SECTION I

Women, Gender, and Crime

Introduction

Section Highlights

- Introduction to women as victims, offenders, and workers in the criminal justice system
- The emergence of feminism in criminology
- Data sources that estimate female offending and victimization rates
- The contributions of feminist methodologies in understanding issues about women and crime

Since the creation of the American criminal justice system, the experiences of women either have been reduced to a cursory glance or have been completely absent. **Gendered justice**, or rather injustice, has prevailed in every aspect of the system. The unique experiences of women have historically been ignored at every turn—for victims, for offenders, and even for women who have worked within its walls. Indeed, the criminal justice system is a gendered experience.

Yet the participation of women in the system is growing in every realm. Women make up a majority of the victims for certain types of crimes, particularly when men are the primary offender. These gendered experiences of victimization appear in crimes such as rape, sexual assault, intimate partner abuse, and stalking, to name a few. While women suffer in disproportionate ways in these cases, their cries for help have traditionally been ignored by a system that many in society perceive is designed to help victims. Women's needs as offenders are also ignored because they face a variety of unique circumstances and experiences that are absent from the male offending population. Traditional approaches in criminological theory and practice have been criticized by feminist scholars for their failure to understand the lives and experiences of women (Belknap, 2007). Likewise, the employment of women in the criminal justice system has been limited, because women were traditionally shut out of many of these male-dominated occupations. As women began to enter these occupations, they were faced with a hypermasculine culture that challenged the introduction of women at every turn. While the participation of women in these traditionally male-dominated fields has grown significantly in modern-day times, women continue to struggle for equality in a world where the effects of the "glass ceiling" continue to pervade a system that presents itself as one interested in the notion of justice (Martin, 1991).

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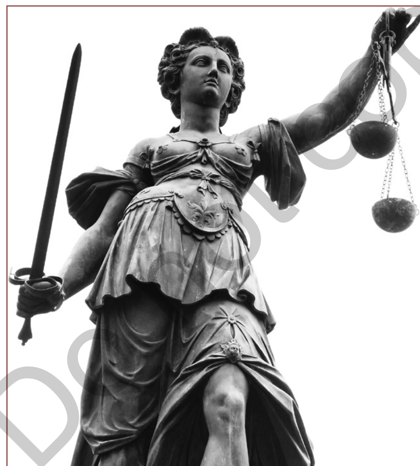
In setting the context for the book, this section begins with a review of the influence of feminism on the study of crime. Following an introduction of how gender impacts victimization, offending, and employment experiences in the criminal justice system, the section presents a review of the different data sources and statistics within these topics. The section concludes with a discussion on the research methods used to investigate issues of female victimization, offending, and work in criminal justice-related fields.

The Influence of Feminism on Studies of Women, Gender, and Crime

As a student, you may wonder what **feminism** has to do with the topic of women and crime. Feminism plays a key role in understanding how the criminal justice system responds to women and women's issues. In doing so, it is first important that we identify what is meant by the term *woman*. Is "woman" a category of *sex* or *gender?* Sometimes, these two words are used interchangeably. However, *sex* and *gender* are two different terms. *Sex* refers to the biological or physiological characteristics of what makes someone male or female. Therefore, we might use the term *sex* to talk about the segregation of men and women in jails or prison. In comparison, the term *gender* refers to the identification of masculine and feminine traits, which are socially constructed terms. For example, in early theories of criminology, female offenders were often characterized as *masculine*, and many of these scholars believed that female offenders were more like men than women. While sex and gender are two separate terms, the notions of sex and gender are interrelated within the study of women and crime. Throughout this book, you will see examples of how sex and gender both play an important role in the lives of women in the criminal justice system.

The study of women and crime has seen incredible advances throughout the 20th and 21st century. Many of these changes are a result of the social and political efforts of feminism. The 1960s and 1970s shed light on several significant issues that impacted many different groups in society, including women. The momentum of social change as represented by the civil rights and women's movements had significant impacts on society, and the criminal justice system was no stranger in these discussions. Here, the second wave of feminism expanded beyond the focus of the original activists (who were concerned exclusively about women's suffrage and the right to vote) to topics such as sexuality, legal inequalities, and reproductive rights. It was during this time frame that criminology scholars began to think differently about women and offending. Prior to this time, women were largely forgotten in research about crime and criminal behavior. When they were mentioned, they were relegated to a brief footnote or discussed in stereotypical and sexist ways. Given that there were few female criminologists (as well as proportionally few female offenders compared to the number of male offenders), it is not surprising that women were omitted in early research on criminal behavior.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▲ **Photo 1.1** The icon of Lady Justice represents many of the ideal goals of the justice system, including fairness, justice, and equality.

Some of the first feminist criminologists gained attention during the 1960s and 1970s. The majority of these scholars focused primarily on issues of equality and difference between men and women in terms of offending and responses by the criminal justice system. Unfortunately, these liberal feminists focused only on gender and did not include discussions that reflected a multicultural identity. Such a focus resulted in a narrow view of the women that were involved in crime and how the system responded to their offending. As Burgess-Proctor (2006) notes,

> By asserting that women universally suffer the effects of patriarchy, the dominance approach rests on the dubious assumption that all

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> women, by virtue of their shared gender, have a common "experience" in the first place. . . . It assumes that all women are oppressed by all men in exactly the same ways or that there is one unified experience of dominance experienced by women. (p. 34)

While second-wave feminism focused on the works by these White liberal feminists, third-wave feminism addresses the multiple, diverse perspectives of women, such as race, ethnicity, nationality, and sexuality. With these new perspectives in hand, feminist criminologists began to talk in earnest about the nature of the female offender and began to ask questions about the lives of women involved in the criminal justice system. Who is she? Why does she engage in crime? And, perhaps most important, how is she different from the male offender, and how should the criminal justice system respond to her?

As feminist criminologists began to encourage the criminal justice system to think differently about female offenders, feminism also encouraged new conversations about female victimization. The efforts of second- and third-wave feminism brought increased attention to women who were victims of crime. How do women experience victimization? How does the system respond to women who have been victims of a crime? How have criminal justice systems and policies responded to the victimization of women? Indeed, there are many crimes that are inherently gendered that have historically been ignored by the criminal justice system.

Feminism also brought a greater participation in the workforce in general, and the field of criminal justice was no exception. Scholars were faced with questions regarding how gender impacts the way in which women work within the police department, correctional agencies, and the legal system. What issues do women face within the context of these occupations? How has the participation of women in these fields affected the experiences of women who are victims and offenders?

Today, scholars in criminology, criminal justice, and related fields explore these issues in depth in an attempt to shed light on the population of women in the criminal justice system. While significant gains have been made in the field of **feminist criminology**, scholars within this realm have suggested that "without the rise of feminisms, scholarly concerns with issues such as rape, domestic assault, and sex work—let alone recent emphases on intersectionality and overlapping biases or race, class, sexualities, and gender—would arguably never have happened" (Chancer, 2016, p. 308). Consider the rise of black feminist criminology, which looks at how the relationship between race, gender, and other issues of oppression create multiple marginalities for women of color (Potter, 2015).

Spotlight on Women and the Academy

Like many other fields, the academy has historically been a male-dominated profession. Yet the number of women faculty has grown significantly over the past four decades. This is also true in the academic study of crime and the criminal justice system. While the number of men in senior faculty positions outnumbers women, the presence of women entering the academy is growing. In 2007, 57% of doctoral students were female (Frost & Clear, 2007). This marks a significant trend for a field (practitioners and the academy) that has been historically, and continues to be, dominated by men.

As a national organization, the roots of the American Society of Criminology date back to 1941. The founding members of the organization were all male (ASC, n.d.). It was not until 1975 that the annual conference showcased a panel on women and crime. Even with the growing interest in female crime and victimization, not to mention an increase in the number of female scholars, the majority of the association members questioned whether gender

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was a valuable variable to study. In response to these challenges, a small group of female scholars combined their efforts to lobby for more panels on the study of women and crime. In 1984, the Division on Women and Crime was instituted as an official branch of the American Society of Criminology. Today, the Division is the largest division of the ASC, with 384 members in 2012.

As a result of the work of these early female criminologists, the number of panels and papers presented annually on issues related to gender and crime research has grown substantially and includes discussions related to offending, victimization, and employment issues within the criminal justice system. Between 1999 and 2008, there were 3,050 (16.13%) presentations on themes related to the study of women and crime. The top five topic areas of these presentations include (1) domestic violence/intimate partner violence, (2) gender-specific programming and policies, (3) gender differences in criminal behavior, (4) victimization of women, and (5) international perspectives on women and crime (Kim & Merlo, 2012).

While much of the work of feminist criminology involves female scholars, there are also men who investigate issues of gender and crime. At the same time, there are female scholars whose work does not look at issues of gender. Over the past decade, a body of work has looked at the productivity of criminologists and in particular how female scholars compare to male scholars. While men publish more than women, the gender gap on publishing is reduced when we take into account the length of time in the academy, because the men generally report a longer career history (Snell, Sorenson, Rodriguez, & Kuanliang, 2009). However, achieving gender equity is a long road. A review of three of the top publications in criminology and criminal justice from 2013 notes that while women are well represented as first authors in *Justice Quarterly* (45.2%) and *Theoretical Criminology* (40.7%), they are underrepresented in *Criminology* 28.6%) (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016). Research by female authors is also less likely to be cited. A review of research publications in the field for the past two years notes that white men are most likely to have their work cited in subsequent research (77.1%) compared to white women (12.4%), while both men and women of color are rarely likely to find their research referenced by others (men of color = 1.3%; women of color = 0.7%) (Kim & Hawkins, 2013). Indeed, the rise of female scholars led some researchers to note that the future of the "most productive and influential scholars will have a more markedly feminine quality" (Rice, Terry, Miller, & Ackerman, 2007, p. 379).

Women are also becoming more active in the leadership roles within these academic organizations. What was once a "boys club" now reflects an increase in the participation of women on the executive boards as well as officer positions within the organization. Between 2014 and 2018, four of the five presidents of the American Society of Criminology were women—Joanne Belknap, Candace Kruttschnitt, Ruth Peterson, and Karen Heimer. Women are also being elected to the highest position within the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, where four women have served as president since 2000, and Nicole Piquero has been elected for 2018. Female criminologists have also chipped away at the glass ceiling at the national level with the appointment of Nancy Rodriguez as Director of the National Institute of Justice in 2014.

While feminist scholars have made a significant impact on the study of crime over the past 40 years, there are still several areas where additional research is needed.

Women, Gender, and Crime

How does the criminal justice system respond to issues of gender? While there have been significant gains and improvements in the treatment of women as victims, offenders, and workers within the criminal justice system and related fields, there is still work to be done in each of these areas.

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Women as Victims of Violence

The experience of victimization is something that many women are intimately familiar with. While men are more likely to be a victim of a crime, women compose the majority of victims of certain forms of violent crime. In addition, women are most likely to be victimized by someone they know. In many cases when they do seek help from the criminal justice system, charges are not always filed or are often reduced through plea bargains, resulting in offenders receiving limited (if any) sanctions for their criminal behavior. Because of the sensitive nature of these offenses, victims can find their own lives put on trial to be criticized by the criminal justice system and society as a whole. Based on these circumstances, it is no surprise that many women have had little faith in the criminal justice system. You'll learn more about the experience of victimization in Section II.

Women who experience victimization have a number of needs, particularly in cases of violent and personal victimization. While these cases can involve significant physical damage, it is often the emotional violence that can be equally, if not more, traumatic for victims to deal with. While significant gains have been made by the criminal justice system, the high needs of many victims, coupled with an increased demand for services, means that the availability of resources by agencies such as domestic violence shelters and rape crisis centers are often limited. You'll learn more about the experience of women in crimes such as rape, sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and stalking in Sections III and IV, while Section V highlights issues of victimization of women around the globe.

Women Who Offend

How do female offenders compare to male offenders? When scholars look at the similarities and differences between the patterns of male and female offending, they are investigating the *gender* gap. What does this research tell us? We know that men are the majority of offenders represented for most of the crime categories, minus a few exceptions. **Gender gap** research tells us that the gender gap, or difference between male and female offending, is larger in cases of serious or violent crimes, while the gap is narrower for crimes such as property and drug related offenses (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996).

While men are more likely to engage in criminal acts, women offenders dominate certain categories of criminal behavior. One example of this phenomenon is the crime of prostitution. Often called a victimless crime, prostitution is an offense where the majority of arrests involve women. Status offenses are another category where girls are overrepresented. Status offenses are acts that are considered criminal only because of the offender's age. For example, the consumption of alcohol is considered illegal only if you are under a designated age (generally 21 in the United States). Section VIII highlights different offense types and how gender is viewed within these offenses. A review of these behaviors and offenders indicates that most female offenders share a common foundation—one of economic need, addiction, and abuse.

Gender also impacts the way that the criminal justice system responds to offenders of crime. Much of this attention comes from social expectations about how women "should" behave. When women engage in crime (particularly violent crimes), this also violates the socially proscribed gender roles for female behavior. As a result, women in these cases may be punished not only for violating the law but also for violating the socially proscribed gender roles. In Section IX, you'll learn more about how women can be treated differently by the criminal justice system as a result of their gender. As more women have come to the attention of criminal justice officials, and as policies and practices for handling these cases have shifted, more women are being sent to prison rather than being supervised in the community. This means that there is a greater demand on reentry programming and services for women. These collateral consequences in the incarceration of women are far reaching, because the identity as an *ex-offender* can threaten a woman's chances for success long after she has served her sentence.

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The Intersection of Victimization and Offending

One of the greatest contributions of feminist criminology is the acknowledgment of the relationship between victimization and offending. Research has consistently illustrated that a history of victimization of women is a common factor for many women offenders. Indeed, a review of the literature finds that an overwhelming majority of women in prison have experienced some form of abuse—physical, psychological, or sexual—and in many cases, are victims of long-term multiple acts of violence. Moreover, not only is there a strong relationship that leads from victimization to offending, but the relationship between these two variables continues also as a vicious cycle. For example, a young girl who is sexually abused by a family member runs away from home. Rather than return to her abusive environment, she ends up selling her body as a way to provide food, clothing, and shelter because she has few skills to legitimately support herself. As a result of her interactions with potentially dangerous clients and pimps, she continues to endure physical and sexual violence and may turn to substances such as alcohol and drugs to numb the pain of the abuse. When confronted by the criminal justice system, she receives little if any assistance to address the multiple issues that she faces as a result of her life experiences. In addition, her *criminal* identity now makes it increasingly difficult to find valid employment, receive housing and food benefits, or have access to educational opportunities that could improve her situation. Ultimately, she ends up in a world where finding a healthy and sustainable life on her own is a difficult goal to attain. You will learn more about these challenges in Sections X and XI and how the criminal justice system punishes women for these crimes.

Women and Work in the Criminal Justice System

While much of the study of women and crime focuses on issues of victimization and offending, it is important to consider how issues of sex and gender impact the work environment, particularly for those who work within the justice system. Here, the experiences of women as police and correctional officers, victim advocates, probation and parole case managers, and lawyers and judges provide valuable insight on how sex and gender differences affect women. Just as the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s increased the attention on female offenders and victims of crime, the access to opportunities for work within the walls of criminal justice expanded for women. Prior to this era of social change, few women were granted access to work within these occupations. Even when women were present, their duties were significantly limited compared to those of their male counterparts, and their opportunities for advancement were essentially nonexistent. In addition, these primarily male workforces resented the presence of women in "their" world. Gender also has a significant effect for fields that are connected to criminal justice. One example of this is found within the field of victim services, which has typically been viewed as women's work.

Women continue to face a number of sex- and gender-based challenges directly related to their status as women, such as on-the-job sexual harassment, work-family balance, maternity, and motherhood. In addition, research reflects how women manage the roles, duties, and responsibilities of their positions within a historically masculine environment. The experience of womanhood can impact the work environment, both personally and culturally. You'll learn more about these issues in Sections XII and XIII of this book.

Data Sources on Women as Victims and Offenders

To develop an understanding of how often women engage in offending behaviors or the frequency of victimizations of women, it is important to look at how information about crime is gathered. While there is no one dataset that tells us everything that we want to know about crime, we can learn something from each source because they each represent different points of view. Datasets vary based on the type of information collected (quantitative and/or qualitative), who manages the dataset (such as government agencies, professional scholars, community organizations) and the purpose for the data collection. Finally, each dataset represents a picture of crime for a specific population, region, and time frame, or stage, of the criminal justice system.

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The **Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)** represents one of the largest datasets on crime in the United States. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is charged with collecting and publishing the arrest data from over 17,000 police agencies in the United States. These statistics are published annually and present the rates and volume of crime by offense type, based on arrests made by police. The dataset includes a number of demographic variables to evaluate these crime statistics, including age, gender, race/ethnicity, location (state), and region (metropolitan, suburban, or rural).[1]

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▲ **Photo 1.2** Most official crime statistics such as the Uniform Crime Reports are based on arrest data.

UCR data give us a general understanding of the extent of crime in the United States and are often viewed as the most accurate assessment of crime. In addition, the UCR data allow us to compare how crime changes over time, because it allows for the comparison of arrest data for a variety of crimes over a specific time frame (e.g., 1990–2000) or from one year to the next. Generally speaking, data from the UCR findings are typically reported to the greater society through news media outlets and form the basis for headline stories that proclaim the rising and falling rates of crime.

A review of arrest data from the UCR indicates that the overall levels of crime for women decreased 11.8% between 2006 and 2015. For the same time period, the number of arrests for men declined 25.6%. Such results might lead us to question why the percentage of men involved in crime decreased at more than twice the percentage of female arrests. To understand this issue, we need to take a deeper look. Table 1.1 illustrates the UCR data on arrest trends for men and women for 2006 and 2015. In 2006, the UCR shows that women made up 23.8% of all arrests (8,676,456 total number of arrests, with women accounting for 2,070,999 arrests). In contrast, 2015 UCR data indicate that 8,739,363 arrests were made, and women accounted for 27.0% of these arrests (2,140,934) (Crime in the United States 2012 [CIUS], 2012. Note that while the number of arrests involving women decreased by approximately almost a quarter of a million arrests (244,835), the total number of arrests over the decade decreased by almost 800,000. This change notes that while both the proportion of men and women decreased, the rate of male arrests decreased at a greater rate than that of women between these two time periods.

When assessing trends in crime data, it is important to consider the time period of evaluation, because this can alter your results. While both the 10-year and 1-year overall arrest trends demonstrate an decrease for both women and men, the data for 2015 demonstrates areas where arrests increased for women compared to men (and vice versa) compared to 2014. Table 1.2 demonstrates the arrest trends for these 2 years. The proportion of crime involving men fell 3.7%, while the proportion for women decreased 2.9%, indicating that the proportion of men arrested is similar to that of women between these two years. While this gives us a picture of overall crime trends, we see the picture differently when we look at the trends for specific crime categories. Here, a deeper look at the data shows that violent crime increased for both men and women while property crime declined for both groups. However, these changes were minor. In addition, there were no gender differences for specific crime categories. When

[1]Up-to-date statistical reports on crime data from the Uniform Crime Reports can be accessed at http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm

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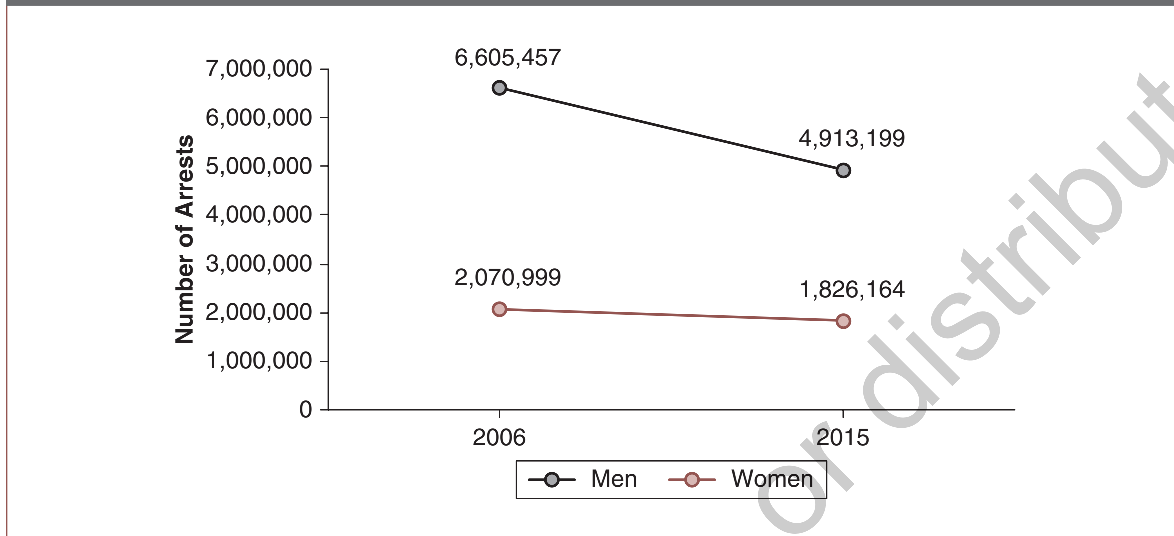
Figure 1.1 • 10-Year UCR Arrest Trends



SOURCE: Crime in the United States 2015 (CIUS), 2015.

Table 1.1 • 10-Year UCR Arrest Trends

	Men			Women		
	2006	2015	% Change	2006	2015	% Change
All arrests	6,605,457	4,913,199	–25.6	2,070,999	1,826,164	–11.8
Violent crime	297,166	244,197	–17.8	64,235	61,780	–3.8
Homicide	6,292	5,463	–13.2	812	738	–9.1
Rape*	13,932	13,546	–	188	409	–
Robbery	60,460	46,060	–23.8	7,977	7,943	–0.4
Aggravated assault	216,482	179,138	–17.3	55,258	52,690	–4.6
Property crime	645,926	576,178	–10.8	304,581	366,152	+20.2
Burglary	159,767	110,416	–30.9	28,355	26,049	–8.1
Larceny-theft	418,187	424,956	+1.6	261,103	328,713	+25.9
Motor vehicle theft	59,234	36,177	–38.9	13,416	10,286	–23.3
Arson	8,738	4,633	–47.0	1,707	1,104	–35.3

SOURCE: Crime in the United States 2015 (CIUS), 2015.

NOTE: 9,581 agencies reporting; 2015 estimated population 199,921,204; 2006 estimated population 186,371,331

*The 2006 rape figures are based on the legacy definition, and the 2015 rape figures are aggregate totals based on both the legacy and revised UCR reporting definition.

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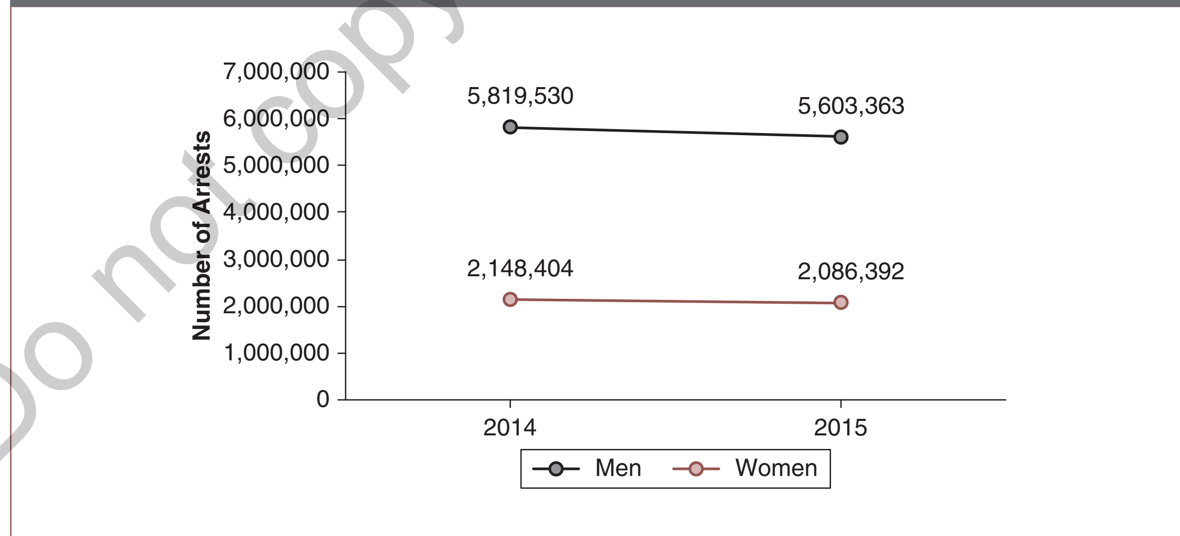
the percentage of men involved in burglary decreased, it also decreased for women. When the percentage of men involved in aggravated assault increased for men, it also increased for women.

While the UCR data can illustrate important trends in crime, the reporting of UCR data as the true extent of crime is flawed for the majority of the crime categories (with the exception of homicide), even though these data represent arrest statistics from approximately 95% of the population. Here, it is important to take several issues into consideration. First, the UCR data represent statistics on only those crimes that are reported to the police. As a result, the data are dependent on both what police know about criminal activity and how they use their discretion in these cases. If the police are not a witness to a crime or are not called to deal with an offender, they cannot make an arrest. Arrests are the key variable for UCR data. This means that unreported crimes are not recognized in these statistics. Sadly, many of the victimization experiences of women, such as intimate partner abuse and sexual assault, are significantly underreported and therefore do not appear within the UCR data.

Second, the UCR collects data only on certain types of crime (versus all forms of crime). The classification of crime is organized into two different types of crime: Part 1 offenses and Part 2 offenses. Part 1 offenses, known as *index crimes*, include eight different offenses: aggravated assault, forcible rape, murder, robbery, arson, burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft. However, these categories may have limited definitions that fail to capture the true extent of arrests made for these crimes. Consider the category of rape. Historically, the UCR defined forcible rape as "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will" (CIUS, 2012, para. 1). While the UCR also collects data on attempted rape by force or threat of force within this category, the definition failed to capture the magnitude of sexual assaults, which may not involve female victims or may involve other sexual acts beyond vaginal penetration. In January 2012, the FBI announced a revised definition for the crime of rape to include "the penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim" (FBI, 2012a, para. 1). This new definition went into effect in January 2013. Not only does the new law allow for both males and females to be identified as victims or offenders but it also allows the UCR to include cases where the victim either was unable or unwilling to consent to sexual

Figure 1.2 • 1-Year UCR Arrest Trends



SOURCE: Crime in the United States 2012 (CIUS), 2015.

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Table 1.2 • 1-Year UCR Arrest Trends

	Men			Women		
	2014	2015	% Change	2014	2015	% Change
All arrests	5,819,530	5,603,363	−3.7	2,148,404	2,086,392	−2.9
Violent crime	283,298	287,487	+1.5%	72,463	73,754	−1.8
Homicide	6,201	6,639	+7.1	843	880	+4.4
Forcible rape	14,563	15,453	+6.1	428	481	+12.4
Robbery	55,379	56,502	+2.0	9,233	9,636	+4.4
Aggravated assault	207,155	208,893	+0.8	61,959	62,757	+1.3
Property crime	686,290	648,880	−5.5	430,517	405,792	−5.7
Burglary	140,035	126,630	−9.6	31,402	29,789	−5.1
Larceny-theft	503,460	475,551	−5.5	388,081	363,323	−6.4
Motor vehicle theft	37,311	41,807	+12.1	9,716	11,508	+18.4
Arson	5,484	4,892	−10.8	1,318	1,172	−11.1

SOURCE: Crime in the United States 2012 (CIUS), 2015.

NOTE: 11,437 agencies reporting; 2015 estimated population 229,446,072; 2014 estimated population 228,153,502.

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activity (for example, in cases involving intoxication). In addition, the new definition removes the requirement of force. As a result of these changes, the category of rape will now capture a greater diversity of sexual assaults. This new definition is more in line with the variety of laws related to rape and sexual assault that exist for each state. With this change in how these sexually based offenses are counted, it is not currently possible to compare data on the number of these cases prior to 2012. Over time, these changes will help present a more accurate picture of the prevalence of rape and sexual assault in society.

Third, the reporting of the crimes to the UCR is incomplete, because only the most serious crime is reported in cases where multiple crimes are committed during a single criminal event. These findings skew the understanding of the prevalence of crime, because several different offenses may occur within the context of a single crime incident. For example, a crime involving physical battery, rape, and murder is reported to the UCR by the most serious crime, murder. As a result, the understanding of the prevalence of physical battery and rape is incomplete.

Fourth, the reporting of these data is organized annually, which can alter our understanding of crime as police agencies respond to cases. For example, a homicide that is committed in one calendar year may not be solved with an arrest and conviction until the following calendar year. This might initially be read as an "unsolved crime" in the first year but as an arrest in the subsequent year.

Finally, the participation by agencies in reporting to the UCR has fluctuated over time. While there are no federal laws requiring agencies to report their crime data, many states today have laws that direct law enforcement agencies to comply with UCR data collection. For example, notice that 11,437 agencies reported data in 2014 and 2015, but only 9,581 agencies reported their arrest data in both 2006 and 2015. However, this means that the

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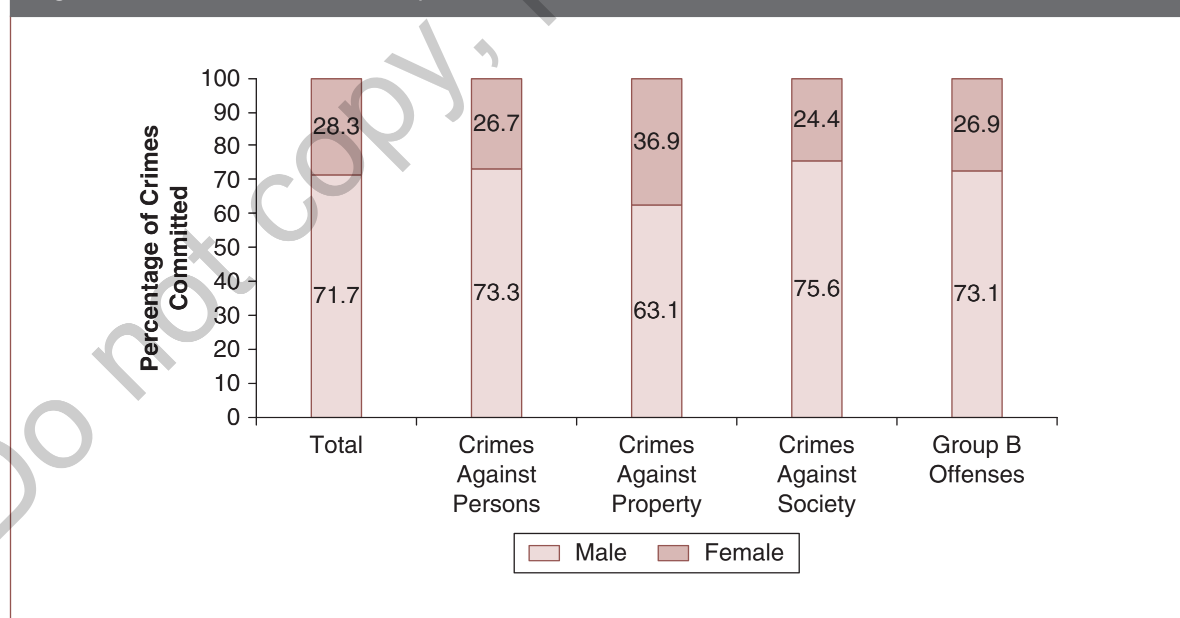
analyzers of crime trends over time need to take into consideration the number of agencies involved in the reporting of crime data. Failure to do so could result in a flawed analysis of crime patterns over time.

These flaws of UCR data can have significant implications for members of society about the understanding of crime data. Most of us get our information about crime from news headlines or other media reports about crime. These 30-second clips about crime rates do little to explain the intricate nature of UCR data definitions and collection practices. Indeed, when the UCR was first assigned to the FBI, early scholars commented, "In light of the somewhat questionable source of the data, the Department of Justice might do more harm than good by issuing the Reports" (Robison, 1966, p. 1033).

In an effort to develop a better understanding of the extent of offending, the **National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)** was implemented in 1988. Rather than compile monthly summary reports on crime data in their jurisdictions, agencies now forward data to the FBI for every crime incident. The NIBRS catalog involves data on 22 offense categories and includes 46 specific crimes known as Group A offenses. Data on 11 lesser offenses (Group B offenses) are also collected. In addition to an increased diversity in the types of crimes that data are collected on, the NIBRS abolished the hierarchy rule that was part of the UCR. This means that cases that involve more than one specific offense will now count all the different offenses that are reported and not just the most serious event. In addition, NIBRS data are collected on both completed and attempted crimes.

Overall, NIBRS allows for a more comprehensive understanding of crime in terms of the types of crimes that we collect information about and the data collected on these offenses. In 2015, NIBRS data noted that 63.3% of offenders were male, 25.7% were female (while gender was unknown in 11.0% of cases). NIBRS also tells us that half of victims in these crimes were women (50.9%). The majority of victims knew the perpetrator(s) (52.3%), and an additional 24.8% of victims were related to the offender (NIBRS, 2016a). Figure 1.3 and Table 1.3 shows the NIBRS arrest data for men and women in 2015. Comparing these two sources of data, we find similar results in the number

Figure 1.3 • NIBRS 2015 Data by Sex



SOURCE: NIBRS (2016b)

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Table 1.3 • NIBRS 2015 Data by Sex

	Male	%	Female	%
Total	**2,208,567**	**71.7%**	**873,042**	**28.3%**
Crimes Against Persons	**323,371**	**73.3%**	**117,955**	**26.7%**
Assault Offenses	302,144	72.2%	116,390	27.8%
Homicide Offenses	2,380	87.1%	353	12.9%
Human Trafficking Offenses	6	75.0%	2	25.0%
Kidnapping/Abduction	5,469	89.2%	663	10.8%
Sex Offenses	11,877	96.5%	427	3.5%
Sex Offenses, Nonforcible	1,495	92.6%	120	7.4%
Crimes Against Property	**359,557**	**63.1%**	**210,006**	**36.9%**
Arson	1,719	80.1%	426	19.9%
Bribery	124	70.1%	53	29.9%
Burglary/Breaking & Entering	39,801	84.2%	7,459	15.8%
Counterfeiting/Forgery	9,107	63.0%	5,354	37.0%
Destruction/Damage/Vandalism	43,708	78.4%	12,024	21.6%
Embezzlement	2,797	45.3%	3,380	54.7%
Extortion/Blackmail	171	73.7%	61	26.3%
Fraud Offenses	20,248	61.6%	12,615	38.4%
Larceny/Theft Offenses	196,601	55.4%	158,008	44.6%
Motor Vehicle Theft	12,768	78.7%	3,461	21.3%
Robbery	15,933	85.4%	2,720	14.6%
Stolen Property Offenses	16,580	78.9%	4,445	21.1%
Crimes Against Society	**358,854**	**75.6%**	**115,805**	**24.4%**
Drug/Narcotic Offenses	324,869	75.0%	108,555	25.0%
Gambling Offenses	432	82.0%	95	18.0%
Pornography/Obscene Material	1,639	84.7%	295	15.3%
Prostitution Offenses	3,869	47.9%	4,211	52.1%
Weapon Law Violations	28,045	91.4%	2,649	8.6%

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	Male	%	Female	%
Total	**2,208,567**	**71.7%**	**873,042**	**28.3%**
Group B Offenses	**1,166,785**	**73.1%**	**429,276**	**26.9%**
Bad Checks	3,717	48.4%	3,969	51.6%
Curfew/Loitering/Vagrancy Violations	9,567	71.3%	3,851	28.7%
Disorderly Conduct	82,781	71.7%	32,656	28.3%
Driving Under the Influence	228,773	74.5%	78,204	25.5%
Drunkenness	80,625	79.5%	20,851	20.5%
Family Offenses, Nonviolent	20,212	71.3%	8,134	28.7%
Liquor Law Violations	66,333	70.8%	27,358	29.2%
Peeping Tom	289	92.9%	22	7.1%
Trespass of Real Property	58,830	77.9%	16,689	22.1%
All Other Offenses	615,658	72.2%	237,542	27.8%

SOURCE: NIBRS (2016b)

of arrests for women and men. While UCR data shows that women made up 27.1% of all arrests in 2015, NIBRS data note that 28.3% of all arrests involved women. Similarities are also noted when we can compare like-defined categories. For example., women make up 11.7% of all homicide arrests in the UCR. In NIBRS, they make up 12.9% of arrests. In cases of larceny-theft, UCR data notes that women are 43.3% of all arrests. In NIBRS, women are 44.6% of arrests.

However, the transition of agencies to the NIBRS has been slow. Currently, the data obtained represents 36.1% of the reported crime and 58.1% of all police agencies in the United States. While the NIBRS is an improvement over the UCR, this system still carries over a fatal flaw from the UCR in that both are limited to reported crimes. In spite of this, it is hoped that the improvements in official crime data collection will allow an increased understanding of the extent of female offending patterns. NIBRS is slated to be fully implemented with all agencies reporting to it by January 1, 2021.

In contrast to the limitations of the UCR and NIBRS datasets, the **National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)** represents the largest victimization study conducted in the United States. National-level victimization data were first collected in 1971 and 1972 as part of the Quarterly Household Survey conducted by the Census Bureau. In 1972, these efforts evolved into the National Crime Survey (NCS), which was designed to supplement the data from UCR and provide data on crime from the victims' perspective. The NCS was transferred to the Bureau of Justice Statistics in 1979, where the bureau began to evaluate the survey instrument and the data collection process. Following an extensive redesign process, the NCS was renamed the National Crime Victimization Survey in 1991.

The greatest achievement of the NCVS lies in its attempt to fill the gap between reported and unreported crime, often described as the **dark figure of crime**. The NCVS gathers additional data about crimes committed and gives criminologists a greater understanding of the types of crimes committed and characteristics of the victims. In 2015, the NCVS interviewed 163,880 individuals aged 12 and older in 95,760 households. Based on these survey findings, the Bureau of Justice Statistics makes generalizations to the population regarding the prevalence of victimization in the United States (Truman & Morgan, 2016).

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Table 1.4 • NCVS Crime Rates by Sex: 2002, 2010, and 2015

	Violent Crime					Serious Violent Crime*				
	Rates			Percent Change		Rates			Percent Change	
	2002	2010	2015	2002–2015	2010–2015	2002	2010	2015	2002–2015	2010–2015
Total	32.1	19.3	18.6	–42.2	–3.6	10.1	6.6	6.8	–32.7	+3.0
Sex:										
Male	33.5	20.1	15.9	–52.5	–20.9	10.4	6.4	5.4	–48.1	–15.6
Female	30.7	18.5	21.1	–31.3	+14.1	9.5	6.8	8.1	+14.7	+19.1

SOURCE: Truman & Morgan (2016).

*Includes rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault

In addition to reporting the numbers of criminal victimizations, the NCVS presents data on the rates of crime. You may ask yourself, "What is a crime rate?" A crime rate compares the number of occurrences of a particular crime to the size of the total population. The NCVS presents its findings in relation to the number of instances of the crime per 1,000 people. Crime rates make it easy to understand trends in criminal activity and victimization over time, regardless of changes to the population.

According to the National Crime Victimization Survey, the rate of violent victimization of women in 2002 was 30.7 per 1,000 people. By 2015, the crime rate had fallen to 21.1. Serious violent victimization also saw a significant decrease from 9.5 (2002) to 6.7 (2011), though in 2015 the rate had rebounded to 8.1 per 1,000 people.[2] Table 1.3 highlights the rates of crime for 2015 for violent and serious violent victimization. While NCVS data highlight these decreases, these patterns are not necessarily reflected in the UCR/NIBRS data, because many victims do not report these crimes to the police. With only 46.5% of victims reporting violent crime and 34.6% of victims reporting property crime, the NCVS provides valuable insight about the dark figure of crime that is missing in official crime statistics. This dark figure of crime varies by offense. For example, while 61.9% of cases of aggravated assault were reported, victims reported only 41.7% of simple assault cases. Similar patterns are observed in cases involving property crimes. While 69% of cases of motor vehicle theft were reported, other thefts were only reported 28.6% of the time (Truman & Morgan, 2016).

Just as the UCR/NIBRS is not the only data source on offending, the NCVS is not the only national-level data source on victimization. A number of different studies investigate victims of crime and how the justice system responds to their victimization. One example of this type of survey is the **National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS)**. The NVAWS consisted of a random sample of 8,000 women over the age of 18. The NVAWS was first administered between November 1995 and May 1996 and represented one of the first comprehensive data assessments of violence against women for the crimes of intimate partner abuse, stalking, and sexual assault. Another example is the **National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS)**, which is conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the National Center for Injury Prevention and Control. In 2010, the NISVS included data from 16,507 interviews. The NISVS reports victimization from a variety of crimes, including sexual assault, intimate partner abuse, and stalking. These findings are then used to create estimates about the extent of crime throughout the United States. Figure 1.4 highlights the lifetime prevalence of rape by race and ethnicity based

[2]Includes rape, sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault

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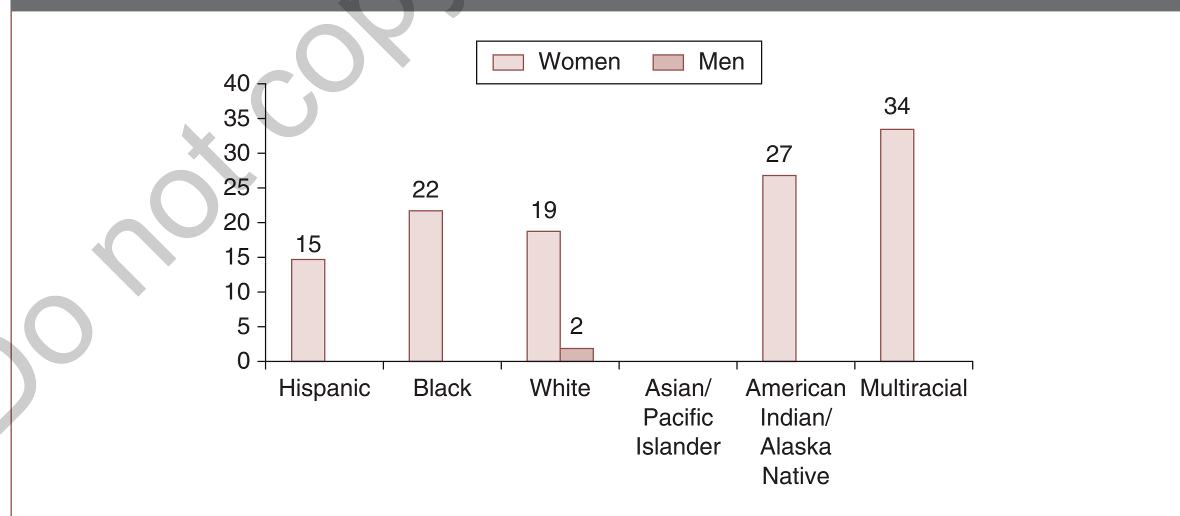
on data from the NISVS. These results demonstrate that 1 in 5 White (18.8%) and Black (22%) women and 1 in 7 (14.6%) Hispanic women in the United States have been raped at some point in their lifetime. By breaking up these data based on race and ethnicity, we can highlight how the issue of rape is even more dramatic within the American Indian/Alaska Native population, where 1 in 4 (26.9%) women experience rape in their lifetime. Unfortunately, we do not know much about how race and ethnicity impact rates of male rape from these data, only to say that less than 1 in 50 (2%) White men are impacted by the crime of rape in their lifetime (Black et al., 2011). Figure 1.5 presents the findings from this study for the crime of sexual assault. Here, we can see that not only are these crimes much more prevalent in general but also that we are able to see differences for both men and women by race/ethnicity. Studies such as these provide valuable data in understanding the experiences of victims (both men and women) that may not be reflected by the NCVS or UCR data.

While the UCR, NIBRS, and NCVS are examples of official data sources in the United States, international crime surveys can shed light on the nature of crime and victimization in other countries. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) collects data on arrested individuals throughout Australia. Unlike the UCR, which collects data on a calendar year basis, the ABS data cycle runs from July 1 to June 30. In its 2015–16 cycle, there were 422,067 individuals aged 10 and older processed by the police for eight different offenses (homicide, assault, sexual assault, robbery, kidnapping, unlawful entry with intent, motor vehicle theft, and other theft; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Another example of an official source of crime statistics is the annual report produced by the Bundeskriminalamt (Federal Criminal Police Office of Germany). The Bundeskriminalamt (BKA) statistics include data for all crimes handled by the police. In 2015, of the 6,330,649 crimes reported to the police, 5,927,908 were considered "cleared" or solved. Violent crime represents only 2.9% of crime in Germany. The largest crime category is theft and represents 39.2% of all criminal offenses. Men are much more likely to be considered a suspect by the police in these criminal activities—out of 2,369,036 suspects, only 24.8% are women. Men are also more likely to be victims (59.6%) (BKA, 2015). Australia's and Germany's crime statistical agencies are just two examples of official international data sources on criminal offending at the country level. Because of the differences in laws and reporting

Figure 1.4 • National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: Lifetime Prevalence of Rape of Men and Women by Race/Ethnicity



SOURCE: Black et al. (2011).

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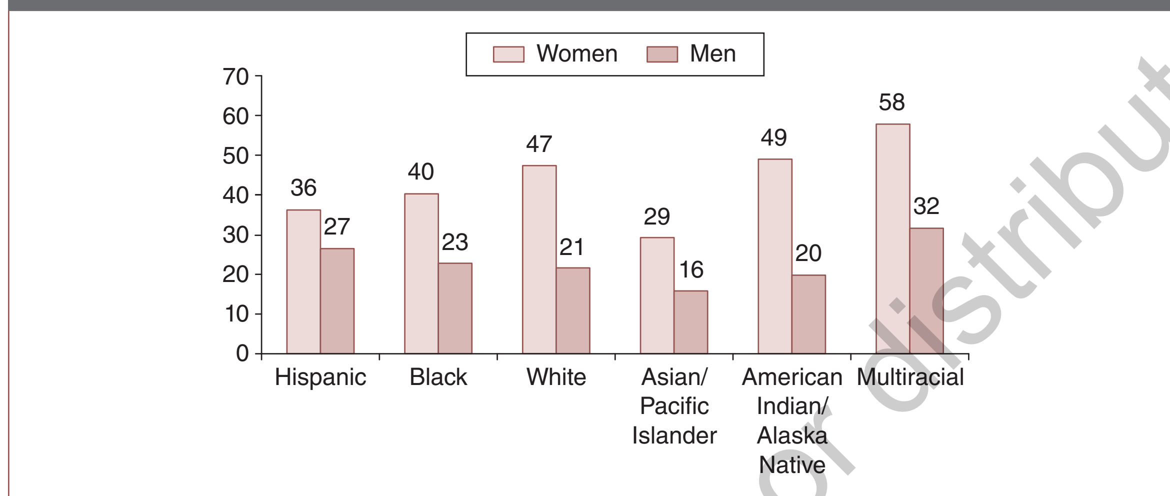
Figure 1.5 • National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: Lifetime Prevalence of Sexual Assault of Men and Women by Race/Ethnicity



SOURCE: Black et al. (2011).

practices, it is difficult to compare such statistics at a global level. However, there have been attempts to collect basic information on recorded crime across several jurisdictions. The United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (UN-CTS) compiles crime data from a variety of different sources, including the World Health Organization, Eurostat, and national police organizations from individual countries (to name a few). Their data indicate that there were 378,776 global victims of homicide reported to the police in 2012, or a crime rate of 10 per 100,000 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2013). Data are currently being collected for 2016, and the questionnaire is distributed to member nations in six different languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish (UNODC, 2017).

Similar to the NCVS, the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) is administered to a random sample of households and is designed to develop estimates about the rate of crime and victimization in England and Wales. The Crime Survey for England and Wales first began as part of the British Crime Survey in 1984 and included data from Scotland and Northern Ireland. Today, these jurisdictions carry out their own victimization survey, though the design and intent of these data collections are similar. In 2015–2016, approximately 35,000 adults and 3,000 children age 10–15 participated in the CSEW. Like the NCVS, the CSEW attempts to shed light on the dark figure of crime by capturing victimizations that may not be reported to the police. In 2013, the Crime Survey for England and Wales estimated that there were approximately 6.2 million incidents of victimization. Approximately three quarters of these crimes (4.7 million) were reported to the police (Office for National Statistics, 2017).

Finally, there are data sources that are collected as part of criminological research. These data typically focus on a particular crime within a particular region. The data can be either quantitative or qualitative (or both) and represent either a snapshot in time or follow a group of individuals over a range of time (longitudinal studies). While the findings of these studies are often not generalizable to the masses, they provide valuable insight about victimization and offending. Throughout this text, you'll be exposed to a number of these studies, within both the chapters and the highlighted readings.

In summary, official crime statistics offer only one perspective on the extent of crime in society. While the UCR and NCVS data and other international data sources provide a wealth of statistics about crime, their results are limited. Through the use of these official data programs, combined with self-report studies and victimization surveys, scholars

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can investigate issues of gender and crime in a variety of different ways. While each source of data has its strengths and weaknesses in terms of the types of data that are collected and the methods that are utilized, together, they provide a wealth of information that is invaluable in understanding the complex nature of gender and crime.

The Contributions of Feminist Methodology to Research on Women, Gender, and Crime

One of the criticisms of traditional mainstream criminology (and a central theme of feminist criminology) is that traditional perspectives on crime fail to recognize the intricate details of what it means to be a woman in society. The feminist movement has had a significant effect on how we understand women and their relationships with crime. As a result, the methods by which we conduct research on gender have also evolved. While many scholars who do research on gender engage in quantitative methods of research and analysis, this is not the only approach, particularly when dealing with sensitive issues. Here, the influence of feminism can alter the ways in which we conduct research, evaluate data, and make conclusions based on the findings yielded from the research experience. By incorporating a feminist perspective into the research environment, scholars are able to present a deeper understanding of the realities of women's lives by placing women and women's issues at the center of the research process.

The concept of giving women a voice, particularly in situations where they have been historically silenced, is a strong influence on **feminist research methods**. Many of the research studies in this book draw on feminist research methods. From the conceptualization of the research question to a discussion of which methods of data collection will be utilized and how the data will be analyzed, feminist methods engage in practices that are contrary to the traditional research paradigms. While the scientific method focuses on objectivity and the collection of data is detached from the human condition, the use of feminist methods requires a paradigm shift from what is traditionally known as research. While many of the researchers who first engaged in research through a feminist lens were women, feminist methodology does not dictate that the gender of the research participant or researcher be a woman. Rather, the philosophy of this method refers to the types of data a researcher is seeking and the process by which data are obtained (Westervelt & Cook, 2007). Feminist methods are largely qualitative in nature and allow for emotions and values to be present as part of the research process. While some feminist methodologists have criticized the process by which data are often quantified, because it does not allow for the intricate nature and quality of women's lives to be easily documented, others argue that quantitative data have a role to play within a feminist context. Regardless of the approach, the influence of feminism enables researchers to collect data from a subject that is theoretically important for their research versus data that are easily categorized (Hessy-Biber, 2004; Reinharz, 1992).

There is no single method of research that is identified as the *feminist method*. Rather, the concept of feminist methodology refers to *the process by which data are gathered* and *the relationship between the researcher and the subject*. This process involves five basic principles: (1) acknowledging the influence of gender in society as a whole (and inclusive of the research process); (2) challenging the traditional relationship between the researcher and the subject and its link to scientific research and the validity of findings; (3) engaging in consciousness raising about the realities of women's lives as part of the methodological process; (4) empowering women within a patriarchal society through their participation in research; and (5) an awareness by the researcher of the ethical costs of the research process and a need to protect their subjects (Cook & Fonow, 1986).

For many researchers who study women in the criminal justice system, the use of feminist methodologies is particularly beneficial. Not only does it enable researchers to explore in depth the issues that women face as victims and offenders, but it also provides the opportunity for the researchers to delve into their topics in a way that traditional methods fail to explore, such as the context of women's lives and their experiences in offending and victimization. For example, a simple survey question might inquire about whether an incarcerated woman has ever been victimized. We know that scholarship on incarcerated women has consistently documented the relationship between early-life victimization and participation in crime in adolescent and adult life. Yet traditional

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methods may underestimate the extent and nature of the victimization because the women may not understand the question or identify their experiences in this way. Feminist methodologies allow not only for the exploration of these issues at a deeper level but also for scholars to develop an understanding of the multifaceted effects of these experiences.

While many feminist researchers largely employ qualitative tactics, it is important to note that the use of feminist methods does not exclude the use of quantitative methods. In fact, quantitative methods can yield valuable data on the experiences of women (Westmarland, 2001). For example, survey data can yield information on the presence of gender discrimination, such as the sexual harassment among women in policing. In addition, the use of quantitative data and statistics is often useful for legislators when developing policies. Reinharz (1992) provides the example of the use of statistics in the development of sexual harassment policies whereby quantitative data "encouraged the establishment of sexual harassment committees in universities and . . . eventually provided legal redress for individuals" (p. 80). Indeed, researchers who study issues of women and crime can benefit from the lessons of feminist methodologies in their use of both quantitative and qualitative methods.

While feminist methods can provide valuable resources for the study of women and crime, feminist methods are not limited to issues of gender. Rather, feminist methodologies employ tools that are applicable across criminological topics.

By recognizing from the outset the class, racial, and gendered structures of oppression that may be at work in women's lives, this method gives voice to the larger structural processes that shape the experiences that often go unseen and unheard by others. Thus, this method provides a framework for building trust with those participants who may be unsure about the research process and creates opportunities for understanding individuals and groups who may very well be inaccessible when approached in any other way (Westervelt & Cook, 2007, p. 35).

Conclusion

The feminist movement has had a significant effect on the experience of women in the criminal justice system—from victims to offenders to workers. Today, the efforts of the pioneers of feminist criminology have led to an increased understanding of what leads a woman to engage in crime and the effects of her life experiences on her offending patterns, as well as the challenges in her return to the community. In addition, the victim experience has changed for many women in that their voices are beginning to be heard by a system that either blamed them for their victimization or ignored them entirely in years past. The feminist movement has also shed light on what it means to be a woman working within the criminal justice system and the challenges that she faces every day as a woman in this field. While women have experienced significant progress over the last century, there are still many challenges that they continue to face as offenders, victims, and workers within the world of criminal justice.

SUMMARY

- The terms *sex* and *gender* are often used interchangeably, but they have different implications for research on women and crime.
- Women are significantly more likely to be victimized by someone they know and are overrepresented in crimes such as sexual assault and intimate partner violence.
- Feminist criminologists have identified a significant link between victimization and offending.
- Many criminal justice occupations are male dominated and reflect gendered assumptions about women and work within these realms.
- Data from the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) and National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) often fail to identify much of female victimization, because crimes of rape, sexual assault, and intimate partner abuse go largely underreported.

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- Victimization studies, such as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), help illuminate the dark figure of crime by collecting data on crimes that are not reported to police.
- Self-report studies, such as the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), provide estimates of the prevalence of rape, sexual assault, intimate partner abuse, and stalking in the United States.
- Feminist research methods give women a voice in the research process and influence how data on gender are collected.

KEY TERMS

Dark figure of crime 13

Feminism 2

Feminist criminology 3

Feminist research methods 17

Gender gap 5

Gendered justice 1

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) 13

National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) 11

National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) 14

National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) 14

Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) 7

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What impact has feminism had on the study of women and crime?
2. Discuss how the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) and the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) represent the measure of female offending and victimization in society.
3. How do datasets, such as the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS), and National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), investigate issues of violence against women?
4. How do feminist research methods inform studies on women and crime?

WEB RESOURCES

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention: http://www.cdc.gov

Crime in the United States 2015: https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s.-2015

National Crime Victimization Survey: http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/NACJD/NCVS/

National Incident-Based Reporting System: http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/NACJD/NIBRS/

Uniform Crime Reports: http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr

United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems: https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/statistics/data.html

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How to Read a Research Article

As a student of criminology and criminal justice, you may have learned about the types of research that scholars engage in. In many cases, researchers publish the findings of their studies as articles in academic journals. In this section, you will learn how to read these types of articles and how to understand what researchers are saying about issues related to criminology and criminal justice.

Several different types of articles are published in academic journals. As a student of criminology and criminal justice, you may at some point be given an assignment as part of your class that asks you to combine the findings of several articles. This is an example of a literature review. In some cases, a journal may publish a literature review, which is designed to provide a consolidated review of the research on a particular issue related to crime and justice. Articles can also be theoretical in nature. In these cases, the author is using the literature to advance a new idea or perspective. You will find several examples of these types of articles throughout this text.

In addition to theoretical articles or articles that review the existing literature in the field, journal articles publish pieces that contain original research. These articles are very different from a theoretical article or a review of the literature. These types of article focus on examining a hypothesis (or set of hypotheses) through an examination of information (or data) the researcher has collected. Generally speaking, a research article that is published in an academic journal includes five basic elements: (1) an introduction, (2) a review of the literature related to the current study, (3) the methods used by the researcher to conduct the study, (4) the findings or results of the research, and (5) a discussion of the results and/or conclusion.

Research in the social sciences generally comes in two basic forms: quantitative research and qualitative research. Quantitative research often involves surveys of groups of people or an examination of some previously collected data, and the results are reported using numbers and statistics. Qualitative research can involve interviews, focus groups, and case studies and relies on words and quotes to tell a story. In this book, you will find examples of both of these types of research studies.

In the introduction section of the article, the author will typically describe the nature of the study and present a hypothesis. A hypothesis frames the intent of the research study. In many cases, the author will state the hypothesis directly. For example, a research study in criminology or criminal justice might pose the following hypothesis: As the number of arrests increases, the length of the prison sentence will increase. Here, the author is investigating whether a relationship exists between a defendant's prior criminal record and sentence length. Similar to a hypothesis is the research question. Whereas a hypothesis follows an "if X happens, then Y will occur" format, research questions provide a path of inquiry for the research study. For example, a research question in criminology might ask, "What are the effects of a criminal record on the likelihood of incarceration?" While the presentation of a hypothesis and the presentation of a research question differ from each other, their intent is the same as each sets out a direction for the research study and may reference the expected results of the study. It is then left up to the researcher(s) and their data findings to determine whether they prove or disprove their hypothesis or if the results of their study provide an answer to their research question.

The next section of the article is the literature review. In this section, the author provides a review of the previous research conducted on this issue and the results of these studies. The purpose of the literature review is to set the stage for the current research and provide the foundation for why the current study is important to the field of criminology and criminal justice. Some articles will separate the literature review into its own

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section, while others will include this summary within the introductory section. Using the example from our earlier sample hypothesis, a literature review will consider what other scholars have said about the relationship between criminal history and incarceration and how their findings relate to the current research study. It may also point out how the current study differs from the research that has previously been conducted.

In the methods section, the researcher presents the type of data that will be used in the current study. As mentioned earlier, research can be either quantitative or qualitative (and some studies may have both types of data within the same research project). In the methods section, the researcher will discuss who the participants of the study were; how the data were collected (interview, survey, observation, etc.); when, where, and how long the study took place; and how the data were processed. Each of these stages represents a key part of the research experience, and it is important for researchers to carefully document and report on this process.

The results section details the findings of the study. In quantitative studies, the researchers use statistics (often accompanied by tables, charts, or graphs) to explain whether the results of the study support or reject the hypothesis/research question. There are several different types of statistics and analysis that might be used. These can generally be divided into three categories: (1) descriptive, (2) bivariate, and (3) multivariate. Descriptive statistics are generally used to describe the demographics of the sample, such as the average age of the respondents, their racial/ethnic identity, or their sex/gender. Bivariate statistics are used to compare two different variables. In this book, you may find examples where survey responses are compared between males and females. You should note which of these relationships are significant, meaning that the effect is not likely to have occurred by chance but instead reflects an important difference or result in the data. Most research places statistical significance at the .05 level. Finally, multivariate statistics, such as regression analyses, are used to look for differences in one variable while controlling for the effect of other variables. In qualitative studies, the researchers look for themes in the narrative data. Whereas quantitative studies rely on numbers, the qualitative studies in this text use words to describe the stories related to women and crime.

The research article concludes with a discussion and summary of the findings. The findings are often discussed within the context of the hypothesis or research question and relate the findings of this research study to related research in the field. Often, scholars will highlight their findings in light of the methods used in the study or the limitations of the study. The section concludes with recommendations for future research or may discuss the policy implications of the research findings.

Now that you've learned a bit about the different types of articles and the different components of a research article, let us apply these concepts to one of the articles here in your book. Depending on the type of article, some of these concepts may not apply to your analysis. This article appears in the second section of this book.

Women From Different Ethnic Groups and Their Experiences Within Victimization and Seeking Help

1. **What type of article is this? Is it a theoretical article, a review of the existing literature, or an article that contains original research?**
   - This article contains original research.
2. **What is the thesis or main idea of this article?**
   - The main idea of this article looks the prevalence of victimization for women of different racial and ethnic backgrounds and the differences by which these groups sought help managing this experience.

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3. If this is a research article, what is the hypothesis or research question?

- There are three research questions in this article: (1) What is the prevalence of abuse for four different categories (child physical abuse, child sexual abuse, adult physical abuse, adult sexual abuse) among women with different racial and ethnic identities (Caucasian, African American and Latina)? (2) Do these women disclose their victimization, and if so, whom do they disclose to? (3) What types of services do women seek out to manage their victimization experience?

4. How does the previous literature answer these issues?

- The authors discuss the theoretical context around how and why women engage in help seeking and whether there are differences based on ethnicity.

5. What is the sample used in this study? How were the data for this research collected?

- This study involves data from three different populations: a state prison, several domestic violence and sexual assault organizations, and four general areas in the community. Recruitment flyers were posted in both English and Spanish in order to gather a diverse sample. Study participants were required to be at least 18 years old to participate and received a $25 cash incentive for their participation in the study (except for those participants who were from the state prison).

6. Is this a quantitative or qualitative study? If it is a quantitative study, what types of statistics are used? If it is a qualitative study, how are the data organized?

- In looking at the results section, you can determine that this is a quantitative study through its use of numbers and statistics. Data were collected via a 1-hour face-to-face interview. Data were tested using ANOVA and chi-square analyses to see whether there were any significant differences between the three racial/ethnic groups. Regression analysis was also used to see which variables were significant predictors in the use of tangible and professional services and support.

7. What are the results, and how do(es) the author(s) present the results?

- The authors present the data in five different tables. The first table looks at the descriptive data by race/ethnicity, the type of victimization that was experienced, whether they disclosed the abuse and whom they disclosed to. Overall, the sample experienced 2.48 different types of abuse. Caucasian women experienced the highest number of abuse types, followed by Latina women and African American women. The second table reports the tangible types of social service and support that women engaged in following their victimization, by race/ethnicity. Results note that African American women engaged in the greatest number of support options (3.50), compared to White women (2.97) and Latina women (2.38). Table 3 reports the types of professional social science and support that the women used. Here, white women used significantly greater number of supports (5.26) compared to African American women (4.50) and Latina women (3.59). The fourth table presents regression analysis for the use of tangible services and support. This analysis found that previously receiving welfare support and the number of experiences with abuse was significantly associated with seeking out tangible support for the victimization. The fifth table replicates this model for the use of professional services and support. In this model, the number of experiences with abuse, whether they disclosed physical IPV to formal supports, age and being recruited from an agency (compared to prison or the community) all significantly increased the use of professional services and support.

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These models tell us that as the frequency of abuse increases, so does the likelihood of seeking help for victimization. While there were differences by race/ethnicity between individual variables, these differences disappear in predicting the type of services used.

8. Do you believe the author(s) provided a persuasive argument? Why or why not?

   - While the assessment of whether the authors provided a persuasive argument is ultimately up to the reader, the data in this study do provide an interesting look at how women from different racial and ethnic groups seek help on both the frequency and type of victimization, as well as the types of help seeking that they engage in.

9. Who is the intended audience of this article?

   - In thinking about the intended audience of the article, it may be useful to ask yourself, "Who will benefit from reading this article?" This article appeared in an academic journal, which is typically read by students, professors, scholars, and justice officials. Here, the information in the article can not only add to the classroom experience for students and professors who study this issue but also can ultimately influence practitioners who provide these resources to their communities.

10. What does the article add to your knowledge of the subject?

    - The answer to this question will vary for each student, because it asks students to reflect about what they learned from this research and how it relates to their previous experience with the topic. An example from this article might be the understanding that while women of different racial and ethnic groups experience different rates and types of victimization, these results are not necessarily significant in predicting whether they will seek help or the types of help that they will utilize.

11. What are the implications for criminal justice policy that can be derived from this article?

    - While this article does not necessarily influence criminal justice policy, the results from this study can have an impact on both the types of resources that are offered to women who experience victimization and how these offerings might alter based on cultural differences.

Now that you've seen these concepts applied to an article, continue this practice as you go through each reading in your text. Some articles will be easier to understand while others will be more challenging. You can refer back to this example if you need help with additional articles in the book.

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READING /// 1

As you learned in the section, feminist criminology challenged not only the male-dominated views of criminality but also provided a new perspective for understanding the offending behaviors of women. Here, Drs. Chesney-Lind and Morash argue that while feminist criminology has made a number of valuable contributions to the discipline, the field needs to expand beyond its traditional boundaries in order to move toward a global understanding of gender and crime.

Transformative Feminist Criminology

A Critical Re-thinking of a Discipline

Meda Chesney-Lind and Merry Morash

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Introduction

Early theories to explain delinquency, crime, and victimization were actually limited to theorizing male deviance, male criminality, and male victimization with a specific focus of showcasing the utility of the positivist paradigm to the study of the distributions and causes of these phenomena. Thus, the founders of criminology almost completely overlooked women's crime, and they ignored, minimized, and trivialized female victimization (Hughes, 2005). When they did consider women, they considered them in relation to men, and discussions of these relations rarely if ever included details of the horrific violence that many women suffered at the hands of those men (or blamed the woman for the assaults).

Based on the assumption that aspects of the social world could be precisely measured and clearly demonstrably linked as causes and effects, positivist methodology came to dominate criminology by the mid-twentieth century (see Deegan, 1990). This perspective emphasized the researcher as objective and detached from both the data collection process and the use of the findings. No consideration was given to the effect of field researchers on study participants or the potential that social phenomenon are given their meaning by individuals, and these meanings are as important as precisely measured "realities." Even those criminologists that used more qualitative data, such as Thrasher (1927) and Cohen (1955), failed to understand how their own gender colored their view of the world, which meant they completely ignored and/or sexualized girls and talked almost exclusively to boys and young men about gangs and delinquency.

Feminist criminology directed attention toward gender as a key force that shapes crime and social control, toward research methods that recognize power differentials between the researcher and the researched, and gave relatively powerless people voice to express their standpoints, and toward action-oriented research to reveal and promote justice.

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Feminist Theory's Unique Focus

To recognize the unique contributions of feminist criminological theory, we first consider what is "missing" in other paradigms, and we present key feminist work that has filled these gaps (Sprague, 2005). Specifically, inconsistent with the longstanding inattention to girls and women caught up in the justice system, research on the early history of US courts showed that concern for girls' immoral conduct fueled the so-called "child-saving movement" which established a separate system of justice for youth and that ended up incarcerating large numbers of girls for sexual offenses for many decades into the twentieth century (Chesney-Lind, 1977; Odem, 1995; Schlossman & Wallach, 1978). Another historical analysis (Rafter, 1990, p. 149–152) revealed that while reformatories housed white women deemed amenable to being "saved" through grooming for work as domestics, particularly in the South after the Civil War, the criminal justice system treated and punished imprisoned African American women as if they were men, requiring them to work alongside men in chain gangs, even subjected them to whipping, like men.

The recognition of women's and girls' variation in experiences based on race, gender, and other differences has become another cornerstone of feminist criminology. Feminist criminologists were also the first to recognize that many girls moved deep into the justice system after they ran away from a sexually abusive parent, were arrested for running or for "survival crime," and were then criminalized by the system (Chesney-Lind, 1989). This discovery stimulated much research on girls' and women's unique pathways into illegal activity and institutions of control (e.g., Belknap & Holsinger, 1998; Davis, 2007; Holsinger, 2000; Van Voorhis, Wright, Salisbury, & Bauman, 2010) and on the high prevalence of victimization among women offenders (e.g., Browne, Miller, & Maguin, 1999; Moe 2004; Richie, 1996).

The inclusion of women and girls in criminological research was catalyzed by the second wave of the feminist movement in the late 60s and early 70s.[1] As might be expected, feminist criminologists of this period brought the insights of feminist theories unrelated to crime and social control into their groundbreaking work; indeed, inter-disciplinarity is another earmark of feminist work. Contemporary criminologists who work from a feminist perspective continue to borrow heavily from the disciplines of women's studies, gender studies, and feminist scholarship in other social sciences and fields of study. Often their keenest insights come when they transgress criminology; that is, they focus on concepts apart from crime, victimization, and justice system; these imported concepts shed light on the operation of gender as it pertains to the core interests of criminology (Cain, 1990).

All the disciplines that contain feminist theory have different strands that vary in several ways: degrees of theoretical attention to intersectionality (i.e., combinations of gender with race, class, ethnicity, and other status markers that affect social life and individuals); preference for particular research methods; integration with constructionist, conflict, or other theoretical paradigms. The best known of the early theoretical influences on criminology were the notions of *radical feminist theory, liberal feminist theory,* and *socialist feminist theory. Radical feminism* stresses that patriarchal gender arrangements lead to men's efforts to control women's sexuality (and their reproductive capacity) often through violence and abuse (e.g., rape and wife battering). Men dominate over women throughout society, and meaningful change requires obliterating gender differences in power and opportunities (Brownmiller, 1975; Millet, 1970). *Liberal feminism* suggests that gender oppression would be reduced or eliminated by altering the way that girls and boys are socialized and by reforming laws and their implementation, for example, by eliminating bias in the sentencing of women and men and between racial groups (Bickle & Peterson, 1991). *Socialist feminism* made an important contribution to understanding that not just gender but also class results in oppression, so for example, countries where women receive little education and hold low occupational status experience high levels of sexual violence against women and produce women's tremendous fear of crime (Yodanis, 2004; also see Martin, Vieraitis, & Britto, 2006; Whaley, 2001). According to socialist feminists, since gender oppression takes on alternative forms and intensity

[1]The women's movement has traditionally been divided into two historic "waves," despite the fact that work on the status of women can be dated well before the first of these events, and continued in a rather clear form after the first "wave" passed. Generally, however, the first "wave" is recognized as starting with the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, and the second "wave" is dated to the publication of Betty Friedan's influential book, *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963.

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depending on social class, reforms require change in the economic system (e.g., a shift toward socialism) not just in the sex/gender system.

New schools of thought continue to appear on the feminist theoretical landscape and they, too, are of clear relevance to criminology. Each school has challenged both mainstream criminology and other feminist theory to more fully account for the complexity of how gender is connected to crime and justice. Despite different strands of feminist theory, there are important key concepts and both theoretical and epistemological assumptions that cut across the variants of feminist theory. The centrality of patriarchy and "feminine" and "masculine" identities, intersectionality that recognizes the combined effects of gender and other status markers, agency even of the oppressed, and feminist epistemology and research methods are persistent characteristics of feminist social science, including feminist criminology.

Patriarchy Matters

While the dictionary defines feminism as simply "the theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes" (Merriam-Webster, 2009), the terrain has been made much more complicated in the years that followed that 1895 definition. The *sex/gender system* (also referred to as the *gender organization* and *gender arrangements*) stands as a central concept in feminist theory. The sex/gender system exists globally and in countries, cultures, regions, communities, organizations, families, and other groups. It affects individuals by impacting their identities, imposing gendered expectations, and prohibiting and sanctioning "gender inappropriate" behavior. Patriarchal sex/gender systems are characterized by males' exercise of power and control to oppress women (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). The degree and the form of patriarchy vary by place and time and even for subgroups (e.g., social class, racial, ethnic, and age groups) sharing the same geography and period (Lerner, 1986a, b; Lown, 1983; Pateman, 1988, 1989). According to the ideology of extreme patriarchy, women's orientation should be totally restricted to the home with no participation in education or the workforce (Stankuniene & Maslauskaite, 2008). Slightly less extreme forms of patriarchy allow women to participate in the workforce but husbands and, depending on the culture, other relatives control women's earnings.

The sex/gender system typically functions as a system of social stratification, where both men and women and the tasks they perform are valued differently—with men's assumed qualities and the work they do valued more highly (Conway, Pizzamiglio, & Mount, 1996; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, Xu, 2002; Gerber, 2009). To illustrate, many citizens and some police associate effective policing with characteristics assumed to be traits for men, especially traits surrounding "aggression, violence, danger, risk taking, and courageousness" (Franklin, 2005, p. 6; also Heidensohn, 1992; Hunt, 1984; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). In highly gendered (Acker, 1990) police organizations, women are stereotyped and channeled into restricted types of police work and support networks, are treated with hostility, and are rejected by other officers just on the basis of their gender (Martin & Jurik, 2007). Practices of exclusion from informal work cultures, gender segregation, differential assignments, sexual harassment, and marginalization of women with family responsibilities also characterize correctional organizations and the settings where legal professionals work (Martin & Jurik, 2007, p. 2).

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

Feminist criminologists (e.g., Hunnicutt, 2009; Ogle & Batton, 2009) struggle to keep attention focused on how different forms of patriarchy influence crime,

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victimization, the justice system, and workers in that system. Importantly, they document inequities and suffering introduced by patriarchal arrangements to protest and change them.

Masculinities and Femininities

In criminology, one important explanation that has traditionally been "missing" from conversations about crime is that boys and men have always committed the most crime, especially of a violent type or in the "crimes of the powerful" category (Daly, 1989; Schwartz, Steffensmeier, & Feldmeyer, 2009; Steffensmeier, Schwartz, Zhong, & Ackerman, 2005). For decades criminologists by and large ignored the gender gap (or dropped girls and women from the analysis as many early longitudinal studies did), which had the effect of normalizing high levels of male violence. Although certainly not the only explanation for men's and boys' high levels of illegal behavior, theories about gender identities are one approach that holds promise in explaining the gender difference. Although feminist theory, by definition, is grounded in women's experience, some critical male scholars (DeKeseredy, 2011; Messerschmidt, 1993; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, this issue) have increasingly adopted feminist perspectives in their own research on men and male behavior as well as women, and they have explored the link of masculinities to crime. Also, feminist criminologists have made major advances by showing the connection of pressure to conform to particular aspects of manhood and male involvements in crime (Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Bowker, 1997; Bui & Morash, 2008).

The feminist perspective calls attention to gender (and thus masculinity) as something that is enacted in the context of patriarchal privilege, class privilege, and racism. The power of this perspective is clearly evident in work by Danner and Carmody (2001) who document how the media accounts of school shootings completely miss the role of gender in these crimes that so horrified the nation. Surveying newspaper coverage of shootings at multiple districts, Danner and Carmody noted that while the media was obsessed with the stories, all the stories "rounded up all the usual suspects"—general culture of violence, violent media, gangs, the access to guns, youth culture, and so forth—with virtually no realization that *all* the perpetrators were male and the victims were predominantly female.

What about girls? Here the discussion focuses on how girls, particularly girls involved in crime, negotiate feminine norms that tend to reward obedience to authority, particularly male authority, passivity, and nurturance. Consider girls who are gang members. Despite the stereotype of gangs as hyper masculine, girls are present in gangs, and present in very significant numbers (one estimate is that that girls are roughly a third of gang members) (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Exactly how do these girls negotiate what some might imagine as a quintessentially male space? Are they simply embracing a "bad girl femininity" as an "aggressive, tough, crazy and violent" gang member? Laidler and Hunt (2001) do an outstanding job of documenting how African American, Latina, and Asian American girls negotiate not only dangerous neighborhoods and risky peer groups (since most girls are in mixed-sex gangs) but also engage in very complicated cultural notions of femininity. Contrary to the construction of gang girls as "a bad ass" (p. 675), they note that girls place a very high value on both "respect" and "respectability." They alternately challenge and embrace notions of traditional femininity through interactions with others in a range of settings but always return to behaviors that involve "defending one's reputation as respectable" (p. 676).

Irwin and Chesney-Lind (2008) build on the insight that girls' and women's crime, even violent crime, is not well understood or explained by simply assuming that girls are mimicking their male counterparts and taking up a form of dangerous masculinity (the "bad ass" perspective). Long dominant in criminology, these theories of "violence" assume that female violence can be explained by the same factors that have long been studied to explain male violence, since these "bad" women are seeking equality with men in the area of violence (and acting just like men). Irwin and Chesney-Lind also identify other approaches to female violence that stress its roots in female victimization in patriarchal society and the role of deteriorated neighborhoods in producing a female version of the "code of the streets" tough femininity, particularly for urban girls of color. Building on these more recent constructions, they conclude that one must examine how the multiple systems of oppression (based on class, race, ethnicity, and gender) interact in complex but

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co-equal ways to produce contexts where girls' violence makes sense (often as a survival mechanism) rather than understanding gender as something one "does" or doesn't do while negotiating more robust systems of race and class oppression (see Chesney-Lind & Jones, 2010).

Intersectionality

African American scholar and activist bell hooks's book, *Ain't I a Woman* (1981), highlighted and forever invalidated the sole focus on gender. Hooks argued against white feminists who felt that women were denied access to politics because they were stereotyped as frail and delicate. She pointed out that women like her had a history that fully contradicted this imagery, in part because of the hard labor and the severe living conditions imposed on slaves. The challenges of understanding the realities of the lives of women who differ in their combinations of age, color, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other characteristics pervade feminist criminology, and are addressed in attempts to take these intersections into account in understanding individual identity, group and local context, and social structure.

Black feminist criminology makes its contribution by emphasizing race-related structural oppression, the influence of Black community and culture, intimate and familial relations affected by race, and the nature of women's identities as Black, female, of a particular class, and so on (Potter, 2006). In this tradition, Jones (2010) explored and explained the lives of Black girls who confront violence on a daily basis in their communities. Providing an example of feminist theory that attends to identity, context, race, and gender, Jones rejects placing the justice system at the center of the girls' lives and assuming that justice system labeling is a meaningful descriptor for the girls. Instead, she builds theory to show how the girls manage expectations for being "good girls" in communities and schools that are marked by conflict and require an offensive posture and even the use of violence for self-protection.

Agency

Theorists and researchers sometimes ignore women's agency and focus only on their compliance with patriarchal constraints (Gallagher, 2007; Macleod, 1991). Feminist criminologists instead emphasize agency—an assertion of identity and attempts to steer one's life—even under extreme conditions (Lerner, 1986a, b, p. 239). Although in a context characterized by a constant threat of male and female violence, the girls that Jones (Jones, 2010) studied were active and agentic in navigating between "good" and "ghetto" messages about Black femininity. Similarly, Bosworth and Carrabine (2001) detailed how women in prison, who certainly suffered from a profound loss of freedom, found a variety of ways to resist, to cope with, and to survive the carceral conditions. As a final example, Morash and Haarr (2012) discovered that many women police resisted reproducing traditional female-male stereotypes and hierarchies that devalue traits commonly associated with women. Instead they fashioned complex positive occupational identities that in many cases were not tied to their sex category, but when they were, that associated women's positive attributes with excellent job performance.

Feminist Methodology and Epistemology

Although all sorts of research methods have been used to develop and improve feminist theory (Reinharz, 1992; Sprague, 2005), feminist criminologists have contributed some unique insights on "how we know" about social life and have challenged positivist science norms that render the researcher invisible and study participants powerless. Feminist approaches to research are suited to revealing human agency and the constructed nature of gender identity and structure. The recognition of these features of social life extends to the research process.

Specifically, feminist researchers believe that the subjects of research can contribute crucial information on their experiences, that their understandings are important, and that these experiences must be considered in the context of patriarchy to be understood. They recognize the need to consider the power differentials between the researched and the researcher, and how these differentials affect the production of knowledge (Ramazanoglu, 1989). Burman, Batchelor, and Brown (2001) put these principles into practice in their study of Scottish teenaged girls' views and experiences of violence. They faced many dilemmas in their ethnographic work that over time involved 800 girls. For instance, sometimes discussions of

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violence led to girls being violent toward each other, raising ethical issues about the appropriateness of group discussion and how the researcher should intervene. Also, researchers were strongly affected by girls' accounts of being bullied, sexually assaulted, or in other ways victimized, in some cases because the researchers had similar experiences during their own childhoods. Researchers struggled, too, with girls' descriptions of hitting or slapping each other as "fun" and "not violence."

The importance of feminist criminology's contribution to research methodology is striking in the literature on violence against women. Depending on whether they use positivist measurement and sampling approaches, researchers have drawn conflicting conclusions: either that men and women are equivalently violent in intimate partner relationships, or that men are markedly more violent and destructive than women. Feminist criminologists emphasize that adequate measurement requires adequate theoretical conceptualization of violence and its context and it must include aspects of male violence (such as stalking and sexual assault that women rarely commit) (DeKeseredy, 2011; Dobash, Dobash, Wilson, & Daly, 1992; Melton &d Belknap, 2003; Miller, 2005).

A valid measure of abuse must differentiate the types of intimate partner violence identified by Johnson and Ferraro (2000): *intimate terrorism,* which is violence used as one of many tactics in a general pattern of extreme effort to control an intimate partner through the combination of physical and emotional abuse; *violent resistance* in self-defense, often just once; *mutual violence* in which domestic partners use controlling and manipulative violence against each other; and *situational couple violence,* which "results from situations or arguments between partners that escalate on occasion into physical violence" (Kelly & Johnson, 2008, p. 485). Shelter and domestic violence advocacy program samples consist primarily of victims of intimate terrorism, but random samples drawn for surveys have high representation of situational violence victims. To bring this point home, we point out that intimate terrorism victims are often prohibited from leaving home, answering the phone, or reading the mail—so they are highly unlikely to take part in any sort of research, unless they are in shelters. By accurately measuring the type of violence and by recognizing the biases introduced by different sampling approaches, research demonstrates that in heterosexual couples, males most often perpetrate the extremely damaging form of abuse, intimate terrorism, and that misogynist attitudes and gender traditionalism contribute to this form of abusive behavior (Johnson, 2006, 2011).

A central tenet of feminist methodologies is that research methods must be up to the task of producing knowledge that informs and promotes positive social change. As a case in point, guided by feminist theory and methodological approaches, Dobash and Dobash (2004) collected qualitative and quantitative data from a sample of couples. Their findings justified public policies that emphasize men's violence against women as well as cautions against the practice of dual arrests, in which police take couples into custody together. If they had studied a random sample of couples with methods to "count" incidents, Dobash and Dobash might have made recommendations for family therapy to address situational couple violence, thereby ignoring the imbalance of power and danger to the victim when intimate terrorism or violent resistance occurs. To challenge damaging policies and advance those that protect the less powerful, feminist criminologists often collaborate with and carefully listen to the people they study. Additionally, they collaborate with advocates to ensure that theoretical discoveries are translated into program and policy action (Haviland, Frye, & Rajah, 2008).

Challenges for Future Theorizing and Research

As feminist criminology enters the new century, it must embrace two important and exciting challenges: First, in an era of unparalleled inequality, we must find new and powerful ways to continue paying attention to the powerful and the oppressors. We must forcefully present the globalization of the world's issues and the increasing need to see violations of girls and women as human rights issues.

Consistent with the overarching critical criminology paradigm, feminist criminologists have directed attention to a serious limitation of much social science theory, which is its failure to explain the privilege and behavior of powerful people and its complementary concentration on understanding people who lack power (Sprague, 2005, p. 11–12). Given the connection of limited power with female status,

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feminist criminologists in particular need to be quite careful about "studying down"—that is, focusing exclusively on the powerless—which can result in pathologizing crime victims, or girls and women in conflict with the law, rather than showing how oppressive gender arrangements lead to victimization and harsh punishment. Understanding structures of power and context are crucial.

Globalization brings new challenges to feminist criminologists. Take the attempted assassination of Malala Yousufzai, the 14-year-old Pakistani girl shot in the head by the Taliban for speaking out about girls' rights to an education in October, 2012. Shortly after—in December, 2012—in India there was the terrible gang rape and resulting murder of a 23-year-old medical student, which provoked worldwide outrage, and ultimately a global women's protest that went viral because of the internet (see onebillionrising.org for images). So, if we were asked to chart out the pressing issues for feminist criminology, we would point to the following possibilities.

Malala Yousufzai's courage causes us to see the importance of girls' studies, not just women's studies, because today's girls will be tomorrow's women. The tragic and brutal death in India tells us about tolerance of girls' and women's victimization. As a horrific example, after she was repeatedly raped over a 90-minute period on a public bus she rode with a male friend, who also was severely beaten and left suffering, the couple was dumped on the road. The police who finally showed up argued for two hours about which of them would have to take the seriously beaten couple to the hospital (Pokharel & Rana, 2013). Both incidents blur the boundaries between victimization, crime, and profound human rights violations. They also put in stark focus the explicit failure of certain "courts" and "police" to protect women. Indeed, in some parts of Pakistan, the establishment of Sharia courts actually jail girls and women seeking help for abuse (such as the arrest of women for adultery if they report a rape) and often forcibly return them to their abusers from whom they are trying to escape (Asian Human Rights Commission, 2010; Hadi & Chesney-Lind, 2013).

These incidents are not isolated or unusual in the countries where they occurred or in many countries throughout the world. They are just two examples of a multitude of organized group efforts, in some cases sponsored or tolerated by the State, to enforce extreme patriarchy. The attack on girls' education is not atypical.

> Around the world, students, teachers and schools are attacked at an alarming rate. This war against education, in which educating girls is often a motivating factor, gets very little attention or media coverage. But in at least 31 countries education has been the target of intentional attacks for political, ideological, sectarian, religious, military or other reasons. (Winthrop, 2012, p. 2)

In one year, largely motivated by beliefs that girls should not go to school, Pakistan experienced 152 bombings that destroyed schools, and Afghanistan had 35 schools burned; similar patterns occur in parts of Latin America, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East (Winthrop, 2012). Lack of education and resulting dependence on others place girls and women at risk for continued exposure to violence. If they leave or are expelled from their natal or marital families—and expulsion is another form of violence—they may turn to prostitution or illegal acts to survive and keep their children alive, and they often must live in dangerous places that expose them to victimization and the need to defend themselves, sometimes violently. The connection of girls and women being victims and being caught up as offenders in the courts and correctional programs and institutions is strong, and it is many times a causal connection.

Just as globalization alerts us to violence against women throughout the world, it directs attention to U.S. policies that bring women into prisons outside of the United States. Not only did the U.S. "war on drugs" develop into a "war against women" who in increasing proportions came to make up non-violent prison populations charged with drug-related offenses (Chesney-Lind, 1977; Johnson, 2006). Also, businesses that run and supply prisons, U.S. government entities, and U.S. politicians have promoted arrest, prosecution, and incarceration of women worldwide (Richie, 2012; Sudbury, 2002). U.S. pressure to criminalize people involved in the international drug trade and in prostitution had the unanticipated effect of promoting incarceration of women whose only means of survival, economically or in face of pressures from criminal men, is to carry drugs or prostitute themselves (Kempadoo, 2005).

One aspect of globalization is the movement of people across borders. There are an estimated 214 million international migrants worldwide, and 49 percent of

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them are women (http:// www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/lang/en). Migrant women are at high risk for sexual exploitation and violence by intimate partners (Piper, 2003). Hoping to improve their lives, women who join men as "picture brides" may barely know the men they marry, if they know them at all. They often find themselves vulnerable to abuse because they are isolated in a new country, unable to speak the local language, and unfamiliar with the justice system and sources of help. Alternatively, women may be lured to foreign countries to take jobs where they are exploited or forced to work in the sex trades. These and other circumstances create new patterns of girls' and women's victimization and new challenges for justice system response.

Although we advocate theoretical and research attention to conditions for women internationally, it is important to recognize that in the United States, which Hausmann, Tyson, and Zahida (2012) scores as providing equivalent education to females and males, inequality in economic participation and opportunity place women at risk for being unable to leave abusive relationships, move out of dangerous neighborhoods, or resist earning money through illegal means. Dramatic cuts in welfare support that began in 1996 leave increasing numbers of women (and their children) either without income or in low-paying jobs that do not provide medical or other benefits (Peterson, Zong, & Jones-DeWeever, 2002). The so-called feminization of poverty (formation of female headed households, fathers' failure to support children, and segregation of women in low-paying traditionally female occupations) leads to women's increased involvement in consumer-based crimes, such as shoplifting and welfare fraud (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2011; Steffensmeier & Streifel, 1992).

Theory as a tool to fuel the disassembly and replacement of destructive processes in the name of crime control and prevention is long over-due both in the United States and in all the countries that are tempted to emulate the tolerance of violence against women and the penal regimes that the United States has become so reliant on. Does the new century offer any hopeful signs for such a conversion in theory? The very fact that progressive and critical criminology, and particularly feminist criminology, has survived three decades of furious backlash politics gives us reason for hope. Beyond that, there is the vitality of our field. To do feminist criminology, this article has posited, does not necessarily mean that one is restricted to what was once the standard trilogy of our field: women as offenders, victims, and workers in the criminal justice system. Instead, the whole of the field of criminology can fruitfully be rethought from a feminist perspective. Finally, there is a growing body of international research, particularly in the area of the victimization of women, that allows us to hope that feminist criminology will become globally relevant in the decades to come. As it does so, the field will do more than simply "document and count" women's victimizations; instead, it will begin to act across "national" boundaries to name the problem and to reframe it in ways that make clear the centrality of the human rights of girls and women and also to find ways to take action on behalf of victimized and criminalized women.

Future Directions for Theory and Research

Feminist criminologists, along with other critical theorists, must increasingly embrace the insights of critical studies, particularly the role of the media in the construction and framing of the narratives that shape and define the "crime problem" (and the implicit solutions to same). The corporate media, whether print or television, turn to crime stories, along with celebrity gossip and scandals, as reliable front-page staples for a variety of reasons. This mix provides a sensationalistic and profitable filler for newspapers and television stations with shrinking newsrooms and diminished appetites to engage in serious investigative journalism (Hamilton, 1998; McManus, 1994).

Postmodern feminism directs attention to the "construction of truth" in such cultural outlets as the media, which can play a very critical role in the public's perception of the crime "problem." It is this emphasis on culture and the production of knowledge rather than on structure that is an earmark of postmodernism (Milovanovic, this issue). Websdale (1996), for example, documented how the media portrayal of sexual assault and abuse as perpetrated by strangers supported the passage of a Washington state law permitting "indefinite civil commitment" of sexual predators but excluded husbands and fathers assaulting wives and children as potential perpetrators. The law, supported by newspaper reports, creates a

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discourse that sex crimes rather than routine are "dreadful but rare" events that require tough sanctions rather than a confrontation with patriarchal families (Websdale & Alvarez, 1998 p. 65). In an earlier piece, Websdale and Alvarez documented how the corporate media traditionally discusses the murder of women by intimate partners by using an approach they call "forensic journalism." Here, the reader is given vivid and dramatic details of the event and is ultimately told "more and more about less and less." In essence, the readers are left with salacious details but little actual information that might prevent future such occurrences (Websdale & Alvarez, 1998).

Regarding offenders, we know that media exposure to crime stories does, in fact, have an impact: Heavier viewers of local television news are more likely to fear crime and criminal victimization (Romer, Jamieson, & Aday, 2003, p. 101). This is attributed to "pervasive coverage of violent crime stories," which also tends to increase fear of African Americans and other minorities who are disproportionately featured in crime stories (Romer, Jamieson, & DeCoteau, 1998). Research has shown that ideas about crime and criminals are based, in large part, on the stories that individuals learn about from the media (Antunes & Hurley, 1977; Chermak, 1994; Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002). A broader question, though, is the degree to which crime journalism influences punitive crime policies such as "the war on drugs" and "mass incarceration (see Brennan, Chesney-Lind, Vandenberg, & Wulf-Ludden, in press)."

We also know that the race of women offenders dramatically affects the way the media treat them. In a study of drug stories appearing on the front pages of 17 national newspapers, it was found that the stories about minority women who committed street-drug offenses were considerably more negative than the stories about white women who committed such offenses. The chief difference was the emphasis that journalists tended to place on an offender's degree of guilt, harm to another person, and reform potential. As an example, stories about white women drug offenders often included pictures of their families on a couch and discussions of a new drug program, while women of color were often portrayed as hopelessly drug addicted, and getting re-arrested and re-committed as a result (Brennan, Chesney-Lind, Vandenberg, & Wulf-Ludden, in press).

In an era of around-the-clock news coverage as well as the use of crime as entertainment, the media often misrepresents the majority of women who break the law and hides the circumstances of women who act with violence. Women who act violently are portrayed in the news as "irrational" and even "demonic," especially if they act against children (Grabe, Trager, Lear, & Rauch, 2006). By paying much more attention to violence by women than by men, the media suggests (incorrectly) that women are well represented among violent offenders (Naylor, 2001; Schlesinger, Tumber, & Murdock, 1991). Documentaries, televised news, and talk shows portray imprisoned women as violent and sex-crazed (Cecil, 2007), and "crack moms" are blamed for damage to unborn children (Humphries, 1999). Especially racial and ethnic minority women are described as abnormal and individually flawed (Mann & Zatz, 1996). Evidence that women are not and never have been as violent or criminal as men contradicts both media images and official punitive responses. The potential for such portrayals to influence responses to women offenders deserves more attention, because arrest statistics but not victim surveys show a narrowing in the gender gap for assaults (Schwartz, Steffensmeier, & Feldmeyer, 2009), and arrests of women for drunk driving are out of proportion to behavioral indicators (Schwartz & Rookey, 2008).

Conclusion

Beyond the idea of the increasing role of globalism and of the media—including video footage that we can now carry with us in our pockets—we would contend, there is a continuing need to better theorize feminist notions of patriarchy and systematically explore how patriarchal privilege is enforced though routine criminal justice practices. Borrowing from work of feminist political scientists such as Walby (1990), which early on identified that liberal notions of "public" and "private" greatly disadvantaged women, we must expand our thinking about the links between the observed patterns of women's victimization, women's offending, and women's experience with the criminal justice system within the context of patriarchy. The question of how masculinities or some other forces create the gender gap in criminality also begs for an answer.

We must also think about how feminist theorizing assists us in building a less violent and more just world, including systems of crime control that take us out of the

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penal regimes of the past century. Feminist criminologists have challenged the masculinist bias in their field, and they continue to do so today. As an example, both of us firmly believe that the assumption that fields grow and develop out of male styles of interaction and argument, or what might be called "mental combat," is a flawed way to think about intellectual work. We instead think that what builds knowledge is open conversation, real respect, and real listening. Given the growing significance of crime policy and the criminal justice system in an era of "governing through crime" (Simon, 2007) and mass incarceration of women in many parts of the world (Carlen, 2002; Carlen & Toombs, 2006; Lee, 2007; Mauer, 1999), the feminist perspective on crime in modern society remains all the more vital. Feminist criminologists have proposed alternatives to the expensive and damaging status quo. For example, drawing on Gilligan's (1982) understanding of the importance of care in girls' and women's moral thinking, Daly and Stubbs (2006) suggest that restorative justice may track with the feminist values of care and valuation of relationships as an alternative to the current emphasis on justice. Such notions of reconciliation, truth telling, and social responses to law violating that heal rather than punish and incapacitate will not only better reduce crime but also humanize the current dehumanizing systems of punitive courts and institutions, jails, and prisons that can oppress and destroy not only those held within them but those who are employed to serve as guards and wardens.

Theory as a tool to fuel the disassembly and replacement of destructive processes in the name of crime control and prevention is long over-due both in the United States and in all the countries that are tempted to emulate the penal regimes the United States has become so reliant on.

Does the new century offer any hopeful signs for such a conversion in theory? One can only hope that the right-wing control over the political process, which established crime as a code word for race in national politics, is finally winding down (and losing power in the United States). One would wish that this were a product of moral outrage, but it is also explained by demographics. Simply put, the desire to ever expand the racist, sexist, and homophobic rhetoric has run into a numbers problem. Once you seek to criminalize huge swaths of *all* minority groups in the United States while also seeking to dramatically contract on women's access to safe and legal birth control, you have alienated enough large constituencies to no longer hold national public office (Hadi & Chesney-Lind, 2013; Livingston, 2013).

In considering the future, we are cautiously optimistic that a feminist approach to the crime problem might be heard. Regardless of the odds, though, our work is informed by the expectation that we act as feminists to improve the social world in which we have found ourselves. This means, of course, that we again face the query: What constitutes feminism and being a feminist? Here, we'd like to conclude with first wave author and activist Rebecca West's wry, and as it turns out, timeless observation:

> I myself have never been able to find out what feminism is; I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat or a prostitute (West & Marcus, 1982)

In this article, we hope we have established that being called a feminist is not an insult or a signal that one cannot do good, scholarly or scientifically valid work (Faludi, 1989; Sprague, 2005). Instead, engaging in feminism and feminist theory offers all criminology incredible intellectual vitality and a recommitment to go beyond the collecting and disseminating of knowledge to seeking a just, equitable, and healthy world for all.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is intersectionality and what contributions does it make to feminist criminology?
2. How can feminist criminology help scholars understand the nature of male offending?
3. What challenges does feminist criminology face in the 21st century?

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READING /// 2

In Section I, you learned about how feminist research methods can provide an alternative perspective when researching issues of gender and crime. In this chapter, Dr. Jody Miller discusses how her research on issues of gender and female offending has benefited by placing gender at the center of her research methodology. Through the use of this process, Dr. Miller demonstrates how qualitative research (and in particular, in-depth interviews) can yield a meaningful understanding of how issues of crime and victimization are a gendered experience.

Grounding the Analysis of Gender and Crime

Accomplishing and Interpreting Qualitative Interview Research

Jody Miller

Introduction

As a feminist scholar and sociological criminologist, a primary question guiding my research concerns the impact of gender stratification, gendered practices, and gender ideologies on criminal offending. I seek to challenge and complicate binary assumptions about women and men and in doing so carefully attend to the complex ways in which gender—as one of the most basic organizing structures within and across societies—configures

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individuals' life experiences in ways that lead them to crime and that influences their motivations for offending, strategies for accomplishing it, and the situations and contexts in which this offending takes place. My method of choice for doing this research is the analysis of qualitative in-depth interview data.

In this article, I address the following questions: What makes in-depth interviewing a particularly useful methodological approach for feminist criminology? How is research that utilizes interview data put to use for understanding the relationships between gender, inequality, and crime? Finally, how do those of us who analyze in-depth interviews in our research go about doing so; what's the actual process by which we turn our data into meaningful theoretical contributions? I draw from three of my research projects—on young women's participation in gangs, women's and men's accomplishment of robbery, and young men's sexual violence against young women—to describe why qualitative interviews are my data of choice, and how I use inductive analytic techniques to produce my research findings.

Feminist Criminology and Qualitative Interview Accounts

Sociologist Christine Williams (2000: 9) describes academic feminism as "a general approach to understanding the status of women in society." Notwithstanding the range of theoretical and methodological approaches brought to bear on the question, she observes that "all feminist social scientists share the goals of understanding the sources of inequality and advocating changes to empower women" (ibid.). Thus, what differentiates *feminist* criminology from other criminological analyses that consider women and crime is the conceptual understanding of gender that guides our research: a concern with understanding *gender* is as much a starting point in feminist criminological analyses as is the concern with understanding *crime* (Daly, 1998).

Early treatises on feminist methodology, particularly the use of in-depth interview techniques, were situated in women's standpoint theory (Oakley, 1981). These were grounded in feminist goals of "giving voice" to women and their experiences, which had historically been silenced (see DeVault, 1999; Smith, 1987). This remains an important goal of feminist scholars, though with critical understandings of its challenges. Initially, there was a relatively uncritical assumption that when women interviewed women, their shared experiences *as women* would result in identification, rapport, and consequently, the authentic revelation of "women's experiences." These rather romanticized assumptions have since been problematized, however. Most scholars now recognize, for example, that no research can provide authentic access to individuals' experiences or unmediated access to "truth," and this includes the accounts produced in the context of interviews (see Miller & Glassner, 2004; Silverman, 2006). Moreover, feminist scholars now recognize that women do not simply share experiences *as women*. Instead, many facets of difference come into play when we attempt to understand women's and men's lives, including race, ethnicity, cultural identity, nation, class, and age, as well as individual life trajectories and experiences (Presser, 2005; Song & Parker, 1995; Veroff & DiStefano, 2002).

Given this multifaceted understanding of the research process and its goals, many feminist scholars identify unique contributions that qualitative interview approaches can make in theorizing about gender and crime. This results both from how feminist scholars conceptualize gender and from our insistence that examining the meaning and nature of gender relations and inequalities are a critical component of understanding and theorizing about crime and criminality. To begin with, feminist scholarship challenges the premise that gender is simply an individual-level independent variable. Instead, our research starts with the understanding that the social world is systematically shaped by relations of sex and gender, and these operate at all levels of society, including individual, interactional, organizational, and structural (see Connell, 2002; Risman, 2004). As Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988: 504) sum up, "[G]ender and gender relations order social life and social institutions in fundamental ways."

As a consequence, feminist scholars recognize that gender operates both within the practices and organization of social life, as well as within "the discursive fields by which women [and men] are constructed or construct themselves" (Daly & Maher, 1998: 4). Taken for granted ideologies about gender are profoundly embedded in social life and often include commonsense notions of fundamental difference between women and men, coupled

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with the perception of maleness as the normative standard. These deeply engrained assumptions are regularly found in academic research and theory; the policies, practices, and operation of organizations and institutions; and in the interpretive frameworks women and men bring to their daily lives. Moreover, it is through the enactment of these gendered meanings that the most persistent, yet often invisible, facets of gender inequality are reproduced.

Perhaps most pronounced is the tendency to reproduce conventional understandings of gender *difference* (see Miller, 2002). Such interpretive frameworks—particularly cultural emphases on a psychologically based "character dichotomy" between women and men (Connell, 2002: 40) often guide the understandings of those we investigate and can also seep into researchers' conceptualizations. Thus, feminist scholars grapple with what Daly and Maher (1998: 1) refer to as an *intellectual double shift:* the dual challenge of examining the impact of gender and gender inequality in "real" life, while simultaneously deconstructing the intertwined ideologies about gender that guide social practices (see Connell, 2002). Indeed, illuminating the relationship between ideological features of gender and gendered practice is a key facet of feminist scholarship.

In addition, feminist conceptualizations of gender often require us to move beyond what broad, global explanations provide. While our starting point is the recognition that social life is patterned by gender, we also recognize—and empirical evidence demonstrates—that this gender order (Connell, 2002) is complex and shifting. For this reason, a key feature of feminist scholarship is the development of what Daly (1998) refers to as "middle range" theorizing—developing theoretical understandings that seek primarily to explain how broader structural forces are realized within particular organizational, situational, and interactional contexts.

So, what does the analysis of qualitative in-depth interviews have to offer in our attempts to attend to these complexities and challenges? From my point of view, the strength of such interviews lies in what they are: reflective accounts of social life offered from the points of view of research participants. As such, they provide two intertwined kinds of data: descriptive evidence of the nature of the phenomena under investigation—including the contexts and situations in which it emerges—as well as insights into the cultural frames that people use to make sense of their experiences (Miller & Glassner, 2004). Both are especially useful for feminist theorizing about gender and crime, particularly in the context of the intellectual double shift I noted previously.

In general, qualitative research is oriented toward the creation of contextual understandings of social worlds, emphasizing complexities in the meanings and social processes that operate within them. Interview data, in which people describe and explain their behaviors and experiences, help us identify and understand social processes and patterns at the interactional and situational levels, as well as the meanings people attribute to their experiences and behaviors (see Charmaz, 2006; Spradley, 1979; but compare Silverman, 2006). In criminology, this includes, for example, examining in situ motivations for behaviors such as offending or desistance (Maruna, 2001); social processes associated with crime, criminally involved groups, or the streets (Maher, 1997); situational analyses of crime events (Mullins & Wright, 2003; Wright & Decker, 1997), as well as life history analyses that examine pathways into and out of offending (Giordano, 2010). As such, qualitative in-depth interviews can provide us with ground level understandings of crime and criminal behavior.

In addition, because in-depth interviews are *accounts,* they hold promise for examining the social world from the points of view of research participants and for exploring how meanings are constructed together, including in the interview itself (see Miller, 2010). When analyzed not just as a source of information about the *who, what, when, where*, and *how* of criminal offending but also as a "linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry" (Scott & Lyman, 1968: 46), the narrative accounts within in-depth interviews provide insight into "culturally embedded normative explanations [of events and behaviors, because they] represent ways in which people organize views of themselves, of others, and of their social worlds" (Orbuch, 1997: 455).

Given feminist scholars' concerns with how language and discourse "reflect and help constitute" gendered meaning systems (Cameron, 1998: 946), the analysis of in-depth interviews thus offers an especially useful tool for feminist scholars in simultaneously examining both social patterns and social meanings associated with gender, inequality, and crime. Recognizing interview accounts as evidence of both the nature of the phenomenon under

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investigation and the cultural frameworks that individuals use to interpret their experiences means that, in one's analysis, juxtaposing these facets of accounts—even or especially when they appear incongruous—can be useful for developing theoretical insight. Qualitative interview data are thus particularly well suited for addressing the goals of feminist criminologists for understanding how gender and gender inequality shape the experiences of those involved in crime.

Analyzing Qualitative Interview Data

Most qualitative researchers use some version of grounded theory techniques in their data analysis. Charmaz (2006: 2–3) provides the following explanation of what this entails:

> Stated simply, grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories grounded in the data themselves. The guidelines offer a set of general principles and heuristic devices rather than formulaic rules. . . . Thus, data form the foundation of our theory and our analysis of these data generates the concepts we construct.

One of the most important principles of grounded theory analyses is that preliminary data analysis begins at the start of the project. Initial analyses of both what people say and how they say it open up new avenues of inquiry and also generate preliminary hypotheses to be further explored during ongoing data collection and analysis. This is accomplished through close and continuous reading of the data, during which the researcher codes the data and begins documenting preliminary analytic observations and hypotheses, which are then compared with and analyzed in light of additional data collected. Coding, as Charmaz explains, is a process by which "we attach labels to segments of data that depict what each segment is about. Coding distills data, sorts them, and gives us a handle for making comparisons with other segments of data" (ibid., 3).

The particular analysis strategy a qualitative interview researcher uses may vary for any given project. What they share in common, however, is recognition of the importance of beginning initial data coding by using grounded, open coding strategies.

This process helps avoid the application of preconceived concepts, assists in generating new ideas, and keeps the researcher thoroughly grounded in the data (Charmaz, 2006). Initial coding can take a variety of forms, including reading the interview text word by word, line by line, and incident by incident. The more closely we read the data, the more readily we can move beyond taken for granted or preconceived ideas we bring to our research, and the more likely we are to discover emergent concepts and patterns in the data.

An important part of the process is paying specific attention to interview participants' unique language and speech patterns (Spradley, 1979). Charmaz (2006: 55) refers to these as *in vivo* codes—terms or phrases that provide telling insights into social worlds or processes. In my recent work, *Getting Played* (2008), for example, the insider term *play* and its iterations became central to my analysis, and it was even the basis of the book's title. While analyzing interviews with urban African American youth about interactions between young women and young men and their relation to gendered violence, I was struck by the common and varied ways in which the term *play* entered into youths' accounts. Treating this as an in vivo code, I carefully examined its usage to identify the actions it represented and the implicit meanings *play* attached to them. This led me to an analysis of the variety of ways that play claims are used to minimize the significance of behavioral patterns that are harmful to girls. To illustrate, Reading Box 2.1 provides a partial excerpt of my analysis of play claims associated with sexual harassment.

In vivo codes can also be phrases that condense and distill significant analytic concepts. During her interview for *Getting Played,* one of the young women described offering the following advice to her sister for avoiding sexual violence: "Protect yourself, respect yourself. 'Cause if you don't, guys won't." Read in passing, it could easily be seen as simple advice. But my line-by-line coding flagged it as a phrase worth further examination. I made note of it in an analytic memo and then paid close attention to how youths talked about protection and respect. Ultimately,

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Reading Box 2.1 Contested Play Claims: Humor or Disrespected?

[Y]oung men often downplayed the seriousness of sexual harassment by couching it in terms of "play." Antwoin said, "[Y]eah, I grabbed a girl bootie a couple of times . . . we was playing." Such touching, he said, was best understood as "like playing around. Sometimes the boys'll be messing with the girls and they'll just grab they bootie or something." . . . Similarly, asked why he and his friends touched on girls, Curtis said, "I don't know, just to have fun. Just playing."

"Just playing," however, was a characterization young women roundly rejected. Instead, to quote Nicole, girls found boys' sexually harassing behaviors to be "too much playing." . . . Katie complained, "[M]ost of the time boys and girls get into it because boys, they play too much. . . . Like they try to touch you and stuff, or try to talk about you, or put you down in front of they friends to made them feel better. . . . Just talk about you or something like in front of they friends so they can laugh."

Katie's comments tapped into an important feature of boys' play claim: The primary audience for this "play" was other young men. As Anishika argued young men's "humour" was for the benefit of their friends, and at the expense of the young woman:

> They just tryin' to be like person and that person. They already know, they know what's right. They know right from wrong. But when it's a lot of 'em, they think that stuff is cute, calling girls B's [bitches] and rats and all that stuff. They think that stuff cute, and some of these girls think that stuff cute. But it's not cute.

In fact, [young men's accounts] are indicative of the role male peers played in facilitating young men's behaviors. Thus, Frank [explained], "some people, when they see [you touch on a girl], they'll laugh or they give you some props. They give you like a little five of something like that. That's what the dudes do." . . . Thus, a number of girls said boys simply used play claims as an excuse for their behavior, and described explicitly rejecting these claims. For example, angry after a young man made sexual comments about her, Destiny said he responded to her anger by saying, "you ain't even gotta get that serious. I was just playin' wit' you." She replied, "I don't care. I don't want you playin' with me like that, stop playin' with me like that." And Nicole explained, "sometimes boys make it like, act like it's funny. But it's not. 'Cause you touchin' a girl and she don't wanna be touched. So, don't touch me, period. Don't even think about touchin' me."

Indeed, despite young men's routine use of play claims, their own accounts belied the notion that their behaviors were simply intended as harmless fun. For example, several young men said part of the fun in taunting girls was getting an angry response. . . . Moreover, several young men described treating girls in a derogatory way specifically to demarcate their (male) space and make it clear to the girl that she wasn't welcome. . . . [O]ne additional factor belies young men's characterizations of their behavior as "just play". Asked when harassing behaviors took place or whether they were directed at particular girls, a number of young men described targeting young women they deemed to be "stuck up," unwilling to show sexual or romantic interest, or otherwise unimpressed with the boy. . . . Curtis said, "[W]e'll see a girl in like a short skirt or short shorts, and we be kind of talking to her, and she don't, she ain't giving nobody no play. So, we just get to playing with her, touching on her butt and all that."

SOURCE: From Miller, 2008, p. 82–87.

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my analysis revealed that it succinctly crystallized youths' understandings of the causes of sexual violence and girls' risk-management strategies in the face of limited interpersonal and institutional support (see Miller, 2008: 143–149).

Beyond the importance of open and in vivo coding, qualitative researchers employ a variety of specific coding and analysis strategies, depending on the research question at hand. Charmaz (2006) recommends that grounded theory research should code for *action* within the data, using gerund codes to preserve social processes. Lofland and Lofland (1984) encourage scholars to identify *topics* for analysis by combining particular units of analysis (e.g., practices, episodes, encounters, or relationships) with their aspects (e.g., cognitive, emotional, or hierarchical). Once identified, the researcher rigorously examines the data for instances that are topically relevant. Spradley (1979) utilizes domain analysis, by using semantic relationships to ask structured questions from the data (e.g., X is a kind of Y; X is a way to do Y). Each of these strategies allow us to approach the data in a systematic way, with the goal of moving from initial coding to systematic theoretical analyses.

Good qualitative research emerges from the thoroughness and rigor of the inductive analysis. In the process, *emergent* hypotheses are identified in the course of analysis as patterns begin to emerge. These hypotheses are then tested, refined, or rejected using the project data. A variety of strategies have been devised to ensure the rigor of the analytic induction process. Most important is the use of constant comparative methods, which are strengthened through the use of tabulations to identify the strength of patterns (see Silverman, 2006: 296–301, for a concise description of these strategies) and to aid in the identification of and analysis of deviant cases. As Charmaz (2006: 54) describes,

> You use "*constant comparative method*" . . . to establish analytic distinctions and thus make comparisons at each level of analytic work. . . . For example, compare interview statements and incidents within the same interview and compare statements and incidents in different interviews.

This allows you to test and refine emergent hypotheses against the data. It is also the case that qualitative researchers tend to reject the position that any research can tap into "pure" objective data, regardless of the methodological approach of the researcher. Thus, consideration of the researcher's place in the research process—from formulating research questions, to data collection, to analysis—is necessary. To illustrate these analytic strategies—focusing specifically on the utility of qualitative interview research for studying gender and crime—I now turn to a more detailed description of several of my research projects.

Up It Up: Studying Gender Stratification and the Accomplishment of Robbery

Early in my career, I was afforded the opportunity to utilize my colleagues' in-depth interview data with armed robbers (Wright & Decker, 1997) to examine the impact of gender on the enactment of robbery (Miller, 1998). My analysis of these data helps illustrate several key features of qualitative analysis techniques. I approached the data with two guiding questions: How do women, as compared to men, account for their motivations to commit robbery? And how do women, as compared to men, describe the process by which they accomplish robbery? The use of comparative samples—in this case, female and male robbers—is a particularly useful approach when doing qualitative research, because it allows for some specification of similarities and variations in social processes and meaning systems across groups or settings.

In this particular investigation, I coded the data with these two specific research questions in mind. First, I looked for evidence in the data for how robbers described their motivations to commit robbery and compared accounts both within and across gender. Next, I coded incident by incident, examining how women and men in the sample described accomplishing the robberies they committed. My identification within the data of both similarities and differences across gender led me to theorize about the impact of gender stratification in offender networks on women's participation in crime. This is an example of the type of middle range theorizing described previously—my research findings pointed me in the direction of stratification as the best fit for explaining the patterns I identified, and it offered an incisive analytic framework for explaining the structures and processes I uncovered.

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Specifically, I found congruence across gender in interview participants' accounts of their *motivations* for committing robberies. For both women and men, the incentives to commit robbery were primarily economic—to get money, jewelry, and other status-conferring goods, but [they] also included elements of thrill seeking, attempting to overcome boredom, and revenge. However, women's and men's accounts of *how* they went about committing robberies were strikingly different. And within gender comparisons of incident accounts, [they] were equally illuminating.

Specifically, men's descriptions of their commission of robbery were markedly similar to one another. Their accounts were variations around a single theme: using physical violence and/or a gun placed on or at close proximity to the victim in a confrontational manner. The key, one explained, was to make sure the victim knew "that we ain't playing." Another described confronting his victims by placing the gun at the back of their head, where "they feel it," while saying, "Give it up, motherfucker, don't move or I'll blow your brains out." Explaining the positioning of the gun, he noted, "When you feel that steel against your head . . . [it] carries a lot of weight." Closely examining each man's accounts of strategies for committing robberies, as well as their descriptions of particular incidents, revealed that they accomplished robberies in noticeably uniform ways.

In contrast, women's accounts were notable both for the greater variation in the strategies they described using to accomplish robberies and for their absence of accounts that paralleled those provided by men, except under very specific circumstances: when they committed robberies in partnership with male accomplices. In short, though men described routinely using firearms to commit robberies and placing them on or in close proximity to the back of the victim's head, women's strategies for committing robberies varied according to the gender of their victim, and the presence or absence of co-offenders. They described three predominant ways in which they committed robberies: targeting female victims in physically confrontational robberies that did not involve firearms, targeting male victims by appearing sexually available, and participating with male co-offenders during street robberies of men.

Insights about the role of gender stratification in the commission of robbery emerged particularly prominently when I examined women's accounts of robbing men. These incidents nearly always involved firearms but rarely involved physical contact. Notably, the rationale women provided for this strategy was especially telling. As one explained,

> [I]f we waste time touching men there is a possibility that they can get the gun off of us, while we wasting time touching them they could do anything. So, we just keep the gun straight on them. No touching, no moving, just straight gun at you.

The circumstances surrounding the enactment of female-on-male robberies were unique as well. The key, in each case, was that the woman pretended to be sexually interested in her male victim. When his guard dropped, this provided a safe opportunity for the robbery to occur.

Moreover, women specifically described playing on the stereotypes men held about women in order to accomplish these robberies—including the assumptions that women would not be armed, would not attempt to rob them, and could be taken advantage of sexually. For example, one woman explained,

> [T]hey don't suspect that a girl gonna try to get 'em. You know what I'm saying? So, it's kind of easier 'cause they like, she looks innocent, she ain't gonna do this, but that's how I get 'em. They put they guard down to a woman. . . . Most of the time, when girls get high they think they can take advantage of us so they always, let's go to a hotel or my crib or something.

Another said, "[T]hey easy to get, we know what they after—sex."

This and other evidence of the role that gender ideologies played in the enactment of robberies pointed explicitly to the importance of gendered organizational features of the street environment as an important explanatory factor. Most notable was the incongruity between the similarities in women's and men's motives for committing robbery and the dramatic differences in their strategies for accomplishing robbery. As such, the research highlighted the gender hierarchy present on the streets: while some women were able to carve out a niche for themselves in this setting, they were participating in a male-dominated

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environment, and their robbery strategies reflected an understanding of this. The differences in the way women, as compared to men, accomplished robberies were not a result of differences in their goals or needs. Instead, they reflected practical choices women made in the context of a gender stratified environment—one in which, on the whole, men were perceived as strong and women as weak. In this particular project, it was not just the availability of in-depth interview data that resulted in the analysis briefly described here but also specifically the *comparative* nature of the data. My ability to juxtapose women's and men's accounts facilitated the identification of commonalities and differences across gender and thus allowed me to build an analytic framework to make sense of them.

Running Trains: Gaining Insight Through Attention to the Interview as a Joint Accomplishment

Earlier in the chapter, I noted that qualitative researchers tend to reject the position that research can uncover pure objective data. In the context of in-depth interviewing, an important part of this is recognizing that the interview itself is a particular kind of interaction, in which both participants—the interviewer and the interviewee—are constructing narrative versions of the social world. The accounts produced in the context of interviews are, as noted earlier, "linguistic device[s] employed whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry" (Scott & Lyman, 1968: 46). We saw this in gang girls' claims of being one of the guys. It is also the case that our social positioning vis-à-vis those we interview affects the interview exchange. Attention to these interactional dynamics within the interview exchange offers an important site for social inquiry (Grenz, 2005; Miller, 2010; Presser, 2005). This is not about trying to control for interviewer effects per se; instead, "what matters is to understand how and where the stories [we collect] are produced, which sort of stories they are, and how we can put them to honest and intelligent use in theorizing about social life" (Miller & Glassner, 2004: 138).

Earlier, I argued that in-depth interview research utilizing comparative *samples* is particularly useful for theory building. Here, I provide an illustration of how comparative analysis of the data collected by different *interviewers* also provides an important opportunity for theorizing about social life. I draw from one particular set of data from my recent project on violence against young women in urban African American neighborhoods (Miller, 2008)—young men's accounts of *running trains* on girls: a sexual encounter that involved two or more young men engaging in penetrative sexual acts with a single young woman. Specifically, this example shows that paying attention to how interviewers' social positioning matters in the interview context can reveal a great deal about how individuals construct particular sorts of accounts of their offending and about the contexts and meanings of this behavior.

Running trains was an all too common phenomenon in the data, with nearly half of the boys interviewed admitting that they had done so. Though researchers routinely classify such incidents as gang rape, and the young women interviewed described their experiences in this way as well, the young men in the study defined girls' participation in trains as consensual. Thus, it was particularly important in the project to examine how young men understood running trains and especially how they came to perceive these behaviors as consensual. In this case, interviews conducted by two different research assistants—one a White European man (Dennis), the other an African American woman who grew up in the same community as the research participants (Toya)—revealed two sets of findings about boys' constructions of running trains. These offered distinct types of accounts of the behavior, each of which revealed different dimensions of the meaning and enactment of running trains. Reading Box 2.3 provides excerpts from several of Dennis's and Toya's interviews with young men.

Comparing these two sets of accounts suggests a variety of ways in which Dennis's and Toya's social positions of similarity and difference with these African American adolescent boys shaped the ways in which they spoke about their participation in running trains. Moreover, the interviewers themselves took different approaches toward the interview exchanges, which are tied to their interviewing techniques, the kinds of information they were most interested in obtaining, and their own positionality vis-à-vis the interviewees.

An especially striking feature of the accounts provided in young men's interviews with Dennis was the adamancy with which boys claimed that girls were willing, even eager participants. Moreover, their descriptions

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Reading Box 2.2 Young Men's Accounts of Running Trains

Interview Excerpts with Dennis

Lamont: I mean, one be in front, one be in back. You know sometimes, you know like, say, you getting in her ass and she might be sucking the other dude dick. Then you probably get her, you probably get her to suck your dick while he get her in the ass. Or he probably, either I'll watch, and so she sucking your dick, or while you fuck her in the ass. It, I mean, it's a lot of ways you can do it.

Frank: There's this one girl, she a real, real freak. . . . She wanted me and my friend to run a train on her . . . . [Beforehand], we was at the park, hopping and talking about it and everything. I was like, "man, dawg, I ain't hitting her from the back." Like, "she gonna mess up my dick." . . . He like, "Oh, I got her from the back dude." So we went up there . . . [and] she like, "which one you all hitting me from the back?" [I'm] like, "there he go, right there. I got the front." She's like, "okay." And then he took off her clothes, pulled his pants down. I didn't, just unzipped mine 'cause I was getting head. She got to slurping me. I'm like, my partner back there 'cause we was in the dark so I ain't see nuttin.' He was back, I just heared her [making noises]. I'm like, "damn girl, what's wrong with you?" [More noises] [I'm like], "you hitting her from the back?" He's like, "yeah, I'm hitting it."

Interview Excerpt with Toya

Terence: It was some girl that my friend had knew for a minute, and he, I guess he just came to her and asked her, "is you gon' do everybody?" or whatever and she said "yeah." So he went first and then, I think my other partna went, then I went, then it was like two other dudes behind me. . . . It was at [my friend's] crib.

Toya: Were you all like there for a get together or party or something?

Terence: It was specifically for that for real, 'cause he had already let us know that she was gon' do that, so.

Toya: So it was five boys and just her?

Terence: Yeah.

....

Toya: And so he asked her first, and then he told you all to come over that day?

Terence: We had already came over. 'Cause I guess he knew she was already gon' say yeah or whatever. We was already there when she got there.

Toya: Did you know the girl?

Terence: Naw, I ain't know her, know her like for real know her. But I knew her name or whatever. I had seen her before. That was it though.

....

Toya: So when you all got there, she was in the room already?

Terence: Naw, when we got there, she hadn't even got there yet. And when she came, she went in the room with my friend, the one she had already knew. And then after they was in there for a minute, he came out and let us know that she was 'gon, you know, run a train or whatever. So after that, we just went one by one.

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were particularly graphic, focusing specific attention on the details of their sexual performances. Dennis was responded to by the young men as a naïve White male academic who knows little about street life (see also Miller, 2008: 232–234). His foreignness, as evidenced by his Dutch accent, further heightened the young men's perceptions of him as different. Thus, they appear to tell their stories in ways that simultaneously play on what they do have in common—maleness (and thus a perceived shared understanding of women as sexual objects)—and position themselves as particularly successful in their sexual prowess, an exaggerated feature of hegemonic masculinity in distressed urban neighborhoods in the United States (Anderson, 1999) that marks their difference from Dennis.

Notice that these accounts emphasized their sexual performance. In fact, research on gang rape suggests that group processes play a central role. The enactment of such violence increases solidarity and cohesion among groups of young men, and the victim has symbolic status and is treated as an object (Franklin, 2004; Sanday, 1990). Just as performance played a central role in young men's accounts of these incidents, their accounts were themselves a particular sort of masculine performance in the context of their interview exchange with a young, White male researcher far removed from their world on the streets (see also Presser, 2005).

In contrast, when young men were interviewed about their participation in running trains by Toya—the African American female interviewer—two different features emerged. First, they were much less sexually graphic in their accounts. Second, due in part to Toya's interview style and the specific concerns about consent she brought to the interview exchange, her conversations with young men about running trains challenged their attempts to construct the events as consensual. The interview excerpt with Terence in Box 2.3 reveals, for example, that the young woman in this incident arrived at the house of a boy [who] she knew and may have been interested in; waiting on her arrival were four additional young men whom she did not know or know well. And they had come specifically for the purpose of running a train on her. Because Terence's friend said "she was down for it," he either did not consider or discounted the question of whether the young woman may have felt threatened or had not freely consented. Instead, he took his turn and left.

Similar inconsistencies were revealed in Tyrell's—see above account, again precisely because of Toya's particular style of probing and concern with issues of consent:

> This girl was just like, I ain't even know her, but like I knew her 'cause I had went to work [where she did] last year. . . . Then my boy, when he started working there, he already had knew her, 'cause he said he had went to a party with her last year. And he was gonna have sex with her then, but . . . [her] grandmamma came home or something, so they ain't get to do it. So one day he was just like, we was all sitting watching this movie [at work] and it was real dark or whatever. And she had come in there or whatever, and he was just talking to her, and he was like, "Let's all go 'head and run a train on you." She was like, "What?" And she started like, "You better go on." Then, like, [he said], "For real, let's go over to my house." And then, you know what I'm saying, she was like, "Naw."

Tyrell explained that later that day, he and his friend were leaving work and saw the girl "walking over there to the bus stop." His friend invited the girl over to his house, and she agreed to go. Tyrell admitted, "I think she liked him," and this was the reason she came over. However, because they had previously introduced the idea of running a train on her, Tyrell and his friend appear to have decided that her consent to go to his house was consent to have a train run on her. The discussion continued:

> *Toya:* "Do you think she really wanted to do it?"
> *Tyrell:* "I can't really say. 'Cause at first she was like laughing and stuff, like, 'Don't!' But we didn't pressure her. I didn't say nothing to her for the rest of the [work] day. I probably talked to her, but I say nothing about like that. And then she just came with us, so I mean, she had to want to."

Thus, in his account, Tyrell maintained his interpretation that the incident was consensual, offering evidence that the fact that he and his friend did not mention running a train on the girl again during the day they spent at work together meant they had not "pressured" her. He did

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not appear to consider an alternative interpretation—that their silence on the issue allowed the girl to interpret the earlier comments as innocuous. Instead, he insisted that "she knew" (see also King, 2003; Willan and Pollard, 2003).

> Further, Tyrell's account of the young woman's behavior afterward—which, again, emerged as a result of Toya's continued questioning, also belied his insistence that she had engaged willingly. He explained that "she missed like a week of work after that." And while he believed the girl liked his friend before the incident, he said, "I know she didn't like him after that. . . . She don't even talk to him at all. Every time they see each other they'll argue." In addition, Tyrell said, "She go to my cousin's school now, and she be talking all stuff like, 'I hate your cousin!' But I don't care, I mean I don't even care. She shouldn't have did that."

Given this evidence, Toya asked whether he thought she felt bad about it, the conversation continued:

> *Tyrell:* "I can't even say. I don't even know her like that. I really can't say. She do that kinda stuff all the time."
>
> *Toya:* "She does?"
>
> *Tyrell:* "No. I'm just saying. I don't know. If she don't she probably did feel bad, but if she do she probably wouldn't feel bad. . . . But if she didn't really wanna do it, she shouldn't have did it."

Notice how Tyrell slipped easily into noting that "she do that kinda stuff all the time," but when pressed, [he] conceded that he had no basis on which to draw such a conclusion.

In part, accounts like Terence's and Tyrell's emerged because they responded to Toya as a young African American woman who had an understanding of life in their neighborhoods. She was marked by similarities where Dennis was marked by difference, except when it came to gender. Young men thus did not portray running trains as graphic sexual exploits that demonstrated their manhood. And the commonalities Toya shared with them allowed her to probe for factual details without evoking a defensive response that closed down communication within the interview.

These differences could be read as support for the position that social distance between researcher and research participant results in suspicion and lack of trust, which affects the process of disclosure (DeVault, 1999; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995). My reading is somewhat different. While the role that social similarities and differences played in producing these disparate accounts of the same phenomenon is notable, both sets of interviews revealed important insights about the nature and meanings of running trains. Dennis's interviews demonstrated their function as masculine performance. In fact, young men's acts of *telling* Dennis about the events were themselves masculine performances, constructed in response to *whom* they were doing the telling. In contrast, Toya's interviews revealed important evidence of the processes by which young men construct their interpretations of girls' consent and reveal the various ways in which they do so by discounting the points of view of their female victims (see King, 2003).

This example suggests that it is both necessary and useful to pay close attention to how the interview context shapes accounts. Doing so can reveal multifaceted features of behaviors and their meanings, as they emerge in disparate accounts. Moreover, it reveals the benefits for data analysis that can emerge by utilizing diverse research teams, particularly when using this diversity itself as a means of furthering the analysis (see Miller, 2010).

Conclusion

A primary concern of feminist scholars in criminology is to examine, understand, and ameliorate the gender inequalities that shape crime, victimization, and justice practices. In this chapter, my goals were to describe why the use of in-depth interviews is an especially valuable methodological approach for conducting research on these issues and to explain how research that utilizes interview data puts them to use for understanding the relationships between gender, inequality, and crime.

What I find most useful with interview data is the simultaneous access these provide to both social

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processes—the *who, what, when, where*, and *how* of crime—and the cultural frames that individuals use to make sense of these activities and their social worlds. This makes interview accounts particularly useful for addressing the intellectual double shift I noted earlier: the dual challenge of examining the impact of gender and gender inequality in real life, while simultaneously deconstructing the intertwined ideologies about gender that guide social practices, including the strong tendency to view gender through an individualistic and binary lens.

Drawing on my own research, I have shown some of the ways in which the analysis of interview data can illuminate the impact of gender stratification, gendered practices, and gender ideologies on criminal offending. Key to the success of doing so is ensuring the rigor of one's inductive analyses. This includes, for example, working to ensure that initial data coding begins early in the process and remains open, and further into the project, utilizing techniques such as constant comparative methods and deviant case analyses to strengthen the internal validity of one's findings. Finally, I have illustrated how attention to the social locations of interview participants—researchers and those researched alike—offer important opportunities to advance our understandings.

As a feminist scholar, the relevance of qualitative interview research for studying gender is specific to my particular theoretical goal of "illuminat[ing] gender as central to our understanding of social life" (Lewis, 2007: 274). Nonetheless, my discussion in this chapter has import for a broader criminological audience. It illustrates the unique contributions that qualitative interview research can provide in theorizing about crime and justice by offering a vital window through which to better understand the life, worlds, and experiences of those we study and the social processes and patterns in which they are embedded.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How can feminist research methods provide insight on the role of gender for victims and offenders?
2. How can different coding strategies reveal important issues for feminist research?

Notes

1. Thus, again note that the title of the book—*One of the Guys*—made direct use of an in vivo code that became central to my analysis.

2. *Wreck* was a slang term used by young women to refer to girls who were seen as sexually promiscuous.

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