



RESEARCH PAPER

Impacts of Vocational Training and Recreational Activities on Prison Inmates: A Case Study of Youthful Offender's Correctional Facility, Hyderabad Pakistan

Taniya Ahmed*¹ Rashid Wassan² Amir Bakhsh Lashari³

1. Teaching Assistant, Department of Criminology, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Sindh, Pakistan
2. Practicing advocate Sindh High Court, Hyderabad, Sindh, Pakistan
3. Postgraduate Scholar, Department of Criminology, University of Sindh Jamshoro, Sindh, Pakistan

Corresponding Author

Taniya.channa@usindh.edu.pk

ABSTRACT

The current qualitative study was conducted at a young offender's correctional facility in Hyderabad, Sindh. In-depth interviews were conducted with a sample of 07 young, convicted convicts and 03 prison officials who were chosen using a purposeful sampling technique. Furthermore, the data were analyzed by using a thematic analytical approach. The study had two goals: one was to examine what kind of vocational training and recreational activities are available within the jail, and the other was to examine the impact of training on offenders. According to the study, offenders are provided with various vocational training and recreational activities, and as a result, they have positively impacted themselves. According to this study's findings, rehabilitative education plays an essential role in offender rehabilitation by changing behavior and attitude, boosting self-esteem and self-confidence, improving employment skills, reviving humanity, improving cognitive skills, promoting growth, increasing literacy levels, and transforming offenders into law-abiding citizens. The following study recommended that every prison in Sindh should provide educational, psychological, recreational, and motivational programs based on reformation and rehabilitation. The government and prison administration should employ full-time criminologist specialists who specialize in specific areas of prisoner rehabilitation to ensure the proper rehabilitation of offenders.

KEYWORDS

Correctional Institution, Inmate Reintegration, Offender Rehabilitation, Recreational Activities, Risk Need Responsivity (RNR), Vocational Training, Youthful Offenders

Introduction

The Prisons may serve as incubators for violent ideologies or as institutions for reform (Porter et al., 2020). Historically, the purpose of prison was to place all offenders behind bars as a kind of punishment. In this manner, criminals would repay the debt they owed to Society for their criminal acts. In the past, prisons were perceived as places where persons were physically confined and deprived of various personal liberties (Tariq et al., 2022). However, prison law has evolved over time, and specialized methods of imprisonment have developed to permeate prison regulations worldwide. The prison reform movement did not emerge until the nineteenth century, when offenders' classification, segregation, specialized care, and vocational training were given full attention for the first time. Through the enlightenment movement and the concept of the

welfare state, the institution of prison permeated the entire body of customary norms. As a result of the work of reformers such as Voltaire, it eventually replaced the majority of corporal punishments (Gul, 2018). Marshall (2002) elaborates on how confinement was acknowledged in modern penology as a feasible way to reform offenders. The transition from insistence to torturing the body by inflicting awful suffering, mutilation, or excruciating extermination to developing upright citizens was a profound shift. This move caused the creation of new prisons around Western Europe and America and was intended to engage the prisoners through a variety of work, discipline and contemplation. According to Foucault (2012), jails became the sites of rehabilitation, reclamation and cure of the soul rather than horrible, painful sites. After decades of effort and investigation, it has been determined that 'rehabilitation via reform' is a more effective technique for combating crime. Thus, reformation through rehabilitation has been acknowledged as a 'right of the criminal' in modern times. This right is recognized to ensure that throughout the offender's sentence, he will get mentorship and rehabilitation services to help him get his life back on track and prevent a relapse into criminal behavior (Hart et al., 2020). Considering historically high rates of incarceration, harsher sentences, and a revolving door of recidivism, rehabilitation of offenders is the morally and fiscally responsible thing to do. For instance, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime presents two justifications supporting jail reform: economic and human rights. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2014) argues that "the adverse impact of imprisonment, not just on offenders but also on families and communities, and economic concerns must also be considered when evaluating the need for prison changes." In recent years, there has been increased pressure on policymakers and practitioners to identify and support evidence-based programs that help convicted men and women acquire positive attitudes and life-effective skills in preparation for reintegration into their communities.

In keeping with the trend of rehabilitating criminals, Pakistan's prison system emphasizes rehabilitation above punishment. The government and relevant authorities of the criminal justice system are aware that the prison layouts, the function of prison administration, and prisoner conditions have a tight relationship with recidivism. Consequently, the government seeks to improve the jail system. Under international law, the concept of rehabilitating a criminal through treatment is highly regarded. It is emphasized that treatment should preferably be extended through non-custodial measures of punishment, such as community sentencing; in the case of incarceration, the individual should be engaged in a variety of healthy, productive activities. Article 10(2) of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of the United Nations (ICCPR) is an illustration. Pakistan recognized this international law treaty on June 23, 2010, emphasizing the necessity of offender rehabilitation as a fundamental incarceration requirement (Tariq et al., 2022). Therefore, the Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2014), Inspectorate of Prison, reaffirmed that the Prison Department wanted to reform and rectify convicted convicts in their care. In addition, the former chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Iftikhar Chaudhry (2013), emphasized that modern prisons had replaced the draconian punishments of the past and that the new concept was to provide offenders with individual therapy and vocational training. A prisoner not provided with enough opportunities for rehabilitation through skills training and capacity building typically returns to the Society that imprisoned them as a hardened enemy. Because they view themselves as a victim rather than a wrongdoer, this type of ex-offender frequently harbours a strong desire for retribution.

Moreover, such an ex-convict is likely to cause more harm than good to a society that is universally seen as oppressive (Uche et al., 2015). This condition largely explains

why so many Pakistani ex-convicts become repeat offenders. As a result, the following research study was designed to investigate what kinds of vocational training and recreational activities are offered to the young offenders that are confined in the Youthful offender's correctional facility in Hyderabad Sindh, as well as the prospective impacts that participating in these activities may have on the inmates.

The following research focused solely on young offenders since young offenders are not adults and so lack the capacity to comprehend and appreciate the repercussions of their conduct. Moreover, a young offender's blunder can be transformed into a valuable lesson because they may have committed the act for a variety of reasons in Pakistan, studies conducted on youth crime link it to low socioeconomic position, lack of parental guidance, peer pressure, and an unfavorable educational environment which are outside the individual's control (Shah et al., 2020). Consequently, the best way to ensure that the youth of Pakistan has a bright future is to ensure that their first encounter with the law is appropriately handled. Furthermore, the vast majority of research published on prisons in Pakistan focuses solely on their issues, such as overcrowding, lack of medical facilities, and cruel treatment of convicts. However, there is a dearth of studies on rehabilitation components, which is why the following research focuses on the distinct advantages of prison, such as vocational training and recreational activities provided to young inmates.

Literature Review

The concept of rehabilitation has received extensive coverage in academic journals. The term "correction" is used in the fields of sociology, criminology, and criminal justice to describe the procedure through which an abnormal person is returned to a normal state. This phenomenon occurs when an individual's regular functioning is interrupted by a natural event or a social one. Assume that a criminal act results in the subsequent detection, apprehending, conviction, and imprisonment of the perpetrator. During his incarceration, he cannot contribute to Society and becomes isolated; he is forced to adapt to a new setting (the prison) that is very different from the one he left behind. This is when he could use the aid of an outside organization to reacclimatize everyday life. By doing so, he will be able to fit in with Society. This procedure may be known as rehabilitation (Bhutta, 2010). The study of effective criminal rehabilitation is still developing, dominated by the theoretical and empirical work of a small group of Canadian psychologists. Among their accomplishments are the "what works" research literature and the RNR model of criminal rehabilitation. The Risk, Need, and Responsivity Principles, first distributed in 1990, constituted the foundation of the theoretical framework employed in correctional systems around the world that use science as a foundation for offender rehabilitation over the subsequent two decades (Polaschek, 2012). The RNR model emphasizes the fundamental principles of risk, need, and responsivity to develop successful treatments for offender populations, with the primary goals of enhancing treatment for offenders and decreasing recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). According to the risk principle, offenders with a higher chance of recidivism should receive a higher level of intervention, including more intense therapy. The need principle argues that correctional programs should target changeable social and psychological characteristics associated with reductions in recidivism (i.e., dynamic risk factors or criminogenic needs). The responsivity concept states that correctional programs should be tailored to the offender's learning style, level of motivation, and personal and interpersonal conditions. The first two principles (risk and need) are applied to determine treatment intensity and goals, and the entire set of principles is utilized to direct the actual implementation of the practice. The RNR principles serve as

general guidelines for developing and implementing correctional programs (Ward, 2014).

Contemporary rehabilitation approaches also include the Good Lives Model (Ward & Maruna, 2007), Enhanced Thinking Skills (Ministry of Justice, 2010), and Reasoning and Rehabilitation (R&R) (Ross et al., 1988; Ministry of Justice, 2010). While several Offender Behavior Programs (OBP) has been criticized for attempting to resurrect the treatment paradigm of rehabilitation, others have been lauded for their success in reviving the concept.

In Pakistan, prisons are relics of British rule that were used to silence dissident voices and those who were disloyal to the British administration at the time (Bhutta, 2020). However, the theoretical objectives of prisons in Pakistan are custody, rehabilitation, control, care, correction, and community readjustment, indicating that the rehabilitative model of prison administration is in force. In practice, however, Pakistan's prisons are punitive due to various difficulties such as overcrowding, lack of competent staff, the inadequate criminal justice system, government disinterest towards prisons, disdain for inmates' rights, and outdated jail regulations. Deterrence, vindictiveness, and retribution continue to be the primary purposes of imprisonment. Since their creation, successive governments have not made prisons a priority. All international standards for prisoners' rights to which Pakistan is a signatory, as well as Pakistan's legal codes, stipulate that prison regimes must be rehabilitative. However, implementation has yet to be hampered by sweeping changes to its inherited and antiquated prison regulations (Gul, 2018).

In Pakistan, the rehabilitation plan is executed antiquated, with few program and trainer possibilities. According to information provided on the official website of the Punjab Prison Department, the reformation mechanisms offered to inmates include the formal education facility, religious education, vocational training including tractor mechanic, motor winding, electric home appliances repair, welding, motorcycle mechanic, masonry, auto mechanic, carpentry, hand embroidery, beautician, computer skills, sports (indoor/outdoor), and TV facility (Tariq, 2022). It is incomprehensible how providing a prisoner with cold water and medical treatment will aid his rehabilitation.

The Sindh Prison Department provides training programs for carpet manufacture, textile, carpentry, smithy, tailoring laundry, power looms, and assistance in learning to sew. However, the department claims that it lacks the funding to purchase raw materials and maintenance equipment for such training; they also allege that the smaller-scale work performed on a self-help basis is the cause for not attaining the desired results. Only three jails in Sindh, namely, Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkur, out of a total of twenty-five, have such a restricted prison industry. At the same time, the law mandates the provision of such programs for all classes of inmates condemned to harsh imprisonment. Correction is listed as one of the KPK Prison Department's primary functions on its official website. Inmates have access to four categories of psychological-ethical-moral and vocational incentive programs for this aim. However, the province of Baluchistan's prison website is quiet on this matter (Tariq et al., 2022).

In coordination with the prison department, the Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child (SPARC) provided recreational facilities to the Youth Offenders Industrial School (YOIS) at the Central Prison in Karachi in an effort to strengthen civilian and non-civilian capacity to counter violent extremist narratives with a particular focus on vulnerable populations. SPARC has implemented a program to reintegrate youngsters and teenagers into Society through tactics of good behavior.

Under this project, they offered them a healthy outlet for their energy through sports. Similarly, establishing a Learning Corner will foster an environment conducive to the youth's cognitive, linguistic, social, and civic growth. Additionally, SPARC will train prison staff on the Juvenile Justice System Act and how to sustain interventions over time (Business Recorder, 2019).

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) government is constructing more sports and training facilities in prisons so criminals and extremists can return to everyday life. In addition to volleyball and badminton courts, table tennis and snooker facilities would be offered in jails in Peshawar, Mardan, and Haripur, among others. "We have installed an open-air gym in Central Prison Peshawar so that prisoners who are suffering in jail can exercise outside and better utilize their time," said Abid Majeed, the sports secretary of KP (Pakistan Forward, 2020).

In 2008, the School of Fine Arts and Music was founded in the central prisons of Karachi, and around 6,200 inmates have taken classes there to date. Approximately 700 inmates are enrolled in the program and learning painting, music, jewellery making, and embroidery. This rehabilitation program has become an invaluable resource for prisoners. Although prison specialists admit that art is unlikely to transform habitual offenders into model citizens, they also assert that prisoners who participate in art programs exhibit less hatred toward other inmates and establish stronger relations with their families (Arab News Pakistan, 2021).

In accordance with the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, young inmates are required to undergo physical and recreational training during the exercise period. To this aim, space, facilities, and equipment must be made available, and the prison administration must pay special attention to the education of illiterate inmates and young inmates. Recreational and cultural activities must be made available in all jails for the mental and physical well-being of the inmates (United Nations, 2015).

Material and Methods

The current study is qualitative; this method is well-known for being significantly and effectively applied in research (Bryman, 2017). The data collection included visiting the Youthful Offender's Correctional Facility in Hyderabad in September 2022. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with male prisoners and prison officials who were selected using a purposeful sampling method. Using this method total of (10) interviews were conducted, (03) interviews were conducted from the S.H.O., senior police superintendent, and police constable, and (07) interviews with convicted male prisoners who had served more than a year in prison. For the convenience of the participants, all interviews were conducted in Sindhi and Urdu and audio recorded. Finally, the researchers transcribed and evaluated the acquired data by listening to the audio tapes and generating transcripts of the interviews. The thematic analysis method was used for analyzing and interpreting qualitative data; through reading and rereading transcripts, the researcher was able to assess the impact of vocational training and recreational activities provided to young prisoners and hence to achieve research outcomes.

Results and Discussion

According to the study's first objective, the findings revealed that the young offenders who were incarcerated in the Youth correctional facility in Hyderabad, Sindh,

were offered various vocational training and recreational activities. There were a total of 27 young male offenders in prison, with 20 under-trials and 07 being convicted offenders. It was a mandate that all offenders receive vocational training and participate in recreational activities. The prison administration also handed offenders certificates and rewards to keep them motivated to engage in these activities.

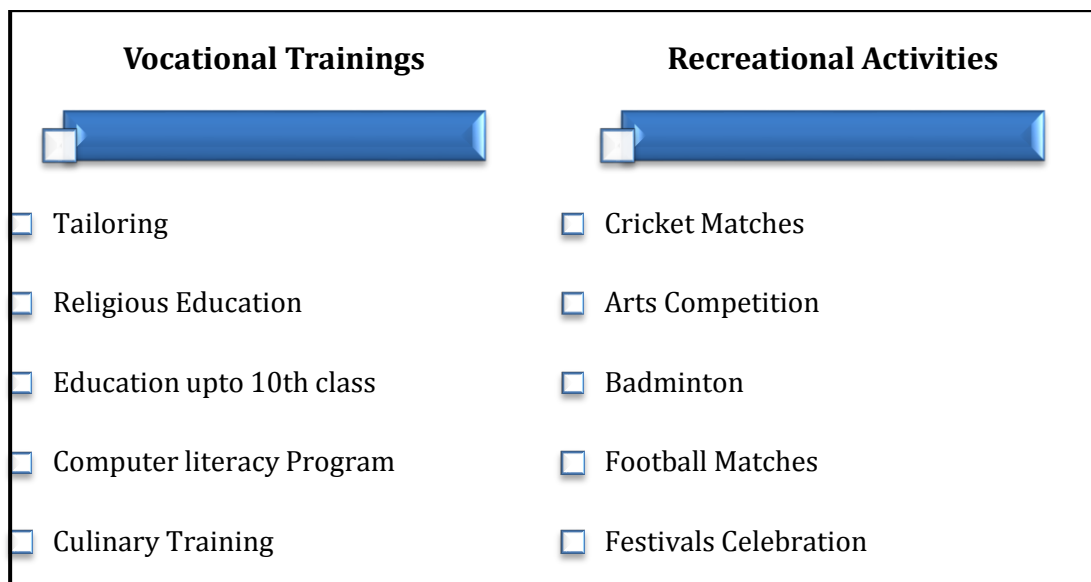


Figure 01 Vocational Training and Recreational Activities offered in prison

According to information obtained through interviews with prison officials, all inmates are given access to different vocational training programs and recreational activities inside the prison, as depicted in (figure 01) above. Offenders receive vocational training in areas including tailoring, religious education, schooling up to the tenth grade, a computer learning program, and culinary training. Meanwhile, offenders participate in recreational activities such as cricket matches, badminton, football, and art competitions, and they frequently celebrate festivals such as Eid celebration, one dish party, and Milad celebration. Offenders are frequently encouraged to memorize the Quran, recite adhan, read prayers, and recite naat.

According to prison officials, before enrolling in vocational training, most offenders could not read and write and did not know Quranic teachings. However, after enrolling and receiving proper education within the prison, the offenders showed positive changes. Within a year, most offenders could read, write, and become fluent in Quran recitation. Most offenders have more favorable attitudes toward the vocational training and recreational activities provided by the prison administration. The prison officials appeared to believe that vocational education benefits young offenders and reduces their likelihood of reoffending.

Based on the qualitative findings, 03 themes about the positive impacts of vocational training and recreational activities have emerged: Positive shift in Temperaments, Positive transition to Society, and Positive Improvement in Self-esteem. (table 01) Below is one statement from an offender and one from a prison official whose statements aided in developing themes. The identities of prisoners are protected using codes like P-1, P-2, and P-3, i.e. (P = Prisoner); further, the code PO-1, PO-2, i.e. (PO = Prison Official) is used for providing statements of prison officials.

Table 1
Themes and Statements of Offenders and Prison Officials

Themes	Statements
Positive Shift in Temperament	<p>'I used to fight quite a bit before coming to prison because I was very easily irritated and angry. However, after coming here and receiving education and ongoing counselling, I felt like I had changed a lot in many ways. I now notice that I do not get angry as often and feel much more relaxed and calm. Maybe I would not have committed crimes if I had received the same counselling from my guardians earlier'. (P-1, Age 20).</p> <p>'Many of the offenders were extremely violent by nature and frequently engaged in fights with other prisoners, but after receiving moral and religious education, we noticed positive changes in offenders' behaviors over time. They were gradually less involved in violence and fights and developed positive relationships with other felons.' (PO-1).</p>
Positive Improvement in Self-esteem	<p>'I was never good at anything, which is why most of my friends always made fun of me. But now that I'm in jail, I've learned a lot and won two cricket competitions. These accomplishments have given me more confidence.' (P-2, Age 19).</p> <p>'In prison, we try to build and boost prisoners' confidence through reactionary activities and vocational education. This is because many offenders feel very ashamed of their wrongdoings and think they are worthless and incompetent, so these trainings help them build a good image of themselves, which will help them return to society with pride and dignity.' (PO-2).</p>
Positive Transition to Society	<p>'Learning all of these skills is beneficial. I can work as a cook or tailor when I am released. I can work from home. I will not resort to crime to make money because I can make money by sewing garments or cooking food in hotels.' (P-3, Age 22).</p> <p>'Vocational training aids offenders in their mental renewal and transformation into new beings. Additionally, it aids in eradicating poverty by providing the necessary skills. Young offenders who are unemployed can use these talents to find employment and stop turning to crime to support their families.' (PO-3).</p>

The discussion was done following the sequence of the research objectives. The first objective sought to explore what kind of vocational training and recreational activities are offered in the Youthful offender's correctional facility Hyderabad. The results of the research that was gathered by conducting in-depth interviews with both inmates and officers of the correctional facility showed that the facility provided several

different kinds of vocational training. These training included tailoring, religious education, a computer literacy program, culinary training, and education up to the tenth grade. Additionally, the prison administration organizes various recreational activities for the benefit of the inmates, such as cricket, badminton, football matches, art competitions, and festival celebrations. These services are provided to all inmates, whether convicted or awaiting trial. These programs are provided to inmates so that they are rehabilitated and do not return to criminal activity once released. Education and vocational training are crucial components of institutional reformation (Azam et al., 2021; Esa et al., 2017). Education is the essential component of the institutions that assist felons in addressing their criminal behavior and progressing. Various rehabilitative treatments and educational programs are provided in institutions for the goal of rehabilitation (Hassan et al., 2021). Reintegration into Society as a law-abiding citizen is one of the most important goals of incarceration, which is profoundly anchored in the concept of rehabilitation (Phelps, 2011). Institutions are responsible for providing appropriate therapies and education for offenders to attain this objective. Therefore, inmates have the right to basic necessities and suitable facilities for their own well-being. In addition, they have the right to access treatments, educational programs, and behavioral and cognitive enhancement activities. Each of these factors is supposed to aid in the rehabilitation of inmates.

The second objective of the research was to examine the impacts of vocational training and recreational activities on the inmates, in which the researcher categorized all the impacts within three major themes. The first theme is the positive shift in temperament, in which it was revealed that there were positive changes in offender behavior and mood because of vocational training and recreational activities. Most offenders indicated that, before their detention, they were violent by nature and easily angered by a variety of trivial matters; as a result of their aggressive temperament, they were frequently involved in fights both outside and inside the prison. However, after obtaining moral and religious education and counselling in prison, many have seen incredible transformations within themselves and have maintained positive relationships with other prisoners. Medical, intellectual, vocational, recreational, and religious activities inside jail have the potential to be rehabilitative (Anyanwu et al., 2018). According to prison officials, most prisoners come from rural areas and are victims of extreme poverty, illiteracy, parental abuse, and parental neglect. According to them, most offenders had no understanding of religious education and had never received any type of education in their lives; therefore, the prison authorities strive to educate them as much as possible and transform them into better, more valuable people. Consequently, a positive institutional environment may increase rehabilitation results (Liebling, 2012). Similar to other educational programs, the government designed the vocational training program to meet the needs of the person, society, and the nation as a whole and to bring about any changes anticipated in the behavior, character, skill level, and way of life of the individual (Keith, 2003).

Young offenders agreed that receiving a vocational education can significantly impact their sense of self-worth. Positive feelings about oneself and self-confidence are the two primary components that comprise self-esteem's core idea (Buss, 1995). A significant number of young offenders possessed views regarding the manner in which others devalue and behave negatively toward them. This stereotyped effect leads to shame, low self-confidence, and a negative sense of one's value. The acquisition of practical skills through the process of vocational education may result in recreational effects. It is relevant to people of all different ages, talents, and levels of expertise and involves individuals, small groups, teams, or entire communities. Individuals can

enhance their health and well-being and help them become more self-reliant by participating in recreational activities. These are just a few of the many advantages that come with participating in recreational activities. It is specified that engaging in recreational activities will benefit by boosting the level of self-esteem among offenders and decreasing the degree of loneliness among offenders (Basaran, 2016). Indeed, a person's sense of self-worth and confidence in their talents correlate with their education level in a particular field.

Another impact of vocational training and recreational activities is the positive transition to society, in which many young offenders agreed that vocational education aids in a successful transition back into society. After their release, reintegration into family and society is usually tricky for juvenile and adult offenders after their release. Young offenders must be prepared for their eventual return to family and society as soon as they enter the facility. Vocational education offers young offenders with vocational skills and career preparedness, which can assist them in obtaining employment following their release. A job facilitates their successful reintegration into society by enhancing their social support, preserving their socioeconomic standing, and enhancing their mental health and well-being (Osborn & Belle, 2019). Employment decreases recidivism. According to studies, unemployment is strongly associated with recidivism (Newton et al., 2018).

Placing young perpetrators in correctional institutions may result in favorable outcomes (Bales & Piquero, 2012). This study provides evidence that vocational education benefits youth offenders. It has become an integral component of the majority of correctional programs. Despite this, certain youth-authorized prisons in Pakistan provide insufficient vocational education and training, while some institutions have failed to provide vocational education for young offenders. Some young offenders are highly critical of the institution's daily procedures. Inadequate vocational preparation causes offenders to view institutional treatment as unjust, incorrect, and inconsistent. Many youth offenders believe that navigating these inconsistent procedures is challenging. The challenges of daily operations result in a reluctance to comply with criminal justice authorities, such as police, courts, and corrections (Tyler, 2006). This hinders the rehabilitation process. Young offenders typically have a history of inconsistent employment and lack job skills. According to studies, unemployment is connected with crime and recidivism (Newton et al., 2018). As a result, correctional institutions give vocational education and training to young offenders in recognized schools to aid them in obtaining jobs after their release. Employment after release helps young felons reintegrate into family and society, lowering recidivism. Therefore, this study advises Pakistan's juvenile justice system to enhance its vocational education policies and programs for young offenders. The system must build a comprehensive framework for vocational education for released criminals who have received vocational training to succeed in the local employment market. The purpose of Pakistan's correctional service is not to penalize and incarcerate young criminals but rather to reform, rehabilitate, and reintegrate them into society. In reality, young violators are entitled to treatment and education in juvenile-approved schools.

Conclusion

The current qualitative research was conducted at a youthful offender's correctional facility in Hyderabad, Sindh. The research was based upon two objectives: to explore what type of vocational training and recreational activities are offered within the prison and to examine the impacts of these training on offenders. According to the study's findings, it was concluded that a variety of vocational training and recreational

activities are provided to offenders. As a result, the offenders develop positive impacts within themselves. According to the findings of this study, correctional education plays an essential role in offender rehabilitation by changing behavior and attitude, boosting self-esteem and self-confidence, improving employment skills, reviving humanity, improving cognitive skills, promoting growth, improving literacy levels, and transforming offenders into law-abiding citizens. These transforming benefits of correctional education may aid in the promotion of public safety, as well as the reduction of poverty and inequality worldwide. The study suggests that every prison in Sindh must offer educational, psychological, recreational, and motivational programs based on reformation and rehabilitation. The government and prison administration must employ full-time criminologist specialists who specialize in certain areas of prisoner rehabilitation to rehabilitate the offenders properly. The following research was conducted from one prison. Therefore, it is recommended for future research to carry out the study on a more extensive scale and include more prisons and offenders.

Recommendations

- The innovation of approaches for providing vocational education to convicts is critical to opening up many professional possibilities for them in the post-incarceration future. This will also help to control their recidivism rate.
- Every prison in Sindh must offer educational, psychological, recreational, and motivational programs based on reformation and rehabilitation.
- One critical issue is the lack of qualified and experienced trainers for diverse programs; this issue can be overcome by employing full-time criminologist specialists who are specialized in some regions of prisoner rehabilitation.
- The prison must be appropriately funded in order to purchase cutting-edge equipment for the rehabilitation of offenders.
- Universities and colleges may host government-funded seminars and workshops on jail education to increase public understanding of the subject.
- Social Welfare Departments should also provide technical education in all Sindh prisons, as most offenders demand such instruction.
- There is a need to educate prison administrators and managers in conformity with shifting criminal justice paradigms around the world.
- Provide the materials and tools required for holding more varied training programs that meet the interests and preferences of convicts.

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