

LEAPING BOUNDARIES: WOMEN IN CRIME

Dr. (Mrs.) Tinku Paul

Senior Research Officer

Dalit Resource Centre

GPBSSI, constituent of University of Allahabad, Allahabad.

ABSTRACT

The unbridled social change both at the domestic and public sphere has led to growing number of crimes against women as well as posed confronting and compelling situations before them challenging her very survival. Resultantly, the rates of crime against women and by women have seen manifold increase. Women are circumstantially driven into crime when put under extreme and pushing conditions. Women incarcerated in jails are some of the most abandoned, misconstrued and invisible in our society. This patriarchal society on one hand facilitates the conditions pushing women in crime while on the other totally disregards their human value when in jails or other confinement centers. We may talk of post-feminism, post-patriarchal, gender-equal era? Or is society as deeply divided on gender lines as in Victorian times?

Given the volatile and contentious nature and area of this research work, little dent has been made for empirical research in the region of Uttar Pradesh despite the fact that prison administration and state of women prisoners have received special impetus on the policy front as well as in the judiciary. The present paper tries to make a conceptual understanding to study the pathways of women in crime from the gender perspective wherein the gender stereotypes clearly define and state her appropriate roles and behavioural code of conduct in the society. The typical gender roles associated with women are care and nurturing activities and any aberration from this path towards violent expression of her feelings or actions are perceived negatively. Stereotypes also influence how we perceive people who violate the law, and they often have a differential impact on women. These issues determine the reintegration of women prisoners and social inclusion in the family and society at large.

Keywords: Under trials, behavioural code of conduct, female criminality, languishing incarceration, new female criminal

The unbridled social change both at the domestic and public sphere has led to growing number of crimes against women as well as posed confronting and compelling situations before women challenging her very survival. Resultantly, the rates of crime against women and by women have seen manifold increase. Women are circumstantially driven into crime when put under extreme and pushing conditions. Women incarcerated in jails are some of the most abandoned, misconstrued and invisible in our society. This patriarchal society on one hand facilitates the conditions pushing women in crime while on the other totally disregards their human value when in jails or other confinement centers. We may talk of post-feminism, post-patriarchal, gender-equal era? Or is society as deeply divided on gender lines as in Victorian times?

Female criminality in India has been a neglected subject of study. However, there has been increasing academic interest on female criminality since in the recent past growth of female crimes has shown upward trend. Given the volatile and contentious nature and area of this research work, little dent has been made for empirical research in the region of Uttar Pradesh. Prison administration and state of women prisoners have received special impetus on the policy front as well as in the judiciary. The present paper tries to make a conceptual understanding to study the pathways of women in crime from the gender perspective wherein the gender stereotypes clearly define and state her appropriate roles and behavioural code of conduct in the society. The typical gender roles associated with women are care and nurturing activities and any aberration from this path towards violent expression of her feelings or actions are perceived negatively. Stereotypes also influence how we perceive people who violate the law, and they often have a differential impact on women. These issues determine the reintegration of women prisoners and social inclusion in the family and society at large.

With increasing number of women in crime and insensitive management the condition of these women languishing in jails has worsened. It is important to research, given the facts, why do women end up in jails? What are the driving factors? What are the judicial hurdles coupled with the compromises of forced incarceration as under trials in common jails.

The present paper tries to make a conceptual understanding to study the pathways of women in crime from the gender perspective wherein the gender stereotypes clearly define and state her appropriate roles and behavioural code of conduct in the society. The paper also tries to bring to light the grievances of the languishing women prisoners as under trails waiting for justice. The growing rate of women's incarceration calls for a critical evaluation of the social

impact of our nation's increasing reliance on correctional facilities to deal with women's involvement in crime.

With increasing number of women in crime and insensitive management the condition of these women languishing in jails has worsened. It is important to research, given the facts, why do women end up in jails? What are the driving factors? What are the judicial hurdles coupled with the compromises of forced incarceration as under trials in common jails.

Women in Crime:

There is dearth of research on the treatment of female offenders, which may stem from the fact that females offend at much lower rates than do males. (Bonta, Pang, & Wallace-Capretta, 1995.) However, little is known about whether the existing treatment literature or existing treatment programs can be simply extended to female offenders or whether different models of treatment should be used with this population. Using meta-analytic techniques, Dowden and Andrews (1999) examined 26 studies that investigated the effectiveness of corrections based treatment for female offenders. Given the problem and the theoretical perspective for investigation of the problem, the proposed study tries to unearth the empirical dimensions of the problem. Given their lower rates of offending, research has either neglected female offender populations or treated them similarly to male offender populations, with little attention paid to whether motivations for offending or crime patterns and recidivism are distinct for female offenders. Therefore, it is not known whether the needs and patterns of female offenders are unique. Assessment for treatment given that female offenders may have unique life experiences and responsibilities (e.g., pregnancy, childcare) and may be affected more frequently by certain life events (e.g., child sexual abuse, domestic violence, adult sexual assault), it stands to reason that gender-specific issues warrant attention in a clinical evaluation.

Leaping the Boundaries: Increasing Crimes and Changing Arenas of Crime Committed by Women

The patriarchal frame of the society needs to be understood not only in terms of compelling factors pushing women in crime but also from the perspective of their reintegration or alienation into/from the society. Thus, we try to understand the theories that base their research on women's pathways to crime. For this we propose to study the theories on their impact of prison life with respect to their social alienation or reintegration. The "profound differences" between the gender roles of men and women that frame their lives and behavior also shape their patterns of criminal

offending (Steffensmeier and Allen 1998). Most of the theories on women pathways to crime initially ignored the gender dynamics of criminal behavioural pattern. Belknap (2001) has called the female offender “the invisible woman”. This invisibility of women was blind of the struggle of survival of many women on the social and economic margins outside legitimate enterprises that brings them into contact with the criminal justice system. Women are at a great risk for experience of sexual abuse, sexual assault, and domestic violence. Among women, the most common pathways to crime are based on survival (of abuse and poverty) and substance abuse. Pollock points out that women offender have histories of sexual and/or physical abuse that appears to be major roots of subsequent delinquency, addiction, and criminality (Pollock1998)¹. Her study also proposes to understand the trauma of women in incarceration.

The relational theories on gender and crime based on studies of female offenders state that the first criminal involvement has often come through relationships with family members, significant others, or friends (Chesney-Lind 1997; Owen and Bloom 1995; Owen 1998; Pollock 1998). The pathway is usually through introduction of drugs by partners who often continue to be their suppliers. Drawing corollary to relational theories, I present some cases of women in very high profile crime.

Reshma, the most wanted woman criminal in India, wife of the Indian gangster Tiger Memon and one of the prime accused in the 1993 Mumbai bomb blasts case. Her active involvement in the unleashed shower of terror activities associating her husband puts to question the gender stereotyping of crime by women. Shabana Memon also in relation to Ayub Memon, the prime accused in 1993 bomb blast of being reflects how relational indulgence in crime occurs. Samaira Jhumani, the divorcee of gangster Abu Salem holds key to several intricate details about Salem and his involvement in 1993 blasts, his extortion business and other interests in property. Many other top women criminals like Archana Balmukund Sharma, Manisha Agarwal and Minakshi Ahuja and other are in the police hit list as fugitives most wanted.

These so called labeled criminals follow this label more because of their male criminal associations rather than because of their criminal tendencies. Talking of less grave crimes like theft and murder which has in the recent years increased has also been related not to the result of

¹ From Prison to Home: The Effect of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families, and Communities A Woman’s Journey Home: Challenges for Female Offenders and Their Children by Stephanie S. Covington, PhD, LCSW Co-Director, Center for Gender & Justice, December 2001

psychological or social aberrations but due to their family and economic compulsions. These women have broken the myths of boundaries of women in crime.

Adler (1975), one of the proponents of women emancipation through economic opportunities also proposed that it opened gates for her to be crime-prone as men. Reiterating his stand, he states "women have demanded equal opportunity in the fields of legitimate endeavours, a similar number of determined women have forced their way into the world of major crime such as white-collar crime, murder and robbery. Carlen (1985) argues that Adler's 'new female criminal' is cast as the 'biological female' who is essentially masculine.

The 'new female' criminal turns out to be the 'old maladjusted masculine female' of traditional criminology, rejecting her proper feminine role such as institutionalizing rather than incarcerating women who commit 'male' offences such as robbery, i.e. Adler's 'sisters in crime' appears to work within the frameworks of traditional criminology rather than a feminist one. Chapman (1980) revealed the interlinkages between women crime and their labour force participation. Contrary to Adler's view, Chapman presents the absence rather than availability of employment opportunities (liberation thesis) as a more plausible explanation for increases in female crime. These issues have significant implications for therapeutic interventions addressing the impact of relationships on women's current and future behavior.

Women and Committed Crimes in India

The number of crimes where women emerged as key players have shot up to such an extent that it has given birth to a new saying: "There is a woman behind every successful crime." At present there are 16,024 women languishing in jails of India comprising 4.3% of the total prisoners in India. Of this 2,736 women were undergoing Life Imprisonment at the end of the year 2011. Of the total number of women prisoners only 3059 (19.1 per cent) women are put in women jails. Out of the total number of 15458 women prisoners of Indian origin, about 10563 are under trial cases (68.3 per cent) of which 85.9 per cent of the women are within the age bracket 18-50 years. The State of Uttar Pradesh has maximum number of women convicts (905) as well as under trials (2234) in the country. Interestingly there is only one women jail in the state of UP that is running to its full capacity housing 420 women of which, 299 are convicted and 86 are under trials.²

² Prison Statistics India 2011, National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Gol

Use/Misuse of Laws/ Acts for Women against Women:

The Prison Statistics for the year 2012 reflects certain glaring facts about women and women in crime. Maximum cases of crimes committed by women have been reported under dowry deaths (21.0 per cent) followed by murder (18.9 per cent). The age group between 30-50 years is the most prone to crime age group with 47.2 per cent of crimes committed to be reported under this age followed by 37.1 per cent crimes committed under 18-30 years of age. Even under the crimes committed by 2968 female offenders under the special local laws (SLL), 361 women were booked under the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961. Every nine minutes a married man commits suicide in India due to alleged misuse of Section 498a of IPC against them, taking the toll to around a whopping 64,000 every year, says a report³. This exponential growth in the number of cases under the section has been most visible in West Bengal with a rise of 11 percent in the last two years.

As per the NCRB statistics, arrests of women have been rising from 30,118 in 2010, to 30,159 in 2011 and to 30,607 in 2012. Most arrests, according to the state Criminal Investigation Department, were for the offence of 'cruelty towards husband and relatives': nearly 20,000 women were arrested for the crime. This was followed by arrests for rioting (16,843), hurt (15,348) and theft (3,911). More than 1,900 women were arrested for murder and nearly 1,700 for attempt to murder. The state of Uttar Pradesh does not lag behind.

Table 1

Age-wise Distribution of Women Prisoners by Crime Heads (IPC) in India (2012)

Crime Heads	18-30 yrs	%	30-50 yrs	%	> 50 yrs	Total	%
Murder	0	0	1496	31.1	434	1930	18.9
Attempt to Commit Murder	279	7.4	310	6.4	63	652	6.4
C.H. Not Amounting to Murder	110	2.9	153	3.2	52	315	3.1
Rape	115	3.0	178	3.7	41	334	3.3
Kidnapping & Abduction	261	6.9	303	6.3	75	639	6.3
Dacoity	63	1.7	41	0.9	12	116	1.1

³ NRCB statistics 2012

Thefts	377	10.0	300	6.2	68	4.2	745	7.3
Cheating	122	3.2	136	2.8	49	3.1	307	3.0
Dowry Deaths	525	13.9	995	20.7	625	38.9	2145	21.0
Cruelty By Husband or Relative of Husband	141	3.7	230	4.8	77	4.8	448	4.4
Other IPC Crimes	171	4.5	267	5.5	66	4.1	504	4.9
Total IPC	3781	100.0	4813	100.0	1606	100.0	10200	100.0

According to the Crime in India Report (1996), the female percentage for arrested persons at all India level was at 4.7. There has been upward trend in female criminality over the period of 1990-2000. The crime India report compiled by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) reveals that the number of women arrested for criminal activities in 2003 were 1, 51,675 which rose up to 1, 54,635 in 2007⁴. Studying the available data, it is observed that along with the increase in total crime rate, crime committed by women is increasing. The total percentage of female criminals among the total criminals arrested for committing various crimes in 2001 has risen from 5.4% to 6.2% in 2011.

Table 2

Age-wise Distribution of Women Prisoners by Crime Heads (SLL) in India (2012)

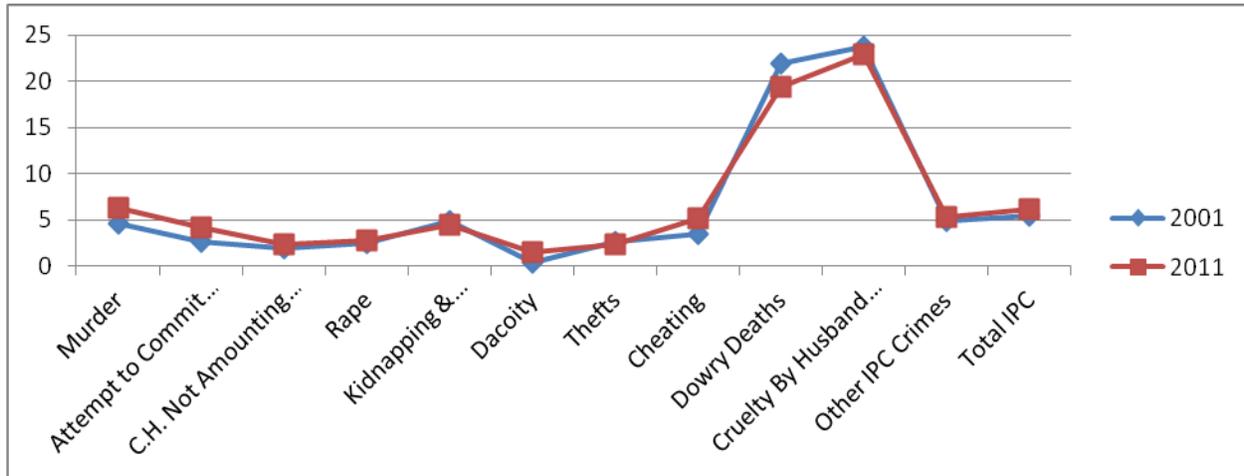
Crime Heads	< 18	18-30	30-45	45-60	> 60	Total
Arms Act 1959	0	9	6	2	0	17
Narcotic Drugs & Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985	0	31	73	17	0	121
Gambling Act	0	0	1	2	0	3
Excise Act	0	367	500	238	28	1133
Prohibition Act	0	0	0	0	0	0
Explosives & Explosive Substances Act, 1884 & 1908	0	2	0	0	0	2
Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956	4	220	101	12	0	337
Indian Railways Act, 1989	0	0	0	0	0	0

⁴ 1 Meixiang, L.I., 2013, Discussion on the Causes of Female Crime and Its Control and Prevention, *M& D Forum*:<http://www.seiofbluemountain.com/upload/product/201112/2011nxscfz04a1.pdf>

Registration Of Foreigners Act, 1930	5	57	54	22	1	139
Prot. Of Civil Rights Act,1955 Crimes Committed Sc	0	0	3	1	0	4
Prot. Of Civil Rights Act,1955 Crimes Committed St	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indian Passport Act, 1967	0	1	1	0	0	2
Essential Commodities Act, 1955	0	0	1	0	0	1
Antiquities And Art Treasures Act, 1972	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961	0	102	140	118	1	361
Prohibition Of Child Marriage Act, 2006	0	1	5	3	1	10
Copyright Act, 1957	0	0	1	0	0	1
Sc/St (Prevention Of Atrocities) Act, 1989	0	18	8	2	0	28
Sc/St(Prevention Of Atrocities) Act, 1989 Crimes Committed Sc	0	14	5	0	0	19
Sc/St (Prevention Of Atrocities) Act, 1989 Crimes Committed St	0	4	3	2	0	9
Forest Act, 1927	0	0	1	0	0	1
Other SII Crimes	2	334	382	92	4	814
Total Cognizable SII Crimes	11	1142	1272	508	35	2968

Looking at the figures one would think that it is hardly 0.8% increase in a decade. However, going into details, it is observed that the nature and severity of crimes in which women are involved has undergone drastic change. Earlier there were lesser records of women involving in heinous crimes, however as time passed, women arrested for much harder and sophisticated crimes is at rise. There is a need to understand the pattern of female criminality and this article moves in this direction. Bajpai and Bajpai (2000), states that as women are increasingly joining the mainstream of society, their share in crime as is reflected by the available data in India and elsewhere is also on the rise. "The rights are first demanded, then commanded and later snatched". Sharma (1963) summarized in his study that in India among Indian women, strained interpersonal relations with husband and other family members, husband's extra-family relations, deprivation and denial of basic needs of life (like affection, security, etc.) were the main causes of frustrations and ultimate crimes.

Chart I: Crime-wise Distribution of women under trials



Indian Law and Women Prisoners:

Prison is a State subject under List-II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India. The management and administration of Prisons falls exclusively in the domain of the State Governments, and is governed by the Prisons Act, 1894 and the Prison Manuals of the respective State Governments. Thus, States have the primary role, responsibility and authority to change the current prison laws, rules and regulations.⁵ Plethora of prison reforms through state intervention as well as judicial orders have been witnessed in the past decade showcasing the rising consciousness on these issues. It is being increasingly recognized that a reformatory philosophy and a rehabilitative strategy must comprise as a part of prison justice. The National Legal Research Desk details the rights of the women prisoners with children as per the honourable Supreme Court of India.⁶

The concept of Correction, Reformation and Rehabilitation has come to the foreground and the prison administration is now expected to function in a curative and correctional manner (Karnataka Prisons 2009). Human rights approaches and human rights legislations have facilitated a change in the approaches of correctional systems, and they have evolved from being reactive to proactively safeguarding prisoners' rights. The Prisons Act of 1847 is perhaps because

⁵ Prison Statistics India 2011, National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Gol.

⁶ <http://nlrd.org/childs-rights-initiative/supreme-court-latest-orders-and-judgements-child-rights-initiative/children-of-women-in-jails-guidlines-of-the-supreme-court>

⁷ (<http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/INDIA914.pdf>)

the act is such a relic of the past. Perhaps due lackadaisical response of the prison officials and the state who prefer the route of least accountability, the various state prison manuals embody their provisions as collectors' items, not only in short supply but expensive. This comports with the findings of a National Expert Committee on Women Prisoners which was established in 1987 by Margaret Alva. According to this body, separate institutions are available for only about one quarter of the women in prisons; the rest are housed in sections of prisons for men. Indian Council of Legal Aid and Advice also filed public interest litigation in the Supreme Court, asking that state governments to formulate proper guidelines for the protection and welfare of children of women prisoners (Upadhyay Vs State of A.P., 2006). In response to a PIL, the Supreme Court has formulated guidelines regarding pregnancy, antenatal, child-birth and post-natal care and child care.

Women in Crime: Empirical Analysis

1. Central Jail of Naini:

Intervention to capture the lacuna and lackadaisical attitude of the judiciary or State functioning we started with the Central Jail of Allahabad and Sitapur District Jail of Uttar Pradesh⁸. It is important to state that in this paper we focus on the state of the women convicts and their nature of crime and duration of imprisonment. It is pertinent to state here that those women prisoners who have been given bail are still languishing in jail for dearth of payment of surety amount or ignorance. Most of these women convicts have been convicted under 302 and have been in custody for more than three years.

study we focus on the state of women in imprisonment who have either in wait for justice facing trials or those who have given bail but due to lack of payment of surety, dearth of lawyers, women are languishing in jails or nariniketans.

⁸ The author has been a member of the fact finding team headed by Adv. Sr. Sheeba Jose, who had been accredited by the UP State Legal Service Authority to inspect the prisons and other remand homes etc.

Table 3
Age-wise Distribution of under trials by Type of Crime

Type of Crime	18-25	25-35	35-45	45-55	55 & above	Total
302	6	5	2	2	0	15
498 A, DP Act	3	3	2	11	9	28
302, 498 IPC	0	0	0	0	1	1
376, 452, 307, 326	0	0	1	0	0	1
Prisoner child off. Act	0	0	0	1	0	1
401	1	0	0	0	0	1
304, 201 IPC	1	1	0	0	1	3
306 IPC	1	0	1	0	0	2
419, 420, 418, 409 IPC	0	2	0	0	1	3
366, 363 IPC	0	0	2	0	0	2
Other Crimes 457	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	12	11	8	15	12	58

Source: Central Jail of Naini, Allahabad, 2014

As reflected from the table ... that 48.3 per cent of the crimes under which the women under trials were tried was under 498 A IPC and Dowry Protection Act followed by 26 per cent under 302, that is murder. This reflects on the gravity of offence of female crime. Also interestingly the crime figures for the age group 45-55 forms 26 per cent of the total female undertrials on account of 498 A IPC and DP Act. The young age group 18-25 seems very volatile with 6 women prisoners tried for 302, i.e. murder. Sharing concern over the misuse of anti-dowry law by “disgruntled” wives against her husband and in-laws Supreme Court ruled that *police cannot arrest accused in such cases “automatically” and it must give reasons for taking such steps which would be judicially examined.* Arrests under IPC 498 A have to be followed by Cr PC 41/41 A procedure.

Further the caste-wise analysis of the women in crime puts to light the fact that mostly they belong to the very poor economic and socially weak background. Illiteracy and ignorance of the legal procedures coupled with financial vulnerability add up to their ordeal. It is worth

mention that legally imposed social alienation and restrictions for prisoner's rehabilitation is rarely achieved. The appalling conditions of sub-human living and ambience alongwith indifferent attitude of the prison authorities create lot of pressure on the mental, physical and psychological status of the prisoners.

Based on the Supreme Court judgement order to release under trials that have completed half of their punishment in Jail we visited the Superintendent of Central Jail of Naini who handed us the list of such under trials and the list of 9 more prisoners who have been released on bail but are still in the jail due to their inability to file surety. In our interview with the Senior Superintendent of Central Jail of Naini, Mr. Ambrish Gaur, several glaring facts in this context were revealed. There are about 26 women prisoners who are eligible for bail on the latest SC order grounds. The appalling state of women prisoners was revealed who were found to be imprisoned but had no information as under which act they were booked and for what offense. They had no lawyers to plead their case in the court.

The District Jail of Sitapur Jail

It is worth mention that the the District Jail of Sitapur has the maximum number of women prisoners. There are about 300 women convicts and under trials residing in this jail. Most of these women were convicted under the Dowry Prohibition Act. State of Sitapur Jail has been presented in the points mentioned below⁹:

- The trials are not conducted within the stipulated time. Many women and young boys are suffering in jail for pending trial of their cases.
- The legal aid facilities are very poor. Many poor and economically impoverished prisoners fail to avail the legal facilities due to dearth of lawyers to put their cases in the court of justice.
- The state of women prisoners is especially deplorable. There are 10 of undertrials who are languishing in the prisons for more than a year for justice.13 women are staying with their children aged below 6 years.

⁹ These points are developed after rigorous interviews with women prisoners and Jail authorities and other secondary information provided to us vide letter no. 178/under trials /2015 date: 04/02/2015 by the jail superintendant of District Prison, Sitapur on our request application approved by the DM on 24th January 2015.

- Legal aid lawyers are paid very nominally. Consequentially they do not take much interest in these cases.

Way Forward:

Several studies have focused on the psychological distress and mental health problems specific to women prisoners. With growing numbers of women captives the issue gains more importance. Rani stresses for the need for counseling and writes, “For women (and other vulnerable groups) it is a severe punishment that needs a hard second look. The wounds are more often than not invisible and therefore insignificant.” Reinstating her belief that infliction of social and family exclusion of the women prisoners she writes “...there is a stereotype of the imprisoned woman as well which is as much in need of being shaken off as any other stereotype. Constructing stereotype images of women ‘inside’ is dangerous because these women are not in a position to resist the constructs imposed on them.” The fact that the ordeal of women does not end after release from incarceration, rather gets more amplified is established by Fazel & Danesh, 2002¹⁰.

Women being subject to skewed social construct of gender in our patriarchal society face incarceration differently than men. It is therefore, required to have a gendered perspective to understand women in crime. From this perspective not only the judicial system needs to respond diligently but also the prison manual needs to be implemented and formulated in a gendered manner. Due cognizance needs to be given not only to the driving factors but also to the problems of social reintegration and alienation or exclusion of women prisoners. The research paper after detailing the state of women prisoners supported with empirical grounds strongly suggests the State to appoint atleast one criminal lawyer for every district with a decent (good pay equivalent to potential) on behalf of SLISA who would be accountable and responsible. This would provide timely and accountable legal help. It is only when this happens, that so many people languishing in jails for petty or unnecessary factors may receive respite. But the truth that prevails is that women are often invisible in the many facets of the correctional system. This invisibility can act as a form of oppression resulting from a gender blind treatment.

¹⁰ Serious mental disorder in 23 000 prisoners: a systematic review of 62 surveys, by *Seema Fazel, John Danesh*, THE LANCET • Vol 359 • February 16, 2002 • www.thelancet.com

Acknowledgement

The author is obliged to the jail administration and high authorities with special reference to Mr. Ambrish Gaur, Senior Superintendant, Central Jail of Naini. I am indebted to the expert advice and precious experience and information provided by social activist and lawyer Sr. Sheeba Jose.

References:

- Adler, Freda (1975). *Sisters in Crime*, McGraw-Hill,
- Carlen, Pat. (1985). *Criminal Women*
- Carlen, Pat. (1988). *Women, Crime and Poverty*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
- Chapman, Jane Roberts. (1980), *Economic Realities and the Female Offender*. Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books.
- Chesney-Lind, M. (1984). "Women and Crime: A review of the recent literature on the female offender". (Report No. 295). Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Youth Development and Research Center.
- Chesney-Lind, M., and Bloom, B. 1997. Feminist criminology: Thinking about women and crime. In *Thinking critically about crime*, ed. B. MacLean and D. Milovanovic, 54-65. Vancouver: Collective Press
- Chesney-Lind, Meda & Pasko, Lisa. (2004), "The Female Offender: Girls, Women, and Crime", Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Crew, B.K. (1991). "Sex differences in patriarchy: Chivalry or patriarchy?" *Justice Quarterly*, 8 (1), 59-83.
- Crew, B.K. (1991). "Sex differences in patriarchy: Chivalry or patriarchy?" *Justice Quarterly*, 8 (1), 59-83.
- Dhawan Rani Shankerdass, (2012), "In conflict and Custody: Counseling for Women".
- Dhawan Rani, 2012, 'In Conflict in Custody: Therapeutic Counselling for Women' Sage Publications.
- Farrington, D. P. & Morris, A. (1983). "Sex, sentencing and reconviction". *British Journal of Criminology*. Vol. 23, pp229-48.
- Fazel Seena, Danesh John, "Serious Mental Disorder in 23 000 prisoners: A Systematic Review of 62 Surveys", by, THE LANCET, Vol 359, February 16, 2002

- Health of Women in Prisons: Study Findings by Emma Plugge, Nicola Douglas and Ray Fitzpatrick, Department of Public Health, University of Oxford, 2006, <http://www.publichealth.ox.ac.uk/research/prison/2007-02-13.6702780065>
- <http://nlrd.org/childs-rights-initiative/supreme-court-latest-orders-and-judgements-child-rights-initiative/children-of-women-in-jails-guidlines-of-the-supreme-court>
- http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/publications/prisons/prison_visiting_system
- <http://www.legalservicesindia.com/>
- http://www.nimhans.kar.nic.in/prison/chapter_10-r_he_prisoners.pdf
- http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/Resources/NGO/HR_Prisoners_QUNO_2008.pdf
Accessed on 16 Aug 2010
- <http://www.pucl.org/from-archives/81nov/prisoner-rights.htm>
- Joanne Belknap, 2001, "The Invisible Woman: Gender, Crime, and Justice. Wadsworth
- Judy Harden & Marcia Hill (eds), "Breaking the Rules: Women in Prison and Feminist Therapy", New York: Haworth Press (1998).
- Kaschak, E. 1992. *Engendered lives: A new psychology of women's experience*. New York: Basic Books
- Kruttschnitt Candice and Uggen Christopher (1998), "Crime in the Breaking: Gender Difference in Desistance" *Law and society Review*, Vol.32, No. 2, The Law and Society Association.
- Naffine, N. (1987). *Female Crime: The Construction of Women in Criminology*. Boston: Allen and Unwin
- Owen, B. 1998. *In the mix: Struggle and survival in a women's prison*. New York: State University of New York Press
- Owen, B., and Bloom, B. 1995. *Profiling the needs of California's female prisoners: A needs assessment*. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Corrections
- Paul Tinku, Languishing Incarceration: Justice from a Gendered Perspective, paper under consideration for publication.
- Pollock, J. 1998. *Counseling women offenders*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Prison Statistics India 2011, National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, GoI.

- Rawls John, A Theory of Justice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Simon, Rita. (1975). *Women and Crime*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
- Steffensmeier, D. & Allen, E. 1998. The nature of female offending: Patterns and explanations. In *Female offenders: Critical perspectives and effective intervention*, ed. Zaplin. Gaithersberg, Md.: Aspen
- Stephanie S. Covington, s "Women in Prison: Approaches in the Treatment of Our Most Invisible Population" by Institute for Relational Development Center for Gender and Justice Women and Therapy Journal (Haworth Press, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1998, pp.141-155)
- Supreme Court/High Courts Cases on Prisons/Prisoners, Note: Supreme Court Judgments at <http://www.judis.nic.in>
- Wundersitz, J., Naffine, N. & Gale, F. (1988). "Chivalry, Justice or Paternalism? The Female Offender in the Juvenile Justice System". *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 24, p359.

References

- The author is responsible for ensuring that items appearing in the References are cross-checked with the text citation for publication dates and spelling. Any item which is inconsistent will be deleted from both the text and the References.
- All references must be arranged first alphabetically and then it may be further sorted chronologically also.
- If the reference is provided from the same Author (s) in the same year it must be identified by the letter "a", "b", "c", etc. which is placed after the publication year. Ex. (2000,"a")
- You should cite publications in the text: (Adams, 2006) using the first named author's name or (Adams and Brown, 2006) citing both names of two, or (Adams et al., 2006), when there are three or more authors.