

Women Prisoners: A Case Study of Central Jail, Kot Lakhpat, Lahore

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Abstract

Despite having kaleidoscopic culture, discrimination of womenfolk is quite common in Pakistan even today – seemingly fulfilling an undeclared agenda that women should be restricted from having liberty, education, economic exposure, and rights. But going behind the bars makes them even more vulnerable and adds to their exploitation because of the stigma they carry for whole of their lives. This descriptive research deals with the crucial issue of women prisoners in Pakistan; identify the factors that lead the involvement of women in criminal activities; and looks into the condition of women prisoners in jail through qualitative methodology.

Key words: Women prisoners, Central Jail Kot Lakhpat, discrimination, criminal activities, courts

Introduction

Pakistan is a multi-cultural society practicing various traditions and customs, yet discriminatory attitude towards womenfolk is quite common. It seems an undeclared agenda that women should be restricted from having liberty, education, economic exposure, and rights. “Women in Pakistan, especially in the rural areas, are often made targets of retaliation in disputes between men”(Mittra& Kumar, 2004, p. 52). In a country, where women can be killed in the name of honor of man, practices like *Wani*, *Swara*, *Karo-kari*, *Wata-satta* and marriage with Quran still continue. As punishment, shaving of head and eye brows, mutilation of nose and ears, acid throwing, sexual abuse, and rape of women are also in practiced, though extremely under-reported. They are generally confronting with a deplorable condition. But the women once go behind the bars, become extremely vulnerable and their level of exploitation raises manifold because of the stigma they carry for whole of their life. There are some important factors, which lead the involvement of women in criminal activities: a) women are so much dependent and under psychological pressure of their male fellows that they can easily compel or drag them; b) on the pretext of love and loyalty of women for their male fellows like husband, father, brother, lover, or relatives they can be emotionally exploited and then involved; c) security agencies and police show latitude towards women and generally due to prevailing social norms they do not search or check them while they are roaming around or travelling in vehicles; so criminal elements exploit this latitude; d) and courts in Pakistan usually take a lenient view of the crimes committed by women as compared to men. Consequently bail applications of women usually get favorable response from the courts. Due to these factors, a new trend has been

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emerging in Pakistan of using women in criminal activities like fraud, theft, narcotics, murder and kidnapping for ransom.

After arrest, the alleged women usually confront abusive treatment, behaviors, and environment during police investigation, case trials, and in lockups. Similarly during the imprisonment and after the release from prison they remain disadvantaged socially, psychologically, morally, and economically. By going through this long and expensive legal procedure, their dependency on male fellows further increases. Most of these women were already victims of neglect and frustration, and they turned into socially excluded individuals. So it will be investigated that why women commit the crimes. Moreover, the challenges they face after the release from the prison and their social integration will also be looked upon.

For preciseness, the paper is divided into following parts. In the part of 'Woman Prisoners', definition, ratio and history have been brought forth. In 'Conceptual Framework', different theories of imprisonment are discussed. 'Situational Analysis' has been undertaken to describe the environment of the Jail and condition of its inmates. Then 'Position and Place of a Female in Society' is presented. After that 'Causes of Women's Crimes' are described in the paper. At the end 'Conclusion' is drawn along with suggestions.

Significance of the Study

There is hardly any evidence that on this vary topic i.e., 'Women Prisoners' any academic research has been undertaken in Pakistan. In fact the understudy population is one of the most neglected and socially excluded communities which need a serious effort to bring their conditions and problems in limelight and press stakeholders to address. This empirical study was quite difficult in terms of collecting data and information because in Pakistan, generally women in prison were not allowed to meet or interact with a stranger. The officials of Home department were quite reluctant to give permission to meet and conduct the interviews of the habitants of prison, might be having fear in their minds that misconducts and misdeeds in jail could be exposed. Therefore, special efforts were made to get permission for the task. The matter was discussed with Inspector General Prisons, Punjab and Deputy Secretary of Home department. They were assured that it was purely an academic study and be kept confidential. Moreover, fictitious names would be used in the collected data keeping in view research ethics. Thus permission was granted with the conditions that no male will interview the woman prisoners and no video and audio recorder will be used. As a result only female research assistants were allowed to visit the prison and conduct the interviews of the inmates. Apart from the interviews of woman prisoners, the researcher conducted and recorded the interviews of other stake holders to have firsthand knowledge and to cross check the information which have made the research unique and original.

Conceptual Framework

In simple words, crime means when a person violates the law of the country. Cavan describes, "Crime is used as a general term for violation of criminal laws"(Cavan, 1962, p. 272). There are five theories about imprisonment and to deal with criminals, the scholars generally refer to: a) Deterrent theory, b) Preventive theory, c) Reformatory theory, d) Retributive theory, and e) Compensation theory.

According to deterrence theory, criminal must be treated in a manner that other should refrain from doing the same. In this regard Mahajan quotes Salmond, "Punishment is before all things deterrent and the chief end of the law of crime is to make the evildoer an example and a warning to all that are like minded with him" (Mahajan, 2008, p. 136). As far as preventive theory is concerned, it aims to stop the criminals to do another crime therefore he/she is put behind bars. Paton and Derham say, "The preventive theory concentrates on the prisoner but seeks to prevent him from offending again in future" (Paton & Derham, 1972, p. 138). However, Johnson highlights another aspect of it, "the person charged with assault may be jailed to prevent further attacks. Excessive bail may be imposed to teach the defendant 'a lesson' through the inconvenience of a stay in jail. Also, the court may want to make an example of the defendant" (Johnson, 1964, p. 498).

Similarly, reformatory theory treats a criminal with more humanitarian manner. Sometimes, a crime can be committed by a person unintentionally or in an extreme emotional condition or with ignorance of the law. So in jail such people should be treated in a manner that they may improve themselves. The other important purpose of jail is to correct the behavior of inmates for their future life. Johnson states, "The indictment of the jail assumes that rehabilitation is the major purpose of jail"(Johnson, 1964, pp. 504–505). They may be given education and psychological treatment to become better human beings. Paton's perception is, "While awarding punishment, that judge should study the character and age of the offender, his early breeding, his education and environment, and the circumstances under which he committed the offence"(Paton & Derham, 1972, p. 139).

As far as retributive theory is concerned, it is outdated; however, it was undertaken in primitive society, when the principle of "an eye for an eye," "a tooth for a tooth" (Mahajan, 2008, p. 145) was the punishment. The theory of compensation is made upon that there should be some compensations in monetary terms for the victims of the crime.

It goes without saying that by applying only one theory as a tool a useful and comprehensive judicial system cannot be established. In countries, like Algeria, Bangladesh, China, Egypt, Iran, North Korea and Saudi Arabia (Wikipedia) Capital Punishment]judicial systems are based on a combination of deterrent theory having capital punishment and preventative theory having imprisonment. During last two decades there are some countries including Belgium, Poland, Turkey, New Zealand, Canada and Australia have abolished the capital punishment. Indeed there is a strong opinion particularly in West that capital punishment is against Human Rights. In some countries including Pakistan, deterrence theory along with preventive and compensative theory is in practice. However in most countries reformatory theory is not applied.

So the best use of the punishment is that it should be awarded according to nature of crime and by keeping in view the intention of the doer. For that matter, Paton's perception

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seems quite useful that criminal's conditions, age, education, brought up and background should also be considered by the courts. As far as women are concern besides preventive and compensative theory, Johnson's view about imprisonment should be incorporated and therefor, reformatory theory should be applied excessively. The jails should be used as reform and rehabilitation centers for women where education, moral and psychological treatments to be given to them to mend their behavior and conduct for future. However, capital punishment should not be applied in any case particularly on women. Though imprisonment or punishment is used to confine the violators of law for peace and security of the people but it should also be used to reform them to make better and useful citizens.

Methodology

This study needs descriptive research which can explain the phenomenon, its condition, and environment. However, it would also bring fore some aspects which were not known earlier to common people. As it is an ongoing phenomenon and for this empirical study primary, sources like observation and interview technique would be used. A random sampling method had been preferred and eight woman prisoners were selected for interviews for this qualitative research. To make the research more representative besides interviews of woman prisoners some interviews of others like a woman who has been released from the Jail, Superintendent of the Jail, Police Officer, representative of Social Welfare department and Women Rights activist were also conducted to verify the information. Since a male visitor, camera and audio recorder were not allowed in the female unit; therefore, two female research assistants were taken along by the Author/Researcher to conduct the interviews of woman prisoners. The interviews were semi-structured to provide freedom to the respondents to speak out and were conducted in Urdu and Punjabi languages which the respondents understood. However, the interviews were translated in to English language. The interviews were conducted in the normal condition and environment of the Jail to acquire the original information from the respondents, and whole conversation was written down. The interviews were conducted when jail officials were not around just to save the respondents from any pressure and fear. For coding, in the interview tables, separate columns of Super ordinate themes, Themes, and Interviews (verbatim statements) were made. For clarity and understanding Super ordinate themes were given numerical (1. 2. 3....), Themes alphabetical(a. b. c....) and verbatim statements of the respondents Roman numerical in ascending order (i. ii. iii....). Then an analysis had been undertaken by using the original data taken from the office of the prison and information collected through interviews and observation to present the picture. All the interviewees were given fictitious names to keep the secrecy and sanctity. The tables of all the coded interviews were placed as appendices.

Woman Prisoners

Woman prisoners are those female who are confined on the orders of courts as punishment for violating the laws of the country. However, some women are also put in prison during

the investigations and trials of their cases in police and courts respectively. Though their basic needs like shelter, food, and clothing is fulfilled but their movement is restricted within the prescribed boundaries, and they are not allowed to go outside the jail. Cavan defines prison, "The prison differs from a free community in that it is composed first, of unwilling inhabitants who have been convicted of some crimes, second, who are all of one sex, and all of whom are adults"(Cavan, 1962, p. 434). Johnson says, "Jail prisoners are of four general types: those held for investigation and preliminary hearings; those held for trial; those serving a jail sentence; and a small group of insane prisoners awaiting transfer to a prison or other institution, and detained witnesses"(Johnson, 1964, p. 499). Johnson further elaborates, "the jail is a way station between arrest and trial and between conviction and admission of offenders to long term correctional institution. They also serve as a place of confinement for offenders sentenced for misdemeanors. In this respect, the jail specializes in the short term holding of a heterogeneous population which also includes individuals not subject to criminal law" (Johnson, 1964, p. 495).

The descriptions of Cavan and Johnson do not seem appropriate as it has been noted that in women's prison, some children up to 7 years of age including boys were staying with their mothers. Sykes writes, "Imprisonment should be punishment, not only by depriving the individual of his liberty, but also by imposing painful conditions under which the prisoner must live within the walls"(Dressler, 1991, p. 578). Most social scientists don't agree with Sykes that jail should have painful conditions for its inhabitants, but they view that jail should be used for reforming the prisoners. It is a fact that women's crimes vary from region to region and culture to culture yet their ratio is far less than men. "The ration of 8 men to one woman is constant over the years according to FBI report"(Cavan, 1962, p. 29).But this ratio does not seem correct for most countries. In a country where women have more exposure and active participation in social and economic life and have less dependency on their fellow men their nature of crimes is quite different from the women who have more dependency on men and have less exposure and participation in social and economic life. Lombroso and Ferrero state, "The countries that are avenues of criminalities for the occasional rather than the born female criminal"(Lombroso& Ferrero, 1916, p. 213).

The Central Jail, Kot Lakhpat, Lahore has a separate portion/unit for woman prisoners. In the prison there were about 3500 male and 133 female prisoners. It shows a far less ratio of women as compared to that men in the prison. In this regard Cavan interprets low ratio of woman criminals, "The difference in crime rates between men and women opens the way for speculations as to the reason. ...women have a great tendency towards crime as men, but that their crimes are of types that are difficult to detect" (Cavan, 1962, p. 31). He further elaborates, "domestic workers may make small, undetected thefts, the women shoplifters whom stores discover but do not report for fear of losing customers, the number of illegal abortions never reported, and blackmailing of men who prefer to be exploited rather than to have their sexual misdeeds exposed"(Cavan, 1962, p. 31). On the same matter Reckless writes, "it appears that female criminality is very much underreported, especially if one considers offenses such as shoplifting, thefts by prostitutes, theft by domestic servants, abortions, perjury, disturbance of peace, offenses against children, and homicide. There are even certain offenses such as homosexuality and exhibitionism that go particularly

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unprosecuted if committed by women. ...women are often the instigators of crimes committed by men and, as instigators they are hard to detect”(Reckless, 1961, p. 83). With the explanations of Cavan and Reckless, it is still difficult to establish that women have same tendency and volume of crimes as men have. It is worth mentioning that there are numerous crimes committed by men but cases against them are neither reported nor registered.

Historically, woman prisoners remained thin in numbers but with the culmination of 20th century their ratio has started increasing particularly in the USA and some other western countries. Kruttschnitt and Gartner mentioned, “In the United States, for example, between 1990 and 2000 the number of women in prison increased by 125 percent (Bureau of Justice Statics 2001c)... Although the size of the female prison population has not increased to such levels or so consistently in other western countries, the female proportion of the imprisoned population appears to be on the rise in many nations”(Kruttschnitt& Gartner, 2003, p. 2). Similarly, Hoover writes, “Despite the continuing effects of some self-professed experts to minimize the crime problem, the undeniable fact remains that crime is increasing – in both numbers and intensity – at an alarming rate. It is growing six times as fast as our population”(Dressler, 1991, p. 29).The ratio of women’s involvement in criminal activities seems more in USA and some western countries as they have more exposure to social and economic life; but in a country like Pakistan, women’s ratio is quite nominal. In various cases, it has been noted during the jail visit that many women commit crimes accidentally or ignorantly. Though population of women prisoners in Pakistan is on rise yet it is far less as compared to the USA. It is a fact that due to rise in crimes, the number of prisoners whether male or female is also increasing which makes it a matter of concern.

In historical perspective, curtailing liberty of someone undesirable is an old practice. Kings, lords, tribal chiefs, victorious, and powerful individuals used to keep their opponents, enemies, and rebellions in confinement as tool of punishment or to prove their supremacy or authority.“The use of imprisonment as punishment for crimes is of recent origin. Prisoners, however, have existed from early times. Castles often had dungeons into which the king or lord could thrust prisoners taken in war or captured rivals; early courts also used prisons” (Cavan, 1962, p. 271). Cavan further says, “The purpose of imprisonment was custody until a sentence, such as death, could be carried out; or as a place of torture either by mechanical means or by the slow process of neglect and starvation”(Cavan, 1962, pp. 271-72).Sykes opines, “It is a cliché of modern penology that placing the offender in prison is for the purpose of punishment, deterrence, and reform. ...The idea of punishment as the purpose of imprisonment is plain enough __the person who has committed a wrong or hurt must suffer in return”(Dressler, 1991, p. 578).Clemmer expresses, in ‘Imprisonment as a Source of Criminality’, “Earlier societies employed corporal punishment strictly as personal retribution and with deterrence as only a vague and secondary purpose. The development of imprisonment as a form of penalty for violation of law is in historical singe, rather new”(Dressler, 1991, p. 590).Similarly tracing the history of women prison, Cavan writes, “In 1593, the Protestants of Amsterdam built a prison for women whom they hoped to reform by hard work and religious influence”(Cavan, 1962, p. 272).

In present time, prison is a necessary tool of modern set up and government's machinery. With the passage of time, rapid increase in population and influx of sophisticated equipment's criminality and criminals have risen significantly. For law and order, peace, and security, every government needs jails to confine the law violators and trouble makers. In modern age, performance of government is gauged by how much peace and security it has provided to the people. Therefore, government makes laws and implements laws through its agencies to make sure that all people should observe them. It also constitutes courts to adjudicate the cases of violators of the law. So courts may punish the criminals in term of imprisonment for a certain period of time according to the nature of crimes. So prison has become important tool where government keeps violators of law not only to punish them but also to restrict them to repeat. It also warns others to avoid such acts for the peace and order in the society.

Situational Analysis

There are total 32prisons in Punjab province excluding sole prison for women which is in Multan (Wikipedia, Prisons in Punjab).Central Jail Lahore is situated in East of the city at Kot Lakhpat, few kilometers away from Kanchi Amer Sadhu, Ferozpur Road. This is one of the biggest jails of Punjab operating since 1967. It covers an area of about 500 canals and more or less 3500 prisoners are kept here. It is worth mentioning that actual capacity of the jail is only 800 prisons but about 4 times more inmates were present in the jail. When it was made, Kot Lakhpat was an out scud of the city; but with the rapid increase in population and new colonies, now it has turned into a quite populous and busy part of Lahore.

Unlike the USA and some other western countries, jails in Pakistan are operated by the public sector. All the prisons in Punjab are the domain of Home department and its Secretary is the Chief. However, the operational head of the prisons in Punjab is the Inspector General Prisons, who is always a senior police officer. For operation and management of the jails, the Home department has special cadre of its employees.

The jail has a separate portion/unit for female prisoners within its premises. It contradicts the clause 8(a) of Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (SMRTP) approved by the Economic and Social Council of United Nations in 1977 which says "Men and women shall so far as possible be detained in separate institutions" Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, 1977, Clause 8).The female unit is little away from the block of male prisoners; however, the main entrance is common for both male and female prisoners. As far as women's unit is concerned, it has two barracks and eight small cells called '*Chakki*' for the inmates.

The convicted prisoners (5.3%) have been sentenced up to 25 years imprisonment; however, under trial prisoners' cases (31%) are in progress in the courts. The third category condemned prisoners (63.1%) are kept in separate cells. They have been awarded life sentences or imprisonment for more than 25 years. The prisoners who violate rules and regulations of the jail can also be kept in cells as punishment. These cells are very small ('4x'6) in size and without any widow for light and air. These cells have carved out a separate sub unit within the barrack. The condemned prisoners did not have facility of TV

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and were not allowed to come out from their sub unit to mingle with other prisoners. The conditions of condemned prisoners are incompatible with clause 10 of the SMRTP.

The female unit is a single story building and does not have system of cross ventilation. There are sets of two beds, placed on one another in a vertical manner to double the capacity. There are total six washrooms/toilets, which are quite unhygienic and in a bad shape and in the words of a released prisoner (Firdous Sabir), “not sufficient for the inmates.” It is against clause 12 of the SMRTP. The unit of woman prisoners has capacity of only 30-40 prisoners; however, 133 inmates were present at the day of visit. So, it is quite over-stuffed and almost four times more than its actual capacity. In Lahore, weather conditions are extreme and temperature in summer goes up to 48 °C and in winter comes down to 2 °C. Similarly, in Monsoon, heavy and prolonged rains are quite usual which results in humidity up to 80%. In such extreme weather conditions, along with overcrowded unit of woman prisoners turns very difficult to stay in. There is no proper system of sanitation, heating, lighting, and ventilation in the jail which is against clause 26(c) of the SMRTP. During the visit, it was observed that the unit was clean and arrangements of drinking water and electricity were quite intact.

In daily routine, the woman prisoners get up early in the morning, as barracks are unlocked at 5:00 am, and morning meal is given to them at 5:30 am, which consists of tea and ‘Roti’. The prisoners possess some belongings like clothes, eatables and pots. The convicted prisoners have their small lockers where they may keep their valuable things under lock and key. Some of the prisoners, who have support from their relatives, possess fruits and other eatables which they keep under their beds. After the morning meal, there is a free time, and inmates of the barracks can mingle and interact with each other. Mostly during this time, they take bath and wash their clothes and belongings. Mid-day meal is given at 11:00 am, and menu keeps on changing from beef, lentil to vegetable with ‘Roti’. Woman Prisoners; Nargis Sharif, Mumtaz Tariq, Khushbu Karim, Reema Rahim, Gul Bahar, and Sana Rafique, in their interviews with the author conveyed, “no serious complaint about the quantity of food.” But, according to Firdous Shabir (a released woman prisoner) and Mumtaz Hamid (Social Worker & Women Rights Activist) in their interviews to the author reported, “complaints regarding quality and under cooked food” which violates clause 20 (1) of the SMRTP.

There is no restriction on inmates to make their own food if they can afford, but there is no kitchen or proper place for cooking. There was a temporary burner made with mud, outside the barrack; and to set fire, tree branches; and waste material were burned. But in tough weather conditions like summer and Monsoon, it becomes quite difficult to cook there. About 4:00 pm, they are given evening meal, and then the barracks are locked.

After having morning meal, some inmates have been deputed to clean and maintain the barracks. It is pertinent to mention that favorite prisoners were not deputed for such jobs. According to Firdous Sabir, a released prisoner said, If one is not able to fulfill the demand *Mahinabharo* (monthly Rs.1000 almost equal to US \$ 9) she is forced to undertake hard and difficult duties like cleaning the toilets, sweeping and *poacha* (mopping) of barracks etc. It shows that bribery is part of the jail culture, which facilitates the prisoners who can afford it. This is the labor taken by the jail authority otherwise they remain idle for the whole day.

But it looks appropriate, if some productive and useful work is taken from them which will be beneficial for them in future. There is a variety of crimes in which woman prisoners are involved.

Table 1: Distribution of Woman Prisoners According to Crimes.

| Categories | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Murder | 42 | 31.6 |
| Narcotics | 30 | 22.5 |
| Blasphemy | 2 | 1.5 |
| Robbery/Dacoity | 6 | 4.5 |
| Kidnapping and Abduction | 12 | 9.0 |
| Hurt by Means of Poisoning | 5 | 3.8 |
| Theft | 15 | 11.3 |
| Miscellaneous | 21 | 15.8 |
| Total | 133 | 100 |

(Source: official record of the Prison)

Table 1, shows that murder tops the crimes, and out of 133 woman prisoners, 42 have cases of murder which is an alarming ratio. Killing of someone by a woman is indeed an extreme kind of act. In majority cases, women have murdered either their husbands or their lovers. The most common reason behind such murders was betrayal. In interviews with Mumtaz, Shabnum, Reema, Gul Bahar, Sadia, and with Human Rights Activist Mahnoor Hamid, the author was informed that in some cases, women have killed close relatives particularly from their in-laws in retaliation of mental or physical abuse. Some cases have also been noted where women have been falsely indulged in murder mostly by their relatives to gain money of property. It reflects the grave situation, the women pass through to commit such a cruel act. It is worth mentioning that in all cases, the women have killed men out of frustration and desperation which have been created by men.

The second highest ratio among woman crime is of narcotics (22.5%) where women have been working on behest of their fellow men. Similarly, in robbery/dacoity, kidnapping for ransom and fraud cases mostly men were behind women. It is pertinent to know that many criminals prefer to use a female in such heinous activities because with her presence a crime can be undertaken with ease and at the same time they can dodge police. Another reason to involve women in criminal activities is that they get bails easily from courts as compared to men. Such lenient view of the courts is being exploited by the criminals by employing women. Another aspect shared by the jail superintendent Mr. Kamal Anil with the author, was that “women generally do not disclose the names of their male relatives and confess the crimes to save them.” However, in theft cases, a woman commits the crime mostly when her fellow male does not support her financially, which make her frustrated. So to fulfill their wishes, women of lower strata sometimes can go to the extent of stealing or prostitution. The superintendent gave his opinion, “men use women in crimes.” However some women do it as a habit, suffering from kleptomania. Apart from kleptomania, in most of the cases, men are directly or indirectly behind women’s crimes.

There was another case noted during the visit that a mother and her daughter both were in jail on the charges of narcotics trafficking. It supports what Kamal Anil, Jail Superintendent, Rambo, a police officer, and Meera, the watch ward (care taker of women unit) said in their interviews, “in narcotics business women were being used by families led

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by male to dodge the security agencies.”Firdous, a woman released from the jail, confessed, “me and my two sons have cases of narcotics and one of them is still in jail.”Five foreign national women were also in jail and mostly had charges of narcotics trafficking. All of them were of African origin. There is a separate room in the barrack for prisoners who belonged to foreign countries.

There were six women accompanied by their children. According to the rules, child up to 7 years of age can stay with mother in jail. However, it seems quite disturbing that when child crosses 7 years he / she is detaches from the mother. Indeed, it is neither in the interest of mother nor of child. With this act a mother as well as child passes through a stressful condition.

Though women prisoners may meet with their relative once a week but with the permission of the authorities, they can meet for more than one time. There is a special place in the jail for such meetings. However, during the meetings, generally prisoners and their relatives sit either sides of the iron grill. The relatives can give only allowed items and eatables to the prisoners. Firdous stated, “They steal most of items given by the relatives of prisoners. They even openly demand the things and we give them willy-nilly. If any prisoner does complaint, she will face hard times and be given some laborious works.” It is interesting to note that this matter was not disclosed by any of the prisoners present in jail. It shows that they had fear of the jail administration.

It is worth mentioning that there was no conjugal facility for the married woman prisoners to meet with their husbands separately in jail. However, in few jails of Punjab arrangements are underway for provision of conjugal facilities to married male prisoners, but the authorities were silent to give the same facility to the married woman prisoners which showed discrimination against them. It violates the rights of married women and international standards.

A woman prisoner is only taken outside the jail to appear before the court for her case. But in severe illness, she can also be taken to hospital for treatment. Otherwise, a woman prisoner remains in jail until her imprisonment ends. It is a harsh reality and Mahnoor reported, “In some cases, women remain in jail even after completion of their awarded imprisonment as nobody comes to undertake the required legal formalities to get them released from the jail.”All the prisoners may wear their own clothes, as and there was no restriction to wear uniform of the jail. It was also told by the superintendent that there was no restriction on playing and undertaking recreational activities. But such facilities and arrangements were not present. The recreational activities are considered quite necessary for human beings and clause 21 (2) of SMRTP emphasis it.

Anjuman Tariq, representative of Social Welfare department stated in her interview to the author, “most of the woman prisoners are either illiterate or belong to backward areas” and “many had committed crimes because of ignorance.”Though a room was reserved for teaching but there was no teacher available for these women to make them thinking and aware individuals. She said, “We are also arranging vocational trainer and teacher.”It is against clause 77 (1) of the SMRTP.

Similarly, no arrangement of psychological treatment or therapy for the prisoners has been noted. It was also admitted by the representative of Social Welfare Department,

deputed in the Jail. In fact when a woman remains for a longer period of time in confinement and misses her family then she needs treatment to overcome psychological problems. Such treatment is also required to keep the prisoners balanced human beings. The absence of such arrangements contradicts clause 22 (1) of the SMRTP.

In the same manner, no arrangements for vocational training or to teach them some useful skills and crafts like tailoring, embroidery, beauticianing, and hair cutting were found. Anjuman confessed that “we don’t have such experts to teach them skills.” Indeed, such skills can be very useful tools to reduce their dependency on male fellows and make them self-sufficient. It is a fact that such skills are demanded in the market, and with the training of few months, the woman prisoners can become experts which will help them overcome their economic problems. But the authorities were found quite reluctant to materialize it though a room and some tools were available in the jail.

It was stated that doctor remains available round the clock for woman prisoners, but reports about negligence and absence of doctor had been received during the interviews. Nonetheless, for usual sickness, medicines are available in jail. However, for critical illness and expensive treatment, no arrangements were seen. Due to such problem, it was disclosed that various sick prisoners got critical and some of them died. Similarly, pre-natal and post-natal care and treatment were not available, which are necessary in a woman prison. It is also violation of clause 23 (1) of the SMRTP. A case popped up during the jail visit when a woman prisoner, few days back, was rush to hospital in a critical condition, but she could not survive. To inquire the matter, a judicial magistrate was there on that day. From the conversation between the jail superintendent and the judicial magistrate, it was noted that actually it was negligence of the doctor who was absent from his duty. Moreover, it was also observed that the judicial magistrate and superintendent were taking the matter of death in a very casual manner. Same was the case when the doctor of the jail came to tell the cause of the death to the judicial magistrate. It was noted that the patient could not get proper and timely treatment of her illness and eventually expired. Such treatment and happenings with prisoners are clear violation of clause 22 (1) of SMRTP. Instead of taking this matter seriously, the judicial magistrate seemed friendly with the doctor. It shows that how much responsible officials were concerned about the prisoners.

It was stated that judicial magistrate visited the jail once a month and inquired about the conditions of jail and inmates. In fact such visits rarely took place; moreover, there was no complaint box in the jail, which negates clause 55 of SMRTP. In such conditions prisoners remain at the disposal of jail officials and they exploit and force them to give bribe for minor things.

Although it was told that according to the rules, a male was not allowed to visit the women’s unit yet magistrate and doctor who were male used to visit the jail. Similarly, the superintendent is also common for both male and female units who are always a male. Indeed, it is a clear contradiction of the rules as well as social and religious values of the country.

Most of the women came first time in the prison, but some of them were repeaters. There was no bifurcation between first timers and habitual prisoners. Similarly prisoners of heinous crimes and minor crimes were also kept together which is against the rules of jail. It

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is interesting to note that “most of the repeaters were involved in drug cases,” informed by Anjuman. It shows that a small number of prisoners were habitual criminals.

One case of a widow prisoner was quite unique as she had committed crime deliberately to be sent to jail. According to her, “I do not have any shelter and means to feed myself and jail is a place where I can, at least, have shelter and avoid starvation.” It shows that how much poor economic conditions have been prevailing in the country.

It is noted that women involved in organized crimes, like prostitution and drug trafficking, have financial support and provision of lawyers from their beneficiaries. But women who commit crimes accidentally or innocently are generally do not have any support and lawyer. Such women confront more tough times in and outside the jail. There were twenty four women in the jail who were in category of ‘Jail Appeal’, meaning there by, they did not have financial support from their families to contest their cases in courts. So, they have applied to jail authorities for the provision of judicial assistance as they did not have means to hire a lawyer. The figure shows that about 19% of woman prisoners did not have family support for lawyers. This reflects that many families cut the link with woman prisoners because they do not want to spend money on them or for the sake of their honor in society. However, in prison of male, one can hardly see such case of ‘Jail Appeal’. Again it shows the preferential approach of the family towards male as compared to female. This biasness is still in vogue because male enjoys greater social and economic value in the society. Most of the woman prisoners; Sana, Mumtaz, Khushbu, Veena (a foreigner), Reema, and Shabnam Yousaf shared their bad experience in police stations when they were arrested and went through investigation. Firdous stated, “during arrest and investigation, police personals demand money otherwise they apply torture on them and add some false heinous crimes in the investigation reports. So to save ourselves we have to bribe them”. No doubt they faced psychological and physical abuses in the hands of investigation agencies. Some of them did complain about degrading and inhuman treatment by male personals because most police stations did not employ female police for the investigation of women. It is against the law and human rights for women. Few woman prisoners even refused to share treatment they received in police stations. It can be inferred from their expressions that they have faced some horrible treatments which they were not ready to share.

Similarly, about judicial system woman prisoners were very pessimist. Mostly said, that they did not get justice and proceedings of cases got unnecessary delays which caused them severe mental and financial constraints. Firdous stated, “The judges keep on giving dates. It is a slow judicial system. We paid a lot to them but courts are not giving proper response.” It is facts that it is an expensive proceeding, and judges do not realize it. Most of the women in jail belong to marginalized families, so they were not in a position to afford this prolonged and expensive proceeding. Moreover, the relatives were also not keen to spend money on women as they stood at low priority.

Most prisoners also complained about the indifferent attitude of people because they were quite reluctant to have social contacts with them. They took them like curse and leave them alone. “We become as excluded community”, it was stated by Nargis, Firdous, Sana, and Shabnam. It is not out of context to say that such depressed women can easily be used by the criminal elements in their activities.

Most of the woman prisoners were Muslims and seemed to be strong believers in God, so they perceived the circumstances they were confronting as their ill fate. Khushbu, Shabnum, and Nargis took it as “God’s will” and stated that when God would be pleased, everything would be alright. However they did not complain about system and social discrimination, they had been suffering from.

Meera, the watch war commented while passing by. “Their family members are bastards and pimps. They have involved them in such circumstances for money. Their whole families are involved in the business and they will never pull through.” These comments reflect the observation of the care taker who has been serving in the same jail for more than twenty years. The similar comments were also given by Mahnoor, the Women Rights Activist about families of the inmates.

The jail authorities do not offer internet or telephone facility to the inmates. Moreover, use of cell phone is also prohibited for common prisoners but not for those who can bribe them.

Position and Place of a Female in Society

Women’s exploitation is a pervasive problem, which persists all over the world; however, its intensity and nature varies from country to country. Since the time immemorial, womenfolk have been marginalized and facing bias and neglected treatment one way or the other by men. Mostly socio-cultural, religious, economic, and political factors have rendered them in a subordinate and dependent position.

As far as Pakistani women are concerned their position has been confined by three factors: a) influence of Hinduism, which regards woman as an inferior creature and is made to serve man; b) feudal culture which empowers man to make most decisions about woman; and c) Islam which also gives superior position to man over woman. Thus with the encirclement of these factors, Pakistani women have been denied even those rights which are given them by the Constitution.

In Pakistan, patriarchal system and joint family living is still quite intact. In this arrangement, male members of the family have been performing the leading and dominant role in almost all spheres of women’s life. Due to gender bifurcation of labour force, a male undertakes economic activities and interacts in society without any restriction and a female is supposed to play a role of a housewife by looking after the household, and taking care of family.

Pakistan is among those countries having one of the lowest literacy rates as well as lowest employment rates of women. Generally women in Pakistan have not been given their rights like proper educational, social and economic opportunities, and therefore, remain disadvantaged and dependent for whole of their life on their fellow-men for even their basic needs. In a patriarchal and joint family system, her space is very limited but her responsibilities and functions are very demanding. She has been groomed in a manner where she should know how to serve the family. Since childhood and before the marriage she serves her parents and siblings; and after the marriage, she starts serving her husband

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and his family. So the individuals, she serves can be changed with the passage of time but her role remains the same.

Honor has a unique connotation in Pakistan, if anything happens against the established norms of society vis-a-vis female of the family; somehow it damages the honor of male members. On the pretext of Honor, Pakistani women are socially marginalized and economically deprived. As women have to be dependent on men in most spheres of their life, and they have very narrow space for independent decision making.

Some incidents depict the position and place of a female in the society. Indeed, she has been facing numerous biases on one pretext or the other. Discriminatory behavior against a female is quite common, particularly in the sub-continent. In this region birth of a baby-boy is always regarded as source of strength for the family and thus celebrated. However, the birth of a baby-girl is taken as a source of weakness and generally never been welcomed by the family. This discrimination starts even before the birth of a girl. Jaising describes Indian conditions, "Parents can now detect the sex of a fetus within the first trimester, and upon learning that the sex of the unborn child is female, many women choose or are forced to abort. Although the evidence is not fully available, one study showed that 7,997 of 8000 fetuses aborted were female"(Peter & Wolper, 1995, p. 51). She further writes, "If a girl child is lucky enough to be born, she experiences discrimination in her infancy. Girl children are fed less and for shorter periods and are not given food like butter or milk, which are reserved for boys. ... While boys are sent to school, girls often stay home to look after young siblings and to help in household chores. Even those girls who do receive some education must, at the same time, do washing and cleaning, as these are taboo chores for males"(Peter & Wolper, 1995, p. 51). Marriage is an important matter for a female, particularly in a conservative society like Pakistan. The future life of the girl greatly depends on this decision. But most marriages are taken place due to convenience and liking of the parents. The dependency is so high that most girls have to bow to the decisions of their parents no matter what consequences they will face. "Marriage is almost always arranged by parents or brothers. The young bride must be obedient to her elders, loyal to her husband and his family, and never discuss her marital problems with outsiders. The model wife is taught that she must be ready to sacrifice her life for the honor of her husband and his family name"(Peter & Wolper, 1995, p. 52).

The women have been suffering for centuries and their position in the society is still very low. An incident recently took place in Lahore came under focus of national and international media. BBC news reported, "a man (Umer Zaib) confessed to drowning his one-and-a-half year old daughter. ...His family says it was because he wanted a son. Similarly his wife (Sumera) says, "Since our first daughter has born, he wasn't happy, he wanted a son. He said if I had another daughter, he'd kill our first child, 'Zainab'. When, eight weeks ago, I did have another girl, he kept threatening more and more, and then he did it" (Maqbool, 2013). She further says, "his extended family all look down upon female children, thinking them a curse"(Maqbool, 2013).

Similarly a story published in the daily 'The News' which highlights the bias about female in the society, "Two newborn girls were found abandoned in different parts of the city on Saturday. Both babies were admitted to Mayo Hospital Children Nursery for

treatment. ...The passerby, who heard the cries of the babies, found them wrapped in towels”(The News, September 22, 2013). Need not to say that if these babies were boys they would have never been discarded like this. Another story is in the same newspaper on the same day about strangling of a woman by her in-laws.“The initial investigations into the mysterious death of a 23 year old woman have proved that she was strangled to death by her in-laws. ...The postmortem report proved that the victim was tortured”(The News, September 22, 2013).With such incidents, recently occurred in Lahore, one can assess the place and position of a female in the society even in 21st century. So this problem is not easy to resolve where society, by and large, has a biased approach toward female.

Causes of Women’s Crimes

Generally women are less inclined towards crimes as compare to men yet they have a complex variety of causes. Walter says, “Although crimes as a behavior problem or a social problem is complicated and not easily understood or controlled, the criminality of women is even more complicated and less understood and not subject to easy control”(Reckless, 1961, p. 78).As far as Pakistani women are concerned, poverty is considered a common cause among the woman prisoners. As majority of the women in the Jail, belongs to lower strata of the society. Poverty actually generates a vicious circle of problems particularly for a female. “According to the White Paper (2010) issued by the provisional government of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Finance Department, this border area remains the poorest in Pakistan, with an overall incidence of poverty at 44 percent as compared to 23.9 percent for Pakistan overall”(Hasnat, 2011, p. 127).With such economic conditions the first victims would be women because in Pakistani culture they do not have social and economic value like men. Women heavily depend on their male family members that make their position even weaker. Due to this dependency, they are unable to make any decision on their own. So many a time a woman becomes frustrated and can go to any extent even indulging her in crimes. “women are either emotionally or financially dependent on the male. Women have been threatened by the male into participation and therefore act in fear of their own safety”(Oliva, 2013, p. 178). Bhosle views, “Social–economic problem were found to be responsible factors for their criminal behavior(Bhosle, 2009, p. 81). In a situation when a woman is so much dependent on her male fellows in most spheres of her life, then she becomes under obligation and psychological pressure and follows the dictations.

Illiteracy is another important cause of women’s involvement in crimes. As compared to male, in Pakistan, female literacy ratio is very low. The Economic Survey 2011-12 states that literacy ratio of female is 46% and male ratio is 69% in Pakistan respectively. “There are only 8.0% women in Pakistan who have done their matriculation and 3.4% have done their Bachelors”(Finance Division Government of Pakistan, 2012, p. 34).Most of the women in prison are either illiterate or belong to poor families or from both categories simultaneously. It cannot be denied that illiteracy makes a person ignorant of his/her rights, duties, and laws. In jail, some women were found who committed the crimes just because of ignorance of the fact that their acts would be illegal and consequently they could end up in jail. Most of the women in Pakistan have been confined in the houses so they don’t have

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exposure to various social and legal matters. For every outing they need permission and a companion. Pakistani women are suffering from the problem of immobility, which leads them to further dependency of men. There is a view, “many men and women who participated in robbery only when the desperation of their circumstances forced them to do so”(Kilday, 2007, p. 144). When women of poor families show desires for things like clothes, ornaments etc., they are snubbed by their male associates because they cannot afford. So such frustrations make women desperate and they sometimes undertake illegal means to obtain things of their choice. “The love of dress and ornament is also noted by Lombroso as a frequent cause of crime in women.”(Reckless, 1961, p. 81).

In Pakistan, due to disputes of joint family system is causing various crimes. In certain cases females experience verbal and physical abuse and gets suffocated. So in desperate condition they can do something illegal. Vengeance is another factor of women’s crimes. According to Reema and Sana, “there were some women in the jail who revengefully killed their husbands on the pretext of betrayal.” It happens in Pakistan that in search of children or a baby-boy, husbands go for other marriages. But there are some women who are unable to adjust themselves with this situation and may go to any extreme. In Pakistani culture, women are quite emotional about their close male relatives like father, brother, son, and husband. They have been groomed in the manner that they are ready to sacrifice for these loved ones. On the matter a woman prisoner Shabnam stated, “I got involved into drug case by my husband.” In some cases it is noted that their male relatives instigated them to undertake crimes. “A great majority of female delinquents are led into crime by the “suggestion” of a person or by “irresistible temptation” and are not entirely deficient in the moral sense”(Reckless, 1961, p. 80). White lock states in this manner, “in its earlier phase, the diagnosis of kleptomania depends on the history and physiology of the individual afflicted, but this disease was caught up in the increasing focus on environmental causes in late nineteenth century psychology”(Whitlock, 2005, p. 223). Women in Pakistan generally don’t have their own sources of earning; therefore, economically they always look towards male fellows for their needs. In such conditions, some criminal elements offer them big amount and bright prospects and in exchange of their services. There are women who swallow the capsules filled with heroin and keep in their stomachs and after wards smuggle them. ...people would pay two lac rupees (Rs. 200,000 almost equal to US \$ 1900) for the trip. The criminals know that having a woman as their associate in their unlawful activities can dodge the police and security agencies for their objectives. Though in Punjab, departments like Social Welfare and Women Development have been working, yet no mechanism for such women who do not have shelters or mean to feed themselves. There is hardly any system to accommodate economically frustrated and socially deprived women in the society. When such women will not have any support from government side there are more chances that they can be indulged in immoral or illegal activities.

Tetlow describes, “women were particularly vulnerable to false accusations of crimes, since they could not defend themselves in court”(Tetlow, 2005, p. 79). It is also noted during the visit of the Jail, that some women have been indulged falsely in cases on pretext of money or property. Reckless is of the opinion, “Parental neglect and desertion during infancy and childhood are considered by Lombroso to be important causative factor leading

to early thieving and prostitution on the part of female, much more so than to thieving and other crimes on the part of the male” (Reckless, 1961, p. 82). It goes without saying that family disputes and constant fights between parents have negative effects on children so they become prone to some criminal activities in future.

Findings

After observing the phenomenon, reviewing literature, interviewing the woman prisoners and other stockholders it is difficult to reject that in most cases women do not commit crimes on their own. Because the space they have in social and economic life, generally, does not allow them to operate independently. In fact most of their acts are due to men or on the behest of men. It is observed and noted during the interviews that most woman prisoners had been suffering from economic problems and belonged to marginalized families. They were heavily dependent on men who led them to be exploited and abused. Their male fellows were either not in a position or not giving them sufficient money to fulfill their basic needs and run the households. If men allow and encourage women to undertake some economic activities, the incomes of households can be increased. In society like Pakistan, women are confined in their house due to men’s chauvinism.

In some cases, husbands or lovers betrayed their fellow women and in retaliation they committed crimes as revenge. So generally men are responsible for compelling women to go to that extent. There were some women in jail who had been dragged in cases by their relatives mostly in-laws to grab property. Most of the cases, it seems, were fabricated and contested by their male family members. Some cases were identified where joint family system caused the conflicts. Husband could not provide his better half basic needs and left her on the disposal of his family. It shows the weakness of husband who is the caretaker of his wife according to establish social yet unable to fulfill his responsibilities. In search of a child, or sometimes a baby-boy, man gets another marriage which generates severe disputes, and wife is compelled to take extreme step. The social and religious norms which permit a man to go for another marriage in search of a child or otherwise it is a way to tease a woman. The principal architect of such anti-woman social and religious norms is man.

Women were found in jail who committed crimes just because of ignorance. There is no second opinion that in Pakistan, male being the custodians of households is responsible to keep females illiterate and backward. In the male-dominant society, one of the major reasons of women’s dependency on men is their immobility which is the impediment in attaining a better place in the society. It goes without saying that illiteracy and backwardness keep women away from pragmatic approach. So they are more inclined towards idealism and associate everything with God’s will or fate thus they are unable to explore their potential and strive for them.

A comparatively new trend has emerged of using female in narcotics business, fraud, kidnapping for ransom, dacoity and arms smuggling. Many women involved in narcotics cases were found in jail. The Superintendent of jail, Representative of Social Welfare department, Women Rights activist and Police Officer confirmed the growth of this trend. Similarly, Anjuman said, “most repeaters in the jail were also involved in narcotics cases.” It

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is a fact that narcotics mafias are operated by men and they are the main beneficiaries. Rambo, the police inspector, stated in his interview with the author, “they have started using women for the trafficking, handling and selling of narcotics and arms just to dodge police.” Similarly association of a female in undertaking of other criminal activities like dacoity, kidnapping for ransom and fraud make things easier. Since in Pakistani culture, women are generally not expected to be involved in such criminal activities thus “police overlook them and do not check them like they check men”. Kamal further stated his interview, “Courts also work in the same lines and take alien view of women’s cases. As compare to male, a female gets bail easily and less punishment from the courts. So certain criminal elements operate through female to take advantage from the courts also”.

Various social, moral and religious norms are incompatible with women’s rights, and therefore, they have been confronting the bias treatment. Form a minor matter to a major decision of their life; they look upon their male family members. They are constantly exploited by men mostly on the pretext of social or religious norms. So sometimes their male fellows use them for economic benefits no matter the acts are illegal.

It is also found that during the imprisonment or after the imprisonment woman’s dependency on men increases manifold and she becomes further vulnerable. Then she is more prone for exploitation in the hands of men. In certain cases, after the release from the jail their families accommodate them but the respect and position earlier they had, never been restored. In many cases, their relatives and other associates do not accommodate them and look down upon them. So they carry this stigma for whole of their life which makes them victims of inferiority complex and they become socially excluded community. In certain cases, their families do not accommodate them so there are greater probabilities that they may join criminal gangs and become habitual. For such helpless and shelter-less women there is hardly any support program from the government as well as from NGOs. So keeping in view all the examples, the hypothesis cannot be rejected that in most cases men are behind women’s crimes directly or indirectly.

Suggestions

As conditions of women generally and women prisoners particularly are so complex and critical that a simple solution of the problem will not get the positive results. This issue requires a comprehensive solution having combination of macro and micro level policy. Therefore this problem has to be dealt with the following three-pronged policy having preventive, regulating and rehabilitating measures.

1. Preventive Measure

The problem of woman prisoners is old and deep rooted in the society; therefore, it requires a macro level policy to tackle with. It is need of the time to change the psyche and approach of men towards women. The other important factor is to aware female folk about their rights and economic independence. If male of the family is poor then female must be poorer because she is dependent on him. Poverty is regarded as the principal cause for the women’s involvement in crimes. So the government has to take some concrete and

sustainable macro level measure to address the problem. It should allocate maximum budget for social development generally and women department particularly. In our society women are not given a role to share the burden of household. About half of the population is not utilizing its potential in the economy. The whole burden of household generally remains on the shoulders of father. In one family, only one or two male members earn and rest of the family becomes parasites; and when needs of the family are not met then different problems and conflicts arise. In such situations, female family members are always at the receiving end.

Unless and until economic dependency of women is not minimized, the problem will continue to persist. In this regard, government should make a policy favoring the female folk. It should direct banks to give them soft loans to start their own business and economic activities. Most scholars are of the view that economic dependency leads to all other dependencies of the woman on men. Indeed, media and intellectuals can play an important role in the emancipation of women from the suppression of men.

Majority of women in the country are illiterate. Education not only gives awareness but also is a tool to get jobs. For that matter, government should legislate and implement a policy and make education compulsory for girls up to graduation level. Such policy will bring long lasting effects on their empowerment. Women should be given more and more social and economic rights and participation. Government should start vocational institutes, particularly for women, to teach them demanded skills and crafts. Similarly banks should also be directed to give them soft loans to initiate small business. It is not out of context to say that the more government will invest on women the better it will be for the overall economy of the country. Such measure will not only reduce poverty but also reduce dependency of women on men. It would be a quantum leap, if government reserves 20% to 30% quota for female in all public sector jobs. It would encourage parents to educate their girls and would be a great source of their empowerment.

Indeed mobility leads to social and economic exposure. In Pakistan, societal immobility of woman folk is one of the biggest hurdles in their empowerment and growth. Government should initiate interest free loan to enable particularly girl students to buy motor cycles or scooters. If government can give free laptops to good students then it should make such policy for girls to enhance their mobility. It would encourage girls to come out from their houses and loose the strict restrictions of their male family members. Indeed it would be a trend setter for other female in the society and make a new culture.

2. Regulating Measures

To reduce the problems of woman prisoners some regulating measures are required. There should be separate jails for women, where staff should also be female. As the number of woman prisoners is not large, therefore, in each district a small jail for women should be established. Though in big cities, women police stations exist, but are insufficient; so in every city, there should be a woman police station. If a woman commits crimes, she should be investigated by women police. It would check and reduce the abuse and mistreatment done by male police.

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Government should legislate that the investigation of women cases should be done within a specific time period. Similarly, cases of women in courts should also have fixed timeframe to save them from abusive environment and mistreatment. Unnecessary delays in proceeding cause mental and financial stress on women. For those women who are unable to bear expenses of courts and lawyers, government should link the issuance of licenses to lawyers with voluntary cases of helpless women. Moreover, government should hire lawyers in a required number to contest the cases of economically marginalized women for the sake of justice. There were women in jail who were indulged in false and fabricated cases. Government should make law for such people and give them exemplary punishments. It is need of the time that government should strengthen and activate its departments like Social Welfare and Women Development for the provision of timely help to the deserving women. Though 'Benazir Income Support Program' is a good program for deserving women but its scope is limited. So it should be expanded to a larger level. Moreover, government should make shelter homes for homeless and family-less women to save them from criminal elements.

3. Rehabilitating Measures

As far as rehabilitation of woman prisoners is concerned, it also requires some micro level measures. For women, the jail should not only be a place for their confinement them but it should be a reform center for their education, training and rehabilitation. The period they remain in jail, they should be given proper training for some useful skills and crafts which they can use to earn money and minimize their dependency on men. They should be made aware about their rights and potentials. The trainee teachers and NGOs can be involved for such programs. There should be a compulsory two hours teaching in jail to make them literate. They should be given incentives like reduction in imprisonment if they clear different levels of education. As education can make the difference and make them better human beings. Some women in jail had been suffering from serious psychological problem, so they should be provided with psychiatrists. For that matter, graduate and post graduate female students of universities can be asked to do their internships in jails.

In every jail there should be a display center of the things made by the woman prisoners. The income of these centers should be given to the inmates. This way woman prisoner can earn and save money which they can use to start an economic activity on their release. At least one hour in a day should be reserved for their recreational activities to keep them mentally and physically healthy. They should also be shown plays and movies having moral values for character building.

Conclusion

By and large women in Jail were firm believers in fate, and they perceived all kind of their problems, written by God. They were quite away from rationality and pragmatism. In fact they have been groomed in that manner that they do not talk about their rights and unjust social and economic system. They do not have comprehension of their severe dependency

on men and have adapted to live with it. Indeed it is a pessimist approach to leave everything on fate or God and keep sitting idle awaiting help from the heavens. So it is necessary to make women rational and pragmatic through education and make them aware about their potentials. The approach they possess is without belief, motivation and courage thus they will never acquire a better position for themselves in the society. So on one hand, women should themselves show desire and put efforts for their rights and position. For that matter they should form pressure groups to compel Government and political parties and mobilize public opinion in their favor with the support of media. On the other hand Government should also realize the impotence of women folk and inculcate secular and pragmatic approach in people generally and in women particularly. With a strong political will, Government can put special efforts to emancipate one half of the population from the other half of the population. Therefore, it is responsibility of the Government to allocate maximum funds for women's education, vocational training, loaning, mobility, special quota in jobs, separate police stations and reform centers (jails), judicial aid and for the efficiency and strengthening departments of Social Welfare and Woman Development.

Better economic conditions of a woman will not only give her confidence and self-reliance but also change her position from a liability to a partner in household, which eventually improve her social value and position. Similarly she would not be used by the criminals for their illegal activities by exploiting her poor economic conditions and dependency. If social and economic conditions of women improve, it will certainly improve the economy of the country. Indeed, it can be achieved if women show strong desire and motivation and put efforts for their rights and better position in society.

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