50.0
Murder	1	25.0
Rape/sexual assault	1	25.0
Reason for committing the crime:		
Financial gain	1	25.0
Impulse	1	25.0

Half (n=35; 52.2%) of the respondents had a family member who had been in contact with the law (Table 12). A quarter (n=11; 26.2%) of those 35 respondents said a male cousin had been in contact with the law while nearly one in five (n=9; 21.9%) respondents had biological brothers who had been in contact with the law. More than half (n=25; 59.5%) of the respondents' family members who had contact with the law were convicted, one in five (n=9; 21.4%) of the family members had only been arrested and nearly a fifth (n=8; 19.0%) of the family members were just accused of committing a crime. More than a tenth (n=6; 13.3%) of the family members committed rape or sexual assault while 11.1% (n=5) committed an assault/assault GBH/fighting and/or a financial crime respectively. Half (n=21; 51.2%) of the family members who have a criminal history were sentenced to imprisonment while a quarter (n=10; 24.3%) of their charges were dismissed or discharged. Of those who were imprisoned, 20% (n=4) of the family members were imprisoned for between 15 and 20 years.

Table 12: Crimes committed by family members

	n	%
Family member with criminal history:		
Male cousin	11	26.2
Biological brother	9	21.9
Uncle	8	19.5
Biological mother	3	7.3
Biological father	3	7.3
Step-brother	2	4.8
Biological sister	1	2.4
Female cousin	1	2.4
Step-uncle	1	2.4
Adopted uncle	1	2.4
Niece	1	2.4
Type of crime:		
Rape/sexual assault	6	13.3
Fraud/Money laundering/Embezzlement	5	11.1
Assault/Assault GBH/Fighting	5	11.1
Theft	4	8.8
Robbery	4	8.8
Does not know	4	8.8
Murder/Attempted murder/Conspiracy to commit murder	3	6.6
Drug-related offences (possession, trafficking or use)	2	4.4
Domestic violence	2	4.4
Malicious damage to property	1	2.2
Political reason	1	2.2
Bombing an ATM	1	2.2
Housebreaking	1	2.2
Driving under the Influence	1	2.2
Hijacking	1	2.2
Gang-related activities	1	2.2
Alleged foreign immigrant	1	2.2
Hacking	1	2.2

Table 12 continued

	n	%
Sentence:		
Imprisoned	21	51.2
Dismissed/Discharged	10	24.3
Fined	4	9.7
Suspended sentence	3	7.3
Warning	1	2.4
Does not know	1	2.4
Years of imprisonment:		
Less than 6 months	3	15.0
More than 6 months, less than a year	2	10.0
Between 2 and 5 years	2	10.0
Between 5 and 10 years	1	5.0
Between 10 and 15 years	1	5.0
Between 15 and 20 years	4	20.0
Between 20 and 25 years	2	10.0
Does not know	5	25.0

Nearly two in three (n=27; 64.3%) of the family members engaged in criminal activities while the respondent was growing up. More than three quarters (n=32; 78.0%) of the respondents were not aware of the criminality while growing up while seven (17.1%) respondents were aware of it. A third (n=14; 34.1%) of the family members with a criminal history had broken the law more than once. More than half (n=22; 53.6%) of the respondents were younger than 18 years when the family member was incarcerated while eight (19.5%) of the respondents were between the ages of 21 and 30 years (Table 13).

Table 13: Respondents' age when family member was incarcerated

	n	%
Age:		
Younger than 18	22	53.6
18–20 years	3	7.3
21–30 years	8	19.5
31–40 years	5	12.1
41–45 years	2	4.8
Does not remember	1	2.4

Nearly two thirds (n=26; 63.4%) of the respondents had a close relationship with the family member with a criminal history while 15 (36.6%) of the respondents did not. More than half (n=23; 63.8%) of the respondents did not have contact with the family member while they were incarcerated and 13 (36.1%) of the respondents maintained contact with the family member (Table 14). Nine (30.0%) respondents visited the family member, four (13.3%) respondents called and another tenth (n=3; 10%) of the communication was through social workers. Three (10%) respondents visited the family member every other week/twice a month, two (6.6%) respondents visited or called only once and two (6.6%) called every day.

Table 14: Contact with family member

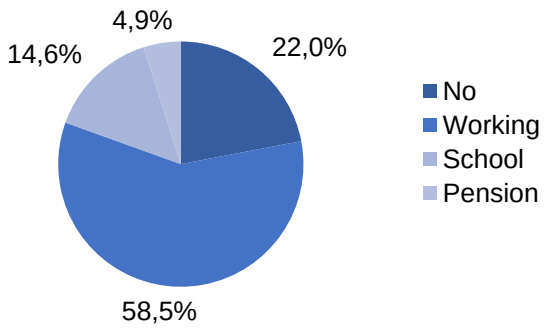
	n	%
Contact with incarcerated family member:		
No	23	63.8
Yes	13	36.1
Kind of contact with incarcerated family member:		
Visits	9	30
Calls	4	13.3
Through social workers	3	10
Letters	1	3.3

Table 14 continued

	n	%
Frequency of contact with incarcerated family member:		
Visits every other weekend/twice a month	3	10
Visited/called once	2	6.6
Called every day	2	6.6
Called two/three times a month	1	3.3
Visits every weekend	1	3.3
Visits thrice a month	1	3.3
Visits quarterly	1	3.3
Visits twice a year	1	3.3
Letter once a month	1	3.3

Half (n=21; 51.2%) of the respondents with a history of family criminality said the relationship with the said family member had changed since the respondent was incarcerated while 48.8% (n=20) of the respondents maintained that the relationship had stayed the same. More than a fifth (n=9; 22.0%) of the relationships ceased or changed because the family member passed away during the respondent's incarceration and nine (22.0%) were not as close as they used to be. Of the relationships that stayed the same, 19.5% (n=8) were still close to the family member while 19.5% (n=8) never had a close relationship and still do not have one. Two in five (n=16; 40%) of the family members with a criminal history were from the respondents' maternal side of the family while nearly one in three (n=13; 32.5%) were biologically related to the respondent. More than half (n=24; 58.5%) of the family members were working at the time of the family members' arrest (Figure 4).

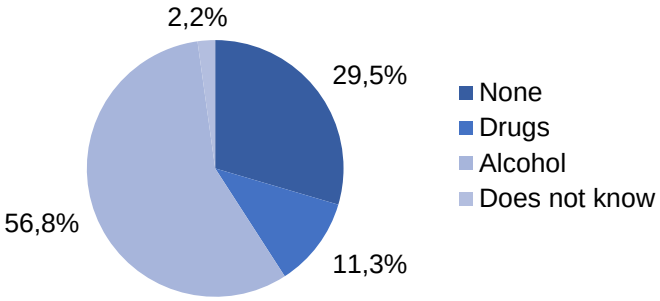
Figure 4: Family member working/going to school at the time of their arrest



Over half (n=25; 56.8%) of the family members with a criminal history drank alcohol while 13

(29.5%) did not consume alcohol or use drugs and five (11.3%) used drugs (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Family member who committed a crime use drugs or consume alcohol



Nearly one in five (n=13; 19.7%) respondents thought that their families had an influence on their criminal behaviour while four in five (n=53; 80.3%) respondents did not agree (Table 15). Six of the 13 respondents (n=6; 42.9%) blamed their families as they felt they had no support from their families, they felt rejected and the family environment made them want to escape from it. More than a quarter (n=15; 28.3%) of the respondents did not blame their family for their criminality as their families were not aware of their criminality neither did they approve of crime..

Table 15: Do respondents correlate their criminality to their familial backgrounds?

	n	%
If yes, please elaborate:		
No support from family/the family environment made her want to get away.	6	42.9
Family issues/ financial pressures to support the family.	3	21.4
Anger/home environment made her angry or unhappy.	2	14.3
Grew up without parents that affected the environment and lifestyle.	1	7.1
Family could have stuck up for her more when it came to her arrest/case.	1	7.1
Felt the need to buy love which resulted in criminality for money.	1	7.1

Table 15 continued

	n	%
If so, why not?		
The family had no idea of and did not approve of her criminality	15	28.3
Grew up in a supportive family where they were taught to do right.	10	18.8
She insisted on staying with abusive partner/hid the abuse from her family.	7	13.2
Peer pressure/being rebellious	7	13.1
Family was not very close but the family still supported her and raised her.	3	5.6
Personal greed	2	3.7
They are responsible; as an adult they know what is right and wrong.	2	3.7
They thought of the crime on their own with no one's help.	2	3.7
Wrongfully accused/wrong place at the wrong time/guilty by association.	2	3.7
Drug addiction caused her criminality.	1	1.8
They planned it with their in-laws.	1	1.8
Family could not have done anything to prevent her actions.	1	1.8

5.6 Summary

The results in this chapter were attained from women incarcerated at Kgosi Mampuru II Female and the Johannesburg Female Correctional Centres. The findings of the study were presented in tables and graphs. The results were presented in the following order: biographic and background information, family background, respondents' previous and current convictions and arrests and the families' criminal background. In the following chapter, the researcher discusses the results in relation to the aims and objectives of the study and provides recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The current study focused on exploring family criminality amongst incarcerated women. Chapter 1 explained the rationale, aim and objectives of the study, and included the methodological procedures applied in the study and the operational definitions of concepts used throughout the dissertation. Chapter 2 included the review of the literature relevant to the study. Chapter 3 provided an overview of the feminist school of Criminology and Carlen's feminist control theory, while the social control and bonding theory were used to explore the relationships between female offenders and their families. The methodological procedures used in the study, the study limitations as well as the ethical considerations were discussed in Chapter 4. The data were presented in Chapter 5. The final chapter comprises the discussion of the results obtained.

The focus of the present chapter will be to answer the research question of the study, which was: *What are the potential linkages between female offenders' criminality and their families' criminal histories?*

The objectives of the study included creating a profile of the types of offences committed by imprisoned women, determining the characteristics of the families of female offenders prior to their contact with the criminal justice system and describing the criminal activities, arrest and prison histories of female offenders and those of their family members. Furthermore, the last objective of the study was to determine whether female offenders consider family criminality as a contributing factor to their own offending behaviour. The chapter is laid out according to the objectives of the study. The chapter will conclude with recommendations regarding future research.

6.2 Types of offences committed by imprisoned women

Women commit various types of crimes, even crimes that were previously associated with men. One in six (16.7%) of the female offenders in the current study have been found guilty of a previous offence. The more risk factors there are, the earlier the women receive their first sentence (Lane, 2003:7). Only a few women's criminality started at an early age (3.0%) as they were arrested before the age of 18 years. This supports the findings by Lilies (2015:106) where four of 18 women with a history of delinquency started engaging in crime from age seven to 12 and in Steyn and Booyens (2017:44) where five of 31 women were younger than 15 years of age at the time of their first arrest. Similar to findings by Steyn and Booyens

(2017:56), the previous offences of the female offenders in the current study included theft (45.5%), financial crimes (18.2%) and shoplifting (18.2%). Almost half (45.5%) of the female offenders in the current study committed their previous offences once while 36.4% committed their previous offences between two and five times. Van Dijk et al. (2019:353) also reported about two out of 25 girls who were suspects of three or more crimes and one girl who spent time in prison. Concerning imprisonment, two in five (38.8%) of the women in the current study had been imprisoned before. Having previous offences relates to the women's lifestyles, their habits, addictions, familial environment and economic deprivation (Hesselink & Mostert, 2014:40). The familial background is important as women with convicted family members have higher rates of reconviction on release (Taylor-Kindrick, 2010:89; Williams et al., 2012:24).

Most women in the current study were incarcerated for murder (41.8%) followed by fraud/money laundering/embezzlement (14.8%) and robbery (12.1%). These results lead to the question whether women have become more violent or if the way the system deals with violent women have increased their statistics (Frieburger, 2016:121). Studies have reported high rates of general violent crimes, murder or attempted murder, theft, manslaughter, malicious damage which included domestic violence, unlawful wounding, which was limited to family and miscellaneous crimes such as infanticides, abortions, robbery and aggressive robbery amongst women (Dixon et al., 2004:1151; Twea, 2013; Burton et al., 2005:48-49; Prinsloo 2016:205). For the violent offences, a tenth (11.6%) of the female offenders claimed to have been protecting themselves when they committed their crimes and 9.0% killed out of anger. These results show that the female offenders committed the crimes as a reaction to assault/abuse, feeling constrained from dealing with their situation (Barzano, 2012:82) and defending themselves (Reddi, 2005:270). The high levels of violent crimes for women may be due to their crimes being taken more seriously, as in the past, any violent act by a woman towards a man would be taken as a minor offence but today those actions are recorded as serious violent offences (Freiburger, 2016:120).

Women's motives for economic crimes may range from financial need, trying to impress and keep romantic partners, providing for themselves and their families, an individual's attitude and history with crime, and a lack of skills (Hesselink & Mostert, 2014:39; Barzano, 2012:82). Women's education, employment and economic history are important in understanding their crimes (Dastile, 2010:102). Less than a fifth (18.2%) of the women in the study were unemployed, 28 (42.4%) had only some secondary schooling (Grades 8-11) and 51 (77.3%) obtained their qualifications prior to imprisonment. Two in five women (42.4%) did not acquire a matric qualification, therefore it can be assumed that the low education levels would limit those women's abilities to get into the workforce or the work they would get would be low

paying, low-skilled work. Dastile (2010:102) reports that women who were unemployed with less formal education committed economic offences. Dastile's (2010) observation supports the results found in the current study as more than a quarter (28.55%) of the women committed their crime for financial gain with a fifth (21.4%) of the female offenders citing financial pressures from their families.

6.3 Family background of female offenders prior to contact with the justice system

Effective parenting may result in the discontinuity of intergenerational criminality (Shlafer, 2010:33). A study by Wei (2014:79) proved that, in single-parent and cohabitating families, there was a fivefold increase in females being convicted in adult court. The results of the current study support the aforementioned as roughly one in five (23.8%) female offenders were raised by their mothers only and one in three (31.3%) were raised by both parents. It is not uncommon to have other family members raise the children as Liles' (2015:102) study reports that six of the 18 women with a history of delinquency were raised by siblings, aunts, grandparents, foster care and some were acting as parents themselves. Similarly, one in five (20.8%) of the female offenders were raised by their grandparents. When it comes to creating healthy relationships, in two-parent homes the children may favour one parent over the other while, in a single-parent home, it is hard for the parent to form intimate bonds with their children (Wei, 2014:13). Furthermore, a third (31.8%) of the female offenders in the current study grew up in family homes (where other family members also reside) while more than a quarter (27.5%) grew up in a nuclear family. Having other family members in the house may affect a child's growth and development as the parents are not the only ones with an influence on the child (Wei, 2014:11).

Changes in the family structure or between parents affect the bond between juveniles and the parent's ability to enforce rules, supervision and sanctions which may cause delinquency (Wei, 2014:11). The marital status of parents is a family risk factor that directly affects family members (Lane, 2003:8). In the present study, the percentages of married parents decreased from childhood (50%), adolescence (36.4%) and adulthood (30.3%).

Associations between generation one and two and criminality may depend on the level of disruption brought by criminal behaviour on the family system (Shlafer, 2010:30). Changes in life circumstances, including environmental conditions, family income and employment opportunities, impact on the transmission of criminal behaviour from one generation to the next (Shlafer, 2010:34). When personal factors, such as low self-control, combine with

unhealthy environments filled with violence, substance abuse and absent parents, this may lead to criminal behaviour (Maree, 2013:89). Disruptions in the women's family lives came in different forms including the death of a family member (18.6%), family dysfunction (misbehaviour, violence, conflict) (12.1%), unemployment (10.2%) and absent parents (10.2%). These disruptions rob children of very important and valuable relationships that may be detrimental to their upbringing. The chaotic environment created by factors such as violence, conflict or unemployment, leads to uncompassionate children who do not trust anyone, therefore facilitating their delinquent behaviour (Yablonsky, 2000:315). Nearly one in five (16.8%) of the female offenders in the current study reported having no family disruptions while growing up. Their deviant behaviour was likely influenced by other role players outside of the family who were reported by the women to include abusive partners (13.2%), pressure from friends (7.5%), their own choices (9.3%), in-laws (1.8%) and drug use (1.8%). Other personal risk factors that may influence criminality include impulsivity, gang activity, drinking, drunk driving, smoking, use of leisure time and other anti-social attitudes and mental health issues (Taylor-Kindrick, 2010:63-64; Booth et al., 2008:448).

Roughly two thirds (69.7%) of the women in the current study had authoritative parents in their childhood (69.7%), adolescence (66.7%) and adulthood (65.2%). Parents or guardians bear the burden of keeping their children in check and that includes supervising them. The lack of proper supervision and discipline in a household in early and middle adolescence might lead to homeless children who turn to crime to survive (Bezuidenhout, 2013:162). The female offenders did not seem to have supervision issues as the majority (87.8%) were always supervised in their childhood and nearly two in three (60.6%) were always supervised in their adolescence. Adults do not require supervision and almost half (45.5%) of the women reported no supervision in their adulthood. The lower supervision rates in adulthood meant that the women's actions were subjected to less scrutiny which may have played a role in the women being involved in criminality. Unlike the female offenders in the current study, the respondents in Burton et al. (2005:13) reported that their parents were unable and unwilling to provide adequate supervision causing the women to engage in anti-social behaviour and associate with peers who had a negative influence on them (Burton et al., 2005:14). Peer influence and exposure to other anti-social activities may have contributed to the female offenders' decisions in adulthood.

In Booth et al. (2008:448), attachments to parents did not affect serious/risky behaviour which may be due to how parental attachments were measured. Contrary to the study by Booth et al., Anderson-Bond's (2009:75) study reports that most measures of parental warmth and supervision had a direct effect on offending. Of all the family members, biological mothers

(20.8%) ranked the highest in giving the female offenders attention and affection in the current study, while almost a third (31.5%) of the biological mothers also instilled discipline. Sisters (13.1%) and grandmothers (13.1%) ranked closest to the biological mothers with attention and affection. Women seem to be the highest-ranking positive relationships in a child's life as can also be seen in Hurd et al. (2009:783) where 56% of the females' role models were mothers/stepmothers, 11% were sisters, 9% were grandmothers, 8% were aunts and 3% were cousins. The current study also contradicts Hurd et al. (2009) as mothers ranked higher than other family members as not giving the female offenders enough attention (23.5%), having the most conflict with the female offenders (17.9%) and wanting to control them (18.8%). The current study supports Booth et al. (2008) as even with stronger attachments to the women in their lives, the female offenders were not afraid of breaking those strong bonds. In addition to the mothers in the current study, a fifth (20.5%) of the women got no attention from their fathers, which could have had an impact on the choices they made. The damage that occurs to a child with an absent father includes lack of supervision, provision, neglect of the child's emotional needs due to lack of attention and affection, the child's lack of manners and respect for elders and a lack of guidance which results in misconduct, abuse of drugs and alcohol, and social and cultural isolation (Eddy et al., 2013:30-31; Makusha & Richter, 2018:59). Similarly, the offenders in Burton et al. (2009:29) were less likely to have received emotional and financial support from their fathers.

Another important factor in a women offender's life is abuse that may have an effect in two ways – the female offenders may grow up around abuse or they could be victims of abuse. In literature such as Burton et al., 2005; Burton et al., 2009; Laster, 2008; Taylor-Kindrick, 2010 it is noted that abuse is a risk factor to criminality (). Chen and Gueta (2016:38-39) report that female inmates whose parents were involved in substance abuse and crime had higher rates of both emotional and sexual abuse than males with similar family histories. Similarly, Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2013:29) report that girls are more likely than boys to be the victims of family-related sexual abuse. While the parents/guardians are still legally responsible for these girls, it makes it hard for the girls to get help or run away, therefore forcing them to stay at home where the perpetrator has access to them (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013:30). Laster (2008) examined factors related to female delinquency on 280 women. His study showed that sexual and physical abuse were significant factors for women's delinquency. Concerning abuse, one in four (24.4%) of the female offenders in the current study have been victims of abuse in their households while two thirds (66.6%) experienced no abuse. In another study with relatively lower occurrences, Steyn and Booyens (2017:42) reported 19 (16%) of 120 women having experienced abuse. A quarter (26.4%) of the women who were abused in the

current study were sexually abused while nearly one in four (23.5%) were physically and emotionally abused with a fifth (22.2%) of the perpetrators being aunts and uncles. Abuse has adverse effects that may cause young women to run away from the sexual abuse at home and rely on crime to survive in the streets (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2013:28). As mentioned before, after being failed by all the social aids available to them, some female offenders turn to violence to deal with their challenges (Pretorius & Bester, 2009:373). Supporting the aforementioned, some of the female offenders in the current study have a history of reporting their abuse to social entities including, amongst others, parents (20.0%), the police (20.0%) and social workers (10.0%).

6.4 Criminality, arrest and prison histories of family members

The criminal history of a family member is an important risk factor for younger generations (Farrington et al., 2001:593) with the arrest of any relative, particularly the father, before a boy turns 13 predicting the boy's delinquency. Half (53.7%) of the female offenders in the current study were younger than 18 years when a family member was arrested. In Burton's (2009:35) study, the respondents reported knowing family members who engaged in illicit activities that could get them into trouble and that imprisonment was a common experience for some family members. Coinciding with that finding, a little over half (52.2%) of the female offenders in the current study had a family member who was in contact with the law. A study by Bhandari (2018:111-112) showed lower rates than the current study with only 16.67% of the women having a history of some kind of crime in their families. Most literature reports that family members with a history of criminality are either parents, siblings or grandparents (Junger et al., 2013; Farrington et al., 2009; Shlafer, 2010). The current study produced different results as the family members who ranked the highest in having a history of criminality included male cousins (26.2%), biological brothers (21.9%) and uncles (19.5%). Brothers have been reported in previous literature to be one of the top family members to have a criminal history (Steyn & Booyens, 2017; Malherbe & Haefele, 2014; Modie-Moroka, 2003).

Similar to Junger et al. (2013), female offenders in the current study reported family members who have been convicted (59.5%), arrested (21.4%) and/or accused of an offence (19.0%). The literature records family members having a history of crimes such as domestic violence, murder, theft, driving under the influence and drug possession/dealing (Da Costa et al., 2018; Malherbe & Haefele, 2014; van Dijk et al., 2019). More than a tenth of the family members included in the current study with a history of criminality committed rape or sexual assault (13.3%) while very few committed an assault/GBH/fighting (11.1%) and/or fraud/money laundering/embezzlement (11.1%) respectively. The seriousness of the family members'

violent, aggressive and/or economic crimes showed by half of them being sentenced to imprisonment (51.2%). Furthermore, a quarter 24.3%) of the family members' charges were dismissed and/or discharged and less than a tenth (9.7%) only received fines.

Williams et al. (2012) report that family members who had been in contact with the law were more likely to re-convict following their release from custody. To confirm this, more than a quarter (34.1%) of the family members from the current study had broken the law more than once. Pre-adolescent and adolescent respondents in Giordano's study (2010:139) indicated that they understood why their parent was incarcerated or taken away which shows the children's level of awareness. Contrary to this finding, nearly two in three (64.3%) of the family members from the current study engaged in criminal activities while the women were growing up but more than three quarters (78.0%) of the women were not aware of the criminality at the time. Thus, the effect of the family member's criminality may be limited as the women were unaware of the criminality.

6.5 Family criminality as contributing factor to criminal behaviour

In addition to some of the women growing up in single-parent homes, having no close relationships with their fathers, experiencing abuse, family dysfunction and unemployment, another important familial factor that is crucial to the child's criminality is exposure to family criminality. The effects of generation one on generation two's criminality may depend on the children's direct exposure to their family member's criminal behaviour (Shlafer, 2010:31). Direct intergenerational criminality may occur when the adult physically induces a child into criminal behaviour. Artz et al. (2012:98) report that women who experience unhealthy relationships with the male figures in their lives were sometimes asked by their fathers to cover up for their criminal activities. In Frank's study (2006:17), 21 of 41 women were coerced and/or threatened into committing crimes. Similarly, although with fewer respondents, four (6.0%) of the female offenders in the current study were asked to do something illegal by a family member, particularly male family members such as uncles, biological brothers and male cousins (75.0%). Bhosle's study (2009:132) shows familial criminal influence with a quarter of the respondents having committed their crimes with a family member. The female offenders in this study were asked to commit crimes that included economic crimes (50.0%), murder (25.0%) and sexual assault (25.0%). All four female offenders knew at the time they were asked that the act was illegal which is similar to 39% of the respondents in (Frank, 2006) who decided to participate in what they knew was a criminal act. One of the women in the current study went through with the crime because of financial need while the other participated out of impulse. Other reasons for women to go through with criminal acts include poverty, neglect,

abuse, a lack of guidance, family excusing criminal behaviour and the family making the women feel guilty for wanting basic necessities (Frank, 2006:17). Half of the current study's women offenders (6.0%) reported that someone coerced them into committing the crime which coincides with Bhosle findings (2009:132) that a quarter of their respondents committed their crimes with a family member. In terms of familial influence, it may be easier for older or more experienced family members to use less experienced or more vulnerable family members to help them with their crimes.

In their study, Steyn and Booyens (2017) found a significant association (p=0.003) between having a family member who was arrested and the women's own previous arrest record. Nearly one in five (19.7%) female offenders in the current study thought their families influenced their criminal behaviour while four in five (80.3%) women did not. With these figures, even with the evidence of familial criminality, most of the female offenders' involvement in criminality was not greatly influenced by their families. With brothers having high percentages of criminality but low attachments with the female offenders, their criminality may not have been a direct influence on them unlike some respondents in Artz et al. (2012:97) who viewed their experiences of having parents and siblings who were involved in crime as the turning point in their lives, which contributed to their criminality. The difference between Artz et al. (2012) and the current study is that the female offenders may have underestimated the effect that a criminal family member had on their values and decisions (Artz et al., 2012:80). Furthermore, Artz et al. (2012:17-18) used qualitative measures in their study incorporating life mapping, journal writing and focus group discussions which inspired the women to reflect on their lives and created an environment for deeper conversations and realisations for the women.

Of the 19.7% of the women who held their families accountable for their criminality, more than two in five of the women (42.9%) felt they had no support from their families; they felt rejected and expressed that the environments they came from made them want to get away. A majority (80.3%) of the women did not hold their families accountable for their criminality. Over a quarter of those women (28.3%) expressed that they committed their crime for themselves, their families did not approve of any criminality and had no idea of the woman's actions.

6.6 Theoretical framework

6.6.1 Feminist school of thought

Since the feminist school of thought introduces the background and history of how female

offenders were treated and perceived by traditional Criminology scholars, it is used to explain the behaviour of the female offenders in the current study. The feminist school of thought looks at the way in which gender roles affect behaviour or decision making, considers how the female offenders were socialised and the environments they grew up in. The family, being the genesis of the women's socialisation, was the focus of this study. As mentioned above, the majority of the women were of the opinion that nothing about their families influenced their criminal behaviour. Taking note of when, under what circumstances and the effects of women's liberation provides a framework for understanding the female offenders.

From the inception of feminism in Criminology, only white women were given attention, but the current study included the history of women from multiple population groups, the majority being African women (80.3%). As women's liberation came when women joined the workforce, the majority (78.9%) of the female offenders were working in some capacity. The female offenders' gender roles have changed as they are now working mothers and partners and not only home makers. Some of the women are not mothers nor do they have partners. Feminist Criminology allowed the researcher to investigate the women's motivations for committing crimes, which were mostly financial reasons (28.5%), the types of crimes women commit, which were mostly murder (41.8%) and economic offences (37.7%), and the economic situation the women lived in prior to their deviancy (Van Gundy, 2016:19). After gaining an understanding of the women's backgrounds, the feminist control theory justified the women's satisfaction with their current social status and how they dealt with difficulties in their lives.

6.6.1.1 Feminist control theory

The feminist control theory provides an explanation of why the female offenders engaged in criminality without a background of family criminality or with weak familial bonds (Carlen, 1987:130). The main determinant of criminality was the women's poor skills and low education which led them to commit crimes for financial needs. This shows a level of dissatisfaction with their current earnings as a large portion of them were working or unemployed. The feminist control theory posits that the workplace has a role in the women's criminality as they have more opportunities to commit financial crimes (Carlen, 1987:130). As much as the workplace is supposed to be a way for the women to be productive members of society, it also became way for them to participate in crime. The women did not conform to societal rules as they were not beneficial to them. Most of the women were convicted for murder related charges, a crime which is not generally associated with women. This also shows how women have disregarded societal expectations of their behaviour. The class deal seems to have been more impactful than the gender deal in the current study as the women were willing to risk their reputations at

home and within society by committing their crimes. Exploring the feminist perspective through theories such as the social control and bonding theory, which were predominantly tested on men/boys, also provided an opportunity for female offenders to be better understood.

6.6.2 The social control and bonding theory

The social control and bonding theory was used as a framework in the current study to explore the relationships female offenders had with their families. The researcher's intention in using this theory was to measure whether the familial attachments, commitments to, involvements in and beliefs around societal rules, norms and activities had an impact on the women's criminality. The researcher focused on events and developmental stages in families that typically have an impact on an individual's life.

Firstly, the familial attachments and bonds which influence how an individual internalises and relates to societal rules. The female offenders received attention and affection mostly from their biological mothers, biological sisters and grandmothers. With the women not ranking high in criminality, two in five (40%) of the family members with a criminal history were from the respondents' maternal side. Nearly two in three (63.4%) of the female offenders claimed to have had a close relationship with the family member with a criminal history. Not any relationship but only a cohesive one with strong emotional bonds and ongoing investment should be expected to influence offending (Nielsen, 2018:336).

Secondly, commitment to conventional activities affects how people choose to behave in society. The women reported low rates of formal education which, together with low skills' levels, may have resulted in low quality work opportunities. Only 16.7% of the women attained a matric and 42.4% had some secondary schooling (up to grade 11). The women were either permanently employed (45.5%), self-employed (16.7%), part-time workers (15.2%) and/or contract workers (1.5%). The women did not have access to finances at the workplace or they had a low income and were enticed by other opportunities to make money. Half of the family members with a criminal history (58.5%) were also working at the time of their arrest. Being an employed functioning member of society or losing their families approval were not deterring factors for the women or their family members.

The third aspect is involvement in conventional activities with other law-abiding peers which should result in the female offenders being occupied and focused on conventional activities. There were women who reported having previous offences (16.7%) and most women (92.4%) reported not being coerced and/or asked to engage in criminality by a family member. Lastly,

beliefs that relate to how an individual values and accepts societal rules. From the female offender's results, the women's beliefs were not influenced by their families. The women had their own motives, thoughts and attitudes of their criminality.

6.6.3 Adult-onset theory

The social control and bonding theory did not provide the expected results on the female offenders in the current study. Less than a tenth of the women were directly coerced by family members into criminality, the women's familial environments did not necessarily propel them into criminality and 80.3% of the women did not relate their criminality to familial influence. The good relationships or bonds the women had with their family members did not buffer their choices to commit crime. To make sense of the results obtained, the researcher employs the adult-onset theory that focuses on individuals who started offending as adults rather than as juveniles (McGee & Farrington, 2010:530). As an adult, the stronger the ties to entities, such as work and family, the less crime would be expected from an individual (Sampson & Laub, 2005:15). In earlier years, Laub & Sampson (1993:303) suggested that an individual may engage in criminality and deviance when their bond to society is weak or broken. Social ties that are formed in adulthood, such as marital attachment, job stability and a lack of social membership, explain variations in crime unaccounted for by childhood propensities (Sampson & Laub, 2005:16; McGee & Farrington, 2010:531). During childhood, there may be protective factors such as parenting styles (supervision, warmth, consistent discipline) and emotional attachments to parents as well as school attachment (Sampson & Laub, 2005:15). Variations in adult crime unexplained by childhood behaviour are directly related to the strength of adult social bonds (Laub & Sampson, 1993:319-320). Individual traits and childhood experiences are important for understanding behavioural stability as experiences in adolescence and adulthood can redirect criminal trajectories positively or negatively (Sampson & Laub, 2005:16).

Adult onset or late starters are women who are usually 21 years or older who did not present problem behaviour before the age of 21 (Zara & Farrington, 2009:297; Zara, 2012:85). Literature measures the adult age for adult-onset offenders differently. Thompson, Stewart, Allard, Chrzanowski, Luker and Sveticic (2014:2) and some developmental psychologists deem 18 as the adult age at which individuals have new rights and responsibilities and are legally regarded as adults. The majority (84.6%) of the women in the current study had their first arrest after the age of 21 but there are women who could have engaged in illicit behaviour in their childhood and adolescence that was not detected thus, they had no previous criminal records (Van Koppen, 2018:99). In this case, the crime committed would have a low detection

rate (McGee & Farrington, 2010:545).

Distributions of resources also decreased from childhood (84.6%), adolescence (72.7%) and adulthood (66.7%) with only a fifth of the women (22.7%) becoming independent in their adulthood. The diminishing availability of resources may be because of broken marriages and/or one parent being left alone to provide for the family. As the women matured, their families seemed to slowly disintegrate. Not only were there shifts at home but, with growth, life demands changes. The women each had their own experiences of puberty, school, working and dating stages which affected them individually (Wei, 2014:1). It is possible that those who were provided for in their households started their criminality when they entered the adult stage. To support this assumption, the researcher notes that 24.6% of the female offenders in the current study were first arrested between the ages of 26 and 35 and they lived with their children (34.5%) and/or partners (30.8%) at the time of their incarceration. While fighting for independence, dealing with family demands and other societal pressures, they may have turned to crime to survive, albeit murder in the case of abusive relationships or economic crimes because of financial need. If early family instability does not directly contribute to adult criminality, it may fuel adult crime by undermining the transition into adult experiences that may curtail it (Bosick & Fomby, 2018:1484).

Employment affects adult onset offending as in McGee and Farrington's study (2010:544) where the late starters were disproportionately responsible for theft from work or fraud offences. Late starters tend to have unskilled, low paid and unstable jobs (Zara & Farrington, 2010:271) and the educational history of the female offenders shows that they fall into this category. Combined, nearly a quarter of female offenders (24.8%) committed theft or fraud. McGee and Farrington (2010:545) advise that more research should focus on whether most adult-onset offenders are employed.

By enhancing psychological resilience and teaching educational and employment skills, adult-onset offending may be preventable (Zara & Farrington, 2010:271). Adult-onset offenders are also characterised by family adversities such as physical neglect, poor relations with parents, low economic backgrounds, neuropsychological challenges, unemployment and drug use (Zara & Farrington, 2010:270). Other family adversities include the deaths of family members (18.6%), family dysfunction (12.1%), absent parents (10.2%) and unemployment (10.2%), amongst others. Not only were the women experiencing changes at home but also in the social settings that come with adulthood (work, relationships and social membership). Looking at the marital statuses, only 11 of the female offenders were married, 35 were single, six were divorced and three were separated from their partners. There did not seem to be attachments

to romantic relationships for the women offenders.

6.7 Recommendations

When it comes to criminological theories, female offenders should be regarded as entities that are independent from their male counterparts. New developing theories, such as adult-onset offenders, may aid the current theories explaining female behaviour or criminal behaviour in general. The next important factor is the families, which are an essential part of any individual, their socialisation and who they grow up to be. Families should be given more attention, not only as the focus of research, to explain or predict behaviour but for law enforcers and decision-makers as well. If preventative or mediating resources are put in place in vulnerable families where there is evidence of active criminality at an early stage, intergenerational criminality may be limited. Gender specific measures are needed to help women who have experienced trauma or abuse in society in all stages of their lives, from childhood to their adult relationships. If it is known that the family is not the risk factor, other societal factors, such as low education, unemployment and poverty, need to be addressed to minimise adult-onset criminality. Rehabilitating female offenders may not have a positive effect if they have to go back to the same environments with the same problems.

6.8 Conclusion

To explore family criminality in female offenders' lives, 66 female offenders were interviewed and asked questions to establish the family ties they had and how those family ties and relationships had affected their criminality. Most of the female offenders had attachments and bonds to the women in their lives whereas most of the family members with a criminal history were male cousins, brothers and uncles. Brothers, being siblings, may have an effect as literature suggests that if one sibling is involved in crime, the other siblings may be involved as well. With the close ties with the women figures failing to deter the women from criminality and 40% of the family members with criminal histories being from the maternal side of the family, fathers seemed to be mostly absent. Fathers were the least likely to give the women attention and a father's absence or passive existence in a child's life affects the child negatively. With nearly two in three of the female offenders claiming to have had close relations with the family member with a criminal history, the female offenders may be undermining the effects of having criminality around them. Only a small percentage of the family members had directly influenced the women by enticing them to commit a crime.

The crimes commonly committed by the female offenders were violent and economic offences. Almost half of the family members were sentenced to imprisonment suggesting the

seriousness of their offences. Instead of the family members being the influencers of the women's criminality, the researcher came to the realisation that other societal and financial pressures mostly contributed to the women's criminality. As the women became adults, they were introduced to other stresses such as having to take care of and support children, having to keep up a home and dealing with romantic partners. Adulthood comes with other societal pressures that include peer pressure, wanting to fit in and financial concerns. The women wished to have more in life but had no lawful way of attaining it. In conclusion, the study suggests that the women's familial backgrounds and the existence of family members with a history of crime did not have an influence on most of the female offenders' criminal trajectories.

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Appendix A: Informed consent

Researcher: **Ms Lerato Seshigwana**
Contact number: **0845322910**
Email address: **u13198824@tuks.co.za**
Supervisor: **Prof Francois Steyn**

INFORMED CONSENT

1. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to intensely look at the familial background of women offenders from a social control and bonding perspective. Moreover discern if a history of criminality within the family has potential linkages and correlations with the women offender's criminal behaviour. Thus also adding to the meagre of knowledge available on women offenders.

2. Procedures

I, the respondent, understand that I am requested to take part in the study about potential linkages between imprisoned women offenders' criminality and their family's criminal histories. I understand that I will take part in an interview at my correctional facility in a time that suits me. I understand that I will be interviewed by a Criminology postgraduate student from the University of Pretoria. I am willing to spend sufficient time with the researcher in order for her to gather information from me. My answers will be recorded on a questionnaire.

3. Possible risks

I will not be physically harmed, and it is not the intention of the researcher to hurt my feelings or cause any harm whatsoever. I understand that there is a possibility of experiencing emotional distress as a result of the sensitive nature of the topic under discussion. However, I will tell the researcher about the emotions I experience during and after data collection. I understand that the researcher will have a social worker available for me should I need further counselling.

4. Benefits of participation

I understand that there is no compensation, whether financial or material, for participating in the research. I understand that by participating, or choosing not to participate, my circumstances within the correctional facility will remain unaltered.

5. Rights as a respondents

I understand that my participation in the research inquiry is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the inquiry at any time without explanation or negative consequences. In the event of me withdrawing from the inquiry, all data collected from me will be destroyed.

6. Anonymity and confidentiality

I understand that the completed questionnaire will be used for research purposes only and all information will be kept confidential. I understand that my name or any information that could identify me will not be recorded on the questionnaire. My name and surname will not be made known in the student's dissertation or any subsequent publications.

7. Contact details

I can contact the researcher if I have any questions or concerns relating to the study. The researcher's email address is u13198824@tuks.co.za and her phone number is 0845322910.

The social workers name is Poopedi Lehlogonolo Kwena. Her email address is poopedilk@gmail.com and her phone number is 0767613876.

8. Data storage

I understand that the completed questionnaires will be stored for a period of 15 years at the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria, as stipulated in their policy, for archiving purposes. I understand that the collected data could be used for research outputs and future research.

9. Permission for participation in the research study

I understand what the study is about, and I am participating on a voluntary basis.

_____ _____

Respondent **Date**

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Date	
Prison	
Questionnaire number	

Section A: Background information

1. Age	

2. Population group			
African		White	
Indian		Coloured	
Other, please specify:			

3. Home language	

4. Nationality	South African		Non-South African		

5. What is your birth order?	First born		Intermediate		Last born		

6.1. Highest qualification obtained			
Some primary schooling		Some secondary schooling	
Matric		Certificate/Diploma/Degree	
Postgraduate degree		None	

6.2. When was the qualification obtained?	Prior to incarceration		While incarcerated		

7. Marital status											
Single		Dating/Partnered		Married		Separated		Divorced		Widowed	

8. Do you have children? If yes, how many?				
Yes		No		If yes, how many:

9. Occupation prior to imprisonment?									
Unemployed		Permanently employed		Part-time worker		Contract worker		Self employed	

10. What type of economic status did you grow up in?					
Low		Middle		High	

11. What type of area did you grow up in?							
Urban		Township		Informal settlement		Rural	

Section B: Previous and current convictions and arrests

12. How old were you when you were first arrested?	Age:

13. Apart from the current sentence, have you ever been found guilty of an offence before:	Yes		No	

If yes, what type of offence/s were you previously convicted for?				
	First offence:	Second offence:	Third offence:	Fourth offence:
Frequency				
Once				
2-5 times				
6-10 times				
More than 10 times				
Sentence				
Fined				
Juvenile detention/youth corrections				
Probation/parole				
Community service				
Imprisoned; number of years:				

14. What offence are you currently convicted for?	

15. Did you commit this crime alone?	Yes		No	

16. Why did you commit the offence you are currently convicted for?			
Opportunity		Unintentional	
Peer pressure		Bored	
Drug use		Revenge	
Power/control		Anger/frustration	
Thought I would get away with it		Intoxication (drugs/alcohol)	
Thrill/excitement		Provoked	
Financial gain		Sexual relief	
Impulse		Forced/coerced	
Self defence		For admiration	
To support my family/children		Other, please specify:	

17. Do you currently have contact with any of your family members?	Yes		No	
If yes, which family members?				
Mother/step mother		Cousins		
Father/step father		Aunt		
Sister/step sister		Uncle		
Brother/step brother		Niece		
Grandmother		Nephew		
Grandfather		Children/step children		
Others, please specify:				

18. What type of contact do you have?	Calls		Visits		Letters	
19. How often is the contact?						

Section C: Family background

20. Who mainly raised you:	Both mother & father		Siblings	
	Mother only (foster, step and adoptive)		Other relatives	
	Father only (foster, step and adoptive)		Other, please specify:	
	Grandparents			

		Single parent home	Nuclear family (parents and children)	Blended family (step children and step parents)	Family home (lived with relatives)	Foster care	Adopted	Children	Partner	Friends	Alone	Other, please specify:
21. What type of household:	21.1. While growing up											
	21.2. Prior to incarceration											

22. What was your parents relationship status:							
	Married	Separated	Divorced	Cohabitating	Dating	Not involved	Repeated change of union
Childhood (0-6 years)							
Adolescence (7-17 years)							
Adulthood (<18 years)							

23. Was there a fair distribution of resources (money, food, clothes) and personal space in your:						
Childhood (0-6 years)	Yes		No			
Adolescence (7-17 years)	Yes		No		Independent	
Adulthood (<18 years)	Yes		No		Independent	

24. Where there any disruptions in your family life while growing up?					
Death of other family member		Serious illness		Parents' divorce	
Parent's separation		Absent parent		Mental illness	
Substance abuse (alcohol and illegal drug use)		Family dysfunction (misbehaviour, violence, conflict)		Unemployment	
Other, please specify:					

25.1. What kind of parenting style did your parents/guardians use?					25.2. How often were you supervised?				
	Authoritarian	Authoritative	Permissive	Uninvolved	Always	Very often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Childhood (0-6 years)									
Adolescence (7-17 years)									
Adulthood (<18 years)									

26.	27. Which of your family members would you say:																
	Mother/step mother	Father/step father	Both parents	Sister/step sister	Brother/Step brother	Siblings	Grandmother	Grandfather	Both grandparents	Female cousin	Male cousin	Aunt	Uncle	Niece	Nephew	No one	Other, please specify:
Showed you affection and attention (spent																	

time with you, always knew your whereabouts)																	
Instilled discipline																	
Did not give you attention																	
Had a lot of conflict with you																	
Wanted to control you																	

27. Where you a victim of any abuse/violence in your household?	Yes		No	

If yes: indicate the following:					
	Sexual	Physical	Emotional	Verbal	Financial
Perpetrators					
Person one:					
Person two:					
Person three:					
Frequency					
Always					
Very often					
Sometimes					
Rarely					
Never					

28. Was the abuse reported?	Yes		No		Tried		If yes or tried, to who:

Section D: Family criminal background

29. Has any family member asked you to do anything illegal?					Yes				No			
If yes, who?	Person one:		Person two:		Person three:		Person four:		Person five:		Person six:	
Specific crime:												
At the time did you know it was illegal/a crime?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
If yes, why did you do it anyway?												
Was the person there during the commission of the crime?	Yes	No	yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

30. Has anyone in your family been in conflict with the law?			Yes		No	
	Person one:	Person two:	Person three:	Person four:	Person five:	Person six:
Kind of conflict						
Arrested						
Accused						
Convicted						
Specific offences:						
Sentence						
Fined						
Community sentence						
Probation/Parole						
Imprisoned; number of years.						
Life sentence						

	Person one:			Person two:			Person three:			Person four:			Person five:			Person six:		
30.1. Was he/she engaging in criminal behaviour when you grew up	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No
30.2. Were you aware of his/her criminality?	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No
30.3. Have they broken the law more than once?	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No
30.4. How old were you when he/she was incarcerated?	Age:			Age:			Age:			Age:			Age:			Age:		
30.5. Did you have a close relationship with him/her?	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No
30.6. Did you have any contact with him/her while they were imprisoned?	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No
If yes, what kind of contact?	Calls	Visits	Letters	Calls	Visits	Letters	Calls	Visits	Letters	Calls	Visits	Letters	Calls	Visits	Letters	Calls	Visits	Letters
Frequency of contact:																		
30.7. Has your relationship changed from the time he/she got incarcerated to the time you got incarcerated?	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No	Yes		No
Substantiate answer:																		
30.8. Is he/she from your maternal or paternal side of the family?	Maternal		Paternal	Maternal		Paternal	Maternal		Paternal	Maternal		Paternal	Maternal		Paternal	Maternal		Paternal
30.9. Was he/she working/going to school at the time of their arrest?	No	Work	School	No	Work	School	No	Work	School	No	Work	School	No	Work	School	No	Work	School
30.10. Did he/she use drugs or consume alcohol?	None	Drugs	Alcohol															

40. Do you think your family had an influence on your criminal behaviour?	Yes		No	
If yes, please elaborate:				
If not, why so?				

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Humanities 100.
1919 - 2019
Research Ethics Committee

4 November 2019

Dear Miss L Seshigwana

Project Title:	Family criminality as trajectory to female criminal behaviour
Researcher:	Miss L Seshigwana
Supervisor:	Prof F Steyn
Department:	Social Work and Criminology
Reference number:	13198824 (HUM022/0619)
Degree:	Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 31 October 2019. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely

Prof Maxi Schoeman
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

correctional services
Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O WF Nkomo and Sophie De Bruyn Street, PRETORIA
Tel (012) 307 2770

Ms L Seshigwana
21154 Bufferzone
Mamelodi East
0122

Dear Ms L Seshigwana

RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON: "FAMILY CRIMINALITY AS TRAJECTORY TO FEMALE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR"

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been approved.

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- This ethics approval is valid from **16 October 2019 to 15 October 2021.**
- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Ms ME Motsamai: Regional Head, Corrections, Gauteng region.**
- You are requested to contact her at telephone number (012) 420 0169 before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your interviewing times.
- Your identity document/passport and this approval letter should be in your possession when visiting the Correctional Centre.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) and the Correctional Services Act (No.111 of 1998) e.g. "Offenders" not "Prisoners" and "Correctional Centres" not "Prisons".
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits, however the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication (including presentation at workshops, conferences, seminars, etc) of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the DCS REC Administration for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2770.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully

N Lebogo

N LEBOGO
ACTING DC: POLICY COORDINATION & RESEARCH
DATE: 16/10/2019