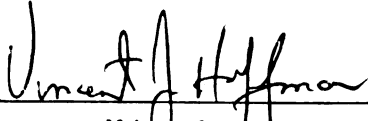This is to certify that the

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THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN IN

KOREA AND CRIME AMONG MARRIED WOMEN

By

Yeunhee Shin

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
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ABSTRACT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF WOMEN IN
KOREA AND CRIME AMONG MARRIED WOMEN

By

Yeunhee Shin

This study addressed two neglected areas in the research on the relationship between women's economic insecurity and married women's crime, and married women's crime and the effect of spouse abuse. Within women's economic marginalization perspective on female criminality, the empirical research of this study considered the married women's economic situations as the independent variables, their criminal activities as the dependent variable, and wife battering as the intervening variable. The findings of particular importance are: The effects of poverty in terms of absolute poverty and self-perceived poverty failed to show significant effects on married women's crime. At the same time, the variables relating women's household responsibility to finding family's resources such as women's financial contribution to their family, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and female-headed households were closely related to married women's crime in The Republic of Korea*. Wife battering had not intervening effects on the relationship between women's economic situations and married women's criminal activities. The statistical test of the present study revealed that married women committed crime due to the burden of supporting their family's needs combined with limited available jobs or low paying jobs for women. In this sense, the result of this study was encouraging Women's Economic Marginalization Theory. (* The Republic of Korea is often called South Korea or Korea. In this text, Korea means the Republic of Korea.)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The theories on female criminality which seek to associate female crime with its environmental and sociological causes are involved in women's situations which are different from those of men. "Women's Economic Marginalization Theory" (Bloom et al.,1996; 14) argues that a large proportion of female offenders appear to be involved in property crimes, and female property crimes are closely related to women's poor economic opportunities and limited alternatives to committing crime (Messerschmidt, 1986, Box and hale, 1982, Carlen, 1988, Naffine, 1987). In western society, women are mostly economically marginalized and they are an economically powerless group, so women are less able to resist the temptation to engage in illegal activities, when they are faced with financial difficulties (Box, 1983:199; Messerschmidt, 1993:56).

The Republic of Korea[1] is not an exception to such western patterns of female crime. Female property crimes are a major offense of female crime in Korea (Korean Training Institute for Criminal Justice, 1995:341). A higher proportion of female property crimes, especially, the increasing rates of fraud by married women, may be a consequence of limited job opportunities for women in Korea.

With respect to female criminality in Korea, an competing explanation which has received little attention in other studies is abusive history among female offenders.

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[1] The Republic of Korea is often called "South Korea" or simply "Korea". In this text, "Korea" will always mean the Republic of Korea.

Reflecting abusive situations, many criminal women in Korea are divorced or separated from their husbands prior to incarceration. Based on the writer's personal experience in counseling female inmates as a counseling officer for 8 years in correctional facilities in Korea and on experiences of many other professionals working in correctional facilities in Korea, a majority of female inmates talked about their abusive experiences before their incarceration. Therefore, it might be assumed that abusive situations may relate to married women's crime.

Based on the two major assumptions that first, if women are in insecure economic situations they are more apt to commit crime, and second, female crime and females as victims of spouse abuse relate to each other, the present study aims to examine with Korean data Women's Economic Marginalization Theory developed in western society. Within this theory, the present study has two major questions: (1) what is the relationship between women's poor economic situations and female crime in Korea? (2) Does an abusive situation positively relate to an increase of female crime in Korea? With these two major questions, this study will focus on women's economic situations and how these situations are associated with female crime. Further, this study examines how an abusive situation may be associated with female crime in Korea.

The present study is expected to make two contributions to both the application of Women's Economic Marginalization theory to Korea and the improvement of the analysis model of Women's Economic Marginalization Theory. First, the study can provide information on whether the application of Women's Economic Marginalization Theory on female criminality can be applied to Korea, which is different from western society in

terms of cultural and economic situations. Second, the study is expected to test the theory through micro-measures of women's economic situations and married women's crime.

In Chapter II, which considers the background information on female criminality in Korea, the major features of female criminality in south Korea are identified. Chapter III outlines the theoretical approach of the present study. Chapter IV providers on overview of the prior studies with regard to the relationship between women's economic situation and female crime both in western society and in Korea, and the effect of wife battering on married women's crime both in western society and in Korea. Chapter V examines the objectives of the present study including the hypotheses which will be discussed in chapter VII. Chapter VI describes the data and method. Chapter VII presents the statistical analyses. The hypotheses of this study will also be examined using bivariate correlation coefficients, multiple logistic regressions, crosstabulations, and t-tests. Discussion over the results of empirical tests and the conclusion will be presented in the last part of this chapter. Finally, chapter VIII summarizes the empirical findings of the present study and discusses the limitation of the present study and suggestions for future study.

CHAPTER II

THE FEATURES OF FEMALE CRIME IN KOREA

In this chapter, the main features of female crime in Korea are presented. This statement can provide a preliminary exploration of women's economic situations as causes of female crime in Korea. There are four major features of female crime in south Korea. That are relevant to the present study.[2]

First, women are unlikely to enter crime at any age in Korea. Arrest statistics indicates that vast majority of crimes are committed by males, when females are compared to males in their arrest rates. The annual report on crime reveals females were approximately 10% of total criminals between 1985 and 1994 (Korean Training Institute for Criminal Justice, 1995; 333-334). The difference in male-female arrests can be seen in gender ratios in arrests reported in Table II-1 below. As shown in Table II-1, male arrests constituted from 91.7 percent 86.5 percent of all persons arrested compared to 13.5 percent to 8.3 percent for female arrested for the last decade. For total offenses males were arrested 11 times for every female arrested in 1987 and 6.4 times of every female arrested in 1994, as reported in Table II-1. What this data tell us is that the proportion of these female crimes on society is still small compared to their male counterparts.

---

[2] In Korea, there are two major sources of criminal statistics: one is Analytical Report on Crime which is annually reported by The Supreme Public Prosecutors' Office, the other one is Annual Criminal Statistics reported by Korean Training Institute For Criminal Justice under Ministry of Justice. The present study characterized the features of female criminality in Korea based on these two criminal statistics through directly adapting or reconstructing the data.

Nevertheless, this should not distract from the severity of the growing problem of female

crime in Korea, because a proportion of female crime in total offender population has

gradually increased. Table II-1 shows the comparison between male and female in their

arrest rates for the last decade.

Table II-1. Percent Distribution of Criminal Arrests by Gender from 1985 to 1994

Year	Percent Male	Percent Female
1985	90.6	9.4
1986	90.7	9.3
1987	91.7	8.3
1988	91.4	8.6
1989	91.3	8.7
1990	90.1	9.9
1991	89.7	10.3
1992	89.9	10.1
1993	88.1	11.9
1994	86.5	13.5

Source: Adapted from Korea Training Institute for Criminal Justice, *Criminal Statistics*, 1994:334

Second, arrests of female offenders for property crimes is the most common

offense in Korea. Table II-2 below shows that more than 50 percent of female offenders

are involved with property crimes. Furthermore, a proportion of female property crimes

among female offenders reached 60.2 percent in 1993, 64.4 percent in 1994.

Third, arrest trends indicate that female crime is on the rise. Between 1975 and

1994, total female arrests increase 332 percent reported in Table II-3 below. Female

crime rate and female crime rate per 1,000 had gradually increased between 1975 and

6

Table II-2. Percent Distribution of Offense Patterns[3] between 1985 and 1994

	Property Crimes	Violent Crimes	Counter-feiting	Public Moral	Careless Crimes	Others	Total
1985	54.6	12.3	2.6	19.2	2.2	9.1	100
1986	53.5	12.6	3.0	19.5	1.9	9.5	100
1987	52.1	13.1	3.0	19.5	1.6	9.5	100
1988	50.3	14.4	3.2	21.3	1.8	9.0	100
1989	47.9	14.6	3.6	21.9	1.5	10.5	100
1990	47.1	13.8	3.4	24.1	1.3	10.3	100
1991	50.0	12.1	3.1	23.8	1.3	9.7	100
1992	56.2	10.1	2.8	21.3	1.0	8.6	100
1993	60.2	9.0	2.3	20.0	0.8	7.7	100
1994	64.4	9.1	2.6	15.6	0.8	7.5	100

Source: Adapted from Korea Training institute for Criminal Justice, *Annual Criminal Statistics*, 1995:34

Table II-3. Number of Female Arrests and Rate of Female Arrests Per 1,000

	Number of Female Arrests	Rate of Female Arrests per 1,000
1975	50677 (100)	2.9
1980	81059 (160)	4.3
1985	94872 (187)	4.7
1990	140831 (278)	6.5
1994	224118 (442)	10.2

Source: Adapted from Korea Training Institute for Criminal Justice, *Criminal Statistics*, 1994: 334.
( ):Index when we see the number of female arrests in 1975 as 100

---

[3] The Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office classified offense patterns into six categories such as *property crimes*: theft, fraud, embezzlement, burglary, *violent crimes*: murder, assault, kidnap, wounding, *counterfeiting*: forgery, counterfeit, *public moral crimes*; adultery, prostitution, gambling, *careless crime*:traffic accident, careless wounding, and *others.*

1985. Especially, both of them had rapidly increased between 1986 and 1994.Table II-3 above shows the number of female arrests increased by 332% between 1975 and 1994, also female crime rate per 1,000 had 3.5 times increased during this period. Table II-3 and Figure II-1 indicate that female crime is a growing problem in Korea.

Figure II-1.The Trend of Female Arrests Between 1975 and 1994
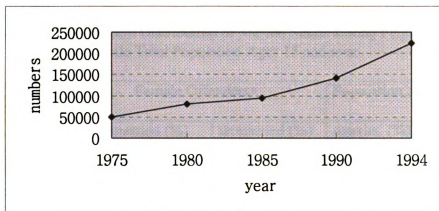
Finally, married women are more likely than unmarried women to commit crime. Over 80 percent of the female offenders are married women, compared to under 20 percent of the unmarried women reported Table II-4 below. When female population of 15 years old and over by their marital status are compared to percent distribution of female offender by marital status reported in Table II-4, 72.2 % of general female population were married while 81.6% of female criminals were married in 1990. From this Table II-4, a proportion of married women among female offenders was higher than a proportion of married women in general female population ages 15 and over. Also, the age distribution among female inmates indicates married women are more likely than unmarried women to commit crime reported in Table II-5 below. For example, the percent of late 20s (26-30) criminal women (15.7%) who are mostly married is higher

than those of early 20s criminal women (9.8%) who are mostly unmarried. Therefore, the

data on the comparison between the proportion of criminal married women and a

proportion of general female population married women (Table II-4), and the percent

distribution of female arrested by age (Table II-5) present that married women in Korea

are more likely to engage in criminal activities than unmarried women.

Table II-4. Percent Distribution of Marital Status among Female Offenders and among
Female Total Population Ages 15 and over

	Female Offenders*		Population Age 15 or over**	
	married (%)	unmarried (%)	married (%)	unmarried (%)
1990	81.56	18.44	72.2	27.8
1991	82.06	17.94	71.9	28.1

* Source: Korea Training Institute for Criminal Justice, *Criminal Statistics*, 1994:368
** Source: Originally Constructed by National Statistical Office, *Population and Housing Census Report*, 1992, Recited from Korean Women's Development Institute, *Statistical Yearbook on Women*, 1995:64-65

Table II-5. Percent Distribution of Female Arrested by Age

	1988	1989
less than 19	3.6	3.3
20 ~ 25	9.8	9.4
26 ~ 30	15.7	15.3
30 ~ 40	35.2	35.0
41 ~ 50	23.5	24.2
51 ~ 60	8.6	8.2
over 61	3.5	3.1

Source: Adapted from The Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office, *Analytical Report on Crime*, 1995:25

In this chapter, the major features of female criminality in Korea were presented.

In conclusion, female crime in Korea is a growing problem with the increasing rates of

female crime. Especially, high proportion of married women's crime and property crimes among female offenders appear to be critical issues.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. Main Ideas of Women's Economic Marginalization Theory

The purpose and function of this chapter is to present the theoretical approach that guides this study. A brief review of prior studies of Women's Economic Marginalization Theory on female criminality will be helpful in developing the theoretical orientation employed in this study.

The basic ideas of Women's Economic Marginalization Theory are focused on the women's poor economic situations linked to social structure dominated by men. And women's crime is assumed to be caused primarily by social factors such as "limited legitimate job opportunities for women, women's increased burden of household production" (Milkman, 1993: 291-300), absolute low family income, and so on.

The explanation for female crime that " women's economic marginalization has contributed to female property offense has been advanced recently by British Criminologist including Steven Box and Chris Hale" (Naffine, 1987: 99). Box and Hale presented this view as they write:

..... the major factor accounting for most of the increase in property

offenses seems to be economic marginalization. In other words, as

women become economically worse off, largely through unemployment

and inadequate compensatory levels of welfare benefits, so they are less able
to and willing to resist the temptations to engage in property offenses as
a way of helping solve their financial difficulties" (Box, 1983;199, Box and
Hale, 1984: 447).

Messerschmidt (1993: 1-24) explained that women's economic situations in the U.S. is linked to social structure called "Patriarchal capitalism". In his book of *Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Crime*, he has consistently emphasized patriarchal gender relations, in which the male gender has the labor power and controls the female while females have no labor power and are economically marginalized. This is because under patriarchal capitalism, males in all classes are wage laborers while females are primarily housekeepers and mothers. Thus, when women need to earn the money by themselves, they turn to illegal activities in the face of economic marginalization for women, because of unemployment, limited types of available jobs, and low pay or poor working conditions (Messerschmidt, 1993:73-95). Simpson briefly reviewed Messerschmidt`s explanation that crime and opportunities to commit crimes vary according to one's structural position According to Simpson:

..... under the economic base of capitalistic society, lower-class and female crime reflects a powerless status, but because of gender social organization crime opportunities are distributes unequally, and male are apt to resist their powerless position, while female accommodate their powerlessness, so male and female criminality take entirely different forms (Simpson, 1995: 124-125). According to Messerschmidt, the female subordinate position in patriarchal

capitalistic society means that they commit less serious crimes than men, and female crime is a consequence of the feminization of poverty or the marginalization in the legitimate wage labors under patriarchal capitalistic society (Messerschmidt, 1986: 87).

Bloom et al.(1995:7-8) described Economic Marginalization Theory as an alternative to the structural opportunity theory relating women's liberation and female crime presented by Adler and Simon.[4] They share the perspective on the effect of women's poverty on female crime with British Criminologist Box that "female

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[4] Adler and Simon have argued that "as women begin to assume traditionally male positions of prestige and authority, as they begin to enter white-collar jobs, their opportunities for crime and their criminal involvement will rise (Heidensohn, 1995: 155-156). In short, they have argued that the rise in female crime is due to the increase in female labor force participation. In this point of view, increased participation of females in the labor force change women's identity and self-concept, and a parallel rise in female criminality. However this perspective has been criticized by many other feminist theories of female criminality. According to Leonard`s literature review on theories of female criminality, many female offenders are poor, single, unemployed, uneducated, and belonging to a racial minority, and thus they have not taken part in the women`s liberation and greater social and economic opportunities. Therefore, the increased rate of female crime is not due to liberation rather than due to their poor economic situation (Leonard, 1982: 182). Steffensmeire analyzed the differences between male and female in the patterns of adult crime data for periods between the 1965 and 1977. He presented that arrest patterns have changed very little, when the female labor force participation rate increased enormously, or for the decade following 1968, when feminist activists and organizations expanded (steffmensmeire, 1980:1087). Box concluded the result of Steffensmeire`s research that his research was unable to locate any empirical support for linking female emancipation to crime (Box, 1983:192).

crime, the bulk of which is property crimes, constitutes a rational response to poverty and economic insecurity" that is more likely to be unemployed or unemployable, or even if employed, than more likely to be insecure, low paid, unskillful jobs (Box,1983: 197).

The other issue relating to women's poor economic situation was raised by Rafter (1990). He pointed out that the increasing rates of female-headed households affect married women's crime. Bloom et.al. reviewed Rafter's findings:

......the increasing numbers of female-headed households supporting

dependent children lead more and more women to seek the benefits of

criminal activity as supplements or alternatives to employment"

(Bloom et. al., 1995: 9).

An economic perspective on female criminality begins with an evaluation of the benefits and costs of women's participation in crime (Milkman,1993). Within this perspective, Milkman suggested that people were more likely to commit crime when they perceived that they had more gain than to lose by law-breaking (Milkman, 1993: 293). He asserted that women are attracted to crime, because they have poor legitimate opportunities, so "women have less to lose from unsuccessful criminal activities that can lead to imprisonment or loss of employment opportunities" (Milkman, 1993:294-295).

In conclusion, women's participation in some types of illegal activities can be attributed to their insecure economic situations. Furthermore, their poorer economic experiences of limited available jobs or low paying jobs make crime an attractive alternative to legal activities for making money. In short, Women's Economic Marginalization perspective emphasizes the importance of women's economic situations

as causes of female crime. The poor economic situations including women's restricted labor market opportunities and increased burden of finding resources to support their household needs, are the major causes of female crime, according to this theory.

(2) Theoretical Framework

Figure II-1 shows a general model of Women's Economic Marginalization perspectives on female crime.

Figure III-1. Framework of Women's Economic Marginalization Theory[5]

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Patriarchal Capitalistic Society       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                     │
                     ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Women's Poor Economic Situation          │
│                                           │
│  - Unemployment                           │
│                                           │
│  - Main providers of their family resources│
│                                           │
│  - Lack of support network                │
│                                           │
│  - Poverty                                │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                     │
                     ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│      Women's Criminal Activities          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
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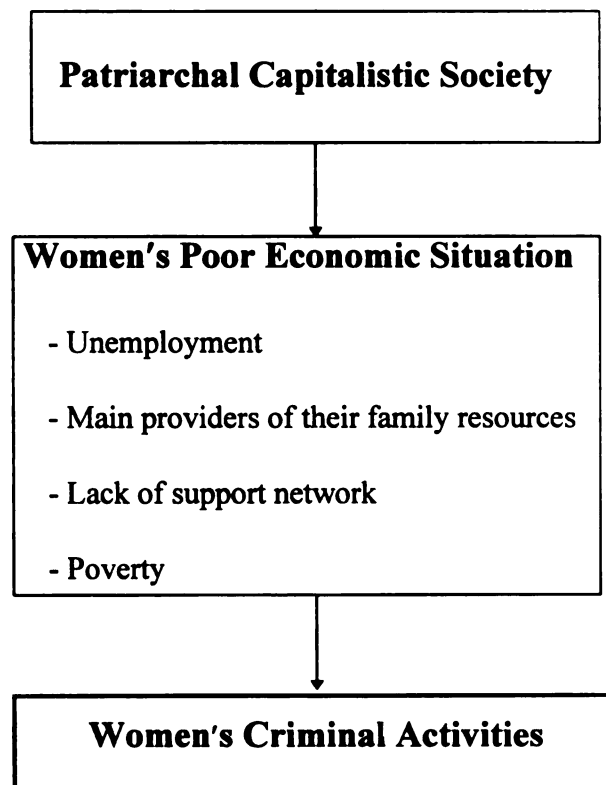
[5] This framework is based on Messerschmidt's explanation on female criminality within Women's Economic Marginalization Theory.

CHAPTER IV

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The review of the literature includes four major sections: (1) women's economic

situations and female crime in western society, (2) women's economic situations and

female crime in Korea, (3) spouse abuse and female criminality in western society, and

(4) spouse abuse and female criminality in Korea.

(1) Women's Economic Situation and Female Crime in Western Society

Some researchers who have reported positive correlation between poverty and crime

rates have assumed that as women's poverty increases, the rate of criminal behavior

increases (Box and Hale, 1982:20-21). They started the application of Women's Economic

Marginalization Theory by refuting the women's liberation movement perspective which

explained the increased rates of female crime within women's emancipation (Box, 1993;

Bartel, 1979).

With a major assumption about the possible relationship between women's

poverty and female crime, the empirical research examines the possibility of increasing

female crime accompanied by unemployment in female or income inequality (Bartel,

1979, Carlen, 1988, Box and Hale, 1984, Box, 1987).

These studies mostly focused on macro-level analysis using official data. For

instance, Bartel (1979) examined the labor force participation rates for females and the

average number of female property crimes between 1960 and 1974 in the U.S.. With the question that inferior legal opportunities was responsible for the female's interest in criminal activities, Bartel attempted to examine the determinants of female participation in criminal activities using the number of female offenses reported to the police and female unemployment rates between 1960 and 1974 (Bartel, 1979: 29). Bartel's findings showed that the labor force participation rate of married women's crime had no effect on personal crimes such as burglary and auto thefts. Briefly, his result indicated that inferior legal opportunities to make money were responsible for the females interest in criminal activities, especially a high rate of married women's property crimes were due to the married women's poor opportunities in legitimate job market (Bartel, 1979: 29-49). Milkman read Bartel's finds that decreased rate of female labor force participation resulted in the increased female participation rate in illegal activities if all other factors[6] remained unchanged (Milkman, 1993:293).

A British criminologist, Carlen, has also focused on the relationship between women's poverty and female crime in Britain. In her book, W*omen, Crime and Poverty,* she described the results of research on thirty-nine women's criminal careers, as described by the women in oral interviews. Her interview questions consisted of the four major factors- poverty, being in residential care, drug (including alcohol addiction), and the quest for excitement. She explicitly identified the ethnographic characteristics of the

---

[6] Bartel's important socioeconomic variables in explaining female crime are percentage of females age 16 and over who are married with spouse present, percentage of single females age 16 and over, median age of the female populations, unemployment rate of females age 16 and over, average number of children under 6 in female-headed families, and so on. Bartel argued in his empirical study that the rise in female crime was not due to the rise in the female labor force participation rate, but due to the women's inferior opportunities in the legal sector if other socioeconomic variables except employment rate for women were unchanged (Bartel, 1979: 39-49).

subjects and women's economic situations prior to their incarceration (Carlen, 1988:12). Within economic perspective of crime, Carlen presented her findings that the respondents' motivation of crime were mostly related to economic gains, and they committed crime because of poverty, inability to obtain employment, avoiding going into residential care, and so on (Carlen, 1988:69-70). She continued to explain the causes of female crime based on economic perspective on crime. According to Carlen:

...... due to their poorer economic situations, they perceive themselves as being

marginalized and therefore, having nothing to lose, decide that law-breaking

is a preferable alternative to poverty and social isolation. The subjects felt that

they had absolutely nothing to lose and something to gain by engaging in

criminal activities (Carlen, 1988:14).

In short, one of Carlen's major findings is that her thirty-nine subjects had in the main committed crime because of experiencing poverty and not enough financial support relating an excess of welfare regulation (Carlen, 1988:11-14).

Box and Hale have advanced the study involved with women's poverty and committing crime in female population in England and Wales. They examined the effects of women's poverty on female crime through macro-level measures of employment rates in females and female crime rates for a certain period using official data. Like other criminologist who presented Women's Economic Marginalization perspective on female criminality, Box and Hale argued that the increasing rates of female crimes were not due to women's liberation movement and the increased labor force participation in women, but due to women's poverty caused by unemployment and limited public aids.

(Box,1983: 192). They considered females convicted of indictable crimes over the period 1951-1980 and reported that increases in the rate of female unemployment were significantly related to increase in the rate of conviction for violent, theft, fraud, and so on (Box and Hale, 1984: , Box, 1987:73).

Box considered prior research on poverty and female crime in the U.S. and England and consistently suggested the causal relationship between women's poverty and female crime. According to Box, the growing economic marginalization of females has effect on women's criminal activity, particularly, property crimes (Box, 1983: 193-194). In his another book, *Recession, Crime and Punishment*, he reviewed North American and British studies which dealt with the relationship between women's unemployment rates and female crime, and he concluded that more women have become economically marginalized during the recession, more conventional crimes are committed by females (Box, 1987:43). Box (1983:187-200) argued about the applicability to England and Wales of the *liberation* versus *marginalization* theses. To accomplish, Box and Hale analyzed the four annual indicators for female liberation for the period 1951-1979. The four female liberation indicators which Box and Hale constructed to test the effects of women's liberation movement on female crime rates are:

(1) the number of live children per 1,000 women age 14-45;

(2) the number of unmarried women per 10,000 age 15-65;

(3) the rate of higher education experience per 100,000 women age

15-65; and (4) the rate per 100,000 women age 15-65 of participation

in the labor force (Box, 1983: 187).

The results that Box argued were that first, although some upper middle-class women have male dominated professional jobs, a majority of women were unemployed, or if employed, they have lower paid, unskilled, part-time jobs. Thus, women's economic marginalization was more the important cause of increases in female crime than female emancipation (Box, 1983: 187). Second, the major factor accounting for most of the increase in female property offenses seemed to related to women's be economically marginalized status such as poor employed and limited support network.. Therefore, women engaged in property offenses as an alternative to employment to solve their financial difficulties (Box, 1983 : 188).

In conclusion, previous research mostly analyzed the macro-measures of female crime using official data. According to Messerschmidt's conclusion of these previous research on the effects of employment rate, female crime rate and female property crime begin to increase, when the unemployment rate for women increased (Messerschmidt, 1987:87).

However, their macro-measures of female crime with aggregate time-series data did not answer the individual differences between criminal women and non-criminal women, because poverty lead to committing crime for some women while does not for other some women. The limitations of prior studies will be discussed later.

(2) Women's Economic Situations and Female Crime In Korea

Existing studies on the features of women's economic situations both women in general and criminal women in Korea show that Korean women are economically marginalized (Kim, 1995; Yang, 1993: Elizabeth, 1994; Choi, 1986).

Traditional values in patriarchal society in Korea emphasizes a women's place in the family. Until the late 1980's, Korea exhibited more discrimination against women than other countries. Gender disparity in education and work experience and sex segregation by industry and occupation explains much of the lower relative wage of women in Korea (Elizabeth, 1994: 438). Even though, the Korean National Assembly enacted an Equal Employment Law in 1988, and the Government issued Guidelines to eliminate Sexual Discrimination in Employment in 1991, the labor participation rate for women still lower than those of men (Elizabeth,1994: 436). Economically active female population has gradually increased from 40.4 % in 1975 to 47.3% in 1992 (Yang, 1993:133; statistical Yearbook on Women, 1995:136-137). However, a proportion of female laborers (40%) in total economically active population is still lower than those of male (60%) in 1992. These data indicate that south Korean women are still marginalized in legal opportunities in terms of job market. Indeed, even if women are employed in Korea, they are low paid or temporary employees (Kim, 1995: 104). For instance, a majority of female laborers (87%) work in one of three industrial sectors; agriculture, manufacturing, or commercial (hotel and restaurant) which are mostly low paying or unstable jobs (Elizabeth,1994: 436-438). Furthermore, the labor force participation rate of women that have more than twelve years of formal education is lower (36.2%) than for

women with no formal education (46.5%), or women with six years or less of a formal education (45 %) (Cho, 1986:50-51).

In short, even though, 47.3 % of female population aged 15 and over participate in labor market and 40 % of total economically active population is female in Korea, many of them are low paid, or temporary employed and low educated women.

Female crime in Korea reflects the women's economic situations. As mentioned above, between 1985 and 1994 the major crimes which were committed by women were property crimes (over 50%) (See page 6 Table II-2 above). Particularly, fraud which is the most common offense for Korean women has rapidly increased among married women ages 30s and 40s. (Korean training Institute for Criminal Justice, 1995: 333-334). As Messerschmidt mentioned above (1987:87), there is age specific in case of fraud in Korea.

Lee pointed out the employment situation among female offenders in his master's thesis. He presented that a majority of female offenders were housekeepers (25%) or jobless women (15.5%) before their incarceration (Lee, 1991: 62). Even though he did not read the relationship between low employment rate among female offenders and women's crime, he suggested that the enlargement of job opportunities for women be necessary to reduce female crime (Lee, 1991:101).

Choi (1993:88) emphasized the realities of unstable marital situations among female offenders compared to general non-criminal married women. Even though he did not mention out the female-headed households as a cause of married women's crime, he

presented that the female offender are more likely than non-criminal to be divorced, living separated from their husbands, or separated from their husbands by death.

The issues of these previous studies related to female criminality have showed that economic insecure situations such as poverty, insufficient support from their husbands or others, and the burden of household responsibility to supporting their family accompanied with unstable marital situations are links to female crime in Korea. Although most studies on female criminality in Korea have pointed out the realities of poor economic situations among female offenders, there is no existing empirical research on examining the effects of women's economic insecurity on female crime in Korea. Indeed, some studies which have dealt with the realities of female criminality in Korea have collected the data from the Chongjoo Women Correctional Institution. Female offenders in Korea who are accommodated in this facility are mostly serious offenders or female recidivists. Therefore, these studies can not generalize to general female offenders in Korea.

(3) Spouse Abuse and Female Criminality in Western Society

According to Yllo in 1993, "the problem of domestic violence is deeply rooted in the historical imbalance of power between men and women". Therefore, the reason of spouse abuse is not in the personality characteristics of batterer or battered persons , but in the social structure which marginalize women in society and at home (Yllo, 1993:72).

Messerschmidt read wife battering linked to women's powerless status under capitalistic society. According to Messerschmidt, the more traditional gender role in

household, the greater likelihood of wife battering (Messerschmidt, 1993: 37, 145). However, he did not mention about the relationship between women's abusive situation and female crime.

Some research reported that many female inmates have been victims of domestic violence, before and during their victimization of others (Brett, 1993, Clark, 1995). According to Brett (1993: 26), many female prison inmates have been victims of violence before and during their victimization of others. Brett pointed out that women's victimization of others especially, violence toward their abuser, is related to their chronic abusive experiences by their husbands. Brett stated:

...... the psychological effects of abuse on women is that victims demonstrate

deficits in learning novel behavior, may experience chronic subjective stress.

Accordingly, when a person has lived in a situation of chronic abuse, the

motivation to avoid conflicts may become so great that she will choose a

course of action without thinking through the consequences (Brett, 1993:26-28).

Flowers also emphasized that a majority of female offenders are a kind of victims of domestic violence, particularly homicidal women who kill their spouse or boy friend report doing so after repeated physical, sexual, and mental abuse by their male partners (Flower, 1995: 72-73). Flower continued to explain the influence of battered experience among female offenders as reflecting the relationship between abusive situation and female crime. Women in prison for murder are more likely to have killed a spouse, ex-spouse, or other intimate person than other persons (Flowers, 1995: 74-75). He described:

...... the motivation most often associated with this form of homicide is self-defense or desperation culminating a period of abuse from a husband or father. Abused women who have murdered their spouses reveal that they feel that homicide was the only alternative left to them (Flowers, 1987:108-109).

The self-defensive nature of homicides committed by women against the men who abused them was also argued by Browne. According to Browne, 60 percent of husbands who were killed by their wives brought about their deaths by striking out first, and homicides committed by women seven times as likely to be in self-defense as homicides committed by men (Browne, 1987:140). Mechanic supported Browne's perspective of female spouse homicide as self-defense activities. After reviewing several researchers' argument Mechanic concludes that clearly, there is a link between prior abuse and homicide by battered women in at least some cases. Also female perpetrated homicides tend to be self-defensive acts committed in an interpersonal context, rather than instrumental acts of violence (Mechanic, 1996:135-136).

In short, previous research on abusive history among female offenders presented that at least certain kinds of female crime were related to their abusive situations and many female offenders have experienced spouse abuse before their incarceration. However, these studies did not discuss wife battering as a cause of female crime. To accomplish this, the comparison between female offenders and general female population in their abusive history may be necessary.

(4) Spouse Abuse and Female Criminality in Korea

Korea is one of the most traditional Patriarchal societies around the world. Even though Korea is changing rapidly and a majority of Korean do not perceive wife battering as permissible things, wife battering still remains many homes. In one recent study addressed that 42 % of Korean women had been beaten by their husbands during their married life (Campbell, 1994: 101) and the wife battering rate in Korea is higher than U.S (28%), Canada (25%), Mexico (34%), and similar to Japan (40-59%) and Australia (42%).

The causes of wife battering in Korea closely associated with male dominated culture linked to Confucian tradition in Korea (Korean Women's Development Institute, 1992: 43; Song, 1996: 1920). Wife battering is still regarded by many as a family matter not as a crime, and the police usually do not pay attention to wife battering (The New York Times, 1996). According to Shim (1992:183-184) the reason that makes Korean tolerate wife battering is closely related to the cultural norms originated from Confucian ideas such as men over women and women's passive attitude to their husbands.

Korean institute for Criminology administrated the questionnaire for 1200 Seoul residents (640 women samples, 560 men samples) in 1991 to examine the causes and prevalence of domestic violence in Korea. This research revealed that during a one year period, 28.4% of the respondents had experienced violence from their husbands at least once, whereas 45.3% of the respondents had experienced non-serious violence such as slapped or hit with something once or twice during their married life time (Shim, 1992: 70-77).

There is no existing study on the relationship between spouse abuse and female crime in Korea. Also abusive history among female offenders has never been investigated. However, as the writer's counseling experience with female offenders in Korea, the effect of abusive situation on women might be crucial, because a majority of female offenders had talked about their battered experience, particularly females who killed their husbands told their husbands' chronic wife battering habits as a motivation of their offense.

Some demographic features of female offenders presented by several research might support the impact of women's abusive situation on female violent crime in Korea. According to Choi's research with 306 female convicts subjects who were in Chong Joo Women Prison (1992: 84-85), a majority (23.7%) of the victims of female offense were husbands and family members. Further, in case of female homicide, 53.1% of the victims were their husbands or family members (Choi, 1992: 84-86).

Lee administrated the questionnaire to 312 female offenders accommodated in Chong Joo Women Prison to investigate the actual conditions of female offenders and implications for female offenders in Korea. One of his finding was that a majority (72.5%) of female homicide were motivated their criminal activities by family problems such as abusive situation (21.1%), conflicts with their husbands or family-in-law (12.7%), and extra-marital affairs mixed with conflict with their husbands or chronic wife battering (38.7%) (Lee, 1991: 53-54).

(5) Summary and the Limitation of the Previous Research

Briefly, the prior research on the effects of women's economic situations on their criminal acts mostly presented that women's poor economic situations in terms of limited job opportunities and the burden of household responsibility without sufficient support networks are closely related to the causes of female crime.

The previous studies on the relationship between women's economic situations and female crime rates were mostly macro-level analyses estimated from aggregate time-serious data such as female crime rates reported from police and female unemployment records adapted from the annual census (Box and Hale, 1984; Box, 1986; Bartel, 1979). They provided empirical evidence for the hypotheses relating female property crimes and socioeconomic conditions facing women. The other type of studies analyzed the demographic features of female criminality relating economic situations facing women using self-reported data from female offenders (Carlen, 1988, Lee, 1991, Choi, 1992). They described women's poor economic situations as the motivation of committing crime.

However, these studies are incomplete. For example, they could not answer the question that some poor women engage in illegal activities while other poor women have always managed their lives without any criminal activities. Indeed, these research have not distinguished married women from unmarried women in spite of the existence of different economic situations between the two groups.

The present study focuses on individual level of variables which were ignored by previous research. This study analyzes the data relating women's economic situations such as monthly income in terms of absolute poverty, women's contribution to family's

financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting their family, women's support network, self-evaluated economic problems in terms of relative and self-perceived poverty, and female-headed household. The empirical relationships between these economic situation variables and married women's crime will be examined through comparing the criminal women subjects' economic situations to those of non-criminal women using data from Korea.

With respect to the effect of spouse abuse on female crime, most studies pointed out that many female offenders have experienced serious spouse abuse by their husband or boy friends prior to incarceration. Basically, female crime and wife battering may not be directly related to each other, but both of them might be resulted from the same situation of women's powerlessness status linked to social structure. However the previous studies did not examine the effect of abusive situation on female crime. The present study will also examine whether an abusive situation positively relates to female crime.

CHAPTER V

THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

(1) Objectives

The present study examines the relationship between married women's economic situations and their criminal activities in Korea. This study attempts to apply Women's Economic Marginalization Theory to Korea as an explanation of the causes of married women's crime in Korea. Indeed, the present study examines the theory through micro-model analysis using micro-level measures of self-report data. The data were collected from lower socioeconomic class women in terms of age, education, and income levels for both female criminals and non-criminals. The present study intends to explore the differences between the two groups in their economic situation variables such as family's income level, extent of women's contribution to family's financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting their family, women's support network, the extent of economic problems, and family structure. Further, this study collected the data only from married women in order to obtain a homogeneity among the subjects, and in examining the effects of women's abusive situations on committing crime by married women in Korea.

Thus, the two major purposes of the present study are: To test the women's economic marginalization perspective on female crime through examining the effects of married women's economic situations on their criminal activities in Korea; To examine

whether abusive situations increase female crime through controlling for the battered experience on the original relationships between women's economic situations and married women's crime.

(2) The Empirical Framework of the Present Study

The present study considered six economic situations facing married women as independent variables, married women's crime as a dependent variable, and wife battering as a intervening variable.

Figure V-1. Empirical Framework of the Present Study
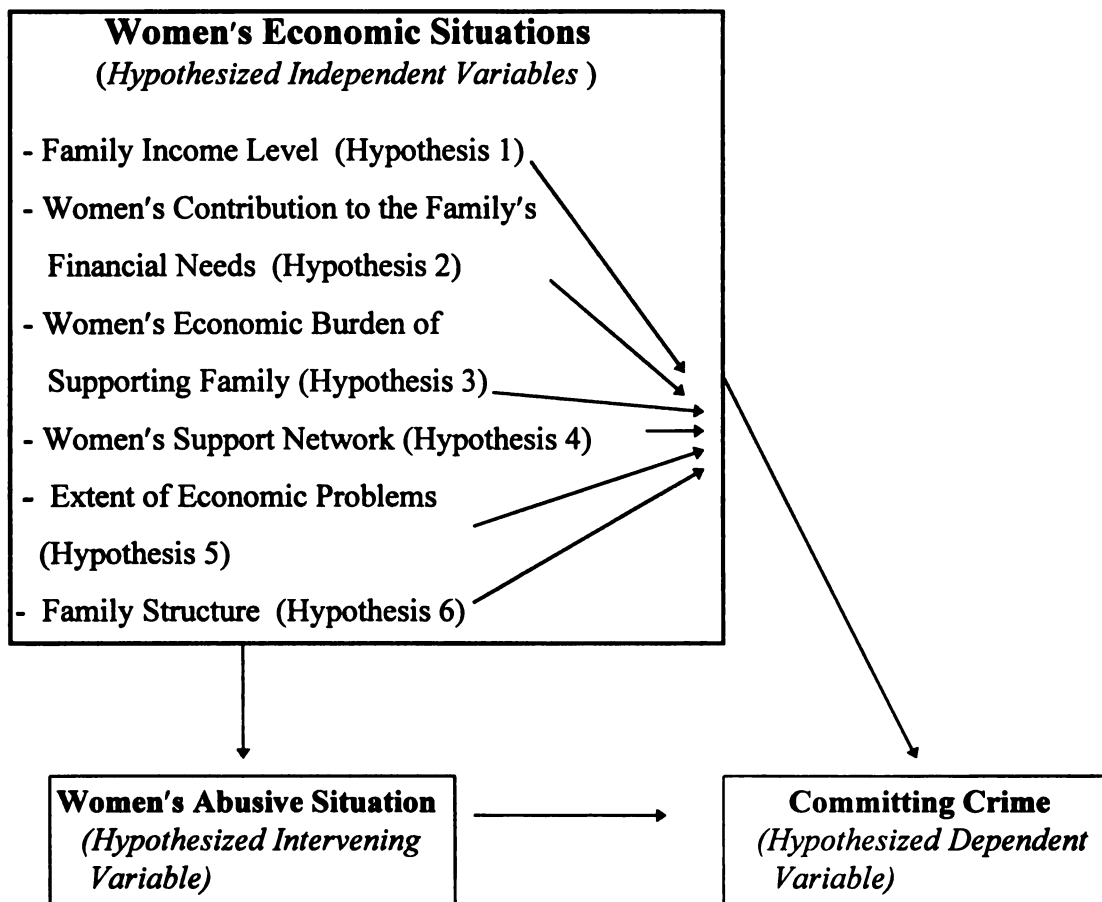
(3) The Hypotheses of the Present Study

The major hypothesis and seven sub-hypotheses, which will be discussed and tested in chapter VII are listed below:

Major Hypothesis: <u>*There is a relationship between married women's economic situations and married women's crime in Korea.*</u>

Sub-hypothesis 1: <u>Criminal married women are more likely than non-criminal married women to have lower monthly income</u> (negative relationship).

Sub-hypothesis 2:<u> Criminal married women are more likely than non-criminal married women to contribute to their family's financial needs</u> (positive relationship).

Sub-hypothesis 3: <u>Criminal married women are more likely than non-criminal married women to have economic burden of supporting their family resources (positive relationship).</u>

Sub-hypothesis 4: <u>Criminal married women are less likely than non-criminal married women to have support network</u> (negative relationship).

Sub-hypothesis 5: <u>Criminal married women are more likely than non-criminal married women to have economic problems</u> (positive relationship).

Sub-hypothesis 6: <u>Criminal married women are less likely than non-criminal married women to reside in a male-headed household</u> (negative relationship).

Sub-hypothesis 7: <u>Women who have been seriously abused by their spouses are more likely to commit crime than women who have not been seriously abused, regardless of their economic situations</u> (positive relationship).

CHAPTER VI

DATA AND METHOD

(1) Subjects

Composition of the sample

The subjects for the study consisted of two groups. The first group was composed of 110 criminal married women who were in the three correctional facilities in south Korea. The second group who were non-criminal married women included 25 factory laborers and 40 wives of hospitalized men and the hospitalized married women in Seoul south Korea.

Generally, over 90 % of female offenders in south Korea were lower or middle socioeconomic class in 1990 (Lee, 1991: 50). Reflecting the socioeconomic class distribution among criminal women, the non-criminal women subjects of this study were selected from the factory laborers and the wives of hospital male patients both of whom were mostly lower socioeconomic class and a few of them middle socioeconomic class.

Background information for the sampling strategies

With respect to these criminal women subjects, background information for sampling strategies are the followings:

For field-level correctional organizations, there are a total of 40 correctional facilities in Korea. More detail, the number breaks down into 25 correctional institutions

for adults (4 only for male offenders, 21 for male and female offenders), 2 juvenile correctional institutions, 1 women correctional institution, 2 open correctional institutions, 6 detention houses, 2 social protection houses (Maximum-Security) for male prisoners only, 1 branch of the correctional institution, and 1 branch of the detention house (Correction Bureau, 1991: 6-7).

Persons convicted are accommodated in correctional institutions if they are 20 years old or more, and in juvenile correctional institutions if they are younger than 20 years old. However, each correctional institution has a separate building in the facility for criminal suspects and criminal defendants. Criminal suspects and criminal defendants, who have been subjected to the execution of an arrest warrant are accommodated and managed in a Detention House. Each Detention House has a separate building or cells for several non-serious convicts. Accommodated in a social protection house are the persons sentenced to protective custody under the Act for the Protection of Society, for education and training. Exemplary prisoners selected from correctional institutions across the nation are gathered in open correctional institutions.

Among 40 correctional facilities in Korea, female offenders can be incarcerated at 32 correctional facilities. The institutions which do not accept female offenders are 4 male only correctional institutions and 2 social protection houses, and 2 juvenile correctional institutions.

The criminal women subject were chosen from Seoul Detention House which is the largest in Korea, from Sung Dong Detention House which is the second largest

Detention House in Korea, and from In-Cheon Correctional Institution in Korea. Thus the criminal women subjects in this study are representative of female inmates in Korea.

With respect to the non-criminal married women subjects, most factory laborers are middle or lower socioeconomic class women, while hospitalized married women and the wives of hospitalized men are lower socioeconomic class women, because the hospital is operated by Seoul city for very poor people. Therefore, the non-criminal married women subjects may be representative of lower or middle socioeconomic class women in Korea

Representative of the criminal women sample and homogeneity between the two sample groups in their socioeconomic status

With regard to the criminal sample's representation of total female offender population in south Korea, when the target subjects of 110 criminal married women was researched, the sample was compared to the annual statistical report on female crime in 1995.[7]

This comparison between criminal women subjects of this study and female offender population in Korea revealed no significant differences in the distribution of offenses reported in VI-1 below.

However, there were no violent crime (assault) in Criminal Law and only 6.7 % of violent crime (aggravated assault) in Special Law among the criminal women subjects.

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[7] According to Korean Training Institute for Criminal Justice, Criminal Law in south Korea consist with two categories: Criminal Law and Special Law. Therefore, as shown Table VI-1 below, the comparison between the two groups in their offense patterns were regrouped into two categories; offenses against Criminal Law and offenses against Special Law.

Table VI-1. Percent Distribution of Offense Patterns in Female Crime

Offense	Female Offenders Total Population (%)*	Criminal Women Sample (%)	Criminal Women Sample (#)
Criminal Law			
Fraud	52.0	67.1	49
Adultery[s]	8.5	13.7	10
Gambling	7.0	1.3	1
Assault	6.7	0	0
Theft	5.0	6.8	5
Embezzlement	4.6	5.4	4
Counterfeit	2.2	5.4	4
Others	0	0	0
Total	100	100	73
Special Law			
Food Sanitary Law	27.4	16.7	5
Aggravated Assault	22.9	6.7	2
Traffic Accident	13.5	6.7	2
Dishonored Check	10.5	60	18
Drug	not reported	10	3
Others	25.7	0	0
Total	100	100	30

* Source: Adapted from Korea Training Institute for Criminal Justice, *Criminal Statistics*, 1995: 351-352

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[s] There is adultery regulating law in Korea aimed sexual morality. According to adultery regulation law, adultery refers to an extramarital sexual relationship in a sociological sense, that is, a voluntary relationship which may threaten the existing marital relationship. Thus, a coerced or forced sex (rape) and a commodified sex (prostitution) are excluded from this concept of adultery (Research Institute For Criminology, 1991:168).

Research Institute For Criminology in Korea constructed a empirical research on people's attitude on adultery. The study presented that 85 % of the respondents supported to keep adultery regulating law while only 15 % of the respondents presented to abolish the law. As an important find, this study argued the utilization of the adultery law: Even though the adultery law did not seem to be very effective in practice, it have certain psychological effectiveness preventing the confusion of sexual morality and break-up of a family in the absence of other more effective control measures (Research Institute For Criminology in Korea, 1991:171-172).

Indeed, a proportion of property crimes of the criminal women subjects including

fraud, embezzlement, theft, and counterfeit (84.7%) were higher than those of female

offenders total population (63.8%) reported in Table VI-1 above.

Table VI-2. The Comparison between the two Sample Groups in Age, Family Income, and Education Level

Item	Criminal Women			Non-Criminal Women			Total Sample		
	mean	st.d	cases	mean	st.d	cases	mean	st.d	cases
Age	40.4	8.10	110	41.5	8.8	63	40.8	8.3	173
Income Level[9]	6.0	1.72	110	5.07	1.81	63	5.65	1.80	173
Education Level[10]	4.02	1.13	107	3.40	1.12	65	3.78	1.16	172

The present study basically assumes similar socioeconomic status between

criminal women subjects and non-criminal women subjects, because the major purpose of

the present study is to explore the differences between these two groups in their

individual economic situations beyond their similar socioeconomic status. Table VI-2

above shows there is homogeneity between criminal married women subjects and non-

criminal married women subjects in terms of their socioeconomic status such as age,

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[9] The variable of family's monthly income item is answered on 8-point scale of 0=no monthly income, 1=under 10man Won, 2=10man-30man Won, 3=30man-50man Won, 4=50man-70man Won, 5=70man-100man Won, 6=100man-200man Won, 7=200man-300man Won, 8=more than 300man Won.
　　　According to Korea Research Institution for Health (1994:32), the monthly minimum standard cost of living for 4 family members is 661684man Won. The means of the two groups in this study indicate that both of the two groups have higher monthly income than the minimum standard of living in Korea- 6=100man-200 man Won for criminal samples, 5.07= 70man-100man Won for non-crininal women subjects.

[10] Women's education level item is answered on 6-point scale of 1=no formal education, 2=elementary school or drop, 3=middle school or drop, 4=high school or drop, 5=college completion or drop, and 6= above university completion or university drop.

monthly income level, and education level. However, there are some mean differences between the two groups in their age, income level, education level. It means the two groups have exact same socio-economic conditions.

(2) Procedures

The data for this study was obtained from 175 married women in Korea. The survey questionnaire were distributed to 110 married incarcerated women and 25 married factory laborers and 40 hospitalized married women and the wives of hospitalized men. The survey questionnaire consisted of 40 questions for the criminal women while 35 questions exempted 5 items relating offense for non-criminal women. The questionnaire was administrated to ask about the women's economic situations, abusive experience by their husbands, and several pertinent demographic variables. Two hundred questionnaires were distributed and 175 were returned.

(3) Operationalization and Measures

Introduction

The instrument used to operationally define the variables were a self-report personal data sheet to determine women's economic status, offense related characteristics, and demographic features of the subjects, and Straus' Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) to measure women's abusive history from their husbands, ex-husbands, or boy friends. The measures composed of the three categories: (1) demographic variables for the subjects,

(2) women's economic situation measures, and (3) wife battering measures. The variables that are used in the empirical analysis are:

Women's economic situation measures

The focus of the analysis in the present study was the women's economic situation measures which were measured through the following items: (1) family monthly income level, (2) women's contribution to family's financial needs, (3) Women's economic burden of supporting family, (4) women's support network, (5) the extents of economic problems in terms of relative and self-perceived poverty, and (6) family structure. The scales of each items are the followings:

(1) **Income level**[11] was measured in terms of the amount of monthly earning ranging from 0 to over 3 million won.[12] Original response categories of 9 categories were regrouped into five categories ranged from 0 to 4 with 100 man Won interval.

(2) **Women's contribution to family financial needs** is measured how many % of family's spending came from women's earning with eleven levels: from 0=0%, 1=10%, 2=20%, 3=30%, 4=40%, 5=50%, 6=60%, 7=70%, 8=80%, 9=90% 10=100%. However original score was recorded into 6 categories: 0=0%, 1=1-20%, 2=21-40%, 3=41-60%, 4=61-80%, 5=81-100%.

(3) **Women's economic burden of supporting family** was a summated scale of 2 items such as 1) main provider for a family resources with three levels: 0=husband

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[11] Poverty usually starts with the assumption of a specific poverty line in terms of income (Hagenaars and De Vos, 1987:213). The present study measures incomes to determine whether a household is absolutely poor.

[12] Won is Korean monetary unit. The exchange rate of dollar is $ 1= 890 won in the state of Jan. 1, 1997. Thus, 300man (3 Million) Won is approximately $ 3,370.

provide for family resources, 1=wife provide part of them, and 2=wife provide them, 2) number of dependents with four levels: 0=no dependent, 1= one dependent, 2=two dependents, 3=three dependents, 4=four dependents, 5=five dependents, and 6=more than five dependents. However, when woman provide for family resources along with her husband, the score divided by 2. **Wife's economic burden of supporting family** is on 12 point scale ranging from 0 to 12. A respondent who scored 0 on this scale had no economic burden of supporting family. Whereas a score of 12 indicates that a respondent had heavy burden of supporting family.

(4) **Women's support networks** was a summated scale of two items such as 1) financial support with three levels: 0=never helped, 1= sometimes helped, and 2=often helped and 2) emotional support with three levels: 0=never helped, 1=sometimes helped, and 2=often helped. The variable of wife's support network is on 4 point scale from 0 (respondent has very limited supporting network) to 4 (a respondent has sufficient support network).

(5) **The extents of economic problems** consisted of three items such as 1) housing situation with four levels: 0=lived in own house, 1=house which was rental by yearly, 2=house which was rental by monthly, 3= lived in relative's house or social facility, 2) self-evaluated economic status with four levels: 0=wealthy,1=somewhat wealthy, 2=moderate, and 3=poor, 3) the extent of suffering from economic problems with four levels: 0=no extent at all, 1=to small extent, 2=to some extent, and 3=to a great extent. The variable of housing situation is measure of relative poverty while the variable of self-evaluated economic status and the extent of suffering from economic problems is

measure of self-perceived poverty[13] . Thus, 9 points summated scale variable of extent of

economic problems consisted relative poverty and self-perceived poverty. A respondent

who scored 0 on this scale indicated that she had no economic problems at all, while

scored 9 on this scales indicated that she had serious economic problems. This variable

aims to measure poverty, specially relative poverty (housing situation) and self-perceived

poverty (self-evaluated economic status and the extent of suffering from economic

problems). And the variable consists relative poverty and self-perceived poverty.

(6) **Family structure** consisted two categories: female headed household, when a

women lived alone or a women lived with children without husband present and, male

headed household, when a woman lived with a spouse.

Table VI-4 below presents the measures of women's economic situations.

women's battered experience measures

Battered experience was measured through the use of a modified Conflict Tactics

Scale (Straus and Gulles, 1990: 70). An summated score reflecting battered experience

was calculated for each of the proceeding categories of physical abuse by adding the

responses for the following modified CTS items: (1) threatened to hit or throw

something; (2) threw or smashed or hit or kicked something; (3) threw something at her;

(4) pushed, grabbed, or shoved her; (5) slapped her; (6) kicked, bit, or hit her with fist; (7)

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[13] According to Hagenaars and De Vos, general definition of poverty are three categories; absolute poverty, relative poverty, and self-perceived poverty. In this study, absolute poverty was measured by family income, relative poverty was measured by housing situation, and self-perceived poverty was measured by self-evaluated economic status and self-evaluated the extent of suffering from economic problems. The variable of extent of economic problems was composed of relative poverty and self-perceived poverty.

hit or tried to hit her with something; (8) beat her up; (9) choked her; (10) threatened her with a knife or dangerous thing; and (12) personally forced her to have sexual relations. Responses to each CTS items were collapsed into six levels: 0=never, 1=once or twice a year, 2=once or twice in half a year, 3=once or twice a month, 4=once or twice a week, and 5= almost every day. The summated scale had a range from 0 (never happened any) to 60 (happened each almost every day). Table VI-5 below shows the measures of women's battered experience.

Demographic measures

The nature of the subjects was investigated through the followings demographic variables such as (1) age, (2) education level, (3) marital situation, (4) length of a married life, (5) number of children, (6) women`s and husband`s job, (7) offense patterns, (8) number of arrest, (9) length of incarceration, and (10) offense motivations.

(1) **Age** was coded as the real age in years.

(2) **Education level** was measured with six major categories ranging from no formal education to university graduation or above.

(3) **Marital situation** consisted of five categories such as living together without marriage, legally married and living together, living separately from the legal spouse, divorced, and separated by death. This variable aims to determine family structure which is one of economic variables in the present study. The original response categories were regrouped into two categories; a female- headed household and a male-headed household. A female-headed household presents married women with spouse absence in case of

divorces, separation from their husband while a male-headed household presents married women with spouse present in case of living together without marriage or living together with illegal husband.

(4) **Length of a married life** was coded as the real length of a married life in years.

(5) **Number of children** was measured as the real number of children including stepchildren.

(6) **Women's and Husband's job** had five categories: no job, temporary employed, permanently employed, self-employed, and own business with employees.

(7) **Offense patterns** was measured by asking the types of offense.

(8) **Length of incarceration** was coded as the real length of incarceration for the present offense.

(9) **Offense motivations** was measured by asking the real motivation of their offense.

In Table VI-3 below on summary of demographic variables, in Table VI-4 below on summary of women's economic situation variables, and in Table VI-5 below on summary of Wife Battering Variables are presented

Table VI-3. Summary of Demographic Measures

Items	Measures
Age	real age in years
Education Level	no formal education to university graduation or above
Marital Status	1=living together without marriage, 2=legally married and living together, 3=living separately from the legal spouse, 4=divorced, and 5=separated by death
Length of a Marriage Life	real length of a marriage life in years
Number of Children	real number of children including stepchildren
Women's and husband's job	no job, temporary employed, permanently employed, self-employed, own business
Offense Patterns	types of offense
Offense motivations	desire for more money, for supporting family, financial gain for excitement, incident or curiosity, jealousy or revenge, influence of alcohol or drug, and others
Length of incarceration	real length of incarceration for the present offense

Table VI-4. Summary of Economic Situation Measures

	Items	Measures
Income Level (0 to 8)	1.amount of monthly income	0= no income to 8=over 300man Won
Women's Economic Burden of Supporting Family (summated 8 point scale ranging from 0 to 8)	1.main provider of family spending	0=husband, 1=wife and husband, 2= wife
	2. the number of dependent family	0=0, 1=1, 2=2, 3= 3, 4=4, 5=5, 6=more than 5 (when a woman provide family along with her husband, the score divided by 2)
Women's Contribution to Supporting Family Resource (5 point scale)	% of family's spending came from wife's earning	0=0%, 1=1-20%, 2=21-40%, 3=41-60%, 4=61-80%, 5=81-100%
Women's Support Network (summated 4 point scale ranging from 0 to 4)	1.financial support	0=never,1=sometimes, 2=often
	2.emotional support	0=never,1=sometimes,2=often
Extent of Economic Problems (summated 9 point scale ranging from 0 to 9)	1=housing situation	0=own home, 1=rental by yearly, 2=rental by monthly, 3=live in relative's house or social facility
	2=self-evaluated economic status	0=wealthy, 1=somewhat wealthy, 2=moderate, 3=poor
	3= the extent of economic problem	0=no extent at all, 1=to small extent, 2=to some extent, 3=to a great extent
Family Structure		1=female headed household, 2=male headed household

Table VI-5. Summary of Wife Battering Measures (CTS)

	Items	Measures
The Extent of Wife Battering (summated 60 point scales ranging from 0 to 60)	threaten to hit or throw something	0=never
	threw or smashed or hit or kicked something	1=once or twice a year
	threw something at her	2=once or twice in half a year
	pushed, grabbed, or shoved her	3=once or twice a month
	slapped her	
	kicked, bit, or hit her with fist	4=once or twice a week
	hit or tried to hit her with something	
	beat her up	5=almost every day
	choked her	
	threatened her with knife or dangerous thing	
	used knife or dangerous thing	
	forced sexual relations	

(4) Limitations of the Reliability and Validity of the Present Study

Before discussing the results of the statistical tests, this study must be mentioned methodological limitations. There are reliability and validity concerns.

With respect to reliability problem, some incarcerated women may forget their economic situations and the battering experience prior to incarceration. In other words, use of self-reports reduce reliability caused by memory errors. Indeed, offense related items and battered experience items are sensitive questions, therefore, the respondents may hesitate to answer these questions or they might choose the response which was different from their actual situations.

Three types of validity threats are:

First, limited numbers of subjects (110 criminal women and 65 non-criminal women) causes problems in statistical conclusion validity. Specially, 65 non-criminal women may not enough to represent to lower socioeconomic class married women in south Korea.

Second, this study can only generalize to non-serious property female offenders. A majority of the criminal subjects are property offenders (84.7%) while the percent of serious violent offenders (aggravated Assault) is very small (2%) (See page 36, Table VI-1). Furthermore, this study can only generalize married female offenders, because single female offenders were not included in the sample. Therefore, external validity of this study is limited.

Finally, the present study may have several internal validity problems related to the micro- model of analysis. First, the present study focuses on the individual measures of married women's crime using self- report data. Because of them, this study ignores other effects on married women's crime such as cultural and historical values, the recent economic recession in south Korea, age, and community size. The second internal

validity problem relates to the theoretical approach of the study. This study focuses on the women's economic situations as causes of married women's crime in south Korea. Thus, the present study ignores other potential causes of married women's crime other than women's poor economic situation factors. The economic approach ignores the individual factors such as individual personality, psychological aspects, and so on. This is an oversimplification of a very complex problem in that the theory does not explain why some women commit crime but others do not commit crime, even though they are in similar economic situations. In detail, to some extent, some female inmates' personal characteristics in terms of laziness, low self-control, and impulsivity may affect their criminal activities. In short, with respect to interval validity deficiencies, this study need to be combined with official measures of macro-model analysis of married women's crime and other individual measures of women's crime in addition to economic variables.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS

The emphasis of this chapter is the statistical analyses of the data described in the preceding Chapter and the statistical tests of the hypotheses stated in Chapter V concerning the effects of women's economic situations on married women's crime and controlling effect of spouse abuse on the relationship between women's economic situations and married women's crime.

(1) The demographic features of the subjects

To understand the nature of the subjects, the following demographic variables were described. The findings of these variables will be mentioned again, if these variables are helpful to explain the results of the hypotheses of the present study. Tables VII-1, VII-2, VII-3, VII-4, VII-5, VII-6, and VII-7 below show the comparison between the two groups in the demographic variables of this study, and Table VII-8 below shows offense motivations in the criminal women subjects.

Table VII-1. Length of a Married Life, and Number of Children

Item	Criminal Women			Non-Criminal Women			Sample Total		
	mean	st.d	cases	mean	st.d	cases	mean	st.d	cases
Length of a married life	15.94	9.12	106	16.31	10.40	64	16.08	9.60	170
Number of children	1.90	0.92	107	2.1	1.3	62	1.9	1.1	169

Table VII-1 above shows that there are no significant differences between the criminal women and the non-criminal women in their length of marriage and number of children. The mean of length of marriage (16.08) relates to the mean of ages of the subjects (40.8).

Table VII-2. Frequency Distribution of Marital Situations

	Criminal Women		Non-Criminal Women		Sample Total	
	cases	%	cases	%	cases	%
Living Together Without Marriage	7	6.4	20	30.8	27	15.4
Living Together with Legal Husband	58	52.7	32	49.2	90	51.4
Living Separated from Legal Husband	17	15.5	2	3.1	19	10.9
Divorced	24	21.8	4	6.2	28	16.0
Separated by Death	4	3.6	7	10.8	11	6.3
Total	110	100	65	100	175	100

Table VII-3. Family Structure

	Criminal Women Subject		Non-Criminal Women Subjects		Sample Total	
	cases	%	cases	%	cases	%
Female Headed Household	46	41.8	13	20.0	59	33.7
Male Headed Household	64	59.2	52	80.0	116	66.3
Total	110	100	65	100	175	100

Table VII-2 above on marital situations shows that the divorce and separation rate for the criminal women subjects are higher than those of the non-criminal women subjects. The data indicate that the criminal women subjects are in unstable marital situations rather than the non-criminal women subjects. The five categories of marital situations reported in Table VII-2 were regrouped into two categories; female-headed household and male-headed household as shown in Table VII-3 above. The subjects with spouses absence are female-headed households while the subjects with spouses present are male-headed households in Table VII-3 above. As shown Table VII-3, a proportion of female-headed households for criminal women (41.8%) is higher than those of non-criminal women (20%).

Table VII-4 below present a primary information on the subjects' family environment. The criminal women subjects reside in more unstable family environment than the non-criminal women subjects. For example, the percent of the criminal women with husband absent and lived with children is 22.7 % compared to those of the non-criminal women of 9.2%. While, the percent of criminal women lived with husband and their children which is a typical family model in south Korea is only 29.1% compared to those of the non-criminal women subjects of 55.4%.

Table VII-4. Persons who Lived With the Subjects

	Criminal Women		Non-Criminal Women		Sample Total	
	cases (#)	%	cases (#)	%	cases (#)	%
(1) Husband	16	14.5	2	3.1	18	10.3
(2) Children	25	22.7	6	9.2	31	17.7
(3) Women's family	7	6.4	1	1.5	8	4.6
(4)Husband's family	0	0	1	1.5	1	0.6
(5)Friend or relative	1	0.9	0	0	1	0.6
(6)Lived alone	15	13.6	6	9.2	21	12.4
(7)= (1)+(2)	32	29.1	36	55.4	68	38.9
(8)=(7)+(3), (7)+(4)	10	9.1	11	16.9	21	12.0
Not reported	4	3.6	2	3.1	6	3.4
Total	110	100	65	100	175	100

The purpose of Table VII-5 below is to show whether women have the economic burden of supporting their children, when women are divorced or separated from their husbands. Table VII-5 shows that a high proportion of women with spouses absence became the main providers of their children in both of the two groups. However, the data indicate that the percent of single parents for criminal women (52.6%) is higher than those of non-criminal women (46.1%). Therefore, criminal women have higher economic burden of supporting their children than non-criminal women.

Table VII-5. Persons Who Lived with Women with Spouse Absent

	Criminal Women		Non-Criminal Women	
	cases	%	cases	%
Children	23	52.2	6	46.1
Women's Family	5	11.3	1	7.1
Spouse's Family	0	0	1	7.1
Friend or Relative	1	0.2	0	0
Lived alone	15	34.1	5	38.5
Total	44	100	13	100

Table VII-6. Women's Jobs

	Criminal Women		Non-criminal Women		Sample Total	
	cases	%	cases	%	cases	%
No job	40	36.4	19	29.2	59	33.7
Temporary Employed	3	2.7	7	10.8	10	5.7
Permanently Employed	15	13.6	30	46.2	45	25.7
Self-employed	32	29.1	5	7.7	37	21.1
Own Business with Employees	6	5.5	0	0	6	3.4
Not-reported	14	12.7	4	6.2	18	10.3
Total	110	100	65	100	175	100

Table VII-6 above shows that criminal women are less likely employed. Indeed, a majority of criminal women are merchants (self-employed)[14] which lacks job security. Therefore, the higher proportion of the criminal women subjects have no jobs or insecure jobs.

Table VII-7. Husbands' Jobs

	Criminal Women		Non-Criminal Women		Sample Total	
	cases	%	cases	%	cases	%
No job	4	3.6	3	4.6	7	4.0
Temporary Employed	2	1.8	2	3.1	4	2.3
Permanently Employed	22	2..0	23	35.4	45	25.7
Self-employed	34	30.9	8	12.3	42	24.0
Own Business with Employees	9	8.2	2	3.1	11	6.3
Not reported	39	35.5	27	41.6	66	37.8
Total	110	100	65	100	175	100

The comparison between the two groups in their husbands' job reported in Table VII-7 above shows that the husbands of the criminal women subjects have less stable jobs, because a majority of them are self-employed merchants while a majority of the husbands of the non-criminal women subjects are permanently employed who usually have job security.

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[14] In south Korea, even though self-employed merchants have higher income, mostly they do not have job security, because their business are easily influenced by the market conditions or business fluctuation.

Table VII-8. Motivations of Offense

	cases	%
Desire for more money	16	14.5
Financial gain for supporting family	31	28.2
For financial gain for excitement	0	0
Incident or curiosity	2	1.8
Jealousy or revenge	1	0.9
Influenced by other person	7	6.4
Influence of alcohol or drug	3	2.7
Others	38	34.5
Not reported	12	10.9
Total	110	100

Table VII-8 above presents offense motivations of the criminal women subjects. As shown Table VII-8, a majority (42.7%) of the criminal women committed crime aimed at financial gain. Specifically, 28.2 % of the criminal women committed crime to support their family. Thus, it is assumed that women committed crime in insecure financial situations.

(2) Summary of Women's Economic Situation Measures

Table VII-9 below shows the result of economic situation items. As mentioned above, there are six economic situation variables as the hypothesized independent

variables; monthly income in terms of absolute poverty, women's contribution to family financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting their family, women's support network, self-evaluated economic problems in terms of relative poverty and self-perceived poverty, and family structure. The variable of family structure was presented in Table VII-3 above (see page 49).

Table VII-9. Summary of Economic Variables

Items	Criminal Women		Non-Criminal Women		Sample Total	
	mean	st.d	mean	st.d	mean	st.d
Monthly Income (ranged 0-9)	6.0	1.72	5.07	1.81	5.65	1.80
Main Provider of Family Resources (ranged 0-2)	1.13	0.76	0.75	0.79	0.99	0.79
Number of Dependents (ranged 0-6)	1.78	1.07	1.20	1.03	1.56	1.09
Women's Financial Contribution (% of family's spending came from women's earning ranged 0-10)	5.05	3.34	3.81	3.50	4.59	3.44
Financial Support (ranged 0-2)	0.42	0.56	0.45	0.59	0.43	0.57
Emotional Support (ranged 0-2)	0.93	0.79	0.70	0.69	0.84	0.76
Housing Situation (ranged 0-3)	1.00	1.04	0.69	0.86	0.88	0.98
Self-Evaluated Economic Status (ranged 0-3)	2.07	0.76	2.23	0.66	2.13	0.67
Extent of Economic Problems (ranged 0-3)	1.49	.95	1.21	0.87	1.34	0.92

Thus, Table VII-9 above presents women's economic situation variables except family structure. These data will be discussed with testing the hypotheses of the present study. The relationships, and if related, and the strength of the association between each economic situation variables and married women's crime will be tested later.

(3) Summary of Wife Battering Measures

Table VII-10 below shows the comparison between the criminal women subjects and non-criminal women subjects in each items of wife battering measures. The hypothesized original relationships between each economic variables and married women's crime will be controlled by wife battering in order to examine whether battered situations increase married women's crime.

Table VII-10. Summary of Extent of Wife Battering

Item (each items ranged score 0-5)	Criminal Women		Non-Criminal Women		Sample Total	
	mean	st.d	mean	st.d	mean	st.d
Threatened to hit	0.93	1.31	0.70	1.04	0.85	1.22
Threw, smash, or hit something	0.88	1.38	0.69	1.04	0.81	1.27
Threw something at her	0.84	1.31	0.58	1.05	0.75	1.22
Pushed, grabbed, or shoved her	0.76	1.33	0.57	1.07	0.69	1.25
Slapped her	0.57	1.04	0.50	1.03	0.54	1.03
Kicked, bit, or hit with fist	0.58	1.15	0.50	0.99	0.55	1.09
Hit, tried to hit with something	0.69	1.24	0.47	0.87	0.62	1.13
Beat her up	0.52	1.19	0.21	0.66	0.41	1.04
Choked her	0.25	0.75	0.15	0.50	0.21	0.67
Threatened with knife	0.28	0.84	0.06	0.32	0.20	0.71
Used knife	0.30	0.85	0.23	0.87	0.27	0.85
Forced sexual relations	0.51	1.04	0.49	1.14	0.50	1.08
Total	6.35	10.68	4.93	9.11	5.86	10.15

(4) The Major Empirical Finding

Major Hypothesis : There is a relationship between married women's economic situations and married women's crime.

Before examining each hypothesis on the relationships between each economic situation variables and married women's crime, correlation coefficients using bivariate correlation reported in Table VII-11 below and logistic regressions reported in Table VII-12 below were conducted.

In order to determine if each economic variables are related to married women's crime, depending on the level of measurement for each economic variables, t-tests or crosstabulations along with logistic regression reported in Table VII-12 below were conducted.

The correlation coefficients reported in Table VII-11 below provides a preliminary exploration of the effects of women's economic situations on married women's crime. As shown Table VII-11, the effects of some of the bivariate correlation (Pearson's r) of economic situation variables on married women's crime are negligible, but some are not. Correlation between committing crime and the variables of economic problems and support network were not significant. On the other hand, correlation between committing crime and family's monthly income, women's contribution to family's financial resources, women's economic burden, and family structure variables are significant ($p< .05$). Even though these four variables are significantly related to the crime variable, the strength of the relationships are weak using Person's r of the four variables were less than 0.5.

Table VII- 11. Correlation Coefficient Between Women's Economic Variables and
Crime Variable (N=175: Two-Tailed Significance Tests in Parentheses)

	Income	Financial Contribution	Econo-Burden	Econo-Problems-	Support Network	Family-Structure	Crime
Monthly Income	1.000 (.)	.007 (.920)	-.006 (.937)	-.478 (.000)*	.157 (.043)*	.101 (.185)	.267 (.000)*
Financial Contribution	.007 (.920)	1.000 (.)	.746 (.000)*	.130 (.089)	-.091 (.243)	-.293 (.000)*	.169 (.027)*
Women's Economic Burden	-.000 (.997)	.731 (.000)*	1.000 (.)	.151 (.047)*	-.185 (.017)*	-.405 (.000)*	.247 (.001)*
Econo-Problems	-.432 (.000)*	.147 (.055)	.151 (.047)*	1.000 (.)	-.375 (.000)*	-.261 (.000)*	.084 (.266)
Support-Network	.138 (.075)	-.088 (.262)	-.185 (.017)*	-.375 (.000)*	1.000 (.000)*	.121 (.120)	.054 (.487)
Family Structure	.142 (.062)	-.327 (.000)*	-.405 (.000)*	-.261 (.000)*	.121 (.120)	1.000 (.)	-.233 (.003)*
Committing Crime	.267 (.000)*	.174 (.023)*	.247 (.001)*	.084 (.266)	.054 (.487)	-.233 (.003)*	1.000 (.)

* $p < .05$ (Two-Tailed Test)

Regression coefficients reported in Table VII-12 below is the outcome of a equation where the crime variable is the dependent variable and the economic situation variables are the independent variables. Since the dependent variable of crime variable is a dichotomous variable coded 0 for non-criminal women and 1 for criminal women, the coefficients for them were obtained from logistic regression.

Table VII-12. Regression Coefficients for the Effects of Economic Situation Variables on Crime (N=175; Two-Tailed Significance Tests in Parentheses)

	B	df	Sig	R
Family's Monthly Income	.5596	1	(. 0006)*	.2053
Women's Financial Contribution	.2036	1	(. 0283)*	.1167
Women's Economic Burden	.3051	1	(. 0015)*	.1888
Women's Support Network	.1016	1	(. 4847)	.0000
Economic Problems	.0912	1	(. 2652)	.0000
Family Structure	- 1.056	1	(. 0039)*	- .1659

* p < .05 (Two-Tailed Test)

As shown Table VII-12, regression analyses revealed that family's monthly income, women's contribution to family's financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and family structure are statistically related to married women's crime. This data will be discussed again, when each hypothesis is examined.

As shown Table VII-12, regression analyses also indicated that women's economic burden of supporting family and family's monthly income contributed more unique variance to married women's crime than women's economic contribution to family resources and family structure (R for women's economic burden= .1888, R for family's monthly income= .2322, R for family structure= -. 1659, and R for women's financial contribution= .1167). Again, family's monthly income accounted for 23% unique variance and women's economic burden accounted for approximately 18% unique variance. Whereas family structure accounted for 16% unique variance to married

women's crime and women's economic contribution accounted for 11% unique variance to married women's crime. Therefore, the R values of the logistic regressions show that monthly income appears to have had the greatest influence on married women's crime (See Table VII-12 above).

Sub-Hypothesis One: <u>Criminal married women are more likely than non-criminal married women to have lower monthly income</u> (negative relationship).

The rational for this hypothesis stems from the theoretical model that criminal women may commit crime due to poverty (Messerschmidt, 1987; Box, 1983; Carlen, 1988). Usually, income plays an important role in determining whether a household is poor which is under a specific poverty line in terms of income (Hagenaars and De Vos, 1991:212-213). Thus, in order to examine the effect of poverty on committing crime, monthly income was used as a independent variable.

As shown Table VII-12 above, regression coefficient for monthly income (.0001) indicates that family's monthly income significantly relates to married women's crime (p< .05). Further, the R value of .2322 indicates that the strength of the relationship between income level and married women's crime is somewhat weak.

However, unexpected direction of R (.2322) indicates that criminal women are more likely than non-criminal women to have higher income. Thus, the result of the statistical analysis does not support the original hypothesis that criminal women are less likely to have higher income than non-criminal women.

In order to examine the relationship between family's monthly income and married women's crime crosstabulation using chi square was also conducted. In Table VII-13 below, family's monthly income is presented in the columns and crime variable is shown in the rows. As shown Table VII-13 below, a chi square of 15.17 (Significance= .0043) is significant at the .05 level. The Gamma is .414 and shows that about 41 % of the variation in married women's crime is explained by the family's monthly income. This represents a moderate relationship between income and married women's crime.

An important thing of the results relating monthly income is unexpected direction of the association between income and married women's crime. The positive value of Gamma shows that criminal women are more likely than non-criminal women to have highly monthly income. The sub-hypothesis one states criminal women are less likely to have higher monthly income than do non-criminal women.

In summation, even though the statistical analyses using both R value at the logistic regression coefficient and chi square at the crosstabulation presents that family's monthly income and married women's crime are statistically related to each other, it does not indicates that women with higher income are more likely than women in lower income to commit crime. Again the statistical results can not claim that as monthly income increased, married women's crime increased. Therefore, the statistical data does not support the hypothesis that criminal married women are less likely than non-criminal married women to have higher monthly income. However, the data revealed that absolute poverty does not cause married women's crime.

Table VII-13. Married Women's Crime and Monthly Income

	No income		1-100 Man Won		101-200 Man Won		201-300 Man Won		Over 300 Man Won		Tot-al
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Criminal	3	2.8	28	25.7	33	30.3	24	22.0	21	19.3	109
Non-criminal	2	3.1	29	44.6	25	38.5	5	7.7	4	6.2	65
Total	5	2.9	57	32.8	58	33.3	29	16.7	25	14.4	174

χ^2 = 15.17,   P (.0043) < .05,   Gamma= .414

Sub-Hypothesis Two: Criminal married women are more likely than non-criminal married women to contribute to their family's financial needs.

The rationale for this hypothesis is that south Korean women whose husbands provide enough money for their family are tend to stay at home without earning money than women whose husbands do not provide enough money. Thus, it is assumed that in south Korea, women who contribute to a high proportion of family's financial resources due to insufficient supports or no supports from their husbands may commit crime to solve their financial difficulties, when they have no suitable alternatives to illegal activities.

In order to test this hypothesis, the logistic regression reported in Table VII-12 above (see page 60) and t-test reported in Table VII-14 below were conducted.

As shown Table VII-12 above (see page 60), the logistic regression coefficient (.0283) indicates that women's contribution to their family's financial needs statistically relates to married women's crime (p< .05). However, the relationship is somewhat weak

and positive based on the R (R= .1118), because women's economic contribution can explain approximately 11% unique variance attributed to married women's crime. Thus, as women's economic contribution to their family's financial needs in general increased, married women's crime increased.

In order to examine the relationship between women's contribution to family's financial needs and married women's crime, two-independent t-test was conducted In Table VII-14 below, the t-value of 2.23 (T Significance = .027) is significant at the two tailed t-test. Therefore, the relationship between women's economic contribution to family resources and married women's crime are statistically significant (p< .05). In detail, criminal women are more likely than non-criminal women to financially support their family.

Table VII-14. T-Test for Women's Financial Contribution and Married Women's Crime

	Range of scores	Mean	Number of Cases
Criminal Women	0-5	2.740	108
Non-Criminal Women	0-5	2.127	63

F=1.619   P= .205   t-value=2.23   df=169   Two-Tail Significance= .027

In sum, the result of analyzing the data using multiple logistic regression reported in Table VII-12 above (see page 60) and the two independent two tailed t-test reported in Table VII-14 below present strong support for the hypothesis that the extent of women's contribution to their family's financial needs causes married women's crime. Briefly,

women who support a high proportion of family's financial resources are more likely to commit crime than women who support a low proportion of family's financial resources.

Sub-Hypothesis Three: <u>Criminal married women are more likely than non-criminal married women to have economic burden of supporting their family.</u>

The rationale for this hypothesis is when women have higher economic burden of supporting their family because they are main providers for the family and have many dependent family, they may be engage in illegal activities to make money as alternatives to employment which are limited for married women in Korea.

In order to test this hypothesis, the logistic regression reported in Table VII-12 above and t-test reported in Table VII-15 below were conducted.

As shown Table VII-12 above (see page 60) of the logistic regression equation (p< .05) indicates that the economic burden facing married women to support family significantly relates to married women's crime. However, the relationship is somewhat weak based on the R value (R= .1888), because R value of - .1888 explains only 19 percent of the variation observed. Again, the variable of women's economic burden of supporting their family can explain approximately 19% unique variance to married women's crime. Therefore, the logistic regression for the effect of women's economic burden of supporting their family on women's criminal activities revealed that women's economic burden of supporting their family and married women's crime are significantly related to each other. However, the strength of the association is weak and the direction is

positive. Thus, as women's economic burden of supporting their family for a cause of committing crime increased, married women's crime increased.

Two-independents t-test was also conducted to test the relationship between women's economic burden of supporting their family and married women's crime. In Table VII-15 below, the t-value of 3.34 (T Significance= .001) is statistically significant beyond .05 level. Criminal are more likely than non-criminal women to have economic burden of supporting their family, because the mean of criminal women (2.922) is higher than those of non-criminal women (2.039) reported in Table VII-15.

In sum, the result of statistical analyses using logistic regression and t-test, on the effect of women's economic burden of supporting their family on married women's crime, provided strong supports for the hypothesis that criminal women are more likely than non-criminal women to have the economic burden of supporting their family. In detail, women who are main providers for family's resources and have many dependent family are more likely to commit crime than women who are not main providers for family's resources or small number of dependents.

Table VII-15. T-Test for Women's Economic Burden and Married Women's Crime

	Range of scores	Mean	Number of cases
Criminal Women	0 - 8	2.922	109
Non-Criminal Women	0 - 8	2.039	64

F=3.881   P= .050   t-value=3.34   df=171   Two-Tail Significance= .001

Sub-Hypothesis Four: <u>Criminal women are less likely than non-criminal women</u> <u>to have support network.</u> (negative relationship)

According to Box, the rationale of this hypothesis is that the major factor of the increase in property offenses is due to economic marginalization for women, largely through unemployment and inadequate compensatory levels of welfare benefits (Box, 1983:199). Unlike Britain or U.S., a proportion of single mother households which receive public aids is less than .01 % among total households in 1991 in Korea (Korean Women's Development Institute, 1995: 70, 278). Thus, it is not meaningful to discuss the levels of welfare benefits as a women's support network in Korea. From this reason, instead of welfare benefits, financial and emotional supports outside the home were examined in the present study, in order to test whether women's support networks affect committing crime for married women.

The logistic regression reported in Table VII-12 above (see page 60) and t-test reported in Table VII-16 below were conducted to test this hypothesis.

As shown Table VII-12 above of the logistic regression equation, the Significant for women's support network (.484) indicates that the variable of women's emotional and financial support networks does not statistically relate to married women's crime (p> .05). Also, the R value of .0000 for a equation shown in Table VII-12 indicates that women's support networks is not a contributor to married women's crime.

However, the positive value of B (.1016) is in unexpected direction. The sub-hypothesis four states criminal women are less likely to have support network than non-criminal women. In the observed relationship, however, criminal women have more

support networks than non-criminal women. The finding of the logistic regression for the effect of women's support network on their criminal activities does not support the hypothesis that criminal women are less likely than non-criminal women to have support network.

Table VII-16. T-Test for Women's Support Network and Married Women's Crime

	Range of scores	Mean	SD	Number of Cases
Criminal Women	0 - 4	1.257	1.127	105
Non-Criminal Women	0 - 4	1.131	1.118	61

F= 0.012   P= .951   t-value=0.70   df=164   Two-Tail Significance= .487

In Table VII-16, the t-value of 0.70 (T Significance= .484) is not significant (p> .05). The two-tail significant indicates that the relationship between women's support network and married women's crime are not statistically related to each other. The effect of women's support networks fail to show significant effects on married women's crime.

In summation, the result of statistical analyses shown in Table VII-12 (see page 60) above of the logistic regression and Table VII-16 of two-independents t-test do not provide supports for the hypothesis that the extent of women's support networks relates to married women's crime. However, the direction of the association in the regression coefficient (Table VII-12 above) and mean difference in the t-test (see Table VII-16) present that rather criminal women have higher support networks than non-criminal

women. Briefly, women's support network as a cause of committing crime for married women does not seem to lead to married women's criminal acts.

Sub-Hypothesis Five: Criminal women are more likely than non-criminal women to have economic problems (positive relationship)

The rationale for this hypothesis is that poverty may lead to women's crime to make money. Again, the variable of economic problems composed of relative poverty measured by housing situation and self-perceived poverty measured by self-evaluated economic status and self-evaluated extent of suffering from economic problems (Hagenaars and De Vos, 1987: 212). The present study assumes, when women is having less than others in terms of their own home, or they are feeling they do not have enough to get along, they may engage in illegal activities to make money.

In order to test the hypothesis on the relationship between extent of economic problems and married women's crime, the logistic regression coefficient reported in Table VII-12 above (see page 60) and t-test reported in Table VII-17 below were conducted.

As shown Table VII-12 above of the logistic regression equation, the Significant of .265 indicates that the extent of economic problems facing women does not significantly relates to married women's crime (p> .05). Also, the R value of .0000 for a equation shown in Table VII-12 presents that extent of women's economic problems is not a contributor to married women's crime. Thus, the finding of the logistic regression for the effect of women's economic problems on married women's criminal acts does not

support the hypothesis that criminal women are more likely than non-criminal women to have economic problems.

The result of two-independents t-test shown Table VII-17 below coincide with the finding of the logistic regression for the effect of women's economic problems on married women's crime reported in Table VII-12 above. In Table VII-17, the t-value of 1.12 is not significant (T Significance= .266) with two-tailed test. The two-tail significant indicates that the relationship between women's economic problems and married women's crime are not statistically related to each other. Thus, the effect of women's economic problems fail to show significant effects on married women's crime. However, the comparison between criminal women and non-criminal women in their means shows that criminal women have more economic problems than non-criminal women.

Table VII-17. T-Test for Women's Economic Problems and Married Women's Crime

	Range of Scores	Mean	SD	Number of Cases
Criminal Women	0 -9	4.463	2.021	110
Non-Criminal Women	0 -9	4.123	1.824	65

F= 2.267   P= .134   t-value=1.12   df=173   Two-Tail Significance= .266

In sum, the result of statistical analyses shown in Table VII-12 above of logistic regression coefficient (see page 60) and Table VII-17 of two-independents t-test do not provide supports for the hypothesis that the extent of women's economic problems relates to married women's crime. Briefly, economic problems which was measured with three

items; housing situation, self-evaluated economic status, and extent of suffering from economic problems does not significant affect married women's crime. However, the direction of the association in the regression coefficient using positive value of R (see Table VII-12 above) and higher mean for the criminal women subjects using the t-test (see Table VII-17) present that the criminal women subjects have higher economic problems than the non-criminal women subjects.

Sub-Hypothesis six: <u>Criminal married women are less likely than non-criminal married women to reside in male headed households.</u> (negative relationship).

According to the previous research (Rafter, 1990; Bloom and Steinhart, 1993; Lewis, 1982; Hagan, Gills and Simpson, 1985) the rationale for this hypothesis is that the increasing numbers of female-headed households supporting dependent children or themselves, lead to married women's crime as supplements or alternatives to employment (Bloom et.at, 1995:9). The two situations- the increased burden of household responsibility for married women combined with limited job opportunities for women-are main keys which can lead to married women's crime (Milkman, 1993:300).

In order to test this hypothesis, statistical analyses with a logistic regression reported in Table VII-12 above (see page 60) and crosstabulation using Chi-square shown Table VII-18 below were conducted.

As shown Table VII-12 above, the logistic regression coefficient for family structure (.0039) indicates that family structure significantly relates to married women's crime (p< .05). However, the relationship is somewhat weak based on R (R= - .1659),

because family structure can explain approximately only 16 % unique variance to married women's crime. The negative value of R also indicates that criminal women are less likely than non-criminal women to reside in male-headed households. Thus, women who are in female headed households are more likely than women who are in male-headed households to engage in criminal activities.

Table VII-18. Family Structure and Married Women's Crime

	Female-headed Households		Male-head Households		Total
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N
Criminal Women	46	41.8	64	58.2	110
Non-Criminal Women	13	20.0	52	80.0	65
Total	59	33.7	116	66.3	175

$\chi 2 = 8.70$, Gamma= -.484, p (.0031)< .05

Chi-square value was also used to examine the relationship between family structure and married women's crime reported in Table VII-18. Table VII-18 reveals the relationship between female-headed households and male-headed households in the columns, with criminal or non-criminal in the rows. The findings in Table VII-18 indicates women with female-headed households are more likely than women with male-headed households to commit crime, because Chi-square of 8.70 is statistically significant (Significance= .0031) at the .05 level. A Gamma value of - .483 shows that the strength of the relationship between the two variables are moderate, because the independent

variable of family structure explains about 48 percent of the variation in the dependent variable of married women's crime observed in Table VII-18 above. The negative value of Gamma also indicates that criminal women are less likely than non-criminal women to reside in male-headed households.

In sum, the statistical analyses reported in Table VII-12 above and Table VII-18 above support hypothesis six that criminal women are less likely than non-criminal women to be in male-headed households. The results examined in this study presented that married women with husbands absence are more likely to engage in criminal activities than married women with husbands present. The strength of association between the two variables is weak to moderate using coefficient R (- .1659) and Gamma value (-. 483). In this sense, the statistical result can claim that female headed households increased in general, married women's crime increased.

Sub-Hypothesis Seven: <u>Women who have been serious abused by their partners/ex-partners are more likely than women who have not been serious abused by their partners/ex-partners to commit crime regardless of their economic situations</u>.

The purpose of this hypothesis whether the relationship between women's economic situation variables and married women's crime are affected by wife battering. According to previous research on wife battering, the rational of this hypothesis is that a majority of female offenders expressed their abused experience by their husbands

(Grossman, 1985:5-6; Flowers, 1987: 81; Brett, 1993;26-27). Thus, it is assumed that wife battering may positively relate to married women's crime.

Before examining the intervening effects of wife battering on the relationship between women's economic situations and married women's crime, it is necessary to determine whether there is a difference between criminal women and non-criminal women in the extent of battered experience by their spouses. To accomplish this, two-independent t-test was computed reported in Table VII-19.

The data in Table VII-19 shows that the effect of wife battering on married women's crime is not significant (p> .05). The t-value of .78 is not large enough to support significant difference between criminal women and non-criminal women in their extent of wife battering.

Table VII-19. T-Test for Wife Battering and Married Women's Crime

	Range of scales	Mean	SD	Number of cases
Criminal Women	0-60	6.35	10.68	91
Non-criminal Women	0-60	4.93	9.11	48

F=1.964,   p= .134,   t-value=.78,   two-tail significance= .437,   df=137

However, as shown in Table VII-19 above, the criminal women group has a higher mean score (6.35) than those of non-criminal women group (4.97). From these findings, even though the extent of wife battering is not statistically related to married women's crime, the direction of the relationship tentatively supports that criminal women have more frequently experienced wife battering than non-criminal women.

To test the hypothesis seven that heavily abused women are more likely than lightly abused women to commit crime regardless of women's economic situations, this study computed multiple regression coefficients for the effect of women's economic situation variables on married women's crime controlling for wife battering. Women's economic situation variables were used as the independent variables, married women's crime as a dependent variable, and the extent of wife battering as a control variable. The Regression Coefficients in the Table VII-21 below, are separate regression equation. In Table VII-21, the outcomes of a separated equation both bivariate logistic regressions and partial logistic regressions (controlling for extent of wife battering) are presented.

However, to accomplish, it is necessary to examine whether women's economic situation variables relate to wife battering. Correlation coefficients among economic variables, crime variable, and wife battering variable were examined to discover preliminary information on the correlation among these variables. The results are reported in Table VII-20 below.

As shown Table VII-20, women's contribution to family's financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting family, and family structure are statistically related to wife battering ($p < .05$). At the same time, monthly income, women's support network, and the extent of economic problems have no effects on wife battering.

Table VII-20. Correlation among Economic Situation Variables, Married Women's
Crime and wife battering (N=128; Two-Tailed Significance Tests in Parentheses)

	Fami-ly Inco-me	Finan-cial Contri bution	Eco-nomic Burd-en	Suppor t Networ k	Eco-nomic Proble ms	Fami-ly Structur e	Comm itting Crime	Batt-ered Exper-ience
Family Income	1.000 (.)	.0066 (.941)	.0372 (.674)	.1317 (.135)	-.5003 (.000)	.0481 (.587)	.2201 (.012)	-.0476 (.591)
Financial Contributi on	.0066 (.941)	1.000 (.)	.7685 (.000)	-.0754 (.394)	.1651 (.061)	-.2263 (.010)	.1911 (.029)	.2523 (.004)
Economic Burden	.0372 (.674)	.7685 (.000)	1.000 (.)	-.1583 (.072)	.1134 (.199)	-.3558 (.000)	.2798 (.001)	.2886 (.001)
Support Network	.1317 (.135)	-.0754 (.394)	-.1583 (.072)	1.000 (.)	-.3446 (.000)	.0867 (.327)	.0055 (.951)	-.1187 (.178)
Economic Problem	-.5003 (.000)	.1651 (.061)	.1134 (.199)	-.3446 (.000)	1.000 (.)	-.1692 (.054)	.1136 (.198)	.1296 (.142)
Family Structure	.0481 (.587)	-.2263 (.010)	-.3558 (.000)	.0867 (.327)	-.1692 (.054)	1.000 (.)	-.2782 (.001)	-.3252 (.000)
Married Women's crime	.2201 (.012)	.1911 (.029)	.2798 (.001)	.0055 (.951)	.1136 (.198)	-.2782 (. 001)	1.000 (.)	.0693 (.433)
Battered Experienc e	-.0476 (.591)	.2523 *(.004)	.2886 *(.001)	-.1187 (.178)	.1296 (.142)	-.3252 *(.000)	.0693 (.433)	1.000 (.)

* Two--Tailed Significance < .05 (between economic variables and wife battering)

Table VII-21. Regression Coefficients for the Effects of Economic Situation Variables on Crime (before and after Controlling for Battered Experience N=175; Two- Tailed Significance Tests in Parentheses)

	Income	Economic Contribut-ion	Women's Economic Burden	Support Networks	Econo-mic Problems	Family Structure
before B	.5596	.2036	.3051	.1016	.0912	-1.0560
df	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sig	.0006*	.0283*	.0015*	.4847	.2652	.0039*
R	-.2053	.1167	.1888	.0000	.0000	-.1659
after B	.4917	.2386	.3415	.0657	.0903	-1.7541
df	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sig	.0095*	.0365*	.0030*	.6878	.3656	.0015*
R	-.1628	.1186	.1965	.0000	.0000	-.2125

* two-tailed significance < .05

Bivariate logistic regression and partial logistic regression controlling for battering experience are reported in Table VII-21 above. The results shows that the original relationships between women's economic situation variables and married women's crime did not disappear. No meaningful differences were found before and after the elaboration by wife battering. In detail, regardless of the extent of wife battering, the variables of family income, women's contribution to supporting their family's financial

resources, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and family structure are significantly related to married women's crime. Again, women's support network and the extent of economic problems are not statistically related to married women's crime. In sum, women who have lower income, higher contribution to family's financial resources, higher economic burden of supporting their family, and women with female-headed households are more likely to commit crime than women who have higher income, lower contribution to family's financial resources, higher economic burden of supporting their family, and women with male-headed households.

Even though, the statistical analyses have found no effects of wife battering on the relationships between women's economic situation variables and married women's crime, the strength of associations between each independent variables of women's economic situation variables and the dependent variable of married women's crime were changed before and after controlling for wife battering. In Table VII-21 above, Partial Regression analyses indicates that the effects of monthly income and women's contribution to family's financial resources on married women's crime were decreased after controlling for battered experience. At the same time, the effects of women's economic burden of supporting their family and family structure on married women's crime were increased. Whereas, women's support network and extent of economic problems both before and after controlling for wife battering had no contribution to explain the variance of married women's crime. Therefore, family structure appears to have had the greatest influence on married women's crime. Again, the findings show that family structure is an important

contributor to married women's crime regardless of whether battered experiences are accounted for.

In conclusion, some economic variables such as women's financial contribution to their family, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and family structure are statistically related to wife battering reported in Table VII-20 above (see page 76). However, there is no direct effect of wife battering on married women's crime reported in Table VII-19 above (see page 74). Indeed, as shown Table VII-21 above (see page 77) no meaningful intervening effects of wife battering on the relationship between women's economic situations and married women's crime were found in the present study.

Briefly, the statistical analyses reveals that the effects of women's financial contribution to family's need, women's economic burden of supporting family, and family structure both on married women's crime and on wife battering are significant. However, there is no intervening effects of wife battering on the relationship between women's economic situations and their criminal acts.

(5) Discussions

Summary of the Findings

The previous research on the effects of women's economic situations on female crime presented that women's insecure economic situations are the major causes of female crime (Box, 1983, 1987; Carlen 1989; Milkman, 1993). These perspectives are partly supported, when Women's Economic Marginalization Theory was examined by the present study using data from married women in Korea. From these results, the present

study revealed that women's contribution to family's financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting family, and family structure are significantly related to married women's crime. On the other hand, women's support network, absolute poverty, and relative poverty and self-perceived poverty fail to show significant effects on married women's crime. Especially, this result showed that poverty was not related to married women's crime.

With respect to the intervening effects of wife battering, the statistical tests presented that wife battering did not affect the original causal relationships between women's economic situation variables and married women's crime. Even though some economic variables which had effects on women's criminal activities were significantly related to wife battering, wife battering had no intervening effects.

The Results of Statistical Tests of the Present Study

Figure VII-1 below summarizes the results of empirical tests on the seven hypotheses in the present study. As shown Figure VII-1, the results are something different from the empirical framework of the present study reported in Figure V-1 (see page 30): First, some economic variables relate to married women's crime while some are not. Second, some economic variables which have significant effects on married women's crime are also related to wife battering. Third, there is no intervening effects of wife battering on the original relationships between the economic variables and married women's crime.

Figure VII-1. The Results of Empirical Tests of this Study
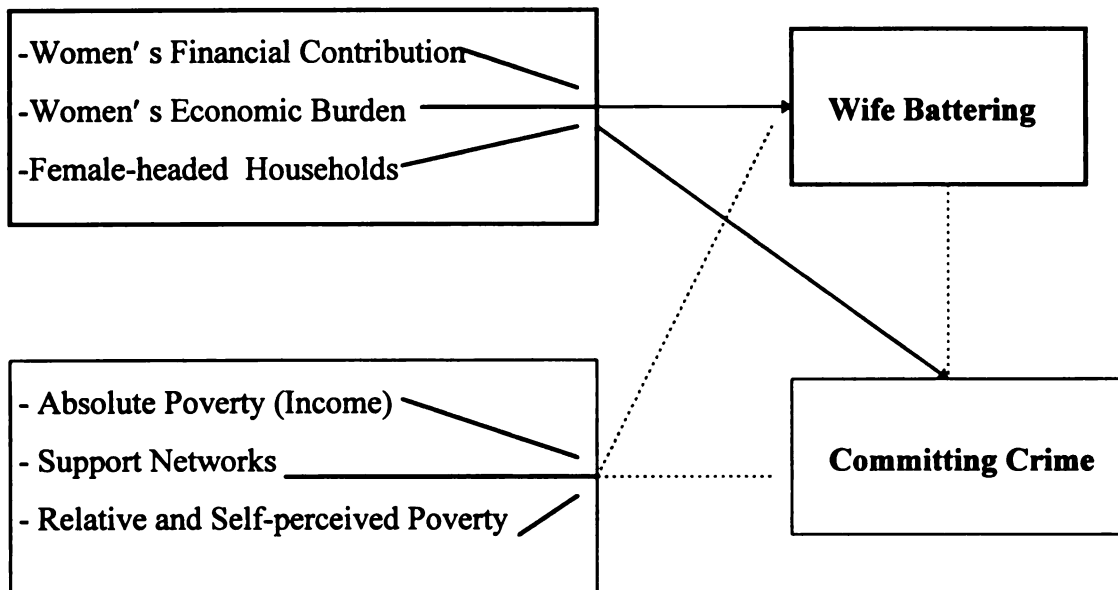
——→ Existence of Causal Relationship (all are significant at or below the .05 level)

·········· Absence of Causal Relationship (all are no meaningful effects)

Discussion (poverty versus the women's burden of household responsibility)

An important finding of the present study is that the effect of women's all forms of poverty (absolute poverty and relative and self-perceived poverty) on married women's crime is not significant. On the other hand, the increased burden of finding household resources among female-headed households is a major cause of married women's crime.

From this point of view, the present study discusses the effect of **poverty** versus **the increased burden of household responsibility** on married women's crime in south

Korea. To accomplish, this study has the two questions: Does married women's poverty have no effect on their committing crime? Why do the women with burden of household responsibility engage in illegal activity and, what are the causes of the increased burden of household responsibility for married women in Korea?

With respect to the first question on the effects of poverty on married women's crime, according to criminologists within economic marginalization perspective argue that the major cause of female crime is poverty (Box, 1883, Carlen, 1988). This perspective was not supported by the results of statistical analyses in the current study.

As shown Table VII-22 below, the percent of monthly income under the minimum standard cost for living in the criminal women (13%) is lower than those of the non-criminal women (27.8 %). According to Korean Research Institute for Health (1994:32), the minimum standard cost for living[15] for a four family member household is 661,627. Thus, in order to know the proportion of the subjects under the poverty line (under the minimum standard cost for living), the subjects' family income are categorized 0 (no income) to 4 (50 Man-70 Man Won) as under the poverty line. This is reported in Table VII-22 below. Table VII-22 shows percent distribution of monthly income under and over the minimum standard cost for living. The data show that more of the non-

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[15] The minimum standard cost for living for a month in Korea reported by Korean Research Institution for Health is 206,402 for one family, 356,030 for two family members, 545,729 for three family members, 661,684 for four family members, and 765,627 for five family members (Korean Research Institution for Health, *The Statistical Annual Report*, 1994:32-33). Many women subjects of the present study have four family members, so minimum standard cost for living for four family members (661,684) was a standard line of poverty in Table VII-10. Since some subject have less than four family members while some other subjects have more than four family members, percent distribution of monthly income under and over the minimum standard cost is not exact reported in Table VII-10. However, these findings can provide primary information on the comparison between criminal women subjects and non-criminal women subjects in their economic situation compared to poverty line.

criminal are under the poverty line (27.8%) than the criminal women subjects (13%) in

the present study.

Table VII-22. Percent Distribution of Monthly Income under and over the Minimum
Standard Cost for Living

	Criminal Women		Non-Criminal Women		Total
	N	%	N	%	%
Under standard cost of living (Total)	15	13.8	18	27.7	18.8
0=no income	3	2	2	3	2.9
1=under 10 man Won	0	0	2	3	1.1
2=10 man- 30 man Won	0	0	2	3	1.1
3=30man - 50 man Won	8	7.3	6	9.2	8.0
4=50man-70 man Won	4	3.5	6	9.2	5.7
Above standard cost of living	94	86.2	47	82.3	81.2
5=70man-100man Won	16	14.6	13	20	16.7
6=100man-200man Won	33	30.3	25	38.5	33.3
7=200man-300man Won	24	22.0	5	7.7	16.7
8= over 300man Won	21	19.2	4	6.1	14.4
Total	109	100	65	100	100

Furthermore, the result of statistical tests of this study (see page 60, Table VII-12

; page 63, Table VII-13; and page 70, Table VII-17) presented that the effects of poverty

in terms of income level and extent of economic problems on married women's crime

were not significant. Therefore, poverty is not a major cause of married women's crime. In other words, women do not commit crime due to their poverty.

With respect to the second question what makes the increased burden of household responsibility for married women in south Korea, cause them to engage in criminal activities. With respect to the increased burden of women's household production, the present study considered the four factors; first, the controlling effects of female-headed households on the relationships between the independent variables of women's economic situations and the dependent variable of married women's crime; second, the increasing rates of divorce in south Korea; third, the increased burden of household responsibility for married women with husband absent; and finally women's economically marginalized status in terms of limited available jobs for women in Korea.

First, the present study has paid attention to the effect of family structure on women's economic situation variables (monthly income, women's contribution to their family financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting family, women's support network, and extent of economic problems). Correlation Coefficients (see page 59, Table VII-11) shows that family structure variable is statistically correlated to other economic situation variables such as women's contribution to family's financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and the extent of economic problems. Therefore, to determine the real effect whether family structure affects the relationships between women's economic situation variables and married women's crime, the partial regression coefficient controlling for family structure was

conducted. Each partial regression coefficient is the outcome of a equation controlling for family structure.

Table VII- 23. Partial Regression Coefficients (Controlling for Family Structure) for the Effects of Economic Situation Variables on Crime (N=175; Two-Tailed Significance Tests)

	B	df	Sig	R
Family's Monthly Income	.3766	1	. 0003*	.2191
Women's Financial Contribution	.1461	1	. 1392	.0288
Women's Economic Burden	.2369	1	. 0219*	.1194
Women's Support Network	.1614	1	. 2853	.0000
Economic Problems	.0326	1	. 7078	.0000

* Two-Tailed Significance < .05

The comparison between the bivariate multiple regression coefficient reported in Table VII-12 above (see page 60) and multivariate partial regression coefficient (controlling for family structure) reported in Table VII-23 reveals that surprisingly, after controlling for family structure, the original relationship between women's contribution to family's financial resources and married women's crime disappear. The elaboration effects of family structure on the variable of women's contribution to family's financial resources indicates that the relationship between women's financial contribution and married women's crime can be explained by family structure. While the relationships between the other independent variables (family's monthly income, women's economic burden of supporting family, women's support network, and extent of economic

problems) and married women's crime are still significant after elaboration. The controlling effect on the relationship between women's contribution to family's financial resources and married women's crime indicates that the original relationship between the variable of women's contribution to family's financial resources and the variable of committing crime originates from family structure. Figure VII-1 diagrams shows the relationship among these three variables.

Figure VII-1. The Relationships among Women's Contribution to Financial Resources, Married Women's Crime, and Family Structure
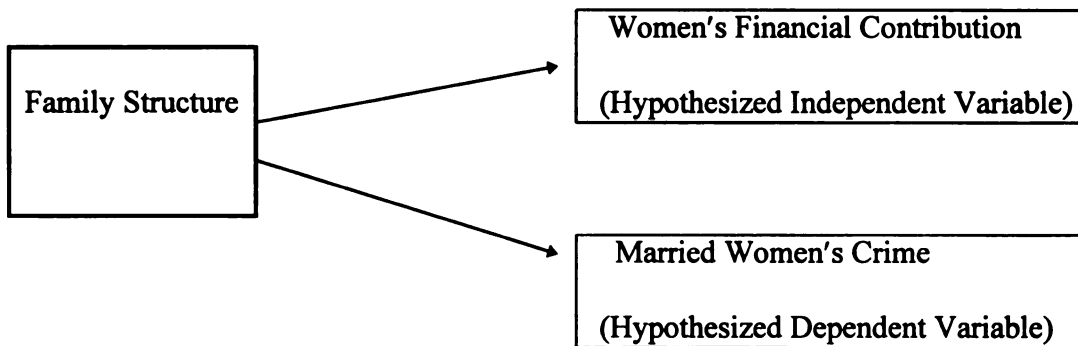
In sum, family structure is correlated to other women's economic variables, especially women's contribution to family's financial needs.

Second, the increasing rate of divorce may be closely related to the increased burden of household responsibility for married women in Korea. The data estimated from aggregate time-series data reported in Table VII-24 below, shows the increasing rates of divorce in Korea for the last decade. Divorce rate of 5.8 % per 100 marriages in 1980 is compared to 15.0% in 1993.

Table VII-24. Divorce Rate in Korea in 1980, 1985, 1990-1993

Year	Divorces (#)	Divorces per 1,000 females (#)	Divorce rate per 100 marriages (%)
1980	23150	0.6	5.8
1985	38609	0.9	10.3
1990	42898	1.0	10.8
1991	44772	1.0	11.2
1992	41511	1.0	12.7
1993	46832	1.1	15.0

Source: Adapted from Korean Women's Development, *Statistical Yearbook on Women in 1995: 67*, *Originally constructed by* National Statistical Office in Korea, *Annual Report on the Vital Statistics* (1989, 1994),

Reflecting the increased divorced rates many criminal women are divorced. As shown Table VII-2 above (see page 49), a proportion of divorce in criminal women (21.8%) is significantly higher than those of non-criminal women (6.2%). Again, the criminal women subjects are more likely to be divorced or separated from their husbands. Therefore, a high proportion of criminal women with husband absent may related to the increasing rates of divorce in Korea. Also, it is assumed that the increasing rate of divorce may lead to women's criminal acts.

Third, a majority of women with husbands absent are the main providers for their children. As shown in Table VII-4 above (see page 51) 52.2% of the criminal women lived with their children compared to 46.1% for the non-criminal women, after they were divorced or separated from their husbands. The data indicated that more criminal women

are main providers for their children than non-criminal women. Furthermore, higher

percent of offense motivation is to gain money for supporting family (28.2%) and desire

for more money (14.5%) reported in Table VII-8 (see page 54) Thus, the increased

burden of household responsibility of finding family's needs combined with the

increasing rates of female-headed households may be closely related to married women's

crime in Korea.

Finally, women in Korea are economically marginalized, and this situation may

relate to married women's crime in Korea. Economic marginalization for women in

Korea in terms of limited job opportunities or low paying jobs for married women may

be major cause of married women's crime along with the increased burden of finding

resources to support household needs.

Table VII-25. Percentage of Labor Force Participation Rates*
                by Marital Status and Sex in 1990-1994

Year	Female		Male	
	married	unmarried	married	unmarried
1990	46.8	45.6	88.2	43.2
1991	47.1	47.9	88.6	45.6
1992	47.0	48.1	88.9	46.3
1993	46.8	49.8	88.8	47.7
1994	47.1	50.5	88.8	49.5

Source: Constructed by National Statistical Office in Korea, *Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey*, 1995, Korean Women's Development Institute, Statistical Yearbook on Women, 1995:131.
* Economically Active Population includes14 years of age.

As shown Table VII-25 above, in case of 1994, married women's labor force

participation rate of 47.1 was lower than their male counterpart for 88.8 %. Also, the

labor force participation rate for married women (47.1%) was lower than those of unmarried women (50.5). Thus, it is more difficult for married women in south Korea to find a job rather than unmarried women and males.

The comparison between the criminal women subjects and non-criminal women subjects in their job status (see page 52, Table VII-6 and page 53, Table VII-7) shows the unstable job status in criminal married women. As shown Table VII-6 above (women's jobs) and Table VII-7 above (husband's jobs), both criminal women and their husbands have no job, or insecure jobs, rather than both non-criminal women and their husbands.

A high proportion of fraud among female offenders in Korea reflect women's economic marginalization. A high proportion of married female fraud offenders who are mostly ages 30s and 40s, suggests there might be a relationship between women's limited job opportunities and married women's crime. Fraud is the most common offense among female offenders, and has rapidly increased among married women ages 30s and 40s. (Korea training Institute for Criminal Justice, 1995: 333-334). In case of fraud, married women's increasing involvement in fraud may be related to limited available job opportunities for these age groups of women. It is very hard for women to become employed, when they have to make money to support their children or themselves mostly due to divorce, separation, or limited supports from their husbands. Thus, illegal activities are attractive to these women to support their family as alternatives to legal employment.

In conclusion, the results of the empirical findings in the present study reveals that women's poverty in terms of absolute poverty and relative and self-perceived poverty is not simply related to married women's crime, the situation is more complex. The major

causes of married women's crime closely relate to the increased burden of household responsibility for married women. This relates to several socioeconomic situations such as the increased divorce rates, the increased women's economic burden of supporting their children, and women's economic marginalization through limited available jobs.

The Final Model to Explain Married Women's Crime in Korea

**Poor Financial Supports
from their Husbands**
(due to divorce, separation, and so on)

Burden of Household Responsibility

- Women's Financial Contribution
  to Family's Needs

- Women's Economic Burden of
  Supporting their Family

- Female-Headed Households

**Economic Marginalization
for Women**

- Limited Available Jobs
- Low   paying Jobs

Married Women's Crime
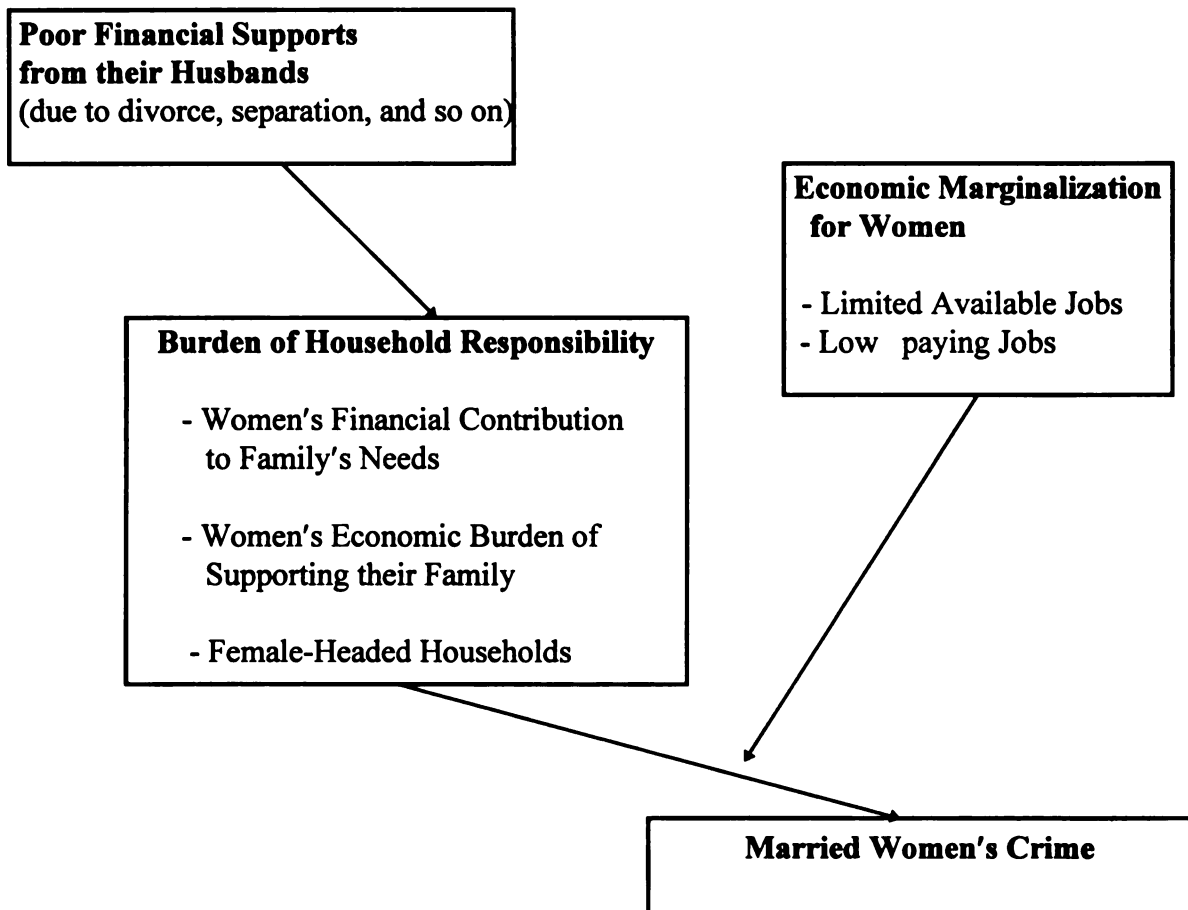
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary of the Empirical Findings and Conclusion

Within the women's economic marginalization perspective on female criminality, the present study analyzed the seven hypotheses of this study. In short, the measures of women's contribution to families financial resources, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and family structure are significant predict married women's crime beyond .05 level. However, the findings support a weak relationship using regression coefficients R (R for women's financial contribution=.1167, R for women's economic burden= .1888, and R for family structure= .2125). In this sense, the results of the present study on the effects of women's economic situations on married women's crime using Korean data are encouraging for Women's Economic Marginalization Theory.

Especially, the previous perspective that the increasing numbers of female-headed households lead women to engage in illegal activities alternative to employment (Barbara et. al., 1995:9) is strongly supported. However, in contrast to a previous study (Box, 1983:195), the results of the present study do not support the effects of women's poverty on married women's crime.

The empirical tests generally substantiated the hypotheses of this study. A summation of these findings follows:

1. Facing poverty does not appear to be a cause of married women's crime.

2. Women who contribute to a high proportion of family's financial needs are more likely to commit crime than women who do not contribute or minimally contribute to family's financial needs.

3. The hypothesis of this study on the effects of women's economic burden of supporting their family on married women's crime is supported. Specifically, women who are the main providers with many dependent family members have a greater economic burden and are more likely to commit crime.

4. There are no significant differences between criminal women and non-criminal women in their financial and emotional support networks, and extent of economic problems in terms of relative and self-perceived poverty.

5.Female-headed households appear to have had its greatest influence on married women's crime. It is closely correlated to other women's economic situation variables. Furthermore, the variable of female headed households is an important contributor to married women's crime regardless of whether battered experiences are accounted for.

6.The intervening effects of battered situations on married women's crime is not significant. However, the statistical data reveals two important things: first, women's economic situations especially, women's contribution to their family's financial needs, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and female-headed households are

significantly related to wife battering; second, criminal women seem to be more abused by their spouses than non-criminal women.

In conclusion, the major causes of married women's crime in Korea is not due to women's poverty, but due to the increased burden of household responsibility to support their family. This situation is combined with the limited available jobs for women. Therefore, the present study suggests that the causes of married women's crime in Korea is closely related to women's economic marginalization in terms of limited job opportunities or low paying jobs for women .

Limitations of the Present Study and Suggestions for Future Research

There are several methodological limitations in this research. The following suggestions appear to be helpful for future study to provide more complete understand of the women's economic marginalization perspective on female crime.

First, the measures of individual women's economic situations of the present study seem to require some modification. For example, women's contribution to family's financial needs, women's economic burden of supporting their family, and family structure are correlated to each other. Especially, the controlling effect of family structure on the relationship between women's financial contribution to family resources on married women's crime was significant. Therefore, it is necessary for future examinations to clarify the conceptual definition of the variables relating to women's burden of household responsibility.

Second, the theoretical perspective of Women's Economic Marginalization Theory on female criminality raises a question on personality characteristics for criminal women which may be related to their criminal activities. Many non-criminal women subjects of the present study especially, factory laborers manage their lives without illegal activities in spite of their low paying jobs with poor working conditions. At the same time, criminal women turn to illegal activities, when they have experienced limited employment availability or low paying jobs. Thus, the need for further consideration on personality characteristics variables may be necessary.

Third, the micro-measures of women's economic situations of this study that focused on individual experiences ignored the macro-measures of economic variables. Individual women's economic situations are basically influenced by broad economic situations in the society such as an economic recession and welfare benefits (Box, 1987:68-69). Thus, it is suggested that the effect of macro-measures of women's economic situations on women's crime should be considered in the future study. Briefly, the micro-measures of married women's crime using self-report data of this study need to be combined with official measures of macro-model analysis of married women's crime.

Finally, because of the limitation of this study focused on married women's crime, it is critical that future studies should include unmarried women subjects or male subjects along with married women to examine the hypotheses of the present study.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

* only for criminal sample

(1) Background Information

Please read the questions and answer to the best of your ability. Please write down or circle your responses.

1. What is your age?   (   )

2. What is your religion?

    1. no religion   2. Buddhism

    3. Christianity   4. Catholic

    5. Muslim   6. others

3. What is your education level?

    1. no formal education   2. elementary school or less

    3. middle school or less   4. high school or less

    5. technical college completion or less

    6. university or above

4. What was your marital status before your incarceration?

    1. living together   2. legally married and living together

    3. living separately from your legal spouse

    4. divorce   5. separated by death

5. How long have you been married ?   (   ) years   (   ) months

6. How many children do you have?   (   )

7. How many children do you have aged under 8 ?   (   )

8. Who did you live with before your incarceration? Please circle all of your responses.

    1. husband   2. children

    3. your husband or your family member(s)

    4. friend(s)   5. lived alone

    6. other

9. Who will look after your children after your release?

    1. you and your husband   2. you or your family

    3. husband or husband's family   4. relatives

    5. social facilities   6. do not know

(2) Economic Situation

> The following questions ask about your economic situation. Please select the closest to your situation, and circle the number.

10. What is your husband's job?

    0. no job   _____

    1. temporary employed   _____

    2. permanently employed   _____

    3. self-employed   _____

    4. own business with more

than one person outside the family   —————————

11. What was your job before your incarceration?

    0. no job   —————————

    1. temporary employed   —————————

    2. permanently employed   —————————

    3. self-employed   —————————

    4. own business with more

    than one person outside the family   —————————

12. What was the monthly average income of your family before your incarceration?

0. 0	1. less than 10 man Won
2.10 man - 30 man Won	3.30 man - 50 man Won
4.50 man - 70 man won	5. 70 man - 100 man won
6. 100 man- 200 man	7. 200 -300 man won
8. more than 300 man won	

13. Did you provide for your family`s resources, before your incarceration?

    0. I did not provide at all.

    1. I was in charge of part of them along with my husband.

    2. I was totally in charge of them.

14. If you answer on 2 or 3 above question, how many dependents did you have including you?   (   )

15. If you had earned money before incarceration, what percent of your family`s spending came from your earning?   (   ) %

16. Where did the money come from for your family's spending?

1. husband's income

2. husband's and your income

3. your income

4. supported from your family or husband's family, friends, or neighbors

5. supported from social welfare system or religious group

17. When you had financial problems, and your husband could not help you, did someone else help you?

0. never   1. sometimes

2. often   9. I did not want that kind of help.

18. When you were serious ill, and your husband was not available, did someone else help you?

0. never   1. sometimes

2. often   9. I did not want that kind of help.

19. What was your housing situation before your incarceration?

0. lived in your family's house   1. rental by yearly

2. rental by monthly

3. relative's house, friend's house, or social facility

20. How do you evaluate the economic status of your family before your incarceration?

0. wealthy   1. somewhat wealthy

2. moderate   3. poor

21. To what extent did your family suffer from economic problems?

0. to no extent at all   1. to a small extent

2. to a some extent   3. to a great extent

22. If you had experienced to fail to take a job, what the reason was?

1. my poor job skill, or incompetence

2. limited job opportunities for married women

3. poor working condition or low payment

4. there was no way to take care of my children (lack of day care facilities for my young kids).

5. husband's oppression

6. others

24. If yes on question 25, what kind of job do you think you will have?

1. no occupation   2. housekeeper

3. employee in the company 4. service women

5. merchant   6. do not know

7. others

(3) Questions on Offense (only for incarcerated women sample)

Following questions are related to your incarceration. Please write or circle your responses.

*24. Incarcerated for what type of offense?   (   )

*25. Have you been arrested before?

    1. yes   2. no

 *25-1. If yes, how many times (not including this case)?   (   )

*26. How long have you been incarcerated? (   ) years   (   ) months

*27. What was the motivation of your offense?

    1. desire for more money

    2. financial gain for family need

    3. for financial gain for excitement

    4. incident or curiosity

    5. jealousy, revenge

    6. influenced by others

    7. under influence of alcohol or drugs

    8. others

*28. Who was your victim of offense?

    1. family member   2.relative

    3. neighbor or friend   4. job related person

    5. unacquainted person   6. no human victim

    7. do not know   8. others

(5) The Extent of Spouse Abuse

> I am going to ask some things that you and your husband might do when you had an argument in the last 12 months before your incarceration. Did your husband do any of these ?

29. He threatened to hit or throw something at you.

    1. almost every day   2. once or twice a week   3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7. can not remember

30. He threw or smashed or hit or kicked something.

    1. almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

31. He threw something at you.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

32. He pushed, grabbed, or shoved you.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

33. He slapped you.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

34. He kicked, bit, or hit you with fist.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

35. He hit or tried to hit you with something.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

36. He beat you up.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

37. He choked you.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

38. He threatened you with a knife or dangerous thing.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

39. He used a knife or dangerous thing.

    1.almost every day 2.once or twice a week 3. once or twice a month

    4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

40. He personally forced you to have sexual relations after conflict with you.

     1.almost every day   2.once or twice a week   3. once or twice a month

     4. once or twice in half a year 5.once or twice a year 6. never 7 can not remember

APPENDIX B

제1부 기초사항

다음 사항들을 읽으신 후, 문항에 따라 간단히 적거나 보기에서 골라 적절한 번호에 `O`표 하여 주십시요.

1. 당신의 나이는 만으로 몇 살입니까? (   )세

2. 당신의 종교는 무엇입니까?

  1. 없음   2. 불교   3. 기독교   4. 천주교   5. 회교   6. 기타

3. 당신은 학교를 어디까지 다녔습니까?

  1. 정규교육을 받지 않았음
  2. 국민학교 졸업 또는 중퇴
  3. 중학교 졸업 또는 중퇴
  4. 고등학교 졸업 또는 중퇴
  5. 전문학교 졸업 또는 중퇴
  6. 대학교 재학 또는 그 이상

4. 입소 전 당신의 결혼 상태는 어떠했습니까?

  1. 동거   2. 결혼하여 남편과 함께 살고 있었음
  3. 별거   4. 이혼   5. 사별

5. 현재 당신은 결혼한 지 얼마나 되었습니까? (   )년 (   )개월

6. 만약 아이가 있다면, 몇 명이나 됩니까? (   ) 명

7. 당신 아이들 모두의 나이를 적어 주십시요. (   )

8. 입소 전 누구와 같이 살았습니까? 해당되는 사항 모두에 `O`표 하세요.

  1. 남편(동거인)   2. 아이(들)   3. 친정 식구
  4. 시댁 식구   5. 친구(들)   6. 혼자 살았음
  7. 기타

9. 당신이 출소한 후에는, 누가 당신의 아이들을 보살피게 되리라고 생각하십니까?

  1. 당신이 남편(동거인)과 함께   2. 당신이나 친정 식구
  3. 남편(동거인)이나 시댁 식구   4. 친척
  5. 사회 시설   6. 잘 모르겠음
  7. 기타

제2부 경제적 측면

아래에서는 당신의 경제적인 생활 상태와 관련되는 것들에 대해 여쭤 보겠습니다.
가장 가깝다고 생각되는 번호에 `O`표 하세요.

10 (11). 당신과 당신 남편 (동거인)의 직업은 무엇입니까?

	당신	남편 (동 거 인)
1. 무직 또는 주부	_____	_____
2. 고용주 (가족외 1인이상 고용)	_____	_____
3. 자영업주	_____	_____
4. 상용고	_____	_____
5. 임시고	_____	

12. 입소 전에 당신가족의 월평균 소득은?

1. 전혀 없었음   2. 10만원 이하
3. 10만원~30만원   4. 30만원~50만원
5. 50만원~70만원   6. 70만원~100만원
7. 100 만원 ~ 200 만원   8. 200 만원 ~ 300 만원
9. 300 만원 이상

13. 입소 전에 당신 가족의 생활비를 주로 누가 책임졌나요?

1. 남편(동거인)   2. 남편(동거인)과 당신이 서로 분담했음
3. 전적으로 당신의 책임지었음

14. 만약 당신이 가족 생활비의 일부 또는 전부를 책임지고 있었다면, 부양
가족은 모두 몇 명이었습니까 (   ) 명

15. 만약 당신이 소득이 있었다면, 가족생활비의 어느 정도가 당신의 소득에서
충당되었나요?   (   ) %

16. 당신 가족의 생활비가 주로 어디서 충당이 되었나요? 해당되는 번호에 모두 "O
" 표하세요·

1. 남편(동거인)의 수입
2. 남편(동거인)과 당신의 수입
3. 당신의 수입
4. 당신이나 당신의 남편(동거인)의 가족, 친구 또는 이웃으로부터의 도움
5. 사회복지 또는 종교단체로부터의 도움

17. 당신이 경제적인 어려움이 있었을 때, 당신의 남편(동거인)이 당신을 도울 수도 없었다면, 당신을 도와 주는 사람이 있었나요?

   1. 전혀 없었다.   2. 가끔 도와 주었다.

   3. 자주 도와 주었다.   4. 내가 원치 않았다.

18. 당신이 심하게 아팠을 때, 당신의 남편(동거인)이 당신을 도울 수도 없었다면, 당신을 도와 주는 사람이 있었나요?

   1. 전혀 없었다.   2. 가끔 도와 주었다.

   3. 자주 도와 주었다.   4. 내가 원치 않았다.

19. 입소 전에 당신의 주거상황은 어떠했습니까?

   1. 삭월세   2. 전세   3. 본인 소유의 집

   4. 친척이나 친구의 집   5. 사회시설에 있었음

20. 입소 전에 당신가족의 생활형편은 어떠했었다고 보십니까?

   1. 부유했음

   2. 부유한 편이었음

   3. 보통이었음

   4. 가난했음

21. 입소 당시, 어느정도나 당신의 가족은 경제적인 어려움을 겪었나요?

   1. 대단히 심각했다.   2. 심각한 편이었다.

   3. 약간의 어려움이 있었다.   4. 전혀 없었음

22. 만약 직업을 가지려고 했는데 직업을 구할 수 없었던 경험이 있으시다면, 직업을 구하지 못한 이유는 무엇때문이었나요?

  1. 기술이 없거나, 부자격이어서
  2. 여성에 대한 취업기회가 없어서
  3. 작업환경이 좋지 않았거나 월급이 적어서
  4. 당신이 직장에 나가고 나면 마땅히 애들 돌볼 사람이 없어서
  5. 남편(동거인)의 반대로
  6. 기타

23. 출소 후에, 어떤 직업을 갖기를 원하십니까?

  1. 직업을 갖기를 원하지 않음   2. 가정부
  3. 회사의 고용원   4. 서어비스업
  5. 상업   6. 기타
  7. 잘모르겠음

제3부 입소와 관련된 사항

> 다음 질문은 당신의 입소와 관련된 것입니다. 당신의 답변을 간단히 쓰거나 "O" 표 하십시요.

24. 어떤 법률 위반으로 구속되었나요?   (   )

25. 전에도 구속된 적이 있나요?

  1. 그렇다   2. 아니다

25-1. 만약 전에도 구속된 적이 있다면, 몇번 (이번을 제외하고)? (　　　　) 번

26. 구속된 지 얼마나 되셨나요? (　　　) 년 (　　　　) 월

27. 법을 위반하게 된 동기는 무엇이었나요?

  1. 더 많은 돈을 얻기 위해　　　2. 가족생계를 위한 돈이 필요해서
  3. 향락을 위한 돈이 필요해서　　4. 우발적 또는 호기심에서
  5. 질투나 복수심 때문에　　　　6. 다른 사람이 부추겨서
  7. 술이나 약물의 영향때문에　　8. 기타

28. 누가 당신의 피해자인가요?

  1. 가족　　　2. 친척　　　3. 이웃이나 친구
  4. 직장과 관련된 사람　　5. 잘 모르는 사람
  6. 피해를 본 사람이 없음　7. 잘 모르겠음
  8. 기 타

제4부 아내 학대의 실태에 관한 사항

입소 전 가장 최근의 12개월동안 부부싸움이 있었을 때 당신과 당신의 남편(동거인)이 했을 지도 모르는 것들에 대하여 묻고자 합니다. 당신의 남편(동거인)이 아래 사항중 어떤 것을 어떻게 했는지 답변해 주시기 바랍니다.

29. 그가 때릴려고 협박을 하거나 물건을 던졌다.

1. 거의 매일   2. 일주일에 한 두번
3. 한달에 한 두번   4. 반년에 한 두번
5. 일년에 한 두번   6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
7. 기억이 나지 않음

30. 그는 물건을 던지거나, 부수거나, 때리거나 찼다.

1. 거의 매일   2. 일주일에 한 두번
3. 한달에 한 두번   4. 반년에 한 두번
5. 일년에 한 두번   6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
7. 기억이 나지 않음

31. 그는 당신에게 물건을 던졌다.

1. 거의 매일   2. 일주일에 한 두번
3. 한달에 한 두번   4. 반년에 한 두번
5. 일년에 한 두번   6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
7. 기억이 나지 않음

32. 그는 밀거나, 멱살을 잡거나 떠밀었다.

1. 거의 매일　　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
3. 한달에 한 두번　　　4. 반년에 한 두번
5. 일년에 한 두번　　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
7. 기억이 나지 않음

33. 그는 당신의 뺨을 때렸다.

1. 거의 매일　　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
3. 한달에 한 두번　　　4. 반년에 한 두번
5. 일년에 한 두번　　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
7. 기억이 나지 않음

34. 그는 발로 차거나, 물거나 주먹으로 당신을 때렸다.

1. 거의 매일　　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
3. 한달에 한 두번　　　4. 반년에 한 두번
5. 일년에 한 두번　　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
7. 기억이 나지 않음

35. 그는 물건으로 때리거나 때릴려고 했다.

1. 거의 매일　　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
3. 한달에 한 두번　　　4. 반년에 한 두번
5. 일년에 한 두번　　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
7. 기억이 나지 않음

36. 그는 당신을 마구 때렸다.

    1. 거의 매일　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
    3. 한달에 한 두번　　4. 반년에 한 두번
    5. 일년에 한 두번　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
    7. 기억이 나지 않음

37. 그는 당신의 목을 졸랐다.

    1. 거의 매일　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
    3. 한달에 한 두번　　4. 반년에 한 두번
    5. 일년에 한 두번　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
    7. 기억이 나지 않음

38. 그는 당신을 칼이나 위험한 물건으로 협박을 했다.

    1. 거의 매일　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
    3. 한달에 한 두번　　4. 반년에 한 두번
    5. 일년에 한 두번　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
    7. 기억이 나지 않음

39. 그는 칼이나 위험한 물건을 사용했다.

    1. 거의 매일　　　　2. 일주일에 한 두번
    3. 한달에 한 두번　　4. 반년에 한 두번
    5. 일년에 한 두번　　6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음
    7. 기억이 나지 않음

40. 그는 부부싸움 후, 당신이 원하지 않는데도 강제로 성행위를 했다.

    1. 거의 매일   2. 일주일에 한 두번

    3. 한달에 한 두번   4. 반년에 한 두번

    5. 일년에 한 두번   6. 한번도 그런 적이 없음

    7. 기억이 나지 않음