

# 1 Women, Crime, and Criminal Justice—An Overview

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We live in a gendered world. By being born as a boy or girl, in virtually all locations on the planet our life courses will be to some extent differentially determined. These differences in the lives of females and males are shaped to some extent by biological differences between the sexes—hormone levels, body type, body size, and specific roles in the process of reproduction. Yet by far the larger influence on life-course differences comes from how society inscribes sex differences with broad-scale meaning through the social construction of gender. In virtually every society, the concept of gender determines the range of activities deemed appropriate for individuals to perform. Males are assumed to possess certain attributes, be superior in performing certain tasks, be more appropriate to function in certain social situations and organizations than females, and vice versa. The specific attributes, tasks, and settings linked to males or females are not necessarily reflective of biological or physiological differences and vary to some degree from culture to culture and throughout historic periods. In this sense, gender—the prescription of appropriate attributes, behaviors, and social roles to females and males—is socially constructed.

Not only do differential roles result as gender is socially constructed, but feminist scholars have emphasized that differential power is associated with masculine and fem-

inine roles. Historically, and in contemporary life in most cultures across the globe, males hold more power and privilege—both publicly and privately—than females. Men control more of the wealth, hold the highest positions in government and industry, control the military, make more scientific and scholarly discoveries, and are more prominent in sports and entertainment than women. Since the advent of the second wave of the feminist movement, the last several decades have brought better opportunities and some degree of equality for women. Many women have moved into positions in the workplace where they compete with men; some have attained prominence. Yet, profound differences remain in terms of the life courses and opportunities of the average woman and man across the globe. Life courses are also profoundly affected by conditions other than gender, including class, race, sexual orientation, and physical ability.

*Patriarchy* is the term generally used to describe a society in which there is an unequal distribution of power and privilege between males and females. One mechanism for enforcing patriarchy, according to a number of feminist historians, is the segregation of activities by gender into what are called the public and private spheres. Historically, and to some extent in contemporary life, men have had jurisdiction over both the public sphere—political, economic, and cultural affairs—and the private sphere of the home, whereas women were expected to involve themselves only with the private sphere of the home and the raising of children. Illustrative of the concept of male domination of the public sphere is the fact that for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by virtue of their sex, women could not vote, run for public office, or become educated at the nation's most prestigious institutions. Essentially, women had no civic identity separate from that of their husbands or fathers. Moreover, because the public and private spheres were seldom breached, what males chose to do to their “property” behind the closed doors of the home was essentially off

limits to the scrutiny of those committed to enforcing justice. Violence committed by men against their wives in the home would not come to the attention of law enforcement. Indeed, the “rule of thumb,” a part of English common law for centuries, implied that men could beat their wives with impunity, provided the implement used was no thicker than the man’s thumb.

Although most laws and governmental policies that stripped equality from women have long been abolished, there continue to be inequalities between the treatment of men and women in society. In contemporary life, these inequalities are based less on official doctrine and more on informal attitudes and values about appropriate life courses for men and women. It should also be noted that the gains made by the feminist movement of the late twentieth century were not equally distributed across all sectors of women. These gains benefited women particularly at the middle and higher echelons of the working world, and hence were less palpable for poorer and working-class women, a group that is disproportionately comprised of minorities.

### **Women, Crime, and Justice**

It is in this context of patriarchy that any analysis of women, crime, and criminal justice must be carried out. This collection brings together scholarly observations and research findings of some of the most prominent scholars of these subjects in the world today. Each chapter was written expressly for publication in this volume, with a focus on an advanced undergraduate and graduate student readership, although the volume will be valuable to the scholarly community as well. The authors review the most up-to-date scholarship and place in perspective what has been discovered about women offenders, victims, and professionals and the response of the criminal justice system to these groups. The last two decades have witnessed a burgeoning of interest in these topics and

this volume is the beneficiary of this new and exciting scholarship.

Chapter 2 of this volume, Elizabeth A. Stanko’s “Women, Danger, and Criminology,” sets the stage for what follows in the book. She offers a sophisticated and complex analysis that uses the concept of danger to integrate our understanding of traditional criminological perspectives on male and female crime, the criminal justice system’s response to crime, violence against women, and fear of crime. Readers will be well rewarded by reviewing this piece more than once; it exemplifies a gendered approach to criminological theorizing and places much of what will follow in the volume within a feminist perspective.

Stanko’s analysis begins by equating criminality and danger—people who are labeled as criminals are viewed by the public and the criminal justice system as deserving to be controlled and as inducing fear of victimization among the law-abiding citizenry. The obverse of this statement, of course, would be that those who are not identified and labeled as criminals are not dangerous and do not need to be feared.

A gendered analysis of danger and criminality carries with it some ironies. As readers will learn from a number of chapters of this book, women offenders generally are involved in less serious types of crime than men. Moreover, in many cases of women committing the most serious crimes (such as murdering their domestic partners), their offenses were committed because they believed their lives, or the lives of their children, were in mortal danger. Yet because women are labeled as criminals they are considered dangerous and are viewed as fair game for incarceration. Stanko also discusses the fact that those considered dangerous—the criminals—are not perceived as people with whom members of the law-abiding public have everyday relationships. The flip side of this assumption is that those persons with whom we interact on a daily basis would not be criminal. Yet, as Stanko notes, many women experience the most serious

victimization at the hands of those who are the closest to them—husbands and fathers. Stanko’s analysis calls for a “gendered social justice” that takes into account the experiences and realities of women and in which officials responsible for ensuring fairness acknowledge gendered perspectives. Stanko’s arguments are echoed in various ways by many of the authors in this volume.

## The Gendered Nature of Women’s Crime

Much more is known today than even 20 years ago about women and crime. Traditionally, criminology as a discipline has focused on male offending—street crime, violent crime, organized crime, and white collar crime. Most theories of crime have been developed to explain why men commit crime with little focus on the different dynamics that might affect women as criminals. Yet there are some very substantial differences between male and female criminality that virtually scream out for interpretation.

It does not take advanced criminological sophistication to recognize differences between male and female criminality—women commit substantially less crime than do men in virtually every crime category save prostitution. This gender gap in offending is examined in several of the book’s chapters. Moreover, several authors explicate how both criminal activity and the criminal justice system’s response to such activity is affected by gender, such that a *gendered theory of crime* is called for to adequately understand and explain criminal behavior.

To adequately explain women’s criminality and its dramatically lower rates than men’s is to recognize the importance of gender in prescribing behavior and how gender interacts with race and class. Darrell Steffensmeier sets the stage for this examination in chapter 13, “Female Crime Trends, 1960–1995,” and, with Lisa Broidy in chapter 8, assesses the adequacy of existing theories of crime. In “Explaining Female

Offending,” Steffensmeier and Broidy cite a theory of crime that does take gender into account. They review many sociocultural and some biological factors that are likely to contribute to the frequency and patterns of female crime.

Sociocultural factors accounting for women’s criminality involve a number of dynamics discussed in various chapters in this volume. First, compared with men and boys, mechanisms of social control keep women and girls more restricted in terms of freedom of movement. Increased surveillance by parents and greater restriction to the private space of the home reduces access to criminogenic settings as part of routine activities. In chapter 6, “Gender and Violence,” Candace Kruttschnitt emphasizes this point in accounting for women’s lower levels of violent crime. Kruttschnitt also discusses another sociocultural factor, the fact that the women have primary responsibility for child rearing. Saddled with primary child-rearing obligations, women’s attention is more likely than men’s to be diverted from public settings to those of the home and family relationships. A by-product of this dynamic, as Kruttschnitt notes, is that when women do commit violent crime, there is a higher probability that the targets of their violence will be family members.

Normative differences in acceptable behaviors for women and men are dictated by gender as well, and these differences have an impact on women’s and men’s criminality. Masculinity involves a certain amount of aggressiveness, and men are valued for their dominance and risk-taking ability. These attributes are compatible with criminal activity, which frequently requires boldness and the ability to dominate others. Women, who are not socialized as a whole toward these behavioral attributes, may be less inclined toward criminal activity. Women’s opportunities for engagement in organized criminal activity are also limited by the same factors that account for the glass ceiling in corporate America. Steffensmeier and Broidy note that, if anything, women face even greater

occupational segregation in underworld crime groups than women encounter in legitimate businesses. Rodney Brunson and Jody Miller, whose research on gangs is reported in chapter 4, “Girls and Gangs,” reinforce these last two dynamics in their analysis of gang activity. They argue that gangs remain male dominated and that girls who do join gangs tend to commit crimes that are less serious than those of their male counterparts.

The gendered theory of crime also points to biological and physiological differences between men and women that may result in different patterns and frequency of crime. Richard F. Mancuso and Brenda A. Miller, in chapter 7, “Crime and Punishment in the Lives of Women Alcohol and Other Drug (AOD) Users: Exploring the Gender, Lifestyle and Legal Issues,” focus on women involved in lifestyles of alcohol and other drug usage. In addition to sociocultural factors differentiating male and female offenders involved in these lifestyles, they make several observations about gender and AOD involvement that relate to biological differences between men and women. Because women become addicted more quickly than men, they may be more at risk for drug-related criminal involvement. AOD-involved women also have a biological connection to childbearing and child rearing that results in different consequences than for AOD men: women’s involvement in alcohol and drugs may cause harm to their children, both in utero and during the child rearing period. Also, HIV and AIDS are more significant threats to AOD women because of the dual risks of drug involvement and prostitution.

This volume provides rich detail on the lives of female offenders and reviews the theoretical and statistical literature accounting for patterns of female crime. Some of the material may be challenging for readers unfamiliar with general criminological theory, statistical analysis, or feminist theory. The bulk of it should be accessible to any reader, however, and readers particularly interested

in women and crime will find a wealth of insightful information.

## The Victimization of Women

Our understanding of women and crime is one-sided without a perspective on the victimization of women. *Women, Crime, and Criminal Justice* benefits greatly from the high-quality scholarship that has been conducted on this topic over the past several decades. Until the 1970s, little was known about the crimes of sexual assault, childhood sexual abuse, and wife battering. Historically, law enforcement agencies spent little effort in enforcing the law in these areas relative to the magnitude of the problem. These offenses, perpetrated for the most part by people known to the victims, occurred primarily in the private sphere and did not fit traditional conceptions of “real” crime—that is, crimes committed by criminals who were strangers to the victims.

As a result of the advocacy of feminist activists and researchers working with agents of the criminal justice and legal systems, the conceptualization of what is considered a “crime” has changed in recent decades. Behaviors that in the past may have been overlooked or ignored are now attended to by the police and the courts; the legitimacy of women’s victimization by acquaintances and spouses is much more adequately acknowledged.

Stanko underscores the importance of integrating an analysis of gender into our understanding of crimes against women. The notion of “fear of crime,” as it is traditionally used by criminologists and criminal justice professionals, generally refers to fear of strangers. Hence, preventive strategies for ensuring safety from crime include improved locks and protection of property, walking in well-lit areas at night, and learning self-defense tactics. While these approaches may have some benefit in reducing or deflecting victimization by strangers, they have limited

utility in preventing the type of crime to which many women fall prey—crimes by intimates. For women, the most dangerous location may be the one where traditional crime prevention tactics are least effective—the home.

Several chapters of this volume focus in various ways on the impact of patriarchy on the dynamics of intimate relationships. Offenses committed against women by acquaintances and intimates reflect gender dynamics embedded in a patriarchal system based on male power and control. Julie Allison and Irene Kollenbroich-Shea's chapter 10, "Sexual Assault" and Kathleen J. Ferraro's chapter 9, "Woman Battering: More Than a Family Problem" underscore the important point that violence against women is not simply a reflection of a "sick personality" or "psychological illness," but rather is a reflection of structural gender dynamics, informed by racial and class positions.

At the other end of the continuum from intimate violence is corporate violence against women. Ironically, corporate violence towards women frequently relates to women's sexuality. In chapter 11, "Corporate Violence Against Women," Linda Rynbrandt and Ronald C. Kramer discuss a topic only recently acknowledged by feminist criminologists as falling within the rubric of studies on gender and crime—how decisions made by corporations in the interests of profit may result in harm to women. The chapter examines breast implant surgery and its resultant adverse medical side effects in some women as illustrative of corporate violence against women. Reinforcing media-generated desires among women to be sexually attractive, Dow Corning and other corporations' silicone breast implants were adopted by thousands of women who later developed negative physical reactions. Another instance of corporate victimization of women is the dalkon shield, a contraceptive device that rendered some women infertile.

Over the past two decades, feminist criminologists and scholars have shed light on the prevalence of victimization of women not

just within the borders of the United States but throughout the world. Judith Bessant and Sandy Cook explicate issues of violence against women as a human rights issue in chapter 12, "Understanding Violence Against Women: Universal Human Rights and International Law." Bessant and Cook discuss the global prevalence of physical and nonphysical violence against women. They argue that social institutions in most communities across the planet are male centered. Therefore, inequitable power relationships exist among men and women to some degree in most nations and are manifested in customs and practices that are, at times, severely harmful to women. These practices are wide-ranging and include such violations as rape as an instrument of warfare, dowry deaths, genital circumcision, sexual slavery, and economic deprivation. Yet for those attempting to safeguard human rights of women across the globe the challenges are immense due to the wide diversity among women across cultures, nationalities, races, and classes and the difficulties in relying on the concept of "universal human rights" in light of culturally specific violations.

## **Integrative Perspectives on Women's Criminality and Victimization**

Another major contribution of the authors to this volume is in their recognition and detailed description of the complex interrelationship between women's victimization and women's offending. Put succinctly, women and girls commit crime to avoid being further victimized and they experience victimization in the course of committing crime. Perhaps the most significant work outlining the victimization and criminality relationship has been conducted by Meda Chesney-Lind in her lifelong research on adolescent girls and their involvement in the criminal justice system. In chapter 3, "'Out of Sight, Out of Mind': Girls in the Juvenile Justice System," Chesney-Lind

reviews patterns of delinquency among girls and the responses of the criminal justice system to these young women. Her chapter enumerates a fact that is also echoed in several other chapters—that girls are much more likely to be victims of child sexual abuse than are boys. This victimization reflects traditional male attitudes shaped by patriarchy about women as men’s sexual property. Chesney-Lind also explicates the role of physical and sexual abuse in girls’ delinquency by citing the high proportion of incarcerated girls and women who report prior physical or sexual abuse.

Lisa Sanchez, who conducted an ethnography of women prostitutes, has also provided valuable insights on this dynamic in chapter 5, “Gender Troubles: The Entanglement of Agency, Violence, and Law in the Lives of Women in Prostitution,” describing how prostitution functions as part of a complex recursive cycle of victimization to criminality, then back to victimization. She argues that although complex cultural meanings involve sharp boundaries between victims and offenders, women involved in prostitution experience both active participation in criminal activity and subjection to violence. Young women run away to escape sexual or other abuse at home, enter prostitution as a means of livelihood, and encounter victimization as a routine part of the profession. Sanchez poignantly depicts how women working as prostitutes become accustomed to physical violence, threats, and intimidation and how they come to accept this victimization as an unavoidable occupational hazard. Moreover, given their stigmatized status, Sanchez discusses how victims have little recourse through the criminal justice system because they are viewed by many police officers as having abdicated their rights to be considered legitimate victims by their involvement in a criminal lifestyle.

The ultimate example of the victimization and criminality nexus is the case of women who kill their abusers. Kathleen Ferraro ar-

ticulates eloquently the dynamics of woman abuse in domestic situations and sets the stage for an understanding of how victims could become killers. Ferraro situates her analysis within a general feminist framework that attributes violence against women to a patriarchal culture that fosters men’s expectations of male privilege and female service and subordination. As Ferraro recounts,

While most men do not use violence to enforce male privilege, the men who do clearly articulate beliefs in legitimate entitlement to women’s obedience and loyalty and the [man’s] right to punish infractions.

Ferraro emphasizes that wife abuse reflects a strategy of power and control over the entire life of another human being and occurs on an emotional level to an even greater extent than on a physical one.

Susan Osthoff discusses cases of women who kill their abusers in chapter 16, “When Victims Become Defendants: Battered Women Charged With Crimes.” These individuals, she argues, have endured years of mental and physical abuse, frequently having been ignored by the criminal justice system when they had been harmed by their husbands. Although there is no single model, women who kill their domestic partners have come to a point of believing that their, or their children’s, lives hang in the balance. It is also noteworthy that although Osthoff focuses on battered women who kill, she also acknowledges another manifestation of the victimization and criminality nexus for women—being forced by batterers to commit other crimes.

Several of the authors in this volume note that women commit other types of crime as well because of coercive relationships with powerful males. In some situations, male partners threaten to enact violence against the woman or her children if she fails to comply with his wishes. In others, simply the level of emotional control is strong enough for the male to achieve the desired result. Steffensmeier and Broidy’s chapter rein-

forces this argument by noting that when women are arrested for more serious crimes (such as robbery) they are more likely to have served as accomplices to men in various capacities (such as driving the getaway car) than to have masterminded the offense.

Perhaps one of the most unfortunate types of crime that abused women are prosecuted for is “failure to protect” their children, as Osthoff describes in her chapter. Abused women may be arrested not because they harmed their children in any way but because they “failed” to intervene or obtain assistance while the person who abused them also abused their children.

Throughout the book readers will find discussions of the connections between victimization and criminality among women. The thread that ties these analyses together is that authors situate violence against women within a societally condoned context of male power and control. As Ferraro argues in her chapter, the social institutions of religion, kinship, the economy, and the media normalize hierarchical gender relations and enforce male power and privilege, leading some males to exercise emotional and physical control through abusive means. In some sense, physical and emotional abuse suffered by women at the hands of men represent a second victimization, the first one being the relegation to second-class citizenship within a patriarchal culture. For the many women who fall into criminal activity as a result of abuse, the consequences of criminality may be viewed as yet a third level of victimization.

## **The Role of the Criminal Justice System in Responding to and Perpetuating Crime**

Women’s crime is not only influenced by individual, interpersonal, and sociocultural influences—the responses of the justice system itself also have the potential to shape women’s criminal involvement and identities.

In recent years, an increasing proportion of women have been identified as criminals as a result of changes in criminal justice system policy regarding certain behaviors, particularly those that are drug related. In chapter 15, “Women, Race, and Criminal Justice Processing,” Evelyn Gilbert focuses on how changes in governmental policy regarding drug offenses have disproportionately affected women, especially minority women, in terms of increased prosecution and incarceration. In the 1980s the federal and many state governments attempted to deal with what they viewed as an increasing problem with drug-related crime by imposing stiffer penalties for relatively low-level drug offenses. In addition, many jurisdictions implemented mandatory prison sentences for certain drug crimes, reducing judges’ discretion to mete out alternative sanctions to incarceration. These policy changes reflected a more politically conservative orientation for legislative bodies as well as a specific response to the proliferation of a particularly virulent drug, crack cocaine. Given women’s greater susceptibility to drug addiction, especially to crack cocaine, these policy changes rendered dramatic impacts on the involvement of women in the criminal justice system.

Barbara Owen, in chapter 17, “Perspectives on Women in Prison,” provides additional data to support Gilbert’s arguments about the dire consequences for women following these changes in sentencing policy regarding drug offenses. Owen notes that the number of women in state prisons has tripled within the past two decades, primarily as a result of increased convictions for drug-related offenses. Indeed, as Owen states, the war on drugs appears to have become a war on women. Moreover, as Gilbert notes, this assault on low-level women offenders has not been directed equally but has been especially hard on poor women of color. During this period of increased women’s imprisonment, African-American women showed the

greatest increase in incarcerations rates of all offender groups.

In chapter 14, “Gender and Law,” Frances Bernat reviews gender issues in the treatment of offenders by legal institutions, noting that laws in many jurisdictions that historically meted out harsher penalties for women than for men convicted of similar crimes were found unconstitutional and were rescinded or revised by the end of the 1970s. However, sentencing judges continue to make distinctions on the basis of gender that often operate to the detriment of women offenders. Bernat cites studies demonstrating that women convicted of less serious offenses are sentenced more harshly than their male counterparts. Additionally, judges may consider factors unrelated to the case itself—such as marital status, family background, and the degree to which the defendant is viewed as “respectable”—in making sentencing decisions for women defendants, considerations that are not taken into account in the sentencing of males. Another domain in which women offenders may receive more unpleasant treatment than their male counterparts is their treatment during incarceration. By virtue of the significantly smaller number of women in prison than men, women prisoners receive relatively fewer prison programs, services, and work-release opportunities, may be incarcerated at distances farther from their families, and due to less overcrowding, may end up spending more time in prison because they are not eligible for early release programs.

### **The Role of the Criminal Justice System and the Public in Responding to and Perpetuating Women’s Victimization**

When violence against women was considered essentially a private matter, many offenders could commit their crimes with

impunity. The last several decades have witnessed progress in this area, and the criminal justice and legal systems should be credited for their efforts to improve the quality of official response and services for victims of violence, regardless of the identities of the perpetrators. Kathleen Ferraro notes this progress in her chapter on intimate violence by citing a number of reforms that have improved official responses to women’s victimization. Coordination and communication of the various community and governmental agencies involved in dealing with violence against women have helped victims of violence, as have the shelter movement, the Violence Against Women Act, and other rape reform legislation. Yet these measures have only gone so far, and much of the general public still holds dismissive attitudes regarding women’s complicity in their victimization. Moreover, classism and racism often exacerbate public condemnation of women victims who are poor, of color, or both. Osthoff, who directs the National Clearinghouse for the Defense of Battered Women in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, describes the difficulties of defending women who kill their abusers unless these defendants conform to a rigid construction of the “legitimate victim”—white, deferential, and middle class.

Chesney-Lind’s chapter on girls and the juvenile justice system underscores the role of the formal criminal justice system in perpetuating the continued victimization of young women who have suffered abuse at the hands of fathers or other so-called “protectors.” All too often, the very strategies abused girls and young women use for their survival—running away from abusive homes—are criminalized. Young women runaways are given the label of status offenders and are either returned to the abusive environments or incarcerated. Moreover, the irony of a double standard exists, in that runaway boys who are less likely to leave home for such extreme self-protective

reasons are not as likely as victimized girls to be detained as status offenders.

## **Reducing Women's Crime and the Treatment of Women Offenders**

Several authors address the issue of what can and should be done to reduce women's criminality. Combating the effects of poverty and racism would reduce crime for all offenders, but some issues regarding crime prevention are particularly germane to women. For example, in their discussion of women drug- and alcohol-involved offenders, Mancuso and Miller suggest replacing a crime-fighting approach with one of harm reduction. Rather than focusing on punishment for criminal violations, consideration should be given to the harm that emanates from the AOD lifestyle for the women, their children, and society in general. These harms take many forms, including increased health risks for users, physical and emotional damage to AOD offenders' children, and the increased risk of harm to self and others from criminal behavior. Rather than focusing on punishing offenders, officials may better serve society by viewing and dealing with the AOD lifestyle and its concomitant criminal activity as public health problems.

Discussing incarcerated women, Owen also underscores the importance of designing treatment programs for women offenders that are responsive to their particular situations and needs, not only within the context of gender but also of race and class. Given the less serious nature of the offenses of many women, she argues for community alternatives to prison that speak specifically to women's economic needs, particular substance abuse problems, and societally prescribed roles as mothers and care givers. She recognizes the victimization and criminality nexus for so many female offenders and emphasizes the importance of programs to as-

sist women offenders in dealing with past physical, sexual, and emotional abuse within culturally sensitive contexts.

## **Challenges to Women in Policing and Corrections**

Although the lives of women police and corrections officers may appear far removed from those of women offenders and victims, female professionals also must contend with the gendered nature of the criminal justice system. Popular attitudes regarding appropriate gender roles present challenges to women trying to make it in policing and corrections that are not dissimilar to the challenges faced by women offenders desiring to break into certain criminal organizations.

Two chapters in the volume address issues of women professionals in the criminal justice workplace. In chapter 18, "Gender and Policing," Susan Miller addresses issues of women in law enforcement; Nancy Jurik and Susan E. Martin discuss women in the fields of policing and corrections in chapter 19, "Femininities, Masculinities, and Organizational Conflict: Women in Criminal Justice Occupations."

An analysis of the social construction of gender and its impact in various historical periods is necessary to comprehend fully the roles that women have played—historically and in contemporary life—in criminal justice professions. Jurik and Martin show that women have been full-fledged actors in policing and corrections for a very brief period of time. It was not until the 1970s that women were "allowed" to assume the roles of patrol officer in police forces and corrections officer in male institutions. Moreover, these advances were the result of legislative changes achieved through the civil rights and women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s as well as hard-won court battles by dedicated women who challenged the status quo. Prior to this period, women's involvement in law enforcement and corrections was defined

narrowly to fit traditional stereotypes regarding appropriate roles for women. In the nineteenth century, the involvement of women in policing and corrections reflected the interests of upper-middle-class reformers attempting to resocialize “fallen women” and guide and nurture underprivileged children. This “matronizing” approach to women who had violated the law clearly embodied a social work, as opposed to a crime control orientation. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a small number of women held leadership positions in policing and corrections—some rather prestigious—but always separate and apart from men.

It is one thing to open up the regular ranks of police and correctional organizations to women; it is another for women to be accepted and integrated into those ranks. While court and legislative victories have enabled women to serve alongside males on patrol and in the general population of prisons for men and women, traditional attitudes about the kinds of activities that are appropriate for women—and those that are not—continue to present challenges to women attempting to climb the ladder of success in these male-dominated fields. The chapters by Miller and Jurik and Martin provide analyses of the types of attitudinal, organiza-

tional, and behavioral resistance women face, as well as strategies women use to combat and overcome these sources of resistance.

## **Women, Crime, and Criminal Justice: An Invitation**

It has only been within the past quarter century or so that there have been sufficient knowledge and interest in the field of women and crime to support the publication of textbooks expressly devoted to these topics. In this period, the volume and quality of scholarly work on gender, crime, and criminal justice have increased dramatically. Readers of *Women, Crime, and Criminal Justice* are the beneficiaries of this cutting-edge scholarship.

This volume provides an alternative to much of the content of traditional texts in criminology and criminal justice that focus primarily, and sometimes exclusively, on men. Hopefully, exposure to the perspectives presented by the authors in this volume will help to sensitize readers to a fuller range of issues that must be considered in formulating a comprehensive understanding of crime and justice. ♦