Women's Offending:
Trends, Issues and Theoretical Explanations

Margaret Liddell[1], Marietta Martinovic[1]

ABSTRACT

Women are being incarcerated in increasing numbers in Western countries, predominately for minor offences such as drug and property offences. Offending patterns of women relate to property, fraud, theft, deception, minor assaults and drug related crime. There is also a strong link between women's socio-economic status, illicit drug (and alcohol) use. In addition a perception exists that women are becoming more violent as a result of being violently abused by others in the past. Early feminist theorists believed that the increase in women's crime was related to women's equality and liberation. If this is the case can we blame this increase on feminist theory and the increased equality of women? Or is the explanation more complex? This paper contends that it is not possible to consider the current trends in women's offending in a vacuum - there needs to be theoretical explanations about what is happening. If we can't explain why women offend, the logic (and thus success) of what we do may be accidental and haphazard rather than clearly planned.

Keywords: **Offending women, offending patterns, feminism**

[1] *RMIT University, Melbourne*

1. INTRODUCTION

There is a view among theorists and researchers that women's offending is linked to their economic marginality and the ways they attempt to cope with poverty (Chesney-Lind, 2007; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004). Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2004) produced statistics showing that every 15 seconds a woman is beaten and that women in 1999 accounted for 85% of all victims of domestic violence. They cite statistics about the levels of rape and violence of women by intimate partners. These facts can be supported, for example, by current Australian statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2011a; Australian Institute of Criminology [AIC], 2009; Holmes, 2010). Taken together current and historical facts provide a powerful indicator that women unlike men infrequently resort to violence even to save their own lives (see also van Wormer, 2010). Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2004) believe it is surprising that women do not commit more serious crimes such as murder. For example, in the United States in 2001 only 14% of those arrested for murder were women (Chesney- Lind & Pasko, 2004). They indicate there has been little attempt to understand why offending patterns for both men and women are so different, with murder and other violent crimes being the province of men. As later discussion will show there has been an increasing number of women committing violent crime (the numbers are however still low). It is important to ask why this has occurred and if there is a link between this and the violence that women experience. Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2004) allude to this being a possibility. Is it possible though to reconceptualise the issue and consider there may be some truth in Alders' (1975) thesis that this could be due to more women reasserting themselves and retaliating against abuse and violence? The former argument is not about women's assertiveness and/or changing roles but about a response to violence; the latter argument is about women's assertiveness and thus provides a quite different context for women's increased violence.

The criminal offending of both girls (preferably called 'young women') and women shows that their contact and involvement in the criminal justice system is relatively minor. Their offending patterns are concentrated around relatively minor offending yet they tend to be interpreted in the same way as men's offending (Carrington, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 2007; Chesney- Lind & Pasko, 2004; Gelsthorpe, Sharpe & Roberts 2007). This has frequently meant that not only have women had limited access to services outside prison, they have had

limited appropriate services in the prison system as well as at post release (Convery, 2009; Sheehan, McIvor & Trotter, 2007).

In Australia and internationally there has been a steady increase in women committing criminal offences. Early feminist theorists believed that the increase in women's crime was related to women's equality and liberation (Alder, 1975; Simon, 1976). If this is the case can we blame this increase on feminist theory and the increased equality of women? Or is the explanation more complex?

To answer these questions this paper will commence with background information, then consider the characteristics and patterns of female offending. It will be argued that it is not possible to consider current trends in women's offending in a vacuum. Alternative theoretical explanations about women's offending need to be considered and debated.

2. BACKGROUND

Although statistics show there is an increase in women committing criminal offences this data is difficult to compare across different jurisdictions either in Australia or with other Western countries. Further, detailed statistical information is not current, with the most recent in Australia being from the AIC (2009) and Holmes' New South Wales (NSW) study (2010). The exception to this is the statistical profile of women in prison.

Of interest is that much of the information collected by police on offending does not provide any breakdown according to gender.[2] It is known that there are more male than female offenders (ABS, 2011b; AIC, 2009; Holmes, 2010) in Australia with women's offending patterns being concentrated around relatively minor offending. While this could be considered as positive, its impact is that most women offenders are marginalised and their crimes have been understood in the same way as those of male offenders (Carrington, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 2007).

---

[2] For example the Victoria Police data base Law Enforcement Assistance Program (LEAP) data base provides extremely complex and detailed reports but provides no reference to gender and offending patterns. It does however provide comprehensive information of women as victims of crime (Victorian Police Statistics, 2011)

Holmes' study (2010) shows that in NSW in the 10 year period to 2009 just under 20% of all offenders then were female, and the number of female offenders increased by 15% over the previous decade (on average, up 1.5% per year), whereas the number of male offenders remained statistically stable. The proportion of female offenders increased, but only by 0.4% each year. Between 1999/00 and 2008/09 female offenders were most likely to shoplift, commit non-domestic and domestic violence assault, commit fraud, and possess and/or use drugs. However for all offences included in Holmes' analysis there were many more male offenders than females and this was the case even for shoplifting, which was the most prevalent offence committed by females. Alongside this there has been a significant increase in the sentencing and incarceration of women in Australia and internationally (ABS, 2011b; AIC, 2009; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004).

The increase in violent crimes committed by women seems to be consistent across some western countries (AIC, 2009; Convery, 2009; Chesney-Lind, 2007; Holmes, 2010; O'Brien, 2006; Rowbotham, 2011). Rowbotham (2011) comments that female violence is less culturally acceptable than male violence as it is difficult for society to accept violence from females since it is considered unnatural. She says that in consequence there is considerable reliance on external explanatory factors such as drug use or abusive upbringing. Chesney-Lind (2007, p. 258) states that the "girls' capacity for violence has historically been ignored, trivialized or denied". Rowbotham (2011) also refers to explanations which pathologise women offenders through, for example, debates about whether women offenders are "mad' or "bad" (see also Pasko, 2010).

The increased debates about women's offending tends to concentrate on young women and delinquency. This could be in part because:
- the majority of female offenders are juveniles (AIC, 2009; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Holmes, 2010)
- many make the transition from juvenile to adult offending and detention (Chesney-Lind, 2007; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Convery, 2009; National Crime Prevention Council of Canada, 1995)
- analysis of female offending is a recent phenomenon (Carrington, 2008) as observations of offending, especially by juveniles, have predominately focused on young men (Alder, 1997; Chesney-Lind, 2007; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004).

What is of interest is that there is little consensus about explanations of what leads women into criminal behavior. This paper attempts to fill this void.

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN OFFENDERS[3]

While there are only small numbers of women incarcerated in Australia and internationally, the characteristics of the population are of importance to policy makers and criminologists. If this is not understood appropriate policy and programmatic responses to such offending will be severely compromised. In addition failure to analyse these characteristics will perpetuate policy "gender blindness".

Research also demonstrates that many women who commit offences have been victims of sexual and physical abuse (Gelsthorpe, 2007; McIvor, 2007; Convery, 2009). In Western countries such as Australia, England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada and the United States fo America (USA) women experience higher levels of substance abuse and drug related offending than males (see AIC, 2009; Convery, 2009; Gelsthorpe, 2007; Holmes, 2010; O'Brien, 2006; van Wormer, 2010). This drug use often involves multiple substance dependencies; higher rates of infection with blood borne viruses; higher rates of mental illness and self harm; and higher reported rates of past childhood and adulthood abuse and poor physical health (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; NSW Department of Corrective Services 2006; McIvor, 2007).

Gelsthorpe et al., (2007) suggest that the high rates of substance abuse may be explained by women's previous life experiences of physical and sexual victimisation. In addition many women who offend are victims of sexual assault as well as victims of domestic violence (Fawcett Society, 2004; Holmes, 2010). Wincups (2000) views increased drug use as a coping mechanism for women offenders to deal with the pressures of daily life. Richie (1998 cited in Richie, 2000) adds that not only drug offences but also other nonviolent crimes are "survival crimes" that women commit to earn money, feed a drug-dependent habit, or escape terrifying intimate relationships and brutal social conditions. In addition she contends that

---

[3] Note that the following discussion is confined to an analysis of Western countries. It is not possible within the scope of this article to explore in detail profiles of women offenders from Middle East, some third world countries and some South East Asian countries.

Incarcerated women typically have a history of unmet social, educational, health, and economic needs, in addition to a history of victimization (Freudenberg, Willets & Green, 1998, cited in Richie, 2000, p. 7).

Chesney- Lind and Pasko (2004, p. 95) contend that girls' and women's crime 'is deeply affected by women's place' in society. Their view is that women who offend are marginalised and poor, having had little opportunity for formal education and/or the development of job skills (AIC, 2009; Chesney–Lind & Pasko, 2004; Gelsthorpe, 2007; McIvor, 2007; Richie, 2000; Sheehan et al., 2007). Australian statistics (AIC, 2009) confirm this. In 2008, 30 days before their arrest 75% of women incarcerated were in receipt of welfare or government benefits[4]. Their next most common source of income was family and friends (29%). Only 13% had a full time job 30 days before their arrest. In contrast 51% of men received a benefit; 38% were in full time work and 39% obtained money from family and friends. In addition, in Australia and other western countries black women are over-represented (as are their male counterparts) in the criminal justice system (Chesney-Lind, 2007; Roberts, Jackson, & Carlton-Laney, 2000), reinforcing arguments about poverty but in addition raising questions about connections between ethnicity and crime and/or ethnicity and surveillance.

Women also face particular needs in the area of motherhood, often being the primary carers for their children. There is a general consensus by researchers (see Chesney-Lind & Daly, 1998; Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Convery, 2009; Sheehan, et.al., 2007) that the needs of women in the criminal justice system are different from, greater than, and more complex than those of men. Further there is a prevalence of dual diagnoses, with mental disorders being found to be higher in the female prison population than the general population (Ogloff & Tye, 2007). While statistics show such disorders are experienced by men, they are higher for women in the prison population (AIC, 2009; Chesney-Lind & Pasko 2004; Fawcett Society, 2004; NSW Department of Corrective Services, 2006, Ogloff & Tye, 2007). The higher rate of women with mental illness on remand 'suggests that women with mental illness are likely to be arrested and incarcerated as a result of the mental illness and it's nexus with offending' (Ogloff & Tye, 2007, p. 152). Further, Talbot (2007, cited in Convery, 2010) reports that 70% of female sentenced prisoners suffer from two or more mental health disorders.

---

[4] In our home state of Victoria in 2006, 80% of women in prison were unemployed or not part of the labour force when in the community (Department of Justice, 2007).

4. WOMEN'S OFFENDING PATTERNS

Women's offending patterns are many and varied. In the western world the view is that the offending of women mirrors that of men. This of course is inaccurate. The offending profile of women of all ages is significantly different to men. Research shows that women are more likely to commit minor offences such as property, fraud, theft and deception (ABS, 2011b; AIC, 2009; Chesney- Lind & Pasko, 2004; Holmes, 2010). The lowest female offender crime rates are for robbery, homicide (less that 2% per 100,000) and sexual assault (fewer that 1 per 100,000) (AIC, 2009)[5]. As mentioned above there has been a significant increase in the number of women charged with drug offences (AIC, 2009; Convery, 2009; Holmes, 2010). Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2004, p. 100) state that the 'war on drugs has translated into a war on women'. It is hard to argue with this point given that many women are imprisoned for short periods of time for drug related offences. On the other hand it could be argued that 'war' implies intent (an easy feminist assumption), whereas what has happened might be an unintended consequence.

As well an increase in offending statistics in Australia and some Western countries (AIC, 2009; Convery, 2009; Department of Justice, 2010; Holmes, 2010; Rowbotham, 2011; van Wormer, 2010) show an increase in women committing violent crimes. In NSW over a 10 year period until 2008/2009 (Holmes, 2010) women increased their proportionate participation in shoplifting, breaching Apprehended Violence Orders (AVOs) and breaching bail conditions as well as the more violent offences of domestic and non-domestic violence, assault and assaulting police. However, they reduced their proportionate participation in fraud, liquor offences, offensive behaviour and burglary of dwellings. For all offences except prostitution, females were still a minority of offenders (Holmes, 2010). Of interest is that some of these crimes mirror the experiences of women, their marginalisation and disadvantage. For example there is a strong link between women's socio-economic status, illicit drug (and alcohol) use, and mental illness, although some of the other crimes are not so clearly explained this way.

Australia wide there has been an increase in the number of women charged and sentenced to prison, albeit that the numbers are small. In addition there has been a steep increase in female offenders who are imprisoned compared to males for whom the numbers increased more

---

[5] For example, men's most serious offences were intention to cause injury whereas women's most serious offence was involvement with illicit drugs.

gradually (ABS, 2011b). This increase was constant over a 10 year period. For example the ABS (2011b) figures show that between 2001 and 2011, the total number of prisoners increased 30%, from 22,458 to 29,106. Over the same period, the number of male prisoners increased 29% (from 20,953 to 27,078) and the number of female prisoners increased by 35% (from 1,505 to 2,028)[6].

Women are being incarcerated in increasing numbers for minor offences (drug and property) than ever before (Chesney-Lind & Pasko 2004; Department of Justice, 2007, 2010; Fawcett Society, 2004; NSW Department of Corrective Services, 2006). Further,

- Magistrates tend to incarcerate rather than fine women offenders - more women than men serving sentences have no previous convictions.
- Women's prison sentence length is often of short duration (NSW Department of Corrective Services, 2006).

We are seeing a trend both in Australia and internationally of women being sentenced to imprisonment more frequently (often for short durations) and in greater numbers (see AIC, 2009; NSW Department of Corrective Services, 2006). McIvor (2007) contends that the imprisonment of women is not due to serious offending but to their involvement in relatively minor offending. She infers that women are often given a higher penalty for a lesser crime. The impact of this can be significant if and when women reoffend as they will automatically be sentenced to imprisonment. Gelsthorpe (2007) referred to magistrates being punitive in their sentencing of women who in many instances are no threat to society. In addition sentencing seemed to depend on the way women present - for example if a woman was feminine (van Wormer, 2010) or demure in court she would be treated more leniently (Gelsthorpe, 2007). In contrast if a woman stepped 'outside the traditional role and presentation' (Gelsthorpe, 2007 p. 44) the opposite might occur. Further, the short sentences may include a lengthy remand period, hence the opportunity for intense intervention is small (NSW Department of Corrective Services, 2006). This can create issues for many women who leave prison with many unresolved issues and problems.

---

[6] It is important to mention here that notwithstanding this the overall numbers of men committing and being sentenced to incarceration is significantly higher than that of women. For example males comprised 93% (27,078) of the total prisoner population at 30 June 2011, while females comprised 7% (2,028). The imprisonment rate for males at 30 June 2011 was 314 prisoners per 100,000 adult males, 14 times the rate for females (23 female prisoners per 100,000 adult females) (ABS, 2011b).

5. WHY DO WOMEN OFFEND?

Early feminist theorists believed that the increase in women's crime was related to women's equality and liberation (see for example Alder 1975; Simon, 1976). If this is the case can we blame the increase in incarceration of women on feminist theory and increased equality for women? Or does the radical feminist explanation of women's criminality being due to their victimization and abuse within patriarchal systems of masculine power and privilege have some currency? Or do we have a gender-blind sentencing system as Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2004) believe? Should we have different, less punitive approaches for women offenders? If yes, how would they be implemented? Much of the theorising about women's offending concentrates on young women and delinquency. This is important, given that many make the transition from juvenile to adult offending and detention. But is this enough? Or might other theories provide us with an explanation of women's offending behaviour? The following briefly summarises key theories which are implied by the research evidence outlined.

5.1.1 Feminist theories

There are a number of these theories but little agreement about the extent and level of women's inequality. There is agreement in the feminist literature that women are oppressed, and that patriarchal structure of society perpetuates women's oppression. However the sources of this oppression and how it might be ended are also in dispute, (see Dominelli, 2002; Roberts et al., 2000). This general proposition may explain why magistrates sentence women in a punitive way although they are not really a threat to society but may be considered a threat because of their deviance from expected female norms (Gelsthorpe, 2007). Radical feminism builds on Marxist and Social feminism and provides a context for explaining women's offending behaviour resulting from women's oppressed position in a patriarchal society (Gelsthorpe, 2010). Radical feminism contends that the criminality of women is largely due to their victimization and abuse within a society where masculine power and privilege prevail (Chesney-Lind, 2006). This could provide an explanation why magistrates treat 'feminine' women more leniently than those who do not have these attributes.

In addition the oppression of women makes them vulnerable to physical violence, sexual assault and trauma (Hopkins & Koss, 2005), a viable perspective given research shows that many women are the victims of abuse and violence. It also could provide some explanation

for the increase in women's violent behaviour. It does not however explain why more women do not retaliate against abuse and violence perpetrated against them.

In addition, Marxist and Social feminism suggest that women's economic dependence on men could be abolished and this would eliminate the material basis for women's subordination (Walklate, 2004). This is an important consideration given that the majority of women who commit crimes are poor, and are often, given their limited finances, imprisoned for minor offences.

Postmodernism feminist theory suggests that power is constructed and therefore must be challenged from the position of difference (Dominelli 2002). Postmodernism is essentially a challenge to social constructs and to the way things are traditionally identified, viewed, and labelled. This is an important consideration as women's criminality has until recently been defined in masculine terms. In addition, responses to women's offending seems to be gender neutral or gender blind and women's needs and differences not considered. Women may then be labelled as deviant or dangerous without critical analysis of the process of labelling.

5.1.2 *Labelling theory*

The concept of labelling is not a contemporary phenomena. More latterly however feminist researchers believe that statutory welfare practice reinforces women's oppression and disempowers them through the labelling process. This can lead to and/or reinforce offending behavior. Self concept/social opportunities available to the offender are determined/influenced by labelling. Those that are labelled may seek out others who are similarly outsiders or involved in criminal activity (Becker, 2001; Cunneen & White, 2011). Given labelling and deviance are cornerstones of theories of delinquency do they have utility in explaining behaviours of young women? Society tends to view and treat female behaviour and criminality as a symptom of individual pathology rather than a symptom of, say, structural disadvantages in society.

6. WHAT ARE THE RESPONSES TO THIS OFFENDING?

Many researchers (Convery, 2009; Richie, 2000; Carrington, 2008; Chesney-Lind, 2007) consider that when sentencing female offenders the following should apply:

- gender is a special consideration warranting differential treatment; and

- women and girls who are caught up in the justice system enter it as a result of circumstances distinctly different from those of men, and find themselves at a distinct disadvantage.

What is of concern here though is that women should not just be treated differently in ways that disadvantages them, but in ways that enhance their reintegration into society (if they have been imprisoned). Developmental strategies are required that take into account their marginalization, victimization and lack of opportunities either before or early in their offending. This requires gender related responses that reflect the social realities of women (O'Brien, 2006) to enhance their successful community rehabilitation and reintegration.

Others suggest that women who offend should be diverted from the criminal justice system if they have mental illness (Ogloff & Tye, 2007). Further, there is still some suggestion that when women are treated differently this is the result of pathologising their behavior and offending (Gelsthorpe, 2007). Sheehan, et al. (2007) believe that women should be imprisoned as a last resort as they are rarely a threat to society and rarely do service responses provide adequate assistance and support either in a preventative or rehabilitative manner.

The planning of effective services, according to Hedderman (2004, p. 242) must be informed by increased knowledge and understanding of 'factors which are unique to, or more relevant for, women who offend', as opposed to the provision of programmes which focus on male criminogenic factors. It is also possible that factors in the socio-economic conditions and policies in different countries need to be considered as additional variables. Convery (2009) states that studies in Northern Ireland are highly limited yet the evidence base upon which they rely is gathered mainly from Britain, the USA and Canada. Many countries including Australia rely on evidence from elsewhere which may or may not be relevant.

Of considerable interest is that few policy makers consider the theoretical underpinnings that need to be addressed in order to adequately consider the responses and programmatic intervention required to either divert women from the criminal justice system or interrupt the offending patterns or both.

7. CONCLUSION

We do not yet have a comprehensive theoretical base – or set of explanations – to explain women's offending and compare and contrast it with men's. It is not yet clear whether a universal theory which fits all countries, all contexts and all conditions is feasible, appropriate or useful. In particular we are limited in our capacity to generalise because insufficient research has been conducted to enable us to be comfortable that findings in one country will apply to findings in another. However the evidence does suggest that a set of universal principles are worth consideration as each jurisdiction attempts – or should attempt – to explain women's offending and develop appropriate responses as a result.   This set of principles involves:

- Understanding the geo-political circumstances of a particular country and its broader economic and social policies, so that the impact of these factors on women and women's offending can be researched and factored into policy responses

- Understanding the general attitudes of a particular society towards women and how these may influence responses to their offending

- Understanding how women are labelled in that society, critically analysing the relevance and accuracy of such labels, and developing ways of communicating about women and their offending which moves beyond simple labels and towards greater relevance and clarity

- Understanding how women's roles in a society and their criminality are influenced by their power, changes in perceptions of their power, biology, economic circumstances, and particular events such as abuse and violence, shape their personal development, their responses to social and gender disadvantage, and their criminal behaviour

- Understanding how ethnic differences, including differences of colour, other physical characteristics, and religion, may influence attitudes to women in general in a particular society and attitudes towards their offending

- Explaining differences, and some of the diminishing differences over time, between male and female offending

It is critical to distil an understanding of how these factors should lead to theories which specifically explain women's offending rather than to make the historical mistake of assuming that factors explaining men's offending explain women's offending.

REFERENCES

Alder, F. (1975). *Sisters in crime*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Alder, C. (1997). 'Theories of female delinquency'. In Borowski, A & O Connor, 1 eds. *Juvenile crime, justice and corrections*. Pg. 43-59. Melbourne: Longman

Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC). (2009). *Australian crime: facts and figures*. Canberra: Australian Government retrieved on 21/04/2012 from http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/cfi/cfi001.html

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2011a). 'Directory of family and domestic violence statistics, 2011'. Retrieved on 27/4/2012 at www.abs.com

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2011b). 'Prisoners in Australia' retrieved on 27/04/2012 http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/7E284268227D761FCA25795F000DB296?opendocument

Becker, H. (2001). 'Outsiders'. In Muncie, J McLaughlin, E. & Langtan, M *Criminological perspectives: a reader*. Pp. 214-223. London:Sage Publications

Blanchette, K. (2004) 'Revisiting effective classification strategies for women offenders in Canada' *Feminism & Psychology* Vol. 14(2): Pp. 231–236

Carrington, K. (2008). Critical reflections on feminist criminologies'. In Anthony, T. & Cunneen, C. *The critical criminology companion*. Pg 82-93. NSW: Hawkins Press
Chesney-Lind, M. (2006). 'Patriarchy, crime, and justice: feminist criminology in an era of backlash'. *Feminist Criminology.* Vol. 1(6) Pp. 6-26. . doi: 10.1177/1557085105282893

Chesney-Lind, M. (2007). 'Beyond bad girls: feminist perspectives on female offending'. In Summer, C. *The Blackwell companion to criminology*. Pp. 255-267. Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.

Chesney –Lind, M. & Pasko, L. (2004) *The female offender: girls, women and crime*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Convery, U. (2009). *Addressing offending by women: a literature review*. Research and statistical Series: Report no 21. Northern Ireland: Statistical and Research Branch, Criminal Justice, Northern Ireland. Retrieved on 25/05/2011 at http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/cfi/cfi001.html

Cunneen, C, & White, R. (2011). *Juvenile justice: youth and crime in Australia.*
Oxford University Press, South Melbourne.

Department of Justice (2007) *Statistical profile of Victorian prison system 2001-02 to 2005-06*. Melbourne: Victorian Government.

Department of Justice (2010) *Statistical profile of Victorian prison system 2005-06 to 2010-011*. Melbourne: Victorian Government.

Dominelli (2002). *Feminist social work*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education

Fawcett Society. (2004). 'Interim report on women and offending'. Retreieved on 11/07/2008
http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/documents/Report%20of%20the%20Commission%20on%20Women%20and%20the%20Criminal%20Justice%20System%20March%202004(2).pdf

Gelsthorpe, L. and Morris, A. (2002) 'Women's imprisonment in England and Wales: a penal paradox' *Criminal Justice* Vol. 2(3): 277–301

Gelsthorpe, L. (2007) 'Sentencing and gender'. In Sheehan, R., McIvor, G. & Trotter, C. (eds) *What works with women offenders*. Pp. 40-60. Devon: Willan Publishing

Gelsthorpe, L., Sharpe, G. and Roberts, J. (2007) *Provision for women offenders in the community*. London: Fawcett Society

Gelsthorpe, L (2010). Women, crime and control. *Criminology and Criminal Justice, 10,* 375-386. doi: 10.1177/1748895810382373

Hedderman, C. (2004) 'The Criminogenic needs of women offenders'. In McIvor, G. (eds.) *Women who offend*. London: Jessica Kingsley

Holmes, J. (2010). 'Female offending: has there been an increase?' Issues paper No 46. Crime and Justice Statistics. NSW: Bureau of Crime and Statistics Research. Retrieved on 25/04/2011 at http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/cfi/cfi001.html

Hopkins, C. Q., & Koss, M.P. (2005). Incorporating feminist theory and insights into a restorative justice response to sex offenses. *Violence Against Women, 11,* 693-723. doi: 10.1177/1077801205274570

McIvor, G. (2007) 'The Nature of female offending'. In Sheehan, R., McIvor, G. & Trotter, C. (eds) *What works with women offenders*. Pp. 1-22. Devon: Willan Publishing

National Crime Prevention Council (1995). *Offender profiles*. Retrieved on 27/06/2009 at
http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ncfv-cnivf/familyviolence/html/fvprofil_e.html

NSW Department of Corrective Services (2006). NSW Government Action plan for women 2003- 2005. Retrieved on 27/06/2009 at

http://www.correctiveservices.nsw.gov.au/site_search?mode=results&queries_site_search_query=statistical+reports

O'Brien, R.T. (2006). *Community Corrections in Canada Women Offenders*. Retrieved on 25/04/2012 at

http://www.icclr.law.ubc.ca/Publications/2008/Book%20on%20Community%20Corrections/13%20Rosemary%20T.%20OBrien%20Women%20Offender.pdf

Simon, R. (1976). 'Women and Crime Revisited' *Social Science Quarterly*. 56 658-663

Ogloff, J & Tye, C. (2007). Responding to mental health needs of women offenders. In Sheehan, R., McIvor, G. and Trotter, C. (eds) *What works with women offenders*. pp. 142 – 167. Devon: Willan Publishing

Pasko, L. (2010). 'Damaged daughters: the history of girls' sexuality and the juvenile justice system' *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*. Vol 100(3) Pp. 1099-1123 retreived on 27/06/2011 at

http://www.law.northwestern.edu/journals/jclc/backissues/v100/n3/1003_1099.Pasko.pdf

Roberts, A Jackson, M. S, Carlton-Laney, I. (2000). 'Revisiting the need for feminism and afro centric theory when treating African-American female substance abusers' *Journal of Drug Issues*, retrieved on July 17th 2011 from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3733/is_200010/ai_n8916733

Rowbotham, J. (2011). 'The gendered dock: reflections on the impact of gender stereotyping in the criminal justice system'. In Jones, J., Grear, A., Fenton, R. & Stevenson, K. Gender. *Sexualities and the Law*. Pp. 106-118. New York: Routledge.

Richie, B. E. (2000). 'Exploring the Link Between Violence Against Women and Women's Involvement in Illegal Activity'. Retrieved on 4/01/2012 at http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij

Sheehan, R., McIvor, G. and Trotter, C. (2007) 'What does work for women offenders?' In Sheehan, R., McIvor, G. & Trotter, C. (eds). *What works with women offenders*. Pg. 300- 309. Devon: Willan Publishing

van Wormer, K. (2010). *Working with female offenders: a gender sensitive approach*. Hoboken: Wiley.

Victoria Police Statistics (2011). Crime statistics 2010/2011. Retrieved 20/04/2012 at |http://www.police.vic.gov.au/content.asp?a=internetBridgingPage&Media_ID=72176

Walklate, S. (2004). *Gender, crime & criminal justice*. United Kingdom: Willan Publishing

Wincup, E. (2000) 'Surviving through substance use: the role of substances in the lives of women who appear before the courts'. *Sociological Research Online* Vol. 4(4) retrieved http://www.socresonline.org.uk/4/4/wincup.html