CHAPTER-IV

FEMALE CRIMINALS: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ANALYSIS
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Women in India live in a particular socio-cultural-religious and economic structure. This particular structure sanctions their roles and behavioural patterns through persons in power within the group. Women are allowed to act within this framework, which suppresses their aspirations, ambitions and equal opportunities. In words of J.P. Atray:

It is not only that the society treats them generally unfairly but they themselves have come to accept this treatment as a natural law. They grow up and constantly live with a sense of being weak and a need of protection whether physical, social or economic and all the time their effort is to cling to whatever protection they have been given by the society by way of marriage and all the social security that goes with it, solely depending on it throughout their life. Worst of all, they pass on the situation of total helplessness to successive
generations of women.¹

Thus women in India live in a distinct socio-economic situation, which is in many respects different from that of woman of other western countries. Mr. J.P. Atray, has further pointed out some socio-economic characteristics of women in India:

Physically, they have to put in as much, if not more, hard work as their male Counterparts whether in the house or in the field or at work but the recognition and return for this effort are minimal...

...Mentally, they are called upon to play and discharge some of the highest responsibilities which any one can be called upon to discharge but again in terms of returns and recognition they fail to find a place in the society’s roll of honour...

... It is amazing how deep-rooted is the male bias and how keen they are on keeping them suppressed, may be because their own dominant position is threatened and their ego demands that they should not relent.

In view of these distinct characteristics of women in India, all issues of women including female criminality have to be analysed. The status of women in India, plays an important role in deciding their behaviour patterns. Therefore, all sociological aspects of female criminals are equally important in the study of female criminality.

The researcher has studied 50 female convicts for this research. This study is completed with the help of schedule (see appendix). The researcher herself asked the questions to the respondents and noted down the response given by the respondents. All the female convicts interviewed by the researcher, were from "Yeravda Central Jail", Pune (Maharashtra State-India). This is the only central jail for women prisoners in Maharashtra. All the

fifty inmates are mostly "Lifers", as they have committed serious crimes and they were brought from all the District jails to Yeravda.

This prison provides training and industrial programme of long duration to the inmates. The researcher has got unique opportunity to interact with these female offenders through long conversation based on the schedule. It became possible, only because of special permission granted by the Inspector General (Prisons), Maharashtra State. Due to these interviews of the female convicts, the researcher able to trace out the sociological causes and factors, active behind the female criminal behaviour.
**TABLE NO: 4.1.**

Age-Wise Distribution of 50 Female Convicts

Yeravda, Pune - 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No.</th>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15 to 25 years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>26 to 35 years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>36 to 45 years</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>46 to 55 years</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>56 and above</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table no 4.1 clearly demonstrates that the peak age of female criminals is found to be between 25 to 35 years. This is the age in which a person is both numerically and mentally matured and is biologically and socially capable of understanding and performing the marital and other social roles.

However, this is the age where a person is likely to fall prey to pressures. Young age provides women the required courage for violent reaction or revenge or even tolerance of high level. They wanted to take revenge when they face an unbearable situation or injustice in their family or outside.
GRAPH NO. 4.1

Age group-wise Classification of
50 female Convicts
Yerawada, Pune, 1986.

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Scale: 1 percent = 3 M.M
In this young age-group, the researcher found that, more "married" females had joined totally different cultural environment in their in-law's house. Some found this difficult to adjust with, either with the in-law's or with the husband. Because of the maladjustment they got involved in crimes within the family of their in-law's. Some have got involved in crime outside the family, either at work place or while earning through illegal means. Women who are not satisfied with their husband's treatment and develop liking for other men at workplace are found to have been engaged in anti-moral and anti-social behaviour. Some fell prey to social criticism of neighbours. Social criticism in rural areas make them more attracted towards crime.

During young-age, sexual drive is strong, body is more sensitive to superficial attractions and women-young girls look charming and healthy, irrespective of their whatever socio-economic conditions are concerned. Thus age and criminality has indirect but strong co-relation, which the researcher found in her sample. So it can be inferred here that, younger the age, higher is the possibility of criminal behaviour among women and older the age, lower is the possibility of female criminality.
GRAPH NO. 4.2
Religion-wise Break up of 50 Female Convicts
Gerorda, Pune, 1986.

Scale: 1 percent = 1 mm.
**Table No. 4.2**

**Analysis of 50 Female Convicts In Relation To Their**

**Religion, Literacy and Caste**

*Yerawada, Pune - 1986*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Upper Caste</th>
<th>(SC)</th>
<th>(ST)</th>
<th>NT/DNT</th>
<th>Other Castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td><strong>Literate Rate</strong></td>
<td><strong>Illiterate Rate</strong></td>
<td><strong>Literate Rate</strong></td>
<td><strong>Illiterate Rate</strong></td>
<td><strong>Literate Rate</strong></td>
<td><strong>Illiterate Rate</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. 31</td>
<td>(28%)</td>
<td>(72%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. 14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(14%)</td>
<td>(86%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. 02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. 03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(26%)</td>
<td>(74%)</td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td>(57%)</td>
<td>(40%)</td>
<td>(60%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* Figures in the brackets indicate caste group wise percentages of literate and illiterate female convict.
Analysis of Female Convicts in Relation to their Religion, Literacy and Caste

Crime is necessary expression or reaction of social situations or conditions. Hence the propensity for crime always depends upon particular person's social class, culture, personality, sex, age, and other factors which resist change. That is why, it becomes necessary to identify social characteristics of female criminals under this research. This is particularly important in country like India, where society is caste-ridden and believes in gender discrimination.

In every society there are conflicting values. These values belong to the two opposite socio-economic classes of society.

The conflicting values in a given society are found as a crime producing. But legalistic approach in crime, fails to consider the behavioral norms that are specific to the lower socio-economic classes, different age-groups, religious groups and interest groups living in certain geographic area.
However, the sociological approach to crime believes that the propensity for crime depends upon individual's class-culture, personality traits, sex, age and other factors. In view of this, the researcher has tried to find out some features of female criminals according to their religion, caste and literacy. Attempt is also made to trace out relationships between variables like religion, education and caste.

Table No. 4.2 reveals that 52 percent of female criminals (26 out of 50 = Column no's. 3, 4, 5 (A and B) of the table), belong to socially backward and depressed castes—that is Scheduled castes (S.C.), Nomadic Tribes (N.T.) and Denotified Tribes (D.N.T.), and Scheduled Tribes (S.T.). Among these backward castes the share of the scheduled caste women is considerably high, which is 32 percent. At the same time it is noteworthy that the share of Ex-criminal castes are found to be less in serious crimes. The other important revelation in this regard is that, the share of the upper castes women in female criminality is sufficiently high. The female criminals from the upper castes group are found to be 38 percent, (19 out of 50 = Column no.2 (A and B) of the table 4.2). Thus it can be inferred that, although
culture of a lower class is crime productive in this sample. It is also found that, the higher class culture of the upper castes women has remained equally crime productive. As the Ex-criminal castes are seen with negligible share, the caste-based categorization of criminal behaviour is baseless.

The religion-wise break-up indicates that 62 percent (31 out of 50) female criminals belong to Hindu religion, 28 percent (14 out of 50) to Buddhist, 4 percent to Christianity and 6 percent belong to Islam religion. Thus data reveal that the religious minorities like Muslims and christians are less involved in female criminality. The other important revelation about the religion is that of disproportionate share of female criminals from Buddhist religion. Most of the women of this religion in Maharashtra State are very poor and belong to socially most deprived class of society, hence their higher incidence in female criminality can be explained by their highly vulnerable condition of poverty and weak social status.

The other remarkable finding is that, literacy has direct association with caste-groups of the convicts. 84 percent female criminals are found illiterate; however, most of them belong to
weaker and backward sections of the society. Most of the literate female criminals (5 out of 8) are found belonging to the upper caste groups of Hindu religion. Female criminals of S.T., N.T./D.N.T. and other castes are noticed to be totally illiterate. Only 3 female criminals belonging to the S.C. category are found literate.

In Maharashtra 49.49 % women are illiterate according to the 1991 census provisional figures. Considering this percentage, it becomes clear that the illiteracy among female criminals in researchers sample is much more (84 percent). It is thus evident from these figures that the female criminality is more prevalent among the illiterate women in Maharashtra. Literate women might have remained more satisfied with their career, family life and even in the society and so are less involved in criminality.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty</th>
<th>Customs</th>
<th>Other reasons</th>
<th>Literate</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is always felt as to why most of the female criminals could not enter in the formal education system? For what reasons they were deprived from education? What are the socio-economic causes, responsible for this high illiteracy among female criminals? These are the issues which the researcher has tried to answer, by knowing their "realities of life".

Table no 4.3 gives the information about the reasons for deprivation from education. 32 out of 50 female convicts have stated that due to acute poverty they did not get an opportunity to go to school. Poverty remains the main cause for educational deprivation of women in general. It is more prominent among female criminals. For example, the story of the female convict (case no. 15) is self explanatory. This particular female convict belongs to a village Lakhangaon of Nashik district.
Her father and mother were landless labourers, and also illiterate. Their daily earnings were inadequate to fulfil even their need of food. In such a situation, the female convict had to look after home and her younger brothers and sisters since her childhood. The other important factor is that her brothers were sent to school but she was not! On her own she started going for labourwork at the age of 10. So her parents could not afford to send her to school. This clearly shows that her earnings were more useful for her family, than her education.

Besides, in the Indian society, if a family can afford to send only one child to school and if the parents have to choose between a boy and a girl, in most of the families, the boy is given preference. Particularly, this discrimination is common among poor families as found in this case too.

The second important factor, which is cultural in nature, found responsible for the deprivation of education among female convicts and that is the custom or tradition prevalent in their castes. 16 percent (8 out of 50) of the female convicts did not get education because, their caste-customs did not permit. Customs and tradition are
found to be great hindrance to any socio-
educational change. For instance, take the case of
the female convict no. 10, belonging to the
Denotified Tribe (DNT) called as Garudi. She hails
from Chalisgaon, a tribal belt, in Khandesh region
of Maharashtra. Her story is self-evident. It
proves that how a custom or a tradition of a
community becomes an obstacle in the process of
education. She told the researcher during her hour-
long conversation that despite her wish, she could
not even enter the school because in their
community, females are not allowed or suppose to go
to schools. According to their community’s
tradition, women have to look after their
respective homes. In view of conventional role
assignment, a girl entering the school is
considered as violator of the community norms and
customs. Thus inspite of her honest desire for
education, she remained illiterate.

In some cases, it is observed that the
female convicts themselves are responsible for
their deprivation from education. No extrogenous
factors are found responsible for their
illiteracy. Obsession for learning or going to
school becomes an important aspect of their
personality. Because
of absence of such obsession they oppose others attempts to send them to school. One female convict (case no. 17) interviewed by this researcher is found belonging to this category. She belongs to Koshti caste. She was not at all having any desire for school education. Her parents though themselves were illiterate, were interested in sending her to school. However, she herself was deadly against getting education and going to school. She was more interested in working on farms, earning some money. She used to feel that, going to school for some hours daily meant a kind of punishment! Her father used to beat her every day to press her for going to school. However, now she feels that she made a grave mistake by not joining school, however this after-thought seems to make little sense.

The non-availability of school facility in remote rural areas is yet another important factor responsible for illiteracy among the female convicts. The female convict (case no. 21) said that she remained illiterate because there was no school in her village. So she could not go to school, even though she was having a strong desire for education and her parents were equally ready to give her education. However, though there were school in nearby villages, her parents did not
permit her to go outside her own village to study, as she was a girl.

The migration of rural labourers' families is also responsible. Many families have to migrate from their native places either to take shelter in slums of the cities or seasonal employment. As a result, they are not able to send their children to school. Since most of them are poor, the women have to go out, for earning their livelihood. Girls from their childhood, have to look after either their younger siblings or to go to work as housemaids. Schooling seems to be out of question for such girls.

The above discussion on the factors responsible for deprivation of education among women proves that, various causes like poverty, customs, personality traits, lack of school facilities, migration are responsible for high illiteracy among female convicts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level of Female Convicts</th>
<th>Parents Income Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upto Rs. 200/p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>09 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>09 (18%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in the brackets indicate row-wise percentages.
The economic conditions of parents is a major factor, which decides future and fate of their children. Education is an instrument for personality development and better life. Low educational level of a person denotes low economic conditions and low standard of life. Thus education plays a greater role in improving the quality of life. That is why, the researcher has made an attempt to trace out the co-relation between the educational level of the female convicts and their parent’s income.

Perusal of table no. 4.4 shows that out of 42 illiterate female convicts 36 (86 percent) are with income below Rs. 600/- per month. Among them 26 female convicts (62 percent) have income below Rs. 400/- per month. There is only one illiterate female convict whose parent’s income is Rs. 1000/- and above. This clearly establishes that the low income group parents have illiterate children. The table no. 4.4 states that the higher income group parents have daughters with higher education. Only three female convicts are with S.S.C. and college education belong to higher income-groups with incomes ranging from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1000. Out of these three, one female convict has completed
education upto S.S.C. The educaton up to S.S.C. is the minimum required qualification for any good job in society. However, all these three convicts have committed crime due to family problems.

Thus the lower income groups' parents carry higher amount of illiteracy in their children, and the higher income group's parents carry lowest amount of illiteracy in their children. Thus the table no.4.4 demonstrates that most of the female convicts belong to the illiterate class. Their parents live with low income. These families must be literally living life of low quality and must be only fulfilling their basic needs of food, perhaps shelter and even no other need such as education, health. Because of this weak condition, the female offender had to take the path of criminal behaviour. Since socially accepted jobs are not available for poor and unemployable class of society, they have to toil hard to earn their bread by any meagre income jobs like housemaids, coolies, begging, selling vegetables, boot-polishing, labour work or scrap-picking. In addition to poverty and illiteracy, family environment is another major factor, prone to crime. There are six families or parents whose income is comparatively better (Rs. 601 to 1000 and above), even though, their
children are illiterate. This has happened because their parents seem to have engaged in small trading, rikshaw pulling or service as a peon or wardboy. Some parents with higher income are found engaged in illicit trade. In these families, parents are addicts and they have an attraction for "easy money". If even, a single member of a family gets involved in addiction, easy money making practice, in such families women have to struggle hard. They have to work in humiliating and undesirable situations. In such a situation, due to family tensions both monetary and mental, there is possibility that they might have taken shelter of activities such as stealing, shoplifting, deceiving, telling lies to their employers, in more or less petty ways and in turn some time they come in to the danger of getting arrested.

Thus this discussion proves that the poverty and illiteracy are the factors, which create criminogenic environment, in turn this would have led them to commit a crime. The incidence of female criminality is found to be low in higher income families with more education. On the other hand, the incidence of female criminality is highest among the income groups with lowest income and high illiteracy.
This happens because on the one hand these classes and sections of society are asked to orient their conduct toward the prospect of accumulating wealth and on the other, they are largely denied effective opportunities to do so institutionally. The effects of such structured inconsistency or contradictions leads to psychopathological personality development, which further leads to antisocial activities. If society dictates legally, socially accepted ways and means of earning wealth and if they are not providing required proper opportunities to accumulate money through socially accepted ways, naturally more persons are likely to violate such norms, by turning to deviant behaviour or illegal ways of earning. In spite of the fact that poverty supports criminogenic tensions and situations, and although most of the Indian population live in an acute poverty, we find that all of them do not turn to criminal behaviour because of some other socio-cultural factors protect them from criminality. Otherwise every poor person would have become a criminal. So poverty can not be the sole factor responsible for generating criminality. It plays a supporting role.
So far, I have discussed the economic condition of parents of female convicts in my sample. This condition has adversely affected the personality development of these women. It is also essential to take in to account her economic condition after marriage. Hence I had asked questions about their husband’s income. In case of the husband’s income it is seen that, 70 percent husbands of female convicts were having income upto Rs. 600/- per month (Rs.20/day) and (44 percent) among them were getting income upto Rs. 400/- permonth (Rs.13/day). Thus it can be said that, the parental as well as marital family life of the female convicts is with miserable poverty condition. And poverty exerts many economic as well as emotional pressures, tensions and conflicts in family. These side effects of poverty develop criminogenic situations and environment.
GRAPH NO. 4.3
The Parents Occupational Patterns of 50 female Convicts
Jervda, Pune, 1986.

Agrl. Work: 36%
Labour Work: 32%
Business: 20%
Service: 8%
Illicit Trade: 4%

Scale: 1 percent = 2.2 M.M.
### Table No. 4.5

Co-relation Between Educational Level and Occupation Of Parents Of 50 Female Convicts

Yeravda, Pune - 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Agri-</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Illicit</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>culture</td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(03)</td>
<td>(06)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(07) (21.5)</td>
<td>(21.5)</td>
<td>(21.5)</td>
<td>(50)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S.C</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(50)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>(08)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(04)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in the brackets indicate row-wise percentages.

The occupational patterns and educational level of the parents of the female convicts shed light on the familial background of the female convicts. The table no. 4.5 gives the association between the educational level and the nature of the
occupation of parents. 68 percent of the parents of female convicts were found having occupation of either agriculture (36 percent) or labour work (32 percent). Among the parents with agriculture as the occupation, 88.8 percent were found to be illiterate. 81.2 percent parents among the labour work were found to be illiterate. 3 literate parents with the occupation of labour work had just primary education. The most of the parents with labour work as their occupation are found engaged either in employment guarantee scheme [EGS] of Maharashtra Government or in construction work sector. No parent is found engaged in labour work related to criminal profession. The third occupational pattern is of service. In all, 4 parents were having service occupation. Out of these 4, three had only primary education and only one had education upto S.S.C. The services of parents were either class IV employee like peon, watchman or servant in private business, shop etc. One can see clearly that the poor socio-economic and educational level of parents is inadequate to equip properly their daughters for a better life. On the contrary, some parents have been found to be responsible for creating criminogenic environment because of their occupations and low literacy
level. There were 10 parents with business as their occupation. Among them one was illiterate. 7 were with primary education and only 2 had higher education. It becomes clear that, most of them are engaged in small and minor trades. One illiterate parent was found working in construction sector, 4 were seen engaged in trade of vegetable vendor, 2 were having small shops, and 1 was having garment business. Remaining 2 higher educated parents, have trading business. There were 2 parents, who were earning their livelihood through illicit trade and both of them were illiterate. Both the parents were found engaged in liquor trade and production.

Thus the review and analysis of the table no. 4.5 shows that the educated parents who were having occupation pattern of business or service and most of the illiterate parents were having occupation of labour, agriculture or illicit trade. The occupations of the most of the parents show that they are poor-earners, working in lowest paying unorganised sectors like labour and agriculture. From this information, I could see that the parents of these female convicts were neither cultured and literate, nor were they economically sound. Hence it can be stated that, the educational level of a
person, has direct corelationship with his occupational pattern and income level.

Parent's Role In Female Criminal's Marital Life:

Poverty of female convicts' parents not only represents lack of proper opportunity for making progress but also it shows difficulty in marriage settlement and getting good life partner for their daughters. Poor parents some how manage the marriage of their daughters. They are not able to pay higher dowry and bear other marriage expenses. They arrange marriages of their daughters with persons, available within their narrow monetary limits. They are not in a position to verify and check the character, habits and other qualities of the proposed son-in-law. For them "getting a husband for their daughter" is the most important achievement. Thus the daughters of poor illiterate parents were married to families whose security, and soundness were hardly considered. It was observed that most of the daughters of poor parents are married in families, which were unable to provide them sound, secured and supporting marital life. This generated dissatisfaction among daughters, by which they felt that they were living
in an unsound family environment. In such an environment, their marital life became unsatisfied, torturous and finally led them to deviant behaviour. Thus it can be said that the "low income giving occupations" of parents may become a strong element in creating familial and marital unrest or dissatisfaction in female convicts' life. It must be remembered here that if they get bad life partners, they get fed up with their marital life and at some crucial moment turn to violent reaction.

In some cases it is observed that the parents' occupation itself is responsible for providing criminogenic environment and training for growing female convicts. As father and mother are the first and foremost ideal persons for the budding and growing children, and when parents themselves are seen engaged in illegal and immoral trade and business, it becomes difficult to hold or maintain moral and legal behaviour from their children. For instance take the case of the female convict no. 10, interviewed by the researcher. She belongs to a Garudi community, which is a nomadic and denotified tribe. The Garudi community is a community which moves from place to place and earns its livelihood by snake-shows. But the parents of this female
convict were involved in criminal profession of picking pockets. Hence, since childhood she had observed her parents, (mother and father) engaged in pick-pocketing. Even her close relatives were professional pick-pocketeers. Thus the whole circle of her activity and relationship was pro-crime. Furthermore, her parents and close relatives imparted to her the skill of pick-pocketing; that is, just by use of two fingers, without using any other instrument. Even after marriage she got, in-laws, engaged in the same criminal profession. Thus the very occupation of the parents and in-laws trained her in criminal culture and profession, which she naturally adopted as her career.

Another example is also self-explanatory in this regard. The female convict [case no.19] belongs to a Bhill-scheduled tribe community from Shirpur taluka of Dhulia-tribal district. Her parents were engaged in illicit liquor trade. Her mother used to look after illegal 'Bhatti' of liquor. Both mother and father themselves were drunkards by tradition. The people who visited their house daily were either drunkards or criminals. What would have been the impressions carried out by this female convict in her early childhood? The whole
environment was criminogenic and immoral. She was exposed to this environment which inculcated criminal-value system predominantly.

Yet another example is of the female convict (case no.28) of Bombay living in Foras Road. Her mother was a 'Kothewali'-prostitute. As an immoral child of her mother, she was not knowing who her father was! The entire 'Red-light' area of Foras Road is the centre of immoral, illegal and illicit trafficking of women and girls. The very house of her mother was a brothel. What is called as a 'Kuntankhana' as she explained [centre of prostitution]. That is why the female convict had a long association with the multi-faceted criminal world of Bombay. The occupation of her mother was developing in her, an aptitude for immoral and illegal deviant behaviour, right since her childhood. Thus she came into the trap of the predominant criminal culture around her.

Man is a product of his environment. Individuals and institutions in a neighbourhood may intentionally or inadvertently disseminate delinquent and criminal behaviour patterns. This is what happened in this case. Hence if parental occupation is illegal, immoral and criminal, the possibility of
GRAPH NO. 4.4.
Economic Condition of 50 female Conuits
Yerawada, Pune, 1986.

Scale: 1 percent = 1 in M.
their children becoming deviant is higher, because criminal environment produces criminal persons more regularly than normal environment.

Table no. 4.6
Classification of 33 Employed Female Convicts According To Their Income And Occupation
Yeravda, Pune, 1986.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income per Month</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>Agril.</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>Illicit</th>
<th>Criminal</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rs.100 to 300</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(57%)</td>
<td>(32.5%)</td>
<td>(3.5%)</td>
<td>(07%)</td>
<td>(07%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs.301 to 600</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(50%)</td>
<td>(25%)</td>
<td>(25%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(25%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above Rs.600</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(55%)</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
<td>(06%)</td>
<td>(09%)</td>
<td>(09%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of 50, 33 female convicts were gainfully employed before coming to the jail. Hence their economic life has been studied. Female convicts occupational level and their income group is an important sociological factor found to be related to their criminal behaviour. The economic causes are more powerful factors in crime production and genesis. The inequality and poverty, cause people to turn to crime. Poverty, high mobility and heterogeneity are the factors which fail in generating strong primary control. Inadequate
Primary controls create disorganisation in society and such disorganisation is highly crime productive. Hence occupation and income-wise classification of the female convicts is presented here by the researcher. The table no.4.6 shows the different occupational patterns and its co-relation with their respective income groups. Out of 50 female convicts studied for this research, 33 (66 percent) were found to be income-earners. The remaining 34 percent were house wives. High incidence of poverty in parental and in-law’s family, make them inevitably income earners. As seen earlier, the most of the female convicts have inherited very poor and very low income class background, they had to share their earnings whatever possible with their families. The perusal of the table no.4.6 indicates that, like their parents, most of the female convicts are found engaged in low-income-giving unorganised sectors, that is labour work and agricultural work. 28 female convicts out of 33 income-earner female convicts are found working in normal occupation of labour and agriculture work. They are not found associated with, in any way, to criminal or pro-criminal occupational patterns. Hence causes behind
the criminal acts by these otherwise normal women lie in the field or their occupational environment or deviant subculture. The reasons for their criminal acts are found in their tense interpersonal and intra-family relationship for which other family members are more responsible than these women themselves.

Even though, regarding the occupations, as stated by the female convicts, it is found that, as many as 5 female convicts have confessed about their criminal occupation, two have admitted that they engaged in illicit trade, one in the illicit liquor trade and the other in prostitution. The other three confessed that their occupation was related to criminal activities. Among these three, one convict stated her profession as pickpocketing, the other one as theft and the third one was involved in cheating and forgery. While interviewing, I came across a finding that the actual number of female convicts associated with criminal activities might have been more than 5. Some of them might have avoided to disclose their criminal profession.
It is worth noting that, even though they are involved in the deviant behaviour, their income level remained low. Out of these five female convicts, 3 were having income less than Rs. 300/- per month, one was having income between Rs. 301/- and Rs. 600/- and only one female convict was having income above Rs. 600/- per month. This shows that though engaged in deviant behaviour, the income of the female convicts has not changed substantially. Out of sheer compulsion of family culture or customs or other anti-social factors they might have selected this way of life in their young age.

From the overall picture of the income groups of the female convicts, it becomes clear from the table no.4.6 that, most of the female convicts 28 out of 33 [84.8 percent] have income between Rs. 100 to 300 per month. Out of remaining five, four female convicts have income between Rs. 301 to 600 per month. There is only one female convict who is seen earning more than Rs. 600 per month. These figures prove that most of the female convicts were earning monthly Rs. 100 to 300, that is about Rs. 3.30 to Rs. 10 per day.
Due to general wage-discrimination among male and female the income of female convicts in this sample, was not sufficient enough for their economic independence. The income-earner female convicts were contributing or supporting the income of their families. Even though, it must be noted that 66 percent of the female convicts were not completely dependent on their family heads for their needs.

This statistics also suggests, the two-fold pressures on female convicts. They were holding familial responsibilities as any housewife holds and at the same time majority of them were income earners. Thus they had to face and deal with their family problems and burdens, as well as heavy physical strains and mental tensions of the work situation, as most of them were engaged in labour and agricultural work. In this situation, there is every possibility of such females losing their temper or control because of unbearable mental and physical pressures. Thus in short, it can be said that, the female convicts occupational patterns were mostly non-deviant in nature, more over most of them were engaged in the unorganised sector doing labour and agricultural work, as most of the other women do. Hence one can not find root
of crime in their occupation.

It must be traced to other areas of their activities and one such area is their family.

Marital Life: cradles of Female Criminality

Marriage of any woman in India is a dramatic change in their cultural and familial life. In India, most of the marriages are settled marriages and in most of the cases husband’s family is a totally new environment for women. They enter in an unknown and unfamiliar circle of persons. The whole family environment is strange for them. Naturally, the interpersonal relationship with the family members including their husband is hard to develop. More importantly, in Indian society, a daughter-in-law of a family has assigned role and they are expected to maintain a peculiar relationship with other members of in-law’s family. If they fail in to do this role performance, maladjustment generates. The other crucial and dominant factor generating maladjustment is that of dowry and other assurances, expected from daughter-in-law’s family. The nature of respect given by parents of daughter-in-law to husband’s family members, play an important role, in deciding nature of treatment,
Graph No. 4.5
Marital Status of 50 Female Convicts
Yerawda, Pune, 1986.

- Married: 54%
- Unmarried: 10%
- Divorced: 10%
- Widows: 26%

Scale: 1 percent = 1 cm.
given to daughter-in-law. In turn, significantly this affects her marital life.

Table No. 4.7

Classification of 50 Female Convicts According to Their Age Group and Marital Status

Yeravda, Pune-1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Unmarried</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widow</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 to 25 yrs.</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[54]</td>
<td>[33]</td>
<td>[13]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 to 35 yrs.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[68]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[9]</td>
<td>[23]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 to 45 yrs.</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[25]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[13]</td>
<td>[62]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 to 55 yrs.</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[50]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[50]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 and above</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[33]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[67]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[54]</td>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>[10]</td>
<td>[26]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in the brackets indicate row-wise percentages.

The table no. 4.7 gives the classification of 50 female convicts according to their age group and marital status. It shows that 54 percent female convicts are married. Widows were found [26 percent] in them. Also there are [10 percent] divorced female convicts. Thus this statistics clearly states that [90 percent] of female convicts
are found having background of marital life, either married 54 percent + divorced 10 percent + widows 26 percent. Only 10 percent female convicts are unmarried [ please see graph no.4.5 ].

Statistical evidence in this sample points out that, the female criminality is an "after-marriage activity". In the researcher's sample of 50 female convicts, 5 are divorced female convicts. Among these 5, 4 are divorced before attaining 35th year of their age. Out of these four, two are divorced in their very young age [15 to 25 years]. For example, convict of the sample [case no.12] is an upper caste Maratha woman. She hails from Pimptra-Nirguda village near Pune. In Maratha caste dowry is considered as a status symbol. But poor families from this caste are victims of this social evil. They are economically so weak that, they can not pay high dowry amount. The female convict [no.12] is such a Maratha woman belonging to a very poor family. Just after two months of her marriage her husband gave her divorce. The reason behind divorce was the non-payment of the remaining dowry amount by convict's father as assured by him during marriage settlement. The father of the female convict was unable to pay dowry amount
because of his poor economic condition. The convict’s father assured her husband that he would give the remaining amount within a year, but his request was rejected and she was divorced. Her husband married another woman with good a sum of dowry.

The life of divorcee in Indian society, is "a life of losing every thing. "The divorcees are considered as bad women, and hence even their parents do not look at them sympathetically. Though they have not committed a single mistake, they are considered as characterless women. This hateful and torturous treatment is their fate after divorce. In Maratha community remmariage after divorce is viewed as low-caste practice. Therefore, their tragedy is that, they have to live without remarriage by killing their own aspirations and ambitions of good life. If a woman is divorced in her young age, it becomes very difficult for her to live without family and sex. In such a situation, after divorce, the young female convict had to stay with her poor parents. As she was very young, she got involved in sexual relationship with a young man of her village. As a result of this, she gave birth to an immoral child, and due to fear of
society and defamation she killed her own child and committed a crime of infanticide. Thus due to the unsuccessful marital life, she became a criminal.

Among the married female convicts 23 out of 27 have committed crimes during their young age[15 to 35 years]. Only 4 married female convicts belong to the higher age groups of [36 and above]. This speaks about the fact that the married female convicts have committed crime during their early years of marriage. They turned to criminal behaviour during their very young age—the most promising age in case of any person.

It is evident from the table, that out of the 13 widows, 10 belong to the age groups between 26 and 45 years. Among 5 unmarried female convicts, 2 are graduates, as they are yet to complete their education, they remained unmarried. Out of the other three unmarried convicts, two are prostitutes and the question of their marriage does not arise. Remaining one female convict is professional pickpocketer, who has developed an immoral relationship with a person, hence she decided to remain unmarried.
Graph No. 4.6

Marriage Age of 45 Female Convicts
- Yerava, Pune 1786.

Before attainment of 18 yrs. 96%

4% Above 18 yrs.

Scale: 1 percent = 0.5 in.
Low Marriage age - Existence of Child Marriage.

When the researcher has tried to study the age of marriage of female convicts, some shocking revelations came out. Out of 45 married female convicts 18 [40 percent] got married when they were only 12 years of age, and 25 [55.5 percent] got married in the age group of 12 to 17 years. This explicitly proves that [95.5 percent] of female convicts got married before attainment of lawful marriage age, which is 18 years. Only 2 female convicts [4 percent] have married after completing 18 years of their age. [please see graph no.4.6] It is evident from this data, that female convicts were forced into the marriage life in their growing and immature age. They are put into marital life without proper physiological and mental development. In such a situation, mental depression, imbalance and tension get mounted as they face unwarranted and confusing situations. It is striking that more than 1/3 [40 percent] married female convicts were forced into child marriages. In such a marital life, physiological and psychological pressures and conflict are bound to occur, which in turn leads to family maladjustment.
GRAPH NO. 4.7
Criminals Consent for Selection of Husband
(45 female Convicts)
Gerardas, Pune, 1986

Without Consent: 87%

With Consent:
- Self: 4.1%
- 9.1%

Scales 1 Percent = 3.6 M.
One more observation in this regard must be noted here. The marriages of 95.5 percent female convicts were arranged either by their parents or relatives. Only 4 percent married female convicts have arranged their marriage on their own. The another note-worthy point is that, in 87 percent cases, the selection of husband was done without the consent of the female convicts. Only 9 percent marriages have taken place with the consent of the female convicts. [see graph no.4.7] Since most of the women had not been even consulted while choosing their husband, there is possibility on their part of accepting the husband unwillingly and suffer from a feeling that the husband is being imposed on them. Thus marital dissatisfaction develops from the selection of the husband itself. For example, in the case of the female convict no.16, belonging to Scheduled caste-Mhar community from Bombay, I found that she was married to a person—who was a farm labourer of Tarwade village near Nashik. She was not willing for this marriage, as she was not interested in living in a small village. But due to pressure from parents she got married to him. After some months, the quarrels started. Her marital life became unsatisfactory. She could not develop a harmonious relationship
with her husband and other members of the family. Lastly, she was divorced by her husband just after two years of their marriage. After coming back to Bombay, she developed an immoral sexual relationship with a person and in turn gave birth to a child and committed a crime of infanticide. Another case studied by the researcher reflects a similar experience. The female convict[ case no.26] belongs to Belvi village of Karnataka state. She was married in her very early age. When she became matured, she did not like her husband. Moreover, her in-laws started harassing her. One day she left her husband without his knowledge. She came to Bombay and stayed with her cousin, who was a prostitute. Along with her, she started the profession of prostitution. There she got involved with a person, who betrayed her later on. As a result she took revenge by killing him. Thus her early child marriage had made her a prostitute first and then a killer.

The researcher in her sample found that widows did not got family protection from their in-laws, after death of their husband. Instead of it, they were humiliated and tortured by the in-laws every now and then. Thus widows face familial
insecurity, and sexual starvation in their early young age. This situation lead them to get involved in immoral sexual relationship. In researcher's sample as many as 5 widows have got involved in immoral sexual relationship, and finally committed infanticide.
GRAPH NO. 4.8

Background of Quarrels of 50 Female Convicts
Yerula, June, 1786.

- No quarrels: 64%
- Neighbours: 22%
- Relatives and family members: 8%
- Other families: 4%
- Business people: 2%

Scale: 1 percent = 3 M.M.
Table No. 4.8

Family Quarrels of 50 Female Convicts with others

Yeravda, Pune, 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Quarrels with</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other families</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives\family members</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business People</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Quarrels</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Background of family quarrels is most important in tracing out whether the personality traits of female convicts are quarrelsome or not? It is also valuable to identify their tense relationship with others. Table no. 4.8 indicates that 64 percent female convicts do not have any quarrel background at all. They all have normal and good relationship with others. At the same time it must be noted that 22 percent female convicts have quarrel background with their family members and relatives. This share of 'inter' and 'intra' family quarrel background is most important. These inter and intra-family quarrels with family members and relatives are highly fertile ground for
maladjustment in family and creating conflicts between the concerned family members.

The story of the female convict [case no.5] exhibits the role of family quarrels in criminal behaviour. She is a married woman. She is the second wife of her husband. The first wife had a daughter. Both were having a very conflicting relationship. Afterwards the first wife of her husband died due to illness. She could not establish harmonious and good relationship with the first wife’s daughter. Moreover, in such a situation the female convict’s elder sister developed an immoral sexual relationship with her husband. She could not control herself, as she found that she is being ignored by the three of them, namely, her husband, her step daughter and her elder sister. Thus she developed a enmity with all other family members. Due to this quarrelsome background, finally she murdered her step daughter.

Another example of the quarrel background is also self-explanatory. The female convict [case no.22] has the background of family quarrels. Her father had taken money from her brother-in-law. Her father due to financial constraints could not pay the money in time. Then the brother-in-law asked her to pay the money by selling the land, which was
in her name. But her husband was against the selling of the land. He had threatened to divorce her if she sold the land. Her father used to request her to sell the land and give money to her brother-in-law. Her husband and his brother had conflict over the distribution of their parental property. From one side, her father and brother-in-law were pressuring her to sell the land and from the other, her husband was threatening to divorce her. She was in a great dilemma. Due to the heavy mental pressures caused by her father, brother-in-law and her husband she jumped into a well along with her two children. Her children died and she remained alive, and got life imprisonment for killing her own children and attempting suicide.

Despite the quarrels with the family members and relatives, 8 percent female convicts have quarrels with their neighbours, 4 percent with other families and 2 percent with business people. Thus 36 percent female convicts were having the quarrel background. This is a significant figure, though the majority of them [64 percent] do not have any quarrel background at all. On this basis, it can be interpreted that more than 1/3 of the female convicts were having conflicting and tense
Interaction with their family members, relatives, neighbours, other families and business people. The conflicting interactions in the families can be a fertile ground for birth of criminal behaviour.

**Parents Addiction—Another factor responsible.**

The information regarding parents addiction is also sought through the schedule. The analysis of the data reveals that as many as 44 percent female convicts parents were addicts. Only 6 percent parents were found non-addicts. The ratio of the addict parents (particularly father) is found very high. Among these (94 percent) addicted parents 14 percent parents were having very serious addiction. Any addiction, whether it is mild or serious is bad to concern person as well as to his whole family. The addiction of parents create bad environment in family. The bad and tense environment in family might have worked as responsible factor for criminogenic environment. As we have seen earlier, most of the parents were having very poor-economic condition, it was very difficult for them to fulfil daily household requirements for even cooking, and essential items. They spend their, already inadequate earnings on liquor and their bad addiction or habits.
naturally it created more financial troubles in family. This became responsible for even not getting food. The addict person loses control over his normal behaviour. He looses his temper, behaves very rudely and in a brutal manner. The practice of beating the children and wife is a common scence in poor families of addicts. So it is reality that addiction of parents is very harmful to family environment, and it can invite violent reaction from sufferers like children and wife.

During the conversation with female convicts the researcher found that, addict parents of the female convicts use to beat them and their mother in the evening. Particularly, in the case of the seriously addict parents, their used to be a daily drama of quarrels, beatings and allegations, in the house. The case of the female convict case no. 8 is worth-noting. Her father, a poor labourer, used to drink every day. Her mother was doing the work of house-maid. Her father used to ask money for drinks every day and if the mother did not pay, he used to beat her brutally. This became every day drama. Months and years have gone, but father remain unchanged in this unbearable situation. mother developed immoral friendship with an outsider and
left the house for ever and the female convict and her brother, sister became destitute. As the result of this she had to take up prostitution for supporting her brother and sister. Her father was totally out of control due to his addiction. He was unable to manage himself. In this way, the father's addiction at last made a normal woman a prostitute, a deviant.

Table no.4.9

Classification of 38 Child-bearing Female convicts
As per Their Number of children and Gap
Between two children
Yeravda, Pune, 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of children</th>
<th>1 year gap</th>
<th>2 years gap</th>
<th>3 to 5 years gap</th>
<th>6 &amp; above years gap</th>
<th>Total gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>up to 2 children</td>
<td>08 (40%)</td>
<td>10 (50%)</td>
<td>01 (05%)</td>
<td>01 (05%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 5 children</td>
<td>06 (33.3%)</td>
<td>09 (50%)</td>
<td>03 (16.7%)</td>
<td>00 (00%)</td>
<td>18 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 and above</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14 (36.8%)</td>
<td>19 (50%)</td>
<td>04 (10.6%)</td>
<td>01 (2.6%)</td>
<td>38 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Figures in the brackets indicate row-wise percentages.)

The table no 4.9 gives us the classification of 38 child-bearing female convicts as per their number of children and the gap between two
children. It was revealed that 52.6 percent female convicts were following small-family norms (bearing 1 to 2 children). Nearly equal number of female convicts (47.3 percent) were having children from 3 to 5. The significant number of female convicts found with following small family norms is evident of the success of the health education and family welfare programme. But one must not forget that the imprisonment during the reproductive or child bearing age may be one of the reasons behind the small size of the female convicts family.

But if we see the statistics of the gap between two children, it indicates that highest number of female convicts that is 50 percent (19 out of 38 child bearing female convicts) have 2 years gap between their children. 36.8 percent female convicts have a gap of one year between their children. There are only 13.2 percent female convicts, who have a gap of more than 3 years, as advised by the doctors and family welfare practitioners. In other words, it could be said that (86.8 percent) female convicts have not maintained a proper gap between two children. During conversation with 38 child-bearing female convicts, the researcher found that, they were not knowing that small size of family as well as
proper three years gap between two children is essential for maintaining their health and also useful for providing proper care and rightful attention for development of their children. The other related revelation is that, most of them were not found using contraceptives and other family planning aids.

Out of the 45 married female convicts, 38 are child-bearing and as many as 7 female convicts are found not having any issue. The researcher during the conversation found that they have not taken any medical treatment. They still believe that child is the 'God's gift' and husband can not have any defect or sterility when they were told that there is every possibility that their husbands may be having some defect or sterility, they replied that, "It is impossible for us to blame them as they are males". Women are held responsible for sterility. The female convict (no.20), of Chickli Dist. Ahmednagar, told the researcher that she was terribly harassed and humiliated every now and then by her in-laws, and mother-in-law, holding her responsible for not having a child. When such humiliation became intolerable, she killed her mother-in-law. The female convicts (case
were also harassed and humiliated by their in-laws.

MARITAL LIFE: VIRGIN SOIL FOR FEMALE CRIMINALITY

The researcher has applied Dr. Ram Ahuja’s ‘Indian interactionist’ approach or ‘Social Bond Theory’ to her sample. In view of this, while explaining the etiology of female criminality, it becomes necessary to adopt a totally different approach, than male criminality. This is particularly more important in Indian situation, because the Indian family system has peculiar kind of characteristics and problems. Most of the Indian women are family oriented and they have to live under the control of their mother-in-laws, father-in-laws or husband. Thus family becomes a birthplace of interpersonal problems and conflicts. This is what Dr. Ram Ahuja’s ‘Social Bond Theory’ explains. It is an Indian Interactionist Approach. Along with other influences or factors responsible for female criminality, this approach views that
the most important and prominent etiological influence is 'family maladjustment' due to intra-family problems. Both endogenous and exogenous factors affecting family, create provocation, strains, and stresses. Due to these forces of influences, women in family face unbearable situations, which produce a desire or need to deviate from social or legal norms as a last resort. Some women with their sound personality, and psychological makeup prevent or control themselves from turning to criminal reactions, but some of them are unable to hold mentally intolerable stresses and tensions. This is the family centered explanation based on Dr. Ahuja’s social bond theory considering the maladjustment in interpersonal relationship within the family as a most effective variable responsible for female criminality. The conflicting criminogenic interaction patterns within the in-law’s family are found very much active in making the normal woman a criminal.
Table No. 4.10
Nature of Marital Life Of 45 Female Convicts
Yeravda, Pune, 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Life</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsatisfactory</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment and Torture:</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29% 71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The perusal of the table no. 4.10 gives the nature of marital life of 45 married female convicts. The table is evident enough to establish that as many as 32 out of 45 female convicts (71 percent) are found having marital life either unsatisfactory or with harassment and torture. 42 percent of the female convicts were having unsatisfactory marital life and 29 percent female convict were having marital life with harassment and torture. If we club both these factors, indicating the bad marital life, the percentage of such female convicts with bad marital life comes to 71%. Thus it clearly establishes that, family maladjustment or bad interaction patterns are the most powerful factors responsible for female criminality.
The researcher in her sample found that bad interpersonal relationships with husband, mother-in-law father-in-law, sister-in-law and their harassment and torture for dowry or other reasons are the causes active in leading a normal woman to criminality. Some selected case stories of the female convicts are worth-mentioning.

The female convict (case no. 18) belonged to Agri Koli community from Bandra-(Bombay). Her father was a construction worker, and alcoholic. After the sudden death of her father, her mother who was a house-maid, arranged her marriage with a small trader against her will. That is why she disliked her husband. Her husband had to go on tour for his small trade. During this period there used to be frequent quarrels with her mother-in-law and sister in law. Thus she could not get herself adjusted in her in-laws family. This tense interaction and quarrelsome interpersonal relations, created mal-adjustment and inturn just after four months of her marriage, she left her husbands house and comeback to her mother’s house. When her mother died, She had to look after her grandmother and younger sister. For earning money she took to criminal activities with her friends.
The female convict case no. 9, belonged to Deshingapur Dist. Kolhapur. She belonged to Viadu caste. Her parents were very poor and they had 5 daughters. In such a situation, they married this female convict to a person whose first wife had died a few months ago. The female convict was not ready to marry such a person, but her parents convinced her due to their acute poverty, it is not possible for them to arrange marriage of their daughters with better person. So she married against her will. Her husband had a daughter from his first wife. She was 10 years old. There was a gap of 18 years between husband’s and her age. The daughter of first wife used to hate her step mother. In turn their quarrels became a regular activity in home. Her husband used to favour his daughter and beat the female convict. This tense interaction within the family became more provocative, when this female convict found that, due to frustration of marriage and family environment, her husband had developed an immoral relationship with another woman. As a result of this, she killed her husband.

The female convict case no. 29 is a Maratha caste woman from Vadshinge village of Solapur
District. The female convict lost her husband just after two years of marriage. She nurtured her lone son with utmost care. She arranged the marriage of her son after he got a job. As her son was staying in another town for his job, the daughter-in-law and the female convict were living together in the village. The female convict felt that she is being neglected by her son, after his marriage, and found that her son gave more importance to his wife. Thus she developed a tense and quarrelsome relationship with her daughter-in-law. They used to tease each other, quarrel with each other, almost every day. Furthermore, the parents of her daughter-in-law asked her to transfer the land on her name for security, and her son agreed to do so.

This incidence provoked the female convict to kill her daughter-in-law by setting her on fire by use of kerosene. Thus the intra-family interactions and unsound family environment made a normal woman a murderer.

The case story of the female convict no. 24 is similar. She belongs to the Mali caste from Bhandagaon village of Ahmednagar District. Her poor parents married her to a farm labourer. She was harassed and tortured by her mother-in-law, sister-in-law and even by her husband, because she
has two daughters and not a son as their "Kuldipak". However, she suffered this torture without complaining it to anybody. But her miserable situation became worse when even after giving birth to a son, her harassment and torture did not stop. In this intolerable situation, she decided to commit suicide along with her two daughters and her 6 months newborn son by drinking insecticide. In this suicidal attempt her 6 months son and daughter died, only she and a daughter survived, when they were taken to the hospital. She got life-imprisonment for the crime of suicide and the murder of her children. Thus maladjustment in her in-laws family, their torture and harassment lead her to do suicide along with her innocent children.

The female convict case no. 13 is of Lasalgaon village, Taluka Niphad, Dist, Nashik. Her father was murdered by her uncle, for property. Her one brother was abnormal. Her mother married her to a labourer. But they could not live together harmoniously. She was giving more attention to her parental family than her husband's, because she disliked her husband. Due to this frustrated marital life, her husband left the house without
informing to anybody. After a few months she developed an immoral sexual relationship with a man of her village. After a year she gave birth to an immoral child. She immediately did not kill that child, as she felt that people would consider it as the child of her husband. But people started commenting on the doubtful birth of child. As a result of this, she murdered her one and half year daughter by drowning her in a nearby well and committed the crime of infanticide.

The story of the female convict no. 50. She was married at a very early age of 12, as her father was having a big family with 6 children. Her husband was cruel and he used to harass and beat her. As she put up with this torture for a long time, she got fed up with her marital life and left the house.

In such a situation, she was trapped by a person into the prostitution.

The female convict case no. 40 is a Rajput Thakur woman and was a nurse. Her husband is a driver. They could not have a child because of the physical defect in her husband. Her husband because of his occupation, was always used to go on tour. Due to sexual starvation, this convict got involved with a doctor and gave birth to three children. Her
husband remained salient, even after knowing the reality. When the children became young her elder son got married. Her daughter-in-law came to know about her immoral relationship with the doctor. When the convict gave birth to one more child. She was forcibly asked to leave the house by her son, husband and daughter-in-law. Due to the fear of defamation she killed her new born baby and was arrested for the crime of infanticide. Due to the defect in her husband, she developed immoral relationship with another person, which ultimately made her a criminal. Hence unsound sexual relationship between a husband and wife can become a ground for criminal act.

Therefore, the above discussed cases, implicitly and explicitly establish that maladjustment in marital life is a major factor responsible for female criminality. The unsound familial interactions are found either between husband and wife or between female convict and her in-laws. In some cases dowry is the reason of the conflict, in some cases, it is a conflict born out of unsatisfied sexual desire, in some cases it is sexual starvation of the young-aged widows, in some cases it is conflict between children of first wife
of husband and the convict. The causes are different, varied but the heart of them is the same, that is family life after marriage and mal-adjustment in family.

Therefore it is established by the researcher's sample that, there is a strong correlation between disturbed marital life and female criminality. The disturbed marital life of woman is the fertile ground for their criminality. This happens because of peculiar family system in India. Thus the Ahuja's 'Indian Interactionist' approach is proved by this data.
RELATIONSHIP IN CHILDHOOD AND ADULTHOOD

There are some other factors found responsible for their deviant behaviour, that is their relationship and interactions with the outer world:

Table no. 4.11
Yeravada, Pune, 1986

50 Female Convicts Relationship With Other Person
In Childhood in Adulthood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Peer-groups</th>
<th>Neighbours</th>
<th>Strangers</th>
<th>Neighbours &amp; Friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Childhood</td>
<td>36 (72%)</td>
<td>03 (06%)</td>
<td>05 (10%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>06 (12%) (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adulthood</td>
<td>08 (16%)</td>
<td>02 (04%)</td>
<td>25 (50%)</td>
<td>06 (12%)</td>
<td>09 (18%) (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table no. 4.11 shows the 50 female convicts relationship with the outside persons during their childhood and adulthood. In childhood it is observed that female convicts had relationship with friends (72 percent), neighbours (10 %), neighbours and friends (12 %) hence 94 percent female convicts had relationship with friends and neighbours, and 6 % had relationship with peer group. Thus their relationship in childhood indicates that they had not faced with or
developed any uncommon or unnatural relationship in their childhood. In childhood, children prefer relationship with freinds. However, it must be remembered at the same time that if the friend and neighbours are having criminal background or inclination, they may be pushed into criminal activity due to attraction or temptation. The case story of the female convict no. 17 is worth-mentioning in this regard. This female convict is from Belgaon district of Karnataka State. Since her childhood, she was not interested in education. Her father was a labourer, he used to beat her every day for not going to school, but she was more interested in friendship with a nearby living deviant girl friend. That is why, she was disinterested in education. The deviant girl friend was older than her. She used to show her films, give her parties in big hotels of different cities. This deviant friend had immoral sexual relationship with a person who was a thief. Once, the convict was out of station for 3/4 days along with her deviant friend. When she came back after four days, her father did not allow her to enter the house. She had no alternative but to join the gang of thieves and pick-pocketers. Her deviant friend
trained her in stealing. Afterwards, they could not continue their friendship for long and quarreled with each other. But the female convict settled herself independently in Kolhapur, and engaged herself in criminal profession. This example proves that bad relationship in childhood may produce a criminal.

If we see adulthood relationship, it is found that, the relationship with neighbours and friends accounts high place. [neighbours 50 percent + friends 16 percent + neighbours and friends 18 percent = 84 percent] The researcher found in her sample that due to criminal profession of neighbours, the female convicts got criminal motivation. Particularly the prostitutes have joined this profession just because of their neighbours or friends.

Though small, the percentage of relationship with unknown persons [12 percent] is significant. This clearly indicates their inclination towards unknown world or persons. The researcher found that, the relationship with other persons in adulthood has caused significantly in creating criminal aptitude in female convicts. The case story of the female convict no.18 is important. She was married to a person, engaged in a small
trade of garments. But due to unhappy and unsatisfactory marital life, she came back to her parent's house. After some months, her husband came to her with his two friends, with a proposal of illegal profession of cheating. She was fond of money-making. The friends of her husband convinced her and she joined their criminal activity. Thus they started illegal business of selling fake-gold ornaments as pure ones. Therefore, even in adulthood, there is every possibility that some persons may pose temptation to join criminal activity.

Factor of relationship is more important in the case of female convicts, who do not have criminogenic environment in their own family, the circle of their interactions and interpersonal relationship developed accidentally or intentionally, may lead them to a world of deviant behaviour.

In this chapter, the researcher has discussed socio-economic aspects of the female convicts. In the next chapter the characteristics of the female criminal behaviour has been discussed.