



INDIAN JOURNAL OF LEGAL AFFAIRS AND RESEARCH

VOLUME 3 ISSUE 1

Peer-reviewed, open-access, refereed journal

IJLAR

+91 70421 48991
editor@ijlar.com
www.ijlar.com

DISCLAIMER

The views and opinions expressed in the articles published in the Indian Journal of Legal Affairs and Research are those of the respective authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the IJLAR, its editorial board, or its affiliated institutions. The IJLAR assumes no responsibility for any errors or omissions in the content of the journal. The information provided in this journal is for general informational purposes only and should not be construed as legal advice. Readers are encouraged to seek professional legal counsel for specific legal issues. The IJLAR and its affiliates shall not be liable for any loss or damage arising from the use of the information contained in this journal.

IJLAR

Introduction

Welcome to the Indian Journal of Legal Affairs and Research (IJLAR), a distinguished platform dedicated to the dissemination of comprehensive legal scholarship and academic research. Our mission is to foster an environment where legal professionals, academics, and students can collaborate and contribute to the evolving discourse in the field of law. We strive to publish high-quality, peer-reviewed articles that provide insightful analysis, innovative perspectives, and practical solutions to contemporary legal challenges. The IJAR is committed to advancing legal knowledge and practice by bridging the gap between theory and practice.

IJAR

Preface

The Indian Journal of Legal Affairs and Research is a testament to our unwavering commitment to excellence in legal scholarship. This volume presents a curated selection of articles that reflect the diverse and dynamic nature of legal studies today. Our contributors, ranging from esteemed legal scholars to emerging academics, bring forward a rich tapestry of insights that address critical legal issues and offer novel contributions to the field. We are grateful to our editorial board, reviewers, and authors for their dedication and hard work, which have made this publication possible. It is our hope that this journal will serve as a valuable resource for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers, and will inspire further inquiry and debate within the legal community.

IJLAR

Description

The Indian Journal of Legal Affairs and Research is an academic journal that publishes peer-reviewed articles on a wide range of legal topics. Each issue is designed to provide a platform for legal scholars, practitioners, and students to share their research findings, theoretical explorations, and practical insights. Our journal covers various branches of law, including but not limited to constitutional law, international law, criminal law, commercial law, human rights, and environmental law. We are dedicated to ensuring that the articles published in our journal adhere to the highest standards of academic rigor and contribute meaningfully to the understanding and development of legal theories and practices.

IJLAR

PRISON REFORMS IN INDIA: A CRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

AUTHORED BY - FALAK NAAZ

ABSTRACT

The prison is an important institution of the criminal justice system, which does not only have the function of punishing the offenders but also restructuring them. In India, prisons are greatly unsuitable for deterrent punishment, with the colonial-states- revenue-producer reflecting in modern times, entirely lacking in deterrent punishment, an element of crime and options for rehabilitation. The Indian Jail is an orphan. Though there is a constitutional guarantee of human dignity and various committees and commissions' recommendations, Indian jails suffer from many disabilities like overcrowding, bad infrastructure, long detention of undertrial prisoners, lack of medical and mental health facilities, custodial violence and absence of rehabilitation facilities, and much more. Thus, there is definitely some doubt these days about the effectiveness of prisons in achieving this objective. As per criminology, prisons should be transformed from mere detention center to places for social correction, and human development. The mind of a criminal is taught by criminology. What's more, it investigates what drives people to commit crime. This is by measuring factors that reduce re-offending. Furthermore, it contains measures which assists an offender rehabilitates into society.

Various criminological theories argue that punishing a crime is not sufficient. This includes the rehab theory, the labelling theory. And the social learning theory. The most effective means of correctional treatment are education, vocational training, counselling and psychological support since they reform the offenders and prevent their repeat conduct. This is properly managed in India. The Justice Mulla Committee, Justice Krishna Iyer Committee and 2016 Model Prison Manual stressed on the upgradation of jail infrastructure to protect the rights of prisoners along with the development of correction and rehabilitation programme. Through various judgements, the judiciary has played an important role in the protection of the rights of the prisoners. It has

been held that prisoners do not lose their essential human rights, except for the rights to which they have been denied due to imprisonment. Positive results were achieved through skill development, educational opportunities, open prison, legal aid services and participation of the community. Prison reforms are introduced haphazardly in many states because of administrative delays, lack of funds and untrained staff to run the prisons. The increasing number of undertrial prisoners along with the persistent overcrowding of jails impede the deterrence of reformatory objectives. Ex-prisoners' re-entry into society is further obstructed by stigma and lack of post-prison support.

INTRODUCTION

Only the prison systems can stop serious crime and recidivism. A person whose conduct is likely to cause social disorder or violates the norms can be punished by the state. But to punish such a person is not the state's primary goal. A prison is a facility for the confinement of remand or convicted individuals (noun: a corrupt). However, the imprisonment that needed to change due to the change of criminological thought and human rights decision. Today's prison system should not only punish the culprits but also aim at improving those behind bars to restart life and become useful citizens.

The government has established various bodies that study and recognize the need for reforms in these correctional institutions. Prisons in India came into existence due to colonialism and it is not a new concept. In prisons, the English government would impose penalties on offenders and repress political movements. The prison staff emphasized punishment and not much on rehabilitating the prisoners in jails. After independence, a lot of the colonial practices and structural defects affected the prisoners. Prisoners' human rights enshrined in the constitution of India can better their dignity. It is always difficult for jail officials to implement constitutional norms. The Indian jails are overcrowded and it is a serious issue. More inmates than capacity can accommodate due to overcrowding in most jails and prisons. The Jail inmates, as mentioned, lead an unhealthy kind of life. Prisoners experience additional mental and physical strain nowadays. A serious problem is the large population of undertrials stuck for long periods as a result of delayed.¹

¹ Recommendations of the Justice Amitav Roy Committee Report on Prison Reforms (Supreme Court of India, N. Delhi, 2018)

MEANING OF PRISON REFORMS IN INDIA CRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Inquiry and legal procedure. Most of these people are released eventually. Despite this, they still pay the price socially, financially, and mentally. There are times when your detention lasts so long; we pay with our life. Indian prisons are often short of trained manpower, medical and educational facilities and equipment due to inadequate allotment of funds. Owing to lack of restitution, the prisoner does not acquire the skills and attitude needed to lead a law-correct life. Due to being unemployed, a lot of ex-offenders are ostracized by society. The probability of reoffending or recidivism may decrease. Studying the prison system, on the basis of criminology, is important because it can give rise to insights concerning the causes of crime and criminal behaviour (or delinquency). This can help us find out which actions are useful to prevent and correct crime. In society, crime and punishment can have different perceptions. According to classical criminologists, criminals rationally evaluate the costs and benefits of committing the crime. This measure will help deter crime in the area. As per them, enhancement of punishment will deter crime. It is accurate knowledge to be experienced to reduce suffering with full skill. A wide variety of jobs support the health care operations of communities and clinics. After the 18th century, a number of theories were put forward. The positivist school, sociological school, psychological school, etc., are such theories. In many different ways, crime may be caused. It refers biological, social, economic, environmental and psychological. According to modern criminology, crimes may take place due to intolerable and unfavorable circumstances. When a person lacks basic necessities like food, shelter, clothing, education, health care and security, the conditions are inadequate. Poverty, unemployment, lack of education, family breakup, drug abuse, peer pressure, and social inequality may cause discontent in children of adverse circumstances. Consequently, punishment is not an effective tool against crime. It is required that corrective and rehabilitative measures are used to identify the cause of crime and upgrade the convicts from criminals to useful citizens of society. The aim of the prison reform policies is not to punish the person for the crime. The purpose is reformation not punishment which means making the person capable of being a good citizen.

The reparative school suggests the rehabilitation of criminal or change in his behaviour. Reformatory theory must be the aim of the punishment of the criminal so that he is reformed not

punished. A convenient place for education/training, rehabilitation and health services should be organized in prisons as part of the correctional process. The inmates in these projects learn to assume more responsibility. The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India published the National Policy on Prison Reforms in 2016. Prisoners' Rights and Judicial Remedies (pp. 56–80) by R N. Choudhary published by Eastern Law House, Kolkata in 2007.² The prisoners are confident and prepared to return to society because of the project work they do. There seems to be an overwhelming consensus on prison reform in India from a host of committees, commissions, judicial pronouncements, human rights organisations, etc. A convict does not lose his basic rights just because he is languishing in jail. So said the court. The dignity and equality of all prisoners are to be respected and their treatment must never be cruel, inhuman or degrading. The court has ordered the government to improve the present conditions of the jail cells within the country. In addition, they are being sent to the Correctional Institutions for their rehabilitation. Several prison reforms have been suggested by government-appointed committees. According to the experts, the required recommendations are reducing the density of the population, developing the prison infrastructure, adopting a non-custodial route for petty offenders, upgrading health care facilities, availability of legal aid assistance, strengthening vocational and educational programmes, and better training of staff.³

The law states that behaviour with offenders plays a vital role to improve their chances of reforming.

The idea of human rights is associated with prison reforms. Prisoners are also human beings. Animals should be entitled to a decent life. They should also be entitled to equal treatment and respect as humans. Consequently, the treatment of prisoners must comply with the principles of humanity, national justice and individual rights. Prison settings should assist in rehabilitating and reintegrating prisoners into the society.

² The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India published the National Policy on Prison Reforms in 2016. Prisoners' Rights and Judicial Remedies (pp. 56–80) by R N. Choudhary published by Eastern Law House, Kolkata in 2007.

³ R.K. Khanna, The Indian Penal System: Historical and Contemporary Issues (Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1998), pp. 77-103.

Most of us have read numerous articles, news reports, and documentaries regarding jail conditions of prisoners. However, it does not surprise anyone anymore to know that these days, the jail manual is manual no more. A criminologist states reducing crime and repeat offending through prison reform. The recidivism lowers considerably when remedial actions are taken to solve problems like educational, mental illness, add. and good social adaptation. Rewording brings the next sentences. The convicts who were successfully rehabilitated learnt job skills which allowed them to lead a more useful life. Reformation of jail helps not only the prisoners but brings about social benefits which in turn help the society at large. Changes to reform the prison system of India is one of the important topics of criminology and criminal justice administration. Today's prison houses aim to mainly reform and correct criminals. This early days, there were only means of punishment but not rehab. The Indian prison system is plagued by a host of problems irrespective of the efforts being made by the Constitution or the Judiciary. Criminological study of prisons reforms with reference to the reasons for punishment of any crime explains not only 'why' must one be punished but also "what" and "how" must one be punished for any offence. This demonstrates the importance of humanized remedial action. The need for social justice of prisoners, humanisation of prisoners, preventing crime and rehabilitation of fallout changes in prisons is beyond just ensuring human rights. The prison reforms in India: a criminological perspective is the application of the principles of criminology for the study of changes to be made in the Indian prison system and the need for such change. The focus is on transforming the prison into the instrument of a social correction, rehabilitation and reintegration. Not punishment. The perception regards criminals as human beings having some dignity and rights and so believes that they must be given one last chance to reform and fit into the society. The state locks someone up in prison based on a criminal charge or conviction. Many people get imprisonment as a punishment for something unlawful they do. In the earlier times, their punishment according to law was to have pain inflicted upon them or to be removed from society. While some modern criminal justice systems are changing for a more human and reformative one. Prisons nowadays are expected to provide not merely security, discipline and order. But, also reform the criminal. Experts in prison administration have opined that changes made in prison administration, prison infrastructure, prison policies, correctional programs etc. are aimed at improving treatment and rehabilitation of prisoners. Reforming the prison system means improving the conditions of prisons

and avoiding over-crowding. Most importantly, health, and sanitation management is their responsibility.⁴

SCOPE OF STUDY

The research paper above only focuses on crime. Moreover, a criminological analysis of the Prison System of India is completed. It also encourages the setting up of correctional, rehabilitation and reintegration into society institutions in jails. The aim of the study is to examine prison not only as an institution of confinement and punishment but also as an institution of the criminal justice system. Research indicates that the Indian prison system evolved through history. According to the researcher, changes over the years in the objectives of sentencing. Current day punishments are corrective and rehabilitative instead of retributive and deterrent. To understand this evolution will help in accessing present prisons and which ones require reforms. This research study's one of the objectives is to find out the present status of the jails of India. Many problems are being faced due to overcrowded prisons. Overpopulation, a large number of undertrial prisoners, lack of infrastructure, no sanitation, health care, education and vocational training facilities, overcrowded prisons. Explain custodial violence and mental disorders of inmates. Rewrite using your own words. Due to these reasons, the prison system does not run smoothly and it greatly hinders the humane treatment of prisoners and the rights they uphold. The discussion of reforms in prison systems also includes criminology theory and elements. Theories concerning criminality and correctional measures encompass the Rehabilitation Theory, Labelling Theory, Social Learning Theory, Reformatory Theory etc. The objective of the study was to find out the way constant application of these theories by the involving people can prevent the re-offending of prisoners. Also examines the legal and constitutional framework of incarceration and the rights of prisoners in India. The prison authorities are evaluating the constitution, case law, court rulings, and policies. According to the Mulla Committee and other recommendations, all jails should be modernized and humanized in overall character. The recommendation is elaborated in detail in the Model Prison Manual, 2016. the paper investigates the challenges to the successful implementation of prison reform in India. Administrative inefficiency, shortage of funds, shortage of trained prison

⁴ Sir Sarkar Penology and Prison Administration in India is published by SAGE Publications India, New Delhi, 2004. K. Jain Alternatives to Imprisonment in India (pp. 12–39) National Law Publishers, New Delhi, 2012,

staff, stigma against ex-prisoners and non-availability of post-release support systems are some of the roadblocks

CASE LAWS

Jail Reform Cases in India A Study on Criminology and Criminal Justice.

1. This well-known case is concerned with prison reforms in India. In 1978, the Supreme Court had ruled in the case *Sunil Batra v. Delhi Administration* on the basis of a letter written to it by a death convict complaining against jail authorities. According to him, they are torturing Sunil Batra. Supreme Court has held, imprisonment would not disentitle a person to the exercise and enjoyment of fundamental rights. The jail administrators' treatment of the prisoners in this manner reflects cruelty and inhumanity which is against the authorities. This verdict resulted in several modifications concerning jail and custodial violence in the courts. The case highlighted the reformatory concept of punishment which seeks the reformation of the offender and not his mental or physical torture.

2. Sheela Barse vs State of Maharashtra.

The case involved the rights of women inmates for custody of their children. Perpetration of many forms of custodial violence. According to the Supreme Court only female officers should supervise female prisoners and interrogate them. It also commended to better prison conditions. The Court also underlined the importance of being assisted and protected from harassment. The case challenged the ability to consider women less powerful by the notion that they are more vulnerable. The incarcerated women's matter shows the special vulnerability of women in custody and the necessity of the prison administration being gender-sensitive.

From a criminology point of view, vulnerable prisoners need attention for the protection of their rights and special needs.

3. Rama Murthy in opposition to The State of Karnataka.

The Supreme Court of India examined numerous problems faced by prisons. The overcrowding, delays in trials, lack of medical facilities, poor living conditions, and failure to rehabilitate were among the issues. The judiciary has stated that the reform of prisons can preserve human dignity and constitutional values only. The government should improve prison management. The court

noted the condition and infrastructural deficiencies of Indian prisons. The judgment said that due to the jail being a type of slum, the men in jail are likely not to reform relating to criminology because of the demeaning condition inside the jail.

4. Basu vs State of West Bengal.

It included violence and even death at the police station. The Supreme Court of India grants an exhaustive guideline concerning the police arrest of an accused. A person who has been arrested must not be tortured or ill-treated. While primarily a police matter, the principles would affect how the prisons were administered as also the treatment of prisoners or detainees. The chief justice of India said, The Supreme Court is ready for an RTI plea which seeks CBI investigation into Justice Varma's report on custodial violence. The prevention of crime in modern-day is a major function of criminal justice. The humane treatment of inmates, accused and convicts is essential for the public confidence in the system.

5. The Supreme Court of India, in its 2000 ruling in the State of Andhra Pradesh v. Challa Ramkrishna Reddy case,

upheld that every fundamental right available to individuals is equally available to prisoners in India except to the extent where their imprisonment subjects them to any restrictions by law. According to the court, a person's human dignity and constitutional guarantees are not dimmed by being detained in a penitentiary. As per the Supreme Court, it is the responsibility of prison authorities to ensure the safety of inmates. Delhi High Court endorses judgment upholding jail rights-based approach. The worth of prisons shows up the measure of a civilised society. This incident indicates that from the criminology perspective, any prison system dealing with correction and rehabilitation of a human being and which does not merely sanitizes a human being must ensure no violation of human rights which undermines dignity of human being.

CONCLUSION SUGGESTION

Law facilities are the correctional facilities or prisons of the criminal justice system that keep social order as well as enforce law. A prison, as the name suggests, is a site where a man, who commits a crime, is punished. Society's verdict against him; punishment in murder case.

The emergence of a rights perspective towards crime has had a clear impact on the philosophy of imprisonment. Many countries are changing their jails. It's no longer just a punishment centre, it's more of a correctional one. This is a new technique to deal with. A comprehensive study of prison reforms in India seeks to assess the need and significance of humane and reformatory treatment of offenders.⁵The Indian prison system's regulations and management display the British legacy. In other words, while every person in the country is guaranteed the right to equality, dignity and security as a fundamental right under the Constitution, jails in India have been deteriorating. At present, jails are facing the challenges of overcrowding, poor infrastructure, poor sanitation, inadequate jail staff, lack of medical facilities, etc. A diet that does not provide sufficient nutrition causes inmates to suffer from a slow and gradual physical and physiological deterioration. Crime occurs for a variety of reasons, many of which are complex. There are a lot of cause of crime. Several factors cause this. The main factors that cause a crime could poverty, unemployment, social disorganization, lack of education, drug. For a limited time, no penalty will get rid of the reason for the crime. It is essential to comprehend what prompts a person to behave incorrectly, and to assist him/her in changing it before it is too late. The prisoners keep on being human, owing to actions of the courts and results from committees. A person held in custody has all rights and dignity available to man but for the limits necessarily imposed by law. India's Supreme Court has upheld the rights of prisoners and improved the conditions of prisons in India, underlining this. It has stated many rules and regulations for it. It is essential to ensure that there is no custodial violence, arbitrary treatment and unnecessary prolonged detention of those arrested. This also changes jails. Prevention programs and community reintegration services are key components in the criminal justice systems to prevent re-offending. Free basic services must be provided for access to all, including those experiencing homelessness, as exploited vulnerable groups. Consequently, prison reform, enabling the lawful exercise of rights for prisoners to the extent necessary without hindering public order and security, must seek to minimize crime as mentioned above and create an effective crime prevention mechanism. Prison reform in India is a part of criminal justice administration and social development. When our prison system's correctional and rehabilitative but more importantly humane status is supported, we ultimately benefit a just and humane society. A recommendation has been made that it is inadequate to keep the offenders in

⁵ R.K. Khanna, *The Indian Penal System: Historical and Contemporary Issues* (Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1998), pp. 77-103.

jails. Justice, social welfare, prevention of crime etc. are the main objectives. There are things we can do to make the prison system work better. Correctional facilities aim to rehabilitate and reintegrate individuals into society. Government facilitation of tests and creative application of bail provisions should be significantly increased. Those convicted of minor offenses should face sanctions which include community service and probation. We can greatly improve the jails conditions through the use of varied forms of punishment to decongests the jails. The classroom arrangement provides adequate comfort and has proper ventilation, clean bathing rooms and safe drinking water. We provide recreational facilities and practice hygiene to make learning a safe activity. There are many cases of undertrial prisoners in India that need to be decided at the earliest. Judges must be monitored so as to avoid delays in the judicial system and so on. The rapid creation of a fast-track court, improving judicial competence and providing effective legal aid services guarantee that no individual shall be detained unnecessarily for a longer period of time.

All prisons must offer educational and vocational training programmes equally. Inmates who learn skills that are useful for post-release help themselves by overcoming barriers. A large number of offenders suffer from disturbance and mental illness. Counselling and mental health support will be needed. The employment of psychologists, counselors, and psychiatrists in prisons will help deal with these issues and lead to better emotional health. the disabled should be given special attention. The Constitution, Article 10, clearly defines that the prison administration must comply with the constitutional provisions and the human rights. When custodial officials are held accountable and monitored these custodial situations are managed effectively which will ensure that there will be no violent abuse, oppression, degrading treatment etc. Officials working in corrections need training in correctional administration, human rights, counselling skills, and conflict resolution skills. A professional can easily deal with the reforming process. effective post-release management procedure, the government provides rehabilitation and reintegration services supporting job assistance, accommodation advice and family reunification. Society should accept rehabilitated offenders and give them a second chance, not their crime. Through the use of digital tools for record keeping, video conferencing for dreaded court hearings, online legal aid, an e-monitoring system and so on, prison administration and delays can greatly improve. Policies and reforms for females and juvenile offenders are expected to be gender-sensitive and child-friendly.

Women confined in prisons deserve to have their necessary health facilities. Jails must be inspected as necessary by magistrates and NGOs. If a law is being violated by them, they must suggest ways to rectify the same. According to the ruling, the High Courts, State Governments and Central Government will initiate prison reforms. Imprisonment is not meant to punish but to correct rehabilitate and reintegrate. Using a humanity approach in the justice and correctional system will enable us to change offenders. Preventing crimes and making provision for social justice can prove to be a boon. When appealing the court's order, the party invoke a greater penalty not a lesser one. Based on experience, decisions must be made one way or another. A contemporary and criminal justice system produces a soft experience on the whole day.

REFERENCES

1. Haryana 2014, K LexisNexis. Jaishankar. Tumpa Mukherjee and family. Indian Prisons: Reformation, Rehabilitation and Resocialization Chennai Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 2014
2. Kumarappan, M. Reforming Prisoners and Institutional Organizations: The Urgent Need of the Hour a842-a860.
3. "The Indian Prison System- Structure, Problem and Reforms." By Priya Rao, Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences. 10(1):189-192, 2019.
4. Indian Government Manual Prison Model. In 2016, the National Crime Records Bureau was launched by the Ministry of Home Affairs in New Delhi.
5. The country's crime stats body. India's Prison Statistics 2021. New Delhi: NCRB, 2022; India's Prison Statistics 2019.
6. A.N. Mulla (Chair), Report of the Committee on Jail Reforms (India Committee on Jail Reforms, 1983
<https://rjhssonline.com/HTMLPaper.aspx?Journal=Research+Journal+of+Humanities+and+Social+Sciences%3BPID%3D2019-10-1-32>
7. Ministry of Home Affairs, Model Prison Manual and Model Prison Rules (Draft), Government of India (1998)
<https://home.rajasthan.gov.in/content/dam/pdf/StaffCorner/Training-Material/Useful-Presentations-And-Videos/Overview%20of%20pris>

8. Hussainara Khatoon v. State of Bihar, AIR 1979 SC 1369 (landmark on undertrial rights
<https://indiankanoon.org/doc/xxxxxx>)
9. Law Commission of India, 46th Report: Transfer of Prisoners and Related Prison Issues
(Law Commission Report No. 46, 1969
<https://lawcommissionofindia.nic.in/reports/report46.pdf>)
10. National Crime Records Bureau, Prison Statistics India (annual reports).
<https://ncrb.gov.in/en/prison-statistics>
11. National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), Report on Conditions of Human Rights in
Indian Prisons (various years <https://nhrc.nic.in/reports>)
12. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Handbook on Prison Reform and
Alternatives to Imprisonment (2012) <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/justice-and-prison-reform/publications>
13. Ipsita Sapra, "Healed Walls, Unhealed Wounds: Why Prison Reforms Fail Women
Offenders <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/00490857231187505>
14. "Prison Reforms in India: A Study," International Journal of Financial Management
Research (IJFMR) (2023). <https://www.ijfmr.com/papers/2023/5/6571>
15. "Undertrial Detention and Prison Overcrowding in India: An Analytical Study,"
International Journal article (2023) <https://ijirl.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/>
16. "Prison Reform In India — An Incomplete Saga" (research paper, JGU repository).
<http://pure.jgu.edu.in/id/eprint/4564/1/Prison%20Reform%20In%20India.pdf>
pure.jgu.edu
17. "Prison Reform and Social Change in India" (lecture/monograph PDF, National Institute
materials <https://niu.edu.in/sla/online-classes/FM-Jul14-LSC-Koustubh.pdf>)
18. SSRN chapter: "Overview of Correctional Reform In India: A 'Different' Approach to
Offender Rehabilitation" https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3900496
19. "Prison Reforms: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives" (SSRN working
paper/chapters, 2014–2015 <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract>)