

A Criminological Study on the problems faced by the women prisoners Convicted for drug offences in Sri Lanka

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Abstract: Sri Lanka has a long history of drug use, mainly cannabis and opium. Both compounds have also been used as a pharmaceutical preparation in herbal medicine. Most researchers agree that the problem of drug abuse began to increase in the 1970s. According to *Gunatilake*, accurate estimation was impossible as no scientific survey had been carried out during this period. According to a survey made during the period 1975-1981, there were only 3200 known drug dependents and most of them were opium and cannabis users in this country. Heroin suddenly shot into prominence in the late seventies and early eighties. There were very few heroin users in the 1980s. In 1981 the police were able to seize 0.277 kilograms of heroin. In many instances, heroin was smuggled from India and Pakistan. In 2017, more than one thousand kilograms were seized from individuals and among them 4% were females. The use of heroin in the country has increased rapidly and thousands of drug users both males and females had emerged by 2017. It was estimated that 10,432 males and 157 females were imprisoned for narcotic drug offences in 2017. Drug abuse among females in Sri Lanka is on the increase. Female drug users are likely to be more stigmatized than their male counterparts and they are regarded as double deviants. Drug habits among Sri Lankan females have increased faster than those of men. Compared to the drug abuse of men, women's drug abuse could bring more negative consequences to the health, families, and society at large. In Sri Lanka, female drug offenders are imprisoned to rehabilitate them but many such females return to prison upon their release after being reconvicted for drug offences. Therefore, this study is aimed at finding the problems faced by the women prisoners whose rehabilitation process has been hindered during their stay at the prison and also upon their release. This study was carried out concerning the women prisoners imprisoned in *Welikada* women's prison in 2018 and 30 inmates were selected from a systematic sample. In addition, 10 prison officers both male and female were selected as respondents. Interviews, case studies, and observation methods were utilized for data collection. The findings of the study revealed that societal factors, shortcomings of the rehabilitation programs, poverty, unhealthy home environment, and mental confusion have affected negatively in the process of women prisoners in their social integration and rehabilitation.

Key Words: Drug abuse, women prisoners, Imprisonment, Reconviction, Rehabilitation

I. INTRODUCTION

The family as a universal social institution has carried out required functions over the years for the existence of the

society. It is a durable association of husband and wife with or without children. Historically members of the family worked together and fulfilled the economic needs of the family. Family members worked together in fields or farms for the production of goods. A clear-cut division of labor was maintained by men and women in the family and every family was self-sufficient in the ancient past. However, women did not enjoy the same power and independence as equal as their male partners. It is explained concerning the status and duties of women in the Hindu Laws of Manu which originated in the sixth century B.C. Accordingly, the woman's father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth and her sons protect her in old age. A woman is never fit for independence (Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957:190-1).

With the advances in science, technology, international trade, and the rapid expansion and sophistication of mass media over the later part of the twentieth century, everyone has become a member of the global village. At present, family members do not work together as a unit, instead, they work in factories and government or private institutions as individual workers but not as the entire family. The economic role of the family has changed with the passage of time. Thus, the family has been transferring its economic function to external agencies. Consequently, women in the families have become more independent by being economic partners in these families. Sometimes the woman has become the bread-winner of the family whereas the husband plays the wife's role that is the performance of household chores.

Freda Adler points out that when the social and economic role of women change in the legitimate world, their participation in crime will also change (Adler, et.al 1995:42). In other words, equalization of socio-economic activities of both males and females leads to similar behavior patterns, both legal and illegal, on the pathway of both men and women. Rita Simon explains that as women have more opportunities to commit crime correspondently they are involved in more property crimes than those of violent crimes.

In the past, women traditionally have been underrepresented in research studies and drug abuse treatment groups, the effects of drug abuse are far less understood for women than men. At present, data on sex differences in the use of legal and illegal drugs have been collected more extensively. These data establish the fact that drug abuse and addiction pose

different challenges to women's health, progress differently in females than males and may require different treatment approaches and strategies (JoCoupe, 1991: 168-174; Crome, 1991:175-180). Many women face several challenges in their lifetime. Women of the drug-dependent spouse may be the sole partner of the family. Some women may trade sex to support their partners' drug habits and risk sexually transmitted diseases (Kandiah,2007:1-10). Some were pushed for sex by their drug-dependent husbands (Senanayake,

2007:134-144). Moreover, the rapid increase in AIDS cases among women in recent years makes it all critical to address the gender difference as they relate to drug problems (World Health Organization, 2000:65-67).

Due to the pressure given by the family or stresses and strains generated at the workplace women tend to commit drug offences such as narcotic drug use, drug smuggling, and peddling. As the involvement in drug trafficking brings much profit women have increasingly chosen this field.

Table 1- Number of Death Penalty and Life Imprisonment according to the Police Narcotic Bureau in 2013-2018

Year	Death Penalty				Life Imprisonment				Others			
	No of Cases	No of Suspects	Male	Females	No of Cases	No of Suspects	Male	Female	No of Cases	No of Suspects	Male	Female
2013	12	12	02	10	19	20	01	09	79	83	17	66
2014	02	10	-	10	14	14	-	14	75	81	07	74
2015	14	15	03	12	23	26	06	20	78	98	10	88
2016	01	01	-	01	07	07	-	07	37	37	02	35
2017	02	02	-	02	21	26	05	21	38	46	02	44
2018	05	06	-	06	21	21	02	19	07	07	-	07
Total	36	46	05	41	105	114	14	100	314	352	38	314

Source: WWW.police.lk

In Sri Lanka, out of 11,478 narcotic drug offenders who had been imprisoned in 2007, 159 were female drug offenders. By 2013 this number had been 10,448 of which 210 were females. In 2018, 142 females were imprisoned for drug offenders. In 2017, 21 females were sentenced to life imprisonment while 2 were sentenced to death. As Table 1 indicates from 2013 to 2018 the total number of the death penalty imposed on drug offenders was 46 and of the 89% (n=41) were females and among the drug offenders who were sentenced to life imprisonment 87.7% (n=100) were females.

It is commonly believed that the imprisoned offenders are imprisoned expected to be rehabilitated and reintegrated into civil society as law-abiding citizens. This effort has been more or less successful to some extent in Sri Lanka too. The present study will identify the problems of female drug offenders in their rehabilitation in the prison.

Research Problem

To determine whether there are problems of reintegration of female drug offenders into society after they are imprisoned for drug offences and if so, what are the nature of those problems?

Objectives

- To determine the societal factors that lead females to commit drug offences.

- To measure the availability of the scheduled plan within the prison system to integrate female prisoners into society.
- To identify the impact of social responses against female drug offenders when they are reintegrated into society.
- To identify the mental problems of the female prisoners and how they militate against their social integration.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study was carried out in *Welikada* female prison where the women from island-wide are confined for different convictions for various types of crimes. At the time that the research was conducted, there was a total number of 391 female prisoners at *Welikada* prison. The total female prisoners comprised 245 convicted female prisoners being held for drug offences.

The sample of the study

The female drug offenders who were serving prison sentences were the population of the study. The objective of the study was to select female drug offenders confined in the prison. For this, a systematic sample of 30 female drug offenders was selected out of 245 female drug offenders. In addition, 5 prison officers were interviewed to collect data on the rehabilitation of female prisoners, available rehabilitation programs, and the responses of female drug offenders to them.

Data collection method:

A representative sample of the female prisoner population was interviewed on interview schedule and case study method and observation were used in collecting data on personal information of offenders and their families and rehabilitation process in the prison, various aspects of persuasion in committing drug offences, the problems that they face in the prison as well as in the outside society and their families, etc. Through the interviews of prison officials about the rehabilitation programs available in prison and the responses of female drug offenders as regards were solicited.

In the present study, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected on the problems faced by the female drug offenders while they were being rehabilitated in prison and when they were being released from prison. In analyzing data the standard data analysis methods were utilized to achieve the objectives of the study.

III. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Table 2: Education Level Of The Female Drug Offenders

Education Level	Frequency	%
No schooling	1	3.3
Grade 1-5	8	26
Grade 6-10	10	33.3
Up to Ordinary Level	8	26
Up to Advanced Level	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field research 2018

The study revealed that low education was a main social factor that prompted female drug offenders to violate the law and to be imprisoned. According to Adler, one’s education level affects one’s character formation and education creates certain behavioral control of an individual. Similarly, there is some relationship between education and criminal activities too. The findings of the research indicate that the low level of education of female drug offenders brought about a lack of interest in employment and it this induced them to commit crimes to find solutions for their family problems.

Table 3: Economic responsibility of the family

Nature of Economic Responsibility of the Family	Frequency	%
Woman holds the complete economic responsibility	18	60
Woman and husband hold the economic responsibility	9	30
Husband holds the economic responsibility of the family	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: Field research 2018

According to Table 3, 60% (n=18) of the study sample of the women held the complete economic responsibility of maintaining the family while their husbands have done away with it. Consequently, most of those women were compelled

to earn money through illegal activities such as drug trafficking and prostitution.

It is no secret that poverty-stricken life leads to crime. Similarly, when female drug offenders are reintegrated into the community they continue to commit crimes repeatedly. Many people are reluctant to accept the reentry of rehabilitated female drug offenders while considering them as destructive to society. Out of 30 female drug offenders, 12 (40%) frankly stated that they would involve in the same illegal jobs that they were engaged in before they were sent to prison. Ten (33.3%) of them adhered to the idea that they would commit previous illegal activities unless they found better alternative jobs. Further, eight (26.6%) declared that they had learned a good lesson by being imprisoned and they would not turn to illegal jobs again.

Table 4, Female Prisoners’ Family Relationships

Family Kinship Relations	Frequency	%
Parents separated when they were young	4	13
A parent deserted the family	11	37
A parent remarried	15	50
Total	30	100

Source: Field research 2018

Table 4 shows all the inmates in the population have broken families and 13% (n=4) of females had their parents separated while 87% (n=26) females’ parents had deserted their family or remarried. One female inmate said “My mother remarried and the stepfather made me a lot of trouble. One day he raped me.” The females of the other broken families had also faced a different type of harassment from either stepfather or stepmother.

Robert Cadbil points out that females who tend to commit crime are often from broken families and families in which deviant activities are common. In the event of father or mother deserted the family, the young females stepped into illegal activities. The present study reveals that many female drug offenders have taken to drugs owing to the disorganized family environment. According to the present study, the family environment and its geographical location have influenced negatively the female drug offenders’ re-enter into their community. Comparatively, those offenders who lived in slums were not rejected by either their family or their rural and urban communities. Therefore, the female drug offenders who lived in slums had not lost their relationship with their family and community as a result of their imprisonment. The following causes had been found influential.

- i. Those who live in slums give priority to their daily life.
- ii. The imprisonment of female drug offenders is considered to be common as slums are criminogenic.
- iii. Collective kinship relationships are strong in slums as individuals marry their close nit members.

- iv. Being imprisoned is considered the characteristic of hardihood personality character.

On account of the above-mentioned facts, people who live in slums do not discriminate against ex-female drug offenders or their family members. In slum communities, even with the broken family environment, a social mechanism is found to be in existence to protect female drug offenders. Conversely, in rural areas, those females who were released from prison from drug offences met with continuous rejection and discrimination. The rural family members and their relatives do not accept female drug offenders even upon their release from imprisonment. Within this scenario, ex-female inmates are motivated to commit crimes repeatedly.

The present study reveals that the adverse responses of the society on released female prison inmates is one of the main challenges for their integration into the community. Even when they are released with proper vocational training at the prison they are discouraged by the negative influence of the community and driven again towards the criminal life.

The adaptation of female drug offenders to society mainly depends on the attitudes and views of society towards them. Thus, the family and society play a main role in the positive or negative reintegration of female drug offenders into society at large.

After the 1970s there was a significant change in the pattern of drug use due to the socio-economic and political conditions of the country. The open economy and the promotion of the tourist industry attracted many tourists from different parts of the world. Initially, few hippie-type tourists who drifted towards beaches brought their supply of drugs mainly heroin from South-East Asia in the late seventies. Studies reveal that in countries where opium is cultivated either legally or illegally, the transition to heroin is probably easier (Deshpande, 1998). This has been the case with Laos, Thailand, Myanmar, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. In the chief transit countries like India, where poppy is grown and strictly regulated, and Sri Lanka, where opium use is tightly controlled by government agencies, heroin use has grown since 1980. The geographical position of Sri Lanka and the fact that customs authorities in many countries did not associate Sri Lanka with drug smuggling were the two reasons why Sri Lanka became an important transit point (Jayasuria, 1986). The high potency of heroin as a drug has made it a profitable commodity for drug traffickers. Heroin can easily be absorbed by consumers in many ways such as *chasing the dragon*. When injected, it penetrates the blood-brain barrier much more easily than other drugs. Heroin is highly addictive and for most people, tolerance develops in a matter of three or four days, after which professedly a larger amount must be used to gain similar effects. By the early 1980s heroin was available even in various parts of the country and heroin smoking became quite common in overcrowded impoverished inner-city slum and shanty areas where many uneducated underemployed people lived. By 2018 both men and women in underdeveloped areas of the cities had taken to drugs. For

the purpose of earning easy money for buying drugs for their personal use most of them became involved in drug trafficking irrespective of gender, geographical distinction, or social strata. The present study reveals that those who lived in cities and disorganized slums and shanties have a greater tendency to commit drug offences than those in other areas.

It is considered that the drug addicts keeping up in isolation is a hindrance to their rehabilitation. Individual loneliness and unemployment have caused different social problems in society. The negative impacts of modernization and urbanization have detached people from their kindred. Extra competitive busy lifestyle and lack of happiness have driven many people to use drugs.

Those female offenders who were imprisoned for a long period indicated mental aberrations in their life. Consequently, some women considered that the prison was the most suitable place for them to spend their life and such mentality persuaded them to commit crime again and reenter the prison as the reconvicted. As a result of the long period of imprisonment, many female prisoners detached from themselves cultural norms and responsibilities of the civil society bringing about negative effects in their rehabilitation in prison. Interviewees of this study declared that they were detached from civil society. One female inmate declared “Now anyplace is the same. I don’t feel any different being inside or outside the prison. I have well adapted to this environment. Most of my friends are inside the prison now. Once I am released it will be difficult to cope up with the habits that we have got used here”.

Among the factors that influence female inmates negatively for their reintegration into society, the mental factors remain predominantly. Further, some experiences and attitudes gained from the prison have a negative impact on their reintegration. It is a common phenomenon that people need the love and affection of others for their survival. When people are deprived of love they get frustrated and sometimes they become invasive and violent. Similarly, those who are released from prison expect to be loved by their family members and close individuals in society. It is unavoidable that the female inmates who are released from the prison get frustrated if they do not receive enough love and acceptance from the family and society. Consequently, their criminal behavior may manifest again. Abraham Maslow, a famous psychologist pointed out that people live with an array of different needs. Their primary needs consist of fulfilling their physiological and safety needs. Unless the primary needs are completed one cannot move onto the next stages to satisfy their psychological and self-fulfillment needs such as belongingness and love needs, and esteem needs: and self-actualization respectively.

Those female inmates interviewed suffered from the problem of their instability and the insecurity that they face in society after their release. One interviewee stated “As I was selling drugs before the incarceration, the others who were engaged in the same business were angry with me. They tried to attach

me. But I didn't give up. If I start the same business again upon my release they will take revenge from me".

In the present study, the female inmates did not believe that they would receive the required love and affection as well as the security from the society that they need to achieve self-esteem in their lives. One female inmate named *Kanchana of Totalanga* was a mother of two children. She had got married to *Sudeera* at the age of twenty. At the time of the interview, She was 35 years and getting ready to leave the prison after the completion of a five-year imprisonment period. *Sudeera* lived in *Totalanga* and *Surangi* came from Anuradhapura to work in a garment factory in *Totalanga* Area. Then she met *Sudeera* and after one month of a love affair, she entered the marriage life with *Suddera* with great expectations.

Surangi's parents were against the marriage as it occurred secretly. *Surangi* came to know the real truth about *Sudeera* only after she was accompanied to his house after their marriage. *Sudeera* did not have either a permanent job or a house. His family members also lived on illegal activities. After giving birth to two children *Surangi* found it very hard even to eke out a meager existence with no regular income. Correspondently, she found a job that involved the transport of drugs from *Peliyagoda* and hand over them to drug sellers in *Modara* and *Maradana*. One day while she was transporting drugs, she was caught by the police and upon conviction, she was sentenced to five years imprisonment. She stated "When I was released from the prison, I did not have a place to go. *Sudeera* had married again. My children are now with their parents in Anuradhapura. Now no one comes to the prison to see me. In the beginning, *Sudeera* came, and later he did not visit. Now there is no one for me. I have lost all the hopes in my life."

According to Abraham Maslow's theory of self-actualization, the above-mentioned female inmates have lost the needs of safety and security as well as the need to find belongingness and love. Therefore, it is difficult for them to achieve esteem needs and self-actualization as they carry the labeled as female drug offenders (Marshal, 1994). It is a big challenge for these females to get integrated into society as they continue to suffer from severe mental problems even after their release from prison. The prison does not have aftercare service to help solve the mental problems of the inmates even though the prison provides them with vocational training and rehabilitation programs. It was found that there had not been any aftercare service for the released prisoners and this has adversely affected their reintegration into society. The present study revealed that many female inmates had resorted to crime owing to their mental distress and frustration.

It is a dangerous practice that these female inmates are released from the prison without any proper examination of their mental conditions and their eligibility to cope up with the emerging problems in society. Having lived several years in prison under prison subculture with their criminal mentality, the majority of these female inmates have developed unrest, neurosis, stress, depression, anxiety, etc. These mental

problems have not been identified by the prison administration as severe problems of reintegration of female inmates into society.

All the female inmates interviewed in the present study showed that they were passing their term of imprisonment with severe mental stress. Each female inmate indicated more or less the following characteristics of depression.

- i. Sadness
- ii. Mental agony
- iii. Deterioration of mental strength
- iv. Anger
- v. Sense of Guilt
- vi. Frustration
- vii. Mental stress
- viii. Self-abasement
- ix. Weakening of self-confidence
- x. Confusion

Those who were in the state of depression next moved into the stage of anxiety, the unbearable living condition of a prison coupled with the depression of female inmates had driven them into anxiety.

It is a characteristic of anxiety that one tends to keep thinking that some unexpected tragedy will befall on him/her and this mentality develops with pessimistic and nihilistic thoughts. Further, confusion in mind, business, and nervousness are characteristics of anxiety. Once female inmates are released from prison they reenter into society without a proper plan or program. They become confused and painful about what is to be done and how they will be received by the family and society. This situation can be seen even more in female inmates than those in male inmates. Having spent a considerable time in prison, these female inmates leave the prison with indelible marks on them – both in personal agonies and frustration – and with the official blot on their record which will dog them the rest of their lives and severely affect their chances of successfully reentering the mainstream of social life. Moreover, the lack of resources in the women's prison has caused mental problems in female inmates during their rehabilitation. The non-availability of formal psycho-medical counseling process at the time these female inmates are released from the prison was identified as a great drawback of the rehabilitation of female inmates.

Kanchana was a convicted drug offender from *Modara* area in Colombo. She had been charged twice with drug trafficking. The first time she had been convicted for three years and the second time she was imprisoned for five years for the same charge. She explained that

"After my first conviction, I left the prison with a strong determination of not coming to this hell again. But when I entered society, I realized that I did not have any means to live. I visited several places looking for employment but no one offered me a job. I developed anger and hate for everything. I lost the desire for life and felt that I want to die. My heart always reminded me that I brought severe contempt

upon my children and the family. Having no alternative I was compelled to take drugs again. As we need money more than other things I increasingly got involved in selling drugs thinking do or die”.

Many female inmates of this study stated that “We have nothing to do even if we are released. Those who fell into the well should come out from its mouth”.

It was rare to find a female inmate who was convicted of drug offences leaving the prison with the necessary social skills, educational or vocational training, and emotional well-being suited to find accommodation and secure full-time employment and thus fitting into the civil society. The prison experience far removed from the realities of outside life is the main difficult factor of reintegration of drug offenders especially the female drug offenders into society. Many of them believed that they could not live in a society in a socially accepted way as society has deprived them of that opportunity. Unless this mentality is removed from them they cannot be reintegrated positively into civil society.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

There are several problems as regards the integration of imprisoned female drug offenders into society. These females are labeled by society as ex-convict drug offenders. This labeling effect has created different problems for them. While in prison female drug offenders are categorized according to their punishment and duration of the sentence than the nature of the crime committed. The offenders find ample opportunities in sharing the thoughts and experiences of others who have been sentenced to prison for committing different types of crime.

The education level of female drug offenders of this study sample was very low. Correspondently, they were not able to find suitable employment in civil society. As a result, some female offenders tended to drug addiction and smuggling drugs. Even though they, re-entered the society after the termination of their punishment the problems that they had experienced before their imprisonment remained unresolved. Further, this study revealed that the female inmates had greater problems of reintegration into society due to the negative responses of the society. Labeling them as ex-offenders was hostile to the acceptance and welcome that they received from society. This situation has unfavorably motivated ex-offenders to resort to crime. Similarly, there were differences of acceptance related to ex-female offenders again concerning their residential environment. Compared with the rural and urban settings, those who lived in slums had a higher level of acceptance by their community. The subcultural values of slum dwellers have largely contributed to this positive change in attitudes.

The poverty of ex-offenders had a direct impact on their reintegration into civil society. The loss of their avenues of income and the difficulties involved in finding employment in society created severe hardships for them. Further, the

employers consider that being imprisoned drug offenders was a disqualification offering jobs in their institutions.

Although long-term prisoners are given vocational training they cannot find suitable jobs after their release from prison. Often, ex-drug offenders find difficulties in setting up self-employment as they cannot often meet the initial cost. On the other hand, vocational training given for the inmates does not tally with the available jobs in society. For instance, a female who had training in dressmaking cannot find a job in a garment factory as she is labeled as an ex-criminal. By the same token, she can't avail herself offer bank loan to embark on self-employment as credit facilities are not given to ex-criminals.

Among the many challenges faced by the ex-female inmates, in their social integration, the pressures of family life militate against them very acutely. There is a strong possibility of recidivism in a broken family setup. The lack of proper care and attention for ex-female offenders by their husbands, children, parents, and relatives has also negatively contributed to their social integration. The identification of individual problems of the female drug offenders had positively affected their integration into civil society.

The present study revealed that reconvicted female drug offenders upon their release had associated with females whom they became acquainted within the prison. This relationship has paved the way for them to commit crimes again, especially drug offences and they are reentering into the prison as reconvicted offenders. The availability of opportunities for prison inmates to associate recidivists and experienced criminals adversely influenced their reintegration into society. Within this scenario, those who enter the prison for the first time tend to reenter the prison on reconviction.

The released female offenders encountered difficulties in obtaining services from the government and the private institutions as they were labeled as ex-convicts. Owing to this factor, they have minimal opportunities to work in the community. The weaknesses of the rehabilitation programs of the offenders were also obstacles to the reintegration of the prisoners into the community. As the rehabilitation of the female offenders was not focused on the individual needs, individual treatment was absent in the prisoners' rehabilitation process. Correspondently, the rehabilitation of prisoners in the prison was not conducive enough for their effective reentry into civil society. Similarly, the treatment given for the female drug offenders was similar to that of other offenders. The prison officials did not have adequate knowledge as to treat the drug offenders as a different category of offenders.

The prison authority was not concerned about the mental conditions of those offenders who were about to be released from the prison. Mental confusion, breakdown of mentality, and mental diseases were prevalent among the interviewed female drug offenders. These were the drawbacks of rehabilitation as there was no proper counseling program for drug offenders. The majority of the inmates of the present study showed they were suffering from mental stress,

depression, and anxiety. The social factors, the weaknesses of the rehabilitation programs, poverty, criminogenic environment, and mental depression of the female inmates of prison have militated against their successful reintegration into civil society.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was primarily concerned about the problems faced by women prisoners on their reintegration into society upon their release from prison. Correspondingly, several problematic situations were identified in the present study, and recommendations to alleviate the problems are presented as follows:

- a. Implementation of preventive programs for women drug addicts whose husbands and family members are addicted to heroin and other narcotic drugs.
- b. The integration of all institutions in the criminal justice system such as police, judiciary, and prisons should take place to facilitate the rehabilitation of women prisoners.
- c. A database on women drug-addicts and drug women traffickers should be established to facilitate their arrest and rehabilitation.
- d. Rehabilitation of women drug offenders should be assigned to well-trained and dedicated rehabilitation officers. Such programs should be based on scientific and psychological foundations and inmates' preferences.
- e. Prison officers should take measures to keep up with the religious, cultural, and other creative programs to rehabilitate women, drug offenders.
- f. Individual-based treatment programs should be carried out to prevent reconviction of women prisoners.
- g. Convicted women offenders should be separated from the detainees on suspicion and minor offences to prevent inmate contamination which may lead to reconviction of women prisoners.
- h. Programs should be introduced to minimize the antagonistic response of the society against the released women prisoners and thereby the

reintegration of women prisoners into the society could be further enhanced.

- i. A program should be introduced to facilitate the reintegration and acceptance of women drug offenders into their families and society.
- j. Those who are released from prison should be provided with employment opportunities in both government and private sectors. To provide self-employment, loan facilities should be made available to women drug offenders under the supervision of the Prison Welfare Department.
- k. It is beneficial to set up a counseling program to alleviate the mental problems of released women drug offenders. The existing counseling program of the prison should be upgraded to address the individual needs.

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