

Perceptions of Patriarchy and Female Property Crimes in Enugu Metropolis

Amadi Aroh

Enugu State University of Science and Technology, Nigeria

Abstract

The study examined perceptions of patriarchy and female property crimes in Enugu metropolis. The systemic arrangements of the world order is such that male dominance tends to blanket females in a manner as to regulate the tempo of social living of females in virtually all aspects of social activities, including criminal activities. Despite the environment which is averse to the women being able to fully thrive in patriarchal societies, they have defied the odds and have excelled in the society in all areas of human endeavor, including criminal ventures. The theoretical framework of the study was anchored on Marginalization Theory. The study adopted survey research design, and using mixed sampling method, 1015 respondents were selected through multistage random sampling while nine respondents were purposively selected for in-depth interview based on their expertise in patriarchy and female crimes. Findings indicate that women hardly inherit landed properties in Enugu metropolis, which is as a result of male dominance, local custom and male child preference which wields significant weight on females' inability to hold firm grip towards property inheritance; to this end, it was found that the levels of social security enjoyed by different categories of women. In terms of marital status, it serves as a push factor, that is, whether or not to engage in property crimes. The study concludes that patriarchy is implicit to female property crimes in the study area.

Introduction

The systemic arrangements of the world order is such that male dominance tends to blanket females in a manner as to regulate the tempo of social living of females in virtually all aspects of social activities, including criminal activities. Societies in the world are either predominantly patriarchal (male dominance over inheritance, descent and institutions) or predominantly matriarchal (female dominance over inheritance, descent and institutions), and understanding the reason why it is so, is a formidable task. Historically, patriarchy has manifested itself in the social, legal, political, religious, and economic organization of a range of different cultures (Malti-Douglas, 2007). This holds several implications for the females, with mythical backups from ecclesiastical to secular narratives. Anthropologists use the term 'Patriarchy' to denote the rule of the fathers. In a patriarchal arrangement, men hold primary power and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege and control of property. Some patriarchal societies are also patrilineal, meaning that property and title are inherited through the male line. Ferreira (2007) argued that patriarchy is inherently oppressive in all areas of society, including social, economic, political and cultural aspects. Patriarchy is discriminatory in its control of access to power, management of resources and benefits, and in manipulation of public and private power structures (Ferreira, 2007). Even if not explicitly defined to be by their own constitutions and laws, most contemporary societies are, in practice, patriarchal (Lockard, 2007; Pateman, 2016). Thus, Makama (2013) noted that, the patriarchal society sets the parameters for women's structurally unequal position by condoning gender-differentials in inheritance rights and legal adulthood.

Despite the environment which is averse to the women being able to fully thrive [especially in patriarchal societies], they have defied the odds and have excelled in the society in all areas of human endeavor (Osezua & Agholor, 2019), including criminal ventures. Osezua and Agholor opined that, women who were

traditionally subservient and significantly dependent on men can now access critical resources with relative ease, and in many instances are becoming breadwinners, rather than housewives. These factors affect patriarchal structures (Omodjohwoefe, 2011). Thus, as women attain positions similar to men, and as their employment pattern become similar, the pattern of criminality of women to that of men become similar (Oluwadare & Agboola, 2011), including property crimes or offences.

Offences against property are generally the most prevalent crimes in Nigeria (Igbo, 2007). These offences against property include theft and stealing, robbery, burglary, store and house breaking, arson, receiving stolen property and cheating. Similarly, Chukkol (1988) noted offences against property to include; theft, criminal misappropriation, criminal breach of trust, extortion, robbery, cheating, forgery and receiving or retaining stolen property. Freiberg (1996) conceived property crime as high volume crimes in which cash, electronics (e.g. television), power tools, cameras and jewelry are often targeted.

Abdul-Rasheed, Yinusa, Abduulateef, Ganiyu and Abdulbaqi (2016) noted that although both women and men commit and are victims of crime, their perspectives, understanding, and interpretation of the crime are likely to be different. Thus, it has been variously established that gender determines crime participation to a very large extent (Jegade, Elegbeleye, Olowookere & Olorunyomi, 2016).

In Nigeria, there is dearth of empirical literature to establish the rate of female property crimes. However, several doted anecdote show that female property crime can take the form of pilfering valuables of a hotel guest by female hotel attendants, shoplifting, snatching of phones or hand bags, pick pockets and obtaining by false pretence. Included on the list of female property crimes are armed robbery and white collar crime (Chukezie, 2009). Although it can be argued that most female property crime can be shielded from the criminal justice agencies thereby limiting its accurate statistical measure, the role of patriarchy in inducing female property crime can perhaps provide a better understanding of the intricacies, pattern and trends surrounding female criminality.

However, patriarchal influence on female property crimes has not received adequate research attention in Africa, especially in Nigeria and specifically in Enugu metropolis compared to the volume of researches that have been carried out on disparities of male and female involvement in crime.

In short, the disparities between male and female crimes, and to some extent, the role of the media in popularizing or de-popularizing female criminality, have been studied in varying research locations (Campaniello, 2014; Abdul-Rasheed et al, 2016; Jegede et al, 2016; Estrada, Nilsson & Pettersson, 2019). However, existing empirical studies have not given adequate attention to public perception of female property crimes in relation to its possible off-shoot from patriarchy. Therefore, this study fills this research gap.

Conceptual clarifications

Patriarchy

There has been considerable debate about the sociological explanation of patriarchy. Abercombie, Hill and Turner (1994) have noted that it has been suggested that compulsory heterosexuality, male violence, the way men are organized in the workplace and socialization into gender roles are all causal factors to the concept of patriarchy.

According to Hunnicutt (2009) patriarchy refers to social arrangements where privileged males as a group dominate women as a group, both structurally and ideologically and that manifest in varieties across history and social space. In contra-distinction, Becker (1999) noted that, patriarchy is a social structure, not a conspiracy among men. It is not always intentional, as men need not intend to oppress women (Becker,

1999). For him, men too are subject to the enormous pressures of a social system that creates patriarchy, and are, as well as women, damaged by patriarchy.

However, several scholars define patriarchy as a set of social relations with material base which enable men to dominate women (Lerner 1986; Kramarae 1992; Stacey 1993; Aina 1998). The term was originally used to describe the position of the father as a household head but it has progressively been used to refer to the systemic organization of male supremacy and female subordination (Igbelina-Igbokwe, 2013). Thus, patriarchal societies or cultures are initiated and primarily maintained by men. In criminology, feminist researchers have used the concept of patriarchy to explain various phenomena, including gender disparities in criminality, violence against women, and criminal justice response to violence against women (Parker & Reckdenwald, 2008; Yllo & Straus, 1990; Johnson, 2013). Although the subjugation of women is not the central dynamic driving patriarchy, patriarchal culture is deeply misogynistic and valorizes masculinity. In such a culture women are seen as less than fully human, while aggression against women is justified by women's choices and natures (Becker, 1999).

Female Crime

Female criminality refers to those crimes which have women as culprits, and not necessarily criminal acts solely exclusive to the feminine gender. Although most of female crimes are believed to form the bulk of hidden crimes like infanticide, homicide, poisoning and aiding of crime, women have started to engage in those crimes which were previously thought to involve men only (Oluwadare & Agboola, 2011). Such crimes include armed robbery, burglary, theft, phone-snatching, advanced fee fraud, and other forms of property crimes that involve the use of physical force. Female criminality has not only received inadequate scholarly attention, but it has also been a much misunderstood aspect of criminology (Jain, 2007; Igbo, 2008). Although it is argued in some quarters that women are less likely to commit violent and serious crimes than men, available data within the African region present diverse results. For example, while a significant number of female detainees in South Africa, Malawi and Zambia are held for murder or violent crimes against their partners, the trend is not the same in countries such as Kenya, Botswana and Zimbabwe where women are more frequently arrested for non-violent crimes (Ackermann, 2014). In Benin, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Egypt, women are detained in place of their brothers, husbands, sons or boyfriends who are crime suspects, while in conservative religious countries like South Sudan women are commonly detained for crimes such as adultery (Agozino, 2005; Vetten, 2008). In addition to this, in some societies, women may also be detained as a result of discriminatory laws and cultural practices, or tribal laws or traditions, rather than codified laws (Womankind Worldwide, 2008). This practice of discriminatory laws and cultural practices, found mostly in patriarchal societies, has the propensity to induce other forms of female crimes, particularly female property crimes. In addition to the foregoing, Mustapha (2018) also observed that, modernization, industrialization and the corresponding increased employment opportunities have created increased criminal opportunities for females.

Property

Property is a term describing anything that a person or a business has legal title over, affording owners certain enforceable rights over the said items (Bloomenthal, 2020). Property is often defined as a relationship between two or more individuals and an object, in which at least one of these individuals holds a bundle of rights over the object (McConnell, Brue & Flynn, 2009). Property can be tangible items, such as houses, cars, or appliances, or it can refer to intangible items that carry the promise of future worth, such as stock and bond certificates (Bloomenthal, 2020). Intellectual property, like ideas such as logo designs and patents are all intangible items. Even though these entities are not physical in nature, they may nevertheless carry significant value (Bloomenthal, 2020). The author gave examples of intellectual properties to include Nike's "swoosh" logo and the chemical formula for Coca-Cola. To enforce ownership of intangible properties, individuals and businesses typically hire lawyers to legally protect their items from infringement.

In line with the foregoing, Gregory and Stuart (2003) noted that property can be categorized at least into two forms of property; private property and public property. Private property is a legal designation for the ownership of property by non-governmental legal entities. Private property is distinguishable from public property, which is owned by a state entity (McConnell, Brue & Flynn, 2009).

Patriarchy and Female Property Crimes

Female property crimes tend to keep changing with the wave of systemic arrangements in the society. Economic marginalization is a leading contributor to female crime (Reckdenwald & Parker, 2008). However, marginalization of women does not limit itself to economic system of the society but cuts across all major institutions of the society such as the family, marriage, kinship, education polity and religion. Thus, in the Global-West, while female unemployment is found to be positively associated with female violent and property offenses, the percentage of female headed households was also found to be positively related to female arrests for major property crime, burglary, and prostitution (DeWees & Parker, 2003; Steffensmeier & Haynie, 2000a; Whaley & Messner, 2002).

In many Sub-Saharan African countries [dominated by patriarchal economic system] inheritance is a critical mode of property transfers (Platteau & Baland, 2000; UN Habitat, 2006; Cooper, 2008; Cooper, 2010a). “At significant life course transitions, such as death, birth, marriage and retirement, an individual’s or group’s accumulated physical assets (or rights of access to these assets) are distributed according to social conventions, personal preferences and potentially strategic designs” (Cooper, 2011:6). These assets do not favor the females as properties are traditionally transmitted through the males. Therefore, the redistribution of assets [in a patriarchal economy] can affect various individuals’ economic trajectories in positive or negative ways (McKay, 2009; Carter & Barrett, 2006; Carter & May, 2001), and to the feminine gender, it is particularly to the negative. Thus, property heirs [mostly males] gain in economic security, either in their accumulation of new assets or in the affirmation of their rights to assets they had previously accessed (Cooper, 2011).

With respect to women who are supposedly coheirs, existing research literature from various Sub-Saharan African societies highlight how as a result of existing social conventions, including national laws, widowed women and orphaned children are particularly vulnerable and prone to lose rights of access to properties they previously enjoyed during the lifetime of their husbands or fathers (Rose, 2006; Oleke, Blystad & Rekdal, 2005; Strickland, 2004; Drimie, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Drimie, 2002). Such alienation from property, including housing, land and other productive resources, has been linked to economic vulnerability, poverty traps, chronic poverty and the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Carter & Barrett, 2006; Bird, O’Neil & Bolt, 2004; Bird & Shinyekwa, 2004). This also holds certain consequences for female property crimes.

Theoretical framework

Chesney-Lind (1986) is credited as the major proponent of Marginalization theory. Marginalization theory takes the position that the exclusion of women from participation in the workforce, as a means of earning money (i.e. economic marginalization) causes women to engage in crime. It proposed that women commit crimes because they lack legitimate opportunities to make money. The theory argues that most females who become criminals are either not employed at all, or are concentrated in low status, low income (poorly paid), unskilled, unrewarding and insecure (pink-collar, ghetto) jobs. Female crimes involve mostly property crimes and prostitution. Thus, marginalization theorists tend to interpret female crime as a rational response by females to their conditions of poverty and economic insecurity (Chesney-Lind, 1986; Tang, 1996).

The basic tenet of marginalization theory was predicated on the fact that in capitalist, patriarchal societies, women are subordinated to men both biologically and economically. The system of division of labour in

patriarchal societies requires women to play familial, domestic roles as mothers, wives, child bearers, and home keepers. When women began to make in-roads into the formal world of work already dominated by men, women were, and are still, assigned subordinate or inferior positions relative to men. The limitations imposed on women by the economic and social structures of capitalist-patriarchal society, which result in direct denials and deprivations for women (marginality) in terms of (equal) access to economic advantages as enjoyed by men, are responsible for women's entry into the criminal enterprise. In their attempts to make ends meet, women encounter strains, and their incapacity to achieve desired financial success compels them to commit crimes. Although Marginalization theory has been criticized for its over reliance on blue collar crime and its inability to provide explanations to crimes committed by housewives – the relevance of Marginalization theory to the current study as theoretical framework lies on its ability to provide arguments on the influence of patriarchy in dictating the wave of female criminality.

Methodology

Population and Sampling

This study was a cross sectional survey. Mixed sampling technique was adopted, whereby respondents were selected through multistage random sampling for the quantitative part of the study, purposive sampling was used to select respondents for in-depth interview. While 1015 respondents for the quantitative study were selected at intervals to give proportionate representation of people from the three local government areas that make up Enugu metropolis, the respondents for the in-depth interview were selected according to the relevance and importance of the positions they occupy. This comprises three women leaders, three cabinet members of traditional rulers, and three Divisional crime officers of the Nigeria police. These nine key informants for the IDI were drawn three each from the three local governments that make up Enugu metropolis.

Data Analysis

The data from the questionnaire was edited, analyzed and interpreted with the help of descriptive statistics like charts, frequency tables and simple percentages. The statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) was used for the analysis. Thematic analysis of the qualitative data placed emphasis on the interpretation and description of responses by the interviewees to complement the quantitative data.

Results

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by Local government of residence

LGA of Residency	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Enugu North	341	33.6
Enugu South	341	33.6
Enugu East	333	32.8
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Information on Table 1 above shows the residential local government areas of the respondents. It shows that the respondents are sufficiently and proportionately distributed across the three local government areas with regards to data collection amongst the three local government areas that make up Enugu metropolis. Thus, the respondents are averagely distributed at one-third of the total population from each of the local government areas as follows; 33.6% from Enugu North, 33.6% from Enugu South, and 32.8% from Enugu

East.

Female property in Enugu metropolis

To situate the study within the context, respondents were asked to indicate their understanding of property crimes that females engage in. The outcome of the question is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents by female property crimes

Forms of property crimes	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Stealing	209	20.6
Armed Robbery	33	3.3
Receiving and keeping stolen property	333	32.8
Advance fee fraud (419)	121	11.9
Shoplifting	275	27.1
Arson/Vandalism	44	4.3
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Data presented in Table 2 show responses on female property crimes in Enugu metropolis. It shows that 20.6% of the respondents indicated that females engage themselves mostly in stealing, 3.3% of the respondents indicated ‘armed robbery’, 32.8% of the respondents indicated ‘receiving and keeping stolen property’, 11.9% of the respondents indicated ‘advance fee fraud (419)’, while 4.3% of the respondents indicated ‘arson/vandalism’. This implies that in Enugu metropolis, female property crimes mostly involve receiving and keeping stolen property.

Frequency of occurrence

To ascertain that serious nature of female involvement in property crimes in Enugu metropolis, respondents were asked to indicate the perceived frequency of occurrence of such crimes in their area. The outcome is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of respondents by their perception of frequency of occurrence of female property crimes in Enugu metropolis

Frequency of occurrence	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Every week	386	38.0
Once in a month	198	19.5
Once in three months	255	25.1
Once in six months	176	17.3
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Data presented in Table 3 show that female property crimes occur in Enugu metropolis Every week (38%); Once in a month (19.5%); Once in three months (25.1%); and Once in six months (17.3%). This implies that an appreciable number of female property crimes occur in Enugu metropolis in every three months.

Common patterns used in committing female property crimes

Table 4: *Distribution of respondents by common patterns used in perpetrating female property crimes in Enugu metropolis*

Patterns used in perpetrating FPC	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Seduction of target victim	618	60.9
Use of force	77	7.6
Forgery	220	21.7
Syndicate	100	9.9
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Data presented on Table 4 show that 60.9% of the respondents see ‘seduction of target victim’ as the common pattern used in perpetrating female property crimes in Enugu metropolis. Other responses are as follows: ‘use of force’ 7.6%, ‘forgery’ 21.7%, ‘syndicate’ 9.9%. This implies that the common pattern used in perpetrating female property crimes in Enugu metropolis is seduction of target victim as indicated by more than half (60.9%) of the total respondents.

Areas where female property crimes occur most

Table 5: *Distribution of respondents by areas where female property crimes are likely to occur*

Areas where FPC occurs most	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Slum/Ghetto areas	419	41.3
Reputable/High brow areas	121	11.9
Both areas	475	46.8
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Table 5 shows that 41.3% of the respondents indicated that female property crimes are likely to occur in slum/ghetto areas; 11.9% of the respondents opined reputable/high brow areas of the metropolis; while 46.8% of the respondents indicated that female property crimes could occur in both areas. This implies that nearly half (46.8%) of the total respondents are of the view that female property crimes could occur in any area of Enugu metropolis.

How patriarchy influences female property crimes in Enugu metropolis

To ascertain how patriarchy influences female property crimes in Enugu metropolis, this study sought for data on patterns of patriarchy in Enugu metropolis, specifically those that deal on property rights and property inheritance and also how such issues are perceived to be connected with female involvement in property crimes. This section presents data on both property inheritance aspects of patriarchy in Enugu metropolis and how it influences female property crimes.

Female and property inheritance in Enugu metropolis

Table 6: Distribution of respondents by whether females inherit property in Enugu metropolis

Do females inherit property	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Yes	376	37
No	639	63
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Data presented in Table 6 show responses on whether female inherit property in Enugu metropolis. It shows that while 37% of the respondents answered that females inherit property in Enugu metropolis, 63% of the respondents indicated otherwise that females do not inherit property in Enugu metropolis.

Responses from the in-depth interview were also captured on this as follows:

It is not in our tradition for women to inherit property and I think it is the most dominant tradition that cuts across the Igbo society. Although Westernization tends to take a toll on this aspect of culture where by female seek to inherit properties just as their male counterpart, I will say that it will translate to sheer greed for a woman to struggle over property with her male siblings. In Nike community, the male will kick against it. The only exception is where a female is kept in her father's house to bear male child where the father was not able to have male child. In this situation, the woman assumes the position of a male and as such is able to inherit landed properties so as to transmit them to her offspring who are of course going to bear her father's name to maintain the family name **[Ukeje, IDI, 62 year old, Male, Community Leader]**.

Another respondent said:

Women themselves are considered as property within the Igbo region, but the most valued property. So, the issue of property inheritance in Enugu metropolis and by extension majority of the Igbo land is not a thing favourable to the women. This has presented series of issues whereby litigations has taken place. In fact, in a case decided Ukeje vs Ukeje decided by the Supreme Court of Nigeria, women will now even have more legal backing and leverage to seek property rights legally with their male counterparts if they (the women) will not be limited by customs and tradition. I said this because I could remember that I have handled a case on property inheritance where I had to freeze the bank accounts of the male siblings of the female complainant, but as the matter proceeded the parties decided to settle out of court. The male complainant agreed to be settled on some monetary percentage, but could have got more if she continued to press for litigation **[Bruce, IDI, 47 year old, Police Officer]**.

Another respondent said:

It is true that patriarchal arrangement in Enugu, in fact the majority of entire Igbo speaking communities limit women from property inheritance but the narrative is changing very fast, especially with the decisions of the supreme court which now serves as a precedent. However, even before the Supreme Court judgment, most families in their ingenuity include women in property inheritance, because I can count one or two of my neighbors here who happen to be *Nwadiala* (Maternal relation), they built houses on a land given to their mother by their grandfather; but you see it is not a matter of right as it would to males. But the Supreme Court judgment has made it even clear for women to pursue matters of property inheritance in a court of law **[Adanna, IDI, 51 year old Woman Leader]**.

Types of property inherited

Table 7: Distribution of respondents by the types of properties inherited by females in Enugu metropolis

Types of properties inherited	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Money/Cash	144	14.2
Economic trees	45	4.4
Buildings/Houses	55	5.4
Land	132	13.0
No Response	639	63.0
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Data presented in Table 7 show respondents' views on the types of properties inherited by females in Enugu metropolis. It shows that 14.2% of the respondents indicated that women inherit money/cash, 4.4% indicated that women inherit economic trees, 5.4% indicated that women inherit buildings/houses, while 13% indicated that women inherit land. This implies that women mostly inherit money than anything else in Enugu metropolis.

A respondent from the in-depth interview said:

The males see it as cheating for women to inherit landed properties because when women marry, they establish rule of inheritance with their husband family. It will amount to transmitting her family property to her husband's family if the male siblings of a woman allow her to inherit landed property. However, in a situation whereby the male siblings perceive that their sister is suffering in her husband's house, while their father left good fortune; the male siblings may decide to sell part of the property if need be or source monetary equivalent to support their sister **[Johnbull, IDI, 54 year old male, Traditional title holder]**.

Similarly, another respondent said:

Where a woman is not married and not functioning to produce male offspring, her male siblings cannot exclude her from their father's property, after all, it is their parent's property and not individual property. In most situation however, women serves as a caretaker to the properties bequeathed to them by their parents. She cannot sell any landed property unless with approval of the male siblings who will agree to stand in before the buyer will even agree to pay. Where there are economic trees, the woman will always share with her brothers wives on how to collect seedlings for various economic needs. It is worthy to mention that a woman cannot be pursued out of her father's house because she is not married. So, she occupies an apartment in the building and may even have her own tenants from where she can collect rent if they have numerous houses. But like I said, she cannot sell any of the landed properties **[Osita, IDI, 67 year old male, High Chief]**.

Aware that patriarchy affects female property crimes

Table 8: Distribution of respondents by whether they are aware that patriarchy influences FPC

Responses	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Yes	478	47.1
No	537	52.9
Total	1015	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Data presented in table 8 show that 47.1% of the respondents are aware that patriarchy influences FPC, while 52.9% of the respondents indicated otherwise. This implies that majority of respondents in Enugu

metropolis do not think that patriarchy could induce FPC.

One of the in-depth interviews presented a contrary opinion:

It will be difficult for a society which is male dominated to believe that women who are denied property right could engage in property crimes. Ordinarily, a woman who engages in crime of any sort is seen as abnormal, unlike when a man engages in such. In the same light, when a woman seeks her rightful inheritance from parents, it is also seen as abnormal or greed; however; when men are involved, it is not greed. Funny enough, in contemporary times, most women carry more family financial burden than the men [Adanna, IDI, 39 year old Woman Leader].

Table 9: Cross tabulation of respondents sex and awareness of the relationship between patriarchy and female property crimes

Awareness	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Very aware	21(4.4%)	300 (55.4)	321 (31.6%)
Moderately aware	88 (18.6%)	33 (6.1%)	121 (12%)
Least aware	70 (14.8%)	29 (5.3%)	99 (9.7%)
Not aware	294 (62.2%)	180 (33.2%)	474 (46.7%)
Total	473 (100%)	542 (53.4%)	1015 (100%)

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Data presented in Table 9 show a cross tabulation of sex and level of awareness of the relationship between patriarchy and FPC. It shows that 62.2% of males are not aware of the relationship between patriarchy and FPC while only 33.2% of females indicated so. Also, 14.4% of males are least aware of the relationship between patriarchy and FPC, while 5.3% of females indicated so. Furthermore, 18.6% of males indicated that they are moderately aware of the relationship between patriarchy and FPC, while only 6.1% of female respondents indicated so. However, while only 4.4% of male respondents indicated to be very aware of the relationship between patriarchy and FPC in Enugu metropolis, over half (55.4%) of female respondents indicated so. This implies that the idea of a relationship between patriarchy and FPC in Enugu metropolis is frayed between the two genders. While the males claim not to be aware; females claim to be very aware. The foregoing buttresses the views of the female IDI respondents presented under Table 8.

Discussion of Findings

Findings from this study indicate that in Enugu metropolis the most common way that patriarchy is understood is domination of vital social and political positions by men, and this is followed by exclusion of women from inheriting family lands and properties. This aligns with Igbelina-Igbokwe (2013) that patriarchy has progressively changed from its description of the position of the father as a household head to the systemic organization of male supremacy and female subordination. Concomitantly, this study found with regards to specific forms of patriarchy that, patriarchy in Enugu metropolis is specifically in relation to property/family inheritance. Thus, findings from this study revealed that patriarchy affects women in the study area. Another salient finding from this study revealed that in Enugu metropolis, female property criminals are usually involved in receiving and keeping stolen property, with an appreciable rate of at which this and other forms of female property crime occur in Enugu metropolis in at least every three months. To this end, this study found that the common pattern used in perpetrating female property crimes in Enugu metropolis is seduction of target victim as indicated by more than half (60.9%) of the total respondents in Table 4. Previous studies (for example, Agozino, 2005; Vetten, 2008) noted that women are detained for

crimes that they are not directly involved in. Therefore, this present study lend support to the finding on the pattern of female crimes found in Kenya, Botswana and Zimbabwe, where Ackermann (2014) noted that women are more frequently arrested for non-violent crimes. With regards to area where FPC occur most, this study found that female property crimes could occur in any area of Enugu metropolis, but more in slum/ghetto areas.

Another major finding from this study is that females do not inherit property in Enugu metropolis. The only exception is movable property, which basically comes from their husband's side. The salient point to these findings is the revelation that patriarchal nature of Enugu metropolis such as male dominance, local custom and male child preference wields significant weight on females' inability to hold firm grip towards property inheritance, and as perceived by respondents in this study, women are denied property inheritance. The foregoing also aligns with studies such as McKay (2009) Carter and Barrett (2006) and Carter and May (2001) whom noted that the redistribution of assets in a patriarchal economy can affect various individuals' economic trajectories in positive or negative ways, but to the feminine gender, it is particularly to the negative. A sharp finding from this study shows that the idea of the relationship between patriarchy and FPC in Enugu metropolis is torn between genders, while the males claim not to be aware, females claim to be very aware. This buttress the opinion of the female IDI respondents presented under Table 8 in contention to information contained in the same Table, where most respondents claim that they do not think that patriarchy could induce FPC. With regards to the foregoing, studies such as (Carter & Barrett, 2006; Bird, O'Neil & Bolt, 2004; Bird & Shinyekwa, 2004) expressed the view that alienation from property, such as housing, land and other productive resources, has been linked to economic vulnerability, poverty traps, chronic poverty and the intergenerational transmission of poverty. This certainly holds consequences for female property crimes.

Conclusions

On the basis of the findings in the study, it is concluded that patriarchy understood as domination of vital social and political positions by men, and exclusion of women from inheriting family lands and properties is implicit to female property crimes in Enugu metropolis. To this end, this study concludes that patriarchy in Enugu metropolis is specifically in relation to property/family inheritance. Therefore, patriarchy affects women in Enugu metropolis as to engage in female property crimes.

References

1. Abercombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B.S. (1994). *Dictionary of sociology*. England, Penguin Group.
2. Abdul-Rasheed, S.L., Yinusa, M.A., Abduulateef, R., Ganiyu, O.A., & Abdulbaqi, S.Z. (2016). Gender Differentials in Criminal Behaviour in Nigeria. *Pathways to African Feminism and Development- Journal of African Women Studies Centre, University of Nairobi* (<http://www.uonbi.ac.ke/journals/>). 1(4):24-36.
3. Ackermann, M., (2014) 'Women in pre-trial detention in Africa: A review of the literature'. South Africa. *Civil Society Prison Reform Initiative*, p. 7.
4. Agozino B (2005) Nigerian Women in Prison. In J Sudbury (Ed) *Global lockdown: Race, gender and the prison-industrial complex*. New York: Routledge.
5. Aina, I.O. (1998). Women, culture and society, in Amadu Sesay and Adetanwa Odebiyi (eds.) *Nigerian women in society and development*. Ibadan, Dokun Publishing House.
6. Becker, M. (1999). Patriarchy and inequality: Towards a substantive feminism. *University of Chicago legal forum*. 1(3): 21-88. Available at: <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1999/iss1/3>
7. Bird, K., O'Neil, T. & Bolt, V. (2004). 'Illustrative case studies of the fracture points in social policies for chronic poverty reduction'. *Annex to CPRC working paper 47/ODI Working Paper 242*.

- London, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). Available at: http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/47ANNEXBird_et_al.pdf
8. Bird, K. & Shinyekwa, I. (2004). 'Multiple Shocks and Downward Mobility: Learning from the life histories of rural Ugandans'. *Chronic poverty research centre working paper No 36*. London, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). Available at: www.chronicpoverty.org/resources/cp36.htm.
 9. Bloomenthal, A. (2020). Property. *Online article*. Accessed from: <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/property.asp>
 10. Campaniello, N. (2014). Women in crime. *IZA World of labor 2014: 105*. doi: 10.15185/izawol.105
 11. Carter, M. & Barrett, C. (2006). 'The Economics of poverty traps and persistent poverty: An asset-based approach'. *Journal of development studies*, 42 (2), 178 – 199.
 12. Carter, M. & May, J. (2001). 'One Kind of freedom: The dynamics of poverty in post Apartheid South Africa'. *World development*, 29, 1987–2006.
 13. Chesney-Lind, Meda. (1986, 1997). Women and crime: The female offender. *Sign*, 12(1): 78-96.
 14. Chukkol, K.S. (1988). *The law of crimes in Nigeria*. zaria, Ahmadu Bello University press.
 15. Cooper, E. (2008) 'Inheritance practices and the intergenerational transmission of poverty in Africa: A literature review and annotated bibliography.' *CPRC working paper No. 116*. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). Available at: http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/WP116_Cooper-annotatedbiblitreview.pdf
 16. Cooper, E. (2010a) 'Inheritance and the intergenerational transmission of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policy Considerations'. *CPRC Working Paper 159*. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). Available at: http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/WP159%20Cooper.pdf
 17. Cooper, E. (2011). *Women and inheritance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Opportunities and challenges for policy and practice change*. Chronic poverty research centre: Working paper, March 2011 No. 182. ISBN: 978-1-906433-88-8. www.chronicpoverty.org
 18. DeWees, M. A., & Parker, K. F. (2003). Women, region, and types of homicide: Are there regional differences in the structural status of women and homicide offending? *Homicide studies*, 7, 368-393.
 19. Drimie, S. (2002). 'The impact of HIV/AIDS on rural households and land issues in Southern and Eastern Africa.' Background paper prepared for the *FAO subregional office for Southern and Eastern Africa*. Pretoria: Human sciences research council.
 20. Drimie, S. (2003). 'HIV/Aids and land: Case studies from Kenya, Lesotho and South Africa'. *Development Southern Africa*, 20 (5), 647-658. Available at: <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a713618534~db=all>
 21. Estrada, F., Nilsson, A. & Pettersson, T. (2019). The female offender – A century of registered crime and daily press reporting on women's crime. *Nordic journal of criminology*. 20 (2):138–156. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/2578983X.2019.1657269>
 22. Ferriera A. M. (2007). Patriarchy. Molefi Kete Asante and Ama Mazama (Electronic version). *Encyclopaedia of Black Studies*, 396.
 23. Freiberg, A. (1996). *The property crime market: A regulatory approach. Burglary and car theft: Is your property safe?* Melbourne, Australia. Accessed from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Property_crime#cite_note-1
 24. Gregory, P. R & Stuart, R. C. (2003). *Comparing economic systems in the twenty-first century*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. p. 27. ISBN 0-618-26181-8
 25. Human Rights Watch (2003). 'Double standards: Women's property rights violations in Kenya.' *Human rights watch*. New York, USA. Available at: <http://www.hrw.org>
 26. Hunnicutt, G. (2009). Varieties of patriarchy and violence against women. *Violence against women*, 1-21.

27. Igbelina-Igbokwe, N. (2013). Contextualizing gender based violence within patriarchy in Nigeria. Accessed from: <https://www.pambazuka.org/gender-minorities/contextualizing-gender-based-violence-within-patriarchy-nigeria>
28. Igbo, E.M. (2008). *Aetiology of crime: Perspectives in theoretical criminology*. Enugu, New Generation books.
29. Igbo, E.U.M. (2007). *Introduction to criminology*. Enugu, University of Nigeria press Ltd.
30. Jegede, A.E., Elegbeleye, A.O., Olowookere, E.I., & Olorunyomi, B.R. (2016). Gendered alternative to cyber fraud participation: An assessment of technological driven crime in Lagos State, Nigeria. *Gender & behaviour*. 14 (3): 7672-7692.
31. Jain, A.K. (2007). *Criminology, penology & victimology*. Delhi, Ascent publications.
32. Johnson, R. R. (2013). Rape and gender conflict in a patriarchal state. *Crime & delinquency*, 1-19.
33. Kramarae, C. (1992). The condition of patriarchy, In Kramer Cheris and Spender Dale (eds.). *The knowledge explosion: Generation of feminist scholarship*. Athan Series, London, Teachers College Press.
34. Lockard, C. (2007). *Societies, networks, and transitions*. 1. Cengage Learning. pp. 111-114. ISBN 9780547047669
35. Makama, G.A. (2013). Patriarchy and gender inequality in Nigeria: The way forward. *European scientific journal*. 9(17): 115-144
36. Malti-Douglas, F. (2007). *Encyclopedia of sex and gender*. Detroit: Macmillan. ISBN 978-0-02-865960-2.
37. McConnell, C., Brue, S., & Flynn, S. (2009). Economics. Boston: Twayne Publishers. p. G-22. ISBN 978-0-07-337569-4
38. McKay, A. (2009). 'Assets and chronic poverty: Background Paper'. *CPRC working paper 100*. Manchester, UK: Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). Available at: http://www.chronicpoverty.org/uploads/publication_files/WP100%20McKay_1.pdf
39. Mustapha, D.H. (2018). Female criminality: Changing policy on crime prevention and control in Nigeria. *Online article*. Accessed from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328730949_FEMALE_CRIMINALITY_CHANGING_POLICY_ON_CRIME_PREVENTION_AND_CONTROL_IN_NIGERIA
40. Oleke, C., Blystad, A. & Rekdal, O. (2005). 'When the obvious brother is not there: Political and cultural contexts of the orphan challenge in Northern Uganda'. *Social science & medicine*, 61, 2628–2638.
41. Oluwadare, C.T., & Agboola, A.E. (2011). Gender disparity in criminal behaviour in Ado-Ekiti, Ekiti state, Nigeria. *International multidisciplinary journal, Ethiopia*. 5(5): 199-211.
42. Omodjohwoefe, O. S. (2011) Gender role differentiation and social mobility of women in Nigeria. *Journal of social sciences*. 27(1): 67-74.
43. Osezua, O.C., & Agholor, H.N. (2019). Patriarchy, cultural prejudices and spousal violence in the ancient city of Benin of Southern Nigeria. *Journal of international women's studies*. 20(7):409-422
44. Parker, K. F., & Reckdenwald, A. (2008). Women and crime in context: Examining the linkages between patriarchy and female offending across space. *Feminist criminology*, 5-24.
45. Pateman, C. (2016). "Sexual Contract". *The Wiley Blackwell encyclopedia of gender and sexuality studies*, 5 Volume Set. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. pp. 1–3.
46. Platteau, J.P. & Baland, J. M., (2000). 'Impartible inheritance versus equal division: A comparative perspective centered on Europe and SubSaharan Africa'. Namur, Belgium: Faculty of Economics, University of Namur, Centre de Recherche en Economie du Développement (CRED). Available at: www.fundp.ac.be/econo/cahiers/filepdf/c209.PDF
47. Reckdenwald, A., & Parker, K.F. (2008). The influence of gender inequality and marginalization on types of female offending. *Homicide studies*. DOI: 10.1177/1088767908314270

48. Rose, L. (2006). '*Children's property and inheritance rights and their livelihoods: The context of HIV and AIDS in Southern and East Africa*'. Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Available at: www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/landrights/downloads/childrens_property_and_inheritance_rights_and_livelihoods.pdf
49. Stacey J. (1993). Untangling feminist theory, in Richard D. And Robinson V. (eds) *Introducing women's studies: Feminist theory and practice*. London, Macmillan Press.
50. Steffensmeier, D., & Haynie, D. (2000a). Gender, structural disadvantage, and urban crime: Do macrosocial variables also explain female offending rates? *Criminology*, 38, 403-438.
51. Strickland, R. (2004). '*To have and to hold: Women's property and inheritance rights in the context of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa*'. Washington, DC: International center for research on women. Available at: www.icrw.org/docs/2004_paper_haveandhold.pdf
52. Tang, K. (1996). The marginalization of social welfare in developing countries: The relevance of theories of social policy development. *The Journal of sociology & social welfare*. 23(1): Article 5. Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol23/iss1/5>
53. UN Habitat (2006). '*Progress report on removing discrimination against women in respect of property and inheritance rights*.' Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements.
54. Vetten, L. (2008). The imprisonment of women in Africa. In J Sarkin (Ed) *Human rights in African prisons*. South Africa: HSRC Press.
55. Whaley, R. B., & Messner, S. F. (2002). Gender equality and gendered homicides. *Homicide studies*, 6, 188-210.
56. Womankind Worldwide (2008), '*Taking stock update: Afghan women and girls seven years on*'. London. p. 35. Available at: <http://www.womankind.org.uk/takingstockdownloads.html>
57. Yllo, K. A., & Straus, M. A. (1990). Patriarchy and violence against wives: The impact of structural and normative factors. In M. A. Straus, & R. J. Gelles, *Physical violence in American Families* (pp. 383-399). New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.