



Women's vulnerability for drug related offences in Sri Lanka "with special reference low-income area in Colombo

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Abstract

Drug related offences include the possession, manufacturing or distribution of drugs classified as having a potential for abusive usage. According to the UN Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC), rising unemployment and reduced opportunities caused by the Covid 19 pandemic are also likely to affect the poorest, making them more vulnerable to drug related offences as an enabling tool to earn money. Drug use increased far more rapidly among developing countries than developed countries in the global context. At the same time the data shows an increased number of women being arrested for drug-related offences in absolute terms worldwide. Sri Lanka's drug related records also indicates that there is a small proportion of women that are being engaged in drug related offence and it is at its highest when comparing to statistics of 2011. The research that has been carried out thus far shows that most of the women are engaged in drug related offences due to poverty. This research which was conducted with an objective of Identifying the socio economic background of the women which cause women to engage in drug related offence continuously also revealed that poverty and the environment influences women engaging in drug related offence with no exception. The research conducted with secondary data identifies that the Social Status/ Background, the Economic Status/Background, the Environment and the Sub Culture do influence the women in low income families in engaging in drug related offences and it is highly connected with their residential areas, especially in Colombo and Colombo Suburb. There has not been given gender specified attention in the strategies to address this issue. Attention should be given to gender based drug related offences before it become worse. Therefore it urges the immediate tactful intervention in reducing women engagement in drug related offences in low income areas to breakdown the trend of increasing the engagement of women.

Key words: drug, offence, Women

Introduction

Deviance is being described as behavior that violates the norms in a particular society. Every culture has norms that are being established and expectations about what type of behaviors are appropriate for particular people in certain social institutions. Human social life is governed by rules and norms and if a norm is violated by a person, rest of the members in the society respond by recognizing the act as deviant. The concept of deviance is complex since norms are vary considerably across groups, times, and places and what is considered deviant in one social context may be non-deviant in another. Deviant behavior could be considered as part of normal society and also it is a permanent characteristic in human society. The study of deviance is one of the most interesting yet complex areas of sociology. Functionalist theories see deviance as it is produced by structural tension and lack of moral regulation within the society. Functionalist often regard deviation from society's norms as harmful to the social order. Durkheim explains that crime and deviance is inevitable in modern societies. Robert k. Merton modified the concept of Anomie to refer to the strain put on individual's behavior when accepted norms conflict with social reality.

Deviant acts are categorized into two, as formal and informal. Formal deviance relates to criminal acts as dictated by the law, while informal deviance is explained by social norms. The Deviant behavior can be criminal or non-criminal (Little, 2014). A crime is any act which breaks the formal, written laws of a state and subjected for punishment. It can be defined as "an act forbidden by the law" and for which penalty is prescribed. Criminality should be attached both to antisocial activities and to activities forbidden by Law. An offence is considered as a breach of a law or rule; an illegal act. All the Law breakers are not criminals or offenders because the definition of crime and offence varies from society to society, from state to state, and from time to time. But commonly the act should be harmful, prescription of punishment, and there should be punishment mentioned (Little, 2014). Psychological theories of crime look for explanations of deviance within the individual and not society.

E.H. Sutherland classified the crime in to 4 categories which are Ordinary Crime, Organized Crime, Professional Crime, White Collar Crime, and Delinquency. The Organized Crime is a major social issue in contemporary world. It has become a central feature of the global economy which included narcotics trade smuggling immigrants and human organs and those who engage in it are the most successful and wealthy criminals. With the wealth, they acquire social status and often have political patronage. "The narcotic drug dealers in Colombo are well armed" and it is also widely believed that some of the narcotic drug syndicates have strong political connections. Therefore the organized crime is different from ordinary crime because the former involves a power hierarchy (Sarvananthan, 1992).

Possession, possession with intent to supply, supplying, offering to supply, production, cultivation of cannabis, smoking or using prepared opium, are considered as drug related offence. Although the ratio of female to male drug users is still low worldwide and even in Sri Lanka it is noteworthy that there is less documentation about women drug offenders. Especially studies on gender differences in drug abuse are very few in Sri Lanka. Although there are gender base statistics which depicts the drug related women offenders there is no such studies being made to identify the causes influencing women in engaging in drug related offence. Therefore This research is going to analyze the women engagement in drug related offences by focusing the low income settlement in Colombo high density area since more than 60% of drug offenders are found in Colombo as well as highest number of women offenders are found in above said area.

Objectives of the Study

- To identify the socio economic background of the women which cause women to engage in drug related offence continuously
- To provide suggestions to prevent women from engaging in drug related offences

Research question

- What are the factors influencing to endure the women in drug related offences?

What are the possible measures to take to save women from engaging in continued drug related offences?

Methodology

This study is conducted based on secondary data. For this purpose, information primarily obtained from the internet, books and research articles. The statistics are obtained from Police Narcotics Bureau (PNB), and National Dangerous Drugs Control Board (NDDCB). Global context is structured with the internet sources, books and international research Articles whilst local was from the research collection volumes I, II, II of NDDC Board. Statistics related to Sri Lanka is obtained from the Handbook of Drug abuse information 2015, 2016 and 2019. Further a discussion with a Police officer was held, who was at duty in Police Narcotics Bureau (PNB) especially to identify the most vulnerable area to select as the study area and to get the knowledge on ground situation, his field experience and received data. Although the study focuses on Drug related offences of women in Colombo, special focus has been given to Peliyagoda and Thotalanga low income settlement areas with the information received. Data is authenticated by comparing data received from both Police Narcotics Bureau (PNB), and National Dangerous Drugs Control Board (NDDCB).

Limitations

Faced difficulties in obtaining details about women offenders related to drug considering the confidentiality and the security of the researcher since most of them

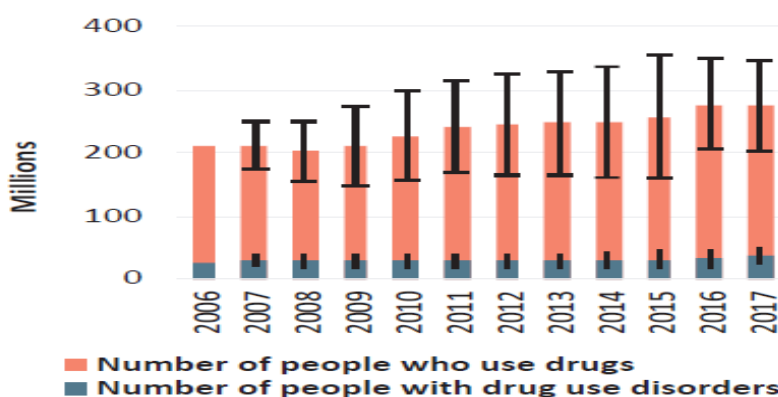
are imprisoned for heroin related offences and they have good networking system. Therefore was unable to get primary data by interviewing offenders.

Background

Historical Overview: Global

Drugs have been around for hundreds of years. Today drug business is the most money-spinning business. In the past it was only a few kilos of drugs that were being marketed, but today it is happening in billions of rupees and is in the international market in Europe and Asia. Drugs have been used as medicine in the ancient times in various forms. The opium has been used as dry juice in China in the 7th Century A.D for the relief of pain which was made with immature seed pods of the opium poppy plant that cause harmful effects in long term use. Morphine was discovered in 1803 as an option for opium when it was prohibited by the Government of China. Finally diacetylmorphine or Heroin has been discovered in 1898 by chemist considering it was safe, a less addictive pain killer and widely used in western medicine by Doctors prior to revealing that it was indeed a dangerous drug. Heroin use has doubled every year since 1992 (roar.lk). This historical overview provides the emergence and development of different types of drugs in the global context. Currently Opium, Cocaine, Cannabis, Amphetamines and Heroin are considered as dangerous drugs in the global context. Afghanistan, which has the world's largest opium poppy cultivation, saw an increase in the area under cultivation from 2012 to 2013 (UNODC, 2014) but the use of cannabis has remained stable in the last 3 years while it has been identified as most commonly used drug at the global level, with an estimated 183 million people having used the drug in 2014, The Amphetamines takes the 2nd place with estimation of 33 million users. (UNODC, 2016). Further, the use of Cocaine use has also risen, while the Amphetamines appear to be stable.

Figure 1: Global trends in the estimated number of people who use drug and those with drug use disorders 2006 - 2017



Source: World Drug Report 2020

Historical Overview: Sri Lanka

Documents reveal that parts of trees and juice have been used as drugs before the introduction of opium and cannabis (Fernando, 2010). It has been used for medical purposes in the Ayurveda Medicine. In the period of Dutch Malay Soldiers of Dutch regime had have addicted to Opium and it was a well-known business in that period and has spread among Sri Lankan gradually and finally it was band due to uncontrollable situation. Even though, in 1829 the Opium business has been legalized providing license in the British colonial period with an expectation of tax for the government. Later in 1867 the use of Opium and Cannabis have been banned through an ordinance by the British Government (Sri Lanka Narcotic Bureau).

There was a decrease in usage of Opium by 1970 and alcohol and drugs dispersed based in Hikkaduwa and Galle tourist areas and in the mid of 1970's heroin has been introduced to South Asian Countries including Sri Lanka which was already been dispersed in European Countries (Sri Lanka Narcotic Bureau) .With the introduction of Open Economy in 1978 it was able to see the usage of dangerous drugs in the Country. The loosen emigration and immigration policy, permission for the international investment within the country, and promoting the tourism at larger scale sustained the increase of drug use in the Country as it is situated between Golden Crescent and Golden Triangle Heroin Hubs (Fernando, 2010).

Defining Key Concept

Drug:

A medicine or other substance which has a physiological effect when ingested or otherwise introduced into the body. (Oxford Dictionary)

The Medical Dictionary denotes

A drug is any substance (other than food that provides nutritional support) that, when inhaled, injected, smoked, consumed, absorbed via a patch on the skin, or dissolved under the tongue causes a physiological change in the body.

Therefore the drug also can be used as medicine under medical conditions. Therefore, the over dosage even medicine with the purpose of drowsy could be considered as drug.

The NIDOA USA categorize drugs in to two based on the misuse of drugs

1. Legal drugs
2. Illegal drugs

This denotes legal drug use or misuse of legal drugs,

According to this the characteristics of drugs

1. Naturally or artificially made
 2. psychological or physical effect when introduced into the body even a small amount
 3. use against the social acceptance or medical standard
- According to these definitions it is obvious that drugs are used as for medicinal purposes as well.

Drug Related Crime/offence:

Convention Against Illicit Traffic In Narcotic Drugs And Psychotropic Substances Act defines *“produces, manufactures, extracts, prepares, offers, offers for sale, distributes, sells, delivers, acts as broker for the supply of, dispatches, dispatches in transit, transports, imports or exports or traffics and any narcotic drugs or psychotropic substances are considered as drug related offence”*.

Acts and Ordinance of Sri Lanka defines following as drug related offences

1. possession of drugs
2. production of drugs
3. Trafficking the drugs
4. Export and import of the drugs
5. Selling/distributing/store drugs
6. Usage of drugs
7. Support and motivate for above offences (Fernando, 2010)

Overview of Drug Related Crime/Offence

Crime recorded by the authorities in relation to personal use and trafficking of drugs assessed showed an increase over the period 2003-2014 worldwide and the large majority of drug use offences are associated with cannabis. The majority of persons arrested or suspected of drug offences are men; the involvement of women in drug offences varies according to drug type, reflecting the drugs of preference among women.

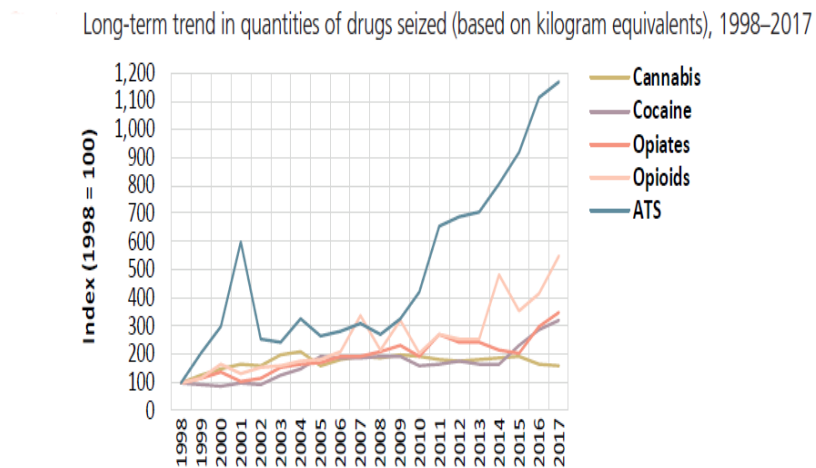
Global Context-

The most widely cultivated drug crops continues to be the most trafficked drug worldwide, as indicated in reports of 129 countries from 2009-2014. More than the 49 countries that reported opium poppy cultivation and which is mostly located in Asia and the Americas and the 7 countries that reported coca cultivation (located in the Americas). At the same time Opium poppy cultivation

has been decreasing in the past year while cocoa cultivation has been rising. (UNODC, World Drug Report, 2016). Drug supply via the Internet, including via the anonymous online marketplace, the “dark net”, may have increased in recent years. This raises concerns in terms of the potential of the “dark net” to attract new

populations of users by facilitating access to drugs in both developed and developing countries.

Figure:2



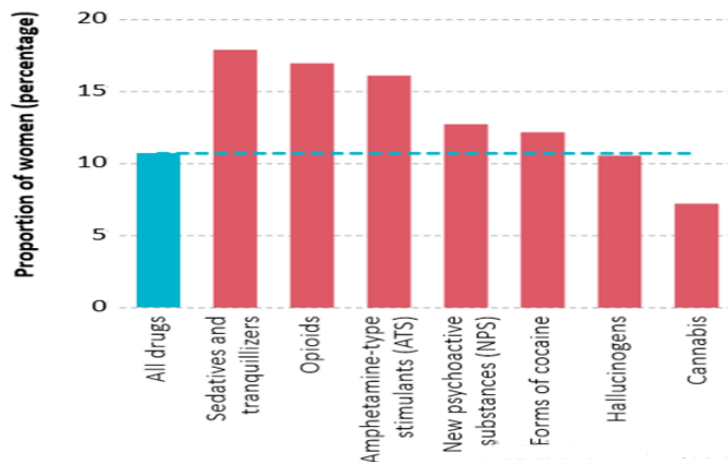
Source: World Drug Report 2019

According to this graph the seizures of drugs increases gradually. The higher number of drug seized records in 2017 since 1998 and also the ATS which includes methamphetamine, Amphetamine and ecstasy seizure increased drastically from 2011 to 2017. Other drug seizure opioid also shows gradual decrease in 2014.

Women and drug related offences in Global Context

In all countries, more men (90 per cent of the total, on average) than women are brought into formal contact with the criminal justice system for trafficking in drugs or for possession of drugs for personal use. However, the reporting of gender-disaggregated data has improved over the years and shows an increased number of women arrested for drug-related offences in absolute terms. Nevertheless, the proportion of women in drug-related arrests, while fluctuating, showed a downward trend over the 1998-2014 period, particularly for drug trafficking-related offences.

Figure: 3 Women and Drug related offence



Source: world Drug Report 2016

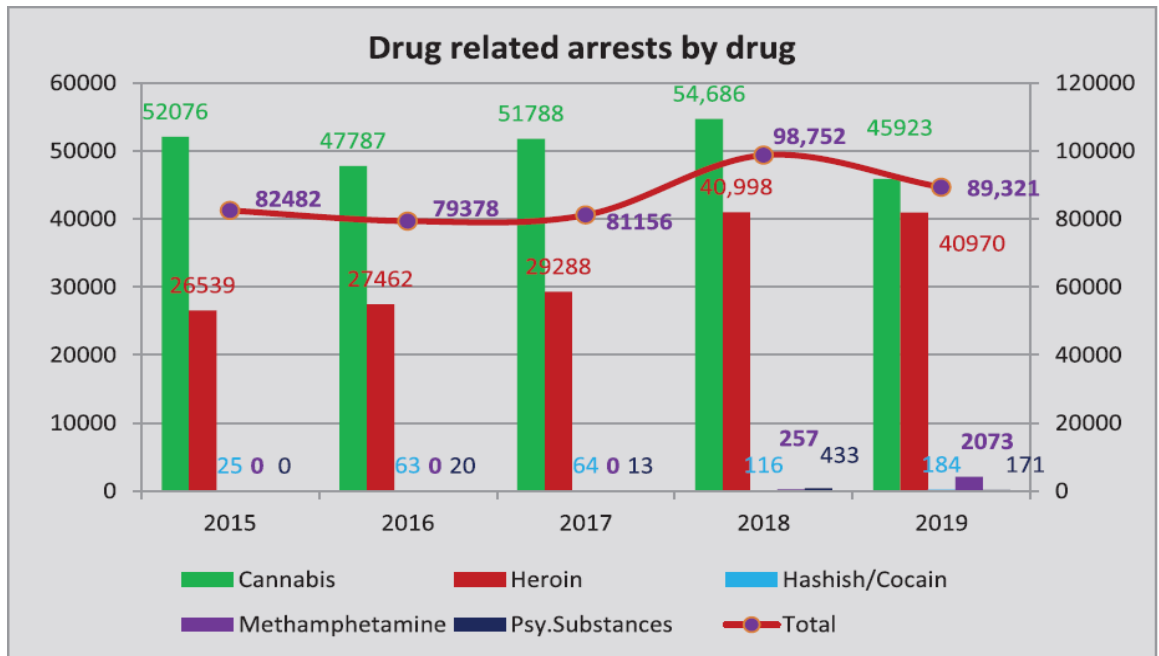
Above figure shows the women engagement in different type of offences related to drugs in global context. Highest rate of offence is related to sedatives and tranquilizer and the lowest is related to cannabis.

Drug Related Offences: Sri Lankan Context

Sri Lanka is both a narcotic drugs consuming and trans-shipment country for Europe and the Middle East. Historically, betel, betel-nut and tobacco are considered as mild stimulants and it is legally accepted in Sri Lanka and Heroin, opium and cannabis are illegal narcotic drugs consumed in Sri Lanka even though those opium and cannabis primarily for traditional medicinal purposes in rural areas.

Narcotic drug offences are the single largest crime in Sri Lanka. The total number of drug related arrests reported as at 82,482 in 2015 which is 23% of increment compared to the year 2014. At the same time it was 13,200 in 2010. According to the latest update it is 89321 in 2019. with regard to the rate of arrests in 2015, arrest rate of heroin was 32% and 63% was for cannabis, it is 46% and 51% in 2019 respectively. The 55% of the total arrest had been reported from the Western province, in 2019 which was the highest number of drug related arrests and north western province takes the 2nd place as reporting 10% while Central province recording 7% of the total. Further to categorizing drug related arrests had been reported in Colombo District as opposed to 34% of the total drug arrests. Gampaha District had a rate of 17% and Kurunegala District has been recorded as 8% in 2019. The prevalence of drug related arrests was 439 per 100,000 populations in 2015 and it was 397 in 2015. This is mainly with dealing and trading in illegal drug, cannabis and heroin. (Bhadrani Senanayake, Thamara Darshana, Hasanthi Lakmini, 2016).

Figure: 4 Drug related arrest



Handbook of Drug Abuse Information 2020

The figure shows the drug related arrests in Sri Lanka and it shows a dramatic increment of cannabis related arrests being higher annually. According to the Sri Lanka Navy, the heroin dealers of Pakistan and Afghanistan have been engaging in large scale drug trafficking activities in collaboration with the drug dealers in Sri Lanka. It has also been noted that trafficking of heroin into Sri Lanka by sea has been steadily increasing. It has also been revealed that Sri Lanka is one of the main transit points for drug trafficking; drug traffickers smuggle the drugs from Pakistan and India, to Europe and the West, through Colombo and Malé. (roar.lk).

Drug related Offence: Women in Sri Lanka

There are women engaged in Drug related offences in Sri Lanka and it is highly connected with their residing area. Especially it is evident in high density low income area in Colombo and Colombo Suburb (Fernando, 2010). The Drug Abuse Monitoring System 2010 also confirms that prevalence of drugs are influenced by the geographical area. The said report mentions that 60% of drug related arrests are from Colombo District. It is obvious that the women are from the low income settlement area in Colombo and are more vulnerable to drug related Offences (Fernando, 2010).

Table No: 1 Drug related arrests by gender from 2011 to 2019

Drug	Gender	Year								
		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Cannabis	Male	27,886	30778	42218	NA	NA	NA	23241	29697	19804
	Female	161	315	101	NA	NA	NA	570	625	410
	Total	28047	31093	42319	43683	52076	47787	23811	30322	20214
Heroin	Male	14243	16423	23607	NA	NA	NA	10559	12509	14609
	Female	197	386	58	NA	NA	NA	308	338	308
	Total	14440	16809	23665	23331	26539	27462	10867	12847	14917
Opium	Male	0	3	6	NA	NA	NA	3	0	0
	Female	0	0	0	NA	NA	NA	0	0	0
	Total	0	3	6	0	4	4	3	0	0
Hashish	Male	7	4	5	NA	NA	NA	21	90	70
	Female	0	1	1	NA	NA	NA	0	0	05
	Total	7	5	6	5	18	30	21	90	75
Cocaine	Male	3	8	0	NA	NA	NA	18	0	12
	Female	1	4	0	NA	NA	NA	0	0	01
	Total	4	12	0	5	7	33	18	0	13
Psychotropic Substances	Male	5	4	2	NA	NA	NA	5	197	115
	Female	0	0	0	NA	NA	NA	0	13	04
	Total	5	4	2	1		20	5	210	119
Methamphetamine	Male				-			--	172	939
	Female				-			-	04	20
	Total				-			-	176	959
Other	Male							-	542	1259
	Female							-	13	14
	Total					3838	4042	-	555	1273
Total	Male	42144	47220	65838	NA	NA	NA	33847	43207	37095
	Female	359	706	160	NA	NA	NA	1756	993	764
	Total	42503	47926	65998	67025	82482	79378	35603	44200	37859

Source: Handbooks of Drug abuse information 2016, 2018, 2020

The above chart shows the women engagement in different types of drug related offences which is provided from 2011 to 2019. According to the above chart male offenders are much more than women offenders. Even though there are considerable number of women engaged in drug related offences it is high in 2017 At the same time higher number of women engaged in offences related to heroine and the cannabis.

Table no 2:Female prisoners Admission by offence

Type of offence	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Narcotic	152	151	210	168	178	142	157	142	177
%	19.6	16.0	23.5	20.1	23.5	15.9	27.8	26.2	27.1

Source: Handbooks of Drug Abuse information 2016, 2018, 2020

In the above table and the figure shows the female prison admission for narcotic offence and it depicts that imprisonment is not stable. With comparing to other related offences including excise, theft and murder the offence related to Narcotic is high. When considering the women prisoners, it was able to find that there are number of relapsed women offenders related to drug offences (Senanayake, 2017). Therefore it shows that arresting and imprisoning only will not be enough in addressing the issue but there is a need for an intervention in identifying the causes for being a member in the drug network continuously.

Theoretical Perspective

Deviant behavior is conflicting to the dominant norms of the society. There are several theories explaining the deviant behavior and the causes for the people to engage in it, including biological, psychological and sociological explanations.

The Functionalist Perspective

Functionalists often regard deviation from society's norms as harmful to the social order. However, they argue that deviance is necessary for the society due to two reasons. It has an adaptive function and by introducing new ideas and challenges into society deviance is an innovative force, second it brings about change. Further it promotes boundaries maintenance between "good" and "bad" and deviance allows for the majorities to unite around their normativity, at the expense of those marked as deviant.

American sociologist Robert K. Merton developed structural strain theory as an extension of the functionalist perspective on deviance. According to this theory, society is composed of both culture and social structure. Culture establishes goals for people in society while social structure provides (or fails to provide) the means for people to achieve those goals. Deviance occurs when the goals and means are not in balance and this imbalance between cultural goals and structurally available means can actually encourage deviance.

Differential Association Theory

This theory states that deviant behavior is done by people because of the people's shortage of needs (mostly poverty) and the society they are living in, influences that

people teach them and are exposed to and their habits in life. This theory was proposed by **Edwin Sutherland**. He advanced the notion which was to affect one of the modern interactionist work. In a society that contains various subcultures, some social environments allow illegal activities and whereas most do not. According to this theory, criminal behavior is learned everywhere and mostly, influenced from the people that is in our environment.

Social Control Theory

This theory suggests that deviance occurs when a person's or group's attachment to social bonds is weakened and people act rationally and engage into deviant actions. Travis Hirschi, contradicted that human beings are linked in with attachment, commitment and involvement and beliefs. According to this view, people care about what others view on them and conform to social expectations due to their attachments to others and expectation of others from them.

Social control theory focuses on how deviants are attached, or not, to common value systems and what situations break people's commitment to these values. This theory also suggests that most people probably instinct towards deviant behavior at some time, but the attachment towards the social norms prevents them from deviant behavior. Further this theory explains macro and micro factors that result to changes in the society. It is possible that this issue would change or it would become worse if people continue to engage to deviant acts and it is difficult to isolate them.

The above theories give a basic idea to understand the deviant in low income area by understanding the cultural goals and structurally available means there. Further to different association theory it was understandable that there are subcultures in these settlements, and especially explains why women engage in the offences again and again as saying criminal behavior is mostly, influenced from the people that is in the environment.

Literature Review

Causes for the engagement

Women are engaged at all levels of the global drug trade They play an important role in poppy and coca cultivation in drug producing offer women the chance to earn money, and at times assume the role of the primary financial supplier for their family. (Julia Kensie, Camille Stengel, Marie Nougier, Rith Brigin, 2011). According to Sri Lanka Narcotic Bureau the employment sector also has influenced in susceptibility to addiction for the drug use or drug related offence in women.

IDPC brief paper on Drug Policy and Women: addressing the negative consequences of harmful drug control discuss about the criminal justice for drug related female offenders. It explicits poverty as the main reason for the involvement of drug related offences and poor economic policy and market policies. Further low payment than

men, unemployment, features of the women, dress code, opportunities to engage in traditional famine activities while engaging in the drug related

offences are influencing the increment of women engagement in the field. Further it argues that punishments and incarceration are not only ineffective but also have serious negative implications for women's health, social and economic situations, and can result in violations of women's rights. and it denotes that the policies are not gender sensitive and in addition to women offenders are abused by the law enforcement officers.

EMCDDA 2000 Annual report on the state of the drugs problem in the European Union: Prosecution of drug-related offences states that there is no Women-specific drug issues are to date and been systematically examined by EU drug-information systems. It admits men are more prone to drug than women and further it finds that drug addicted male partner is one of the reason for women to be drug addicted. According to the report the number of women prisoners in Europe is steadily rising and indicates that in Spain, female prisoners have almost tripled during the past 10 years. Further it admits female drug users commit less property crimes than men and are more often support their drug habits through the sex industry as sex work is an established source of income for up to 60 % of drug-using women.

The paper on discrimination of women in criminal justice system (2000) for Promoting fair and effective criminal justice: also stress that offences committed by women are closely linked to poverty and often a means of survival to support their family and children and in many regards, women have a heightened vulnerability to mental and physical abuse during arrest, questioning and in prison. The profile and background of women in prison, and the reason for which they are imprisoned, differ significantly from those of men. Further it argue that since to their small number amongst the prison population, the specific needs and characteristics of women and girls as subjects of the criminal justice system have tended to remain unacknowledged and unaddressed.

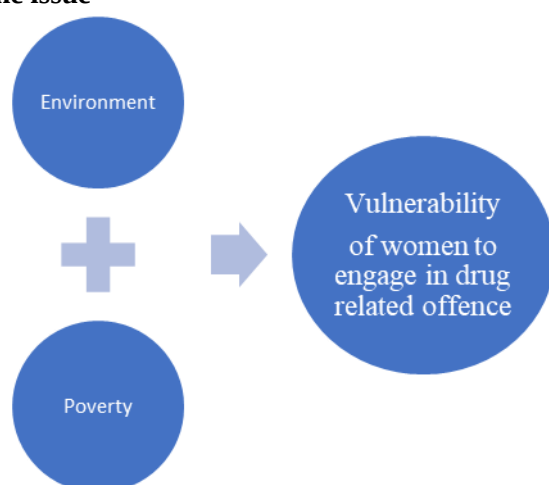
The report submitted by Harm Reduction International for to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in 2013 Research shows that many women convicted of drug offences have histories of sexual and physical abuse, coexisting psychiatric disorders, low self-esteem, low literacy and/or are living with HIV or hepatitis They are unskilled and (often single) mothers, with a lack of familial support. They may also be financially dependent on a male partner involved in the drug trade. Further it brings the attention towards the Government intensify its efforts to understand the causes for the apparent increase in women's criminality and to seek alternative sentencing and custodial strategies for minor infringements.

All the above papers have expressed that women are engaging in drug related offences due to poverty related issues and the criminal justice systems they are governed are not women sensitized and they had to face numerous issues while imprisonment and after imprisonment. It brings the attention towards the law reforms towards the punishment of drug related offence of women to the criminal justice system.

Sarvananthan M explains in his an assessment of narcotic drugs contraband trade between India and Sri Lanka published in Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences in 1999, explains the type and mode of Trafficking and ethnographic distribution of drug related offence. Here it should be considered of his major point that pharmaceuticals are paying less for the poppy and hence cultivators are more prone to sell for illegal market and the next point he stressed several times is that the introduction and initiation of heroin use in Sri Lanka is organically linked to the island's political turbulence.

The above papers show the need to focus on market policy and economic policy.

Conceptualizing the issue



According to this differential association theory, criminal behavior is learned everywhere and mostly, influences from the people that is in our environment and researches found that most of the women are engaged in drug related offences due to poverty. Data shows that women are imprisoned again and again for the drug related crimes. Although they are penalized they are not being able to overcome since they return to the same environment where it is exposure for the drug related activities and further they are not being guided for any income generation activities when they were incarcerated. Further to these there should be an immediate intervention that is necessary related to women engagement in drug related offences as social control theory explains that there is a possibility that would change or it would become worse if people continue to engage in deviant acts and it is difficult to isolate them.

Discussion And Findings

With the analysis of incarceration reports and data acquired from handbook of drug abuse information in 2015, 2016 and 2019 and the report from the National Dangerous Drug Control Board, it was able to find the trend of women offenders and drug related offences they commit. Further the researches conducted by National Dangerous Drugs Control Board gave an overview of the issue. In addition to the above theoretical understanding put a base to conceptualizing the issue. Further to discussion with the Officer of Narcotic Bureau and the research conducted in Thotalanga and Peliyagoda, it was able to identify that the following factors have contributed to the drug related offences of women in Sri Lanka.

1. Social Status/ Background

It was able to identify that more than half of the drug related women offenders from Thotalanga and Peliyagoda had low educational level and it was up to grade 10. It was able to assess that most of them have got married within their age of 22 years old and there were 17 and 18 years old cases too. Further they had members who are addicted to illicit drugs or had been arrested for drug abuse cases even once or more was common factor among these offenders. Some of them had to imprison on behalf of the husband or other family members who were engaged in the drug related offence. Sometimes they had get closer to some Officers to get bail and due to this protection they remain the drug dealing network. At the same time to get the bail they had to earn a large amount of money and this is the easiest way according to them.

2. Economic Status/Background

Men of some of these families have already made the drug distribution as their livelihood and some of them as extra income generation. After arresting the father or spouse, the support of customers and others in the network give them the secure feeling and induce them to engage in the drugs related offence. Since this is their main livelihood women has to continue to maintain their customers as well. Further, till their husbands get bails the main dealer visit these dwells to support these women and to keep the customer circulation. Therefore without intention even they had to support them to supply drugs at their dwells.

3. Environment

This childhood of these offenders had unhealthy environment. Some of them had lived in some under saved settlement before the marriage. Those areas also were popular for drug related offences. As this business is run as a network these women are not being able to escape or being away from the network and the environment where network is alive. Further some of them are engaged in this since they are scared of violent behavior of the dealers and believing that it is no safe to leave the network.

4. Sub Culture

It was able to find subcultures in this area. Although imprisoned no any drug addicted person would betray their suppliers as well as main suppliers by sub suppliers. Another subculture of a drug addicted person had been imprisoned, the women of the suppliers had to take care of the family of the victim. They feel that is their obligation hence he hadn't betrayed them.

As per the conceptualizing the environment, poor economy (poverty) has influenced their stability in drug related offence. Additionally the live network system also influence immensely. Therefore the imprisonment only will not help to save the women from this drug related offence. Hence they continue their business through the network while they are in the prison even.

Further to address this issue there should be a proper mechanism to treat the root cause of the problem. In that sense should work at the ground level to eradicate the drug dealing system in the poor settlement areas or to break the chain.

Conclusion

Women's imprisonment is highly related to poverty, since offences often relate to helping their family and to overcome the poverty or extreme poverty, because of lack of access to economic opportunities or resources or in need of money to bail their family members to prevent detention.

"Offences committed by women are closely linked to poverty and often a means of survival to support their family and children"
(Promoting fair and effective criminal justice system, 2012).

Further considerable numbers of women offenders are incarcerated as a direct or indirect result of the drug abuse of their husbands or partners, their family and the community. Although there are number of women offenders are less with compared to male offenders just cannot be ignored hence there are considerable numbers of women offenders. It was able to find that there are some women imprisoned to save their family members or to care the family when their male members are in prison, or to maintain the costumers till their members bailed out. These are the factors that pulls the women in to this offends.

As per the theoretical perspective as functionalism believes boundaries maintenance between "good" and "bad" according to their society and environment, this is not considered as deviant

behavior deviance but it has become normative since most of them are engaging in this within the society. As social control theory suggests that the attachment towards the social norms do not prevent them from deviant behavior as this has become normalcy as considerable number of people engage in this or having even one member addicted to drugs.

Therefore the formal rules and regulation used for these under saved settlements would not eliminate the issue here. There should be regulations and rehabilitations with women sensitized and particularly designed to approach the whole community. Further individualism or individual approach would do not apply for these kinds of society like where the deviant behavior has become normalcy. Therefore should identify community driven approach at ground level as well as at incarceration.

Suggestions

- Focus on rehabilitation system it should be more practical and designed by understanding the network system and offenders environment
- Identify the vulnerable women who are prone to drug offence by living in the drug prone area and conduct awareness and rehabilitation program
- Steps to rehabilitate and isolate the inmates who are possible to rehabilitated from the same kind of offenders and provide them training for new income generation and the service of drug counseling to take them away gradually.

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