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”You can dance, you can sing. You do not need alcohol to do these things.”

Fighting substance abuse on Sri Lanka with social policy

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Abstract

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The aim with our study was to explore ADIC's policy work in the field of substance abuse and the process of implementation of policies on Sri Lanka. We chose a qualitative method were we interviewed six professionals. The theoretical concepts of welfare regimes and social policy approaches were used to analyse our empirical material. Our findings showed that ADIC were working with policies in two directions; implementation- and formulation of social policies. The organisation presented implementation of policies as their main field where they aimed for the government and community to take more legal action against alcohol consumption. They did so through education and information to people in various positions. The second field was formulation of policies where they aimed for stricter alcohol policies and zero-tolerance, by lobbying ideas and suggestions to the government. This controlling and restrictive approach towards policies characterises the criminal justice approach. We identified Sri Lanka as an informal security regime where the government played a marginal role in social welfare, only providing security to the poorest. This resulted in NGO's being a common feature on Sri Lanka, thus people had to rely on these informal social networks. ADIC's social work through social policies consisted mainly of changing people's behaviour and attitudes towards alcohol in society and working as a pressure group to achieve desired results.

Keywords: Sri Lanka, social policy, welfare regimes, social policy approaches, substance abuse.

Acknowledgements

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1. Problem statement

Substance abuse is an acknowledged social problem and it has become one of the biggest health threats throughout the world with a wide range of consequences for the individual. The consumption of alcohol can cause both physical and psychological diseases, including mental disorders and liver diseases (WHO, 2016a). Statistics show that 3.3 million people die each year due to the use of alcohol (WHO, 2016b). World Health Organisation's publication of 2014, shows that the consumption of alcohol is increasing on Sri Lanka with all of the related consequences mentioned above. Another research done by WHO shows that the consumption of alcohol can be related to the sociocultural setting in which it is consumed (2006, p. 53). Different factor such as cultural norms, alcohol industry, policies etc. affects the consumption and its' consequences (WHO, 2009, pp. 1-2). Aside from the harmful consequences for the individual, consumption of alcohol can also be seen as an economic or social cost in society because of its connection to poverty, violence and crime etc. However, it is viewed, as a social-, individual- or economic problem, alcohol abuse is a recognized problem for social work.

Social problems can be reduced significantly by social policies as they influence the levels and patterns of consumption of alcohol (WHO, 2016c). To strive for the reduction of alcohol consumption and to reduce the individual, social and economic risks involved, different approaches are being used around the world. However, one can see that policies in the substance abuse field tend to go in three directions. One approach is to secure the rights of each individual and focus on social protection. The social protection is universal, meaning that each individual has the right to receive help regardless of the underlying cause (Dean, 2012, p. 102). A second approach is to criminalize alcohol consumption and to impose penalties on those who violate these policies (ibid., pp. 106-107). A third approach tend to hold the victim responsible for the social problem. The individual is held responsible for its action and society should not be accountable for it (ibid., pp. 104-105). Whatever social policy approach countries tend to embrace, it has its background in which welfare regime that is prevailing in the country (Gough & Wood, 2004, p. 312). Esping-Andersen (1990) argues that welfare regimes have a significant role in the context of social work and has created a model of three different types of welfare regimes. These regimes are basically constructed on either universal, family-centred or market controlled welfare (ibid.). On the other hand, Wood and Gough (2004) mean that none of these three types of welfare regimes are suitable for developing countries

and therefore propose an alternative model as an extension of the original done by Esping-Andersen. According to their model, Sri Lanka is an informal security regime (Wood and Gough, 2006, p. 1704), which briefly means that there is a clear economic focus in the country where social work is not prioritized. The government has only a contributory part in the broader welfare. Due to this priority, people are left heavily dependent on NGO's, community and their family household for social protection (Wood & Gough, 2006, p. 1699). In the developing world it is not distinguishing only for Sri Lanka to have an informal security regime where human welfare is being overshadowed by the focus on economic politics, but what is distinguishing for Sri Lanka is the way NGO's are carrying out social work when governments are passive (Samarasinghe, 2006a, p. 628).

As can be seen in the discussion above, social policy in the field of substance abuse is of great importance for social work and it is essential to study how it is being carried out when governments are passive. For this study we received a Minor Field Study scholarship from the Swedish International Development co-operation Agency (SIDA) to conduct. The aim with these scholarships are to give Swedish students the opportunity to gather knowledge in developing countries, such as Sri Lanka (SIDA, 2009). After receiving our scholarship, we followed out our study on Sri Lanka in an organisation named Alcohol and Drug Information Centre (ADIC), that aim their social work towards social policy in the field of substance use. ADIC worked with both assisting the government in formulating policies in the field of substance abuse, and also in implementing existing ones, primarily on a community level (ADIC, 2015a). They believed by working with social policy they could achieve real change in the field of substance abuse, which is relevant in the field of social work.

1.1 Aim

The aim with our study is to explore ADIC's policy work in the field of substance abuse and the process of implementation of policies on Sri Lanka.

1.2 Research questions

- What is the content of ADIC's policy work to fight substance abuse?
- What approaches towards social policy, in the field of substance abuse, can be interpreted in these policies?

- How is the practical social work, in the field of substance abuse, carried out through these policies?

2. Background

In this chapter we will describe Sri Lanka's historical background, including the country's long history of colonisation, and the social and political system. We will also describe alcohol use and social work on Sri Lanka. To grasp the context in which this study was conducted, we include all these topics stated above in order to later understand the results and analysis.

2.1 Brief historical background

Sri Lanka is an island in the Indian Ocean, southeast of India (Landguiden, 2016) with a population of nearly 21 million people. There are three major ethnic groups, there among Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslims (Landguiden, 2014a). There has been an ongoing war between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamil in the country for over 30 years, it was not until 2009 that the war ended and the Tamil guerrilla was defeated. Even though the war has ended there is still ongoing ethnic tensions that affect national politics (Hettige, 2013, p. 96). The people of Sri Lanka is through history controlled by a strict social hierarchy, a cast system, where everyone from birth is considered a given place in society (Landguiden, 2014b). The long civil war can be expected to be the cause of a weak cohesion in the country.

2.2 Social system - Forming welfare, the colonisation and its impact

Sri Lanka has been under colonisation since 14th century when India seized power, it was then occupied by the Portuguese in the 16th century and by the Dutch in the 17th century. It was then under British rule during the 19th century and it was not until 1948 that Sri Lanka became independent (Nations Online, 2016). Hence, the island has a long history of colonisation. Does this have an impact of the social welfare in the country? Well the roots of the social welfare, in many cases, yes (Schmitt, 2015). In many developing countries, such as Sri Lanka, the social security system can be traced back to colonial times (Schmitt, 2015, p. 332). This has an impact of the social outcomes in such as inequality and poverty (ibid., p. 334). According to postcolonial theory, colonized countries had a different structure before they got colonized (Trygged, 2007, p. 26). The colonizers had no interest in the local culture and the social development of the country when they implemented their own models of social welfare. The British empire was the last to colonise Sri Lanka and therefore left a mark on their social welfare and social policy (ibid.). The change in attitudes towards alcohol has also changed. Before the colonization, there was barely any mentioning of alcohol, but in modern days it is a normal element in society (Samarasinghe, 2006a, p. 626-628). Alcohol is now portrayed in an

attractive way in various social media and it is a path that many developing, non-western, cultures has adapted and evolved into (ibid.). Further on, the British adopted a decentralized and passive view of the role of the state, hence they had fewer and more varied social security programs in their colonies (Schmitt, 2015, p. 334). Some say that this western welfare models do not fit in these colonized countries because they are based on different conditions and different needs. Therefore, they do more harm than they do good (Trygged, 2007, pp. 26-27). According to Hettige, colonization in general was on one hand developing for social work in the world, thus the concept of social policy was established (2013, p. 95). This meaning that the importance of policy work got attention and got widely spread all over the world. On the other, the colonization was not a great way to introduce social security due to consequences for the individual countries (ibid.). The results of the implementation varied a great deal depending on the country's own resources and previous situation due to the fact that the social security programs were not made for that context. Hettige means that it is therefore important that the current situation of social policy in the country are to be reviewed with this as a background (ibid.).

Although Sri Lanka shares much with other developing countries, the country's development path has its particularities due to the endogenous and exogenous conditions that the country carries since their independence (Hettige, 2013, pp. 96-97). Overall, the last recent decades, poverty has sharply declined. But even though income per capita is much higher than other countries in this region it is unevenly distributed and that leads to increasing differences among the population (ibid.).

2.3 Political system

Sri Lanka is a democratic republic where both president and parliament members are elected by the people (Landguiden, 2015a). Further, the country is divided into nine provinces, each with its own elected parliament and government (Landguiden, 2015b). Weiss-gal and Gal (2013, p. 20) states that in most democracies, such as Sri Lanka, parliament committees play two key roles in policy formulation. They possess a vital part in the legislative process and they also have an important role in overlooking existing policies (ibid.). That consist of inspection and review of the policies and also challenging of these policies. Further on they argue that in this process, organisations such as ADIC, can sometimes come in and be a re-

source of knowledge and guidance. Further on, these discussions can lead to policy change (ibid.).

2.4 Alcohol use on Sri Lanka

Research conducted on Sri Lanka by WHO (2009, p. 10) has shown that 53.1 % of men and 6.4 % women above 15 years of age are current alcohol users. It can therefore be said that men are the main consumers of alcohol in the country. Further on it states that the most often consumed alcoholic beverage by the respondents were legal country liquor (proximately 42 %), beer (30 %), and illegal country liquor (20 %). Home-brewed alcohol was used by only 6.6 % of the respondents. In other researches made on Sri Lanka by WHO, it is stated that the consumption of alcohol can be seen in relation to the sociocultural setting in which it is consumed (2006, p. 53). Countries in South-East Asia region face different challenges to policy making, factors such as cultural norms, alcohol industry, policies, legislation and enforcement. Also the medical and social services available and individual perceptions contribute and lead to the harm from alcohol use (WHO, 2009, pp. 1-2). As a consequence of the differences between countries, many distinctive strategies and policies, programs and attitudes related to use of alcohol can be spotted between countries, and even within countries (ibid.). To create effective and functioning policies, it is of great importance that they are adapted to the context of the country. It has to take a number of aspects into consideration, such as existing capacity and requirement of each country, match of the population group etc. so that they can be sustainable. Furthermore, policy making in the field of substance abuse must be approached as a long-term and sustained activity based on the sound knowledge of the countries different conditions, according to WHO (2009, pp. 41-42).

Babor et al. (2003, p. 6) argues that alcohol policies must take into account the causes and consequences when it is a question of health and social welfare, thus these can all be seen in relation to one another. Throughout history, there has been many attempts to control the production, distribution and consumption of alcohol with policies. There has been a range of different strategies, for example death penalty and total prohibition. These strategies have varied across the world, but nowadays alcohol policies are more considerate to people's right to drink in moderation (ibid., p. 4). There is a long tradition of policy making in the field of alcohol and the higher the average amount of alcohol consumed, the more social problems are

experienced by the society (ibid., p. 5). A relevant question is which role social work has in this context.

2.5 Social work on Sri Lanka

It is difficult to distinguish which parts of the Sri Lankan social work and practice that are indigenous, and which are not, due to fact that the Sri Lankan history of social work are influenced a great deal by international work from all over the world (Zavirsek & Herath, 2010 p. 834). The first attempt to established professional social work on Sri Lanka was made in 1952 when the Institute of Social Work was created in Colombo, this was after the UN promotion of social work in the world and the need for training and education in social work was identified (ibid.). The School of Social Work became a part of the National Institute of Social Development and the trained workers in different fields of social work. These different fields included voluntary organisations, private sector, family welfare, probation and prisons, health and community, and last but not least, rural work (ibid.)

The social work education on Sri Lanka developed a lot under the early 21th century, especially after the tsunami in 2004 when the need for social workers became more distinct (Zavirsek & Herath, 2010, p. 836). In 2005 the National Institute of Social Development became a degree granting authority (BSW) which made it possible for the master programmes of social work to be established on Sri Lanka in 2008 (ibid.). Despite this, there is still a great need for professional social workers in the country. Most of the employed social workers are still untrained and without education in social work, and even the educated social workers have a great gap to fill due to the fact that many of the students had to complete their practice placements at practices without professionally trained staff (ibid.).

Social work on Sri Lanka are mostly done by non-governmental- or faith based organisations and social workers working by own experience rather than professional expertise. For social work to be able to meet the need of the people on Sri Lanka, the resources need to be more focused on social development and there must be a recognition for the need of educated professionals in the field (Zavirsek & Herath, 2010, p. 836).

3. Previous research

A comprehensive overview of the state of knowledge in the field of social policy on Sri Lanka is necessary for our study, therefore we will include three chapters connected to social policy. We will start discussing post-colonialism and the forming of social policy, we will then present social policy in the field of substance use. Lastly, we discuss neo-liberalism and its affect on social policy. We used the databases LUBsearch and Lovisa when searching for previous research. We used following keywords; Sri Lanka, social policy, welfare regimes, social policy approach and substance abuse.

3.1 Post-colonialism, forming of social policy

When we scanned the previous research in the field of social policy on Sri Lanka, we realized that a large part of research took into account the post-colonialism as a factor why social policy is formed the way it is. Trygged states that according to postcolonial theory, the colonized countries had a different structure before they got colonized (2007, p. 26). Instead of meeting the local cultures and the country's social development, the colonizers implemented their own social welfare model (ibid.). With Sri Lanka's background in being a colonized country, we realized that this is an important part of understanding social policy on Sri Lanka today. Samaratunge and Nyland (2006, p. 349) claims, in general, that developing countries have a lot in common when it comes to social welfare, most likely because of the fact that many of countries are former European colonies that in turn gives them characteristics that are much alike (ibid.). They also state that post-colonial countries often have to depend on financial support from international institutions because they are in great debts since their independence. Further on are these countries often dependent of social protection from outside the states, such as NGO's, local/communal- and faith based organisations (ibid., pp. 418-419). This in turn, can be assumed being the case of Sri Lanka, a post British colony.

Even though the British government made the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1940 due to the social problems in their colonies, they still limited the resources towards social protection (Schmitt, p. 334). The act had only a limited allocation of resources for infrastructural, economic and social projects and they did not really induce the introduction of social security program in the colonies (ibid.). Britain did not actively support social security systems, instead they were aiming at workers helping themselves. Due to the British, the colonies should pay for the social security themselves by raising the revenues that were neces-

sary (ibid.). Due to this decentralization, where the British renounce their responsibility and distribute to other institutions, such as NGO's, the British colonies are expected to have fewer and more varied social security programs (ibid.).

So, from the discussion above, it can be assumed that the British colonisation of Sri Lanka has left a mark on social policy and policy actors in the country. Even though it has been more than six decades since reaching independence, the present state of social policy is, with advantage, viewed against this background to grasp the current situation in the country.

3.2 Social policy in the field of substance use on Sri Lanka

Zavirsek and Herath (2010, p. 832) claim that Sri Lanka's resources are not evenly distributed and that policies regarding human development are overshadowed by the focus on economic welfare. Samaratunge and Nyland (2006, p. 428) state that the consequence of this is that NGO's plays a great role as actors of social work and human development on Sri Lanka. They also acknowledge the total number of NGO's engaged in social development in the country is estimated to be as high as 60,000 and there among many foreign funded organisations (ibid.). Furthermore, they state that NGO's seem to have a number of advantages over the government in the provision of social services and they are a positive feature in the country (ibid.). According to Samaratunge and Nyland (2006, p. 428), an important part of social protection on Sri Lanka are the informal social institutions that help the poorest to survive in times of crisis. There is for example a large amount of community self-help groups at grassroots level to be found in the country, groups such as village development societies and women welfare organisations (ibid.).

Jayasuriya wrote in 1995 about the topic of drug- and substance abuse on Sri Lanka. She notes that there was a major constraint on law enforcement and professionals working with treatment of clients, education programs etc. in this field (p. 37). In the past, the government of Sri Lanka have seemed to be uncaring in the matter and no truly effective strategies got established. In her conclusions she could see a silver lining where NGO's and communities have taken responsibility for trying to reduce the consumption of alcohol in the country (p. 42). There have not really been any restrictions regarding alcohol until the year of 2006 when the National Authority on Alcohol and Tobacco act (NATA, 2006) was passed as a new law by the government. The law provides protection of the public health by giving power and dis-

cretion to regulate production, sale and use of alcohol and tobacco (ibid.). Samarasinghe (2006a, pp. 626-628) states that some of the main work in the field of alcohol abuse that has been in process in NGO's is strategies of removing the myths and the glamorized picture surrounding alcohol in order to reduce the consumption of alcohol (ibid.). Focus is on changing views on alcohol, both through the eyes of the individuals and also the society's perception to reach an understanding of the impact that the alcohol industry has on them. By revealing the things that people tend to use alcohol as an excuse to do and reduce the attractiveness of alcohol, research shows that alcohol consumptions is decreasing (ibid.).

Siri Hettige (2013, p. 97), states that the implementation of social policies is difficult in developing countries and that there is a gap between social policy and the actual realization of them. That leaves the country with a great deal of policies but with little implementation by the government. Under the prevailing socio-economic circumstances where there is a great market-driven focus in the country, she says that it is not very likely that this is going to change. On the contrary, it is getting even more difficult to implement sound social policy that have an interest in improving the quality in people's lives on Sri Lanka (ibid.).

3.3 Neo-liberalism

Zavirsek and Herath (2010, p. 831) note that Sri Lanka is one of many developing countries where neo-liberalism is prevailing. Spolander et al. (2015, pp. 3-4) explain neo-liberalism as an ideology that supports a capitalistic system by having its focus on economic growth and proposing that human welfare best can be achieved by the liberation stimulated of individual entrepreneurial freedom, strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. According to neo-liberalism, the role of the state is to maintain an institutional framework that includes and preserves practices like the ones mentioned above (ibid.). From a neo-liberal perspective, the less of a responsibility towards financial requirements the state posses, the lower the tax rates will get. This in turn will increase the economic growth and therefore advocates of neo-liberalism seek to foster private enterprises to reduce the influence of the state. The result, would be economic benefits for all, even the poor (ibid.).

Spolander et al. (2015, p. 5) further states that neo-liberalism can be viewed as an economic doctrine, yet neo-liberalism also sets the framework for political and social opportunities within society. The neo-liberal focus on individual responsibilities can clearly be seen on Sri

Lanka and it leaves a distinct mark on the social welfare (ibid.). By intimidate the promotion of solidarity and social justice through collective solutions, social services are limited and those in need are often to be seen as freeloaders (ibid.). Ward (2009, p. 2) claims that the contradiction between the pursuit of health and the pursuit of wealth becomes a central problem, or conflict, in this capitalistic system. Since neo-liberal ideology is built upon a system of material production and consumption, there are no such privileges as "production of health", that could be given fairly (ibid.). Spolander et al. (2015, p. 5) further states that the actual result of neo-liberalism therefore becomes widening of social inequality and a greater gap between the rich and the poor.

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4. Theory

The aim of our study is to explore ADIC's policy work in the field of substance abuse and the process of implementation on Sri Lanka. To understand how the social work in the field of substance abuse is being carried out on Sri Lanka, we take help from the concept of *welfare regimes* and how different welfare regimes shape different *social policy approaches.*

4.1 Social policy in different welfare regimes

Gøsta Esping-Andersen with his classic text *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990) classifies capitalist welfare states together into three different kinds of welfare regimes; liberal-, conservative-, and social democratic welfare regimes by, in simple terms, using statistical indicators of market, state and family which in turn generate welfare outcome (ibid., p. 48). Furthermore, Esping-Andersen argues that capitalist welfare states consist of a combination of the three welfare regimes, but where one of the three are more outstanding and in this way it is possible to group them together (ibid., p. 52). To present a simplified picture, he states that *liberal regimes* are characterized by a lean public social policy which focus on the poorest and the market allocates resources, social services and insurances. The role of the family and state is marginal while the market has a central role (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 48-49). *Conservative regimes* emphasize the role of the family and favour contribute-based benefits or insurances. In this setting, the family has a central role while the market is marginal and the state is subsidiary (ibid., pp. 49-50). The third one, the *social democratic regimes*, is characterized by general social security system in the public sector. The family and the market have a marginal role while the state is central (ibid., pp. 50-51). Esping-Andersen's model has received criticism from many quarters. Feminists have pointed out that the model primarily focuses on the experience of men rather than women and does not take into account to what extent states benefit women by enabling them by giving them freedom from the patriarchal control within the family. The model has also received criticism for not being able to fit into some countries, primarily the developing world (Dean, 2012, pp. 31-32).

According to Geoff Wood and Ian Gough (2006, p. 1697), the concept of welfare regimes was founded in being able to deduce several distinguishing factors that form the basis for the development of a country's welfare. One could see that neither markets, states or communities could provide the framework necessary for meeting human needs on their own. On the contrary, political economies that were able to balance these three domains were also able to devel-

op a framework more suitable for improving the human well-being (ibid.). Gough and Wood agreed with the criticism given towards Esping-Andersen's and as a result of this they created an alternative regime model. Their model is an extension to Esping-Andersen's model of welfare regimes and has been created in order to contribute to the understanding of welfare regimes in developing countries (ibid., p. 1699). In their model they present two meta-regimes more suitable for the developing world functioning as a complement to the classic welfare regime model; *the informal security regimes* and *the insecurity regimes.* These regimens include, not only the state-organized security, but also the security that is organized by informal institutions (ibid.).

The first concept, *the informal security regime,* reflects a regime where people have to heavily rely on getting social protection from informal institutions such as their local community or on family relationships of various kinds (Wood, 2004, p. 50). Security provided from the state or the open market are not to be reckoned with. It is a common feature for poor societies to be characterized by significant inequality where both community- and family relationships can be strongly hierarchical. In a regime like this, where the social protection is dependent on informal institutions and the hierarchy are decisive, welfare tends to be unevenly distributed (ibid.) Even so, these relationships contribute with some form of rights and do categorize as an informal security (Wood & Gough, 2006, p. 1699) The second concept, *the insecurity regime*, is a regime with an institutional layout which creates insecurity in the country by blocking the ability for informal protection to emerge (ibid.). Since the enhancing of security are not made by the government or any other informal institution, social policy in this regime is absent (ibid., p. 1700). People are reliant on protection offered by local leaders, mafia bosses, corrupt officials and aid workers, creating a vicious circle of insecurity, vulnerability and suffering (ibid. p. 1699).

In the result and analysis, we will be focusing mostly on the informal security regime thus it is here Wood and Gough (2006, p. 1704) points out Sri Lanka due to the country's characteristics.

4.2 Social policy approaches

Hartley Dean, professor in Social Policy, states that social policies are basically all about how people can achieve a good life (2012, p. 2). It is about understanding the needs of well being,

such as education and healthcare, and how governments can organize to provide the services that are necessary (ibid.). Policies includes a wide range, all from how the government should handle the country's increasing substance use, to how children should behave in the class-room. Even families have policies in their households appearing as family rules. If you look closely, policies are present almost everywhere (ibid.). Dean also points out that the amount on which the government spend on social policy differs from country to country, depending on the government priorities, political standpoints, economic situation etc. (ibid., p. 3). Social policies do not only protect the population's rights, they can also aim to direct the way people think and behave by creating social policies as a way to control and regulate (ibid., p. 11).

Moving on to social policies in the field of substance abuse, Dean states (ibid., pp. 101-102) that different substances, such as alcohol, has been used by humans throughout history and is a widespread phenomenon worldwide. But the way society views the use of substances differs between countries and regions. It is when the consumption of substances is classified unac-ceptable by society that the term "use" changes to "abuse" or "misuse" when speaking of sub-stances (ibid.). In a neo-liberal setting, such as Sri Lanka, Ward (2009, p. 3) states that a gen-eral approach to alcohol is that the state is not to be held responsible to legislate or regulate it. They use an individualistic argument where the state argues that they have not caused the problem and are therefore not responsible in solving it either (ibid.). In this way, all problems related to alcohol can be located within individuals. This means that both the cause and solu-tion will be find within individuals and the government declines all, or nearly all, responsibil-ity (ibid.). There becomes a conflict of interest between the pursuit of wealth and the pursuit of health in these environments, and thus there is an ambivalence in creating social policies regarding alcohol (ibid.). Further on, Dean means that there are different approaches in social policy that aim to discourage substance abuse in different ways (2012, p. 101) Among those, there are education and harm reduction strategies to help people and there are on a contrary strategy that wants to further punish rather than to treat those people for which the substance abuse has become problematic and dangerous. It all depends on the way society choose to view different approaches in social policy, and of course, the context of which they are con-ducted (ibid., pp. 101-102).

Dean means that social policy uses welfare regime theory to explain how countries are con-ducting social policy (2012, p. 30). To analyse social policies further he means that different social approaches that can be used (ibid., p. 98) and these can be connected to the welfare

regime models. So, depending on a country's welfare regime, social policy approaches can be seen and vice versa (ibid.). Dean presents three different approaches to social policy: *Rights approach*, *Victim-blaming approach* and *Criminal justice approach* (ibid., pp. 102-108). These three approaches take different standpoints in how to view social problems and the way to which they should be solved. One can not draw hard links between social policy approaches and welfare regimes, thus there are grey areas of interpretation (Gough & Wood, 2004, p. 312). But one can see, in a general sense, that the rights based approach can be linked to social democratic regimes and that the liberal-, conservative-, informal- and insecurity regimes can be draw connections to criminal justice- and victim-blaming approach. We will now explain these three approaches, to later in the result and analysis, analyse in which way ADIC work with social policy in the field of substance use and the way they intend to solve them with their work with social policy.

4.2.1 Rights approach

Dean states (2012, p. 102) that the *rights approach* focuses on the concept of rights. He means that social policies that are created with this approach treats social problems by securing the rights of each individual regardless of the cause of the problem (ibid.). Rights, in form of social rights, are concerned with substantive social protection rather than formal legal protection. They include both rights to resources for well-being and freedom from harm (ibid.). This means that individuals have the right to social protection and the right to get help regardless of the cause of the problem. For those who are consuming harmful amounts of alcohol and the different problems they are faced with, would understood as injustices and a violation of a person's rights of social security, physical safety etc. (ibid.). There is rarely any focus on who is to blame, and individual responsibilities are often left unmentioned. Even social and structural factors are left untouched (ibid., pp. 102-103).

4.2.2 Victim-blaming approach

Dean explains the the concept *Victim-blaming* as an approach, states that the social problem is to be found in the victim itself (2012, p. 104). The victim of a social problem is responsible for the consequences bound to his or her own action. For example, if alcohol abusers would not have been irresponsible, they could have avoided their addiction and would not have become a victim of a social problem (ibid.). This approach is also sometimes used as an excuse to policies failing their aim, excusing the failure by blaming, for example, culture (ibid.).

4.2.3 Criminal justice approach

With a criminal justice approach, Dean mean that methods of monitoring and punishment are used to reduce unwanted behaviour in society and to maintain community safety (2012, p. 106). By sanctioning behaviours as undesirable, the aim is to change the behaviours of those individuals and to keep others from going that direction (ibid., p. 107). Recently, this approach has gotten even tougher and are now more tightly regulated with new policy methods such as zero-tolerance of even minor offences. It is society itself that determines what it will and will not tolerate, and it is up to social policy to seek understanding of what impact it has for human well being (ibid.).

5. Methodology

5.1 Ideological framework of social constructivism

The aim with our study is to explore ADIC's policy work in the field of substance abuse and the process of implementation on Sri Lanka. We will approach our study with the ideological framework of social constructivism. Social constructivism sees nothing as a truth or constant, but instead sustains that all phenomena are socially constructed in the interaction between people. This means that this perception can be used to question the things that are perceived as self-evident (Wenneberg, 2010, pp. 10-13). The creation and implementation of social policies are contextually bound and differs depending on social setting, hence social policies are social constructions that depend on their social environment that have been created in interaction. This is an approach that we assume when we analyse the data, that social policies are created and implemented in a particular way is entirely dependent on circumstances and social settings.

5.2 Methodological consideration

To fulfil our aim and answer our research questions, we use a qualitative method. This method applied in many ways with our aim and our circumstances, and did therefore help us answer our research questions. In the initial face we researched the organisation's web page to get a pre-understanding in how they carry out their work with social policies. When we arrived on Sri Lanka and met with the organisation, we gathered a lot of information from their library. There among literature that they described as guidelines in their work. We chose the literature that we believed to be most valuable for our study, hence literature that described strategies and actions when it comes to working with social policies on Sri Lanka. The books were; *Strategies to address Alcohol Problems* (Samarasinghe, 2006b) and *Myths and realities* (Fekjær, 1993). We were able to read the literature before conducting the interviews which gave us a comprehensive insight of the organisation's way of working with policies. These documents were relevant for our study and has therefore been used in the result and analysis.

When we collect the data required for the study, we needed the professionals' statements and experiences on how the practical work with policies in the organisation were being carried out. The professionals' statements and experience was gathered through interviews where we had the opportunity to follow the direction that the person we interviewed led us (Bryman, 2013, p. 430). A method with interviews gave us a generous insight to people's experiences,

opinions and aspirations (May, 1997, p. 148). It also captured the social settings as it was experienced by the respondents whom were active in the organisation, otherwise a lot of information would be expected to have gotten lost. We interviewed six professionals working at the organisation regarding social policies. When it comes to the number of interviews, it should be as many and as much as needed to answer the research questions (Bryman, 2013, pp. 436-437). It was therefore not possible to know in advance, before we started to collect data, how many interviews that would be necessary. Given the limitation of the thesis size and time frame, we decided to restrict our sample to six interviews. We did the interviews in person and we preferred to do it where the professionals did their practice, that will say, at ADIC. By being in the environment of the organisation we got an even better understanding and insight of the work that was carried out.

When first starting to conduct our study, we used the term "substance" as a broad term. But when we met with the organisation we realized that their work was mainly directed towards alcohol, therefore we changed our main focus from substance to alcohol instead. Due to the fact that we did our study in a different context than we were used to, we did not have the same general knowledge about the social context as we would have had if we were conducting the study in our home country. Even though we were able to do preparatory work about Sri Lanka, we still did not expect to be able to grasp the entire social context. Therefore, it was of great importance that we carried out the interviews with an open mind and with an interview strategy that allowed the respondents to formulate the answers in their own way. A semi structured interview allowed us to do just that. We were given the opportunity to get detailed answers from our respondents and we were also able to ask follow-up questions to get the amount of information that we needed (Bryman, 2013, p. 415). To structure our interviews, we used themes of formulation- and implementation of social policies.

5.3 Process of selection

5.3.1 Selection of the organisation

After deciding what kind of data is needed to answer the research questions, next step was to figure out what kind of object, in our case organisation, would contain the answers to fulfil the aim. Questions we had to ask ourselves were what social setting, target group, city/countryside etc. was appropriate (Ahrne & Svensson, 2011, pp. 23-25). We were looking for an organisation working actively with policy in the field of substance abuse and we found

ADIC. We searched online with keywords such as; Sri Lanka, substance abuse/use, treatment, preventive work, social policy, policy work etc. organisations such as NDDCB (National Dangerous Drug Control Board, which is a government institution on Sri Lanka) and WHO (World Health organisation) with a country profile appeared, and there among we also found ADIC. Different newspaper articles mentioned ADIC also appeared which made us curious about the organisation and its work. ADIC seemed to be well established, in that sense that the organisation had a long history of working with social policy within the field substance use.

5.3.2 Selection of the respondents

To get the data that we required we used a targeted selection to target respondents that were relevant to our research questions (Bryman, 2013, p. 434). We wanted to interview professionals that had long experience working with social policy, thus we expected them to be able to give us valuable information. To choose our respondents, we used a theoretical selection to gather enough respondents required to collect our data. To reach the most relevant individuals to interview, we had a meeting with the liaison officer of the organisation to discuss what people would be a great fit. After that she assisted us getting in contact with these professionals in leading positions of the organisation who worked with social policy. It was a mix of getting the interviewees assigned to us and selecting ourselves, thus we did not know which professionals would be the best fit and trusted her in her suggestions and we were dependent on her to put us in contact with these professionals.

We interviewed six professionals working in the organisation ADIC. They all had leading positions working with social policy but in various divisions in the organisation. The respondents will be showcased through individual quotations and also in common views of the professionals. We value their anonymity and will therefore not cite their real names. We will instead use numbers when presenting quotations; R1 (Respondent 1), R2, R3, etc.

5.4 Ethical considerations

While conducting our study, there were some basic ethical considerations that we as researchers had to keep in mind. There are four ethical principles that are crucial for a study, these are; information requirements, requirement of consent, requirements of confidentiality and requirements of use (Bryman, 2013, p. 131).

Information requirements and requirement of consent means that the researchers have to inform the respondents of the aim of the study, that it is voluntarily and that they have a right to determine their involvement (Bryman, 2013, p. 131). In a qualitative interview, the consent appears and is underlying when the respondent accepts to be interviewed (Kalman & Lövgren, 2012, p. 32). We also have to inform the respondents that they have the right to drop off at any time and that they can choose not to answer certain questions (Bryman, 2013, p. 131). At a first stage we asked professionals in the organisation if they wanted to participate in the study. When we planned the time and place for the interviews, they were accepting their involvement and in that way we received a consent.

The requirement of confidentiality and requirement of use means that personal data and gathered information about the respondents had to be handled with great confidentiality. The respondents also had to be offered anonymity. The data that were gathered, can only be used for the purpose of the research (ibid., pp. 131-132). Before proceeding the interviews, we clarified to the respondents that they were anonymous in our study and that we were going to handle the information they gave us with great confidentiality.

Because of ethical reason we did not chose to focus our study on the people which these social policies are directed to. These people are in a vulnerable situation, that is why we turned focus to the professionals.

5.5 The method's merits and limitations

As mentioned before, the qualitative method has many benefits when conducting a study. It gives the researcher a chance to perceive the situation and the environment in the same way as the respondent. It is also an effective way to get behind appearances, hence, behind the organisations facade (Bryman, 2013, p. 361). In our preparatory work, we saw that the organisation ADIC had a well structured website that gives the viewer the impression that the organisation performs a genuine job. We wanted to find out if this picture was consistent with reality, and therefore, it was important for us to be present in the organisation and in the meeting with the professionals. This makes a qualitative methodology beneficial. It was also possible to get a more detailed research, that are of great importance to comprehend the greater picture of the situation and the social context, Sri Lanka. Questions such as "Why?" is sometimes the source of the full understanding of the social reality (ibid., p. 363). For example, in our interviews

there were a language barrier and statements could easily be misinterpreted. It was therefore of great value to ask "Why?" since the answer then gave us a deeper comprehension. It also gave us the opportunity to question their statements, encouraging them to explicate their answers. It was also important for us to be aware of the qualitative method's limitations. Some criticism is that this kind of research is too subjective. This means that researchers own focus and interest are the guidelines for the collection of data.

5.6 Reliability and validation of the method

It is important for a study to be trustworthy, hence, to have high reliability and validation. Validation is about how we observe, identify or measure the subjects that we claim to be investigating. To have a high validation, there are to be great equivalences between concept and observations. This is a strength in qualitative method because of our high participation in the social setting, that is the organisation ADIC. Reliability is about in what sense the study can be replicated by us or other researchers. This is difficult when it comes to qualitative method thus the social environment and the social conditions are always changing and therefore the result of the study will not be the same when replicating it (Bryman, 2013, p. 352). It is hard, almost impossible, to conduct the same study twice with the same result and that will be the case in our study on Sri Lanka as well. To conduct a study of high reliability and validation, we had to report a clear image of how we collected our data and how this match the reality.

Bryman (2013, pp. 354-355) suggests that to do a trustworthy study it is crucial to match the social setting that will be presented and the real ones that the respondents are portraying. To secure that the analysis was trustworthy, the researcher requires to report the results to the respondents, who will be able to confirm that the information is correct in our case that was difficult, foremost because of the thesis range and our time limitation. By sending the transcript interviews to the respondents, it was to be expected that they would have some objections to what has been said during the interviews. Editing the transcriptions would be time consuming and not appropriate to the thesis range.

5.7 Analysis

Once we have gathered all of the information from the interviews and documents, we had a lot of data to process and analyse. This happens especially when choosing a qualitative method because it generates a great quantity of written material (Bryman, 2013, p. 510), in our

case through the transcript interviews and documents. This requires us to sort all of the data to get an overview of the collected material. The next step for us was to reduce the material into a graspable size, therefore we had to screen and do cutbacks in the material. It was important not to lose the complexity and the shades of the data, and if we succeeded with that we would have a good foundation for presenting something substantially. We oriented ourselves in our analysis along our theoretical framework of welfare regimes and social policy approaches.

5.8 Insights from our stay in Colombo

While conducting our study in the capital Colombo on Sri Lanka, we stayed with a woman and her father in a suburb of Colombo called Mount Lavinia. They were welcoming, warm and helpful during our stay and shared many stories about Sri Lanka and their lives whilst living there. We met a lot of people in different settings during our two months stay, and we discussed a great deal about the social situation of Sri Lanka, as well as our thesis subject of social policy in the field of substance abuse. This gave us a richer and deeper understanding of the social context on Sri Lanka. People described a developing social situation in the country with better welfare structure including education, healthcare and a growing economic. When describing the economic growth in the country, some also mentioned that even though the country is getting richer, it is not evenly distributed. This implies bigger differences between the richest and the poorest in the country. When discussing social policy in the field substance use, it emerged that this was not a subject that gains a lot of focus and as a consequence, organisations such as ADIC were a common feature in this field. All of these meaningful exchange with people in Colombo became important for us and our study.

5.9 Our position

There was a risk that we would compare the work that was being carried out on Sri Lanka with the one that we have experienced at home, hence, from a social democratic welfare regime where social work has an important role in society. We both have experience in the field of substance abuse which could have led us to compare and analyse the study from that perspective. Also, when interviewing we were in a position of power in various ways. First of all, we are two white females which creates uneven power in the meeting because of a racial hierarchy. Another reason was that one of ADIC's main sponsors is a Swedish foundation, IOGT-NGO. We could have been confused to be staff from this organisation who are investigating

the organisation, rather than students from Lund University doing a bachelor's thesis. It was important for us to be very clear about our purpose and aim of our presence.

5.10 Division of labour

When conducting this study, we have been working closely together. The work has been distributed between the two of us to make it more effective, but there has been a discussion throughout. We were both present when conducting the interviews and we took turns being the main interviewer and being the one observing and asking follow-up questions.

6. Result and analysis

In this chapter we will present an integrated report of our results and analysis on the basis of the collected empirical data. Our empirical work consists of material collected from six interviews and documents from the organisation. We will review the content of their social policy work, how their social policy approaches can be illustrated and how social work are concretized through social policies. By using our framework of previous research and our chosen theoretical concepts of welfare regimes and the concept of social policy approaches, we will fulfil the study's aim and answer the research questions.

6.1 Fighting substance abuse with social policies

The main division in the organisation, working with social policies, is the Policy advocacy programme. Their work with policies consist of a smaller section that contains *formulation* of policies and the main part of their policy work is *implementation* of policies.

> The goal of Policy Programme in this organisation is to discourage and control alcohol and drug use through the formulation of effective policies and implementing existing policy measures. (R1)

Their goal, in a general sense, is to control and discourage alcohol use through formulating and implementing alcohol policies. They want to reduce the consumption of alcohol through effective policies, but it is not clear what they mean by "effective". There are various ways to reduce the consumption of alcohol by using different kinds of policy approaches. If a rights approach were to be used, the most effective way of reducing alcohol would be to secure the rights of each individual abusing alcohol by ensuring social protection and the right to get help regardless of the cause of the addiction (Dean, 2012, p. 102). They could also be focusing on blaming the individual that is abusing alcohol for its own problems. Their social policy work would be reducing the rights of the individual because the welfare should not take responsibility for the individual (ibid., p. 104). Another way of reducing alcohol could be seen to be effective through the criminal justice approach. The social policies would seek to punish and supervise to change unwanted behaviour in society (ibid., p. 106). They use the term "discourage" and that does not fit into the rights based approach where they do not seek reason, but does on the other hand, fit in more with the victim-blaming and the criminal justice approach. They also use the term "control" which is characteristic with the criminal justice

approach. With criminalization they want to achieve change in behaviour among the citizens to maintain community safety. According to Dean (2012), it is also a preventive approach in which the organisation wishes to discourage people with prohibitions in hope of keeping people from a certain unwanted behaviour (ibid., p. 107). In the question about what their social policy work with formulation contained, they discussed in terms of prohibition.

> Formulation means developing and innovation. If we, for example, want to ban alcohol in public places, we always try to formulate new policies. The government draft a policy and we support to draft this policy. We give our opinions to them. What is needed, which laws are needed. (R3)

The organisation is not able to create policies by their own, but they believe themselves to be great advisers towards the government drafting policies. They state that they know what kind of policies that are needed in society which also reflects in the criminal justice approach where it is the society itself that decides, in a sense, what they will and will not tolerate and the laws and policies should reflect that. The respondents describe a collaboration between the government and themselves where they work as counsellors when drafting policies. In discussions about whether or not they were critical in their approach towards the government's social policies they spoke about amendments and tougher policies. The organisation states that they support the government partially, but that they often want to do amendments of their formulation. They do not agree with the government's level of penalty thus they want stricter, more prohibiting policies.

> We counsel and direct. Direct interventions of ideas. And also the director in the organisation is in the draft committee. Good opportunities to give our ideas directly to that committee. That is why our ideas are also in the NATA act 2006. Most of these we agree. Not all of them, but most of the prohibitions we agree. We need strong policy, more effective ones. (R3)

ADIC believe that they play an important role in the counselling of the government when it comes to policies. They were involved in the formulation of the NATA act of 2006 (National Authority on Tobacco and Alcohol Act, 2006, p. 261) which is an act that are aiming to regulate production, sale and use of alcohol and tobacco. In this act, the preventive work is all about controlling (ibid.). Samarasinghe (2006a, p. 628) states that it has shown that in the

past, the government of Sri Lanka has seemed passive on the matter of creating policies in this field and that NGO's has on the contrary been focusing on this matter. NGO's have been the ones lobbying ideas and data and pressuring the government to take action. The organisation was pleased with being part of formulating the NATA act of 2006 (National Authority on Tobacco and Alcohol Act, 2006, p. 261), and at the same time they were looking ahead, recognising that there were still amendments that they wish to be made towards a tougher approach. It has been stated in interviews that the organisation is in process of amending this act in hopes of getting stricter and more comprehensive policies regarding alcohol. Their aim is to regulate alcohol consumption even more by creating policies that bans the use of alcohol in all public places. The organisation's goal is to be a part of the process of formulating more regulating and controlling policies in the field of alcohol. This is characteristic in the criminal justice approach, where policies a more tightly regulated and zero-tolerance is the aim (Dean, 2012, p. 107). This zero-tolerance is also what the organisation is aiming for by creating regulating policies that bans people from consuming alcohol by making it a criminal act. By using this system, a process of punitive segregation is implicated. It effects the most vulnerable and poorest people in society and it also exclude people in periods of imprisonment. The paradox is that it is the people in the poorest neighbourhoods that get most affected by crime and unwanted behaviour, this in turn leads to an exclusion of the whole neighbourhood (ibid., pp. 107-108). We asked how they approached the government to get heard in the formulation process. The respondents stated that they got good response when they explained what the government could gain economically, when formulating stricter policies to reduce alcohol consumption.

> Especially it affects the economy. We always explain these things to the ministers and the president and after they want alcohol policies. ADIC's research shows alcohol consumption level, use age level and economic level. We show these figures to the policy makers. (R5)

They state that alcohol abuse and related problems affect the nation's economy and further on that this is a factor that the government embrace. They have a focus on economic growth, which can be seen in the neo-liberal ideology that is prevailing on Sri Lanka, according to Spolander et al. (2015, pp. 3-4). In the neo-liberal ideology, welfare is not to be received by the government, but instead of the free market. The government only want to maintain as an institutional framework and rather reduce their own influence. The authorities believe by not

being responsible for people's welfare, the lower the tax rates will get (ibid.). So the government, like other countries, is embracing policies that would bring economic growth to the nation but at the same time they are renouncing responsibility for the country's human welfare and social protection. In this capitalistic system, there is a contradiction between the pursuit of wealth and the pursuit of health. With a clear economic focus of material production of consumption, there is no prioritization for the health aspect of the country's citizen (ibid.). Hence, the government are leaving its people reliant on informal security such as NGO's (Wood & Gough, 2006, p. 1699). According to Wood and Gough, this approach is typical for what they call an informal security regime (ibid.). Being an informal security regime makes Sri Lanka reliant on NGO's such as ADIC to convince the government of the value of formulating policies. In this type of regime, informal institutions are the ones that work most actively with social policies, but can only do that in some measures (ibid.). Due to the fact that they do not have the authority to actually create policies as informal actors, the organisation state that they have to pressure the government to take action instead. As informal actors in a country like Sri Lanka where neo-liberalism is prevailing (Zarvirsek & Herath, 2010, p. 831), it seems that the organisation has to find arguments with economic aspects largely represented to get through to the government and get them to take action in this field. It is being left out if the government actually is taking on responsibility in the field of substance abuse policies or mainly providing them without the means to implement them. When asking about how the implementation process is carried out they claim that there are a lot of factors that play a part in implementation, and that the policy itself do not help most of the time. It was constant through the interviews that implementation of policies was the most important part in their work, mainly because they said that there were already good policies in this field. They explained implementation of policies as the government taking legal actions in already existing policies. They experienced this process as being full of obstacles.

> Many obstacles. One is political obstacle. You know, we educate people and
> we believe that we need some policies to implement, and policies to control
> consumption and the promotion. So we have policies, alcohol and drug pol-
> icies on Sri Lanka. But when it comes to the implementation in this state it
> is very difficult to implement. We do not have authority to implement the
> act but the government have authority to implement. We see promotions,
> they have some good act, but implementation is hard because of political in-

terference, institutional problems. I think the particular obstruct is imple-

menting. (R6)

The organisation used the term political obstacle, which can be connected to the previous dis-
cussion about the country's informal security regime where the government do not wish to
formulate policies where they must assist with measures of support and finance to implement
them. Neither are there any interest in making effort about something that are not bringing in
money. They state that it is hard to implement policies due the political interference and insti-
tutional problems. What they mean by "political interference" and "institutional problems"
are not being explained any further. The organisation as a whole believe that there are a lot of
measures that need to take place for the existing policies to get implemented by the govern-
ment. Institutional problems may refer to the division between formal and informal institu-
tions. This is a complex situation, Hettige (2013) claims that there are different factors that
play an important part in successfully implementing social policies and that there are obsta-
cles in the implementation process, mainly because of the market-driven focus in the country.
The main obstacle is the country's economic growth focus that leads to dependence of NGO's
and informal social protection for the people in the country. The resources from the govern-
ment are scarce which affect the implementation of policies (ibid.). The consequence in these
contexts are that the country is left with a great deal of policies but with little resources for
implementation of policies. When discussing obstacles in the implementation process the re-
spondents mentioned bribing as a problem.

We inform the NATA and the government but they do not take responsibil-

ity for that because sometimes these industries give money for their election

campaigns and that is why they delay their responsibility. (R4)

The alcohol industry is bribing the government, offering them money for their election cam-
paigns in return for them to not take necessary actions when both formulating and implement-
ing policies in the field of substance abuse. This interfering by the alcohol industry can be
seen in several statements made by the respondents, and the organisation utter this as a major
obstacle for policy work to develop. For example, respondents mention difficulties in imple-
menting policies due to the interference of the alcohol industry where they bribe the police
officers to not take necessary actions. The organisation claims that the formulation of policy
becomes rather pointless if the implementation of it can not be accomplished, hence this

averts the implementation of the policy and stops the policy from being activated. There is a strong contradiction between reducing alcohol due to its harmful effects and the economic aspect of the alcohol industry where the government are making money on the product (Samarasinghe, 2006b, p. 6). The government are easy to win over when it comes to money, and the organisation experience this as another major obstacle in their work with formulation and implementation of alcohol policies. Wood and Gough (2006) states that this economic focus and the government's passive way, are characteristic for the informal security regime where there is a great deal of inequalities in the country. As mentioned earlier, it also emerges that the country's politicians are being sponsored by the alcohol industry for their election campaigns, and that they therefore do not take responsibility in creating and implementing policies regarding alcohol. At the same time the politician claims that they want strong alcohol policies in order to win over the support from organisations like ADIC. The organisation claims that this is what politicians do, they say some things that are not always true, only to gather votes for their election. It seems that Sri Lanka has no politicians that truly care for this field and the social protection for those being victims of substance abuse.

6.2 Fighting substance abuse in practice

Social work practice in the field of substance abuse that is being carried out in the organisation, is directed to a community level and a governmental level. In previous paragraph, there was a discussion about obstacles in implementing social policies in this field. The respondents claim to feel powerless thus they can not take legal action if someone is violating an act and that this has led them to take action.

> Actually, implementation is a problem. You know under the NATA act of 2006, they mention authorized officers. You know, if someone is violating this act we can not take legal action. You know we are civil person; we do not have power. The law is there, but some police officers they do not know what is the correct way to implement the law. So we train authorized officers in training programs. As a successful result, in 2-3 years, a lot of legal action is taken place in that area. (R5)

One of the main measures that the organisation is taking is training authorized police officers, by providing lectures about the act and how to implement a punishment measure. They also

claim that it is generating an effective outcome, that will say, there has been more legal action taken place in some areas in the country since this training program started. The focus is on outlawing individual acts and making them criminals. They see substances abuse as unwanted behaviour which can be solved through punishment measures. They talk in terms of "successful result", which they identify as more legal action taking place. This social policy approach is characteristic in the criminal justice approach where criminalization and legal action is seen as the most effective way of social policies (Dean, 2012, pp. 106-107). Ward (2009, p. 2) states that in a neo-liberal setting, such as Sri Lanka, the government's general approach towards alcohol is that they do not want to take responsibility to legislate or regulate it, thus this is seen more as an expense than a profit. In an informal security regime this responsibility is instead handed over to the informal institutions. ADIC, as an informal institution, therefore gets approval from the government and the police department to take responsibility to train police officer in implementing policies. They prioritize training of police officers because they view this social policy approach as the most effective one. The fact that ADIC as an informal institution are the one providing this service to the police department instead of the state or the open market, is a sign that the state is unreliable in this matter. The citizens have to rely on these kind of organisations, which is a common feature in an informal security regime. During the interviews the respondents told us that the organisation mainly conducted these training programs in Colombo. This is an uneven distribution of resources throughout the country which is characteristic in the informal security regime (Wood, 2004, p. 50). ADIC are not only sharing their knowledge by educating police officers in training programs, they are also taking advantage of the officers experiences and former knowledge. The organisation is using the officers as community experience by asking them about their work with implementing policies.

> Actually our team, ADIC team, together we create and decide amendment, not just me, all together. We take some community experience, some officers and ask them; What are the difficulties to implement the act? How to change? We take a lot of information. We create amendment and then propose to parliament. (R5)

When the organisation is drafting and creating amendments, they take police officers experiences in consideration, asking them about the difficulties in implementing policies and motivate them to suggest practical changes. They claim that they gather a lot of community expe-

riences from both inside and outside the organisation, before they propose their amendments to the parliament. Samaratunge and Nyland (2006, p. 428) states that NGO's, such as ADIC, have a number of advantages over the government regarding social services. One of the factors towards this are the relationship between NGO's and the local community. According to Samaratunge and Nyland the relationships between NGO's and community are often better in comparison to the relationship between the government and community (ibid.). This can be seen, thus organisations like ADIC shows concern towards the local community and they are more present than the government. By collecting information and experiences from local community workers they, as an organisation, shows that they value their knowledge and that they want to collaborate. Hence, ADIC selects the police officers as their source of knowledge in this matter. Also by showing appreciation to the police officers work and by showing that they value their experiences, they establish a strong relationship. This in turn is beneficial for the organisation when needing these authorities to take legal actions in order to create a more criminal justice approach towards social policies. This can be seen as a hierarchal way of selection, as ADIC choose which group of people is viewed as favourably for their purpose. This hierarchy leads to inequality when it comes to social protection and this is characteristic for the informal security regime (Wood, 2004, p. 50).

Furthermore, we asked more questions about what practical social work they are conducting to reduce alcohol consumption. The term "funeral houses" or "funeral societies", are terms that appears in several interviews and are referring to community associations where people in societies come together and help each other out in times when family members pass away. When a family member passes, the funeral society comes together and help the family with donations and support. According to the organisation it is common to drink alcohol in these occasions, and this is something that the organisation is trying to prevent by motivating these societies to create restrictive policies regarding alcohol consumption. This community practice is mainly based on education. By educating community members they hope to challenge the myths of alcohol and bring light to the not so glamorized reality. It is evident that the organisation sees penalties as effective strategies to implement policies, and consider it a great success that these strict policies have been implemented in these societies.

> We educate community members. They take some decisions. Funeral house
> not use alcohol and tobacco in funeral house. Normally on Sri Lanka cul-
> ture, in funeral house give alcohol and tobacco. Lot of people come in the

funeral house, Sri Lanka culture give tea, coffee and other food and tobacco and alcohol. Especially in night time. Our funeral society take a strong decision not to give tobacco and alcohol, that is one policy on community level. If a member violates these policies, sometimes membership is closed and sometimes the donation is reduced. This community level policy is effective. (R5)

According to the respondents, national level policies on Sri Lanka has penalties but community level policies do not. It emerges that this is seen as a deficiency and that the organisation is working actively with creating more effective policies on community level, meaning that they are trying to introduce penalties in these policies as well. The organisation seems to aim for prohibition and tries to implement this on as many levels as possible, national level as well as community. Criminalizing of social problems are the obvious nature of the criminal justice approach (Dean, 2012, 106). Instead of actually going to the bottom of the problem, the main aim is to get rid of unwanted behaviour. The easiest way for the organisation to reach out and enable change of behaviour in society is to tackle the problem on a community level. Alcohol consumption is often present in various forms of celebrations and the organisation believe that if they can change behaviours in these kind of occasions, they can reduce the consumption of alcohol in the country a great deal.

Reduce the consumption of alcohol in celebrations, these occasions. That is a good way to reduce the consumption in the country. Celebrate without alcohol. You can dance, you can sing. You do not need alcohol to do these things. (R6)

They mean that people do not need to be intoxicated to be social and and to do things that they would otherwise experience as uncomfortable. When further on discussing implementation of policies in the field of substance abuse, it emerged that one of the most important factors in creating change in society, is to challenge the myth about alcohol. As an informal institution without the authority to create prohibiting policies or to take legal action implementing existing ones, the organisation has to find its own way to change unwanted behaviours. These informal social institutions are, according to Samaratunge and Nyland (2006, p. 428), a very important part of Sri Lanka's social protection. There are for example a large amount of self-help groups at grassroots level in the country helping the poorest out in time of crisis (ibid.)

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These organisations features a very important part as actors of social work in an informal security regime like Sri Lanka, though they all are of various kinds (ibid.). This organisation is, for example, focusing behavioural change towards myths and realities about alcohol. They believe that there are myths about alcohol that are glamorizing people's perception of the substance, making them believe that they want, or even need it. The organisation claims that there are a great deal of glorified ways of viewing intoxication and alcohol in general. A few myths surrounding alcohol were following; Alcohol produce a feeling of well-being and good mood. It increases the self-confidence and remove inhibitions. It makes people more sociable, relieve anxiety and increase sexual desire. They mean that all of these myths are being constructed in society for most part, and that it is why people in society consume alcohol. The organisation mention in quite large extend that they aim to change these behaviours by bringing awareness to its inaccuracy and rupture these myths.

Another measure towards bringing awareness about alcohol, is approaching and educating people in the health sector. By educating, for example midwives, in prevention of alcohol and drugs they hope to reach out to even more people in the community, using the midwife as an intermediator.

> To bring awareness about alcohol we educate midwives. On Sri Lanka we
> have a good health network and we work with that network to educate peo-
> ple because health network has midwives. In the public health midwives. So
> we collaborate with them to educate midwives in prevention to alcohol and
> drugs. And in that way they are going to educate people in the community.
> (R2)

This health sector, being one of the few welfare bringing institutions provided by the government, is useful for an informal institution as ADIC to collaborate with. Schmitt (2015, p. 334) claims that there are fewer social protection programs on Sri Lanka. The reason of this particular targeting of midwives is unclear, but since there are limited social welfare protection in the country, it is important that the organisation is able to contribute with their knowledge through formal institutions to reach a wide range of people.

As mentioned throughout the text, ADIC works towards changing, according to them, unwanted behaviour by bringing awareness to a number of false facts about alcohol. By doing

this they wish to reduce the positive image that they feel that alcohol have in society. The respondents' states that people only consume alcohol because they believe that alcohol has a pleasant effect. It is a contradiction between the effects from the actual use of alcohol and the perceived positive effects surrounding the consumption. The surrounding effects are created in society of the social environment, expectations of alcohol and rituals. ADIC mean that alcohol itself play a minor role in having good experiences while consuming. They believe that it is possible to change perceptions and correct misconceptions and that this is a good approach in their work with social policy in the field of substance abuse. They do not emphasise the actual chemical effects of alcohol.

> Otherwise I do not think it is necessary for medical treatment. In my experience a lot of people, they quit alcohol use simply. No complications. Maybe we come home to them and help. But it is not hard. (R1)

It is mainly about changing the constructed image of alcohol and its imaginary addictive features. Further on, Dean (2012) states that social policy is all about how people can achieve a good life and ADIC believe this good life is without alcohol. According to Dean, this is not an approach that aims to protect the population but rather they wish to direct the way people think and behave. In discussions about changing people's behaviour, it led to discussions about them claiming to be able to point out different groups in society that are more likely to start abusing alcohol.

> So we see that they are potential people to take alcohol, tobacco and other drugs. We see that they are studying carpeting, electricity and other things. We see that these jobs, occupation, that they use much more than compared to other people they use alcohol. So occupation reduce means that in our research we see occupations, they have some special, because we see that these leads to use of alcohol. You see the three wheelers? The tuk-tuks? The drivers have a tendency to use alcohol because it is in their culture. And also the drivers' friends insert alcohol. (R2)

The respondent portrays a picture where some people in society are more likely to consume alcohol and the reason for that is in their culture. There is a list of named professions that are at risk to start abusing alcohol. They did not clarify what they meant with that the culture is a

risk factor in substance abuse. The occupations mentioned above can be categorized in a general sense to a working class in society which could be a factor in their assortment.

Moving on to the practical social work in the organisation focusing on the government, the term "pressure group" came up frequently throughout the interviews. The respondents described the organisation as a pressure group that aimed to push the government into implementing existing policies and also to create new ones. Since the government in an informal security regime, especially with a neo-liberal ideology like on Sri Lanka, is passive and uncaring towards its people, informal institutions like ADIC need to be intense (Samarasinghe, 2006a, p. 628). The respondents stressed the importance of putting pressure on leaders to be able to create change. The need of creativeness was obvious thus the organisation presented a various measure to get the government's attention.

> We pressure with protest and also lobbying the policy makers. We do campaigns, protest awareness, also posters campaign. Now also Facebook campaign. Also in the violation, the law is here but in some places the law is violated. In that time, we also put pressure to the government. (R3)

ADIC works a lot with bringing awareness about alcohol and its dangerous consequences by conducting different kinds of campaigns. Further on, they state that small communities have little power in creating policy change but by bringing awareness in communities they will bring attention on useful policies and in that manner get recognition of the government. They are trying to convince the government that there is need for implementation of policies and also the need to formulate new ones by showing its value through campaigns. Wood and Gough claims that this is typical for informal security regimes where informal organisations such as NGO's are an important feature in human development (2006, p. 1699). They also state the importance of the government to take action in the cases where people violate acts. Dean (2012) states with the criminal justice approach that it is with law enforcement that society makes sure people do not violate acts. There is no consideration of the cause of the substance abuse problem, ADIC's work is limited to keeping the unwanted behaviour away and does not want people to violate the act. The discussion about bringing awareness to the government led to questions about the specific situation on Sri Lanka.

On Sri Lanka, if somebody needed a policy, say alcohol control, they would ask the ministry of health to prepare it. And as you know, the government in this part of the world, right, basically will become activated when there is some sort of pressure. This is the way in these countries. (R4)

There is a need for pressure towards the government for them to take action with social policy in the field of substance abuse. There can also be found equivalence to other countries, where informal organisations are putting pressure towards the government to take action. They do not clarify why there are similarities within countries "in this part of the world" but describes it as a natural approach in the context. It could bear meaning of the region of Asia, developing countries, type of regime and other causes. Samaratunge and Nyland (2006, p. 349) claims that many developing countries such as Sri Lanka have a lot in common due to the fact they are post-colonial countries. Sri Lanka, being a post British colony then have similar features to other British post-colonial countries (ibid.) and Schmitt (2015, p. 334) states that due to the British, Sri Lanka has fewer social security programs. This in turn could encourage informal organisations put pressure on government to achieve change thus they do not have those priorities for human welfare.

7. Conclusions and discussion

As mentioned in the problem statement, the consumption of alcohol is an acknowledged social problem throughout the world. We also note that social problems, such as alcohol abuse, can be significantly reduced by social policies. Depending on what the country view as the most effective measure, social policy tends to go in three directions; right based approach, victim-blaming approach and criminal justice approach. These different approaches are strongly linked to different welfare regimes, and the welfare regime that is prevailing in the country affects the choice of social policy approaches. Hence, there is an interaction between welfare regimes and social policy approaches. The aim with our study was to explore ADIC's policy work in the field of substance abuse and the process of implementation of policies on Sri Lanka. We wanted to research the content of ADIC's policy work in the field of substance abuse, what social policy approaches that could be interpreted and also how the practical social work was carried out through these policies.

In our study we were able to distinguish two areas of policy work in the organisation; formulation- and implementation of policies. We could identify that the organisation worked with formulation of stricter alcohol policies aiming for zero-tolerance. This approach towards the formulation of policies can lead to criminalization of alcohol consumption and further on lead to punitive segregation in society. Since the organisation did not have the authority to create policies themselves, they were working actively with lobbying ideas to the government. Through this collaboration the organisation got the opportunity to be a part of the creation of the NATA act of 2006 which gave the police department the right to take legal action in the matter. This was of great importance for the organisation thus they got the chance to influence the formulation of alcohol policies in a more controlling direction.

Furthermore, ADIC expressed that they were not completely satisfied with the NATA act of 2006, thus they wanted broader restrictions on consumption of alcohol, which they are currently working on. They were also working with formulation of policies on a community level, there among funeral houses/societies where ADIC encouraged more restrictive policies of the consumption of alcohol during funerals. If these policies were violated donations could be reduced. This way of working with social policy, where they wish to reduce the consumption of alcohol through punitive policies, characterises the criminal justice approach and in which we could categorize their work with formulation of social policy.

The second area, which was the organisation's main work, was implementation of policies. The implementation could be identified on two levels, one directed towards the government and the other towards the community. The implementation on a governmental level was about pressuring the government to take legal action, hence working as a pressure group. By pressuring authorities to take legal action against violation of social policies, the organisation believed the implementation to be effective. We interpreted the term "effective" as there was more legal action taken place. In this process, ADIC felt quite powerless due to the fact that they did not have authority to take legal action themselves, and therefore working as a pressure group were seen as an important part of their work. On a community level it was also about making authorities take legal action, but in this case by educating police officers in training programs. By doing so, they hoped for police officers to take legal action towards those who violated the law in a larger extent. Further on they used the police officers as community experience when creating amendments of existing policies. They also mentioned community work aiming to change behaviours. For example, they were educating community members and midwives in the public health sector in alcohol awareness in hope to change people's perception of alcohol, hence change their behaviour towards it. They believed that by changing the positive image of alcohol, people would be less eager to consume alcohol. This way of working with implementation of policies was interpreted to be their practical social work. Their work with implementation of policies pointed in a direction of increased control through police officers, changing behaviour etc. In their attempts we could see that this way of implementing policies is characteristic for the criminal justice approach.

The social security on Sri Lanka was described by the respondents as mostly family- and community based. They described that the government only provided a certain amount of social protection, mainly to the poorest, and played a marginal role in social protection. Hence, informal networks were important for people's safety. Even though the government were quite passive, informal institutions contributed with social protection. However, this security system tended to be unevenly distributed, but were still categorized as an informal security thus these institutions contributed with some form of rights and protection to the people. ADIC, as an informal institution working in the field of substance abuse, fought for the government's attention thus the government did not wish to take on responsibility for the causes or consequences. They could be motivated to assist with measures to implement policies in a greater extent when the economic value of reducing alcohol was presented. The or-

ganisations most distinct measure for being heard by the government was therefore to lay out the economic aspect of alcohol consumption, thus this caught the government's attention. The discussion above describes an informal security regime where the provision of these social protections can become unequal. Therefore, we could categorize Sri Lanka as an informal security regime where social welfare is mostly received informal.

As we have found out, formulating- and implementing policies is not something confined to government, but something that informal institutions can dedicate themselves to. We also recognise that economic policy and social policy are linked due to the fact that welfare services can only be provided and implemented where there is an infrastructure and means to fund them. The economic state of a country determines the level and extent of welfare services that both the government and non-government agencies can provide to its people. This leads to a social policy approach adapted to a state where there are no funds to provide treatment and rehabilitation in great extent. It is in this context that ADIC comes in as an informal institution to contribute to the human welfare.

Even though social policy approaches and welfare systems seems to be best working when they are well adapted to the context they are active in, different countries with different welfare regimes can learn from each other. In a meeting with the director of the organisation, it emerged that ADIC usually attends conferences regarding substance abuse. According to the director, ADIC gets inspiration from other countries' work in the field, as well as inspire others by presenting their own strategies. In previous chapters we discussed the western colonisation and how these countries implemented their own welfare models without taking the colonized country's context in consideration. During our contact with the organisation we kept this in mind, paying attention on how their social policy approaches were adapted to the Sri Lankan context and the current situation in the field of alcohol. This made us think that maybe it is not about finding the right model and implement the whole concept. Maybe it is rather about finding the strategies most suitable for the context and create a customized model that can be adapted both to the country's needs and resources.

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