

**COMMITTEE
FOR THE
WELFARE OF
PRISONERS**



PROFILING OF WOMEN PRISONERS IN SINDH

Profiling of Women Prisoners in Sindh

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About the Committee for the Welfare of Prisoners

The Committee for Welfare of Prisoners (CWP) is a government founded not for profit Committee that operates under the Chairpersonship of Justice Nasir Aslam Zahid. The Committee's work is undertaken under the Legal Aid Office project (CWP-LAO). Its primary objectives include to provide free legal aid and representation to underprivileged prisoners, especially women and juveniles across Sindh; to work for the welfare of prisoners and improve prison living conditions; and recommend policy reforms to support Sindh's criminal justice system and to reduce the burden on and de-congest the overcrowded and under-resourced prison system.

The CWP-LAO is funded by the Women Development Department (WDD), Government of Sindh for provision of legal aid and rehabilitation services to 4 juvenile prisons (Youthful Offenders Industrial Schools i.e. YOIS) and 4 women prisons across Sindh (Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Larkana); and by Home Department, Government of Sindh for provision of legal aid and services to a total of 14 adult male prisons across the province.

As per Notification No. HD/SO/(PRS-I)/IO-01/2016, the CWP members are:

(i)	Justice (Rtd.) Nasir Aslam Zahid	Chairperson
(ii)	Inspector General Prisons, Sindh	Member
(iii)	Additional Secretary (Prisoners) Home Department Government of Sindh	Member
(iv)	Deputy Inspector General of Prisons (concerned region)	Member
(v)	Director, Women Development Department, Sindh	Member
(vi)	Barrister Haya Emaan Zahid	Secretary/Member

Profiling of Women Prisoners in Sindh

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Profiling of Women Prisoners in Sindh

1. Introduction

According to the World Prison Brief (2018), women prisoners constitute 1.8% of the total prison population in Pakistan. In Sindh, there were 191 women prisoners out of a total of 20,069 in November 2018, which is when the data collection process started.

It is evident that females account for a smaller proportion of the incarcerated population in the country. However, existing national and international research evidences that although women in prison are fewer in number than men, they suffer disproportionately compared to men, particularly with regards to mental health and their economic and social status (Bronson and Berzofsky 2017; James and Glaze 2006; Fazel and Danesh 2002). A 2018 study by CWP-LAO on women's mental health in Women Prison Karachi supports this proposition, evidencing the high rates of mental health issues faced by them (Munshey and Reising 2018). Thus, incarcerated women have distinctive needs that must be identified and addressed so that they receive equitable treatment.

The Government of Sindh (GoS) is committed to the special initiatives for supporting women in prisons due to their vulnerability. It is working towards creating a long-term holistic plan to reduce crime and make a difference to the female offenders, who are, as international research suggests, often the product of vulnerability and abuse, and susceptible to further marginalisation and violence as a result of their incarceration. To do so, it first needs to know who these women are, what to consider the underlying causes of offending and reoffending to provide a better understanding of female offending and take an evidence-based approach to rehabilitating offenders.

There has been little research conducted in Pakistan on profiling women prisoners, their characteristics and their crimes to provide any data to contribute towards the construction of a rehabilitation approach. The existing national research reveals certain similar patterns. For instance, Avais and Wassan (2014) found that the majority of women criminals belonged to low-income profiles and were illiterate. Butt (2014) supports this conclusion in his study, finding that the majority of women prisoners suffer from economic problems and belonged to marginalized families. They were heavily dependent on men who led them to be exploited and abused. In most of the cases, women were accompanied and forced by male counterparts to commit crimes. Naqvi, Ibrar and Haider (2015) in a situational analysis of female prisoners in three prisons in Khyber Pakhtunkwa, find that a majority of women were illiterate and were mostly imprisoned for drug smuggling.

Warraich and Farooq (2015) conclude that females indulged in different nature of crimes (kidnapping, murder, stealing, and drug dealing) due to the social and cultural determinants as females lack economic autonomy in the Pakistani context. Most importantly, it was found that women's lack of awareness of their rights (Warraich and Farooq 2015) was one of the

major social and cultural factors leading to criminal activities. Khalid and Khan (2013) conducted a study in Central Prison Lahore that revealed most female prisoners to be young, uneducated, married, unemployed and from an economically marginalized strata of society, and several bearing the economic burden of the family on their shoulders. Baloch (2012) comes up with findings, in a study conducted in Women's Prisons of Sindh regarding the marital status, 77 were married and the rest (23) comprised of all categories of being unmarried, divorced and widow. His findings also showed that 72% of inmates were illiterate. Mirza (2011) suggests that significant correlation exists between pessimistic attitude and experience of childhood abuse.

Recognising the gap on profiling of women, particularly in Sindh, the GoS through the CWP-LAO has conducted a profiling of women prisoners in Sindh. This profiling contributes to existing literature produced in the national context in multiple ways. In addition to exploring the socio-economic and demographic dynamics constructing criminality among women in Pakistan, this study, also examines the extent to which prisoners interacted with relevant state institutions and support systems such as the Benazir Income Support Program, Social Welfare Department, Police and Prosecution prior to their incarceration. The study also brings into consideration various dimensions of citizenship and political participation through variables on legal identity and voting. It aims to contribute to the drawing of correlations that for required policy, legal and practice level measures to address the factors which lead women towards criminality.

2. Methodology

The study is quantitative in approach, with a survey conducted to collect quantitative data which was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The survey was administered by a female enumerator who asked the questions and recorded the answers. The survey tool was developed based on a desk review of data available within the CWP-LAO and other secondary sources, and in consultation with other CWP-LAO team members. The data was collected between 19th December 2018 to 23rd January 2019.

2.1 Sample Size

The sample size included all women convicts (44) and 30% of all UTPs (47) making a total of 91 prisoners across the four women prisons.

Prison Name	No. of UTPs Surveyed	No. of Convicts Surveyed
Women Prison Sukkur	4	
Women Prison Larkana	5	4
Women Prison Hyderabad	8	18
Women Prison Karachi	30	22
Total	47	44

2.2 Survey Variables

The key variables for which information was collected included age, education, type of crime, religion, level of education, region, type of residence (urban or rural), mother tongue, marital status, children, age at the time of marriage, relation with husband (blood relative or non-blood relative), family status (joint or nuclear), home status, employment status and income level prior to imprisonment, victim in homicide cases, legal identity, voter registration and voting history, previous arrests and access to institutions and programs such as Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), Police, Social Welfare Department and Ombudsperson.

2.3 Data Management and Analysis

Socio-economic demographics and crime patterns of the study participants were assessed by using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The data was entered, processed and analyzed on SPSS version 20. Frequency and percentages along with Range, Mean, Minimum and Maximum were reported for the data. Appropriate tables were generated for drawing inferences and bar and pie charts were used for the graphical representation of the data.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

All surveys are anonymous and no case numbers were taken to ensure confidentiality. Furthermore, at the outset of every survey, the interviewer introduced herself and explained the importance of this survey and how its findings would be beneficial for future penal policy making. Prior to commencing the interviews, consent to participate in the survey was obtained from every participant.

2.5 Limitations

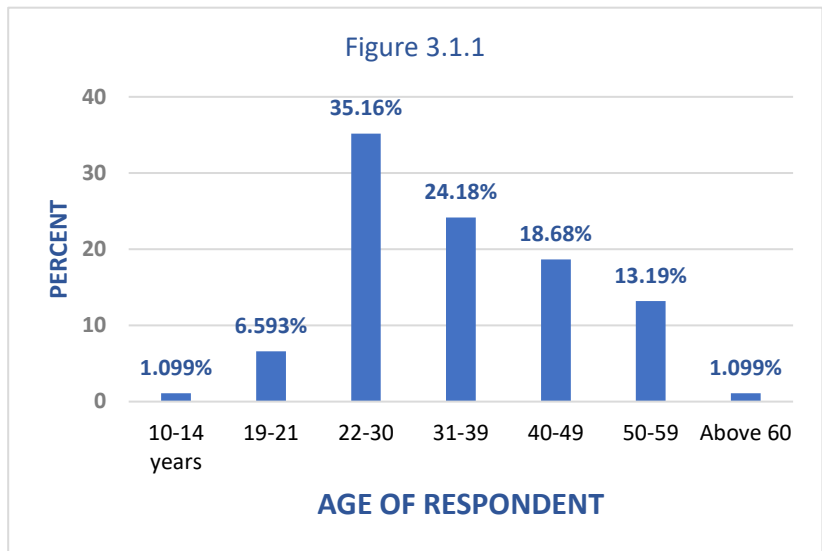
This study was conducted in the presence of prison administration. This factor might have affected accuracy of the answers survey participants made in response to the questions. Further, with the exception of questions on type of crime, section of law, punishment and number of years in prisons, the responses to the other questions were not cross-verified. Such answers were noted and analyzed according to the response of the participants to the surveyor.

3. Profile of Women Prisoners

3.1 Basic Demographics

3.1.1 Age of Respondent

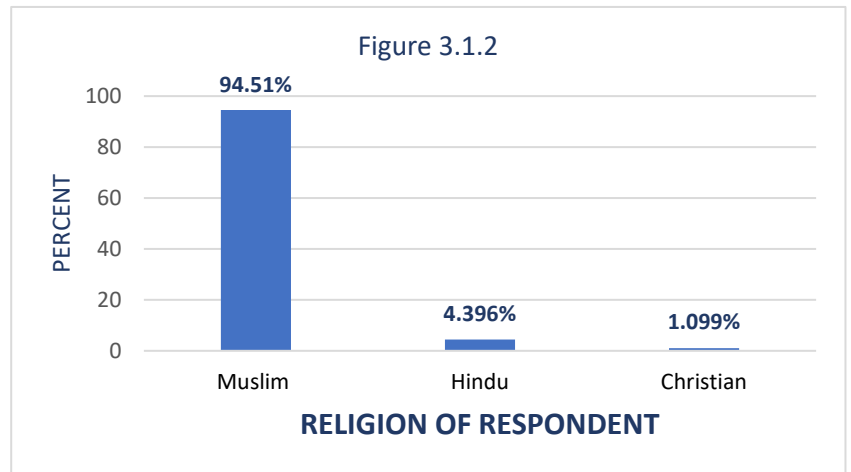
Out of a total of 91 inmates, 35.16% (32) were between 22-30 years old, followed by 24.18(22) who were between 31-39 years old, and 18.68% (17) who were between 40-49. 13.19% (12) of prisoners were between 50-59 years followed by 6.59% (6) who were between 19-21 years old. One woman was above 60 years old and one was between 10-14 years old, indicating a lack of presence of female juveniles across all four prison facilities.



Rates of offending amongst females is highest among those aged between 22-30 years old, constituting 35.16% (32) of the sample size, followed by those between 31-39 years old (24.18% i.e. 22) years old. A breakdown of crimes will be explored in later sections of this paper. The reasons of offending of this age group in particular must be examined more closely to understand the types of criminal activity, and an analysis of drivers towards criminal activities for these women.

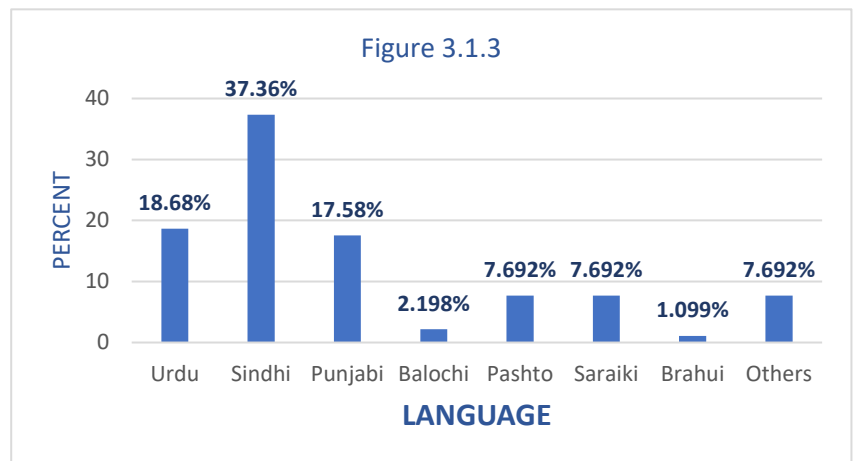
3.1.2 Religion of Respondent

94.51% (86) of respondents identified as being Muslim by their faith, while 4.39% (4) and 1.099% (1) identified as being Hindu and Christian respectively. This is not surprising given that Pakistan is a Muslim majority country.



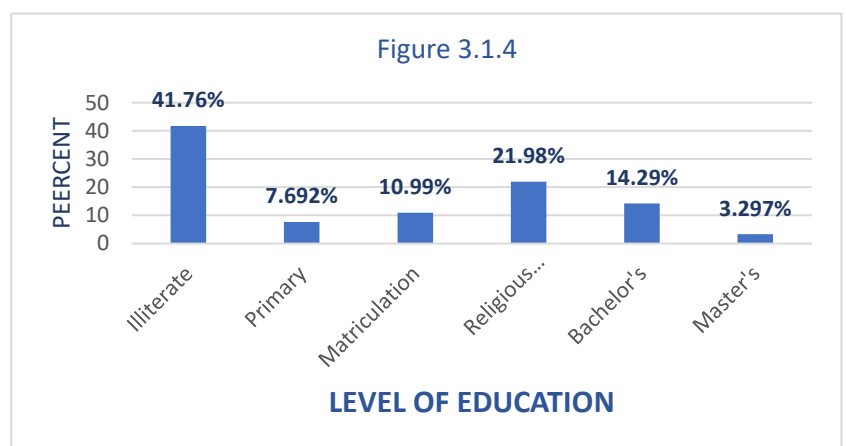
3.1.3 Language

37.36% (34) of the women spoke Sindhi, 17.58% (16) spoke Punjabi, 18.68% (17) spoke Urdu, 7.69% (7) spoke Pashto, 7.69% (7) spoke Saraiki, 2.19% (2) spoke Balochi, 1.09% (1) spoke Brahui and 7.69% (7) spoke other languages.



3.1.4 Level of Education

41.76% (38) of respondents were illiterate, 21.98% (20) acquired religious education, 14.29% (13) achieved a Bachelor's degree, 10.99% (10) passed their matriculation, 7.69% (7) attained primary education and 3.29% (3) had attained Master's level of education.



Interestingly, of the 58 respondents who were either illiterate or received religious education, 19 were on trial for or convicted of murder, and 11 for attempted murder. The women with Master's Degrees (3) were convicted of bank corruption and fraud, which can be considered

white-collar crimes. See the table below for further correlations between level of education and category of crime committed.

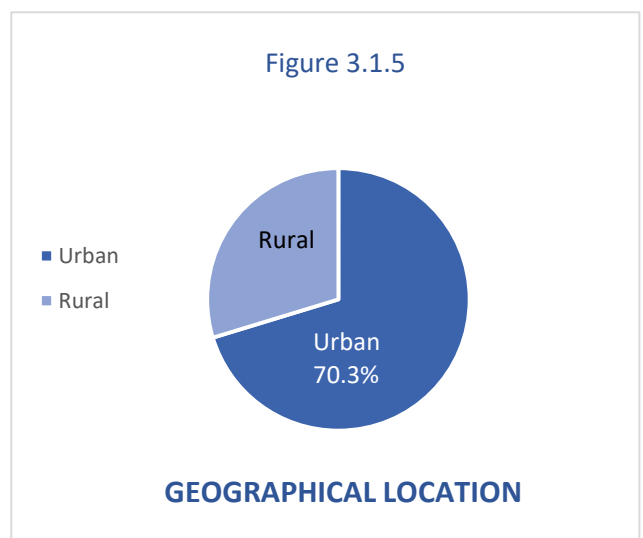
Women with higher education can be seen to commit fewer violent crimes. These findings could support the notion that education contributes to decreasing criminality amongst women but would require further research.

Figure 3.1.4a

LEVEL OF EDUCATION CORRELATED WITH MOST NUMBER OF CRIMES COMMITTED OR ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED						
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MURDER AND ATTEMPT TO MURDER	DRUGS, CHARAS AND NARCOTICS	KIDNAPPING	THEFT AND DACOITY	CORRUPTION AND FRAUD	
ILLITERATE	19	13	4	2	1	
PRIMARY	3	1	-	1	-	
MIDDLE	1	1	-	-	-	
MATRICULATION	7	2	1	-	-	
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	11	3	-	-	-	
BACHELOR'S	4	-	2	3	1	
MASTER'S	-	-	-	-	3	
TOTAL	45	20	7	6	5	

3.1.5 Geographical Location

29.7% (27) of respondents belonged to rural areas whereas 70.3% (64) belonged to urban areas. This supports the trend that crime in urban areas is more common than in rural areas.



46.1% (42) of respondents originally belonged to interior parts of Sindh, 36.3% (33) belonged to Karachi, 9.8% (9) belonged to Punjab, 6.6% (6) belonged to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and 1.1% (1) belonged to Balochistan.

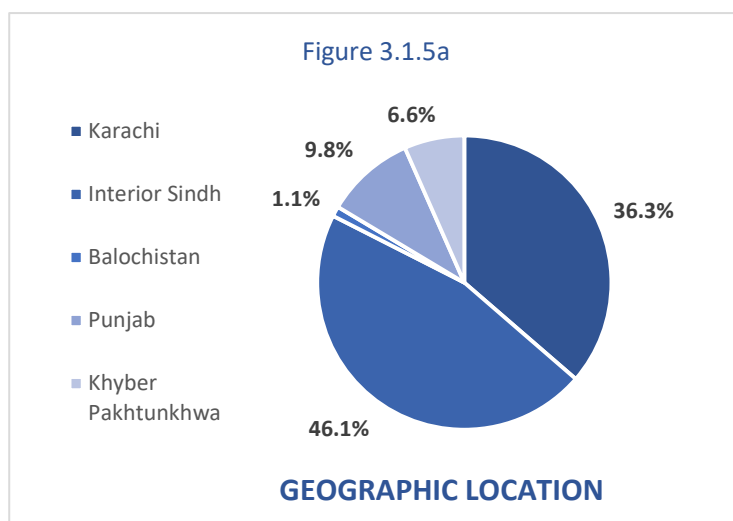


Figure 3.1.5b

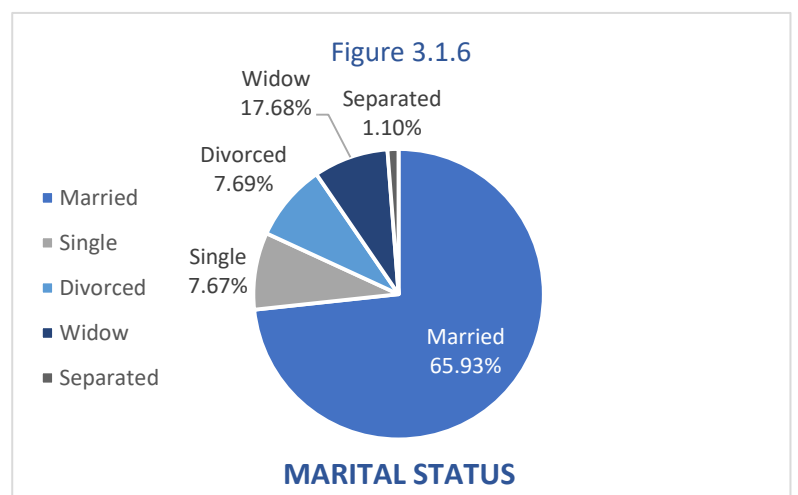
District Name	Frequency	Percent
Attock	1	1.1
Badin	1	1.1
Bahawalpur	1	1.1
Dadu	3	3.3
Don't know	1	1.1
Faisalabad	1	1.1
Hyderabad	5	5.5
Jacobabad	1	1.1
Jamshoro	2	2.2
Karachi	33	36.3
Kashmore	1	1.1
Kasur	1	1.1
Khairpur	1	1.1
Khanpur	1	1.1
Kohat	1	1.1
Lahore	2	2.2
Larkana	3	3.3
Mangora	1	1.1
Mansehra	2	2.2
Matiari	1	1.1
Mirpurkhas	1	1.1
Morro	1	1.1
Nausheroferoz	1	1.1

District Name	Frequency	Percent
Nawabshah	6	6.6
Pakpattan	1	1.1
Peshawar	1	1.1
Quetta	1	1.1
Rahim Yar Khan	1	1.1
Sadiqabad	1	1.1
Sajanwal	1	1.1
Sanghar	1	1.1
Sehwan	2	2.2
Shahdadpur	1	1.1
Shikarpur	2	2.2
Sukkur	1	1.1
Tando M Khan	1	1.1
Thar	2	2.2
Thatta	1	1.1
Umer Kot	2	2.2
Total	91	100.0

The most common locations in which crimes were committed were Karachi (33), followed by Nawabshah (6) and Hyderabad (5).

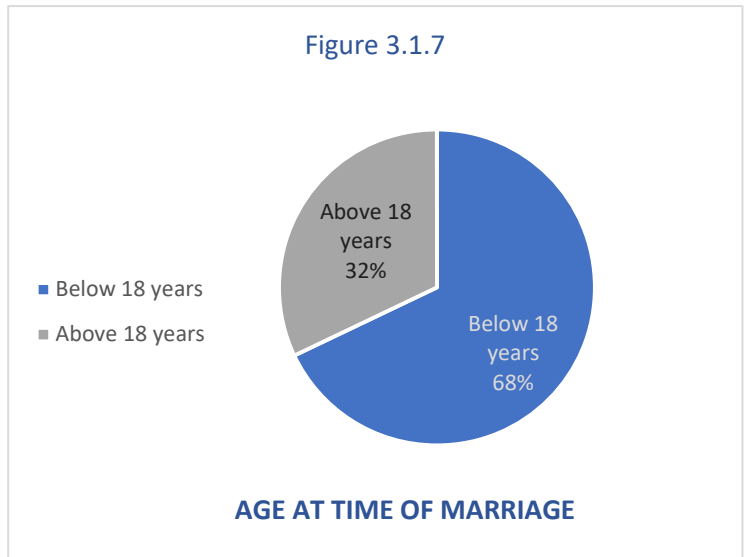
3.1.6 Marital Status

65.93 % (60) respondents were married, 17.68 % (16) were widows, 7.69 % (7) were divorced, 7.67 % (7) were single and 1.10 % (1) was separated.



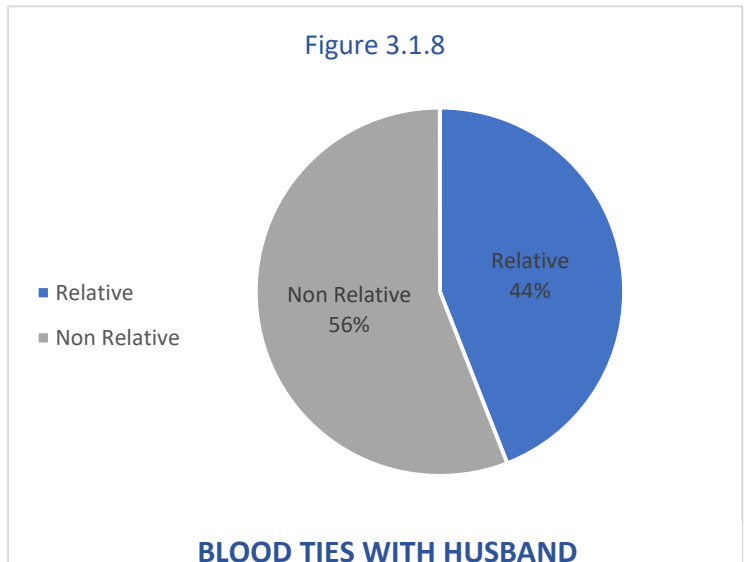
3.1.7 Age at Time of Marriage

Out of the 84 respondents who were either married, widowed, divorced, or separated, 68% (57) were married when they were below the age of 18 years whilst 32% (27) were married when they were above the age of 18 years.



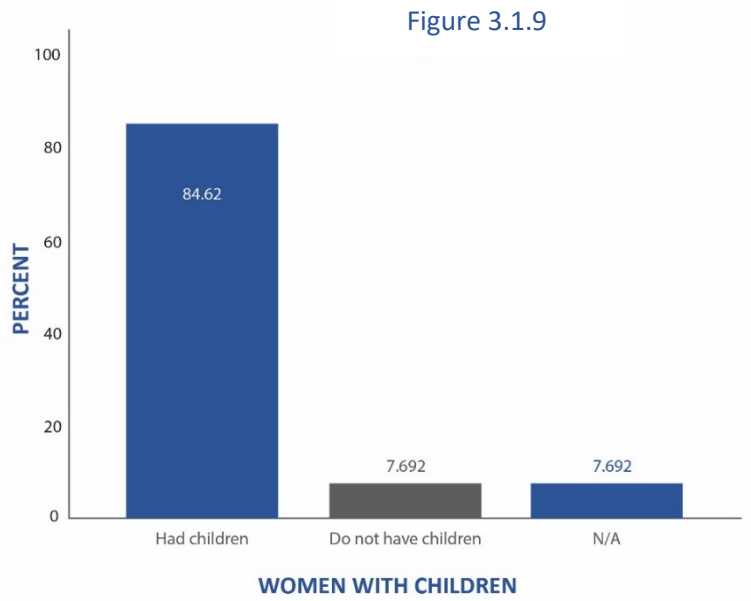
3.1.8 Blood Ties with Husband

Out of the 84 respondents who were either married, widowed, divorced, or separated, 44% (36) were married with their blood relatives whilst 56% (48) were married with non-blood relatives.



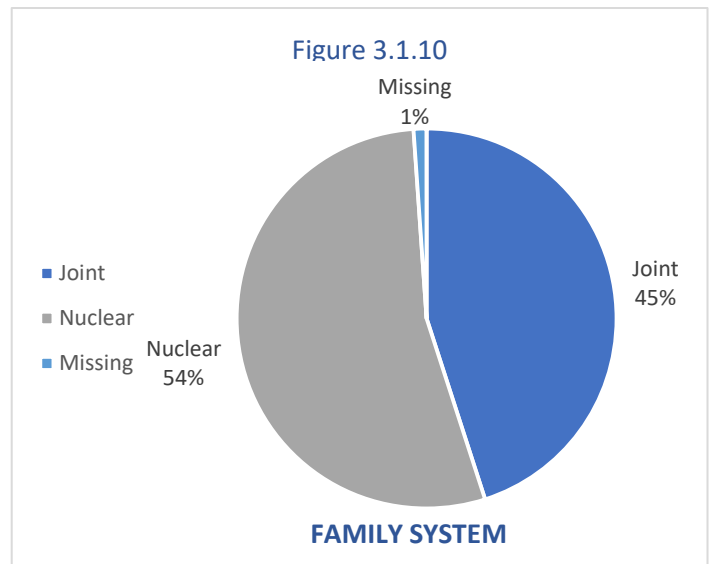
3.1.9 Women with Children

Among 91 women respondents, 84.62% (77) had children while 7.69% (7) did not. On average, a woman had four children.



3.1.10 Family System

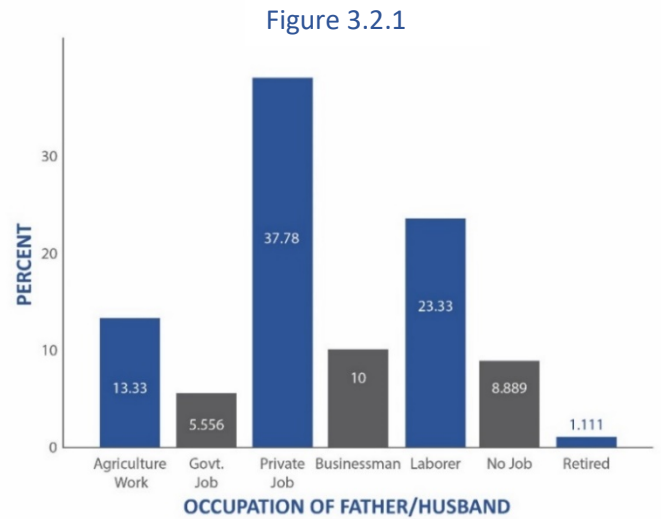
54% (49) of respondents belonged to a nuclear family system whilst 45% (41) belonged to the joint family system. 1 participant did not provide a response to this question.



3.2 Employment & Finances

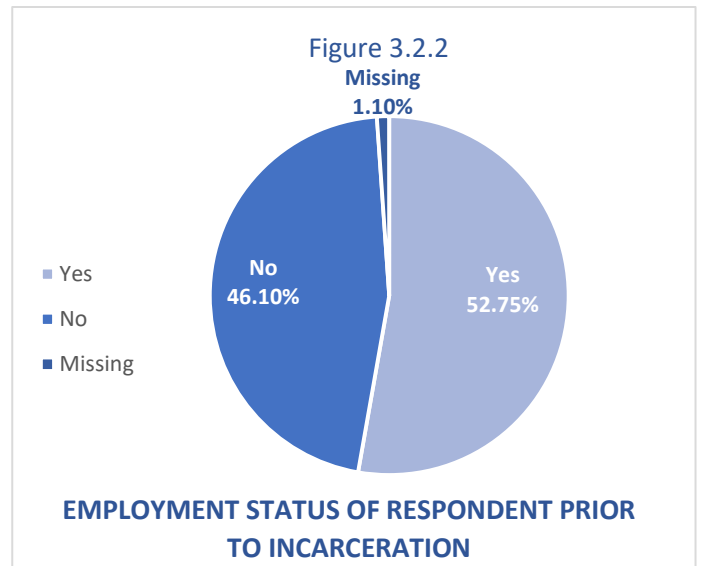
3.2.1 Occupation of Father/Husband

Fathers/husbands of 37.78% (34) of the respondents were engaged in private jobs, 23.33% (21) were labourers and 13.33% (12) were engaged in agricultural work, 10% (11) were businessman, 8.88% (7) have had no job, and 5.55% (4) had government jobs and 1.11% (1) was a retired government employee. One participant declined to provide such information.



3.2.2 Employment Status of Respondent Prior to Incarceration

52.75% (48) of respondents were employed before their imprisonment whilst 46.10% (42) were not employed before imprisonment. 1 respondent did not provide a response.



3.2.3 Nature of Employment of Respondent

Figure 3.2.3

Nature of Employment

Employment	Frequency	Percent
Real Estate Agency	1	2.08
Assistant Manager at Sui Southern Gas Company	1	2.08

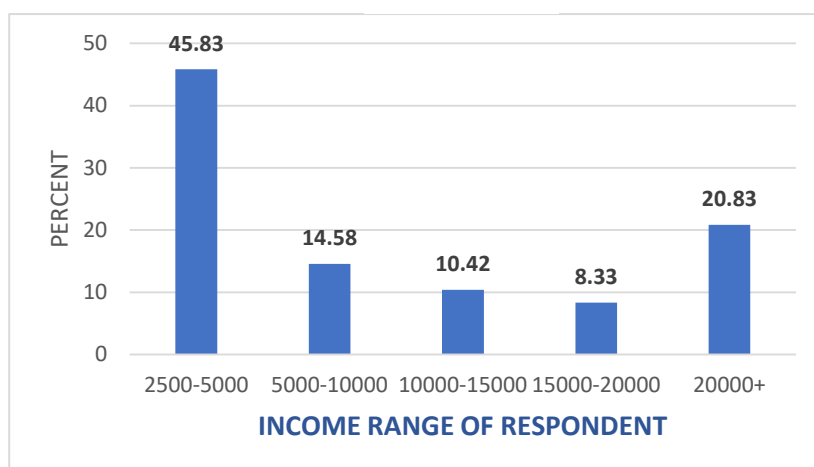
Assistant at a Private Hospital	1	2.08
Agricultural labourer	1	2.08
Banking	1	2.08
Beauty Parlour employee	4	8.33
Beggar	3	6.25
Chef	1	2.08
Midwife	1	2.08
Stitching	12	25
Farmer	2	4.16
House-maid	4	8.33
Jewellery maker	1	2.08
Model	1	2.08
Property Dealer	1	2.08
Ralli Making/artisan	2	4.16
Rickshaw Driver	1	2.08
Supervisor	1	2.08
Laborer	3	6.25
Teacher	1	2.08
Travel Agency employee	1	2.08
Worked from Home	1	2.08
Embroidery/artisan	3	6.25
Total	48	99.95

Of the women working, stitching was the most common trade, which is not associated with high-income rates.

3.2.4 Income Range of Respondent Prior to Incarceration

Out of the 48 respondents employed before imprisonment 45.83% (22) had an income range between PKR, 2500-5000 per month, 20.83% (10) had an income range of PKR 20,000+ per month, 14.58% (7) had an income range between PKR 5,000- 10,000 per month, 10.42% (5) had an income ionrange between PKR 10,000-15,000 per month, 8.33% (4) had an income

Figure 3.2.4

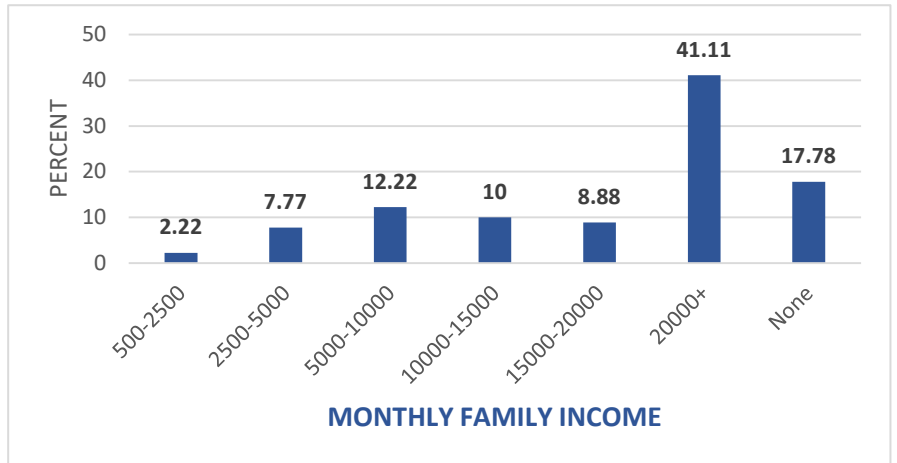


range between PKR 15,000-20,000 per month.

3.2.5 Monthly Family Income

41.11% (37) of the respondents' heads of household earned PKR 20,000+ per month, and 12.22% (11) of the respondents' heads of household earned PKR 5001-10,000 per month. In addition, 17.78% (16) of the respondents' heads of household were unemployed.

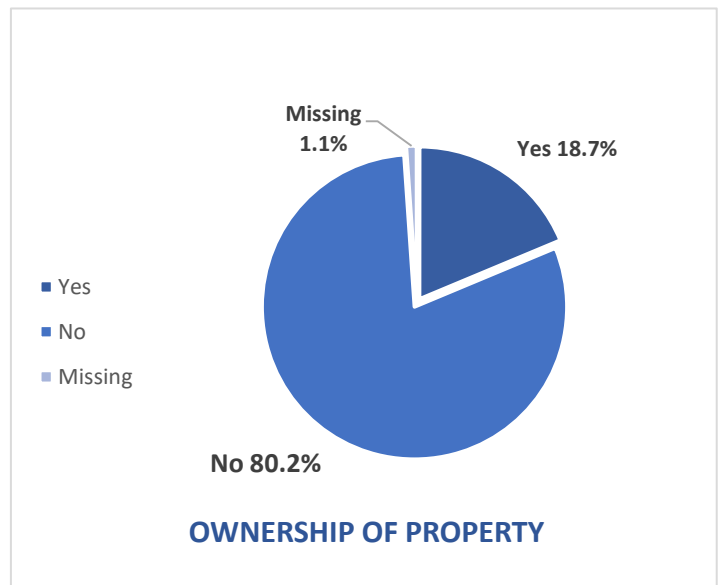
Figure 3.2.5



3.2.6 Ownership of Property

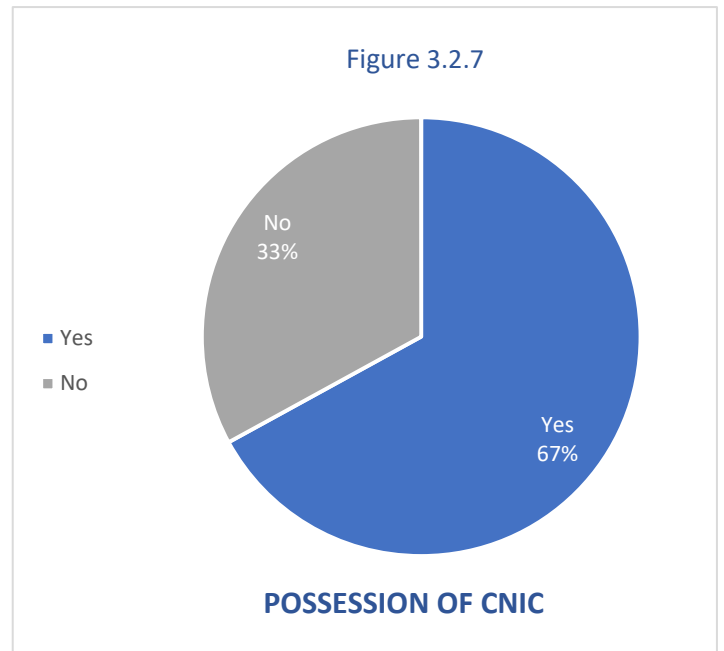
80.2% (73) of prisoners did not own any property whilst 18.7% (17) owned property. 1 respondent did not provide a response.

Figure 3.2.6



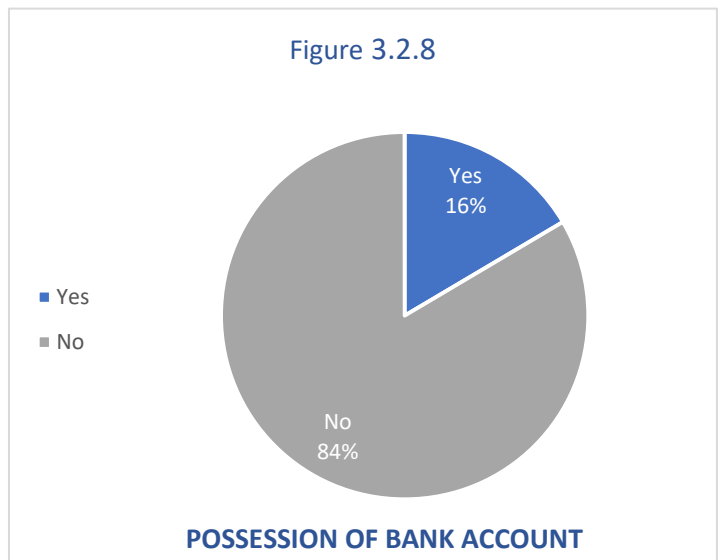
3.2.7 Possession of CNIC

67% (61) of respondents possessed a valid CNIC and 33% (30) did not have CNICs.



3.2.8 Possession of Bank Account

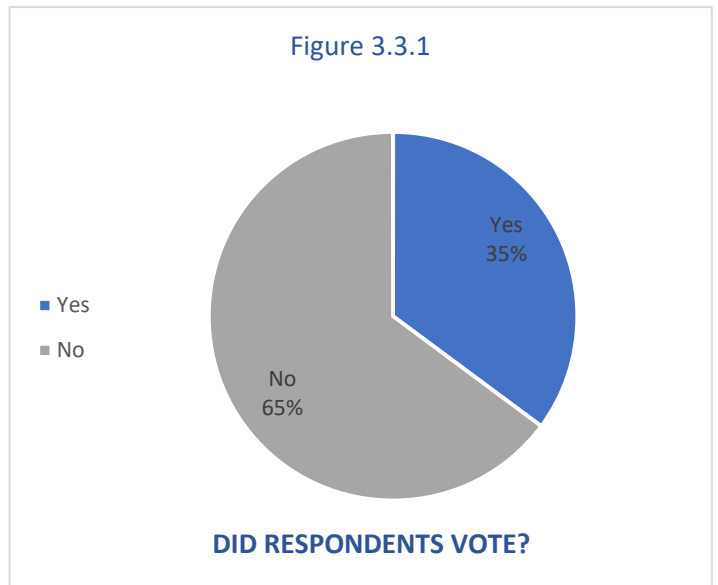
16% (15) of respondents had a bank account whilst 84% (76) did not have bank accounts.



3.3 Political Participation and Access to State Institutions

3.3.1 Did Respondent Vote

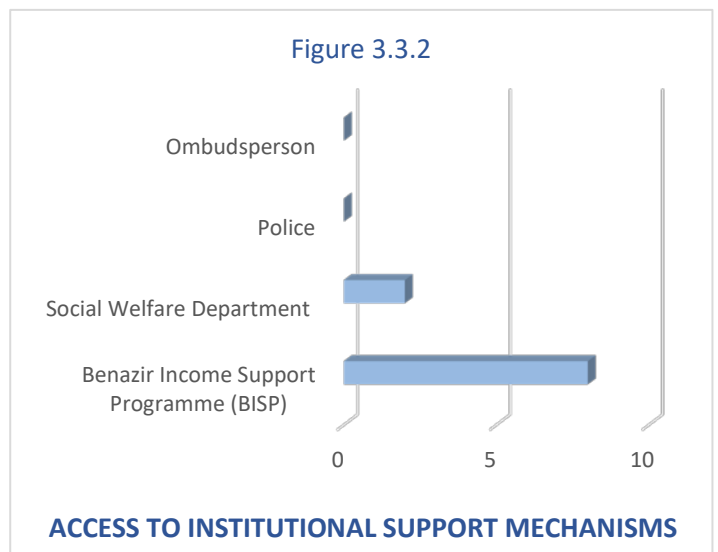
35% (32) of respondents had voted before whilst 65% (59) had not.



3.3.2 Access to Institutional Support Mechanisms

89% (81) of respondents have had no access to any institution or support mechanism such as the Benazir Income Support Program, Police, Social Welfare or Ombudsperson. 11% (10) had had access to these institutions or support mechanisms.

Out of the 10 respondents who have had access, 8 had access to the Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), 2 had access to the Social Welfare Department whereas none had access to the Police and/or the Office of the Ombudsperson.



3.3.3 Analysis

The data corroborates existing propositions. For example, it is common for urban areas to have greater crime rates than rural areas (Aksoy 2017), which is reflected in the location of the crimes committed or alleged to have been committed by the incarcerated women.

A great deal of research has been conducted internationally to determine whether education and employment reduces the likelihood of the commission of crime by potential offenders. With the case of education, a common theory is that schooling increases the returns to

legitimate work, which makes it more costly for an individual to engage in illicit behaviour that leads to long periods of incarceration (Freeman 1996; Gould 2000). Similarly, while much research has concluded that unemployment induces criminal behaviour (Witte and Tauchen 1994), in a country in which women are not socially conditioned and expected to be the primary breadwinners, it is unclear if this theory holds true.

Further, the question of levels of income, and financial control also require consideration. 52.75% of the prisoners had been previously employed before incarceration, with the most common being stitching (13), followed by working in a beauty parlour (4), and begging (3), which the women considered to be employment or, rather a means of earning money. The fact that a large number of women earned prior to their crime indicates that mere employment is not necessarily a significant factor to reducing female criminality. The nature of work and the amount of earnings have a greater influence on this than simple employment.

The majority of these women (22) earned between PKR 2500-5000 per month at the lowest end of the spectrum, and 10 earned PKR 20,000 or above per month, at the highest end. The majority of women, therefore earned below minimum daily wage (PKR 16,200 as per Sindh Budget 2018), which does not provide them with a financial safety net as required.

The majority of women (84%) do not have bank accounts. This indicates the lack of financial independence of women, even if they are earning. This falls in line with national research on the feminization of poverty, whereby women in Pakistan do not often have control of their finances or even money earned by them.

Thus, the theory of unemployment resulting in greater crime must be explored within a Pakistan framework, with an elaborated research question taking into account low levels of income of women and lack of financial control.

The majority of women were married (65.93%), with 68% of them having been child brides and married before the age of 18. This evidences that the customary practice of underage marriages persists in Sindh. 39.96% were married to blood relatives. Kidman, R. (2017) writes that research suggests that child marriage also places young women at elevated risk for intimate partner violence (IPV), which is in turn linked to additional adverse physical and mental health outcomes. In this theoretical and empirical connection between early marriages and violence, it may be suggested that violent offences, such as homicide, have strong links with the early marriages of the incarcerated women and subsequent offences of the homicide arising out of the violence.

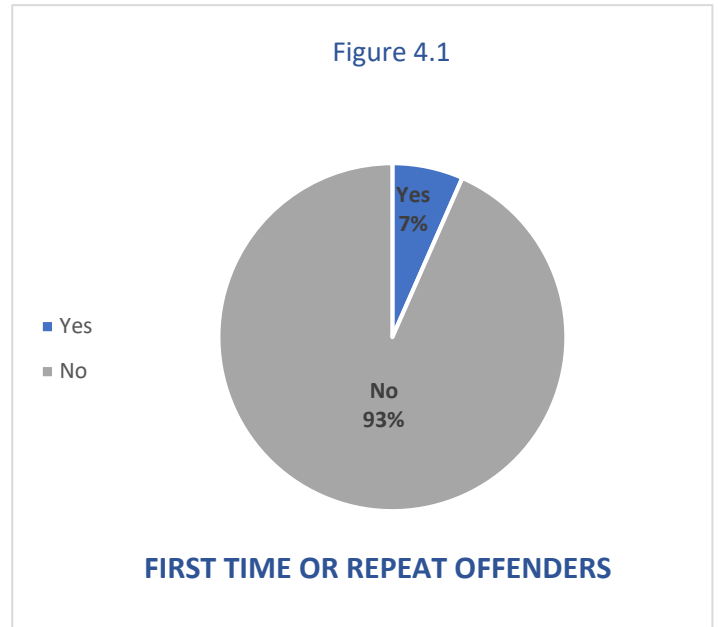
The findings show the extent of State-citizen relation, political mainstreaming of women and provision of social protection to women play significant contributory roles in determining criminality among women in Sindh. In this survey, it is revealed that a large of number of women prisoners i.e. 89% have had no access to any institution or support mechanism such as the Benazir Income Support Program, Police, Social Welfare and Ombudsperson. A large

number of women prisoners i.e. 65% had not voted before and have remained out of democratic political process.

4. Profiling of Criminal Activity

4.1 First time or Repeat Offenders

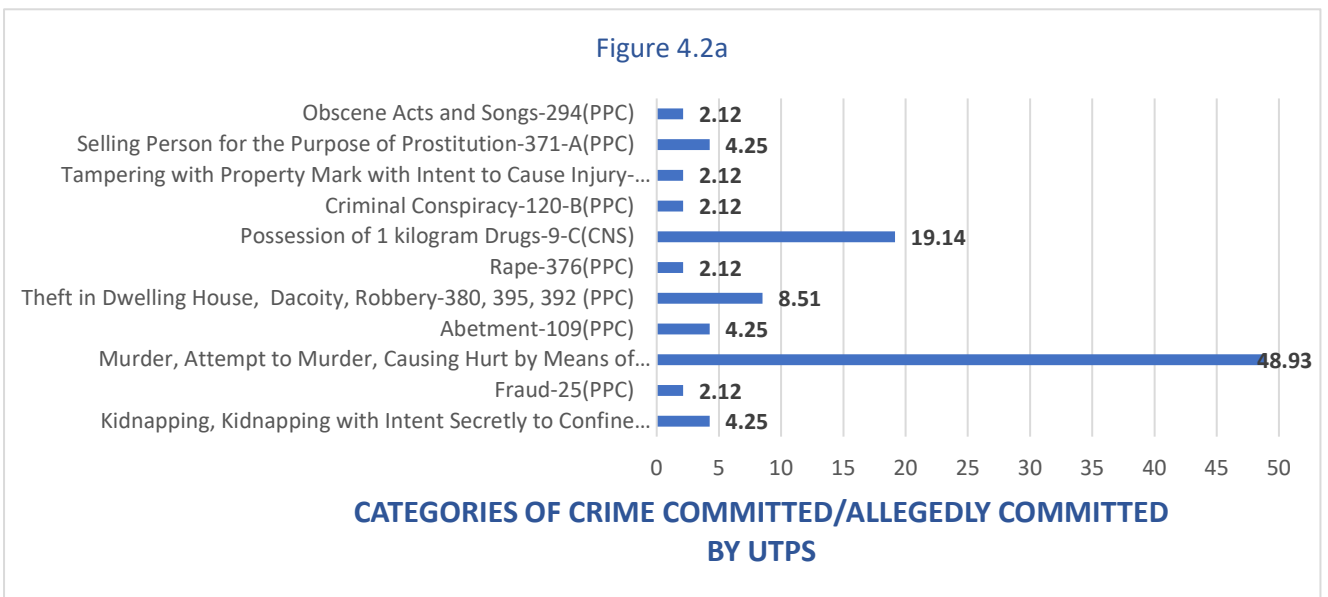
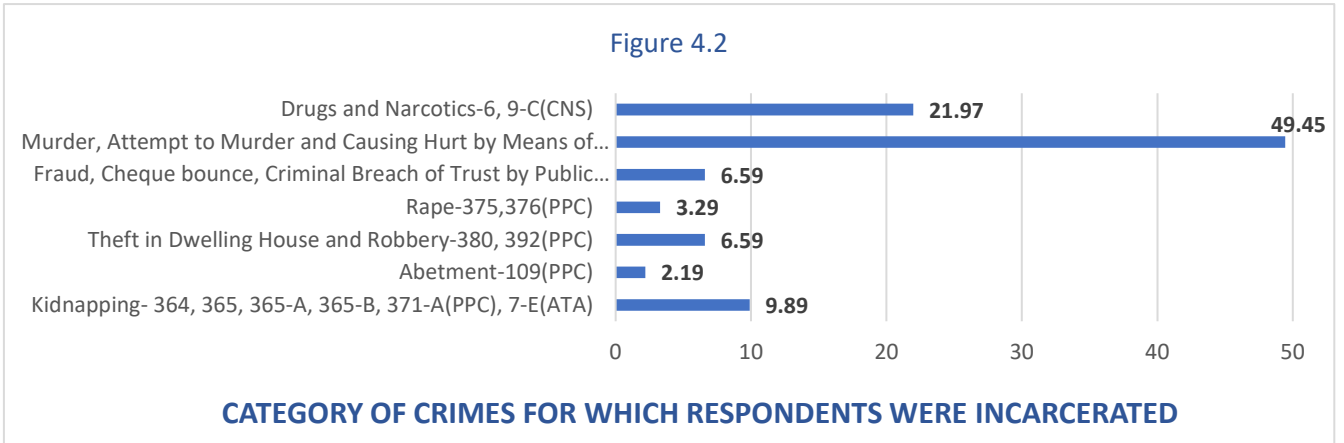
The majority of women were first time offenders i.e. 93% (85), with only 7% (6) of them having been arrested previously. This indicates a low re-offending rate among women. This is interesting to note, particularly with reference to the discussion on the categories of crimes with which women have been charged. 2 of the UTPs were among repeat offenders, one had been arrested in a drug possession case and another in a case of kidnapping. Among convicts, 4 were repeat offenders of whom 2 had been convicted for a drugs-related offence, one for robbery, and another for corruption.



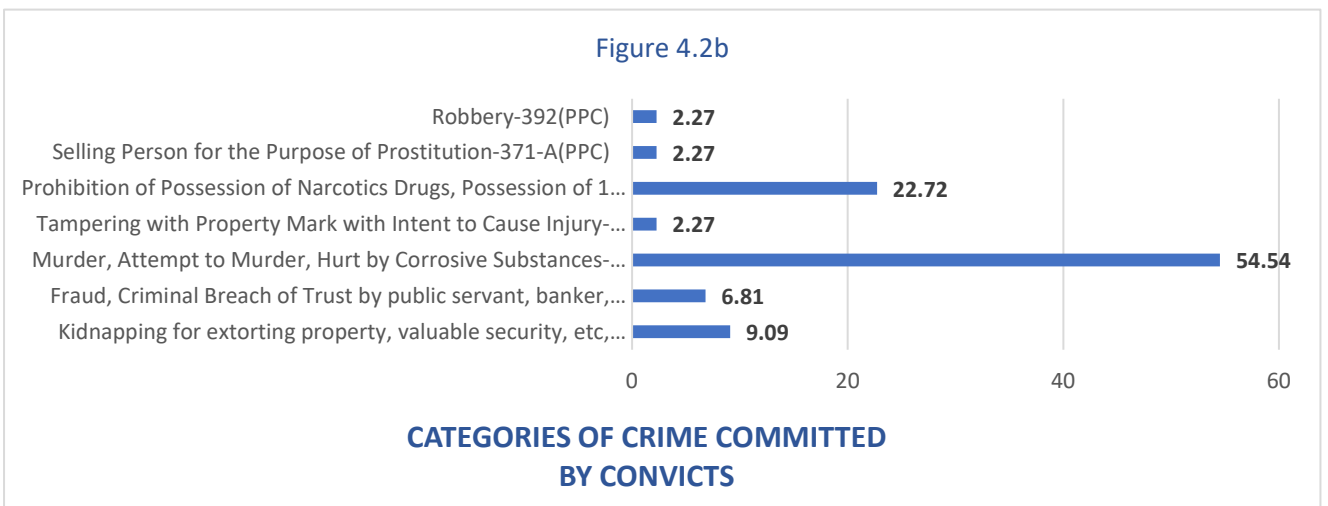
4.2 Category of Crimes for Which Respondents Were Incarcerated

There were 3 types of pre-dominant crimes for which women are incarcerated. These are: murder/attempt to commit murder 48.35% (44); for possession of drugs and narcotics related crimes by 21.98% (20); and 9.89% (9) for kidnapping. The crimes for which the least number of women were implicated were bank corruption, cheques bouncing and hurt by corrosive substance (i.e. acid crime).

The following charts explain the breakdown of the categories of crimes for which the women are incarcerated, the first is related to the total number of respondents, the second relates to UTPs only and the third relates to convicts only.



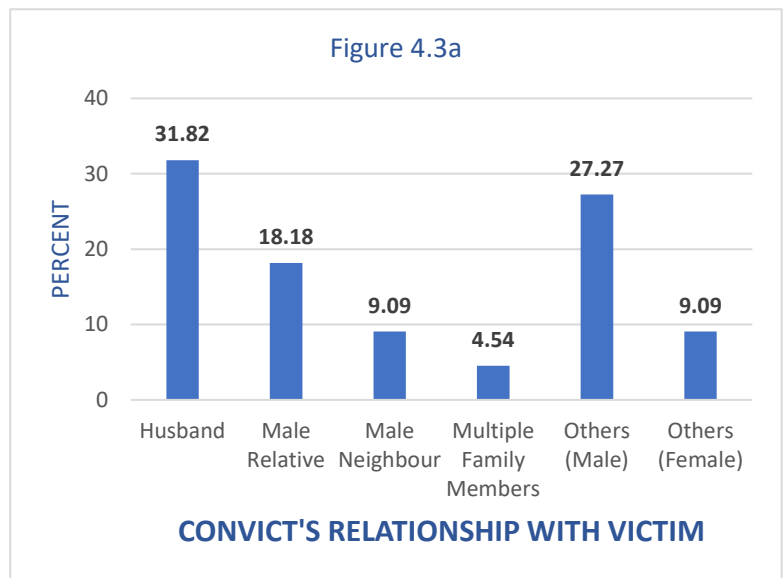
The UTPs were recorded to have committed or allegedly committed murder 48.93% (23), followed by possession of drugs 19.14% (9) and theft in houses, robbery or dacoity 8.51% (4).



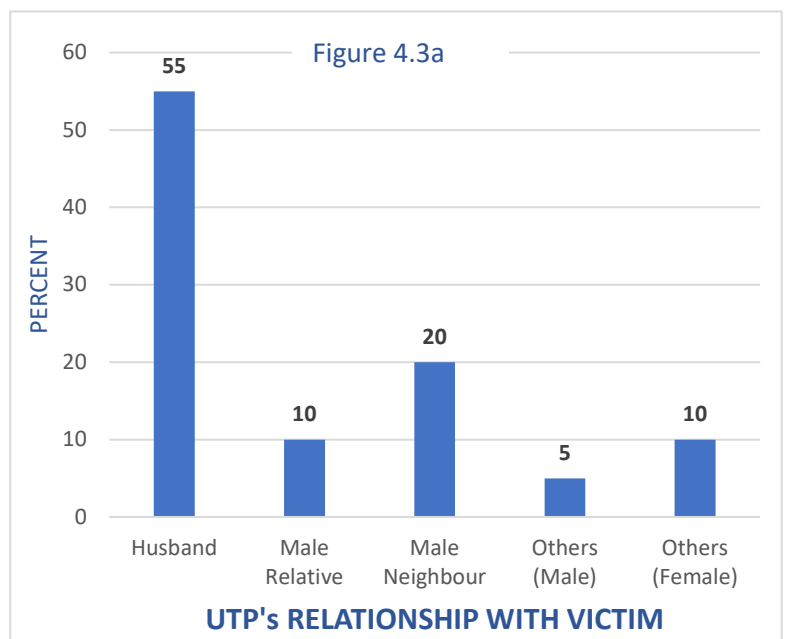
The Convicts were recorded to have stated that most of them were incarcerated for murder, attempt to murder and hurt by corrosive substances 54.54% (24) followed by prohibition of possession of narcotics or possession of narcotics 22.72% (10) followed by various forms of kidnapping 9.09% (4).

4.3 Homicide

Out of the total 44 women convicts, 50% (22) were convicted for homicide i.e. murder or attempted murder. Amongst the women convicted of murder, 31.82% (7) were convicted for murdering their husbands. Of the 5 women convicted for murdering family members, 2 murdered their male cousins; 1 her father; 1 her other male relative; and 1 murdered multiple family members including 4 brothers, one sister, her mother and her father. In addition, 9.09% (2) women were convicted of murdering their male neighbours; 27.27% (6) were convicted for murdering other males; and 9.09% (2) for murdering other females.



Out of the total of 47 UTPs, 42.6% (20) were arrested on charges of homicide. Out of the 20 UTPs incarcerated for charges of homicide, 55% (11) were accused of murdering their husbands; 20% (4) for murdering their male neighbours; 5% (1) for murdering her male relative; 5% (1) for murdering her male cousin; and 5% (1) for murdering others (male); and 10% (2) for others (female).



4.4 Women as drug users and carriers

The majority of women arrested for drug related crimes were so convicted due to possession of 1 kg drugs (18). There is little information relating to women and drugs in Pakistan. From the little existing data, women are less likely to be treated for drug use than men (UNODOC 2013). Furthermore, it is common to use women to transport drugs from different places, which may have contributed to their incarceration. In a 2012 study (Baloch 2012), the highest number of women in prisons in Sindh were incarcerated for drugs, indicating that women were and continue to be used as safe carriers for transport of drugs.

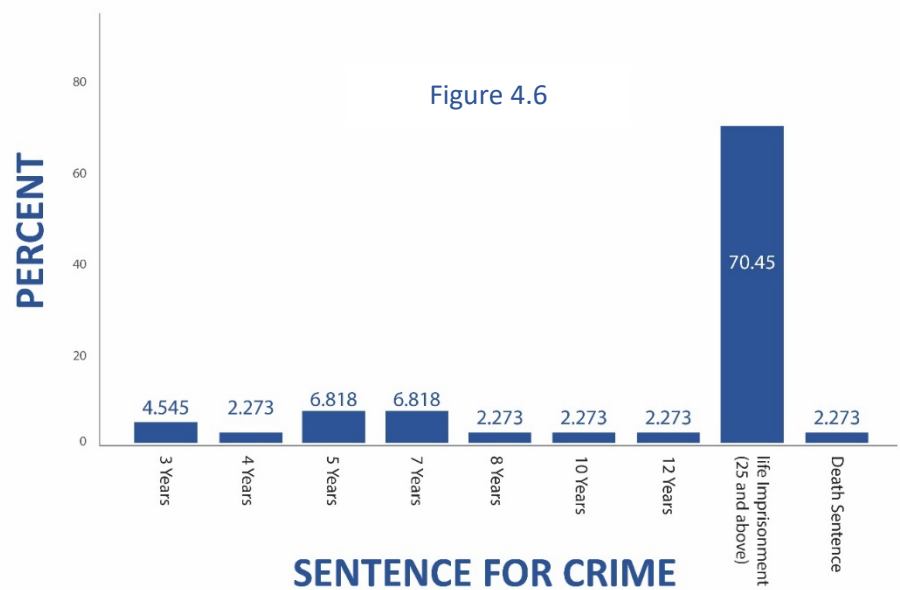
This area requires greater research and discussion. In particular qualitative data must be gathered relating to women and drug use, as well as women as drug carriers in order to identify how and at what point the State should prioritise in order to curtail drug trade and use.

4.5 Women and Kidnapping

Women have been incarcerated for a variety of different charges relating to kidnapping: kidnapping a woman to compel for marriage (2); kidnapping with intent to secretly confine a person (1); kidnapping for extorting property (2); kidnapping with ransom (2). It is not uncommon for these women to be arrested or accused as co-accused as opposed to being the primary accused. The authors for this paper were told anecdotally by the women that they were arrested as co-accused when it was the men in their home or family who were the ones who actually committed the crime or were being trapped by their family. This corroborates findings of Khalid & Khan (2013). Legal research must be done to assess the role of the co-accused and to work towards avoiding incarceration of co-accused women in particular who have played no operative role in connection with the crime.

4.6 Sentence for Crime

Majority of convicts i.e. 70.5% (31) were sentenced to life imprisonment. 6.8% were sentenced to imprisonment of 5 to 7 years. Only 2.3% (1) of convicts were facing capital punishment. Given the seriousness of crimes such as hurt by corrosive substance (acid violence) and homicide, high sentences are associated with these.



5. Analysis

The findings show that 93% of the prisoners surveyed were first time offenders hence the presence of hardened or repeat offenders was negligible. Thus, issues common in other countries of recidivism or re-offending amongst women does not seem to be a major issue in Sindh. This could, however, also relate to the fact that the majority of convicted women have been sentenced to life imprisonment (31) or death sentence (1) due to the violent nature of crimes, with murder/homicide being the most common, as well as one case of acid crime (hurt by corrosive substance which also has a maximum penalty of life imprisonment).

This survey revealed that the majority of victims in homicide cases were women’s spouses or other men. This is an interesting finding, since UNODC statistics (UNODC 2013) state that ninety-five percent of homicide perpetrators at the global level are male. The data does however corroborates existing research relating to female homicide offenders that when a woman kills, the victim is frequently a close family member and, in many cases, the victim is likely to be the spouse of the offender (Wallace 1986; Davies and Mouzos 2007; Stubbs 2016).

International research into women offenders, particularly those charged or convicted of homicide of intimate partners and family members reveal a historical pattern of violence in their lives (Polk 1991). In fact, there is much research conducted that indicates that the homicide is often committed in as a form of self-defence or due to an on-going victimization by their murder victim (Kent 1992, Belknap, Joanne, Dora-Lee, Abrams, Margaret, Garcia, Anderson-Block & Kelly 2012; McMahon 2013). In a sense, such homicide is seen to be reactive and defensive as a response: in other words, women often kill in response to domestic violence and an otherwise violent home life (Wallace 1986).

Conclusion

While this profiling did not call for an in-depth, qualitative analysis of the home and familiar circumstances of incarcerated women, there is a need for such research to be conducted urgently. International research finds that majority of women suffer some form of violence or abuse in their lifetime. Further, concepts of Battered Women Syndrome, or the recognition of the impact on domestic violence on women offenders, who harm their spouses or intimate partners has provided much discourse, which would be useful to the legal defence of these women (Ono 2016, Rothenberg 2003). This profiling survey represents a first effort at understanding the basic demographics of incarcerated in Sindh, and seeks to provide a basis for future research and policy reform.

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