

FROM CELL TO SOCIETY: A STUDY ON THE SOCIAL REINTEGRATION OF RELEASED PRISONERS IN KERALA AND TAMIL NADU



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Chapter 1

Research Objectives and Methodology of the Study

Introduction

Modern prisons function as institution that was primarily established for carrying out confinement as a punishment as well as act as reformation centres for people pronounced guilty by the judicial system. Those awaiting judicial trial are also confined in prisons, mostly for the duration of the trial. Academic studies on various aspects of the functioning of prisons covering policies and programmes implemented for the welfare of prisoners, socio-psychological conditions of prisoners and human right issues of the prisoners become very crucial to understand and institute better policies to effectively manage people who have gotten on the wrong side of law. One of the important, yet scarcely studied, aspects is the question of social integration of the released prisoners into society. Such a study would provide great insights into the functioning of prisons, problems faced by released prisoners in becoming a functioning member of the society and above all help understand issues related to recidivism. One of the primary principles of restitutive or reformatory penal system is to ensure that punishment must be able to reform the guilty and make them capable of returning to society as its functional member. Given this background, the research question of social integration of released prisoners assumes fundamental importance. The social life of released prisoners is broadly a reflection of a host of social as well as legal institutions and practices at work. There is a major dearth of academic and scholarly works on this specific aspect, which leaves a major gap in our understanding about the life of released prisoners.

Social Reintegration of Released Prisoners: A Brief Literature Review

The idea of reintegration essentially encompasses working with the offenders in order to bring them back to the community, facilitate conditions to promote law-abiding behaviour and reduce the rate of recidivism. As Singh (2016) notes, it is necessary to understand this as a process involving multiple actors in the societal sphere than a singular intervention. Reintegration thus aims at facilitating the “ability of the ex-offender to function within the community, within their family, employment and be capable of managing circumstances in a manner that circumvents risk and additional conflicts with the law” (Singh, 2016). It is important to place the issue of social reintegration of prisoners in a global context, looking at

the proactive measures taken up by different countries towards their re-entry into the community.

The United States has recognized the need for a comprehensive and elaborate mechanism for the social integration of released prisoners. Visher and Mallik-Kane (2007) note that inadequate assistance and resources has made the process of re-entry in the United States extremely challenging, which in turn limits the prospects of employment, housing and social services (Coates, 2015). Such difficulties post-release, especially in finding employment, has also been found to contribute to increased rate of recidivism. Cortes and Rogers (2010) observe that the policies of private market rental housing associations that deny housing to people with criminal records make the first month after release for prisoners an extremely vulnerable period with high risk of recidivism or they becoming homeless. The lack of public welfare assistance to ex-convicts also adds to this burden, making it difficult for them to self-sustain and reintegrate into the society (O'Brien, 2002). Several such studies have led the United States to acknowledge the importance of transforming the criminal justice system by shifting their focus from incarceration to the prisoners' successful re-entry into their communities. In the juvenile justice system, for instance, the government has introduced cognitive behavioural therapy and motivational interviewing mentoring programmes to improve young offender outcomes. The heightened proportion of minorities in the juvenile justice system has forced the United States to device culturally appropriate services for social integration (OJJDP, 2014). Project RISE (Re-entry Intervention and Support for Engagement), developed by Arizona State University (ASU) in collaboration with the Arizona Department of Juvenile Corrections and school districts in Maricopa County (Phoenix metropolitan area), focuses on "developing intensive educational and vocational programming that adhered to the youth's Individualized Education Program (IEP) and Individualized Transition Plan" (Unruh, Gagnon & MaGee, 2018). Similarly, Making a Map, developed by the Institute on Community Integration, University of Minnesota, Ramsey County Corrections and Volunteers of America (AMICUS, Inc.), offers a reintegration plan to facilitate re-entry services through the implementation of Reintegration Framework Toolkit (McEathron, Fields, & Shafer, 2008).

Martynowicz and Quigley (2010) observe that inadequacy in the provisions of services such as homelessness, welfare advice and drug addiction support limit the access of prisoners to social reintegration in Ireland. The existing Integrated Sentence Management (ISM), which provides a case management structure to coordinate service provision, sentence planning, management

as well as release planning for prisoners, is limited for prisoners released from long-term sentences. Coupled with this, the lack of a national framework for the reintegration of offenders in Ireland has prompted the National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) in 2002 to note that better links are needed between prison-based and community initiatives in Ireland.

The Corrections and Conditional Release Act of 1992 (CCRA) stipulates the Correctional Services of Canada (CSC) to ensure the effective implementation of rehabilitation and reintegration programmes. The inevitable role of community in this process is well acknowledged as evident in the active involvement of the citizens through Citizen Advisory Committees. Canada has community-based residential facilities (CBRFs) that offer housing, counselling and supervision for released offenders as well as parolees. While Community Correctional Centres (CCCs) provide housing for offenders' temporary absence, work release, parole, statutory release or long-term supervision, initiatives like CORCA and Prison Fellowship Canada offer community-based after-care as well as facilitate victim–offender reconciliation. COSA, a post-incarceration programme for sex offenders aimed at their reintegration, is being run with the help of trained volunteers and is active in 18 major Canadian cities.

The Norwegian approach to the issue of social reintegration reiterates the crucial relationship between crime and welfare policies. Organizations such as the Red Cross and Prison Fellowship Norway coordinate several other activities for released prisoners that include mentoring, child support and restorative justice programmes (UNRISD Working Paper, 2018).

The Correction Bureau under the Ministry of Justice of Japan handles the rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-convicts in Japan. Those on probation and parole are supervised by Volunteer Probation Offices through Professional Probation Officers. Their activities include offering everyday life assistance, home visits, educational assistance, employment assistance and facilitating crime prevention activities and sexual offender treatment programmes (MOJ, 2014). Further, volunteer organizations like the Big Brothers and Sisters Movement and Women's Association for Rehabilitation Aid also collaborate with the government for the successful implementation of social integration programmes in Japan.

The Malaysian Prison Department (MPD, 2012), under the Ministry of Home Affairs, notes that the mission to nurture productive individuals through effective rehabilitation, a conducive

environment and strategic integration involves “the implementation of an effective social reintegration programme for the prisoners/inmates/detainees”.¹ The Parole and Community Service Division makes it their primary objective to ensure continuity of the rehabilitation programmes and more effective supervision in order to facilitate the process of reintegration into society. It also focuses on providing opportunities for suitable employment as well as “fostering intense involvement of the community”.² Further, it aims to develop a Parole Management Information System to facilitate better interaction between the MPD and parole officers responsible for the supervision of parolees. MPD has also introduced two community-based treatment programmes for the social reintegration of prisoners. First, the Community Service Programme (CSP) encourages voluntary bodies or individuals to contribute as religious speakers or academic instructors to help prisoners to return to social lives. This also includes seeking donations such as food for festivals, money for Muslim prisoners to break their fast during Ramadan and donation in the form of reading materials. MPD often provides a prison workforce to carry out communal work such as cleaning public places, playgrounds or nursing homes together with the local community. MPD believes that “such community service may enable the prisoners to connect with the community, thereby giving rise to a sense of penitence as well as pride in being able to contribute to society”.³ Second, the parole system established under the MPD entrusts the Parole Offices across the country to “conduct home visits, employment visits, telephone check-ins, urine testing, and reporting” (TIJ 2015). However, recent studies have noted the problems faced by the parole officers in assisting the prisoners’ re-entry into the community (Hamin & Hassan, 2012). They observe that their dual functions of rehabilitating and surveillance pose many legal and operational dilemmas in effectively contributing towards the reintegration of prisoners into the community. However, the study suggests that giving the parole officers concerted support from the Prison Department, the Parole Board, the Parole Department and the community could solve this challenge.

Along with this, the Malaysian courts also sanction “non-custodial sentences to facilitate reintegration, which includes unconditional discharge, conditional discharge or a Good Behaviour Bond, and restitution to the victim, as well as compulsory attendance and community service” (UNRISD Working Paper, 2018). Recognizing the difficulties prisoners face in reconnecting with their families, the Ministry of Home Affairs began implementing

¹ http://www.prison.gov.my/portal/page/portal/english/visi_en

² http://www.prison.gov.my/portal/page/portal/english/parol_en

³ http://www.prison.gov.my/portal/page/portal/english/khidmat_en

half-way houses and offering them a safe place to adjust back to a normal life in society (Sokial, 2013). Further, the SAHABAT Club, established in 1995, aims to “encourage and promote the welfare of prisoners, residents and their families during the period of detention and after release”.⁴ The club tries to get donations, sponsorships and donations to fund welfare programmes and skills training for prisoners, former convicts and inmates. Additionally, it works towards creating “a feeling of concern and the public a positive view of former prisoners as part of the community and guide them to become useful citizens”.⁵ One can draw similar conclusions from the case studies done in Philippines, which call for social and institutional aid to the families of reintegrating fathers (Bertulfo, Canoy & Celeste, 2016). Realizing the fact that the reintegration of prisoners back into societal and home life is not automatic, these studies push for more critical engagement between families, especially those entrenched in poverty and lacking institutional support, community workers and policy-makers (Bertulfo, Canoy & Celeste, 2016).

In South Africa, the Department of Correctional Services is the main institution in charge of reintegration and rehabilitation of offenders. The White Paper on Corrections (2005) recognizes the rehabilitation and reintegration of released prisoners as a societal responsibility and emphasizes the role of civil society organizations in the society. Several organizations such as Civil Society Prison Reform Initiative (CSPRI), the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), the Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA) and the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) work towards the social reintegration of offenders in South Africa (Muntingh, 2008). The activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Khulisa, National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) and The President’s Award for Youth Empowerment are particularly noteworthy in offender rehabilitation and reintegration programmes in South Africa. Khulisa Crime Prevention Initiative, established in 1997, runs various corrections programmes, skills development, restorative justice programmes, community participation programmes, pre- and post-release programmes (van Selm 2008). For instance, Khulisa’s ‘My Path’ programme is a self-help learning programme, which sets offenders “on a path of exploring who he or she really is and preparing for re-entry into a positive, productive and meaningful lifestyle”.⁶ Organized into three phases – Exploration of Self, Self-Management and a Preparation Phase – focusing on

⁴ http://www.prison.gov.my/portal/page/portal/english/sahabat_en

⁵ http://www.prison.gov.my/portal/page/portal/english/sahabat_en

⁶ <http://www.khulisa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/henkeman-khulisa-final-report-1.pdf>

imparting business skills and entrepreneurship, the one-year-long course with 36 modules aims to promote emotional, social, physical and psychological well-being of the released prisoners and discover their creative abilities. Similarly, NICRO offers several standard options aimed at providing a healthy alternative developmental opportunity for marginalized, socially excluded and traumatized youth by giving them a chance to come back to normal social life and become productive, responsible citizens (Singh, 2016). Its objectives include preventing young people in conflict with the law from re-offending, identifying and dealing with underlying problems motivating juvenile offender behaviour, providing psycho-educational and rehabilitative programmes, offering young offenders the opportunity for reparation, preventing first time or petty offenders from receiving a criminal record and being labelled as criminals (Singh, 2016). In another attempt, Tough Enough Program initiated by NICRO assists offenders and their families in their efforts to reintegrate into their community (Mpuang, 2000). Victor Chikadzi (2017) has suggested that the efforts at social integration should also explore the possibility of community service as an alternative sentencing strategy for petty crimes as this will ensure that petty criminals do not get exposed to hardened criminals in prison, which may lead them to commit more serious crimes.

There have been several studies in the Indian context on prison conditions and reformation practices. But, a serious paucity of studies focusing on the social reintegration of released prisoners using empirical data exists. One of the main reasons for lack of such studies is the extremely difficult nature of data collection as tracing the released prisoners and collecting information from them is a daunting task. The only study that came to our attention in this regard is the research report prepared by Dr. Deepti Shrivastava published in 2011 (Shrivastava 2011). In the study, conducted for the Bureau of Police Research and Development, Shrivastava analyses data collected from 300 samples from the states of Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

Objectives and Scope of the Study

This study examined the complicated process through which the released prisoners attempt to get back to society as its functional member after years of incarceration. It is evident that the several years of confinement adversely affect their personal, psychological and social abilities that are otherwise available to the ordinary members of society. Hence, it is highly significant to understand their integration into the society as it also signifies a number of crucial

institutional practices as well as socio-cultural conditions of the society. The functioning of correctional system, provisions within prisons that enable inmates to integrate with the outside world, support systems available outside the prison to facilitate social integration and so on are highly crucial for integrating a prisoner after release into the society. This study has the following specific objectives with respect to prisoners released from the central prisons of Kerala and Tamil Nadu:

1. To examine and evaluate the role of various welfare and skill enhancement programmes in the prisons in facilitating the successful integration of released prisoners into the society.
2. To examine the challenges faced by released prisoners in integrating with the wider society in terms of psychological, social, economic and familial hardships and the strategies adopted by them to overcome these barriers.
3. To identify the supporting mechanisms facilitated by both state as well as civil society organisations that enable released prisoners to integrate well with the society.
4. To examine the incidences and contributing factors for recidivism among released prisoners.
5. To make policy suggestions to facilitate better social integration of released prisoners.

Research Design and Methodology

This research employed mixed research methods to capture various aspects of social reintegration of released prisoners as the process is complex, multidimensional and requires an interdisciplinary approach. As the first step, an exhaustive literature review was done to understand the following aspects: international and national approaches to the process of rehabilitation; different dimensions such as economic, physical, familial, psychological and social aspects of reintegration; different policies and programmes adopted by the Department of Prisons in Kerala and Tamil Nadu; mapping of the roles and responsibilities of Probation Officers; and the role of NGOs in prisoners' reintegration.

The desk review offered a bird's eye view of the history of prison reforms in India with specific focus on the questions of rehabilitation and reintegration. It also provided insights into the specific policies and programmes adopted in the central prisons of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, aimed at facilitating the social reintegration of ex-convicts. The desk review also revealed that the most important sources of primary data are the following categories of people: ex-convicts

who fall under the category of samples in this study; Probation Officers who are expected to oversee, assist and monitor their probation; prison officials such as Welfare Officers and office-bearers of NGOs who work closely in the reintegration process of ex-convicts. A host of secondary materials were collected for the study and they include prison reports from Kerala and Tamil Nadu including pamphlets and notices; press releases and reports on the prison reform initiatives; Prison Statistics Report 2016; and reports of NGOs. The information collected from these sources helped in providing a broad understanding of the current state of prison system in general and the policies and programmes aimed at reformation and rehabilitation in particular.

Primary Data Collection

Given the empirical nature of the study where the central question pertains to the social reintegration of prisoners, collection of primary data about their life after imprisonment assumes paramount importance. The desk review helped us to identify broad thematic areas associated with the process of reintegration with specific focus on their socio-economic, psychological and social aspects. Once these broad domains were identified, variables and indicators of the process of reintegration concerning the above-mentioned specific dimensions were prepared. These variables and indicators were also incorporated with distinct stages of their prison and post-prison life such as socio-demographic features of respondents, prison life and re-entry and reintegration. Later, these variables and indicators were incorporated into the preparation of an interview schedule, which contained both qualitative and quantitative questions. Quantitative questions were used to understand the socio-economic profiles of the ex-convicts, information about their stay in the prison and so on. Qualitative questions were used to understand their perception, opinion, experiences and suggestions over a host of issues both about their life in the prison as well as outside. The interview schedule was administered by a research assistant who would fill up the form by himself. In most cases, interviews were recorded in a device (with the permission of ex-convicts) and later translated and transcribed into the interview schedule form.

Along with the interview schedule prepared for the ex-convicts, separate interviews were planned for Probation Officers and office-bearers of NGOs working for the rehabilitation of ex-convicts. These interviews were mostly based on open-ended questions, exploring their opinions, experiences as well as suggestions for the process of reintegration. The interviews

helped in consolidating the interventions and experiences of state officials and people from the civil society organizations in addressing the issue of prisoners' reintegration.

Selection of Samples

When the initial field work began with discussions with jail officials and Probation Officers, it became apparent that it is very hard to identify prisoners as per the specifications mentioned in the proposal. This was especially evident in the case of prisoners who have completed their term and returned to society as the jail authorities had only limited information about their whereabouts and present address. Since they are not under any obligation to be in touch with jail authorities, Probation Officers and policemen, it was very hard to locate them and request their cooperation in the study. While the research team collected a list of released prisoners from the jails in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, it soon became clear that identifying these people was extremely difficult. As most of the addresses given by the jail authorities were either incorrect or incomplete, in many cases, the ex-convicts had moved away from their old places. During the pilot study, the research team contacted several police stations as per the list given by the jail authorities to identify and contact the released prisoners living within its jurisdiction. This effort turned out to be extremely difficult and complex. In a couple of cases where we were successful in identifying the appropriate samples, the ex-convicts were reluctant to share any information and they did not like to be reminded about their experience in the prison or the life after release. Soon, it became evident that the attempt to collect information from the ex-convicts who have completed the term will be quite arduous, time-consuming and complicated. We also received advice on the same lines from the prison officials and Probation Officers. Especially given the limited time at our disposal, this method of data collection must have been quite impractical.

Given this situation, the only option available to us was to contact, through the Probation Officers, those ex-convicts who were released prematurely and currently under the probation period who fulfil the basic criteria of samples. While this was a certainly a limitation as the samples are exclusively constituted by people released prematurely, it was the only available option to reach out to the required samples from the two states. For carrying out this option, we approached the Social Justice Department of Kerala and its Director immediately gave us the permission to contact all Probation Officers in the state and also sent them a letter directing

them to cooperate with the study. In Tamil Nadu, as the Probation Officers come under the Home Ministry and the Police Department, permission was granted by the Additional Director General of Police (ADGP) who facilitated a meeting with the Regional Probation Officer in Chennai who assured us all help and cooperation.

The phase of data collection began by meeting several Probation Officers in Kerala and Tamil Nadu and requesting their cooperation for identifying the samples. The Probation Officers were really forthcoming in terms of preparing the list of ex-offenders under their supervision who fulfil the sampling criteria of the study. In Kerala, we faced a peculiar situation as the ex-convicts were distributed across the state with varying degrees of concentration. In contrast, in Tamil Nadu, we could locate sufficient numbers of ex-convicts from within Chennai city and the district of Vellore. Hence, field work in Kerala proved to be more challenging and protracted as the research assistants had to travel to almost all districts, except Wayanad, Kasargod and Palakkad to contact the ex-convicts. In most cases, research assistants were given the contact numbers of the ex-convicts and the interviews were conducted in a mutually convenient place such as their own houses, public places, restaurants and so on. In a certain number of instances, the meetings were arranged in the offices of Probation Officers, but the interviews were conducted only after ensuring the required privacy and non-interference from the Probation Officers and other staff. The proposal also had intended to conduct an interview with family members of the released prisoners, but soon that too appeared complicated as many of them were averse to the idea of allowing the research team to meet their family members. There were also ethical considerations against collecting data from family members and community members when the released prisoners were struggling to lead a normal life after years of incarceration.

Given all these complexities, we were able to identify 60 released prisoners from Tamil Nadu and 48 from Kerala and all of them are currently under the supervision of Probationary Officers. The earlier plan to identify prisoners through respective prisons such as Poojappura and Thrissur in Kerala and Chennai and Vellore in Tamil Nadu also became problematic. Most of these prisoners who are released have spent their incarceration in more than one prisons as they were transferred in between. This also makes it difficult to correlate the prison reform initiatives with the actual parameters of prisoners reintegration more specific.

The actual process of interview began with the research assistants introducing themselves, explaining the research objective to ex-convicts and seeking their cooperation. While many of them appeared circumspect, and wary initially, in most cases, we were able to establish rapport very soon and conduct the interviews smoothly. Most of the respondents were fairly open and forthcoming while answering on sections of their life after the release and their present living conditions.

Interviews with Probation Officers were conducted in their offices. While we had to settle for a group interview in Chennai, we could meet individual Probation Officers in Kerala and conduct interviews separately. Similarly, separate open-ended interviews were conducted with the Welfare Officers of Central Prisons of Poojappura and Thrissur in Kerala and that of Vellore in Tamil Nadu. Interviews were also conducted with the Director General of Police (DGP) and ADGP, Department of Prison and Correctional Services, Kerala and Deputy Inspector General (DIG), Prisons Department, Tamil Nadu. Several social workers and activists working in the field of prison welfare also were interviewed in both these states.

The data collected through the interview schedule from released prisoners were later coded and transported to Microsoft Excel. Later, this data was transferred to SPSS software package and basic statistical analysis was performed. Descriptive statistics is used to understand percentages and cross tabulations were made to understand the correlations between different variables. Qualitative data also was transcribed and analysed separately. For this data, the emphasis was on understanding the underlying patterns among the responses of the released prisoners. Some of the important observations made by the respondents are recorded in the report and pseudo names are used to protect the identity of respondents.

Chapter 2

An Overview of Prisons and Reformation Practices in Kerala and Tamil Nadu

This chapter provides a broad overview of the measures adopted in the prisons of Kerala and Tamil Nadu that are aimed at reformation of the inmates. It also provides some basic statistics about the number and types of jails, their occupancy rate and other related information. Much of this information, compiled from the Prison Statistics Reports and other documents published by the Governments of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, offer the latest initiatives undertaken in these two states that are primarily aimed at prisoner reformation. It is evident that a host of initiatives have been adopted in these prisons for the reformation of its inmates compared to the previous times, which is definitely a welcome step. However, it is also obvious that these measures are not sufficient to achieve the stated objective of realizing prisoner reformation and their reintegration into society.

The following section discusses the number of jails and their occupancy rate in Kerala and Tamil Nadu in 2016. It also delves into vocational training imparted to inmates of prisons, the value generated from economic activities, support given by jails and NGOs towards their rehabilitation and hence their reintegration with their family and society.

Number of Jails

Eight types of jails are in operational in India to cater to the needs to different categories of prisoners and they are classified under the following heads: Central Jails, District Jails, Sub Jails, Women Jails, Borstal Jails, Open Jails, Special Jails and Other Jails. The distribution of these jails are not uniform across the states and Table 2.1 shows the number of jails under different categories for the states of study – Kerala and Tamil Nadu – and All-India.

Table 2.1 No. of Jails across Kerala, Tamil Nadu and All-India

States	Central Jails	District Jails	Sub jails	Women Jails	Borstal Jails	Open Jails	Special Jails	Other jails	Total No. of Jails
Kerala	3	11	16	3	1	3	16	1	54 (4.2%)
Tamil Nadu	9	9	96	3	12	3	5	0	137 (10.6%)
All-India	124	279	741	18	20	63	43	3	1291 (100)

Source: Prison Statistics in India 2015.

The total number of jails in Tamil Nadu is higher than that in Kerala, as the number of Tamil Nadu jails constitute 10.6 per cent of the jails in the country, whereas Kerala has only 4.2 per cent of the jails. However, an examination on different categories of jails indicate that the number of District Jails, Special Jails and other jails in Kerala are slightly higher than those in Tamil Nadu. The number of Sub Jails and Borstal Jails in Tamil Nadu are significantly higher than those in Kerala.

Occupancy Rate in Jails

The occupancy rate of the prisons depend on the capacity of accommodation and the number of inmates in the prisons. Table 2.2 indicates the number of inmates, capacity of the prisons and their occupancy rates in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and All-India in 2016.

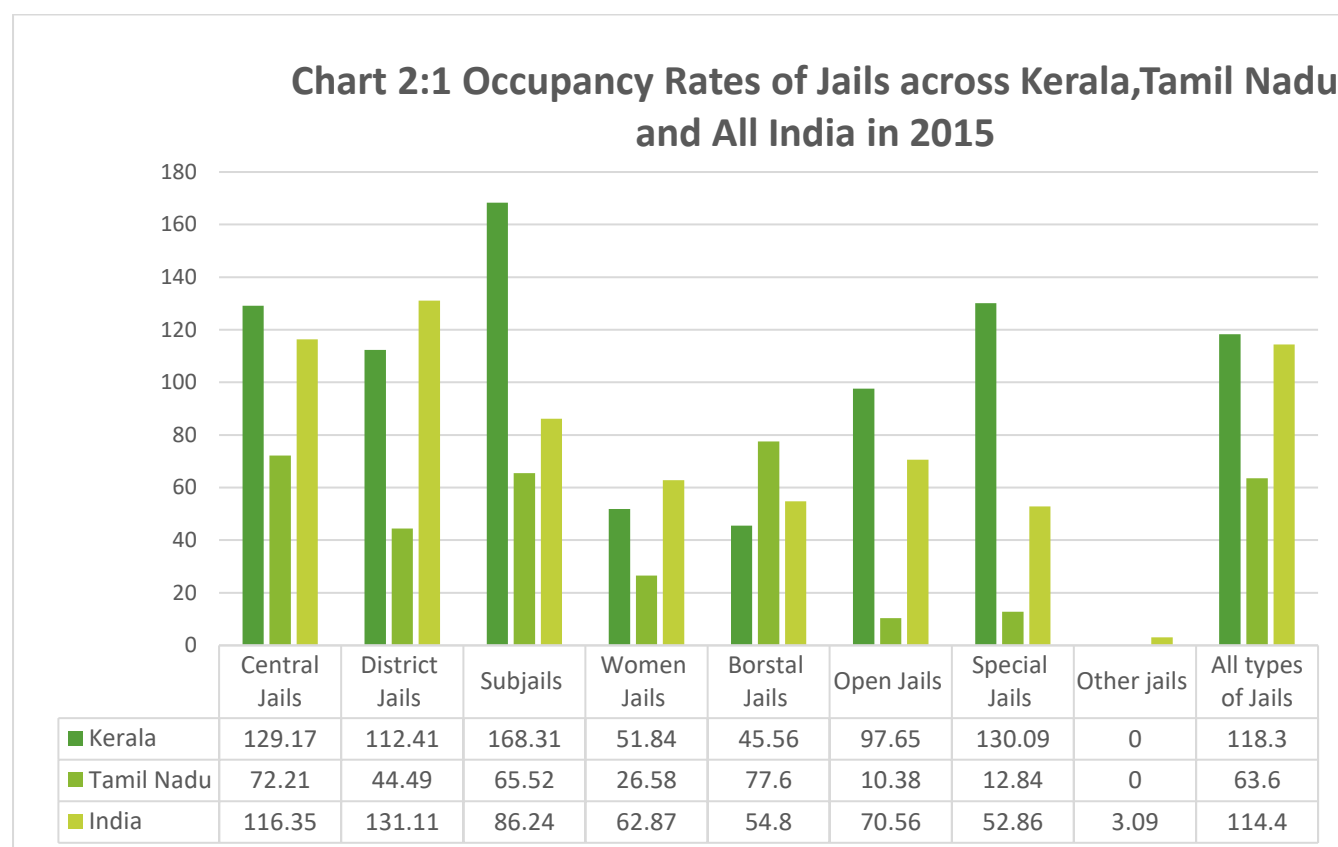
Table 2.2 Capacity and Inmates of the Prisons of Kerala and Tamil Nadu in 2016

States	Capacity	Inmates	Occupancy Rate
Kerala	6190	7325	118.3
Tamil Nadu	22,201	14,122	63.6
All-India	366,781	419,623	114.4

Source: Prison Statistics in India 2016.

Occupancy rate indicates whether the jails have adequate capacity to accommodate additional inmates or the present jails are sufficient to give shelter to the current inmates. A measure of 100 indicates that the capacity is fully utilized. Any value above 100 indicates that the

additional capacity has to be generated and a value below 100 indicates that an excess capacity is available in jails.



Source: Prison Statistics in India 2015.

The occupancy rate (Chart 2.1) of all types of jails in India (114.4) and Kerala (118.3) are higher than 100, whereas it is only 63.6 per cent in Tamil Nadu. It is to be noted that none of the Tamil Nadu jails indicate a high occupancy rate above 100. This could be because of the presence of 137 prisons (10.6 percent of the prisons) or because of less number of criminals under custody in jails in Tamil Nadu. In Kerala, except Women Jails, Borstal Jails, Open Jails and other jails, the occupancy rate is higher than 100 and it reflects the trend of the all-India scenario. Among the jails, highest occupancy rate is recorded in Sub Jails with an occupancy of 168.31, followed by Special Jails (130.09), Central Jails (129.17) and District Jails (112.41). A higher occupancy rate indicates that the conditions available at these places are inadequate to support the basic requirements of inmates. It calls for the attention of the authorities to extend additional support to the inmates of Central Jails, District Jails, Sub Jails and Special Jails in Kerala.

Vocational Training Programmes in the Prisons

In order to reintegrate the released prison inmates into society, it is essential to make them economically independent once they complete their term of punishment in the prison. Moreover, a sustained and stable income enables them to detach themselves from those surroundings that induce them to commit crimes. With the intention to make them economically independent and financially sound to take care of themselves and their family members, the Prison Department conducts vocational training programmes of various kinds. It varies from weaving, tailoring, carpentry and agriculture to making of soaps and phenyl, handloom, canning and others. Table 2.3 indicates the various training programmes undertaken in 2016.

Table 2.3 Training Imparted to Prison Inmates under Vocational Course in 2016

States	Weaving	Tailoring	Carpentry	Agriculture	Making of soap and phenyl	Handloom	Canning	Others	Total
Kerala	99	126	118	80	112	13	0	1491	2039 (27.84%)
Tamil Nadu	141	46	15	38	0	0	0	1472	1712 (12.12%)
All India	4441	3775	2832	2238	1265	649	351	42388	57,939 (13.81%)

Source: Prison Statistics in India 2016.

Table 2.3 indicates the training programmes conducted in states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and all India in 2016. Prison inmates of Kerala attended more number of trainings (2039) compared to that of Tamil Nadu (1712), covering 27.84 per cent of total inmates of Kerala whereas only 12.12 per cent of inmates took up training programmes for Tamil Nadu. This indicates that in Kerala, the prison authorities are encouraging more participation and/or the inmates are showing more enthusiasm to participate in training programmes.

Another measure to assess the effectiveness of training programme is the value generated by the products manufactured by the inmates during their stay in the prison. The output generated by the prisoners are sold in the market and it is indicated as an income generated by the prison during that financial year. Table 2.4 indicates the value generated from the sale proceeds of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and All India in 2016.

Table 2.4 Value of Goods Produced by Inmates during 2016

States	Gross value of sale proceeds (Rs. in crores)
Kerala	20.49 (10.27%)
Tamil Nadu	34.14 (17.11%)
All India	199.5

Source: Prison Statistics in India 2016.

Both Kerala and Tamil Nadu contributed significantly to the total sales proceeds from prisons of the country. According to Prison Statistics 2016, Tamil Nadu occupies the second position and Kerala occupies the fourth position in the sales proceeds of jail products sold in the market. Higher participation in the training programmes and the activities undertaken by the inmates at the jails enable this increased share of contribution. Tamil Nadu has higher potential to contribute compared to Kerala as it has almost double the number of inmates than Kerala.

Rehabilitation Measures Adopted

With the intention to provide psychological, medical and legal assistance to the prisoners, prisons and NGOs have been providing support since the time of imprisonment.

Table 2.5 Medical and Legal Counselling Imparted by NGO in 2016

States	No. of NGOs	Beneficiaries of	
		Medical Counselling	Legal Counselling
Kerala	38	777 (10.61%)	1070 (14.60%)
Tamil Nadu	59	8910 (63.09%)	8104 (57.39%)
All India	779	89464 (21.32%)	74088 (17.65%)

Source: Prison Statistics in India 2016.

Table 2.5 indicates that 779 NGOs have extended support to prison inmates in 2016 in the form of medical and legal counselling. There are 59 NGOs in Tamil Nadu and 38 in Kerala involved in this work. It is to be noted that the number does not tell much about the functions carried out by them at each state, since it was noticed that very few NGOs are very actively involved in rehabilitation and counselling services. The table also shows that respectively 63 per cent and 57.39 per cent of the Tamil Nadu prison inmates have received or availed medical and legal counselling through NGOs in 2016. Prison inmates in Kerala received medical and legal counselling to the extent of 10.61 per cent and 14.6 per cent in the same period.

At the time of release, the prisoners were given financial assistance to enable them to continue their economic activities once they are released. This assistance, along with the wages received from prison, could be used as an initial fund to start economically productive activities.

Table 2.6 Rehabilitation and Other Support to Prisoners in 2016

States	No of prisoners who received financial assistance during release	No. of convicts rehabilitated	No. of prisoners to whom legal aid was provided	Wages paid per day to convicts in (Rs.)		
				Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Kerala	0	0	2389	132	110	55
Tamil Nadu	10	528	5086	100	80	60
All India	1989	1371	94,242	NA	NA	NA

Source: Prison Statistics in India 2016.

Table 2.6 indicates the rehabilitation and reintegration support extended to the released prisoners in 2016. Tamil Nadu provided more legal aid to the prisoners compared to Kerala.

Welfare Measures for Prison Inmates in Tamil Nadu

In the state of Tamil Nadu, the Department of Prisons functions under the Ministry of Home headed by a senior IPS officer in the rank of ADGP. He is assisted by a DIG of Prisons at Headquarters and by five DIGs of Prisons at Chennai, Vellore, Coimbatore, Tiruchirapalli and Madurai ranges. The state has nine Central Prisons, District Prisons, Special Sub Jails, Open Prisons, Open Jails for Women and Borstal Schools. Different welfare measures have been

adopted by the Government of Tamil Nadu to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration processes of the prison inmates at different periods of time.

The following are the important welfare measures taken up by the Department of Prisons in recent years. Most of the information in this section is taken from the Policy Note 2019–2020, Demand No.24, Prisons, published by the Government of Tamil Nadu.

Food and Clothing

- Nutritious and balanced diet is provided to prisoners in a hygienic manner as per the scales prescribed under chapter XXII of *Tamil Nadu Prison Manual*, Volume II for both vegetarians and non-vegetarians.
- A separate medical diet is also followed under the directions of a medical practitioner to meet the interests of the patients.
- Clothing is provided to inmates as per the norms laid down by the *Tamil Nadu Prison Manual*.

Medical Support

- The Central Prisons and Special Prison for Women are equipped with hospitals, experienced doctors, paramedical staff, inpatient care and ambulances. Besides these, clinical laboratories, electrocardiograms, auto blood analyser, ophthalmoscope, glucometer and portable X-ray equipment have been provided to carry out diagnostic tests.
- Periodic medical camps are conducted to all the inmates for specific health problems. Integrated Counselling and Testing Centres have been established in all the Central Prisons for testing the prevalence of AIDS among inmates.
- Directly Observed Treatment Centres have been established in all Central Prisons to identify and eradicate tuberculosis among the prisoners.
- Psychologists have been appointed in Central Prisons to conduct counselling to those who suffer from depression and violent behaviour. Two counsellors have been appointed in each Central Prison to provide counselling services to the mentally depressed inmates. Their efforts have been supplemented by 21 NGOs associated with prison services.
- Special care has been extended to pregnant women with the assistance of gynaecologists and if needed emergency care is granted to them for an outside delivery.

Female prisoners are allowed to have their children with them until the children attain the age of six years. Food, clothing and recreational needs of them are also taken care of by the Prison Department.

Interviews with Family Members

- The family members and the relatives can interview the inmates by seeking prior permission through filled in applications downloaded from the Prisons Department website.
- To facilitate them to get in touch with family members, friends and advocates, 54 telephone booths have been installed in nine Central Prisons, three Special Prisons for Women and Borstal School. As per the directives issued in 2015, five calls can be made for a maximum duration of 45 minutes per month per prisoner.
- Special interviews are permitted to advocates on all days except Sundays and to close family members such as school-going children and working spouses on first Sunday of the month.

Education and Vocational Training Courses

A number of correctional measures such as educational and vocational courses and practical experience in prison industries are undertaken to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of inmates and to enable them to take up employment and self-employment after their release.

- To achieve 100 per cent literacy among inmates, a programme has been launched with the assistance of the Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD), Government of India, and Education Department, Government of Tamil Nadu.
- Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) is also conducting various courses for the benefit of the inmates.
- Mahatma Gandhi Community Colleges approved by Tamil Nadu Open University have been established in all Central Prisons, Special Prison for Women and Borstal Schools.
- The services of the educated inmates are utilized for teaching.
- Distance education facility to the inmates and the costs are borne by the Government of Tamil Nadu.
- The pass percentage of those who appear for Class VIII, Class X, Class XI and Class XII is above 90 percentage over the last three years. A total of 8027 prisoners are pursuing various educational programmes in 2018-19 including 25 post-graduate aspirants appearing for examinations in MA/MSc, MCA and MBA courses.

- Industrial Training Institutes have been established in most of the Central Prisons and in 2017–18, all the 89 prisoners appeared for these exams cleared the exam. It includes trades such as electrician, fitter, computer operator, cutting and sewing and welding.
- Sealing wax industry, weaving industry, boot industry, book binding industry, tag industry, soap industry, tailoring unit, carpentry unit, shoe polish unit, bakery unit, handmade paper unit, fly ash bricks industry, sanitary napkin production unit and LED lights production cum training units have been established to improve the practical experience and production skills among the prisoners. Nursery training and training agricultural production and compost making are also provided.
- With the intention to have recreation and to improve the mental health of the prisoners, library facilities have been provided to them.
- The Prisons Department supplies articles to other departments, which include uniform clothes, belts, caps, uniform shoes, shoe polish, raincoats, mosquito nets, selling wax, tags, file pads, postal covers, bandage cloth, soaps, other textiles, fire buckets, bedside lockers etc.

The value of the industrial production for the past five years is given in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 Value of Industrial Production of Prisons, Tamil Nadu

S. no	Year	Value (Rs. in lakhs)
1	2013–14	3697.25
2	2014–15	4017.12
3	2015–16	3276.91
4	2016–17	5683.36
5	2017–18	7279.58

Source: Policy Note 2019–2020, Demand No.24, Prisons, Government of Tamil Nadu.

- The Government of Tamil Nadu has granted permission to establish prison bazaars at the boundary of the Central Prison complexes to sell the articles produced by the prisoners. It includes bakery items, leather shoes, wallets, nursery products, detergent soaps, sanitary napkins, candles, mosquito nets, raincoats, shoe polish, readymade garments, honey masala powder, handicrafts, envelopes, notebooks, organic

vegetables, cold pressed oil, compost manure and paintings are sold under the registered brand name, Freedom.

Legal Aid to Prison Inmates

- Tamil Nadu State Legal Services Authority has opened a Legal Aid Cell in all Central Prisons, Special Prisons for Women, District Jails and Sub Jails for the benefit of prisoners. Magistrates conduct Prison Adalat regularly to dispose of petty cases of prisoners and between January 2016 and May 2019, 3675 cases have been disposed of.
- Sealed complaint boxes have been installed in all Central Prisons to address the grievances of the inmates and these boxes are opened by the District and Sessions Judges on the first working day of every month and complaints are forwarded to the authorities for appropriate action.
- Sessions Judges and Chief Judicial Magistrates pay a surprise visit every month to check the facilities.
- The Superintendent of Prisons conducts weekly inspections to hear the grievances of prisoners.
- Annual inspections are carried out by Additional DGP, IG of Prisons, Range Deputy IG of Prisons.

Measures on Release of Prisoners

- In commemoration of the birth centenary celebrations of former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G. Ramachandran, 1627 life convicts were released prematurely in 2018.
- In order to accommodate prisoners seeking employment on their release, availability of industries in the areas of the released prisoners were collected along with the specific skills acquired by the prisoners and the date of their release.

Other Welfare Measures

- Sewage treatment plant and safe drinking water facilities are some of the recent initiatives taken up to improve the living conditions inside the prison.
- Since September 2017, daily wages paid to the prisoners engaged in prison industries have been increased to Rs. 200 for skilled, Rs. 180 for semi-skilled and Rs. 160 for unskilled labourers.
- To keep track of the visitors, a visitor management system software has been installed.
- Provision has been made to broadcast music and other programmes in Special Jails.

- Members of Human Rights Commissions, judges and other dignitaries visit prisons to check on the requirements and the conditions of inmates. Besides, non-official visitors make surprise visits to check on human rights violations, if any.
- The Tamil Nadu government has sanctioned new District Jails and has also upgraded a few Sub Jails to District Jails to reduce the occupancy rates.

Welfare Measures in Prisons in Kerala

The Department of Prisons, Home Department, Kerala, works under the leadership of Director General of Prisons and Correctional Services. The Department states that its mission is “to make all efforts to ensure that the prisoners become reformed and self sustainable individuals with acceptable social behaviour on release after their completion of sentence”.

- To live with human dignity.
- Adequate diet, health and medical care hygienic living conditions and proper clothing.
- Communication with family members, friends, legal advisers and other persons.
- Access to legal service and legal aid protection against unlawful aggression on his person or against imposition of ignominy in any manner not authorized by law.
- Protection against unreasonable discrimination.
- Protection against punishment or hardship amounting to punishment, except through procedure established by law and do with due opportunity of defence.
- Pursuing his religious faith.
- Protection against labour not authorized by law or in excess of the prescribed period or without payment of wages at the prescribed rate.
- Enjoyment of fundamental rights under chapter III of the Constitution of India in so far as they do not become incapable of enjoyment following conviction and confinement.
- Effective training in socially demanding vocation.
- Release on due date.

The above stated rights have been ensured through the following welfare measures undertaken by the Department. Welfare Officers are appointed to coordinate the welfare activities for the inmates besides the Chief Welfare Officer at Headquarters to coordinate at the state level.

- The Department of Prisons ensures both physical and mental treatment of the inmates. Socialization of the prisoners have been ensured through the provision of leaves, interview facilities, communications facilities, etc.
- Vocational training is imparted to inmates of Central Prisons and Open Prisons in the manufacturing activities, viz, carpentry, smithy, weaving, tailoring, masonry, soap making, sawing, book binding, printing, etc. importance is also given to agrarian operations, such in the cultivation of paddy, tapioca, vegetables, plantains, rubber, coconut, cashew nut, mulberry and rubber plantation and allied activities such as dairy farm and goat farm.
- With the intention to improve educational standards, teachers have been appointed to impart education to interested prisoners.
- Library facilities, computer education and continuing education in tie up with IGNOU and other various universities are also available.
- Religious and yoga classes have been offered to the inmates without any compulsion.
- Cultural programmes have been conducted on important days to develop inter-/intra-personal relations among inmates.
- Premature release is being ordered to well-behaved prisoners who complete a certain period of confinement, as may be fixed by the Kerala government from time to time.
- Nutritious and wholesome diet is provided to all inmates. Special diet is provided to the physically ill/weak inmates, on the advice of the Prison Medical Officer.
- The inmates of prisons are allotted work after taking into consideration their social background, educational qualification, physical ability and previous work experience. The daily wages range from Rs. 63 to Rs. 230 for normal tasks for one day. Besides this, extra wages are paid on extra work carried out by them.
- Inmates of Open Prisons who perform extra task on agricultural work are being given special rates of wages.

- Healthy competitions in sports and games are being conducted among prisoners inside jail and between jails.
- Programme of inmates talented in various arts are being arranged in front of a public audience with a view to resocialize them.
- Integrated Counselling and Testing Centres viz., ‘Jyothis’ are functioning in six jails under the Kerala State AIDS Control Society. These centres conduct testing for a number of diseases including HIV and render counselling to the prisoners.
- Television and FM radio have been installed in all prisons in the state.
- Well-equipped library facilities are available in all the jails in the state.
- Prisoner canteens are available in all the major jails.
- Jail Day celebrations are being conducted every year to bring out the physical and cultural abilities of inmates in all jails.
- Facilities for indoor and outdoor games including volleyball, basketball, shuttle badminton, etc. are available in jails.

Training Programmes under the Department of Prisons, Kerala

Vocational training programmes have been offered by Departments of Prisons, Government of Kerala, with the intention to train the prisoners to engage in various productive activities inside the prison and also to develop the capability to be independent and self-sufficient after their release. Table 2.8 shows the various training programmes along with the fund sanctioned by the Department of Prisons, Government of Kerala, to various prisons for the last two years. During the financial year 2016–17, Rs. 70 lakh was been sanctioned to 20 prisons including Central Jails, District Jails, Women Jails, Open Jails and Special Jails. The sanctioned amount has been increased to Rs. 1 crore to 15 jails (Central Jails, District Jails, Open Jails and Women Jails) in 2017–18.

Table 2.8 Amount Approved by the Government of Kerala for Training Programmes

S. no	Prison	Training programmes in 2016-17	Amount sanctioned for 2016-17	Training programmes in 2017-18	Amount sanctioned for 2017-18
1	Central Jail, Thiruvananthapuram	Computer training, driving, haircutting saloon and beauty parlour, paper bag making, screen printing, file board/ writing board/ folding file making	10,27,000	Computer MS office, computer hardware maintenance, data entry operator, DTP course, mobile phone technology, electrical wiremen, plumbing, travel and tourism, housekeeping, hospitality management, cookery, library science, yoga, meditation, interior decoration, nursery training, health and sanitation, aluminium fabrication, lamination, binding, painting,	16,95,750

				photography, furniture making, video editing	
2	Central Jail, Viyyur	Modern beauty parlour, mechanical aid for coconut climbing, vehicle repairing, computer maintenance, plumbing and electrician course, LED bulb making, organic manure and organic pesticide making, television mechanism	14,79,500	Paper and cloth bag making, screen printing, file making, fabrics and glass painting, solar energy, technical design and solar maintenance, handicrafts making, advanced diploma in optical fibre technician and digital security surveillance	13,37,000
3	Central Jail, Kannur	Driving, fashion designing, coconut climbing training, bakery and confectionery	6,75,000	Beauty parlour management (males), aluminium fabrication, two- wheeler mechanism, four- wheeler driving	3,65,760

		training, LED bulb making, mobile phone repairing, DTP training			
4	District Jail, Thiruvananthapuram	Computer course, wireman course		Electrical wiremen, CHM basic course	1,00,000
5	District Jail, Kollam	Food production training, office automation	2,00,000	Computer course, electrical wiremen, plumbing and sanitation, umbrella making, paper bag making, soap and allied products	2,73,000
6	District Jail, Kottayam	Office automation, basic course in food production	1,06,750	Office automation, incense stick and candle making, bag making	97,750
7	District Jail, Ernakulam	Beautician course, cookery training, computer training, electrician and plumbing	2,30,000	MS Office, DTP, financial accounting, aluminium Fabrication, welding technology, cosmetology and beauty parlour management	4,12,500

8	District Jail, Mananthavady	Mushroom farming, umbrella making, soap making, pickle making/ squash making	34,000	Soap and detergent making, candle making, book binding, paper and cloth bag making, welding, electric wiring, plumbing, LED bulb assembling, refrigeration and air conditioning, computer course	1,43,245
9	District Jail, Kozhikode	LED bulb- making unit, equipped computer lab, garden pot making, paper carry bag, candle/incens e stick/ phenyl/ soap powder making, plumbing, electric repairing, furniture repairing	4,00,000	Aluminium fabrication, electronics equipment repairing, computer training, plumbing, electrical repairing	6,50,000
10	District Jail, Hosdurg			Soap making, chalk making	25,000

11	Open Jail, Nettukaltheri	Driving, computer training, electrician course	4,50,000	Driving, AC, refrigerator technician course, computer animation, carpentry, hi-tech chicken farm	12,00,000
12	Open Jail, Cheemeny	Computer training, driving, welding and engineering/ aluminium fabrication course, hair cutting and beauty parlour course, <i>chendamelam</i> troupe, wiring, plumbing, motor winding course	13,16,000	Panchakarma therapy, short film/documentar y production, two-wheeler repairing, vermin compost, aquaculture, <i>Jeevamruth</i> , training on <i>chendamelam</i> and <i>chenda</i> making, computer course, red stone mining	8,59,258
13	Open Jail for Women, Thiruvananthapura m			Chicken farm for egg-laying chicks	1,25,000
14	Women Jail, Thiruvananthapura m	Seed and nursery unit	50,000	Beauty therapy course, umbrella making, food processing, teddy	2,10,790

				bad making, cushion making	
15	Women Jail, Kannur	Readymade cloth making, fashion designing	75,000	Beauty culture, handicrafts making, food processing, papad making	1,71,850
16	District Jail, Alappuzha	DTP training	1,00,000		
17	Special Sub Jail, Thiruvananthapura m	Electric wiring, computer hardware and maintenance, plumbing	1,68,000		
18	Special Sub Jail, Neyyattinkara	organic farming	25,000		
19	Special Sub Jail, Kottarakkara	Umbrella making, <i>nettipattam</i> making, screen printing, foot ware/paper bag/carry bag making	1,00,000		
20	Special Sub Jail, Mavelikkara	Organic farming, tailoring, paper cover/ candle/incens e stick/ soap	90,000		

		making, tyre puncture unit			
21	Women Jail, Viyyur	Tailoring training, puppet making unit, bakery unit	1,83,750		
		Total	70,00,000		76,68,903
				Additional support to selected prisons based on the proposal submitted for wooden toy making, puppet making etc	23,31,097
		Grand Total	70,00,000		1,00,00,000 (sanctioned)

Chapter 3

Analysis of Primary Data: Demographic Profile of Respondents and Their Life in Prison

The data for the present study was collected between March 2019 and July 2019 from 108 released Central Prison inmates of Tamil Nadu (60) and Kerala (48). The profile of the respondents given in Table 3.1 indicates general demographic background of the respondents.

Table 3:1 Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Particulars	Category	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Age	35–45	25 (41.7)	4 (8.3)	29 (26.8)
	46–60	28 (46.7)	33 (68.8)	61 (56.4)
	Older than 60	7 (11.6)	11 (22.9)	18 (16.7)
Gender	Male	58 (96.7)	46 (96.3)	104 (96.3)
	Female	2 (3.3)	2 (3.7)	4 (3.7)
Place of residence	Urban	35 (58.3)	43 (89.6)	78 (72.2)
	Rural	25 (41.7)	5 (10.4)	30 (27.7)
Religion	Hindu	52 (86.7)	36 (75.0)	88 (81.5)
	Muslim	1 (1.7)	4 (8.3)	5 (4.6)
	Christian	7 (11.7)	8 (16.7)	15 (13.9)
Total		60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

The data given in Table 3.1 shows that all respondents are older than 35 years in both Tamil Nadu and Kerala and a majority of them (56.4 per cent) are in the age range 46–60 years. However, Tamil Nadu has more young respondents (41.7 per cent) compared to Kerala (8.3 per cent). Almost 70 per cent of the released prisoners interviewed for the study are older than 46 years. The number of women respondents is limited to 4 (3.7 per cent) from both the states, that is, two from each state. While the study intended to identify around 20 women prisoners,

it turned out to be impossible to find such respondents in the field. In a couple of cases, the released women prisoners refused to cooperate with the study as many of them wished to lead a peaceful life with their present family without wanting to recollect their past.

Out of the respondents with respect to their place of residence, 72 per cent come from urban areas and the rest from rural areas. Given the nature of Kerala's population profile and geographical distribution, the presence of urban respondents in Kerala is high (89.6 per cent) compared to Tamil Nadu (58.3 per cent). In terms of religion, we have respondents belonging to Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. A majority of the respondents are Hindus followed by Christians and Muslims in both the states.

The respondents have been classified into three different categories on the basis of their community: SC/ST, OBC and General. Table 3.2 indicates the distribution of respondents on the basis of the community they belong to.

Table 3.2 Distribution of Respondents by Community

Community	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
SC/ST	19 (41.7)	16 (33.3)	35 (32.4)
OBC	25 (45.0)	24 (50.0)	49 (45.4)
General	2 (3.3)	8 (16.7)	10 (9.2)
Refused to disclose	13 (10.0)	—	13 (12.0)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 3.2 indicates that majority of the respondents belong to OBC (45.4 per cent) followed by SC/ST (32.4 per cent) and General (9.2 per cent). This pattern remains the same for both Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Thirteen respondents from Tamil Nadu refused to disclose the community they belong to. Understandably, the data shows that vast majority of the people imprisoned in Indian jails hail from socially backward communities.

Table 3.3 Distribution of Respondents by Educational Attainment

Education	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Illiterate	11 (18.3)	2 (4.2)	13 (12.0)
Primary	16 (26.7)	4 (8.3)	20 (18.5)
Middle	11 (18.3)	16 (33.3)	27 (25.0)
Higher	14 (23.3)	14 (29.2)	28 (25.9)
SSLC	5 (8.3)	11 (22.9)	16 (14.8)
Graduation and above	3 (5.0)	1 (2.1)	4 (3.7)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 3.3 illustrates that more than 80 per cent of respondents from Tamil Nadu and 95 per cent of them from Kerala have undergone formal schooling. The highest composition of the respondents of Tamil Nadu have primary education (26.7 per cent), whereas in the case of Kerala, most of them have gone to middle school (33.3 per cent). On an average, the respondents of Kerala are more educated compared to that of the respondents of Tamil Nadu. However, three respondents from Tamil Nadu have finished graduation or higher courses.

The study has not collected data related to income of respondents, as it was observed during the pilot study that the respondents were not disclosing correct information regarding the income of family. So as an attempt to capture the economic status of the family, some information pertaining to ownership of house along with type of ownership as seen in their ration cards was collected as alternate variables to indicate the same.

Table 3.4 Economic Indicators of the Respondents

Particulars	Category	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Ownership of shelter	Own house	32 (53.3)	32 (66.7)	64 (59.3)
	Rented	22 (36.7)	11 (22.9)	33 (30.6)
	Temporary shelter	6 (10.0)	5 (10.4)	11 (10.2)
Type of house	Pucca	21 (35.0)	19 (39.6)	40 (37.0)
	Kutchha	39 (65.0)	29 (60.4)	68 (63.0)
Ownership of ration card	APL	1 (1.7)	11 (22.9)	12 (11.1)
	BPL	50 (83.3)	37 (77.1)	87 (80.6)
	Without card	9 (15.0)	—	9 (8.3)
Total		60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

A majority of the respondents from both Kerala (66.7 per cent) and Tamil Nadu (53.3 per cent) live in their own houses. Very few people live in temporary shelters, which is only about 10 per cent. About 60 per cent in Kerala and 65 per cent in Tamil Nadu live in *kutchha* houses and this indicates that though majority of the respondents live in their own houses, their quality is inferior. The data on the ownership of ration cards indicates that majority of them are below poverty line (BPL) card holders (80.6 per cent) and the presence of BPL card holders is higher in Tamil Nadu compared to Kerala. Nine respondents from Tamil Nadu stated that they do not own any ration card, as they do not have supporting documents to apply for one. It further throws light upon the vulnerability of these respondents to make use of the welfare schemes, as most of them are channelled on the basis of the ownership of ration card.

The family was the source of emotional and economic support to the prison inmates during their period of incarceration and it plays a fundamental role in their effective social reintegration after release. As pointed out by several studies and the respondents themselves, the opportunity of parole provides them with a renewed hope to live in the prison. A well-knit family helps them to escape from the clutches of bitter memories and enables them to easily integrate with society. Table 3.5 indicates the family profile of the respondents.

Table 3.5 Family Profile of the Respondents

Particulars	Category	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Type of family	Nuclear	46 (76.7)	36 (75.0)	82 (76.0)
	Joint	14 (23.3)	12 (25.0)	26 (24.0)
Married	Yes	51 (85.0)	42 (87.5)	93 (86.1)
	No	9 (15.0)	6 (12.5)	18 (16.7)
Marital status	Living with a partner	39 (65.0)	30 (62.5)	69 (63.9)
	Single	15 (25.0)	15 (31.3)	30 (27.8)
	Separated	5 (8.3)	3 (6.3)	8 (7.4)
	Divorced	1 (1.7)	-	1 (0.9)
Have children	Yes	45 (75.0)	40 (83.3)	85 (78.7)
	No	15 (25.0)	8 (16.7)	23 (21.3)
	Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

About 75 per cent of the respondents live in nuclear families in both Tamil Nadu and Kerala. About 85 per cent of the respondents of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are married and 75 per cent of the respondents from Tamil Nadu and 83 per cent from Kerala stated that they have children. While 65 per cent of the respondents from Tamil Nadu live with partners, 63 per cent of them do so in Kerala, which again indicates that strong familial network is established and maintained by most of the respondents.

Before their imprisonment, respondents had undertaken various jobs and Table 3.6 indicates the nature of the work/job carried out by them.

Table 3.6 Distribution of Respondents by Type of Work Done before Imprisonment

Type of Work	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Business	4 (6.7)	5 (10.4)	9 (8.3)
Service	1 (1.7)	2 (4.2)	3 (2.8)
Skilled work	15 (25.0)	21 (43.8)	36 (33.3)
Unskilled work	40 (66.7)	19 (39.6)	59 (54.6)
Others	-	1 (2.1)	1 (0.9)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 3.6 shows that all the respondents were working before their imprisonment and the types of the work include business, service, skilled and unskilled work. About 55 per cent of the respondents had undertaken unskilled work and the unskilled workers are more in Tamil Nadu (66.7 per cent) compared to Kerala (39.6 per cent). In Kerala, majority, that is, 43.8 per cent had undertaken skilled work, which includes driving, tailoring, electrical work, painting and so on. The difference in the nature of the work between skilled and unskilled could be attributed to relatively higher educational attainments of the respondents from Kerala. Some respondents had business and service too, but they are only a few.

The current status of physical health of respondents has been captured to ascertain whether they are physically fit to take care of themselves and their family. Most of them had spent many years in the prison and lost their younger healthy life inside the prison before release. Table 3.7 gives information pertaining to the current health issues stated by the respondents.

Table 3.7 Distribution of Respondents Stating that they have Health Issues

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Yes	27 (45.0)	31 (64.6)	58 (53.7)
No	33 (54.0)	17 (35.4)	50 (46.3)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 3.7 indicates that 53.7 per cent of the respondents had health issues, with 45 per cent in Tamil Nadu and 64.6 per cent in Kerala respectively reporting issues with their health. A detailed interview with the prisoners brought forth a number of issues related to physical and mental health problems that they undergo currently after their release from prison. Five respondents informed that they are undergoing treatment for addiction. Most of the prisoners agreed that they had smoked and consumed alcohol, but many of them eventually gave up those practices while they were in prison, or after they got released. One of the prisoners stated that the meagre amount of daily wage should not be wasted, and hence he gave up drinking. Few others stated that they had reduced the habit to a great extent, and they drink only once in a month or so. Around 10 released prisoners admitted that they indeed have a problem of alcoholism and that is adversely affecting their family life. Many respondents also stated that they are taking medicines for hypertension and diabetes, and few of them also underwent cataract surgery. Some commented that intense physical work helped them to have a good sleep during night-time. But few of them also suffered from insomnia and consumed sleeping pills without any formal prescription. A few narrated events of their fellow prisoners hanging themselves due to extreme depression, and others being sent to therapists for betterment of their mental well-being.

Many of the respondents complained of other health issues like gastrointestinal problems, back pain, fits, anxiety, cholesterol, urinary tract infection, arthritis and so on. They admitted that yoga and meditation played an important role in securing the mental health of the prisoners. Shanmugan from Tamil Nadu recounts: *“I learned meditation and yoga from Isha Yoga Foundation. Without that I would have become mentally wreck. It will be scary to be in the lock up after 7.30. Since there was no target, no time line, no clear understanding about when I am going to get released. It used to be very scary. Initially I didn’t get sleep then used to use sleeping pill (buy myself). But later, I learned yoga and thus, I managed my sleep.”* Mental health is mostly recounted as a major concern for the prisoners during their stay in the prison. Many of them struggled to cope with depression and sense of isolation and sadness. Several of them harboured suicidal tendencies and many have witnessed others committing suicide inside the prison or attempting it. Yoga, meditation and spiritual sessions organised by religious institutions and the counselling provided by doctors proved to be highly beneficial to most of those who experienced these difficulties.

Analysis of Life in Prison

The Departments of Prison of all the states are entrusted with the duty to implement a number of schemes to facilitate the social reintegration of released prisoners and a host of schemes have been incorporated for this purpose. The Welfare Officers are required to conduct a series of welfare measures for the educational, psychological and social well-being of prisoners. Besides these initiatives, several NGOs have taken up varied voluntarily steps for the welfare of prison inmates. One of the most important measures adopted by the prisons in Kerala as well as Tamil Nadu is to encourage the inmates to undergo some vocational training programmes. This is intended to motivate them to actively participate in economically productive activities, improve their earnings and also to enable them acquire skills that could be used for undertaking income-generating activities after their release. The following section pertaining to their stay at the prison gives data related to age at the time of imprisonment, number of years of stay, various training/vocational courses undergone and the social support that they received at the prison.

Age at the time of imprisonment is an important factor that reveals the age during which punishment was awarded. Imprisonment at a lower age indicates that the incarcerated lost a major part of their prime and healthy life in the prison and after release. They may find it difficult to get accustomed to live in the society, which may result in recidivism. Table 3.8 shows the classification of the respondents by age.

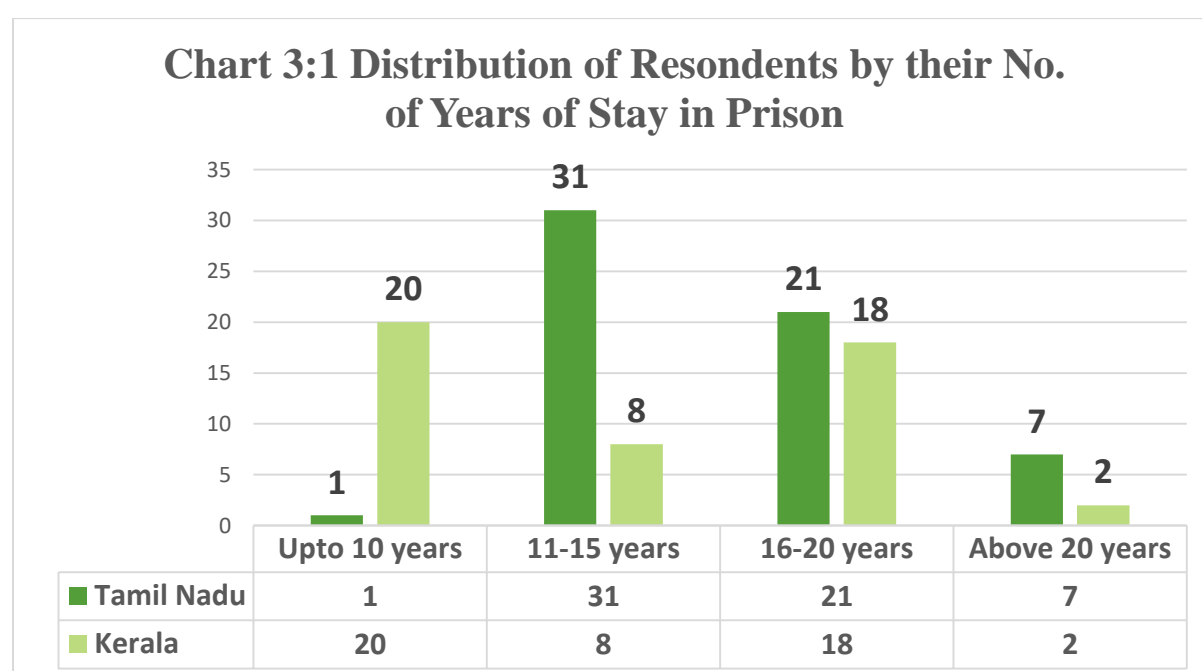
Table 3:8 Distribution of Respondents by Their Age at Imprisonment

Age of the respondents	Tamil Nadu (Percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
18–25	27 (40.0)	6 (12.5)	33 (30.6)
26–35	20 (33.3)	27 (56.3)	47 (43.5)
36–45	9 (15.0)	9 (18.8)	18 (16.7)
Older than 45	4 (6.6)	6 (6.2)	10 (9.3)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 3.8 shows that 74 per cent of the respondents were younger than 35 years when their imprisonment began. About 40 per cent of the respondents from Tamil Nadu were younger than 25 years at the time of imprisonment. Only 10 respondents were older than 45, which constitutes 9.3 per cent of the total respondents. In other words, as much as 80 per cent of the inmates were given punishment when they were younger than 35. This is an important aspect to consider as special attention must be paid to the reformation of these younger generation of people who become prison inmates at a very young age.

The number years spent in the prison is of paramount importance in deciding the prospects of social reintegration after their release, which is shown in Chart 3.1.

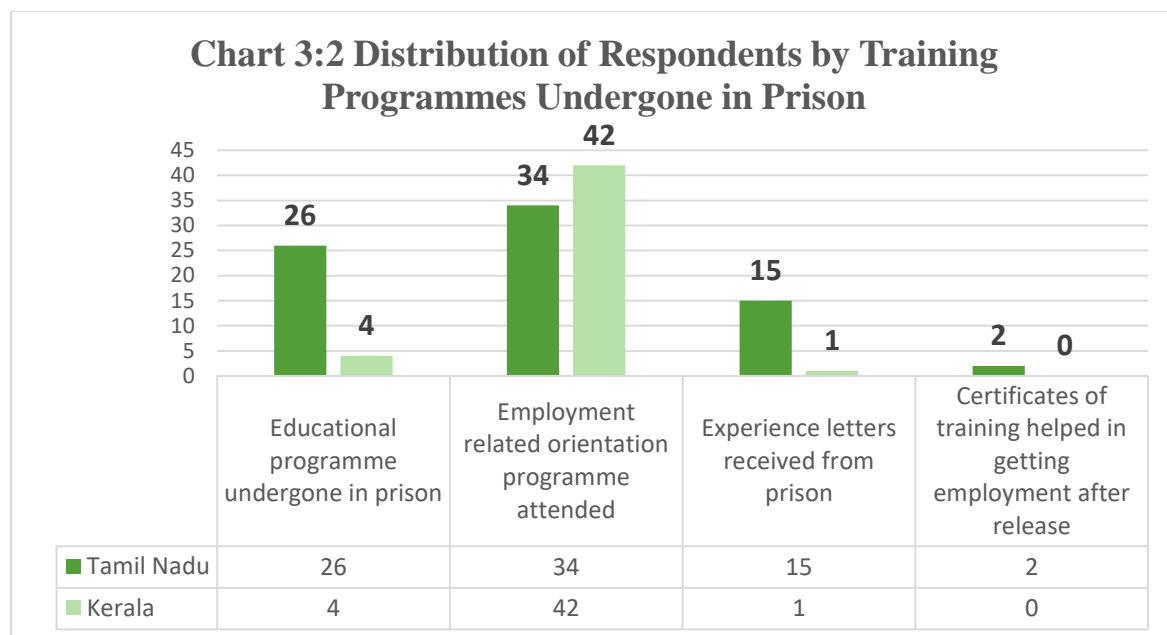


Source: Primary data.

According to data from Chart 3.1, only one respondent was imprisoned in Tamil Nadu for a period less than 10 years, while this number is 20 in Kerala. But, 31 respondents from Tamil Nadu underwent imprisonment ranging from 10 to 15 years, while the corresponding number from Kerala is only 8. Regarding the tenure of imprisonment in the range of 16 to 20 years, there were 21 prisoners in Tamil Nadu and 18 in Kerala. In Tamil Nadu, 7 people were imprisoned for more than 20 years, while only 2 respondents in Kerala spent more than 20 years in jail. The number of years of imprisonment for the respondents vary from 2 to 28 years for the samples chosen.

The current wage in Kerala ranges from Rs. 63 for the apprentice to Rs. 230 for the skilled workers. In Tamil Nadu, since 2017, the figure ranges from Rs. 160 to Rs. 200. It is important to note that these are very recently revised rates and prior to that period, the wages paid to prisoners were much lower. Before the increase was effected in September 2017, Rs. 60, Rs. 80 and Rs. 100 respectively was paid in Tamil Nadu for unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers. In Kerala, the corresponding figures were Rs. 55 for apprentice, Rs. 132 for skilled and Rs. 146 for additional duties before December 2017. For the respondents of the study who spent several years in the prison prior to this revision, the real wage they earned was very little. Moreover, in Tamil Nadu, 50 per cent of the wage is retained for prison upkeep, 20 per cent is withheld for victim compensation and only 30 per cent is given to the prisoners as their real wage. This leaves very little money with the prisoners at the time of their release and this was evident in our study as well, as a vast majority of the released prisoners stated that they had a meagre amount with them at the time of release. In an important judgement, the Madurai Bench of the Madras High Court ruled that 50 per cent deduction by the jail authorities is unconstitutional, providing much-needed relief to the prisoners. In general, prisoners from Kerala had much better savings – ranging from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 60,000 – upon their release in comparison with Tamil Nadu and this has really helped them to settle down with the new life more easily. Most of the prisoners sent their savings on a regular basis to the family members or carried with them during parole visits.

Chart 3.2 indicates the number of released inmates who responded positively with respect to the training programmes in both Kerala and Tamil Nadu.



Source: Primary data.

Chart 3.2 shows that 26 from Tamil Nadu and 4 from Kerala had undergone educational programmes in prison. The positive responses with respect to employment-related orientation programme indicate that 42 out of 48 respondents from Kerala and 34 out of 60 respondents from Tamil Nadu participated in various employment-related orientation programmes in prison. Fifteen prisoners from Tamil Nadu received experience letters from prison whereas only one inmate received such letter in Kerala. The certificates from the prison helped two from Tamil Nadu to get employment after release. Though many attended training programmes, only two from Tamil Nadu from the entire study sample stated that the certificates from the vocational training programmes enabled them to get jobs after release. Thus, there is a need to know the types of the training/vocational programmes undergone by the prisoners in detail, which is given in Table 3.9. It gives a combined information on the participation in training programmes and/or work done (last one before release) at prison during their imprisonment period. This is because most of them were asked to carry out work related to the training that they had undergone at prison.

Table 3.9 Distribution of Respondents by Vocational Training-cum-Work Done at Prison

Types of Work	Tamil Nadu (percentages)	Kerala (percentages)	Total (Percentages)
Farming/manual work	14 (23.3)	18 (37.5)	32 (29.6)
Manufacturing	4 (6.7)	1 (2.1)	5 (4.6)
Kitchen/ bakery unit/ canteen	2 (3.3)	12 (25.0)	14 (13.0)
Tailoring	3 (5.0)	3 (6.3)	6 (5.6)
Shoe making	3 (5.0)	-	3 (2.8)
Book binding	10 (16.7)	-	10 (9.3)
Weaving	1 (1.7)	4 (8.3)	5 (4.6)
Security/ night watchperson	8 (13.3)	-	8 (7.4)
Carpenter	2 (3.3)	-	2 (1.9)
Others	8 (13.3)	10 (20.8)	18 (16.7)
No work	5 (8.3)	-	5 (4.6)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

The respondents from Tamil Nadu participated in vocational training programmes and performed varied jobs in the prison such as farming, manufacturing, kitchen/bakery unit/ canteen, tailoring, shoe making, book binding, weaving, security/ night watchperson and carpenter. The kind of training/work undertaken at prison by respondents from Kerala are farming, manufacturing, kitchen/ bakery/canteen, tailoring and weaving. It is important to note that a prisoner typically undergoes several training programmes as well as performs various jobs during his/her long stay in the prison. Some of them had undergone two to three training programmes or carried out different types of work in the prison during their term until their release. Farming does not require any skill and it is taken up by most of the respondents in both states.

In Table 3.10 is given the distribution of respondents who were able to get jobs because of their training in the prison.

Table 3.10 Distribution of Respondents Stated that Training Helped to get Jobs

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Yes	2 (3.4)	–	2 (1.9)
No	58 (96.6)	48 (100)	106 (98.1)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

It is important to note that the released prisoners have an overwhelming opinion that the employment they undertook inside the prison would hardly help them find employment once they are released. Table 3.10 indicates that 98.1 per cent of the respondents were unable to find a job according to the training/vocational course they had undergone inside the prison. There are several reasons for this perception. Many of them felt that their aspirations and motivations were never asked for while assigning them a specific job while they were in the prison and as a result, they did not develop any interest in them. Many felt that they do not have the adequate financial capital to start a trade in which they were trained in the prisons, while others found most of the training to be outdated and impractical to undertake in normal life. Many of the respondents wanted to start their own business, rather than continuing the trade they had learned in the prison. Several respondents pointed out that they went back to their earlier job like daily wage worker, driving and so on as the trades they learned inside the prison are not suitable outside. For example, book binding or shoemaking does not have adequate demand in the market. Raveendran from Tamil Nadu pointed out that jobs like shoemaking carries stigma outside the society and people from other castes cannot take up these trades easily.

Table 3.11 Distribution of Respondents by Visit Made by Family/Friends at Prison

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Visited by family/ friends	59 (98.3)	43 (89.6)	102 (94.4)
Not visited by family/ friends	1 (1.7)	5 (10.4)	6 (5.6)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Visit by family members or friends is a very crucial aspect that positively influences the mental and physical condition of the prisoners (Table 3.11). Seventy prisoners informed that they were frequently visited by their family members while 32 of them received visitors occasionally. Six prisoners were never visited by their relatives at all. These visits played a major role in providing them emotional reassurance and also helped them to rebuild relationships. Almost all the ex-convicts vouched for the fact that these visits gave them the strength to survive the ordeal in the prison and gave them hope for the future. Most of them eagerly looked forward to the visits of their dear ones and felt sad when they left. The major themes of discussion were welfare and education of the children, monthly expenses, general well-being of the family, meetings with the Probation Officer and availing parole etc. In a few instances, the prisoners were upset that the people whom they needed the most refused to meet them at the prison. They were mostly visited by their immediate family members and close friends. When the family members started to avail parole and helped the prisoners come out every four months, the inmates stopped family members from visiting them. Generally, they exhibited mixed feelings when the family members leave them, but it gave them comfort and mitigated their angst. Few other prisoners asked their family members not to come, considering the prison might not be a safe place for women.

Rajan (pseudo name) from Kerala says:

“I used to work in the office, and I have seen how the officers treat the women who came to visit their husbands/brothers or fathers. They see them as some instrument to be used. That’s why I told my family not to come and visit me. I can see them whenever I come for parole. That’s enough”.

In Kerala, there are several respondents who were involved in political murders and they informed that their party functionaries used to visit them in the prison and offer help in a consistent manner. This gesture helped to keep their morale high and even after their release, they continue to be integral part of the party system and were given social acceptance.

The prisoners were also sad that they were missing their family and also regretted that a blunder committed at the spur of the moment cost them more than a decade of their lives. The family visits also helped the prisoners to confess their mistakes and reconcile with their family.

Gopi (Kerala) said:

“They hated me for my misbehaviour and bad conduct. Now I realize how wrong I was. Even though I was born a Hindu and there were temples inside the prison, I frequently went to the church and prayed. I felt like a changed man. That’s what I wrote in the letter which I sent to my wife and she came to meet me in prison. I was so happy that she had forgiven me”.

In Tamil Nadu, the visiting pattern was also dependent on the location of the jail. Prisoners of the Vellore jail were visited by their family once in a month, and the Puzhal jail prisoners were visited by their family members more often, given its proximity to the city of Chennai. These meetings served as a bridge between the prisoners and their family members and were utilized by the prisoners to hand over their monthly salary to their family members. The prisoners usually saw extended family members visiting them initially, but the frequency of their visits dwindled over the course of time. It is important to note that these frequent visits by the family members play a significant role in ensuring the smooth reintegration of prisoners once they are released. Most of them used these meetings to plan the future and the management of household and financial affairs.

Role of Parole

Various opportunities for availing paroles play a very significant role in safeguarding the psycho-social well-being of the prisoners and is extremely important in making their social reintegration a smooth affair. These periods of leave, ranging from a week to one month, act as periods of relief for the prisoners and provide them an opportunity to get back to their family and immediate social circles. Social reintegration of a prisoner who availed regular paroles is much easier than someone who could not avail the same. It is also important to note that availing of paroles is also a function of healthy family and social ties as these factors are taken into consideration in deciding whether a prisoner can be granted paroles. In this process, the role of Probation Officer is crucial as his report is considered to vital in deciding whether to grant parole or not to a given prisoner. Respondents were asked several questions related to parole to get a comprehensive understanding of its role in the post-release phase. With the intention to know whether the parole has produced any positive impact on their reintegration, the responses have been collected, which are given in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12 Distribution of Respondents Stating Positive Responses towards Availing Parole

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentages)	Total (percentages)
Availed parole	53 (88.3)	46 (95.8)	99 (91.7)
Parole helped to reintegrate with family	52 (98.1)*	45 (97.8)*	97 (97.9)*
Total	60 (100)	48 100)	108 (100)

*Indicates the percentage of those who availed parole.

Source: Primary data.

Majority of the respondents (91.7 per cent) have availed parole during their stay in prison. Parole was availed more by respondents in Kerala (95.8 per cent) as compared to those in Tamil Nadu (88.3 per cent). Those respondents who made use of the parole were asked whether it helped them to reintegrate with their family and 97 out of 99 respondents (97.9 per cent) stated that it helped them to reintegrate with the family. An examination into the state-wise response indicates that most of the respondents from Tamil Nadu (98.1 per cent) were highly positive and optimistic about using parole as an instrument to reintegrate with family, while 97.8 per cent felt the same in Kerala.

A vast majority of the respondents who availed parole pointed out that they utilized the parole period for spending quality time with their family member and immediate relatives. The following response from Sivan, Kerala, summarizes the typical response about parole, especially those who maintained healthy relationships with family members. *“I have availed parole several times and during that time, I was able to reconnect with my family and my neighbours. I used to take my wife and son out for shopping and movies. I also talked to the people around; they were all very welcoming and well behaved. They always supported me and didn’t show any type of hatred towards me. I focused on spending more time with my family than doing anything else. Sometimes I feel sad when I have to go back to prison after my parole. I feel depressed for a while, but will turn fine in a week or two”.*

Many inmates used parole, especially if they could avail longer periods of a month’s leave, to engage in some informal work so as to earn money during their stay at home.

On the other hand, there were some respondents who either did not avail paroles at all or availed them sparingly. Most of these people had very strained family relationships or lack of family support in seeking parole. Especially for those who committed murders of immediate family members, parole was not a very welcoming idea.

Pradeep from Kerala said:

“My parole was sanctioned after three years in prison, but I chose not to go because there were some tensions in my family and I didn’t know how they would react. So I didn’t avail the parole for eleven years. I was visited by my brother twice, and my friends came to visit me often”.

The lower socio-economic background of the family also was a major impediment in applying for paroles and pursuing it effectively. Several respondents pointed out that their relatives and parents are too ignorant or poor to pursue the legal and administrative matters associated with parole and, as a result, they had to remain in the prison for an extended period of time. Several others also pointed out rampant corruption in the system to avail paroles.

“They are frauds sir, some probation officers ask money just give a favourable report – sometime they ask 500–1000 rupees. Many of the inmates in the prison must have experienced the same. There are lots of officers who do not demand money, but there are a few others who make money even from us” was the response of Manikandan from Tamil Nadu. Saravanan from Tamil Nadu also has something similar to say: *“I didn’t come out in parole because it costs nearly 4000 to 5000 to get doctor certificate and letter from police station. I didn’t have wife and my sons were in boarding school. So I remained in jail. But I gave special petition to bring my children inside the prison to meet them in person”.*

A couple of other respondents from Tamil Nadu also complained about rampant corruption in availing paroles. Especially those who defaulted on their date of reporting back to the prison had to pay bribes to avail paroles subsequently. Several respondents from Kerala pointed out widespread prevalence of favouritism and political influence in awarding paroles to certain inmates. These practices, as per their accounts, completely ruin their trust in the system and add to the belief that corruption is pervasive everywhere. We also came across one released prisoner from Tamil Nadu who did not avail parole for the entire 18 years as he did not have any relatives in Tamil Nadu.

Types of Crime Committed and Its Implications on Reintegration

We decided to ask some details about the nature of crime committed to see whether it had any specific link with social reintegration, but later realized that it was highly difficult to get reliable information. We also had to be careful about the ethical dimensions involved in this question and made it absolutely voluntary for the respondents to answer this question. As expected, a large number of them chose not to answer this question and we readily accepted their decision. Another section of the respondents affirmed that the charges were fabricated and deliberately framed by the police and that they were indeed innocent. Some other informants were more or less comfortable in discussing the incident that led to their prison sentence and provide details. Many of these respondents – more from Kerala and less from Tamil Nadu – were involved in crime as part of a gang. In Kerala, such gang-orchestrated crime was political party violence that led to the murders. In Tamil Nadu, mostly gang wars for material gains pushed the respondents into prison.

Almost every respondent who accepted the crime he committed described it as a momentary madness and that they were really not aware of the untoward outcome. Sadly, several crimes involved murders of family members, especially wives and siblings. There were several accounts of a drunken brawl getting out of hand and ending up in a murder. Very few people described their act as a premeditated one. We also came across two released prisoners who were arrested for drug trafficking and a woman prisoner punished for theft, which she refuted. As mentioned earlier, the murder of family members is bound to have significant impact on the social reintegration of the prisoners, while political murders and gang rivalries are tolerated and accepted more easily by the community.

Table 3.13 Distribution of Respondents Stating They Were Visited by Religious Personnel

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Visited by religious personnel	46 (76.7)	17 (35.4)	63 (58.3)
Not visited by religious personnel	14 (23.3)	31 (54.6)	45 (41.7)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

According to Table 3.13, the respondents while in jail were visited by religious personnel, more in the case of Tamil Nadu (76.7 per cent) but in only a few instances (35.4 per cent) in Kerala. Thus the data indicates that higher proportion of the respondents of Tamil Nadu gave positive responses towards external support received during their stay at prison compared to that of respondents from Kerala.

Official records of the Prisons Department in both Kerala and Tamil Nadu list around 60 NGOs engaged in reformation process of the prisoners in association with the department. But a closer scrutiny reveals that many of these organizations are not either very active or not regular in their reformatory activities. It is important to note that almost all of these organizations are associated with specific religious groups and they claim to play important role in providing spiritual guidance and help prison inmates. Interestingly, most of the prisoners felt that the involvement of religious organizations, especially Christian groups such as Prison Ministry of India and Bethel Mission, gave them significant spiritual solace and peace. Most of these people who attended regular religious classes and sessions offered by these organizations experienced a significant change in their value system and underwent a self-transformation. Most of them opine that these interactions with religious personnel helped them to realize their mistakes and think about a new way of life. Statements like *“They helped me realize my mistakes and gave me a second chance in life. I came to my senses and had a new outlook towards life. I was on the wrong path, but now I feel refined. I feel like I had a spiritual cleansing. I am ever so grateful to life now”* capture most of such sentiments. Suresh from Kerala says: *“The Christian missionaries were really involved in prison. Their language was that of communal harmony and they used to organize lot of programmes in prison which were really good. Also the Art of Living courses were also useful. I participated with my free will. It was a good experience”*.

At the same time, there are several inmates who did not show any interest in the religious affairs as they did not feel any special attraction to the religious message, not its messengers. Sekhar from Tamil Nadu had this to say: *“I was visited by the religious personnel. I respect them because they are there to speak and comfort us. But I am not very much interested in religion. The missionaries play a great role in comforting and helping the estranged prisoners who don’t have a family outside. They provide them relief. The help and spiritual dependency make them identify with the mission to begin a new life.”*

Table 3.14 Distribution of Respondents by Help Received from Welfare Officer for Re-entry

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Help received from Welfare Officer	4 (6.7)	8 (16.7)	12 (11.1)
Not received	56 (93.3)	40 (83.3)	96 (88.9)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

An examination of the help the inmates received from the Welfare Officer at the prison indicated that only 12 respondents received support from the official. More respondents received such help in Kerala (16.7 per cent) compared to Tamil Nadu (6.7 per cent).

Welfare Officers are expected to play pivotal role in undertaking correctional practices in prison. However, released prisoners did not see any major role played by Welfare Officers in making their re-entry. It needs to be pointed out that the office of Welfare Officers needs to be strengthened as in most of the prisons, this office is under-staffed. In the Puzhal prison, Chennai, this important post has been left vacant for a long time, thereby seriously affecting the reformation and rehabilitation processes within the prison.

Chapter 4

Socio-Economic Reintegration of Released Prison Inmates

The present study collected information regarding the socio-economic status of the released prisoners to understand how effectively they were reintegrated with the system after their release from prison. The questions related to economic status, support/fund received for undertaking economic activities, emotional disturbances and social acceptance in family and religious circles were asked. Table 4.1 captures the economic status of the prisoners after their release from the prison.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Respondents by Current Economic Status

Particulars	Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Currently employed	Yes	49 (81.7)	38 (79.2)	87 (80.6)
	No	11 (18.3)	10 (20.8)	21 (19.4)
Breadwinner of the family	Yes	20 (33.3)	28 (58.3)	48 (44.4)
	No	40 (66.7)	20 (41.7)	60 (55.6)
Having stable income	Yes	20 (33.3)	10 (20.8)	30 (27.8)
	No	40 (66.7)	38 (79.2)	78 (72.2)
Training helped to get employment	Yes	2 (3.3)	-	2 (1.9)
	No	58 (96.7)	48 (100)	106 (98.1)
Total		60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 4.1 indicates that 80.6 per cent of the respondents are involved in some employment activities at present to support their families. There is not much difference between the respondents in Tamil Nadu and Kerala in this regard. Almost 20 per cent of the respondents revealed that they are not employed and this could be mainly attributed to their physical condition. While 44.4 per cent of the respondents stated that they were the major breadwinners of their family, this response varied across states. Majority of the respondents from Kerala (58.3 per cent) stated that they are the breadwinners of the family, whereas only 33.3 per cent of the respondents were the breadwinners in Tamil Nadu. We assume that the absence of the male family members might have led other members of the family to take up the responsibility

to earn income for sustenance. Another important factor to measure the financial strength of the respondent is the stability of their income, which prevents recidivism, guarantees mental peace and ensures constant support to the family. Only 27.8 per cent stated that they have a stable income (Tamil Nadu, 33.3 per cent; Kerala, 20.8 per cent). This factor has to be weighed against the vocational training programmes that the respondents had undergone in the prison. It could be easily inferred that training-cum-work that the respondents undertook in the prison had not enabled them to continue with similar activities after release (seen Chapter 3). Thus 98.1 per cent stated that training was not helpful in finding a job, has and this aspect needs to be addressed with utmost attention.

Since the training programme was not helpful in enabling the released prisoners to find ways to get employed in economic activities, they were asked whether they received any funds at the time of release. Table 4.2 indicates the fund/assistance received during release and thereafter.

Table 4.2 Distribution by Fund/ Assistance Received on Release and Thereafter

Particulars	Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Received fund for released prisoners	Yes	26 (43.3)	42 (87.5)	68 (62.9)
	No	34 (56.7)	6 (12.5)	40 (37.1)
Received loan/subsidy from Government agencies	Yes	4 (6.7)	11 (22.9)	15 (13.9)
	No	56 (93.3)	37 (77.1)	93 (86.1)
Received support from informal groups/NGOs	Yes	18 (30.0)	6 (12.5)	24 (22.2)
	No	42 (70.0)	42 (87.5)	84 (77.8)
Total		60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

About 63 per cent of the respondents received funds at the time of release from prisons: 87.5 per cent from Kerala and only 43.3 per cent from Tamil Nadu. The respondents stated that they received more support from informal groups than receiving fund from the government. It would be better if they receive assistance, as a group, from the government for some more time and they may also be made accountable to the fund that they receive.

The Social Justice Department of the Kerala Government is providing Rs. 15,000 to every released prisoner and most of the prisoners opined that while this money is a big relief, it is hardly sufficient. In Tamil Nadu, the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, an institution set up during the British times to provide financial aid to the released prisoners, is expected to provide Rs. 25,000 to them. But as per reports, the functioning of these societies has been seriously affected by legal battles and bureaucratic bottlenecks. Especially the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society in Chennai, which owns a very expansive commercial building, has been virtually defunct for several years, thereby denying the released prisoners their rightful help. In Vellore, the Society seems to be working well and several released prisoners have availed its help.

Only a couple of NGOs, working for the welfare of the prisoners, are actually engaged in rehabilitation or reintegration process and vast majority of these organizations work with released prisoners within the institution by way of offering moral and religious classes, conducting festivals, providing yoga classes and so on. Both in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, Prison Ministry of India (PMI; Jesus Fraternity), a Catholic organization run by priests, seems to be working with several released prisoners in a highly focused and systematic way. Twelve respondents from Tamil Nadu informed that they were given help by PMI during their release from the prison. Along with providing financial support, PMI provides spiritual support to the needy prisoners and, in many instances, takes care of their families while they languish in prisons. Several prisoners in Tamil Nadu said that their family members were provided help by PMI in the form of distribution of sewing machines, paying up the fees of children and so on. In Tamil Nadu, most of the respondents said that they were aware of the availability of funds from some quarters but did not get any. A vast majority of these people who got some financial assistance used it to buy some small assets like goats, cow or to start a small eatery and so on.

Though a number of respondents received the fund, none of them had took to entrepreneurship. Rather they stated that vocational training did not help them get any job. This could be due to various reasons including small-scale operations, higher average costs of operations, lack of marketability of the products, lack of competitiveness, poor brand and low quality. Most of them joined the programme without any aspiration to do those works. It can be easily made out that the aspirations of the prison inmates were not ascertained before assigning them vocational training. Looking at the educational qualification of the inmates and their aspirations, suitable training programmes may be instituted for them.

Often the amount of training was so meagre that they could not take up any economically productive activities. That is, after their release, they could not continue the vocational training programmes in which they had undergone training inside the prison. The orientation of the training programmes may have to be changed if the idea was to make them financially independent and self-sufficient.

Guidance in the Prison about Release and Afterlife

Almost every respondent replied in negative when asked whether they received any proper guidance about release and life after the prison. As evident from the interviews with the respondents and jail officials, there exists no systematic procedure of counselling or handholding to needy prisoners who require help for their release. As there is no proper rehabilitation policy or programmes in existence, the prisoners were released without any pre-planning. Especially given the uncertainty associated with premature release and the lack of support system, prison officials, especially the Welfare Officers, are not in a position to offer any meaningful advice or handholding to these people. A vast majority of the respondents informed that they were given friendly advice/warning to ‘never come back here’ by the jail officials and welfare officials.

Role of Probation Officers

Probation Officers are expected to play a key role in the supervision of prematurely released prisoners for a stipulated time of three to four years. They are expected to facilitate the rehabilitation as well as reintegration of the released prisoners. The combination of supervisory, facilitatory roles along with surveillance makes Probation Officers extremely important players in the social reintegration of released prisoners. They are expected to be in close contact with the released prisoners and constantly supervise their life ensuring that they do not get back to unlawful activities and recidivism. Table 4.3 shows frequency of visit of Probation Officers stated by the respondents for both the states.

Table 4.3 Distribution of Respondents by Frequency of Visit Made by the Probation Officer

Frequency of Visit	Tamil Nadu (percentages)	Kerala (percentages)	Total (percentages)
Once in a month	17 (28.3)	1 (2.1)	18 (16.7)
Once in two months	27 (45.0)	29 (60.4)	56 (51.9)
Once in a quarter	13 (21.7)	6 (12.5)	19 (17.6)
Not often	3 (5.0)	12 (25.0)	15 (13.8)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 4.3 indicates that 16.7 per cent of the respondents stated that their Probation Officers visited them once in a month. The frequency of visits reported by respondents of Tamil Nadu is more (28.3 per cent) compared to respondents in Kerala (2.1 per cent). In 70 per cent of the cases, Probation Officers visited the respondents once in two months for both Tamil Nadu (73.3 per cent) and Kerala (62.5 per cent). Some of the respondents (13.8 per cent) stated that the visits of Probation Officers were irregular. Instances of irregular visit are high in Kerala (25 per cent) as compared to Tamil Nadu (5 per cent).

Table 4.4 Distribution of the Respondents by Awareness of Conditions of Premature Release

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Yes, I was made aware	42 (70.0)	44 (91.7)	86 (79.6)
No	18 (30.0)	4 (8.4)	22 (20.4)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

A vast majority of the respondents informed that the initial contact with the Probation Officers were made inside the prison when they applied for paroles. Later, during their parole leave, they were under the supervision of Probation Officers and at the time of release, most of them had developed personal relationship with these officers. Several released prisoners hold them in very high esteem as true guides and helping hands. In the interviews held in Kerala as well

as Tamil Nadu, several of them named various Probation Officers who went out of the way to really help them. In numerous cases, Probation Officers have helped them to get in touch with other organizations and government agencies to get various kinds of support and help. Almost every released prisoner understands that Probation Officers have only advisory roles and cannot do much in terms of providing actual help, especially in matters related to money. They think that these officers must be given much more powers and as someone who know their conditions, they will be able to make real intervention in their lives. Prisoners released from Vellore prison remember the help of Probation Officers in getting Rs. 25,000 from the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society. Several released prisoners also recollect fondly how Probation Officers helped them by giving money from their own pocket during certain emergency conditions.

Many others also expressed strong resentment against Probation Officers who submitted an unfavourable report that denied them the parole or premature release on a previous occasion. For example, Suresh from Kerala harbours hatred to the then Probation Officer who gave a negative report on him. A board was formed while he completed eight-and-half years in prison, but the probation report for the three convicts involved in that crime was not good, thus denying them their release. All the others in that list (207 prisoners) were released except the three of them. Suresh had suffered some personal tragedy since then.

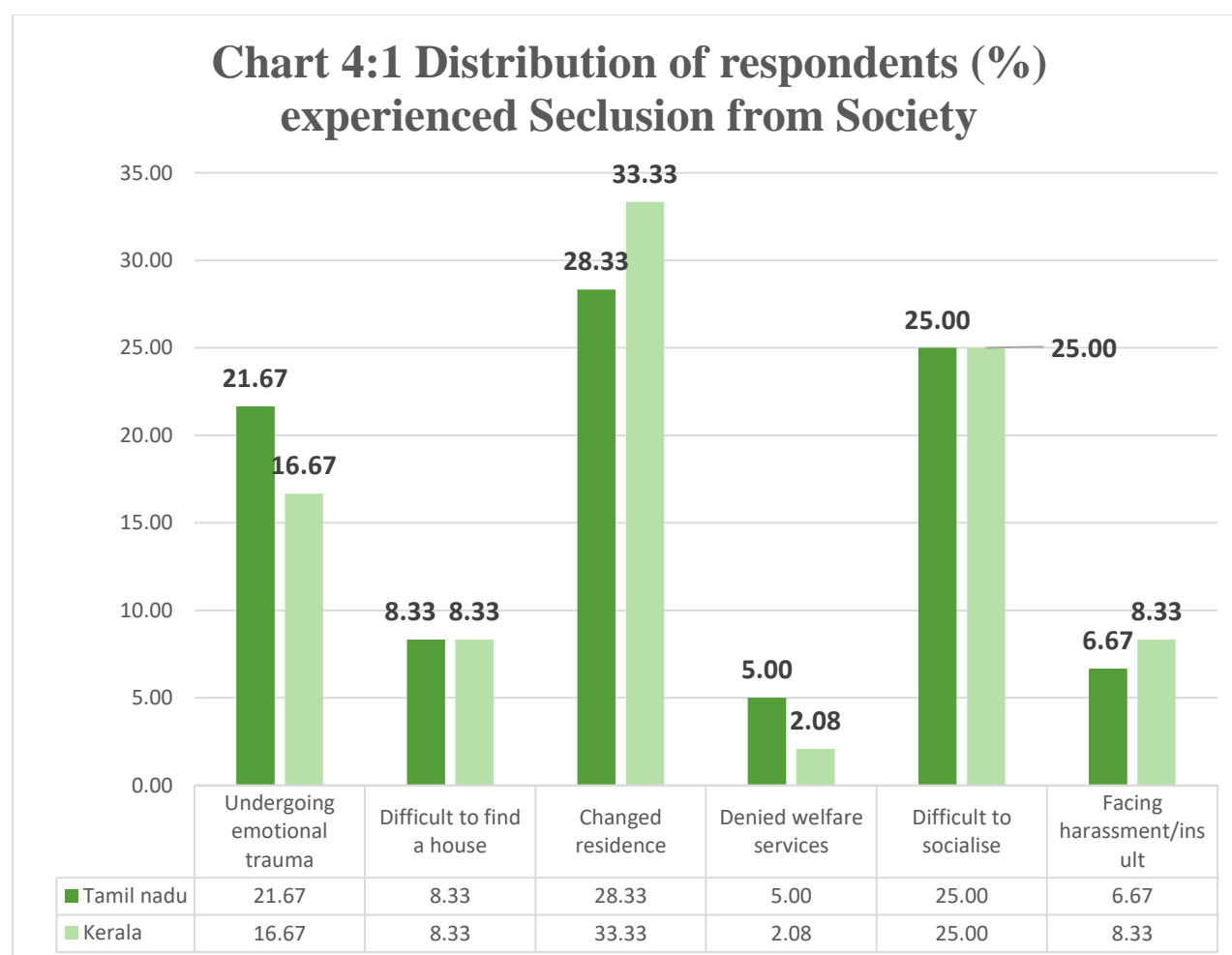
Suresh said:

“I lost my wife in 2005. If I were released earlier, I would have had a better life. My wife would be still alive. I have done nothing wrong and ended up in jail; but what bothers me more than that is how many criminals and wrongdoers got early release because the probation report was good and I got a bad report”.

There were also negative feedbacks about Probation Officers. Five respondents from Tamil Nadu mentioned that they had to pay bribe for availing paroles and obtaining favourable reports from certain Probation Officers. As per one of the respondents, bribes vary from Rs. 5000 for a one-month leave and Rs. 2000 for a week's time during parole.

Involvement in Family and Community Affairs

One of the most important markers of social reintegration of released prisoners is their active involvement in the familial as well as social activities. Their ability to mingle with the family and the community and live as a functional member is of utmost importance. The respondents were asked about their sense of acceptance within the family and wider society. They were also inquired whether they were invited for family functions, community affairs and their involvement in organizations and religious collectivities.



Source: Primary data.

Chart 4.1 indicates that respondents from Kerala experienced difficulties from the society (changing place of residence, facing harassment/insult) the most, as compared to their counterparts from Tamil Nadu. About 33 per cent of respondents from Kerala changed their place of residence, whereas only 28.3 per cent did so in Tamil Nadu. Twenty-five per cent of the respondents from Tamil Nadu and Kerala found it difficult to socialize with others. About

21 per cent of respondents from Tamil Nadu still undergo emotional trauma, whereas 16.7 per cent of the respondents from Kerala are still in emotional turmoil. While 8.33 per cent of respondents from Kerala experienced harassment or insult from society, 6.7 per cent of them from Tamil Nadu also experienced such harassment or insult. Around 8 per cent of the respondents expressed that they found it difficult to find a residence after their release. Some of them expressed that they have been denied welfare services: 5 per cent in Tamil Nadu and only 2.08 per cent in Kerala.

To understand the relationship maintained by the respondents with family, friends and society, responses were collected from them. Table 4.5 illustrates the received responses.

Table 4.5 Distribution of Respondents on Social Reintegration

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Maintaining good relationship with family/friends	54 (90.0)	43 (89.6)	97 (89.8)
Given importance to family or social circle	54 (90.0)	42 (87.5)	96 (88.9)
Getting friends to associate	45 (75.0)	40 (83.3)	85 (78.7)
Membership in informal groups	3 (5.0)	12 (25.0)	15 (13.9)
Active member in religious groups	29 (48.3)	13 (27.1)	42 (38.9)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

About 90 per cent of the respondents stated that they maintained good relationship with family/friends and the responses remain the same for both Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In reciprocation, for almost 90 per cent of the cases, society and family have also given importance to them. Respondents from Tamil Nadu took more active membership in religious groups as compared to Kerala. Membership in informal group is less for both the states; however, it is high among the respondents in Kerala (25 per cent).

The acceptance and importance of released prisoners can be seen from the invitations they received to attend familial and community functions. Table 4.6 shows how often they were invited to be part of such social gatherings.

Table 4.6 Distribution of Respondents by Invitations Received from Family and Community

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Not at all	9 (15.0)	6 (12.5)	15 (13.9)
Rarely	7 (11.7)	7 (14.6)	14 (12.9)
Often	44 (73.3)	35 (72.9)	79 (73.2)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 4.6 indicates that a majority of the respondents were accepted and welcomed by their family members and community as almost 73 per cent stated that they were invited often to such functions and gatherings. Moreover, there is not much difference between the answers given by respondents in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Only 12–15 per cent were not at all invited to these gatherings and another 12–15 per cent stated that they were rarely invited. The acceptability of the family and the community in their functions appeared not to vary much between the respondents from both states.

Some of the NGOs working in the prisons are a part of religious groups. They conduct regular prayers inside the prison and respondents stated that participation in such programmes at prison ensured mental peace and it was helpful for them to cope up with the situation. The Department of Prisons too encourage such NGOs as it could help to reduce the recidivism among the released prisoners. Certain respondents still continue to be part of the religious organizations and for some it is a way of life. Table 4.7 gives information regarding the frequency of participation in religious programmes.

Table 4.7 Distribution of Respondents by Frequency of Attending Religious Programmes

Responses	Tamil Nadu (percentage)	Kerala (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Not at all	8 (13.3)	1 (2.1)	9 (8.4)
Rarely	26 (43.3)	15 (31.3)	41 (32.9)
Often	26 (43.3)	32 (66.6)	58 (53.7)
Total	60 (100)	48 (100)	108 (100)

Source: Primary data.

More than 50 per cent of the respondents state that they often take part in religious programmes and such participation is higher among the respondents of Kerala (66.6 per cent) as against Tamil Nadu (43.3 per cent). Those who do not take part in these prayer meetings are only 8.4 per cent of the total respondents. This appeared to be more among respondents from Tamil Nadu (13.3 per cent) as compared to Kerala (2.1 per cent). On the whole, we can state that majority of the respondents are actively participating in religious programmes.

The nature of crime, family situation and affiliation with social groups play an important role in deciding the degree of their integration into society. Released prisoners who were affiliated with political parties continue to be active members of the party even after their release and this is especially true in the case of Kerala. On the other hand, people who got involved in crimes as a part of criminal gangs are highly apprehensive of the influence of friends and would like to lead a more isolated life. *“No more friends, I got into problem only because of them, now I lead a very reclusive life, focusing only on our own matters”* seems to be a common refrain. Most of them found it very hard to socialize with others in the initial months, but later it became much easier. Many of the respondents informed that people in the locality have come to terms with the incident that led to crime and have reconciled with them, leading to the gradual acceptance of the respondents. Many expressed the confidence that their innocence is known widely by the public and hence they are easily accepted back after their release.

One of the most important factors that emerged in qualitative data is the close connection between economic independence and acceptance within the family and society. Those who could come out of the prison with some reasonable savings and who could find a job received more acceptance within the family and outside. Many elderly respondents who were unable to find a job or incapable of pursuing one felt that they have become a burden on their family and find no reason to believe that they are important members in the community. Most of these respondents wished for a regular income or economic independence and felt the government did more for them. A vast majority of them complained that a self-reliant life is not possible as they do not have enough capital to start their own ventures like buying an autorickshaw or starting a small eatery. The technical difficulties in getting a loan from the banks and other private enterprises due to lack of proper documents and the history of imprisonment come in the way of getting the loan sanctioned. The statements such as *“I avoid to functions and events because without money even if go these events they don’t give respect to me. They usually talk behind my back”* reflect these difficulties.

Challenges Faced Immediately after Release

Most of the respondents said that the initial excitement of release soon gave way for anxiety and worry about the life ahead. Economic insecurity became a major problem as most of them had very little money at their disposal and did not foresee any prospect of getting a job with a regular salary. Many of the prisoners, especially those who were imprisoned for a long time without paroles, found the world completely changed and found themselves to be ill-equipped to deal with modern technologies. Several of them found it indeed difficult to get a place of accommodation and a job to begin with. Robert, who was released from Puzhal prison in Chennai after 18 years of incarceration and without availing even a single parole, described how difficult it was for him to get adjusted to the outside world. Having no relatives in the city, he was offered help by PMI to find a place of accommodation. He stated that his friends who came out of the prison helped him to find a job and settle down in the city. He continues his job as a driver in a private firm but has concealed his past from the company. He finds mobile phones with touch screen a real wonder and happily stated that he has mastered the device.

Happy and Sad Moments in Life after the Prison Term

In order to understand how the released prisoners lead their life after imprisonment, they were asked to mention the happy as well as sad moments they encounter in their free life. They were also asked to come out with factors that upset them. For a vast majority of the respondents, spending time with the family is the happiest moment and they are cherishing every bit of it. Their sense of commitment, affection and guilt are evident in their responses. Many of them summarized their happy moments in a single word: Freedom! One of them in Chennai told us that immediately after the release, he took a bike and went around the city for two days and even forgot to eat during those days. Many respondents became eloquent in their description of open skies and breeze that they are able to enjoy in a free world. Several of them stated that there is no real happiness as the prison has taken away precious time from their lives and inflicted serious damage to their families and they are now leading a mechanical life. The opportunities to take part in important occasions in their houses were cited by many as some of the bright moments in their life after imprisonment. While most respondents said that they make it a point to celebrate important festivals with more aplomb, several others said they have stopped celebrating festivals and prison life has completely spoiled their happiness and they are leading a mechanical life. Especially for those not living with their families, life continues to be solitary and boring.

As mentioned earlier, the memories of prison life make most of these respondents really sad. There is a pervasive sense of loss among them and many are cursing themselves for a momentary outrage that completely derailed their family. Many of the respondents could not be part of important functions/occasions in the family and those memories still haunt them. Murugan, a fisherman from Chennai, still could not get over the tragedy that struck his life.

“I didn’t realize that my son was in a relationship with a girl. She is from a well-off family, and later, she got married to someone else. My son found it difficult to move on. He had his graduation and worked in Saudi for a couple of years, came back for six months, went again and came back. He asked for a fibre boat for fishing. We got him a boat for Rs. 5.5 lakhs. But the business was not going well, and the debt amount reached to Rs. 7 lakhs. He committed suicide at the age of 29. I still am not able to recover. Before my conviction, I used to give very good education to my children and took care of them very well. Since I was not here, he had a bad company of friends, started drinking and spoiled his life. If I were here, I wouldn’t let his life go in this spoiled direction. I feel guilty about it”.

Harassment from Officials after Release

Respondents were asked about their experience after release, especially to know whether they had to face any harassments from officials such as police, probation officers and other government functionaries. While most of the respondents replied in the negative, 10 of them explained their experiences of harassment faced at the hands of police and other government officials. It is also important to note that many respondents might not have been comfortable in answering this question impartially as they are still under supervision and many of them were apprehensive about the whole process of data collection for this study.

Those prisoners who complained pointed out that they were threatened and harassed by the police officers even though they did not do any wrong. They felt as if the police was threatening and intimidating them to prevent any further wrongdoing. Out of these 10 respondents, 8 are from Tamil Nadu and most of them narrated the story of police officials threatening them with slapping new cases under IPC 110 (abetment of crime). Others mentioned that many times they were called to the Police Station and given warning unnecessarily and without any reason. A couple of respondents from Kerala recalled the incidents where they could convince the police

officials about their reformed way of life. During the data collection, we came across the story of Mr. Stanley from Chennai who faced harassment and violence at the hands of police. He was tortured and intimidated for allegedly committing a theft, which he says never happened. When we met him in his house in Chennai, his hand was put under cast and he was under treatment.

“I experienced harassment from the police. Even when I went and showed my release order to the police, I was not treated normally. I was slapped with a 110 case. Soon after the release, the police took me and they broke my arm. They filed a case against me saying that I snatched away rupees 800 from someone. But that is not true. They took me to Stanley hospital. While taking me to the judge, they threatened me saying that if I had informed judge about this attack, I must further face the consequences. When judge asked me, I said I fell down. I also said that I didn’t snatch money from someone. I was reprimanded and my mother took a bail and I was released. The government should have given financial assistance to the prisoners after they are released. It should take care about the legal proceedings and how they are treated by the police officers. I have a broken arm now. I can’t go for a job. I need someone who could assist me in getting a job, I don’t have any job now. My mother and wife are taking care of the expenses. My daughter is doing a part-time job along with her education and we are in really miserable condition”.

Conditions of Released Prisoners Belonging to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe

In the present study, an analysis was performed to understand whether the caste/community of the respondents has any significant relationship with their socio-economic reintegration after their release. This section divides the respondents into three different categories: SC/ST, OBC and General. While carrying out the study, 13 respondents did not disclose their community identity and this dataset is removed from the analysis. During the interview, it was observed that the released prisoners from SC/ST are most backward and their conditions are worse compared to others. Therefore, an attempt has been made to understand whether SC/ST experienced more depravity against other caste categories, as they are more vulnerable. This has been done in terms of questions posed to them related to socio-economic parameters; two variables related to economic performance such as stability of income and difficulty experienced by them to work after release and two variables related to social acceptability,

such as difficulty in finding a house and invitation from community circles, were examined. Table 4.8 shows the distribution of the respondents by their state and caste/community after excluding 13 respondents who did not disclose their caste/ community that they belong to.

Table 4.8 Distribution of the Respondents by State and Caste

States	SC/ST (percentage)	OBC (percentage)	General (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Tamil Nadu	21 (56.8)	25 (51.0)	1 (11.1)	47 (49.5)
Kerala	16 (43.2)	24 (49.0)	8 (88.9)	48 (50.5)
Total	37 (39.0)	49 (51.6)	9 (9.4)	95 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 4.8 indicates that the majority of the respondents belong to the OBC category and there is not much difference between Tamil Nadu and Kerala in this regard. This is followed by SC/ST (39 per cent) and General (9.4 per cent). SC/ST respondents from Tamil Nadu are high (56.8 per cent) as against Kerala (43.2 per cent). Respondents from the General category constitute around 10 per cent, but their presence is more among the respondents in Kerala (88.9 per cent).

The economic performance has been captured in terms of their stability of current income and the difficulty to find work after their release from prison. Table 4.9 indicates the distribution of respondents by the stability of income stated by them. It gives an insight into whether the socially vulnerable sections face economic depravity after their release from prison.

Table 4.9 Distribution of Respondents by Current Stability of Income

Responses	SC/ST (percentage)	OBC (percentage)	General (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Have stable income	5 (13.5)	16 (32.7)	3 (33.3)	24 (25.3)
Do not have stable income	32 (86.5)	33 (67.3)	6 (66.7)	71 (74.7)
Total	37 (100)	49 (100)	9 (100)	95 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 4.9 indicates that 74.7 per cent of the respondents stated that they do not have stable income at present, whereas only 25 per cent said they have stable income. Among the different categories, 86.5 per cent of the SC/ST expressed more instability in their income compared to other categories. This is an alarming problem as most of them do not own land and they have a few alternate supporting channels as compared to other caste/community categories. Therefore, adequate support should be granted to SC/ST to improve their financial conditions by way of providing a regular income.

The respondents were also asked whether they have difficulty in finding work after their release. Table 4.10 summarizes the data.

Table 4.10 Distribution of Respondents Who Stated Their Difficulty to Find work after Release

Responses	SC/ST (percentage)	OBC (percentage)	General (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Difficult	21 (56.8)	14 (28.6)	3 (33.3)	38 (40.0)
No Difficulty	16 (43.2)	35 (71.4)	6 (66.7)	57 (60.0)
Total	37 (100)	49 (100)	9 (100)	95 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Around 60 per cent of the respondents stated that they did not face any difficulty in finding work after their release. Among the different caste categories, those belonging to SC/ST expressed more difficulties while finding a job for their survival. Respondents belonging to OBC (28.6 per cent) and General (66.7 per cent) are relatively better off. Thus the attention of the authorities may be sought to find ways to improve the economic conditions of the released SC/ST prison inmates. Absence of finding an economically productive income-generating activity may destroy the mental peace and may lead to circumstances to commit crimes.

Social reintegration has been captured in terms of their difficulty to find a house and the invitations that they received from community circles. Table 4.11 provides data related to their difficulty to find a house for rent.

Table 4.11 Distribution of Respondents by Difficulty to Find a House After Release

Responses	SC/ST (percentage)	OBC (percentage)	General (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Difficult	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)	–	8 (8.4)
No difficulty	32 (36.8)	46 (52.9)	9 (10.3)	87 (91.6)
Total	37 (100)	49 (100)	9 (100)	95 (100)

Source: Primary data.

About 90 per cent of the respondents stated that they have no difficulty in finding a house for rent after their release. Among the respondents who revealed difficulty, those belonging to SC/ST category ranked the highest as five out of eight respondents (62.5 per cent) had difficulty with finding a house for rent.

Table 4.12 indicates a distribution on the basis of invitations received by the respondents for social and community functions.

Table 4.12 Distribution of Respondents by Invitations Received from Community Circles

Responses	SC/ST (percentage)	OBC (percentage)	General (percentage)	Total (percentage)
Have not received	11 (61.1)	7 (38.8)	–	18 (100)
Rarely	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)	–	8 (100)
Often	21 (30.4)	39 (56.5)	9 (13.1)	69 (100)
Total	37 (100)	49 (100)	9 (100)	95 (100)

Source: Primary data.

Table 4.12 indicates that 72.6 per cent of the respondents (69) received invitation from community circles after their release. Among the 18 respondents who have not received invitations, those belonging to SC/ST constitute 61.1 per cent, which appeared to be the highest among all the communities. Thus we can state that lack of social acceptance is more among SC/STs as compared to other social groups. In the absence of gaining acceptance from the community after their release, they may tend to commit crimes and measures may be taken to correct the situation.

Women Respondents

This study found it difficult to get released women prisoners for interview and two women each were selected from Tamil Nadu and Kerala. They were aged between 48 and 56 years at present, but they were married women of 33 to 48 years during imprisonment and their length of stay in prison varied from 2 to 17 years. Currently three of them are living alone without a partner and one of them is living with a partner. Though they all have shelters to live, three of them are living in kutchra houses. At the time of imprisonment, three of them were working as skilled workers. During their stay in prison, they were trained in farming, kitchen/ bakery, tailoring and weaving, but this training did not help them to find a stable income job after release.

Only two out of the four women interviewed made use of parole during their imprisonment and they stated that parole helped them to reintegrate with the society. During the interview, three of them mentioned that they were visited often by family members. None of them stated that they were secluded by the society, and they received invitations to take part in familial and community gatherings. Parole visits would have helped them to reintegrate with the society to a greater extent. Though they do not maintain membership in informal groups, two of them are actively involved in religious meetings and its activities.

Opinions of Released Prisoners about Social Reintegration

As a part of data collection, respondents were asked for suggestions to improve the conditions in prisons and to facilitate better social reintegration of the prisoners. Most of the prisoners were highly forthcoming with several suggestions. They can be listed as follows:

1. One of the most prominent suggestions is to reduce the length of imprisonment. Respondents say that the crimes committed were impulsive in nature and were not premeditated. Moreover, most of the prison inmates regret about it. Prolonged imprisonment in no way helps these people who are transformed and ready to lead a normal life in the society. They look at these years of imprisonment not only as devastating to their own life, but on their families too. A vast majority of our respondents regret their action on impulse that put them in prison and were extremely remorseful.
2. Many of the respondents were acutely aware of the unequal treatment meted out to them by the legal system. They pointed out that offenders with financial and political

support are able to manipulate various legal provisions and get away easily, whereas the poor and uneducated do not have any supporting mechanism. They pointed out serious discrimination in allotting paroles and other facilities within the prison based on these considerations and want to bring an end to these corrupt practices.

3. Another most often repeated suggestion was the demand for better financial support to start a life after imprisonment. The money given to them (Rs. 15,000 in Kerala) and the help from other agencies are insufficient even to start a small enterprise. A vast majority of the respondents demanded that government actively help them in starting new business or to find a job. Thomas from Tamil Nadu had this to say: *“When one person is getting released, ask them what he is willing to do for livelihood and try to help him in any way possible. Without doing that if you suddenly leave us outside the world, we don’t know what to do. If that released person has a will power, he will not go in wrong way but he will try to earn money in honest way. But when there is no other way he will start asking money to others, he would start drinking or get back to the old life or will think that it’s better to live inside jail itself. If the government helps during the release means it be a great help”*. Many respondents expressed confidence that they will work hard and will be in a position to repay the loan if the government sanctions it at the time of release.
4. Several respondents pointed out that the uncertainty associated with premature release is a severely depressing phenomenon. The eligible prisoners have no way of getting to know about their probable date of release as these decisions are based on a host of legal and political factors. The unending wait for each one’s turn was described by many prisoners as really traumatic.
5. Several respondents also suggested that measures must be taken to ensure humane treatment to the prison inmates. Rajesh from Kerala comments: *““Prison authorities should treat the prisoners like humans. There are many officers who brutally abuse and beat up the prisoners. This will make the prisoners develop hatred towards the authorities.”*
6. Several respondents also suggested more individual-based plan for rehabilitation as a generalised plan may not work. *“The government should understand the fact that every prisoner will have different needs. The need of a prisoner who is married and with kids is completely different from a bachelor prisoner. Special assistance must be given to estranged prisoners, like psychiatric counselling and financial assistance. There is a*

high level of drug usage as well as self-harming inside the prison; only when the government along with NGO's intervene in this issue, we can improve the situation".

7. There were also suggestions to introduce better skills in the prison as many existing skills and vocational training have no scope outside the prison. For example, shoemaking in Tamil Nadu prisons is a craft that is closely associated with caste system in the outside society. Usually other caste people do not engage in those trades and hence the training received from the prison becomes useless.

"The inmates in every prison are a great human resource. The authorities should use that immense resources. There are people with high calibre and education. They can be used for better effect. Authorities should initiate more skill training that can help the prisoners to sustain themselves after their release. Prison is now understood as a correction home, not the colonial conception of prison. People who are imprisoned for petty crimes should not be put together with habitual criminals. Now everyone is mixed together, which adversely affects many people. There should be a more scientific treatment of inmates based on their background. Special attention should be given to strengthen the artistic and sports ability of the inmates. That can increase the mental health of the inmates to a large extent". Ramesh from Tamil Nadu summed up his point of view.

8. *"The skills of the people are not being used. Skill training should be proper. The overall structure of the prison should change. Only food has bettered now, but all the other things remain as the old times. The aspect of 'corrections' were not given primacy. Those who come for petty crimes often become big criminals if they are being put in jail".* These were the suggestions given by Radhakrishnan in Kerala.

Chapter 5

Findings and Policy Suggestions

This research project aimed to understand the factors and processes affecting the social reintegration of released prisoners. While there are several studies that have focused on prison reforms and living conditions of inmates inside the prison, very few studies in India that have thrown light on the life of released prisoners due to the extreme difficulty in collecting reliable data about the prisoners once they complete their prison sentence. In this study, we were able to locate 108 released prisoners (60 from Tamil Nadu and 48 from Kerala) and most of them were released under premature release scheme and are either currently or previously under the supervision of Probation Officers. Administration of a detailed interview with them revealed a host of important information about their socio-economic background, life inside the prison and their life after release. Analysis of this data, along with the data obtained by a series of interviews with various stakeholders such as probation officers, Welfare Officers, retired prison officials, representatives of NGOs and so on, constitute the basis for the findings of the study. Only pertinent observations about the process of reintegration are included in this section and for a more detailed description of these findings, the previous section can be consulted.

The socio-economic profiles of the prisoners reveal that 85 per cent of them belong to the most backward sections of the society in terms of caste, while 88 per cent has studied only below 10 with a total number of 13 illiterates in the sample. This finding, which is hardly surprising, points at the unique ways through which the criminal system in India is heavily structurally biased against people from the disadvantaged groups. 33 per cent of them entered the prison below the age of 25 and 47 per cent were imprisoned when they were aged between 26 and 35. These have spent of the vast part of their most productive years inside the prison and then return to the society at a much later age without adequate preparation. The duration of the stay of the inmates ranged from 2 years to 28 years and their release was dependent on a number of factors that finally influenced the decision to release them prematurely.

The analysis of their lives in prison with a special focus on its corrective or reformatory aspects draws up interesting observations. While the prisons in Kerala and Tamil Nadu have introduced various programmes aimed at improving educational qualifications as well as vocational training, to what extent they are sensitive to the needs, orientations and aptitudes of the

prisoners is an open question. Since manual labour is made compulsory for the prisoners sentenced for rigorous imprisonment, a host of trades/types of works are introduced in the prison with varying wages. In Tamil Nadu 26 people underwent educational programmes and the corresponding number is 4 in Kerala. Similarly while 34 released prisoners underwent employment related training programmes in Tamil Nadu 42 people in Kerala underwent the same. While the wage rates have been increased in both the states last year, most of the respondents received pre-revised wages, which turned out to be a meagre amount after the statutory deductions. Especially in Tamil Nadu, 50 per cent of their salary was deducted for the prison upkeep, and luckily a judicial intervention from the Madurai Bench of Madras High Court deemed this practice unconstitutional. This has resulted in a situation where the prisoners are hardly left with any money when they are released after years of incarceration and are forced to look ahead life with despair. The financial situation of the prisoners at the time of release appeared better in Kerala compared to Tamil Nadu. While most of the prisoners were allocated some or the other work and were given training in several trades, during the data collection, only two prisoners from Tamil Nadu opined that these skills helped when they came out of the prison. This calls for serious introspection to the kinds of jobs/trades that are being offered and a thorough restructuring of the jobs and trades that are presently employed is required.

The study establishes the well-known fact that visits by family members and availing of paroles play an extremely significant role in keeping the prisoners in relatively good mental and emotional frame of mind and is important in their post-release life. An overwhelming 102 people reported that their family members visited them regularly and this constitutes 98 per cent in Tamil Nadu, the corresponding figure is 89.6 in Kerala. These visits were used by the inmates to reconnect with family and mend strained ties with the members. 91.7 per cent of the respondents said that they had availed paroles during their stay and almost 98 per cent of them are of the opinion that parole helped them to reintegrate with the family. The study also highlights the plight of nine prisoners who could not avail parole throughout their stay due to various reasons. Several respondents pointed out the prevalence of widespread corruption in the system for availing paroles as a cross-section of officials within the prison and outside are involved in this inhuman practice of exploiting the hapless prisoners. Many prisoners are also appreciative of the roles played by religious personnel belonging to different religious traditions as many of them were able to get spiritual solace and peace of mind in the prison due to their activities. 46 and 17 per cent of the released prisoners stated that they were visited by

religious personnel while they were in the prison. It is also important to note that while there are numerous religious NGOs that work inside prison in both the states, only a handful of them are working sincerely for the rehabilitation of released prisoners. The role of Welfare Officers, which ideally must be pivotal for the corrective and reformatory process of prisoners, was seen as ineffectual by the respondents as only 12 respondents reported that they received help from these officers for better reintegration.

The analysis of the post-release life of prisoners point at the level of economic precariousness as 80 per cent of them are forced to work in spite of health issues and only around 30 per cent have stable income. While 44.4 per cent of the respondents stated that they were the major breadwinners of their family, this response varied across states. Majority of the respondents from Kerala (58.3 per cent) stated that they are the breadwinners of the family, whereas only 33.3 per cent of the respondents were the breadwinners in Tamil Nadu. While Kerala government provides Rs. 15,000 for every released prisoner, there is no such scheme in Tamil Nadu and the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, which is mandated to do provide financial help to them in Tamil Nadu, is non-functional in many places. It is a travesty that this Society, despite having huge financial asset under its custody, has become ineffective in rendering its obligation. While 30 per cent of respondents from Tamil Nadu stated they have received financial support from NGOs, the corresponding number is 12 in Kerala. Among the non-governmental sector, organizations like PMI has been doing a remarkable job in helping the released prisoners settle down and begin some economically productive activities. But increasingly, these organizations are also finding it difficult to get funding and do their routine affairs due to increased control by the government.

Almost every released prisoner informed that there was no structured programme or counselling to facilitate their re-entry into the society. Most of them find the services of probation officers of great help as most of these officers play a vital role in helping these people reintegrate with the society smoothly. Over 74 per cent of respondents are in regular touch with Probation Officer at least once in two months or more frequent. However, the respondents feel that the power of the Probation Officers are limited that they are not really able to help them financially or get loan or assistance. While vast majority hail their services, charges of corruption was again brought up by the respondents in Tamil Nadu against some of the Probation Officers who demanded money for preparing favourable reports for premature release and paroles.

The analysis of the family and societal acceptance of the released prisoners rather presents a positive picture as vast majority opined that they are indeed accepted by their family and community. Almost 90 per cent of the respondents informed that they are maintaining close relationship with family and friends and 89 feel they are given importance in family and social circles. 15 of the respondents are active in informal social groups and 42 in religious groups. A majority of the respondents were accepted and welcomed by their family members and community as almost 73 per cent stated that they were invited often to such functions and gatherings. Moreover, there is not much difference between the answers given by respondents in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Only 12–15 per cent were not at all invited to these gatherings and another 12–15 per cent stated that they were rarely invited. While a few faced discrimination and harassment from the police and found difficulty in finding a house for rent, a majority of the respondents did not report the same. There was only one case of police brutality and violence reported by a respondent in Chennai. Most of the prisoners are finding acceptance within the family, get invited for family and community occasions and are not treated differently. 25 per cent of the people reported difficulty in socializing with the society and community at large. It must be remembered that the very nature of the sample of the study, being predominantly drawn from prematurely released prisoners, are heavily biased towards healthy family relationship. This is because of the fact that sound family relationship is a very important deciding factor in giving a favourable judgement for premature release of the prisoners. In the case of other prisoners who are released after full term, this positive picture may not be present. More than half of the respondents are active members of religious groups and have found acceptance within the group. It is also important to note that respondents who went to jail for committing crimes related to political conflicts are often welcomed easily by the political parties they are affiliated to and find much acceptance, whereas erstwhile members of criminal gangs try to maintain a more secluded life. One of the most important factors that emerged in the qualitative data is the close connection between economic independence and acceptance within the family and society. Those who could come out of the prison with some reasonable savings and who could find a job received more acceptance within the family and outside.

The study found that while most of the respondents are striving hard to lead a normal life, it is only partially successful. The sense of guilt and loss still haunt them and all of them invariably are despondent with the fact that prime time of their life has been wasted in the prison and they

are in much worse situation compared to their peers. All of them cherish the new-found freedom and at the same time are depressed with the cost they had to pay for that. Their current emotional state is a combination of relief of being able to live with the family as well as despair of having been incarcerated in the prison during their prime of life. Many are also reel under the weight of enormous damage they have done to their own families and that of others. The respondents also suggested various measures to make the life of prison inmates better and the rehabilitation and reintegration smoother.

Among the respondents interviewed for the study, we have not come across incidents of recidivism, except one in Chennai where the respondent was assaulted by the police that led to a broken arm after accusing him of stealing. But there was no case registered against him and the respondent emphatically stressed his innocence and accused the police of highhandedness and harassment. The nature of the samples and the fact that vast majority of them are under the system of probation/after-care system is definitely an important reason contributing to very low level of recidivism.

Reintegration Index and Correlation

The foregoing discussion provided an overview of the socio-economic profiles of released prisoners, prison welfare activities and skill enhancement and their present living condition after the release. In order to achieve a more precise picture about the factors that influence the process of reintegration of these released prisoners, a Reintegration Index has been constructed to measure the significance of the degree of relationship between reintegration index and other factors contributing to reintegration process. Four variables related to economic and social reintegration of the prisoners used in the questionnaire for the study were made use of while preparing the Reintegration Index. All the four questions were binary and the released prisoners responded, either in 'yes' or 'no'. The respondents were asked whether they have a stable income, whether they maintain good relations with family and community and whether they have membership in any informal groups. Stable income is important to economically support themselves and the family and it is a crucial indicator for economic reintegration. The economic freedom and security earned from a permanent income gives them peace of mind to lead a happy life equivalent to that of other members in the society. Maintaining good relations with the family and community are considered to be important indicators of social reintegration as these relationships provide them with feeling of belonging

and social identity. Community in this context is defined as the immediate set of social ties characterized by caste, religious, neighborhood affiliations. Similarly, membership in informal groups indicates the acceptance that they can earn in social circles and this is also an important factor deciding extent of reintegration. The data given in the table indicates that released prisoners maintain good relations with family (N=92) and community (89). The membership in informal groups (N=12) and stability in income (N=29) are low. Stable permanent jobs in the formal sector cannot be expected as these released prisoners have crossed the age at the time of release and are unlikely to get employed on a permanent basis. Most of the respondents have taken up manual labour, run petty shops, work on the fields for their regular needs, drive vehicles. In most of the occasions, these jobs were not fetching regular income and that was the reason behind the statement by 71 respondents that they do not have a stable income. Few of them were unwell and relied on their partners or their children for their subsistence. Membership in informal groups depends on a number of factors such as the aim and objectives of these groups, formal requirements such as membership fees, regular attendance and so on. Reintegration on a higher level indicates a higher participation in informal associations. For the purpose of the study, all these reintegration related variables were given equal importance while constructing reintegration index.

Table 5.1 Particulars related to reintegration

Particulars related to reintegration	No. of respondents (N=108)
Have stability in income	30
Maintain good relations with community	89
Maintain good relations with family	92
Membership in informal groups	13

Source: Primary data

The value of the reintegration index varies from 0 to 4, where 0 indicates no reintegration of the released prisoner and 4 indicates a complete reintegration with the society. Hence, the Reintegration Index can take values of 0, 1, 2, 3 and 4.

The study tried to understand the factors that contributed to the reintegration of the released prisoners with the society. With this motive, it examined 7 variables such as visit by probation officer, assistance from NGO, and visit by family members during stay at prison, availing of parole, participation in employment related orientation programme at prison, assistance from NGO and years of stay in prison. All the six variables except the last one are binary in nature.

The study hypothesized that frequent supervision and monitoring by probation officers, financial and other assistances of various kinds released by NGOs, regular visits by family members, availing of parole during the prison life, participation in vocational training programmes and government fund received on release would positively contribute towards a higher value for reintegration index. On the other hand, longer the years of stay in the prison, lesser the reintegration is expected to be, as their opportunities to get reintegrated with the society will be less.

The following table indicates the distribution of the responses with respect to the each of these seven contributing variables in reintegration index.

Table 5.2 Reintegration Index

Index values	Levels of reintegration	No. of responses (N=100)
0	Not integrated	5
1	Low	9
2	Moderate	59
3	Fair	31
4	Reintegrated	4
Total		108

Source: Primary data

Based on the Reintegration Index constructed, we grouped the released prisoners into four levels of no integration, low, moderate, fair and reintegration. Only 3 respondents can be seen as completely reintegrated, whereas 5 appear that they were not reintegrated with society. Majority of the prisoners (N=56) indicate that they are moderately integrated and 28 respondents are fairly integrated. Detailed representation of the distribution of the responses with respect to the Reintegration Index is given in the following table. Majority of the respondents belong to moderate to fair level of reintegration for all the above selected 7 variables.

Table 5.3 Reintegration Index and Variables

Reintegration Index	Visit by probation officer (N=108)		Assistance from NGO (N=108)		Visit by family members during stay at prison (N=108)		Availing of parole (N=108)	
	Frequent	Not frequent	Received	Not received	Visited	Not visited	Availed	Not availed
0	4	1	0	5	0	5	0	5
1	9	0	1	8	8	1	7	2
2	9	50	13	46	55	4	57	2
3	2	29	6	25	31	0	31	0
4	0	4	0	4	4	0	4	0
Total	24	84	20	88	98	10	99	9

Source: Primary Data

It is evident that those who are not reintegrated have not availed paroles, not visited by family members and have not received any assistance from NGOs, though they are frequently visited by the Probation Officers. On the other hand, those who have low, moderate and fair levels of reintegration have corresponding figures with respect to availing of parole, visit by family members, assistance from NGO and visit by Probation officers. It is interesting to note that those who are completely reintegrated are not visited frequently by the Probation Officers, not received assistance from NGOs, but have availed paroles and were visited by family members.

Table 5.3 Reintegration Index and Variables (continued..)

Reintegration Index	Participation in employment related orientation programme at prison (N=108)		Fund for released prisoners (N=108)		Years of stay in prison (N=108)			
	Attended	Not attended	Received	Not received	6-10	11-15	16-20	Above 20
0	5	0	5	0	0	0	4	1
1	7	2	7	2	0	0	7	2
2	43	15	37	21	6	20	27	6
3	22	9	18	13	15	16	0	0
4	4	0	4	0	4	0	0	0
Total	82	26	72	36	22	33	36	9

Source: Primary data

The above table demonstrates that respondents with least reintegration were the people who served maximum tenure in the prison, received government fund on their release and those who attended employment orientation programmes in prison. On the other hand, those who are completely reintegrated served less time in the prison, received aid as well as training during their prisoner term. Among those who have low, moderate and fair degrees of reintegration, the duration of their prison term is a very important factor.

Correlation Matrix

A Correlation matrix has been constructed with the intention to examine influence of the above mentioned seven factors that contributed to the reintegration index. Four among the seven factors played a significant influence on the index and among this, three have positive impact whereas one variable has a negative impact.

Table 5.4 Correlation Matrix

Variables	Correlation coefficient	Significance level
Frequency of visit by probation officer	0.557	0.000***
Assistance from NGO after release	0.030	0.765
Visits by family members at prison	0.519	0.000***
Availing of parole	0.581	0.000***
Participation in employment related orientation programme at prison	-0.057	0.573
Fund for released prisoners	-0.119	0.238
Years of stay in prison	-0.648	0.000***

*** Indicates significance at one per cent level

Availing parole during stay in prison and visits by family members at prison are highly correlated with reintegration index and it is significant at 1 per cent level. Since a close contact established by the prisoners during their stay at jail through parole and visits of the family members, it is natural for them to reintegrate easily. This could be the reason behind the high correlation and a high significance level. Another significant variable (significant at 1 per cent) noticed is the frequency of visit by probation officer after the release. A close supervision and monitoring by probation officer is likely to create confidence in the mind of the released to be careful in his deeds and there is a need to get reintegrated with the society. Another significant variable correlated with the index is years of stay in the prison and the result indicates that it is negatively correlated at 1 per cent significance level.

An examination on participation in vocational training programme at prison, fund for released prisoners and NGOs assistance on released prisoners indicate insignificant correlation with reintegration index. Since these factors could contribute significantly to the economic integration of the released prisoners and thereby their easy reintegration with the society, it was assumed to establish positive correlation with these variables. Therefore, it is necessary to find out the reasons behind the absence of the correlation with respect to these economic reintegration measures that we expected in the beginning of this study.

Participation of prisoners in vocational training programmes in the prison

Training programmes were conducted at prisons with the intention to enable the prisoners to get employed in economically productive activities upon their release and thereby to bring down the occasions leading to recidivism. Employment creates a feeling that they are worthwhile to society by contributing towards family and society. Moreover, some engagement in economic activities keep their mind active on various activities which channel their attention to relatively important aspects of life. The prisons of TN and Kerala promote the participation in such programmes in prison and the participation in these programmes are not based on their aspirations and often the availability of slots decide them. Some prisoners have chosen not to be engaged in any work, whereas some of them are given farming/ forestry, whereas others are given training in educational programmes. Participation in training along with their work inside the prison give them a remuneration which could be saved for a withdrawal later on for their requirements or could be sent to their family. Often the interested prisoners participate in more than one training during the course of stay and table below shows the recent training programme participated by 100 respondents.

Except 7 prisoners all of them were engaged in some or the other reintegration programmes. Participation in educational programme (N=18) was also noticeable among the prisoners and it was observed more among the TN than in Kerala. It is considered to be an investment on human capital giving returns at a later point of time. Among the varied activities, participation in farming or forestry (N=31) is the highest lot and is followed by canteen/kitchen/bakery unit. The other activities promoted by the prison are tailoring, book binding, shoe making, weaving, security/ night watchman, manufacturing and carpentry.

The reasons behind the lack of significant correlation between reintegration index and the participation in training programmes are many.

Firstly, in the present scenario, there are not enough opportunities for the prisoners to follow a profession in a similar kind of activity in which they were trained in the prison. Secondly, training programmes were not targeted on the basis of the aspirations/ skill of the workers and also from the perspective of the rural areas to provide productive employment. Thirdly, the financial support extended to the prisoners is absolutely absent and the inability of the released persons to undertake an investment of a huge sum of money through bank loan is quite significant. Moreover, the financial condition of these families limit their scope of activities and thus practically the prisoners are not economically well-off and we cannot expect them to carry out a job similar to their learnings at prison. Government and Non-government agencies have extended their help, but it is also limited. And finally, even if they undertake their activities there is no network ready to procure or market their manufactured products.

Another important variable showing insignificant correlation is the fund granted to the released prisoners. The Kerala government grants a sum of Rs 15000 and there is no similar scheme in Tamil Nadu, though the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society is only partially functional in Tamil Nadu. In our study, 66 prisoners received funding assistance from the government. The amount of money is so meagre that it is insufficient for them to initiate any economically productive activities.

Both in TN and Kerala, certain NGOs have been actively involved in the rehabilitation and reintegration programmes of the prisoners. It provided assistance to 19 released prisoners. The assistance included moral and emotional support besides financial support to selected few. These are again meagre resources for them to initiate any economic activity. Such lower amounts are used for their immediate survival and it cannot produce any significant impact on reintegration. Generally, NGOs approach those who need their support most, that is, those secluded by the society and family. The correlation shows an insignificant value since reintegration is a combination of social and economic reintegration.

Recommendations and Policy Suggestions

It would be futile to attempt to formulate a new set of recommendations and policy suggestions without understanding the history of such initiatives taken up by various committees appointed by the government to look into prison reforms in general and the question of rehabilitation in particular. One of the most comprehensive and insightful set of recommendations regarding rehabilitation was presented by the Justice Mulla Committee Report (1983). It is saddening to see that many of these very insightful measures mentioned in the report are yet to be implemented and the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners continue to be a least

prioritized area in the criminal justice system in the country. The Committee reiterated that “in our Report, a prison system which shall not be just another link in a chain of persecution of an offender but will attempt at reforming and reconstructing him into a self-respecting, self-reliant individual through a purposeful approach of training and treatment” (p. 262). The Mulla Committee report quotes the observation of Mr. M.S. Gore who submitted a report of Advisory Committee on After Care Programmes in 1955 as follows:

“with the exception of a few after-care organization to meet the needs of persons discharged from custodial institutions, there was hardly any work which had been done in this field. Even these after-care organisations for ex-convicts and juvenile delinquents had developed only in some of the districts of a few states.”

(Report of Advisory Committee on After Care Programmes. (M.S. Gore 1955, p. 1)

The Mulla Committee report emphatically argues that the procedure of after-care and rehabilitation of the offenders must be an integral part of the process of institutional care and treatment and administrative machinery for carrying out the follow-up action will have to be integrated with the Department of Prison and Correctional Services. It is evident that this recommendation has not been implemented in its spirit in many places. The Committee also calls for an active participation of the community and voluntary organizations in the rehabilitation of ex-offenders. The Committee suggests setting up of a properly staffed After-care and Follow-up Unit in the headquarters organization of the Department of Prison and Correctional Services in each state/union territory. The Committee lists 16 specific recommendations to ensure the effective rehabilitation of deserving released prisoners. Sadly, many of these recommendations have not been implemented in India and the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are not exceptions when it comes to the implementation of Mulla Committee recommendations.

While the situation in these prisons have improved tremendously over the past several decades and the outlook of prison officials has changed significantly, a lot more concerted efforts with specific policies and programmes with a sharp focus on prison as a space of correction must be implemented.

One of the glaring lacunas emerged in the study is the lack of systematic planning and institutional mechanism in the prisons in facilitating rehabilitation and reintegration of released

prisoners. The underlying philosophy of jails still revolve around the ideas of retention of the prisoners and their custody rather than their reformation and later reintegration into the society. It is disheartening to note that this lack of emphasis on the reformation aspect has resulted in extremely skewed distribution of manpower and institutional mechanism within Indian jails. In almost every prison, the executive staff who is entrusted with the task of retention/custody vastly outnumbers the staff entrusted with the correctional services. This staffing pattern is the most glaring testimony that our prisons continue to be the centres for incarceration and not for reformation. This skewed distribution is also underscores the lack of systematic attempts to categorize the prisoners upon their entry based on a host of factors including their nature of crime, socio-economic and familial conditions, educational and skill attainment, psycho-emotional features and so on. A glaring omission of this aspect systematic process of classification and individualized correctional procedure results in implementation of some vague and ineffective reformation process without any focus or effectiveness. A vast majority of the reformation processes happening in the jails of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are not based on this need-based reform, rather they are mainly implemented to engage the prisoners in economically productive activity and provide a general sense of welfare. There is hardly any attempt being made in these prisons to actively understand the conditions and requirements of individual prisoners and then chart out corrective procedures including counselling, skill enhancement programmes, extending support to family support and so on. While a Classification Committee exist in Tamil Nadu prisons, their functioning is also far from being satisfactory. Officials point out that even if the Committee comes up with classification of prisoners, there is hardly any infrastructural and administrative facilities to carry out specific reformation programmes for these classified prisoners. It is evident from this study as well as the observation of Mulla Committee that every prisoner does not require active rehabilitation programmes and help in getting socially reintegrated. A large number of them are rather accepted back to the communities, especially if they had availed paroles periodically and have maintained connections with family and relatives. A vast majority of our respondents reported that they did not face any discrimination or difficulty from the community/society after the release. At the same time, given the nature of the samples of this study being mostly from those ex-prisoners who availed premature release and were given a positive report by the Probation Officers after analysing their socio-familial conditions, this may not be true with every prisoner who comes out after years of incarceration. For example, a couple of released prisoners from Tamil Nadu mentioned that they did not come out on parole as they did not have relatives in the state and when they came out after 18 years of imprisonment, it was really hard for them

to get adapted to the situation and indeed their friends who were released early helped them to find accommodation and a job.

It is important to note that only two released prisoners opined that the skills they learned from the prison were useful in finding a job outside. While this perception appears questionable, a vast majority of prisoners find the job/training in the prison and the job prospects outside as completely disconnected. For example, several released prisoners from Tamil Nadu mentioned that shoemaking, a major trade in the prison cannot be pursued outside as it is mostly seen as a craft associated with particular castes and others found it difficult to enter into this craft owing to the stigma attached. Especially with the changing nature of crime and more and more people entering into prison after committing novel types of crimes under new provisions such as POSCO, domestic violence act, cybercrimes etc., a serious reassessment of the reformation policies within the prison is warranted.

The skewed staffing pattern and overwhelming predominance given to the executive staff and neglect of the correctional staff have been severely undermining even the existing attempts aimed at reformation of the prisoners. The Welfare Officer is burdened with the day-to-day affairs of the prison so that she/he is left with no time to plan or execute measures exclusively focusing on the rehabilitation of released prisoners. There is no pre-release counselling for the prisoners or any concrete plan of handholding them during the phase of re-entry. There is no coordination among the prison officials and Probation Officers regarding the rehabilitation process of each prisoner or his/her distinct issues and socio-economic conditions. There is no supporting system nor supporting staff for the Welfare Officers to facilitate the planning and execution of correctional activities within the prison as well as the rehabilitation outside. For example, in Kerala there are only 18 Welfare Officers in a total of 54 prisons with the present occupancy of around 8000 prisoners. In Poojappura Central Prison, Thiruvananthapuram, there are only two Welfare Officers to manage a total of around 1400 inmates among whom 900 are convicted prisoners. In Puzhal prison in Chennai, the post of Welfare Officer has been lying vacant for a long time. In the absence of supporting staff comprising professional social workers and counsellors, these Welfare Officers find it extremely difficult to concentrate on the correctional aspects of imprisonment.

On the basis of the data collected and interaction with various stake holders involved in the correctional administration, the report puts forward the following suggestions.

1. The overall orientation of prison administration system must give enhanced importance to the correctional aspect and move out of its current preoccupation with retention and incarceration as the ultimate aim of imprisonment.
2. A systematic classification of prisoners must be introduced in every prison. These classifications must be based on the following parameters: nature of crime, whether repeat offence, first-time offence, severity and premeditated and so on; socio-economic and familial background; educational level and possession of skills; emotional and psychological characteristics. This classification must be used as a benchmark to devise a focused reformation plan during their stay in the prison.
3. A host of new-age crimes such as the ones come under POSCO, Domestic Violence Act, crime against women and children, cybercrimes, UAPA and so on require more sophisticated intervention plans in the prisons so that the offenders are given specialized counselling, put through awareness programmes and taken through psycho-social interventions so that there is a definite attitudinal change takes place among them.
4. The correctional branch of prison must be strengthened with additional personnel and resources. While more social workers and counsellors are required as professionals, existing operational staff who take care of the retention/custody must be given sufficient training and awareness in these matters so that their support also can be harnessed.
5. The office of Welfare Officers must be strengthened and all vacancies must be filled. The roles and responsibilities of Welfare Officers could be bifurcated into two: one, focusing on the regular welfare activities of the inmates, and two, focusing on facilitating their rehabilitation and proper reintegration into the society.
6. Welfare Officers must be encouraged to develop better ties with NGOs and other agencies outside the prison and explore various avenues available in the society to help rehabilitation and reintegration of released prisoners.

7. Skill enhancement programmes and vocational programmes introduced in the prison must be sensitive to the changes taking place outside the society. Archaic and outdated skills might be useful in keeping the prisoners engaged during their tenure, but does not contribute much to their rehabilitation and social reintegration.
8. Award of paroles must be regularized and the procedure standardized. There must be consistency and transparency in awarding paroles to every eligible prisoner. Measures must be devised to encourage all prisoners to avail paroles, may be under the direct supervision of probation officers.
9. A separate cell of Probation Officers could be created within the existing system who look after only prison-related matters and closely work with the Welfare Officers. These Probation Officers must act as liaison officers between the wider society and the institution of prison.
10. Probation system must be strengthened with more manpower and additional resources. A support system comprising of social work/counselling professionals must be set up in every district to provide support to probation officers and the smooth functioning of the system.
11. The role of Probation Officers must be seen as a professional one that requires specialized skills, knowledge base and methodological rigour. Hence, people with professional qualifications in disciplines like criminology, social work and so on must be considered for this position and it must not be seen as equivalent to any other job that does not require specialized skills.
12. Probation Officers must work with the local community to explore the possibility of rehabilitating the released prisoner who requires such an assistance. Community participation has been proven effective in many places for ensuring the effective social reintegration of released prisoners.
13. Half-way homes must be set up to accommodate released prisoners for a specific time who face difficulty in adjusting with their release after prolonged years of incarceration. Such homes must function as active spaces that facilitate the transition of the prisoners life from the prison to the society.

14. The executive staff of the prison must be provided with sufficient training in criminology, social work and counselling so that they have a more comprehensive understanding of their roles and duties and the prison as a correctional institution.
15. Reintegration of the released prisoners is a complex process and is heavily dependent on a host of issues like family situation, nature of crime, socio-economic condition of the prisoners and so on and hence focus must be on the family of the offender immediately after the conviction.
16. One of the most glaring issues that crops up while discussing the rehabilitation of released prisoners is the fact that the government, the largest job provider in the country, refuses to employ released prisoners and it becomes a travesty when the state wants the private sector to employ these released prisoners. The government also refuses to issue passport to these released prisoners, thereby preventing the prospects of them going abroad to find a job. These policies require serious reconsideration and instead of imposing a blanket ban on government jobs and issuance of passport to every released prisoner, more specific policies must be formulated to look into these aspects on a case by case manner. Concerted efforts must be made to separate accidental/first time offenders from repeat offenders and people with a history of criminal antecedents.
17. A National Rehabilitation Policy must be prepared with specific policy orientation for rehabilitation of released prisoners
18. One of the most effective measures to ensure effective social reintegration of released prisoners is to ensure periodic and timely paroles. The more frequent paroles would facilitate strengthening of family ties and would make this process of reintegration easier.
19. In Kerala, wages have been increased by 20 per cent recently and the current wages range from Rs. 60 for unskilled work to Rs.260 to skilled workers. This increase in the wages provides a major impetus to the overall financial savings of the prisoner and in turn will help their family and facilitate their economic independence when they come out of the prison. In Tamil Nadu, 50 per cent of the wage is withheld in the name of

‘prison upkeep’ and 20 per cent is withheld for victim compensation. The prisoners are left only with the remaining 30 per cent. This appears to be highly unjustified as it leave very little money with the prisoners, who, in many cases are supporting their families.

20. The Discharged Prisoners Aid Society in Tamil Nadu is a unique institution set up to cater to the needs of released prisoners. But sadly, the institution is entangled in court cases and infighting, thus leaving their huge financial potential unused. These issues must be resolved at the earliest and the Society must be used to serve its primary objective, which is, providing aid and services to the released prisoners.
21. Separate budgetary allocation must be earmarked for prison welfare. The Kerala government has earmarked Rs. 1 crore in the state budget for conducting skill enhancement programmes in the prison in the recent years and such decisions help in ensuring availability of funds specially made available for these activities.
22. In Tamil Nadu, several prisoners expressed lack of knowledge or distrust about the money they deserved at the time of release. They pointed out that they were made to sign/put thumb impression on blank sheets of papers promising higher amount of money, which was never given later. Measures must be taken to distribute the recovered salary of prisoners upon their release in a transparent and fair manner. Given the educational backwardness of prisoners, extra care must be taken to convince them that the disbursement of the recovered salary is done in a fair manner as prison system must not be subjected to the suspicion of corruption and lack of transparency.

It becomes evident through the study that processes of rehabilitation and reintegration of released prisoners require comprehensive and structural changes in the prison system and the overall philosophy that informs the ultimate aim of imprisonment. While prison system has seen substantial transformation over the last several decades in the area of prison reforms, more concerted efforts must be adopted for the needy prisoners who require help in their process of reintegration.

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Appendix 1

Interview Schedule

Page 1 of 7

Serial No:

Date of Schedule:

Place:

Research project

“From Cell to Society: Reintegration of Released Prisoners in Kerala and Tamil Nadu”

(Sponsored by National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi)

Carried out by Indian Institute of Technology-Madras

Department of Humanities and Social Sciences

Interview Schedule

(This information is used only for research purpose and will be kept confidential)

Basic Demographic Details	
1	Name <i>(note the name as per official records)</i>
2	<i>(Please note the respondent's gender)</i> [1. Male 2. Female]
3	May I know your age? <i>(completed age)</i>
4	Which religion do you belong? <i>(specify)</i> [1. Hindu 2. Muslim 3. Christian]
5	Which community you belong to? <i>(mention the caste/sub-caste/tribe)</i> [1. SC 2. ST 3. OBC 4. Gen 5. Refused to disclose]
6	(a) Are you married? [1. Yes 2. No] (b) <i>(please specify)</i> [1. Living with a partner 2. Single 3. Separated 4. Divorced]
7	(a) Do you have any children? [1. Yes 2. No 3. NA] (b) With whom are you living now? [1. Living with parents 2. living alone 3. living with partner and/or children 4. living with roommates 5. other living arrangements] (c) How many members are there in your family? <i>(specify the number)</i>

	(d) Type of family [1.Nuclear 2.Joint]
8	<p>(a) Up till what have you studied? [1. Primary 2. Middle 3. Higher 4. SSLC 5.Higher secondary 6.Graduation &above 7.Illiterate] <i>(please mention if Illiterate)</i></p> <p>(b) Have you enrolled for any educational programme during your stay in prison? [1.Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(c) If yes, <i>(specify the educational programme)</i></p>
9	<p>(a) Where is your place of residence? <i>(please note if</i> [1.Rural 2. Urban]</p> <p>(b) Do you have a shelter to live? [1.Yes 2.No]</p> <p>(c) Shelter ownership [1.Own house 2.Rented 3. Temporary shelter]</p> <p>(d) Type of shelter [1. Kutchha 2. Pacca]</p>
10	<p>(a) Have your family members/ friends visited you while in prison? [1.Yes 2.No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, How frequent? [5.Very Often (whenever permitted), 4. Often (once in a while), 3. Sometimes (if they feel like), 2. Hardly (Never),1 NA]</p> <p>(c) How did you feel after their visits? <i>(can also elaborate if willing)</i></p> <p>(d) What were the usual themes of discussion? <i>(e.g. about problems at home/ plans for future/ any other thing- please specify)</i></p>
11	Do you have a ration card? [1.APL 2. BPL 3.Without card]
12	<p>(a) Do you have any health-related problems? [1.Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, are you getting any medical care? <i>(can detail the history of severe/ minor illness)/</i></p> <p>(c) Are you now treated for any addictions? <i>(Alcohol/Drugs)</i> [1.Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(d) If yes, <i>(specify about the addictions)</i></p> <p>(e) Are you facing any sleep related / emotional problems <i>(mental health issues)</i>? [1.Yes 2.No]</p> <p>(f) If yes, are you keeping away from the things that cause you stress/mental breakdown? <i>(Depression, suicidal tendencies, self-harm etc)</i></p>
13	<p>(a) Were you working before you been imprisoned? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, specify? Type of work [1. Business 2. Service 3. Skilled worker 4.Unskilled worker 5. Others]</p> <p>(c) Are you employed now? [1. Yes 2.No];</p>

	<p>(d) If Yes, what are you doing? (<i>Is the same job prior to the crime is continued at present – specify</i>)</p> <p>(e) How do you meet your daily expenses? (<i>specify about the current job/ source of income/financial support</i>)</p> <p>(f) Do you have a stable income? [1.Yes 2. No] (<i>can elaborate if willing</i>)</p> <p>(g) Are you the breadwinner of the family? [1.Yes 2. No] (<i>can detail if willing – on primary source of income</i>)</p> <p>(h) Are you finding difficult to work after coming back from prison? [1.Very Difficult, 2. Difficult, 3. Somewhat Difficult, 4.Not Difficult]</p>
Prison Related	
14	<p>(a) Were you given any employment-related orientation while in prison? [1.Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If Yes, (<i>specify the employment-related orientation you received – Prison-specific programs may be added or ticked -e.g. Farming/forestry; Manufacturing; Engineering; Kitchen/ Bakery unit</i>)</p> <p>(c) Have you received any certificates or experience letters? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(d) If yes, have it helped in you getting employed after your prison tenure? [1. Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p>
15	<p>(a) Did you do any other work apart from the vocational training? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, (<i>specify the work you did apart from vocational training</i>)</p> <p>(c) How much was the daily wage?</p> <p>(d) How much money you used to send home?</p> <p>(e) How much money was spent for your daily expenditure in prison?</p> <p>(f) How much savings you had when you came out of prison?</p> <p>(g) How these jobs helped you in your re-entry?</p> <p>(h) Could you suggest some trade which could have helped you once you came back from prison (<i>in re-entry</i>)? (<i>please specify</i>)</p>

16	<p>(a) Can you tell about the type of crime you committed? (<i>understand if there is involvement of gangs, related to caste, or crime done within the family or outside</i>)</p> <p>(b) How old were you when you were imprisoned? (<i>completed age</i>);</p> <p>(c) How long did you stay in prison? (<i>in number of years and months</i>);</p> <p>(d) Actual length of the sentence? (<i>specify</i>)</p> <p>(e) Did you finish your tenure? [1. Yes 2. No]</p>
17	<p>(a) Have you been visited or mentored by religious personnel? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If Yes, did their intervention help you? How did it help? (<i>Elaborate in terms of dealing with guilt, notions of sin, salvation, feeling of being important etc.</i>);</p> <p>(c) Did you feel pressured to meet them or you did it at your own will?</p> <p>(d) How was the experience? (<i>can detail if willing</i>)</p>
18	<p>(a) Have you been offered of any services or assistance by people from NGO or organisations in the prison? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, (<i>Specific programs offered by NGO may be specified</i>)</p> <p>(c) Have any organisation come forward for helping you after your release? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(d) If yes, please elaborate (<i>e.g. Assisting in employment/ housing/supported accommodation/ work and living skill courses/ child care/ etc.</i>)</p> <p>(e) Did you get any funds for released prisoners? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(f) If yes, how much you received and spent? (<i>specify the appr. amount in Rs.</i>); For what purpose have you spent that amount? (<i>can specify if willing</i>)</p>
19	<p>(a) Were you in charge of Welfare Officers? [1. Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p> <p>(b) Was there any help from Welfare Officer for re-entry? [1.Yes 2. No 3.NA]</p>
Re-entry phase	
20	<p>(a) Have you availed parole during your life in prison? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, how many times? (<i>specify the number</i>);</p> <p>(c) What you used to do during the parole? (<i>mention the activities</i>)</p> <p>(d) Do you think parole helped you to re-establish contacts with family and friends? [1.Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p> <p>(e) Please explain how parole helped you when you came out of the prison?</p>
21	<p>(a) When was your first contact with Probation Officer?</p>

	<p>(b) Can you elaborate how Probation officer helped you during the parole?</p> <p>(c) After coming out of the prison how often did Probation officer visit you? [1. Very Often, 2. Often, 3. Sometimes, 4. Hardly, 5. NA] [Once in a month/ Once in two months/ Never]</p> <p>(d) Does PO visit you or you visit the PO office?</p> <p>(e) Were you made aware of the conditions of premature release? [1 Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p> <p>(f) Did Probation Officer explain to you about it?</p> <p>(g) Can you explain what are the ways in which Probation Officer is helping you settle down after the prison life?</p> <p>(h) Can you elaborate what more Probation Officers could have done for you?</p>
22	<p>(a) Are you aware of the resources/ welfare services available to released prisoners? [1. Yes 2.No]</p> <p>(b) From whom do you get this information about the resources/ welfare services? (<i>specify</i>)</p> <p>(c) Did you find any difficulty in finding a house? (<i>if they have relocated after imprisonment</i>) [1. Yes 2. No 3.NA]</p> <p>(d) Are you getting any loan / subsidy from Government/LSG? NGO for your job start-ups/ housing/anything? [1. Yes 2. No 3.NA]</p> <p>(e) If yes, (specify about the loan/subsidy from Government/ NGO) <i>specify about the agency that helped you</i></p> <p>(f) If no, have you applied/ enquired for loan or subsidy? [1. Yes 2. No 3.NA] (<i>give reasons if not enquired about any welfare schemes and the present status</i>)</p> <p>(g) Are you in possession of these documents: (<i>please list</i>) voting list enrolment, ration card, id card, health card/insurance/ MNREGA/ pensions- old age, widow and so on.</p> <p>(h) Have the prison authorities helped you in getting any ID proof? [1. Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p> <p>(i) Have you availed/ received any family support during or after your prison tenure as part of welfare scheme? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(j) If Yes, what kind of facility was that you received as family support? [for children-day-care/ schooling/ scholarships/ boarding/ study loan/ subsidised welfare]</p> <p>(k) Did you change the place of your residence after imprisonment? [1. Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p> <p>(l) If yes, why? (<i>please elaborate about the reason for changing your residence</i>)</p>

	<p>(m) Have you been denied from getting welfare services/schemes/ while looking for jobs/ applying for loans/ benefits? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(n) If yes, specify (<i>challenges and problems</i> you faced while looking for welfare schemes)</p>
23	<p>(a) Did you get any specific guidance or advice from anyone regarding starting a new life after release from the prison?</p> <p>(b) What was the role of fellow prisoners those who had early release?</p>
24	<p>(a) Can you briefly explain the difficulties you faced immediately after the release? (<i>detail if any</i>)</p> <p>(b) Did you find any difficulty in socialising with the people around you? (<i>for e.g. attending common programmes/ gatherings/ celebrations/ meeting them in person/ pilgrimage</i>) [1. Very Difficult, 2. Difficult, 3. Somewhat Difficult, 4. Not Difficult]</p> <p>(c) Are you able to keep good relationships with family and friends? (<i>visits /travel by friends and family</i>) [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(d) Are you invited for any family function or community affairs? [5. Very Often, 4. Often, 3. Sometimes, 2. Hardly, 1. NA]</p> <p>(e) Are you given importance in the family/social circle? (<i>role in family rituals, decision making etc.</i>) [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(f) Do you purposefully avoid such situations where you are invited? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(g) Are you able to get enough friends to associate with? (<i>old acquaintance/ new friendships</i>) [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(h) Do you find it difficulty in establishing your identity (e.g. proving your innocence/ showing your changed personality/ introducing yourself)?</p> <p>(i) Do you have any membership with informal groups/associations/political parties etc. [Yes/ No]</p> <p>(j) If yes, are you an active member in the group? [1. Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p> <p>(k) Did they support you in getting any welfare/ services? [1. Yes 2. No 3. NA]</p> <p>(l) Is the community receptive/ welcoming/ able to get along well/ inclusive? (<i>welcoming you for their functions/ including you in decisions and so on</i>)</p> <p>(m) Have you engaged in any programmes or activities done in the community after your release? (<i>can detail</i>)</p> <p>(n) How much could you adapt to the current technologies?</p>

25	<p>(a) Are you an active member in your religious sect? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, how often you attend it? [1. Very often, 2. Often, 3. Sometimes, 4. Hardly, 5. Not at all]</p>
26	<p>(a) Mention some of your most happy moments after release. (<i>specify and detail</i>)</p> <p>(b) Mention some of the saddest moments. (<i>specify and detail if willing</i>)</p> <p>(c) What do you do when you are upset? (<i>can probe into some factors based on the interview</i>)</p> <p>(d) What was the last celebration you had in your family? (<i>give details</i>) How did you celebrate it? (<i>specify</i>)</p>
27	<p>(a) Have you faced any harassment/ been put to shame/ accused of any petty crimes by the police authorities after your release? [1. Yes 2. Somewhat 3. No]</p> <p>(b) Were you asked of any bribe from government departments or officials for getting things done? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(c) Have you been made to wait/ put to shame when seeking help from any government departments? (<i>can detail on the incident if willing</i>)</p> <p>(d) Did you face any family problem once you came back?</p> <p>(e) How have you overcome these feelings while in your life outside prison? (<i>e.g. Dealing with anger, hatred, isolation, stigma, facing victim, feeling of loss, detachment from family, family conflict, family separation... etc if applicable</i>)</p>
28	<p>(a) Do you have any suggestions to put forward in improving your life (within the prison /outside) from the part of government/ NGOs? [1. Yes 2. No]</p> <p>(b) If yes, specify the measures for improving your life that should have been offered from external agencies</p>

Comments:

Name & Signature of the Investigator: