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THERAPEUTIC JURISPRUDENCE AND BABIES IN PRISON

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ТЕРАПЕВТИЧНА ЮРИСПРУДЕНЦІЯ ТА НЕМОВЛЯТА У В'ЯЗНИЦІ

— АНОТАЦІЇ (ABSTRACTS), КЛЮЧОВІ СЛОВА (KEY WORDS)

International human rights state that imprisonment for mothers with babies should be used as a last resort. Currently, there is no international agreement for the age limit of children in prison and a lack of consistency with the treatment of this minority population. This article is significant in its advocacy of using a theoretical approach that emphasises the benefits of using legislation, including international human rights frameworks. The premise of Therapeutic Jurisprudence (TJ) is that law influences emotional life and psychological well-being (Winick & Wexler, 2003). Significantly, the duty bearers of the Bangkok Rules (2010) include individuals from non-governmental organisations, local communities and the voluntary sector. This article examines the role of activists who represent the rights of women, practitioners who work in prisons and other potential stakeholders. The significance of this article is its recognition of the need for creating a rights respecting culture in prisons across the globe is complex for babies in prison.

Key words: therapeutic jurisprudence; human rights; Bangkok rules; babies in prison; stakeholders

Міжнародні права людини стверджують, що тюремне ув'язнення матерів з немовлятами повинно застосовуватися в крайньому випадку. В даний час не існує міжнародної згоди щодо вікового обмеження дітей, які перебувають у місцях позбавлення волі, та відсутності узгодженості з поводженням із цим населенням меншин. Ця стаття є важливою у своїй пропаганді використання теоретичного підходу, який підкреслює переваги використання законодавства, включаючи міжнародні рамки прав людини. Передумова терапевтичної юриспруденції (TJ) полягає в тому, що закон впливає на емоційне життя та психологічне благополуччя (Winick & Wexler, 2003). Важливо зазначити, що носіями обов'язків Бангкокських правил (2010) є представники неурядових організацій, місцевих громад та добровільного сектору. У цій статті розглядається роль активістів, які представляють права жінок, практикуючих, які працюють у в'язницях, та інших потенційних зацікавлених сторін. Значення цієї статті полягає в тому, що визнання необхідності створення прав на культуру у в'язницях по всьому світу є складним для немовлят у в'язниці.

Ключові слова: терапевтична юриспруденція; права людини; правила Бангкока; немовлята у в'язниці; зацікавлені сторони

Problem statement

International human rights state that imprisonment for mothers with babies should be used as a last resort. Currently, there is no international agreement for the age limit of children in prison and a lack of consistency with the treatment of this minority population. Prison mother and baby units are presented as the solution in the majority of countries however, these living arrangements are not always in the best interests of children.

Currently babies are in prison as a consequence of the sentencing of their mother. The dominant un-

derstanding is that babies need to be with their birth mother for the first days of their lives. For example, a recent report from the United Kingdom explains the detrimental effects of separation for babies and advocates that prison policy makers should take this into account (Abbot, Scott, Thomas and Weston, 2020). Solutions to the complex problem of babies living in prisons are limited to what amounts to them continuing to live with their mothers in 'gentler, kinder, cages'. There is a need to 're-think' the existence of babies in prison and challenge the current status of women within criminal justice systems who are mothers of young infants.

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This article is significant in its advocacy of using a theoretical approach that emphasises the benefits of using legislation, including international human rights frameworks. The premise of Therapeutic Jurisprudence (TJ) is that law influences emotional life and psychological well-being (Winick & Wexler, 2003). With this approach, legal values and due process are not under-mined but used so that the therapeutic effect of legislation is maximised, and the anti-therapeutic effect is minimised (Spencer, 2014). Central to the theoretical framework of TJ is the intricate relationship between the design of legislation and its application. This article will explain the usefulness of TJ for promoting international legislation relevant for babies in prison as well as exploring how this makes it possible to change the current status quo.

The Invisibility of Babies in Prison

There is an international consensus that babies can be accommodated by prisons to live with their mothers from new-born. This situation appears to be settled; however, their existence is invisible and to some it could be "unthinkable" to have babies in prison (Crewe, 2020 (a). The first known baby in prison was Henry Kable Junior (born in Norwich Castle Gaol (England) in February 1786), he lived with his mother in Norwich Castle Gaol until he and his parents were all transported to Australia. Currently babies are accommodated by prisons, however their conditions have remained unchanged for over 200 years.

Internationally there is no accurate data relating to the number of babies born in prison or dependent infants with their mothers; even though babies have always been accommodated by female prisons around the world. In fact, Norway is the only country that does not allow new-borns or children in prison (Crewe, 2020 (b). In Norway research has identified that there is a culture where substanceaddicted women are generally not trusted to take care of their children (Soderstrom and Skoldbekkn, 2012). In Germany young children can legitimately live with their mother in prison until the age of six, and in India children up to this age are imprisoned with their mothers without any pre-school education (Crewe, 2020 (c).

It is difficult to measure the levels of punitiveness across the world for pregnant women or babies in prison. Coercion is known to have impacted the choices and access of services for women, especially with pregnancy and childbirth. Literature and research highlights, the treatment of pregnant women, how they are unsupported with the process of pregnancy, birth and there is a risk of babies dying in childbirth (Abbot el al, 2020). In particular, the dominant theme throughout literature relating to pregnant women relates to their poor conditions and implicitly suggests that prisons are not suitable for this population (Abbot et al, 2020; Chatten, 2013).

There is a dearth of literature about the effects on babies living in mother and baby units. Research has identified that the conditions in prison affects the developmental progress of babies (Birtsch and Rosenkranz, 1988; Catan, 1989; Gimenz-Salinas, 1988). All authors describe conditions within prison as being restrictive in terms of movement, limited materials or toys and no wideranging daily activities, spaces, or social experiences (Jimenez and Palacios, 2003).

The Potential of Therapeutic Jurisprudence

All prisoners have enforceable human rights, which protect them against cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action (1993), states that the foundation of freedom, justice and peace means recognising the inherent dignity and inalienable rights of all individuals (Birgden & Perlin, 2009). International human rights for all prisoners are safequarded through covenants such as the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1987) which gives freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. This universal legislation, in conjunction with regional and domestic legislative frameworks must guide the work of activists, practitioners and other stakeholders to support the human rights of people in detention.

The TJ approach promotes an insight about how the law is lived and with law in action. It is possible for legislation (including international human rights) to be designed so that it can minimize anti-therapeutic consequences. In particular, antitherapeutic conditions have been recognised within the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-Custodial Measures for Women Offenders (Bangkok Rules, 2010). The Bangkok Rules are unique because they protect the rights of women and are the first international instrument devoted to addressing the needs of children in prison with their parent.

Officially, her Royal Highness Princess Bajrakityapha of Thailand initiated the Bangkok Rules (2010). For some activists and scholars who use a women's rights perspective, the Bangkok Rules



2010 have given hope for the improving prison regimes around the world and potential to improve the rights of female prisoners (Barberet, 2014; Carlen, 2013; Cain, 2015; Van-Gundy et al, 2013). They were created using evidence of victimisation of women in prison, covert abuse such as the restrictions of healthcare access, and evidence of revoked visits for women within the prison setting (Van-Gundy et al, 2013). Whilst there is potential for creating an enabling environment for women to access their rights, some women's rights activists have had concerns relating to the legal form of the Bangkok Rules (2010), language used and these rules could be easy to defeat (Barberet, 2014; Gullberg, 2013; Pate and Kilroy, 2010).

The Bangkok Rules (2010) are classified as international non-state legislation, which is often referred to as soft law. Whilst there is no legally binding authority for states to implement this legislation, advocates explain that soft law today can become hard law tomorrow (Dupuy, 1991). The shape and contours of the Bangkok Rules (2010) are unique because there is no legal enforcement for them to be incorporated into local contexts and practice. Whilst the Bangkok Rules (2010) are not enforceable and could be regarded by lawyers as soft law, these rules are significant with their provision of explicit protection for women in criminal justice systems around the world. There have been concerns about the compliance of states which have ratified the Bangkok Rules (2010) and very little research about their implementation (Barberet, 2014; Van Gundy and Bauman-Grau, 20103; Walby, 2011).

The focus for research, campaigners and activism has conventionally sought to change domestic interpretations of the law, sentencing decisions and encourage appeals. For example, within England and Wales, a new study will be exploring why pregnant women have been sentenced to prison and their experiences of incarceration (Brown and Epstein, 2020). Whilst sentencing decisions are an important factor for understanding the topic of babies in prison, this focus is unlikely to change the status quo because sentencing depends on the infrastructure of a criminal justice system and wider societal values. Moreover, it is important to recognise the extent activists, practitioners and other stakeholders can be involved with reducing the numbers of babies in prison and discussing alternatives to imprisonment.

Mainstreaming Therapeutic Jurisprudence

The International Society for Therapeutic Jurisprudence currently promotes the philosophy and practice of examining the therapeutic and antitherapeutic properties of laws, public policies and legal institutions. The intention is to support interdisciplinary scholars and professional or judicial practices to promote therapeutic jurisprudence in the mainstream. The methodology suggested by Wexler (2014) takes into account how influences on legal actors are different and metaphorically explains these as vineyards. Understanding influences on legal actors is particularly important for examining the potential of TJ for encouraging the implementation of the Bangkok Rules (2010).

The broad scope of TJ is useful for explaining the extent this philosophy could facilitate the implementation of the Bangkok Rules (2010), which are clear in their prescription that custody should be a last resort for pregnant women and their dependent children. Traditionally TJ has been advocated for the application of domestic legislation; however other studies have explained how a range of stakeholders such as forensic psychologists could relate to TJ through applying other forms of law such as professional ethical codes (Dickie, 2008, Birgden and Perlin, 2009) or human rights (Birgden, 2015; Birgden and Cucolo, 2011; Birgden and Perlin, 2008; Perlin, 2015, Winick, 2002).

If stakeholders such as judges, lawyers, mental health professionals, probation officers as well as correctional staff could acknowledge their position as duty bearers then this would facilitate implementation strategies that will support offender rights using a humanistic approach. The Bangkok Rules (2010) have been designed to minimize the antitherapeutic consequences for women and their young children; however, in reality the application of this legislation is difficult. It is known that international human rights frameworks have shifted from a safety net for the protection of prisoners' rights to an inventory framework against which to measure organisation reputation and the use of procedures (Hannah-Moffat, 2014). Significantly, the duty bearers of the Bangkok Rules (2010) include individuals from non-governmental organisations, local communities and the voluntary sector. The next three sections examine the role of activists who represent the rights of women, practitioners who work in prisons and other potential stakeholders.

The Role of Activists

Activists are useful for exploring local interpretations, implementation issues and areas for developing future-orientated solutions. Ideally, activists could highlight the therapeutic and anti-therapeutic consequences for criminalised women as well as



raise awareness about the potential for the Bangkok Rules (2010) improving female prisoners' rights. It is possible that activists could provide an insight, which would benefit the application of TJ principles and these legal actors, could also be involved with influencing or reforming legal structures and local cultures so they are TJ friendly. Activists involved with women in prison often have a dual role by running prison programmes, offering alternatives to imprisonment and providing services, which support well-being through methods such as advocacy (Barberet, 2014).

Ideally, activists could highlight the therapeutic and anti-therapeutic consequences for criminalised women as well as raise awareness about the potential for the Bangkok Rules (2010) improving female prisoners' rights. The difficulty is that there are often disagreements with the focus of campaigns for change. The position of prison reformers has been highlighted as part of the problem and often programs for supporting incarcerated mothers and children do not take into account that they are entangled in a state's apparatus of control (Craig, 2009). Struggles exist, however challenges from the margins are often defined as 'irrelevant radicalism', and proponents of alternative ideas are not discussed which further entrenches the existing order (Mathiesen, 2006).

Abolitionist thought remains focused on resistance against ideas and practices that are integral to institutionalised punishment and exclusion. It is asserted that liberalism is often a façade that masks material and power differentials between groups (Whalley and Hacket, 2017). In particular, abolitionists oppose legal pluralism and the imposition of law from a supranational level to national laws (Santos, 2002). Whilst TJ could be a useful philosophy, it relies on understanding the usefulness of legislation.

The unique issue for examining international non-state legislation that is relevant for female prisoners concerns the range of potential legal actors. Individuals and organisations involved with activism are duty bearers of the Bangkok Rules (2010) and have an important role for identifying issues relating to the effects of prison rules, domestic, regional and international legislation for women in prison. The work of activist groups does not only relate to the promotion or creation of legislation but also has the potential to create an awareness and name or shame instances where there have been violations of human rights (Risse and Roppe, 2013).

The Role of Practitioners

Whilst practitioners working within the prison setting have potential for improving conditions for prisoners, their responsibility towards implementing TJ is not straightforward, especially in relation to international non-state legislation. By reading the Bangkok Rules, (2010) alongside other international non-state legislation such as the Mandela Rules it is possible to understand how this framework compliments a human rights-based approach.

Using the TJ lens means practitioners have a role that is therapeutic rather than anti-therapeutic. TJ scholars have encouraged therapeutic practice from practitioners who work in prisons and have made recommendations for specific interventions affecting forensic psychologists (Birgden and Perlin, 2009), parole (Wexler, 2013) or drug rehabilitation programmes (Birgden, 2004). Through their role and responsibilities as therapeutic agents' practitioners have potential for implementing TJ. In order to maximise the therapeutic effects of legislation they will need to work within a culture and correctional setting which is conducive to rehabilitation of offenders (Birgden, 2004).

Mechanisms of support are known to be affected by the prison environment, the role of practitioners as well as the attitudes of women in prison. There could be alternatives for babies, including having permission to leave their mothers to live in local communities without relying on their mother's prison sentence or live with their mothers on a flexible basis. A major hurdle relating to the taken-forgranted understandings of mother and baby units concerns their imperceptible nature.

The Role of Stakeholders

A stakeholder can be defined as an individual, group or network of people involved with, or having interests in, or affected by a particular activity (Duke et al, 2014). TJ has the scope to address a full range of legal actors, lawyers, parole officers and corrections professionals (Gal and Wexler, 2015). In relation to the implementation of the Bangkok Rules, it is possible to identify how other stakeholders such as policymakers, nongovernmental organisations or researchers also have a role with the implementation of the Bangkok Rules (2010).

Whilst the Bangkok Rules (2010) have the potential to improve access and rights for female prisoners, stakeholders will need to translate them for local communities and cultures. It has been suggested that translations by stakeholders who are involved with institutions of global governance



could be useful because they empower local populations who are politically and economically marginalised (Nash, 2014). There is potential for stakeholders translating international legislation so that it is relevant and understood in local contexts, however, the women's rights perspective criticises the content of international legislation for not being culturally relevant. Policy and practice routinely focus on the impact of imprisonment for women as offenders with infants rather than babies as individuals who will have their own family (including fathers or grandparents), social and community support.

Conclusion

Little is known about the potential of therapeutic jurisprudence (TJ) for improving the rights of female prisoners. Within this article, consideration has been made of international non-state legislation, which has been designed to improve conditions of women in prison. Implicitly anti-therapeutic conditions have been recognised within the United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-Custodial Measures for Women Offenders (Bangkok Rules, 2010).

The Bangkok Rules are unique because they protect the rights of women and are the first inter-

national instrument devoted to addressing the needs of children in prison with their parent. Whilst the Bangkok Rules (2010) are not enforceable and could be regarded by lawyers as soft law, these rules are significant with their provision of explicit protection for women in criminal justice systems around the world.

There are no internationally consistent conditions, agreement on the age of separation or discussion about the possible choices for those who are supporting infants living in mother and baby units. Concerns from scholars and activists using a women's rights perspective relate to how the rights of female prisoners are managed and taken into account within the prison setting. Whilst the introduction of the Bangkok Rules (2010) appear to have given hope that the anti-therapeutic conditions for prisoners could be eradicated, the reality for creating a rights respecting culture in prisons across the globe is complex.

Conflict of interest

None to declare.

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