



Prospect

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Grounded in curiosity about how rehabilitation is practiced internationally within diverse criminal justice and penal systems, cultures, and political contexts, this book sets out to identify common features of criminal justice in a variety of countries, while scrutinising their differences and gauging the degree to which the concept of rehabilitation is faring in the face of ever increasing populist and punitive criminal justice policies. As several contributions demonstrate, populist responses to the social problem of crime are not exclusive to countries ruled by authoritarian and doctrinaire governments. It is hoped, therefore, that by providing a counter-narrative focused positively on rehabilitation, the book might reinforce the point that ‘law’ itself also has the capacity to constrain rulers, and that ‘order’ in the form of social peace is universally approved as a civic asset.

Our intentions are one thing, but of equal importance is some clarification about what this book does not purport to be. It does not claim to be a comparative study because each contribution is presented in its own right and there is no permeative and connecting commentary. Our retrospect reflects on

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commonalities and differences but the onus is on the reader to apply what Hamai et al. (1995: 23–24) describe as ‘a comparative imagination’; and as they suggest, this requires readers, first to position themselves ‘as part of a large, variegated enterprise relevant to one’s own activities’ and second, to assume ‘a sense of underlying collegiality and mutual interest, but then to use this sense as a basis for exploring points of difference as well as similarity’.

Although the contributors were asked to take a broad view of rehabilitative work, we acknowledge that probation has been a cornerstone of efforts to assist the rehabilitation of people who have offended, and therefore it would be remiss, in an introduction to a collection of international criminal justice stories, not to pay respect to previous reflections on probation across the world. In one, Timasheff (1941, 1943) introduced readers to probation systems in the USA, Britain and the Commonwealth, Europe and, briefly, Latin America, Asia, and Africa; and in another at the end of the century, Koichi Hamai et al. (1995) examined criminal justice provision in Australia, Canada, England and Wales, Hungary, Israel, Japan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Scotland and Sweden. In the introduction to the latter work, the authors claimed it was the first world-wide study of probation but strangely made no reference to Timasheff’s earlier work. While it is important to acknowledge the contribution made by Hamai and his colleagues to an understanding of probation in its international forms and the reaffirmation of its importance, as indicated above this book lays emphasis on rehabilitation more generally and presents a more comprehensive examination of attempts to restore people who are dealt with by the criminal courts to citizenship and constructive lives within their communities.

The forthcoming Chapters will throw light not only on how geographically distinct jurisdictions define rehabilitation and accord its varying levels of priority, but also on the potential of rehabilitation to be a moral counterweight to the rising tide of populism and punitiveness referred to above. In broad terms, the three models of rehabilitation critically examined are positive change in individuals, reintegration into the community, and removal of criminal records, all three of which are associated with the restoration of citizenship. We asked the contributors to bear in mind McNeill’s (2012) four forms of rehabilitation, namely, personal, judicial or legal, moral and social in order to determine how common, or otherwise, they are to contemporary criminal justice systems.

Rehabilitation

As has been implied by the earlier reference to populism, the current and ubiquitous emphasis on punishment and retribution places rehabilitation in a perilous position in many criminal justice systems. It survives in political discourse and intent in as much as there continues to be a recognition that helping people to resolve offence-related problems has a part to play in reducing crime and protecting communities, but the punitive narrative often dominates. Any defence of the notion of rehabilitation, however, needs to pay heed to the complexity of the concept arising as it does from contested issues surrounding individual identity, the numerous and varied causal theories and the intricacies of the process of personal change.

Rehabilitation in its many manifestations has been the subject of criticism. These include, Wootton's (1959) disparaging observations on the uncritical belief of social workers in the unproven effectiveness of the application of psychoanalytical theory and their adherence to a magical medical model; Reid and Epstein's (1972) equating that belief with eighteenth-century blood-letting; C. S. Lewis's (1949) critique of a humanitarian theory that fosters unfettered treatment by experts and erodes human rights; and Bean's (1976) assessment of a social pathology model that in his view ignored the broader social context of offending, equated social disease with physical disease and expertly determined what was normal and what was good for people.

Embedded in the casework of many probation officers in the 1950s and 1960s in England and Wales the treatment model had a dubious and unevaluated theoretical base that accorded unrestrained power to what was in effect pseudo-expertise. More recently Carlen (2012: 99) has argued that '*rehabilitationism's* fundamental flaw has always been inherent in its individualism, routine targeting of poorer lawbreakers and irrelevance to corporate, political or other white-collar criminals'. In a reiteration of the point that rehabilitation's treatment model focused on individual psychological theories like psychoanalysis and cognitive-behaviouralism, Hollin (2001) also suggests that these theories and their association with determinism and pathology sit uneasily within criminal justice systems premised on notions of free will and individual responsibility.

Defining rehabilitation is problematical too. Bean (1976) argues that the definition is either too wide or too narrow with a lack of precision in key words such as diagnosis and therapy, is based on a simplistic notion of reform, and fails to differentiate treatment and training, and reform and rehabilitation. Further weight is given to Bean's argument by the number of models

recently identified by several academics (Carlen, 2012; Crow, 2001; Farrall 2002; Maruna, 2001; McNeill, 2012; Raynor & Robinson, 2005). They include an embellished version of the individual-focussed model mentioned above, now aimed at modifying behaviour and invariably based on psychological, psychiatric or psychoanalytical theories about how to effect positive change in individuals in terms of the way they feel, think and behave. In more positive vein the model has recently been associated more with the recognition of the damaging effects of prison and deemed as a vehicle for the reintegration of the individual into the community. Other less dominant models include, the judicially based cleaning of the slate or deletion of criminal records after punishment drawing to some degree on the positive effects of de-labelling; the social welfare approach aimed at changing the social environment through, for example, resolving financial or employment problems and stemming from the recognition of the State's obligation to address basic needs; the psycho-social model in which attempts are made both to change individuals and their social environment; and a corrections approach that combines populist justice and or therapeutic jurisprudence.

Recently, in a move away from psychologically inspired approaches some commentators have fashioned a reimagined rehabilitation. Carlen (2012: 100) puts forward the idea of a 'two-dimensional reparative social justice' that applies to rich (including corporations who should face appropriate penalties) and poor lawbreakers alike and considers the degree of harm caused and the capacity to repay. It would encompass regeneration of communities, community or neighbourhood-based education (as opposed to indoctrination) in citizenship and citizen rights, and active involvement in the process of change with the caveat that, in the case of violent lawbreakers, public protection would prevail. In this way, Carlen argues that rehabilitation becomes reparative justice with increased equality generally and before the law. In earlier work focussed on women, Carlen (2002) put forward the idea of *gendered justice* and questioned whether it is appropriate to address the particular problems of women, be they material, social or psychological, within a psychological and legal model that positions economic problems and abuse alongside mental disorder and moral deficiency. In a more recent treatise, Burke et al. (2019) have put the case for a reimagining of rehabilitation that incorporates the personal model concerned with personal problem-solving, but offers equal status to the judicial and legal model with its emphasis on the restoration of citizenship, the moral that takes account of victims and the harms caused to communities, and the social that responds to the criminogenic needs of individuals, strives for empowerment and embraces

collaborative relationships in pursuit of change. As these contributions show, reimagined rehabilitation, therefore, is not a static concept but a dynamic, adaptive one and this book reflects that reality.

Structure and Content of the Book

In order to represent rehabilitation as a global feature of criminal justice we settled on the continents (excluding Antarctica for obvious reasons) Asia, Africa, Australia, Europe, North America, Oceania and South America, and searched for representatives from component countries. Among the criteria for Chapter selection were knowledge of the mechanisms of criminal justice and the rehabilitation of people subject to them; specialised understanding of rehabilitation methods; a record of research and publications in relevant areas; insider understanding of the cultures and societies within which criminal justice operates; and a sensitivity to the experience of minority populations and women. With this latter criterion in mind we were determined to have a balance in terms of gender and ethnicity.

The process of identifying contributors was not entirely smooth, but it has produced an interesting combination of the well-known and lesser known, of well-established experts and those in the early stages of their careers, a variety of experience within the field of criminal justice, and the diversity that we were hoping to achieve. Some of the contributors we approached were known to us because of their distinguished records of research and publications; however, one of our aims in producing this book was to identify lesser known (at least to us) people who might have a valuable contribution to make from countries that have received far less attention hitherto in criminological literature. In this endeavour we were helped by Dr. Bankole Cole, Reader in Criminology and Human Rights at the Helena Kennedy Centre for International Justice, Sheffield Hallam University in identifying contributors from Africa, Carolina Aurora Villagra Pincheira, University of Chile with those from South America, and Dr. Leon Moosavi, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology at the University of Liverpool and Bill Heberton, Director of the Undergraduate Criminology Program and a Research Associate of the University's Centre for Chinese Studies at the University of Manchester with those from Asia. Their specific knowledge filled some of the gaps in ours. For our part, however, we began by scanning key criminological and international publications for potential contributors and when we had made our choices, sent a request letter firstly, explaining that the book *would* cover probation but have a broader scope

that would include parole, prison regimes, reparation, and reconciliation and secondly, outlining a suggested structure for the Chapters.

Through this process we brought together contributors drawn from the disciplines of sociology, criminology, psychology and law that together, we believe, present a genuinely representative, and in terms of gender and ethnicity, a truly diverse global cohort. The country and State-based settings reflect the populations they serve as well as important features of criminal justice in action such as the specific community-based and custodial provisions made for male and female defendants, juveniles and sentenced individuals, and the different ways in which they are dealt with by type of offence, previous history and criminogenic needs. Our contributors reflect on the work they and others have undertaken in different places with different people and include details that root the political, organisational and historical aspects of rehabilitation in the realities of lived experience. Many were not writing in their first language, and we have been impressed by the way they dealt with this. It has resulted in some challenging translation issues but also colloquialisms that add character to the Chapters. We hope the reader finds them as interesting as we do. As far as organisation is concerned, we wished to avoid creating the appearance of a hierarchy of importance and relevance so have simply presented the countries in alphabetical order.

Against the background of constant economic crisis in Argentina and the Criminal Popular Punitive Movement that has increased poverty-related crime and imprisonment in old, underfunded buildings, María Jimenez Monsalve, a Judge of the 5th National Penal Enforcement Court in Buenos Aires, casts a legal eye over the evolution of rehabilitation in Argentina. She includes the response to diversity and the rights of women, LGBTQ+ groups and vulnerable people. Sophie Russell, James Beaufile and Chris Cuneen begin their examination of rehabilitation in criminal punishment settings across the State, territory and federal jurisdictions in Australia with a stark reminder of how colonisation and stolen land has led to the over-criminalisation of First Nations People (their preferred term for the Indigenous population). They home in on New South Wales that has the highest prison population and people on community sentences than any other State as a means of arguing for a more transformative vision of rehabilitation in the country as a whole, a vision that includes as an exemplar, the concept of Healing programmes. In Canada, Katharina Maier and Rosemary Ricciardelli explore the meaning and practice of lived reality of rehabilitation through their research in which they interviewed parole officers and ex-prisoners to produce a reflection on clarity of purpose, accountability, public safety and productivity in relation to (in an intriguing echo of the spirit of Spain's *rooms*

of respect below) ‘healing lodges’ and half-way houses and parole supervision. In their examination of how these, and rehabilitation generally, fit into Canadian penalty they lay bare the structural disadvantages and barriers in relation to gender, race and indigenous populations and how they impact negatively on those ex-prisoners’ ability to take advantage of rehabilitation, and follow that with conclusions about the required policy changes.

Carolina Aurora Villagra Pincheira begins her Chapter with a reminder that Chile’s penal system began in the mid-nineteenth century with the first penitentiary in Santiago based on Bentham’s Panopticon and then, in what will become a repeated refrain in the book, charts the tensions between the increased use of imprisonment and the post-military dictatorship legal reforms entrenching rehabilitation as the main aim of a penal system characterised by private prisons, a new system of alternatives to custody, and a parole system all designed to foster rehabilitation. Enshen Li weaves some fascinating insights about rehabilitation into China’s revolutionary history. He explains how the hybrid penal system that incorporates rehabilitation alongside punishment and discipline emerged from Mao’s idea of revolutionary justice characterised as it was by rehabilitative responses to minor offending and suppression and harsh sentencing for those designated as class enemies, and how after Mao’s death crime was separated from the political struggle. He cautions that while there have been moves to modernise approaches to criminal justice and an expansion of rehabilitation through laws that endorse community-based orders the prime objectives of China’s rehabilitation programme are risk assessment and social control. Accordingly, its aptly named *Combining Leniency with Severity* (Bangjiao) penal policy integrates rehabilitation with harsh punishment.

Based on laws reviews, statistics, official reports and academic articles on treatment programmes and an historical review of the evolution of prisons in Columbia, José Ignacio Ruiz-Pérez’s account of the primary features of Columbia’s penitentiary system and the pivotal role of Sentence Enforcement and Security Measures Judges reveals a disregard for human rights in prison, overcrowding and prison violence. He describes treatment programmes for men and women (including the intriguing Preservation of Life Programme) that are adversely affected by the scarcity of human and economic resources. In reflecting on approaches to rehabilitation in England and Wales, John Deering and Martina Y. Feilzer reveal how a diverse range of rehabilitation practices, delivered by statutory, private and third sector organisations, occur at various stages of the criminal justice system and the extent they are linked to different theoretical conceptions of rehabilitation. They set their Chapter not only within an historical context but also against a background of tension

between a utilitarian approach with its emphasis on personal responsibility and a desistance focus on people's social capital, plus the recovery from the scars of privatisation. With echoes of the issues raised in Sophie Russell, James Beaufils and Chris Cuneen's Chapter John Whitehead and Lennon Yao-Chang explain how the Europeanisation of the iTaukei customary justice system of bulubulu (mediation between victim and offender, which often included reparations) has created particular difficulties for the prisoners and their families from smaller islands in the Fijian archipelago. While many rehabilitation programmes, such as the Yellow Ribbon Programme, are attuned to Indigenous culture, they argue for a more integrative design that focuses on other cultures and religions and caters for the LGBTIQ+ populations.

While setting his account of rehabilitation in Finland in the context of some other Nordic countries Tapio Lappi-Seppälä recounts the story of ideological transformations and legislative and policy changes over the last few decades in Finland that have resulted in the codification and total reform of community sanctions and a long-term reduction of imprisonment. He stresses the significance of Finland joining the Council of Europe and pinpoints open prisons as a defining feature of Finnish penalty and Nordic exceptionalism. (This Chapter should be read in conjunction with the Norway and Sweden Chapters). In her critique of what she calls France's schizophrenic penal policies, Martine Herzog-Evans asserts they are caught between punitive stances and a concern about human rights. She describes how commitments to the notion of desistance and restoration of citizenship through the expunging of criminal records have been undermined by the merger of probation and prison (prisonbation), a form of McDonaldisation, and limited resources. Hope, in her view, lies with desistance-friendly practitioners and a population less punitive than assumed by politicians. Kofi Boakye, Thomas Akoensi and Frank Baffour's historical reflections provide a salutary reminder that Ghanaian traditions of rehabilitation and reintegration were effectively eschewed by colonisation. In the pre-colonial Ashanti State there were no prisons and crime was viewed as a harm to the community to be ameliorated by a collective commitment to restoring the transgressor's place in the community. The prison, they inform us, was imported from Europe to Ghana in the mid-nineteenth century and remains the dominant conduit of rehabilitative practices, the probation service being weak and ineffective.

Rehabilitation in Hong Kong, largely modelled on the English system, has held steady and in Wing Hong Chui's Chapter he elucidates how. Remarkably, despite the return of sovereignty to China in July 1997 and an increasingly populist and punitive criminal justice culture, rehabilitation survives because of positive evidence of its success and ensuing popular

support. From that standpoint he looks back over the history of non-custodial and custodial sentencing, casts a critical eye over the theories behind rehabilitation and evidence of their effectiveness and ruminates on its future. Klára Kerezsi and Judit Szabó tell the story of how the Hungarian idea that the main goal of imprisonment is reducing recidivism emerged from the positivist criminology of the nineteenth century and how after World War I Stalinian criminal justice policy re-instated punishment as the tool of State politics. As we see from their account, a professional probation service evolved out of the 1978 Penal Code underpinned by a socialist model of rehabilitation grounded in education rather than treatment. However, the greater modern emphasis on reintegration and resocialisation with programmes such as the Prison for the City and Storybook Mums is jeopardised by concerns about security. Debarati Halder begins her examination of the Indian Penal Code with reference to the symbolic influence of the redemptions of the notorious thief, Maharshi Valmiki (who wrote the Ramayana Hindu epic) and the ruthlessly cruel Emperor Ashoka on pre-colonial history of India's correctional administration. She then breaks down the process by which it has been amended to fit in with the needs of adults and juveniles in modern India. With a different twist, Deirdre Healy takes a look back at a dark history of coercive reform in post-independence Ireland facilitated by Catholic Church organisations like the Magdalene Laundries, reform schools, and psychiatric Hospitals. She highlights how the changes in the 1960s and 1970s, driven by individual champions, led to a distinct form of pastoral penalty and how these progressive ideals were mixed with traditions that, for instance, did not always benefit women. In bringing us up to the present, she points to an emerging reimagined rehabilitation manifested in the role of the voluntary sector, social enterprise schemes and restorative justice initiatives such as Circles of Support and Accountability.

As Luisa Ravagnani explains, voluntary work has been a prominent feature of community supervision in Italy. In a brief analysis of the history of the Italian correctional system and the current legislative framework about the enforcement of the sentence and its underpinning fundamental principles, she draws attention to problems in Italy common to other countries that impede the effectiveness of rehabilitative effort, but adds the additional problems that relate to the omission of rehabilitative aims from the constitution and the over-reliance of the goodwill of probation officers and prison staff. She makes a strong case for a move to a restorative justice model. In an optimistic vein, Kei Someda introduces us to the more liberal approach to rehabilitation of Japan. As he notes, Japan was introducing volunteer-based

rehabilitation as early as the late nineteenth century at the time of the international origins of probation and the use of volunteers increased in the years after World War II. He brings us up to date with an introduction to the Offenders Rehabilitation Act 2007 that broadened probationary and parole conditions and paved the way for evidence-based treatment programmes and other important changes. However, what is distinct, innovative and influential about Japan's approach, no doubt derivative of its criminal justice history, is its use of *Hogishi* or Volunteer Probation officers and its Yellow Feather crime prevention campaign. The recurring theme of how colonisation has impacted negatively on indigenous populations is a feature of Karatu Kiemo's Chapter on Kenya. He introduces us to the 2010 Kenyan constitution and how it emerged in what he describes as a transitory society in which colonial-era crimes included in British Criminal Law such as vagrancy and trespass had put the indigenous population at greater risk of punishment. It heralded a shift from punishment to rehabilitation programmes and humane treatment characterised by more bail remands and prison visits. He adds fascinating detail about the particular plight of women enduring the tension between the threat to them while in prison and the dangers in the community.

At a time when Russia is waging war in Europe, Anvars Zavackis and Janis Nicmanis' account of how Latvia's criminal justice system has emerged from its experience as a republic in the former Soviet Union has a particular resonance. They describe how a country that in the last 200 years has experienced several invasions and endured the mass repression and harsh penal policies of the communist era, has drawn on the experience of other countries to shape modern forward-looking penal policies that have placed rehabilitation at its heart. In their Chapter, Jianhong Lui and Donna Soi Wan delineate how the Macau Penal Code ensures that sentencing, while having the notion of punishment at its core, is oriented towards rehabilitation and how responsibilities are divided between the Department of Social Rehabilitation whose focus is on non-custodial sentences, and the Social Reintegration Committee and Correctional Services Bureau whose collective responsibility is the reintegration of ex-prisoners. As the authors make clear, government policy is positive in intent, as is evidenced by the self-discovery workshops run in prisons; nevertheless they conclude that there is a dearth of effectiveness research with the result that knowledge about the impact or otherwise of that policy is limited. Since 2008, the criminal justice system in Mexico has changed from an inquisitorial to an adversarial model that itself has triggered changes to the design and implementation of alternatives to incarceration, increased national oversight, new models of practice and a new approach to imprisonment and rehabilitation. In this Chapter Corina

Giacomello introduces an interesting case study of a female drug user released on licence with an electronic tag to exemplify how traditional mindsets and the lack of an integrated approach perpetuate the criminalisation and stigmatisation of the poor and lead to the reproduction rather than the reduction of punishment. In Missouri there appears to be a more stable situation and a declining prison population. Kelli Canada and Scott O'Kelley remind us that the incarceration rate in the USA is the highest in the world with a continuing over-representation of Black, Native American and Latinx people, but add that its criminal justice system is one of the largest mental health service providers. Against this background, they use rehabilitation programmes in Missouri to illustrate how people are diverted or engaged as they progress through the system, and they do this using the five points of the Sequential Intercept Model. While the current criminal justice policy in the Netherlands pays increasing attention to rehabilitation, Sonja Meijer and Elanie Rodermond begin their Chapter with a glance back at the discipline of the 'spinning houses' of the seventeenth century and move on to describe the system of promotion and demotion to either the plus or basic programmes in Dutch prisons. They expose the limited interpretation given to the principle of rehabilitation in the Netherlands and how more emphasis is placed on an approach to reintegration using among other methods, mentors. While this is driven by a desistance model, they argue that it is undermined by the credence given to individual self-reliance.

Alice Mills and Robert Webb point to the paradox that Aotearoa New Zealand is reputed to be the home of restorative justice approaches but has a punitive criminal justice system that impacts disproportionately on the Māori who are overrepresented in prisons, community sentences and recidivism rates. The authors look critically at attempts to make rehabilitative processes more culturally appropriate for Māori through the adoption of tikanga (cultural) Māori practices such as Te Hikoitanga, a corrections-based reintegration unit, but conclude that the recent trend towards self-responsibilisation, 'risk' management and individual change-focused rehabilitation has led to the neglect of other approaches to rehabilitation such as strengths-based and Good Lives models. Beginning with Durkheim's famous dictum that crime is normal, Emmanuel Onyeozili and Bonaventure Chigozie Uzoh describe the failure of the Nigerian Criminal Justice System to deal with what they term an existential crime problem, and how colonisation led to the replacing of informal houses of detention like the Ogboni House of the Yoruba people with formal prisons. While they argue that the shift from punishment to reformation and rehabilitation has been undermined by corruption, inadequate support systems and lack of financial backing, they

point to glimmers of hope in the form of the Nigerian Corrections Service Act of 2019 and the first custodial centres for women. John Todd-Kvam's broad sweep of Norwegian penalty and rehabilitation provides the historical and contemporary context for mechanisms of rehabilitation and reintegration. With a nod towards what he describes as the dark side of Scandinavian exceptionalism with its poor remand conditions and treatment of immigrants, and harsh drug sentencing, he explores the thinking behind the rehabilitative efforts of the Norwegian Correctional Service. The Chapter gives a clear picture of how the theoretical and evidential bases of practice have shifted away from treatment and how the interventionist zeal of the State has become less oppressive and more informed by the two ethical and pragmatic rationales of rehabilitation. Like other contributions it looks ahead to some of the main challenges facing those attempting to promote rehabilitation and reintegration.

Ioan Durnescu, Andrada Istrate and Iuliana Carbutaru devote their critical attention to pre- and post-communist Romania, revealing how the reclassification of 'offenders' to citizens by the Penal Code of 1938 was later transposed into the communist regime's aim of producing 'docile people' of use to the State. They set out the process of probation's introduction after the fall of communism and the creation in the 2000s of 13 programmes based on cognitive-behaviouralism, social learning theory and desistance. Of particular interest is the reference to the use of a therapeutic community with women prisoners and a mentoring programme for Roma. Liz Gilchrist and Amy Johnson set their Chapter on Scotland against the background of the 2019 Growing Up survey that confirmed the continuing prevalence of adverse childhood experiences emanating from the poverty and deprivation that has a long history in Scotland. In an explanation of the differences in the Scottish criminal justice system compared to the rest of the United Kingdom they highlight how a community justice and social welfare approach, particularly with women and children, influences Scotland's approach to general practice and projects such as the Caledonian Programme. Shanta Balgobind Singh and Patrick Bashizi Bashigi Murhula introduce us to Department of Correctional Services' Batho Pele (people first) policy and the constitutionally mandated rehabilitation programmes in South Africa that are based on a needs-based care approach need and the targeting of problems associated with offending (criminogenic needs), but that are undermined by a limited level of political commitment. In addition, drawing on their interviews with prisoners, academics, and correctional centre personnel, they provide a critique of rehabilitation approaches and the reasons for their failure.

Although the principles of rehabilitation have been enshrined in post-Franco Spain's constitution and since the 1990s diversion from custody has been attempted through cognitive-behavioural programmes, Ester Blay tells a familiar story of a general hardening of penal policies, women and minorities having less access to programmes, and scarce research with mixed results. Although, following the death of Franco the language of law and order became less manifest, the criminal justice system became progressively more punitive. In contrast, however, in prison rehabilitation has manifested itself in the intriguing concept of drug-free *rooms of respect* in which inmates enjoy a greater level of autonomy provided they agree to abide by a stricter set of rules. Perhaps, a longer tradition of welfare systems and rehabilitation has been the characteristic of Sweden's criminal justice system but there too in the last three years rehabilitative programmes, influenced by 1990s *What Works* and incorporating the now well-established principles and showing some promising research results, have faced critical challenges in terms of access and quality as well as pressures for a more punitive response driven in part by the increase in gun homicides since 2005. As Martin Lardén tells the reader, prison and probation is a combined service that in the future needs to focus on better integration of rehabilitative interventions and effective transfer to the community. Susyan Jou, Shang-Kai Shen and Bill Heberton introduce us to Taiwan's approach to rehabilitation with reference to four key developments, namely, the Juvenile Delinquency and Justice Act of 1962 that introduced a juvenile probation and parole service; the extension to adults by the Security Measures Execution Act of 1980; the provision of a voluntary re-entry service to people attempting to lead offence-free lives by the Taiwan After-care Association; and the post-2000 governmental purchased rehabilitation services that include family and victim support projects. In a critical account, they argue that the approach to rehabilitation in Taiwan is formal and legalistic and identify the critical tensions that flow from this.

Anita Kalunta Crumpton explains that in Texas, which is nearer the USA template of high incarceration rates, in recent years there has been an ideological and practical shift to rehabilitation with its intensive supervision programme involving such therapeutic interventions as Reality Therapy. Her Chapter provides an overview of the complicated context of rehabilitation in Texas and critiques the success or otherwise of the crime control strategies. Nathee Chitsawang and Pimporn Netrabukkana illuminate the early Western influence on Thailand's rehabilitation policies and the heavy reliance on imprisonment combined with vocational training. Familiar problems of overcrowding and the high percentage of prisoners both male and female with

drug problems have dominated and stimulated a strong emphasis on rehabilitative programmes, such as the Therapeutic Community Programme that includes among other things, music therapy. They describe how approaches to rehabilitation and in particular the application of the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders, known as ‘the Bangkok Rules’, are hindered by overcrowding and limited resources. Philippe Pottier traces the history of the changes in Tunisia’s Penal Code from the nineteenth century to post-independence in 1956 and the period since the 2011 revolution. The Chapter contains an interesting account of how against a backdrop of a high prison population and poor conditions, the freedom of expression that followed the 2011 revolution pushed the government towards rehabilitation and prevention of recidivism. This is brought vividly to life by the story of the first experimental probation office in Sousse that came into being after the 2011 fire in Monastir prison that led to 70 deaths. The positivity of the story is, however, tempered by current uncertainty surrounding the suspension of parliament in 2021. Economic and social problems are a feature of Ana Vigna and Ana Juanche’s exposition of how Uruguay at the beginning of the twenty-first century has the highest level of incarceration in South America and how, in 2009, the United Nations Rapporteur on Torture, Manfred Nowak ranked Uruguayan prisons among the worst in the world, despite the Frente Amplio (progressive party) being in power. Although the government has undertaken a process of prison reform and introduced Reasoning and Rehabilitation influenced programmes such as the Pro-Social Thought Programme and the Theatre with Masks for 18–24-year-olds, they identify the structural challenges it faces. Finally, within the context of Governor’s claim, with little research evidence, that Virginia has the lowest reconviction rate (22.4%) of 45 States, Danielle Rudes, Benjamin Mackey and Madeline McPherson present the stark regional differences between the wealthy north and the poor west where confederate flags still fly. While there is a steadily increasing prison population, they point out that a large and robust community corrections system that includes, for example, a Cognitive Process Therapy programme for female survivors of sexual assault, gives cause for optimism.

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