

# Industry participation in the correctional mandate in Japan: The case of the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard

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#### Abstract

The Shin-Kurushima Dockyard is a working shipyard in Ehime prefecture, Japan, which has offered vocational training and experience free of charge to prisoners from Matsuyama prison for over 50 years. It also offers accommodation on the same premises, again free of charge. Prisoners who live and work at the Dockyard are normally granted early release from imprisonment, at about sixty per cent completion of their sentence on average, and their recidivism rate is low in comparison with Japan's average: zero per cent for the last 5 years and 15 per cent for about 30 years from its establishment in 1961 until 1992. This paper explores the participation of the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard in the Japanese criminal justice system, looking at the origins of the project, the dynamics between the prisoners and the local community, and the way that the prisoners live in comparison with mainstream Japanese prisons. The paper also compares statistics on the parole and recidivism rates of Dockyard prisoners with mainstream prisoners. The paper concludes with the observation that access to meaningful work and being treated with dignity and respect have been key to the success of the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard in the criminal justice system.

#### Introduction

This paper explores the success of the long-established role of the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard<sup>1</sup> (the 'Dockyard') in the Japanese criminal justice system, and analyses the factors behind that success.

The Dockyard offers vocational training and experience free of charge to the prisoners of Matsuyama prison in Ehime Prefecture on the island of Shikoku. It also offers accommodation on the same premises, again free of charge. The accommodation consists of a five-storey building called Yuuai-ryo (the 'Dormitory'). This facility is known as an open prison dormitory, but is actually owned and maintained by the Dockyard. Today over 20 prisoners live in the Dormitory while working on ship construction at the Dockyard. The prisoners are normally granted early release, and their recidivism rate is low in comparison with Japan's average.

In order to discover how and why this practice at the Dockyard has been successful, it is useful to turn to the history of how and why this exceptional feature of the Japanese criminal justice system began, and was accepted by the local community. Understanding the extraordinary success of the Dockyard also requires an examination of the parole and recidivism rates of Dormitory prisoners in comparison with mainstream Japanese prisoners.

#### The Japanese prison system

Before exploring the history of the Dockyard and the Dormitory, it is helpful to overview the adult prison system in Japan. All 62 prisons in Japan are operated by the national government. The total prison population has been trending downwards since 2005 when it was over 70,000, and at the end of 2012 it was 58,726. The occupancy rate at the end of 2012 was 82.2 per cent (Ministry of Justice (Japan), 2013: 17). The incarceration rate in Japan was 51 persons per 100,000, while this rate stood at 148 in England and Wales (International Centre for Prison Studies, 2014).<sup>2</sup>

The major categories of penal punishment are death (by hanging), imprisonment for an indefinite term, imprisonment for a defined term and fines. There are 132 condemned prisoners on death row as of May 2014. Custodial sentences are of two types; imprisonment with labour, comprising the vast majority (99.4%), and imprisonment without labour, comprising the remainder. No more than 200 prisoners were imprisoned without labour as of the end of 2012. More than 30 per cent of prisoners were sentenced for theft, while around 30 per cent have committed drug-related crimes. About 80 per cent of prisoners are imprisoned for three years or less. Since there is no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The company's official English name is 'Shin-Kurushima Dockyard Co., Ltd.' It is also called the 'Ōi Shipyard' by Matsuyama prison.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Japanese data is based on an estimated national population of 127.26 million at end of June 2013 (Japanese Bureau of Statistics, 2014).

life sentence in Japan, imprisonment for an indefinite term is the heaviest punishment after the death penalty. Prisoners sentenced to an indefinite term may be released on probation after 10 years, but according to the 2013 White Paper on Crime, all four who were released in 2012 had served more than 30 years and less than 35 years.

This overview serves as the backdrop to the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard's remarkable role as the only open prison in Japan. The Dockyard is in the town of Ōnishi, located in the Koshichi area of Ehime Prefecture.

#### **History of Shin-Kurushima Dockyard and Yuuai Dormitory**

Hisao Tsubouchi (1914 –1999), a Japanese businessman, founded the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard in September, 1961. He had been appointed as Vice Director of the Regional Board of Rehabilitation and Protection in Ehime Prefecture the previous year. The work of the Board gave him the opportunity to interview prisoners in the Shikoku region. During these interviews, he came to realise that many prisoners had complaints: either they were obliged to do prison work they did not like and so hated working, or they were unable to find jobs on their release that were related to the work they had done in prison. Tsubouchi found that the difficulties they faced in reintegrating to society stemmed from their reluctance to work, and this reluctance was due to the fact that they had been made to work, so lacked workplace motivation or enjoyment.

Tsubouchi came up with the idea of establishing a workplace where prisoners could learn to enjoy work done in lieu of mainstream prison work. He felt that the key to rehabilitation had much to do with the nature of the work offered to prisoners, and that prison had to be a place for learning how to find satisfaction in work, rather than a place for repentance. He thought that there would be a sense of achievement in productive work, where prisoners contributed to building something extraordinary, like a ship.

Crucially, Tsubouchi had been incarcerated in a concentration camp in Siberia in the USSR for three and a half years after the end of World War II in 1945, during which time he was used as forced labour. Returning to his home in Ehime Prefecture in 1948, he resumed a successful career as a businessman, starting with recreational businesses such as movie theaters, golf clubs and hot springs. He realised the importance of trading and transportation for the further development of the economy in Ehime Prefecture, which faces key Japanese sea shipping routes, and decided to establish a shipyard. This shipyard became the current Dockyard.

Starting out in shipbuilding meant that Tsubouchi needed not only capital but also human resources. Tsubouchi's belief that effective reintegration could be assisted by finding satisfaction in work led him to discuss the question of finding a workforce for the Dockyard with the Matsuyama prison warden, Nobuo Goto. Goto agreed to Tsubouchi's suggestion of allowing some Matsuyama prison prisoners to work at the Dockyard as a

way of fulfilling the standard requirement of Japan's industrial prison system, that they perform work while incarcerated.

Since the Dockyard is situated some 50 kilometers from Matsuyama prison, Tsubouchi also needed to build dormitory accommodation for prisoners at the Dockyard. The name of the accommodation, 'Yuuai-ryo', means 'Brotherhood Dormitory'. His correctional ethos of finding beauty and meaning in one's working life was even expressed in the Dormitory bathrooms, where marble tiles were used for the floors and walls.

Despite ownership of the Dockyard changing hands to the current company, Matsuyama prisoners have continued to be accepted as co-workers at the Dockyard. The local community in the town of Ōnishi have come to accept the prisoners as neighbours and co-operate with the initiative. Acceptance of the prisoners by the local community was assisted by an incident in1962. A house near the Dormitory caught fire, and 17 prisoners wanted to help extinguish the fire and assist people to carry furniture out of the houses. They asked the Dormitory director, a chief guard from Matsuyama prison, for permission. He demonstrated his trust in them by allowing them to assist. When the fire was extinguished a few hours later, all 17 prisoners returned to the Dormitory as they had promised, and the trust of the people who let the prisoners enter their homes to salvage belongings was not misplaced.

From this time on the Ōnishi community extended goodwill towards the Dormitory prisoners. The community includes the prisoners in seasonal activities such as athletic competitions, cultural exhibitions and New Year celebrations, either at a community facility or at the Dormitory. Prisoners also contribute to the community through a neighborhood clean-up every weekend. They go out from the Dormitory to pick up rubbish at the local Japan Rail station, Shinto shrine or neighboring streets. The striking feature here is that the Dormitory prisoners from Matsuyama prison are accepted by both the local community as well as the ordinary workers at the Dockyard. The establishment of trust has been key for the exchange of goodwill between the prisoners and both local groups (Matsuyama prison, 2012; Imai, 1971).<sup>3</sup>

#### Selection of prisoner participants

Prisoners must meet standards fixed by Matsuyama prison in order to qualify for participation in the Dormitory program. Participants must be male, have a strong motivation to reintegrate into mainstream society, have no tendency towards escape, have a higher than average IQ score, have the capacity to participate in communal life, and are be under 45 years of age (Matsuyama prison, undated). Eligible prisoners are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The town of Ōnishi was absorbed into Imabari City in 2005. As of 2000, the Ōnishi population was 8,802. (Wikipedia, 2014)

selected from Japan's eight correctional districts nationwide by quota, and the total number of participants at any one time is kept at less than 50 due to limited capacity.

Twenty prisoners arrived as the first Dockyard workers when the Dormitory was initially opened on 19 September 1961. In the 50 years since then over 3,500 prisoners have passed through the Dormitory, many acquiring vocational qualifications likely to increase their job opportunities on release, such as arc-welding, forklift operation and crane operation.<sup>4</sup> When the author visited the Dormitory in February 2013, there were 24 prisoners. Nineteen of these were working at the Dockyard alongside ordinary workers without prison guard surveillance, while five were working at the Dormitory, cooking, doing laundry or maintaining the facilities for the other prisoners.

#### **Duration and effectiveness of participation**

Prisoners selected to come to the Dockyard receive a five-week introductory course at Matsuyama prison before being placed at the Dormitory. This introductory instruction includes skills training for basic shipyard work at the Dockyard, which inevitably requires professional guidance. This need is met by a specialist instructor from the Dockyard who conducts training at Matsuyama prison during each week of the five-week training period. After completion of this introductory course, the candidates are transferred to the Dockyard, where they receive a further three-week basic training course for newcomers, including training in welding and group activities. The candidates are placed in shipbuilding jobs at the Dockyard alongside ordinary workers after this three-week basic training course.

On average, one year is spent in a shipbuilding job before a prisoner is reviewed for parole. Most are released on parole at about 60 per cent completion of their sentence (Ikeguchi, 1991), while the nationwide average is 83 per cent. This early release is a significant benefit for prisoners, in addition to increased job opportunities through the vocational qualifications they receive. Among the 3,500 prisoners who passed through the Dockyard in the first 50 years of the program to 2011, 2,500 were paroled while 1,000 were sent back to Matsuyama prison after being evaluated as unsuited to the Dockyard. Although the rarity of escape attempts is not the best evidence of the Dockyard's success, only 16 escapes were committed by 19 prisoners over this five-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The first qualification, that of boiler engineer, 2<sup>nd</sup> grade was acquired by one of the first Dormitory prisoners in March 1962. By 1969, 373 Dormitory prisoners had qualified as electric arc welders, 39 as crane operators and 70 as chief hazardous materials engineers. During 1962–69, 512 out of a total of 664 Dormitory prisoners acquired vocational certificates or licenses; see Imai (1971: 110). In the three years between 2008 and 2010, 59 Dormitory prisoners qualified as electric arc welders, 39 as gas welders, 28 as crane operators, 17 as chief hazardous materials engineers, and 40 as forklift operators. The success rate for those who attempted vocational qualifications mentioned above was 88 per cent (Brochure, Matsuyama Prison, obtained in 2013).

decade period (Abe, 2011). This shows that most prisoners realise that there is greater benefit in staying to complete the programme than in escaping.

The success of the Dockyard is more accurately demonstrated by the recidivism rate among Dormitory prisoners. Among the 2,117 Dormitory prisoners paroled by 1 February 1992, the recidivism rate was 15.8 per cent (Takada, 1992), while the nationwide average for parolees was about 30 per cent (Ministry of Justice (Japan), 1992: Chart II-55). Limiting the period to the last five years between 2008 and 2013, the recidivism rate has been zero. The rigorous selection process detailed above and the disciplined yet autonomous way of life at the Dormitory may assist in maintaining this low recidivism rate.

It was noted at the Howard League for Penal Reform conference at Oxford on 2 October 2013 that those prisoners selected for the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard are well-motivated model prisoners from across Japan. It is natural, therefore, that the recidivism rate is lower than the national average. However, I would argue that if the innovative Shin-Kurushima Dockyard programme were not working as expected the recidivism rate would be as high as, or higher than the nationwide rate, and certainly not zero for the last 5 years.

#### **Daily Dormitory life**

All prisoners working at the Dockyard must live in the Dormitory, which is surrounded by neither fences nor barbed wire. The doors have no locks except for the front door. On weekdays prisoners rise at 6.30am, breakfast at 6.50am and start work at the Dockyard at 8am. They return to the Dormitory for lunch at 12.10pm and leave again at 12.45pm to resume work at the Dockyard at 1pm, before working through to 5pm. Returning to the Dormitory at 5.15pm, they bathe before having dinner at 6pm. They then have free time until 'lights out' at 10.30pm.

This daily schedule at the Dockyard is much the same at other mainstream prisons in Japan. For example Nagoya Prison, which houses about 2,500 prisoners and is the third largest nationwide, follows a similar routine. Prisoners rise at 6.30am, breakfast at 6.50am and work from 8am until 12pm. They eat in a cafeteria in the prison factory rather than returning to their living quarters for lunch. They resume work at 12.30pm and return to their living quarters at 5pm.

However, at mainstream prisons in Japan prisoners have about a third less free time each evening, as 'lights out' is at 9pm. And all the facilities are surrounded by high walls topped by barbed wire, with prisoners kept under surveillance 24 hours a day. There is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Interview with Kazuo NISHIOKA, Director of General Affairs, Matsuyama Prison, July 1, 2011 and September 27, 2013.

also a major difference at weekends. Prisoners at mainstream prisons are not offered any self-governance, volunteering or extracurricular activities on their days off.

On weekends at the Dormitory, prisoners rise at 7.30am, cleaning and tidying the Dormitory before breakfasting at 8.20 am. After breakfast they attend meetings related to a range of self-governance, volunteering and extracurricular activities from 9am until 12noon, when they have lunch. From 1pm they participate in extracurricular activities until bathing at 5 pm. Dinner is at 5.45pm, followed by free time from 6.30pm until 9.30pm when the roll is called. 'Lights out' is again at 10.30pm. The extracurricular activities offered include cultural activities, such as tea ceremony, flower arrangement, calligraphy, choral singing, sign language and sports activities such as softball, soccer, basketball, volleyball and table tennis.

The prisoners have their own autonomous governing body, with the leaders and other roles all elected by ballot. Roles include the positions of chairperson, vice-chairperson, dormitory assistant, sports activity manager and editor of the monthly Dormitory newsletter Shiosai. This newsletter is produced by the prisoners without monitoring or censorship by the prison. It covers scheduled events, short essays on life or Dormitory activities, self-introductions and farewell messages. Most notably prisoners contribute short essays in which they express the changes they have noticed in themselves after coming to the Dockyard. Each office-bearer learns their role from prisoners previously responsible for the position. The chairperson conducts the Dormitory meetings and it is the prisoners who decide most of what they do each day – within parameters set by Matsuyama prison – such as their rising and working hours, or the types of extracurricular activities that will be offered. This means that the prisoners decide matters such as which sports to include in the autumnal sports festival, and who will be in charge of what, with the prison's consent. Through this the prisoners learn how to plan and carry out activities independently from the prison authorities. This is in stark contrast to mainstream prison life in Japan, where prisoners are subject to authority at all times, and must obey orders rather than autonomously plan or propose what they would like to do.

Twelve guards are present at the Dormitory 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The guards monitor the prisoners for any signs of escape and maintain contact with Matsuyama prison on a daily basis, reporting in, obtaining advice and acting as a conduit for decisions approving, amending or rejecting autonomous proposals made by the prisoners. The guards rely on the autonomous prisoner body for carrying out daily chores, in particular the tidying of dormitory rooms each morning and checks to ensure this is done properly.

A further feature of the Dormitory is to support prisoners and promote their wellbeing. In many cases the prisoners have personal problems, and in the Yuuai Dormitory the

guards also function as counselors. Every day, after work is finished at the Dockyard, each prisoner is interviewed by a guard to identify, and if possible solve, any problems, difficulties or hardships they may have, or simply to note their observations or comments. This daily contact with each prisoner through interviews and counselling makes guards aware of any potential negative outcomes, such as an escape or violence at the Dormitory. At the same time, it also helps to maintain prisoners' mental health.

In mainstream prisons in Japan the primary role of a prison guard is to monitor prisoners to ensure order is maintained. In the past, as a secondary role, they were expected to behave as paternal or 'older brother' figures towards prisoners, and would offer advice on matters from daily chores to future reintegration into society, but this role has not been expected of guards for some decades. In my view the rationale behind this change was that relying on guards to personally implement the correctional agenda for the prisoners in their care resulted in unequal treatment, whereas a more organisational approach means that all prisoners are treated equally no matter which prison or guard has legal authority over an individual prisoner.

At the Dockyard, however, the historical secondary role of guards is respected and still maintained. According to Seiji Abe, a former director of the Dormitory, 'they feel that we trust them, and this is why they rarely try to escape, or rather try to respond to our trust in them. Human beings don't want to deceive others when they are trusted' (Abe, 2011: 27). Many prisoners note in their short essays that they have learned the importance of trusting and being trusted by others in the Yuuai Dormitory, and that without this trust, it seems that it would be impossible for them to live together and work safely at the Dockyard. Recognising the importance of teamwork, mutual trust and bonds is the most valuable discovery for those coming to the Yuuai Dormitory and the Dockyard – and the one which has the most significant impact on them.

#### Conclusion

Over more than 50 years, more than 3,500 prisoners have passed through the Yuuai Dormitory and Shin-Kurushima Dockyard. The available data has demonstrated that the facilities have allowed many prisoners to be well – or at least better – rehabilitated and reintegrated into society. This success can in part be attributed to not being incarcerated in the traditional sense, being included in the local community and being given a degree of autonomy and proper professional vocational guidance.

The Dormitory has no fences or locks, so prisoners have access to the local neighbourhood, from which they could escape using public transportation. Escape attempts have been rare, however, because prisoners see the value of staying at the Yuuai Dormitory, completing the Dockyard programme and acquiring vocational

qualifications useful for their future. In contrast, escape would likely mean eventual capture, and return to a prison with heavier security and less or no autonomy.

Life at the Dormitory is basically managed by the prisoners themselves, from the planning of meetings and ceremonies to volunteer work and extracurricular activities in the community. The community has come to trust Dormitory prisoners due to the historical relationship they share, and prisoners return this favour by volunteering to keep the neighbourhood clean, and sharing activities with their neighbours. Ordinary Dockyard workers also accept and train the prisoners and work alongside them to build ships. Considerable mutual trust is needed for them to work together on dangerous construction sites. The 12 Matsuyama prison guards at the Dormitory also trust the prisoners, and endeavor to talk with them on a daily basis to see how they are doing and give them advice as mentors, treating them differently from prisoners in mainstream Japanese prisons. Through all these activities and relationships, the prisoners are accepted and treated well, as members of the workplace as well as of the local community. As the prisoners themselves have demonstrated, all these factors lead to effective rehabilitation, and a low rate of recidivism.

Two challenges face the program embodied by the Dormitory and the Dockyard. One is that their positive practice, proven over the last 50 years, has not expanded to other sites in Japan's prison system. There has not been another Hisao Tsubouchi or Nobuo Goto. One reason for this is that the Matsuyama prison initiative is considered to be a particular scheme which may not be applicable in other places. This argument is unconvincing, however, since there are construction sites other than shipyards, and well-motivated prisoners, as well as well-motivated entrepreneurs throughout the country. The simple fact is that this initiative is not as well known in Japanese society as it should be.

Secondly, the Dockyard has never employed any former Dormitory prisoners. Katsushi Mori, General Manager, General Affairs, Shin-Kurushima Dockyard explained that Matsuyama prison prisoners come from all over Japan, not from the immediate Shikoku region, and return to their homes on release rather than staying in the area.<sup>6</sup> This requirement that they return to their home locality is a policy of the Japanese Correctional Bureau rather than the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard. If Dormitory prisoners could choose to be employed at the Dockyard on release, this would further encourage their social inclusion, and their motivation to learn may be increased even more without affecting the current negligible recidivism rate.

A question has been raised as to whether the Dockyard's failure to employ prisoners upon release, despite knowing that the opportunity for immediate employment at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Interview with Katsushi MORI, at the Dormitory, February 20, 2013.

Dockyard may positively impact on rehabilitation means the work the prisoners perform at the Dockyard constitutes 'slave labour'. It is true that the prisoners work at low cost in exchange for training in vocational skills and the opportunity to obtain qualifications, and on a strict definition this arrangement could be viewed as 'slave labour', even if it is the prisoners themselves who elect to come to the Dockyard. However, if voluntary participation places a workplace arrangement outside the definition of 'slave labour', the Dockyard programme clearly does not deserve such an epithet. Even after arriving at the Dockyard prisoners have the option to transfer to Matsuyama prison - which is a mainstream prison, like the prison they would have been held in before coming to the Dockyard.

If 'hard labour' is an important part of the definition of 'slave labour' then, since the Dockyard work can indeed be hard, it could be labelled 'slave labour'. But then again, the ordinary workers at the Dockyard work under in the same conditions as the prisoners. If the definition of 'slave labour' includes 'excessive working hours', then since their working hours are limited to 8 hours a day in compliance with Japanese labour law and they do not work on weekends, their situation does not constitute 'slave labour'.

Prisoners at the Dockyard are not always surrounded by guards as they would be in mainstream prisons. Moreover the prisoners themselves autonomously decide and implement the rules and activities. In addition, they receive monthly prisoner remuneration of around JPY 12,000 (approximately 85 Euros at JPY140 / Euro; rate as at April 2014). The nationwide average for monthly prisoner remuneration is less than JPY 5,000 (around 35 Euros). Of course, this is much lower than the minimum wage which at around JPY 800 / hour (approximately 5 Euros / hour) comes to JPY 160,000 / month (around 1,142 Euros). But these workers are serving a sentence which is a judicially-ordered deprivation of the usual freedoms, including the freedom to decide where to live, what to eat and wear, and what kind of work to do.

It can be assumed that the policy of sending prisoners to their home locality on release has to do with the fact that were the Shin-Kurushima Dockyard allowed to employ them, this could be harmful to the open prison system in the long run. Prisoners would know which of their workmates were employed after discharge from the Yuuai Dormitory, and might try to compare them with themselves – possibly concluding that they were better and so more deserving of jobs at the Dockyard than those already employed. Those not offered jobs on completion of the programme might well be discontent. This would eventually run the risk of frustrating the vision of Hisao Tsubouchi, whose idea was to offer the joy of working to prisoners at the Dockyard, so that they are able to appreciate the value of work, and want to work after release. It was not a direct job opportunity at the Dockyard that Tsubouchi wanted to offer to prisoners, but a more abstract reward; a

newfound motivation drawn from experiencing the joy of working. His belief was that they could go on to lead a meaningful life working in any community.

The concepts of inherent human dignity and respect written into international declaration, treaties and covenants<sup>7</sup> – or at least the ideas behind and spirit of these concepts – are made into reality for prisoners at the Dormitory as they are for other members of Japanese society. The understanding that the entitlement to human dignity and respect should apply to all prisoners, and that the correctional mandate is to treat prisoners in the same way as we treat ordinary people, must be championed by and among ordinary citizens. Continuing to share and expand on this idea, not only in Japan but among the people of other countries, is my challenge. It seems that the example of the Yuuai Dormitory and Shin-Kurushima Dockyard could help to promote this process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Such as the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966), the *Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty* (1989), and the *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* (2011).

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