CHAPTER - 4

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REVIEW OF LITERATURE
4.1 INTRODUCTION:

After presenting the picture of crimes against women in India, Maharashtra and Kolhapur district in the earlier chapters, the present chapter deals with the concept of crime, theoretical perspective and review of literature.

4.2 CONCEPT OF CRIME:

“Crime is viewed as a norm-breaking behaviour which is a natural phenomenon of all times in human society. Emile Durkheim was one of the first to insist on the normality of crime and when crime is considered normal in society, and ever since men realised the gravity of phenomenon of crime, it is believed that causative factor of crime is inherent in that society and since then the search for its root causes has been going on.”

The official statistics in India are based on the legal definition of crime, as the system of criminal justice is perceived from a legal approach. Since all empirical studies on criminals, focus on crime defined by law, legal definition of crime is considered to be precise, unambiguous and capable of measurement.

Tappan has defined crime as “an intentional act or omission in violation of criminal law committed without defence or justification”.

Crime has also been defined in non-legal or social terms. Coldwell has explained it as “those acts or failure to act that are considered to be so detrimental to the well-being of a society, as judged by its prevailing standards, that action regarding them
cannot be entrusted to private initiative or to haphazard methods but must be taken by an organized society in accordance with tested procedures".  

Criminologists with a sociological perspective have not claimed that there is no place for the legal definition of crime in criminology. "They have only drawn attention to situations in which people who engage in criminal behaviour are either not caught or are acquitted by courts because of inadequate evidence or legal loopholes." Taking the reconciliatory position between legal and social definitions of crime, Reid pointed out that "the legal definition may be used for compiling statistics on crime and for assigning the label 'Criminal ' but the studies undertaken for studying causation of crime should include such persons also in their sample of 'criminals' who admit their crime but are not convicted by court." On this background the present study has dealt with the accused who were involved in crime against women.

Saxena Rekha has noted that, "Sociological approach to the understanding of etiology of crime is as old as the economic, biological and psychological approaches. Right from the beginning of thinking about the causal factors of crime in terms of man's deliberate conduct the social situations have been taken into consideration". Schafer states that "the sociologist comprehends the criminal as a member of his social group, viewing him as a phenomenon whose criminal conduct originates in the abnormalities of his social existence or in society's behaviour towards him."  

4.3 EXPLANATIONS AND THEORIES ON CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR:

Ahuja has discussed these theories by dividing them in four groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Explanation</th>
<th>Propounder</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Main Thesis that Crime is Result of:</th>
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</table>
| **1. Classicist**              | Beccaria    | 1764 | i) Man’s rational motivation.  
ii) Hedonism or pain/pleasure principle.                                                              |
| **2. Biogenic**                 |             |      | Inherited traits.  
Physical stigmata or defective organisms                                                                |
| i) Evolutionary Atavism Theory  | Lombroso    | 1876 |                                                                                                                                 |
| ii) Goring’s Theory            | Charles Goring | 1919 | Defective anatomical factors                                                                    |
| iii) Hooton’s Theory           | Hooton      | 1939 | Biological inferiority                                                                         |
| iv) Physiological Make-up Theory| Sheldon    | 1940 | Mesomorphic physique                                                                           |
| **3. Psychogenic**             |             |      | Defective personality                                                                          |
| i) Psychological Theory        | Goddard     | 1919 | Inherited feeblemindedness                                                                     |
| ii) Psychiatric Theory         | William Healy | 1915 | Mental disorders or emotional disturbances                                                       |
| iii) Psycho-analytical Theory  | Adler, Abraham, etc. | 1952 | Instincts                                                                                       |
| **4. Sociogenic**              |             |      | Learnt and conditional by social environment                                                     |
| (A) Processual Explanation     |             |      | Associations with and social influences of criminalistic norms                                   |
| i) Differential Association Theory | Sutherland | 1939 |                                                                                                                                 |
| ii) Labeling Theory            | Howard Becker | 1963 | Consequences of application by others of rules and sanctions to an ‘offender’                  |
| (B) Structural Explanation     |             |      | Economic conditions                                                                            |
| i) Economic Theory             | Fornasari & Bonger | 1894, 1916 | Economic conditions                                                                            |
| ii) Geographical Theory        | Dexter, Quetlet etc. | 1904 | Geographical factors like climate                                                                |
| iii) Sociological Theory       |             |      | Strains caused by disjunction between goals and means                                            |
| a) Anomie Theory               | Merton      | 1938 |                                                                                                                                 |
| c) Delinquent subculture Theory | Cohen       | 1955 | Rejection of dominant values and development of delinquent values.                              |
| d) Containment Theory          | Walter Reckless | 1967 | Unfavourable self-concept                                                                      |
Here the sociogenic explanation of looking towards crime must be taken into consideration. While the physiological, psychiatric and psychological theoretical explanations emphasize that crime is either inherited and results from a physical or a mental factor, or is the consequence of suppressed childhood experience, sociologist argue that criminal behaviour is learned and it is conditioned by the social environment. Sociologists have used two approaches in studying the causation of crime; the first approach studies the relationship between crime and the social structure of society; and the second studies the process by which an individual becomes a criminal. Thus, sociological explanation, may be classified in two categories: (1) Structural explanations which include economic explanation, geographical explanation and sociological explanations of Metron and Clifford Shaw and sub-culture explanations of Cohen and Cloward and Ohlin and (2) processual explanations which include explanations of Sutherland, Howard Becker and Walter Reckless. These theoretical explanations have been put forth here relying heavily on Ahuja's book.*

4.3.1 Economic Explanation:

This analyses criminal behaviour in terms of the economic conditions in society, It holds that the criminal is a product of the economic environment which provides him his ideals and his goals.

Karl Marx advocated that private ownership of property results in poverty, which distinguishes those who own the means of production from those whom they exploit for economic benefit. The latter turn to crime as a result of this poverty. Thus though Marx did not specifically develop a theory of criminal causation, he believed that the economic system was the sole determinant of crime.
4.3.2 Geographical Explanation:

It evaluates crime on the basis of geographical factors like climate, temperature and humidity. It is supported by scholars like Quetlet, Dexter, Montesquiu, Kropotkin, Champneuf and many others.

It has been criticized that geographical factors may affect individual behaviour but the direct relationship between crime and geographical factors cannot be accepted as given by the scholars. Had such relationship existed, the number and nature of crime in a given geographical environment would have been the same at all times, which is not so. Hence, the invalidity of this theory.

Now the sociological explanations have been put forth.

4.3.3 Sutherland's Theory of Differential Association:

"Sutherland propounded the Differential Association Theory in 1939. He gave, two explanations for criminal behaviour: situational and genetic or historical. The situational crime on the basis of situation that persists at the time of crime and the genetic crime on the basis of a criminal's life experiences. He himself used the second approach in developing the theory of criminal behaviour.

Sutherland's main thesis is that individuals encounter many inharmonious and inconsistent social influences in their life-time and many individuals become involved in contact with carriers of criminalistic norms, and as a consequence become criminals. He called this process 'differential association'.

The theory states that criminal behaviour is learnt in a process of communication with other persons, principally in small intimate groups. This learning includes the techniques of committing the crime. The specific direction of motives, drives rationalizations and attitudes is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable or unfavourable."
But Sultherland’s idea has been attacked by many scholars like Sheldon Glueck, Mabel Elliott, Caldwell, Donald Cressey, Tappan, George Vold, Herbert Bloch, Jeffery Clarence, Denial Glaser and others. The major criticism is that it is difficult to empirically test the principles and measure associations' and the priority, intensity, duration, and frequency of relationships.

4.3.4 **Reckless ‘Theory of Self-concept and Containment’**:  
Walter Reckless advocates that self concept is the key factor in explaining the choice among alternatives of behaviour. Favourable self-concept directs an individual towards law-abiding behaviour and unfavourable self-concept directs him towards delinquent behaviour. Reckless has further said that there are two important aspects of control: inner control and outer control, and that depending upon the balance of these control systems, the individual can take either a deviant or a conformist route.

4.3.5 **Merton’s Theory of Anomie**:  
Merton distinguished between social and cultural structures. Cultural structures, refers to goals and interests men pursue, while social structure refers to means or approved methods which regulate and control the pursuit of goals and interests. The cultural system of society enjoins all men to strive for goals by means of normatively approved forms of behaviour. However, opportunities to reach these goals through socially approved means are unequally distributed. Deviant behaviour ensures when social structure restricts or completely closes a person’s access to the approved models of reaching these goals. Some social structures exert a definite pressure on some persons to engage in non-conformist rather than conformist conduct.

Merton’s theory has been criticized by Cohen, Clinard and Lemert. Their main arguments are: 1) Theory is incomplete because it has not explained who will reject the goals and who will reject the means; 2) Only structure has been given importance; and
individual's personality has been ignored; 3) Strains do not necessarily lead to deviant behaviour; 4) The theory neglects the important role of social control; 5) Merton's assumption that deviant behaviour is disproportionately more common in lower classes is not correct. 6) Anomie may be the cause rather than the effect of circumscribed life chances; 7) Merton has not explained the determinants of the mode of adaptation of an individual; 8) Merton has failed to account for the 'non-utilization' crime and juvenile delinquency in which people engage only for fun and not to meet specific goals of the society; 9) It does not take into account the social-psychological variables or the social structural elements, which might explain the priority of one adaptation over the other by the individuals.

4.3.6 Cloward and Ohlin's Theory of Differential Opportunity:

Cloward and Ohlin integrated Southerland and Merton's theories and developed a new theory of criminal behaviour. 1) An individual occupies a position in both the legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures, 2) Structures relative availability of illegitimate opportunities affects the resolution of an individual's adjustment problems, and 3) Faced with limitations on legitimate avenues of accessibility to goals and unable to revise his aspirations downward, he experiences intense frustration, resulting in exploration of non-conformist alternatives.

4.3.7 Becker's Labeling Theory:

This theory does not deal with the question as to why a person becomes a criminal but tells why the society labels some people as criminals or deviants. Some men who drink heavily are called alcoholics while others are not; some men who behave oddly are committed to hospitals while others are not. Thus, according to this theory, what is important in the study of deviance is the social audience, not the individual person.
Criticisms against the labelling theory is that it gives a good logic but does not explain the cause of crime. It entirely avoids the question of causation.

4.4 **Ahuja's Social Bond Theory for Violence Against Women:**

On the background of various theories it has been pointed out by Ahuja that individual theories on crime phenomena of writers like Sutherland (Differential Association Theory), Freud and Dollar (frustration Aggression Theory) Albert Cohen (Value Orientation Theory) or W. I. Thomas (Theory of Four Wishes), when extended and applied to female offenders, do not properly account for their criminal behaviour.

He shows that "there is no one theoretical view which has the capacity to explain all of the known facts without leaving any loose ends. Though each scholar has tried to indicate the superiority of his theoretical position over another, yet there is no proper theoretical model which could be translated into research procedures for studying female crime."¹⁰

Ahuja has attempted to develop a theoretical model which would explain all types of 'violence against women' and he has called it as 'middle-range theoretical proposition'.¹¹ This approach, based on the phenomenological approach, has been adopted by borrowing certain concepts from sociologists and criminologists like Hirschi, Schultz, etc. It not only explains the etiology of violence against women but also uncovers the recurring patterns in which particular types of people are found to commit a particular type of crime against particular type of individuals in particular types of circumstances.

A crime against a person is necessarily 'violence by somebody' and 'violence against somebody' as such, crime against woman has to be understood as violence by an individual against an individual in contrast to violence by a group against a group. In violence by the individual, its origin must be determined in the individual himself. If we
remain at the micro sociological level of analysing violence an individual's behaviour may be partly seen as innate behaviour, that which concerns his predatory instincts, and partly as acquired behaviour, that which concerns his environment and his learning.

This model concentrates on the sociological analysis of social-structural conditions. The important conditions which lead a person to woman's victimisation are status frustrations, life stresses and career crisis. This view focuses attention not only on aggressive act itself but also on the person who uses aggression and the person against whom aggression is used. The man who assaults a woman, physically or mentally, is often the man who feels at a disadvantage with women. He either is demanding and jealous or has doubts about his sexual proficiency or his attractiveness as a mate.

Ahuja has given importance to the social system, the personality of the individual, as well as to the subculture of a group in which an individual uses violence. His approach is based on the analysis of: a) Social system (strains and frustrations) b) Personality structure (adjustment in status, attachment to groups and commitment to values and roles) and c) Cultural patterns (synthesis of traditional and modern values which operate as a means of social control in a group/community/society.)

The basic hypothesis is that the potential for violence varies strongly with the degree of adjustment, commitment and attachment of the individuals (offenders). Attachment is the bond of affection between an individual and other persons. Commitment is a feeling of obligation to seek a particular goal or to follow particular courses of action. Adjustment refers to the smooth switch—over from one status to other, perceiving one's role as perceived by others, an active participation in all roles and having a problem solving attitude.

Maladjustment, un-attachment and non-commitment lead to a feeling of Relative Deprivation. Relative deprivation is a perceived discrepancy between an individual's value expectations (i.e. expectations pertaining to security, power, status, welfare, justice,
freedom, etc.) and their value capabilities (conditions of life individuals think they are capable of attaining or maintaining, given the social means available to them.)

Relative Deprivation = Perceived Opportunities and Perceived Capabilities.

R.D. = P.O + P.C.

R.D. = P(O+C)

Ahuja’s Social Bond Theory for violence against women is presented in figure.

4.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

On the background of concept of crime, explanation and theories on crime and violence against women, it will be appropriate to review the literature. The studies have been conducted on women offenders in India. These studies are mentioned here in brief.

"There is a lack of sociological attention to the problems presented by female offenders in India. It is due to smaller number of women who come into contact with law enforcing agents. "12 "The phenomenon of female crime gets complicated since female offences are considered more serious as compared to male offences and this difference is believed largely due to the sociological position which the women occupy in our society."13

"It has been observed that women, like men, are also motivated by the same fears, inhibitions, jealousies which wrap the human mind. Poverty, marital maladjustment, illiteracy, broken families, emotional tensions, imbalances in sex matters, social disorganization’s commonly lead women to crime."14 It has been stressed that "in the case of female criminals, the etiology of crime is mainly due to immaturity to perform marital roles and inability to shoulder divergent role expectations which consequently lead them to be maltreated by their husbands and in-laws. These situations which ultimately creates serious problems of adjustment motivates them toward various types of criminal behaviour."15
SOCIAL BOND THEORY FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Social Structural Conditions

1. Inappropriate upbringing
2. Hindrances in social development
3. Incidents in life

Result in

Stresses/insecurity feeling and anxieties.

1. Adjustment
2. Attachment
3. Commitment

Resulting Maladjustments

Status frustrations and Relative Deprivations
(Perceived gap between Opportunities and Capacities
\[ R = P (O + C) \])

Attitude towards women

Violent behaviour
i) Sexual violence (rape)
ii) Physical violence (Beating / Murder / burning)
iii) Social-Economic Violence (Kidnapping)

figure
“Husband’s bad habits of drinking, gambling, drug addiction, husband’s nature being argumentative, suspicious, bad tempered, aggressive, greedy, his illicit affairs with other women, low income and excessive expenditure, a forced marriage, etc. are the major areas of conflicts faced by women murderers in Tamil Nadu.”

Devasia and Devasia found that “family plays an important factor in female homicide where disruption in marital relationship often leads to killing of the husband by a married women and vice versa.”

Saxena Rekha’s research is concerned with an examination of the socio-cultural and economic dynamics of female criminality. The respondents were convicted for offences ranging from murders to various other types of crime such as sexual immorality, trading in illicit liquor etc. The study was confined to the Northern region of India. The study was concerned only with 200 female convicts, who were imprisoned in five Central Prisons: 1) Ludhiyana (Punjab) 32, 2) Jaipur (Rajasthan) 48, 3) Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh) 68, 4) Hissar (Haryana) 29, and 5) Tihar (Delhi) 23. The study was of these prisons irrespective of the fact from where the prisoners had come.

She had made two observations “first-economic insecurity and denial of fulfilment of elementary and basic necessities provided the basis for crime, specially crime against property. Even in the case of the other crimes, such as against person, the burden of simultaneously performing the wage earner’s role as well as playing the role of a house wife, lead to severe strain and frustrations in fulfilling their diverse roles, which in turn leads to a deviation from accepted norms of behaviour. The finding that an overwhelming majority of women offenders were illiterate, indicates that illiteracy and educational deficiencies also contributes in making old, young and inexperienced girls and women to behave and act anti-socially. Second, socialization processes at home with the help of which the basic elements of social development are determined, were found to have a vital association with criminal behaviour of these women offenders. Of such
processes, the characteristic peculiarities of home environment with special emphasis on child training patterns, parental care, effective ties between parents and family and relations with siblings, had contributed to problems of adjustment and crime-prone situations further leading to criminal behaviour in later life”.

Laxmi has studied cases of family violence registered in the Police Stations of Bombay under 498(A) IPC. The study showed that most of the cases of 498(A) IPC were of severe harassment, some even resulting in death. Harassment was often physical and mental harassment was found to be prolonged and severe. The study indicates that regarding the cases of dowry death the mean age of the victims at the time of death was found to be twenty-two to twenty-six years. On an average, the death had occurred within two years of marriage. Dowry death was found to be an upper caste problem, a majority of offenders were staying in a joint family and had an income between Rs. 500/- to Rs.1000/- per month. The family violence and wife battering was prevalent in all socio-economic classes. But physical violence and harassment was more in low-income groups.

The Tata Institute of Social Science has conducted study on the basis of records. The result presented were based on an analysis of the agency records. Two main sources have been used for this purpose; the applications of the clients and the intake register.

The cases were referred for six years 1984 to 1990. Of the 2334 cases 2018 cases were registered at the special cell at the Office of the Commissioner of Police and 316 cases were registered at the special cell office at Dadar Police Station. The following observations have been made: A concentration of a large number of cases is in the age group of 25-34. The phenomenon of violence exists in families of all socio-economic classes, however a relatively higher percentage of cases form the lower economic class are reported. The problem of violence against women ranges from illiterates to post graduates. A large concentration of the cases registered are of married women. The age at marriage is between 18-22 years, a large percentage of the cases registered have been
where the period of marriage is between 2 to 7 years. The majority of clients have resided in joint families after marriage. At the time of reporting at the special cell, the large number of clients stayed at their parent’s residence. The maximum number of prime accused have been the husband, followed by in-laws.

Of 2334 cases, 1732 cases registered at the Special Cell pertain to cases of domestic violence, desertion, refusal to give maintenance and financial problems in the family. The number of cases registered under each category were mental harassment-1465, Physical harassment-1226, Desertion by spouse-700, Refusal to give maintenance-616. Financial stress in the family-129. The reporting of mental harassment as a problem is relatively high. The dimension of violence can take many different forms, and problem may be experienced either in isolation or in combination with other problems.

The findings indicates that, the existence of all the four main problems is observed in all the categories irrespective of age, education, socio-economic or employment status. However, it is marginally high in the age group of eighteen to twenty-four years, is relatively higher among illiterates, among clients of the lower class and among the unemployed category.

The existence of all the four problems is also observed in a higher proportion, where clients have been married below eighteen years, marginal variation in the occurrence of all the four problems, among clients staying with their husbands parents and those staying in nuclear households is observed. The occurrence of all the four problems is high where dowry demand is the perceived causal factor.

Ram Ahuja in his study of ‘Crime Against Women’ has examined four major dimensions of the problem-the crime, the criminal, the victim, and in part the consequences for the victim and her family. The study was conducted in four cities of Rajasthan, viz, Jaipur, Ajmer, Kota, and Udaipur. The personal interviews were conducted in cases reported between June, 1983 and September, 1984. He studied 189
cases of crime against women. Of these, 42 were rape cases, 60 husband-beating cases, 41 kidnapping and abduction cases, 13 dowry-death cases, and 33 murder cases.

Some of the main findings of Ahuja's study were that, rape does not always occur between total strangers; in about 50 percent of the cases the rape victim is known to her assailant. Rape is predominantly a situational act. In only one out of every 10 cases, rape is a planned event. About 50% of the rapes occur in the victim's homes and about one-fourth in non-residential buildings.

In the cases of kidnapping and abduction it has been found that unmarried girls are more likely to be victims of kidnapping/abduction than married women. An unmarried female has more than double the chances of being abducted than a married female. Abductors and abducted victims are more likely to be acquainted than be the strangers to each other. The two important motives of abduction are sex and marriage. Abduction with an economic motive constitutes hardly one tenth of the total abductions. The absence of parental control and disaffectionate relations in the family are very crucial factors in a girl's running away from the family with somebody acquainted to her and later, under pressure, she reports the incident as an abduction.

In the cases of dowry death, it was found that middle-class women have a higher rate of victimization than lower class or upper class women. The two persons who contribute most to bride burning are the victim's husband and mother-in-law. Thus, brides living in households headed by dominant mother-in-law and uncompromising husbands have noticeable higher victimization rates. The most important sociological factor in the causation of dowry-death is the offender's environmental stress or social tensions caused by factors endogenous and exogenous his family and the important psychological factor is the killer's authoritarian and his personality maladjustment.

Ram Ahuja's paper dealt with several aspect of the problem of women's crime and presented a new model in the study of etiology of female criminality, based on
empirical research in North-west India. After analyzing the important outlines of prevailing socialization and separation of adult social roles characteristic of males and females regarding the causation of female crime, he has presented a new sociological approach (Social Bond Theory) towards understanding the etiology of female crime.

He has argued that it is not the physical and psychological factors, which account for female crime but it is the non-harmony and instability in family relationship or dis-interaction of family which mainly explain crime among women.

Ahuja’s study of 325 female offenders showed that 63.0 percent offenders were convicted for murder, 14.0 percent for theft, 5.0 percent for excise offences, 4.0 percent for kidnapping, 4.0 percent for vagrancy, 3.0 percent for hurt, 2.0 percent for immorality, 1.0 percent for attempt to commit suicide, and 4.0 percent for other offences.

Ahuja observed that factors endogenous or exogenous to family create provocation temptation, stresses, produce a desire or a need to deviate from social and / or legal norms. The personality structure or the biological and psychological characteristics like temperament, attitudes, frustrations, deprivations or dominant underlying needs prevent some women from this deviation but fail to do so in other cases. Thus, both personality system and pressures of environment in which functions contribute to women’s criminality.

He has presented social bond theory in the following figure.
SOCIAL BOND THEORY
OR
PRESSURE OF PRIMARY RELATIONS.

Relations
With the family.

Nuclear Family
Joint Family

Kinship group
Neighbourhood
Village peer group
Other primary group.

Relations
Outside the family.

(Provoke)
Provocation, anxiety, temptation and stress.

 Desire to deviate from social norms

Pressure of personality
Conformity to social norms

Pressure of personality
Deviation from social and legal norms (Crime.)

Ahuja studied 90 female convicts of the State of Rajasthan. He studied two types of female offenders. 1. Offenders imprisoned in jails. 2. Offenders released on probation. Dr. Ahuja’s major findings are that a large number of crimes committed by women are due to their mal-adjustments in the families of procreation. These mal-adjustments are to a great extent the result of women’s marriage at an age at which she does not know the significance and the complexity of the marital roles expected of her. The other principal findings which emerged from this study are:
1) Of the total crimes committed, about half involved the physical harm to some individual; one-sixth involved economic harm, one-ninth involved moral aberration and one-seventh were minor offences. 2) The total number of offences was dominated by the number of murders and within this total in three fourths of cases, the victim was the primary kin in the family of procreation. 3) Of the non-murderer prisoners, a very small percent were serving a long term sentence. Out of 17 such cases in the sample only 23.5 percent were serving sentences of three years or more. 4) The bulk of the offenders belong to the younger age group. 66 percent of the sample studied were under 35 years of age while the mean age of the offenders was 30.47 and median 28.2 year. 5) Incidence of crime is low in low castes but high in low economic classes. In 77.50 percent cases, the family income of the offender was less than Rs.200 per month. In less than 29.0 percent of cases, the offender husbands were white collar workers. Lastly, 87.72 percent of the offenders (caste Hindus) belonged to either to high castes (43.86%) or to intermediate castes (43.86%). 6) The absence or lesser number of children does not increase the crime. 7) Female crime is not a rural affair. Urban areas produce more female offenders than rural areas. 8) Mostly the offences committed are emotional. In less than one-fifth of the cases, they were premeditated. Similarly, 98.75 percent of the offenders were first offenders. Only one offender in the sample had three previous convictions.

Adwani’s\textsuperscript{24} study was a combined effort to study male as well as female offenders. The female prisoners were selected from Jaipur Central Jail. The author found that family is the most important factor contributing to criminal behaviour in the life of female offenders, while it is not so in the case of male offenders.

A study of Bhanot and Mishra (1978) has focussed on the extent and nature of criminality amongst women in India. While doing a sample survey of 641 women convicts from different parts of India, they concluded that criminality amongst women
has increased in recent years and that women have been found to be involved even in heinous crimes like murder, murderous assault, dacoity and robbery. It has been further suggested that in the years to come the criminality of women is likely to go up.

Gote-Gavane's study\textsuperscript{36} attempts to find out the characteristics of female criminality in India with the descriptive research design. She has observed that the bad interpersonal relationship with their husband, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and their harassment for dowry or for other reasons had strong co-relationship with the factors, leading a normal woman to criminality. Maladjustment in family, dowry problem, sexual starvation, children's well being, parents addiction, parents illegal occupation and criminogenic environment, poverty, illiteracy, lower class culture, young age, criminal aptitude are the dominant factors found responsible for female criminality in India.

The various factors like poverty; customs or tradition, personality traits, school facility and migration were found responsible for high rate of illiteracy among female convicts.

The female criminality was found to be a family-centered and produced due to maladjustment or bad interpersonal relationship within family. Thus majority of the female criminals were borne due to family problems rather than criminal tendency or criminal traits. It is not the case with male criminality. Family is not the major cause in most of the male offences. The harassment and dowry is yet another predominant reason for the existence of female criminality, which is totally not concerned, to males. The female criminals in India have distinct characteristics than that of male criminals. Incidence of female criminality is predominant among those women who have poor inner containment due to low socio-economic status. The unsound interpersonal relationship or interactions of the female offenders with their family members create maladjustment and this maladjustment leads to female criminality. This maladjustment is found existed due to role incompatibility and also by role confusion.
She has suggested that the family members who had discontinued their relationship with the female convicts should be convinced to restart warm and sympathetic relationship with the female prisoners. The majority of the female convicts in the sample were victims of the family maladjustment. Thus their crime was the family-borne crime. These women have became criminal by their family situations and not by their criminal tendency. Therefore, she recommended that, these female convicts should have a place in open jail and not in a conventional prison.

Thus many scientists have suggested different theories and explanations to explain the causes of crime and criminal behaviour. However crime and criminal behaviour is so complex that no single theory could satisfactorily explain all types of crime. There is sufficient work on crime in general and criminals in jail, however, there is very little work available on the accused involved in C.A.W. who are freely living in the society. Ram Ahuja had made commendable efforts in the research on the issue of crime against women. However, amongst all available research work and theories the mind-set, the attitude of an individual has not been given a significant place.

Most of the researchers in India have concentrated their studies on very few heads of crime like rape and dowry death. In most of the cases, the available accused in jails have been used for interrogation and research purpose. Against this background the present study of accused is exploratory in nature, because the accused freely living in society have been covered under the study for the first time. In the present study 341 accused/ co-accused, spread over the district, 35 victims involved in same offences and 80 individuals from different walks of life were interviewed and their opinions were obtained for research purpose.

After review of literature the methodology adopted for the present study is presented in the next chapter.
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Ahuja Ram</td>
<td>'Female Crime : A New Theoretical Perspective’ in Devasia Leelamma and Devasia V.V. (Eds.) Female Criminals and Female Victims’, 1989, pp.51-54.</td>
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|26.| Gote-Gavane Shubhangi                       | 'Female Criminality and Sociological Theories’ pp. 230-244. }