Application of Vipassanā Meditation for Prisoners' Behavior Reform: A Case of Nepal

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Abstract

This study evaluates the effects of Vipassanā meditation courses conducted in Nepalese prisons between February 2022 and April 2024. This study is undertaken to address the lack of systematic evidence on the effectiveness of Vipassanā meditation in promoting measurable and sustained behavioral reform among prisoners in Nepal. Primary and secondary data are used to evaluate whether Vipassanā practice contributes to positive behavioral changes among inmates. This research employs a mixed method approach combining both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data was solicited from participant inmates in three stages while qualitative feedback was obtained from prison officials and non-participating inmates to validate the findings. Descriptive statistics are used to evaluate the behavioral, psychological, and social outcomes of Vipassanā practice. Paired sample t-test is applied to determine change between pre-and post, pre-and follow-up, and post- and follow-up responses, at five percent level of significance ($p<0.05$).

Statistical analysis revealed significant improvements in inmates' attitudes, interpersonal relationships and mental well-being while promoting higher self-awareness and emotional regulation. Likewise, significant reductions in anger, stress, anxiety, and vengeful feelings are observed, along with improvements in physical health, and optimism after Vipassanā practice. These benefits sustained during follow-up assessments, indicating long-term positive effects. Additionally, feedback obtained from prison officers and security personnel validated these findings, confirming the positive institutional impacts. Vipassanā meditation serves as an effective, evidence-based, and cost-efficient tool for prisoner rehabilitation and prison reform in Nepal.

Keywords: *Behavioral, Effects, Inmates, Meditation, Respondents, Vipassanā*

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1. Introduction

Vipassanā is an ancient method of meditation applied by the Buddha during his enlightenment process. This technique was then taught to his disciples: monks, nuns and lay practitioners. Later, it was recognized as a profound method for cultivating insight and mental discipline. This technique was subsequently taught to monastic people and lay-practitioners, resulting in widespread transformation and inner development among its practitioners. Over time, however, with the fragmentation of Buddhist traditions following the Buddha's Mahaparinirbana, the systematic practice of Vipassanā almost diminished, largely becoming confined to monastic institutions. However, the lineage of Vipassanā was preserved with an unbroken chain by a few monastic practitioners in Myanmar, who maintained the technique in its pure form (Goenka, *The Great Buddha* 238). After 1930, this technique was once again popularized among lay practitioners in Myanmar. S.N. Goenka, a Burmese-born businessman of Indian origin, learned Vipassanā from Sayagyi U Ba Khin and brought the technique with him to India in 1969 (Goenka, *Atma Kathan* 145). He then developed a standardized 10 days residential Vipassanā course, tailored for lay practitioners, which subsequently was spread across India, Nepal and various other countries. One of the most notable innovations introduced by Goenka was the implementation of Vipassanā meditation program within prison premises. He had initiated for the jail Vipassanā course from Jaipur prison India (Singh 33). The positive outcomes observed among inmates contributed to the gradual expansion of such programs, which have since been adopted in various prisons across 16 countries, including Nepal (VRI, *Spread of* 7).

In Nepal, the first prison-based Vipassanā course was conducted at Nakkhu jail in 1998 (Humagai 7). Three initial courses were conducted between 1998 and 2000. There was a prolonged gap of nearly 22 years in the continuation of prison Vipassanā courses. The program resumed in February 2022 at Nakkhu prison. As of February 2024, eleven non-center courses had been conducted in four prisons: Nakkhu, Biratnagar, Bhimphedi and Nawalparasi, participating 428 male inmates and three prison officials. A major milestone was achieved with the formal inauguration of the Dhammasaya Vipassanā center was inaugurated within the Nakkhu Jail premises, Lalitpur on 5th February, 2024 (NRML para 1). The center has a dedicated intuitional facility within prison premises for 50 participants at a time. Since its inception, the center has conducted regular 10 day Vipassanā courses. By December 2025, a total of 43 courses (11 non-center and 32 at Dhammasaya center) had been conducted: nine for female inmates and 34 for male inmates, benefiting 1420 participates including 216 women inmates and 14 prison officials. A detailed list of these courses is provided in Annex 2. These developments highlight the growing recognition of Vipassanā meditation as a viable approach to behavioral reform and rehabilitation

for inmates within Nepalese prison institutions.

A few researchers have attempted to explore prison Vipasanā courses; however, they have focused less on the effects of Vipasanā practice on inmates (Perelman et.al 176; Rahamani 629; Bowen et al. 343), and are narrow in scope and differ from the Nepalese context (Himelstein 646; Singh 33; Rathi 1984). One study attempts to highlight the Nepalese prison context with small sample size (n=35) and involves a single course (Pandey 242). In contrast to these previous studies, this study emphasizes the Nepalese cultural context and assesses the effects of Vipasanā meditation practice among inmates. Furthermore, the current study is based on 13 Vipassanā courses conducted in various prisons across Nepal and involves a large number of respondents, including female inmates. Empirical evidence was collected in three stages: before the course, immediately after the course and after 3-6 months follow up; and was further verified through input from other inmates and prison staffs to justify the findings.

2. Review of Literature

Historical records indicate that Vipassanā meditation was employed as a tool for reforming hardened criminals as early as the reign of Emperor Ashoka (VRI, *Records of* 52). In modern times, the technique was reintroduced into Burma's prisons where Vipassanā-bhawana was first conducted in 1957 (Houtman 46). The first 10-day Vipassanā course was conducted by S. N. Goenka in Jaipur Central Jail, India, in 1974 (Singh 33). Following the Jaipur Jail course, similar programs were expanded to prisons in Baroda, Nasik, Tihar, and other prisons across India. Kiran Bedi, then Inspector General of Tihar Jail, facilitated a large-scale prison Vipassanā course for approximately 1,000 inmates. The success of these initiatives contributed to growing institutional interest, and the Vipassanā course, as taught by Goenka, has since gained governmental recognition for its effectiveness to improve even hardened criminals (Analayo 259). As of January 2025, 16 countries have initiated for prison Vipassanā courses, and six Vipassanā centers have been established within prison premises- three in Myanmar, two in India and one in Nepal (NRML para 4). As M. Rahmani noted, the Vipassanā meditation as taught by Goenka is the largest network for teaching Vipassanā to lay practitioners worldwide, offering courses free of charge, with costs covered by donation from old Vipassanā meditators (629).

Multiple studies have documented the positive impact of prison Vipassana courses. Kiran Bedi described her administrative experiences in Tihar jail, detailed the transformative impact of Vipassanā on inmate behavior and prison culture, noting improvement in discipline, reduced violence, and enhanced emotional stability (105). Chandiramani et al. observed a significant reduction in anxiety, depression, feeling

of hopelessness among participants along with increase psychological well-being (1-38). Ram Singh shared his experiences of the first Vipassanā course in central Jail Rajasthan in 1974. He was an eyewitness to the remarkable transformation of ankle-locked hardened criminals. "The red-eyes of the criminals, who were the cause of so much turmoil, changed, and their faces beamed; tears streamed down their cheeks; tear rolled down my face also; it was a rare moment filled with joy after such high tension" (34). R. L. Vora assessed the impact of Vipassanā jail course in the Baroda Central Jail, noting decreased disciplinary infractions, improved inmate- staff relations, reduced smoking habits, diminished desire for revenge. He shared a notable incident on Republic day 1994, when 150 meditator inmates were temporarily released to join a rally outside prison and voluntarily return without incident, an act symbolizing responsibility and trust (41-42).

In the United States, Vipassanā courses have been conducted in several correctional institutions, including King County North rehabilitation Facility (NRF), San Francisco Jail, and Donaldson Correctional Facility. Based on the research on American Jail Vipassanā course, S. Himelstein found that meditation programs improved inmates' psychological well-being, which ultimately could contribute to reduced recidivism. Such programs may also be the cost-effective tools for prison management (659). Parks et al. reported that while 75 percent of prisoners released from King County Jail typically returned within two years, the recidivism rate of Vipassanā participants was significantly lower at 56 percent. They further emphasized that Vipassanā practitioners reduced their tobacco consumption and alcohol-related problems, which remained consistent up to three months follow-up periods. K. M. Auty also emphasized on the cost effectiveness of Vipassanā program, noting that costs are borne by old Vipassanā meditators (820). Other studies (Simpson 239; Bowen et al. 343; Perelman et al. 176) have similarly identified reductions in substance abuse, emotional distress, and psychiatric symptoms, and increases in mindfulness, emotional intelligence, and pro-social behavior.

In Southeast Asia, Win et al. documented the positive psychological and social impact of Vipassanā courses among inmates of Central Jail Insein, Myanmar (177). M.W. Jayasundara studying Bogambara prison in Sri Lanka, noted improved sleep quality, reductions in nightmares and pain, and decreased substance use and feelings of revenge among participants (conclusion). M. Rathi noted that Vipassanā practice "can help with trauma healing, including memory processing and integration, which is often seen as too dangerous in today's prison situations" (1990). Goenka himself highlighted the universal relevance of Vipassanā for purification of mind stating that individuals are prisoners of their mental defilements and Vipassanā practice liberates everyone from this bondage (Bedi 307).

3. Research Methodology

This study investigates the impact of prison Vipassanā meditation courses on prisoners' behavioral reform in Nepal. The primary objective of the study is to evaluate whether Vipassanā practice contributes to positive behavioral changes among inmates. This research employs a mixed methods approach, combining both qualitative and quantitative data obtained through primary and secondary sources. A mixed-method approach is used to capture both the measurable behavioral changes and the subjective experiences of inmates, ensuring a comprehensive and validated assessment of the impact of Vipassanā meditation on prisoners' reform.

3.1 Data sources:

For this study, the data were collected both from secondary and primary sources. Basically, the existing literature, research reports, journal articles, books and online sources which are focused on prison Vipassanā courses are used as the major sources of secondary data collection. These sources have provided the background and theoretical foundation for the study. For the primary data collection, a structured close-ended questionnaire was administered. The questionnaire was designed as per the five-point Likert scale: strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree and strongly disagree to measure participants' perceptions, behavioral responses and attitudinal changes in their attitude resulting from meditation practice (Annex I). The questionnaires were used to collect the data at three stages: before the commencement of the Vipassanā course (pre-course), immediately after the course completion (post-course) and follow-up period during 3-6 months for the comparative analysis.

3.2 Study population and sampling:

The study has covered the prisoners who voluntarily applied and participated for the course across different prisons. For this purpose, nine mobile Vipassanā courses conducted at Nakkhu, Bhimphedi and Nawalparasi prisons as well as four courses conducted at Dhamasaya Vipassanā Center were selected as study sample. An ethical consideration and confidentiality were maintained throughout the process. Due to the frequent transfers and releases of the prison population, the number of respondents have varied across the three stages of data collection. Out of the total participants, 547 inmates have completed the pre-course questionnaire, 467 inmates have submitted the post-course feedback, and only 279 inmates were participated for the 3-6 month follow-up survey. Besides, Vipassanā teachers, course volunteers, prison officials, security personnel, and supervising inmates' who did not participate in the course were personally communicated to access the qualitative insights of the study. It has presented valuable contextual understanding and triangulated the qualitative findings.

3.3 Data Analysis:

A software, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used for quantitative data processing and analyzing. First, descriptive statistics were computed to summarize the central tendencies of participant responses. For the comparative analysis, a paired t-test was applied to assess the changes observed between the pre- post, pre-follow up and post- follow up responses. Five percent level of significance ($p<0.05$) was applied for the statistical significance of the findings.

4. Result and Discussion

This study used a structured and closed ended questionnaire distributed to participants at three intervals: prior to the Vipassanā course, immediately after its completion, and during the 3-6 months follow-up period. The same set of questions was used at all stages to ensure consistency in responses. Frequency distribution of the participant responses has been tabulated in table 1 of annex 3. Due to the relatively low number of responses falling into 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' categories, they were merged into a single category for statistical clarity. Paired sample t-tests is used to determine the statistical significance of changes observed between the three stages, and the results are presented in table 2 of annex 3.

The pre-course sample consists of 547 inmates, of whom 85 percent identify as male and 15 percent as female. In terms of marital status, 71 percent were married and 29 percent were unmarried. Educational background varied across the sample: 38 percent had only basic literacy skills, 41 percent had completed secondary level education, and 21 percent held qualification at bachelor's level and above. Regarding the nature of offenses, 22 percent of inmates were incarnated for murder, 25 percent for drug related offenses, 20 percent for rape, 15 percent for theft, 5 percent for Banking related crimes, and the remaining 13 percent for infractions such as corruption, currency counterfeiting, illegal foreign employment, or immigration violations. The age of respondent inmates ranged from 18 to 71 years. At the follow-up stage, respondents were asked about their ongoing Vipassanā practicing habits. Results showed that 18 percent practiced Vipassanā for more than two hour per day, 31 percent for 1-2 hours daily, 27 percent for up to one hour daily, while 24 percent reported occasional, non-regular practice depending on external circumstances.

4.1 Positive and optimist attitude

The first question sought to evaluate whether Vipassanā practice contributed to the development of a positive and optimist attitude among inmates. Prior to the

course, about 41 percent of respondents strongly agreed and 48 percent agreed that Vipassana practice could be helpful in cultivating a positive mental attitude. Immediately after the course, the proportion of those strongly agreeing increased markedly to 65 percent, while those agreeing slightly decreased to 35 percent. The ratio of 'strongly agreed' and 'agreed' respondents at follow-up period remained 60 percent and 38 percent respectively. The proportion of respondents expressing 'not sure' declined significantly from 8 percent to less than one percent immediately after the course, and to 2.0 percent during the follow-up period. Respondents selecting 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' remained negligible across all three stages. A Paired sample t-test analysis confirmed statistically significant differences between all-time points: pre-course and post course p-value = 0.00 < 0.05, statistically significant; pre-course and follow-up p-value = 0.00 < 0.05, statistically significant; and post course and follow-up p-value = 0.00<0.05, statistically significant. These findings suggest that the observed changes in attitude were not due to chance and were sustained over time. Therefore, the statistical evidence supports the conclusion that Vipassanā practice has a significant and enduring impact on fostering a more positive and optimist outlook among inmates.

4.2 Purification of human mind and character

The second question evaluated whether Vipassanā practice contributes to the purification of inmates' minds and character. Before the Vipassanā course, about 34 percent of respondents strongly agreed, and 54 percent agreed that Vipassanā practice would help in mental and moral purification. Immediately after the course, the proportion of respondents who strongly agreed rose sharply to 66 percent, while those who agreed decreased slightly to 33 percent. Compared to post-course responses, at the 3-6-month follow-up, the percentage strongly agreeing declined slightly to 53 percent, with those agreeing increasing to 44 percent. The 'not sure' category shrank considerably from 11 percent pre- course to one percent post-course, and remained low at three percent during follow-up period. A Paired sample t-test results demonstrated statistically significant differences across all comparative periods: pre-course and post-course (p-value = 0.00<0.05), pre-course and follow-up (p-value=0.00<0.05) and post-course and follow-up (p-value = 0.00<0.05). These results indicate a significant and sustained positive effect of Vipassanā practice inmates' perceptions of mental and character purification.

4.3 Recognition of mistakes and improvement

For this, respondents were requested to share their experience whether Vipassanā practice helps them in recognizing their mistakes and fostering self-improvement or not. Before the intervention, 32 percent of respondents strongly agreed with this statement. This ratio nearly doubled to 61 percent immediately after the course

and remained elevated at 57 percent during the follow-up period. Those expressing agreement decreased from 57 percent pre- course to 38 percent immediately after the course, then stabilized at 39 percent during the follow-up period. The 'not sure' responses decreased from 10 percent before the course to approximately two percent post-course, and remaining low thereafter. A Paired sample t-test results demonstrated statistically significant differences across all comparative periods: pre-course and post-course p-value=0.00<0.05; pre-course and follow-up period p-value=0.00<0.05; and post-course and follow-up period p-value=0.01<0.05. These findings validate the conclusion that Vipassanā practice supports inmates' awareness of personal shortcomings and constructive behavioral change by themselves.

4.4 Improvement in physical and mental health condition

The fourth item examined whether Vipassanā practice contributes to improvements in inmates' physical and mental health. Before the course, 33 percent of respondents strongly agreed, and 55 percent agreed that the practice would enhance their health. Immediately after the course, the proportion of inmates who strongly agreed increased remarkably to 58 percent, while those agreeing decreased to 38 percent. During the 3-6-month follow-up, these proportions remained stable, with 54 percent strongly agreeing and 40 percent agreeing. Statistical analysis through paired sample t-test revealed significant differences across all comparative periods: pre-course and post-course, p-value = 0.00<0.05; pre-course and follow-up, p-value =0.00<0.05; and post-course and follow-up, p value= 0.00<0.05. These findings indicate that Vipassanā practice has a significant and sustained positive impact on both the physical and mental well-being of inmates.

4.5 Reduction of anger, stress, irritation and anxiety

Participants were asked whether Vipassanā practice helped them to reduce their feelings of anger, stress, irritation, and anxiety. The proportion of respondents who strongly agreed increased sharply from 34 percent pre-course to 64 percent immediately after the course, slightly declining to 61 percent at follow-up. Similarly, those who agreed decreased from 54 percent before the course to 33 percent immediately after the course, remaining constant thereafter. The 'not sure' responses fell from 10 percent pre-course to three percent post-course and remained steady during the follow-up period. A paired sample t-test confirmed the statistical significance of these changes: pre-course and post-course, p-value=0.00<0.05; pre-course and follow-up, p-value-0.00<0.05; and post-course and follow-up, p-value=0.006<0.05. These findings suggest that Vipassanā practice effectively supports inmates in managing and reducing negative emotional states such as anger, stress, irritation, and anxiety.

4.6 Improvement in relationships with other inmates and prison staff

Respondents were asked whether Vipassanā practice improved interpersonal relationships within the prison environment. Before the course, 34 percent of respondents strongly agreed, and 52 percent agreed that Vipassanā practice would enhance their relationships with fellow inmates and prison staff. Immediately after the course, those strongly agreeing respondents rose to 56 percent, while those agreeing decreased slightly to 41 percent. At follow-up, the strongly agreed category slightly declined to 49 percent, while those who agreed slightly increased to 43 percent. The 'not sure' category decreased sharply from 11 percent pre-course to two percent post- course, rising slightly to 5 percent at follow-up. Statistical testing yielded significant results across all time points: pre-course and post-course, p-value=0.00<0.05; pre-course and follow-up, p-value=0.001<0.05; and post-course and follow-up; p-value=0.003<0.05. This data suggest that Vipassanā practice contributes to enhanced social harmony and cooperation within prison setting.

4.7 Vipassanā meditation as a jail reform tool

Respondents were also asked about the potentiality of Vipassanā meditation as a method o for prison reform. Prior to the course, about 40 percent strongly agreed and 49 percent agreed that Vipassanā could be used as a jail reform tool. Immediately after the course, the percentage of respondents who strongly agreed sharply increased to 67 percent which then slightly decreased to 60 percent during the follow-up period. Similarly, the percentage share of respondents who agreed drastically decreased to 30 percent after completing of the course, and then slightly increased to 36 percent during the follow-up period. Paired sample t-test revealed statistically significant differences throughout the periods: pre-course and post course, p-value=0.00<0.05; pre-course and follow-up, p-value=0.00<0.05; and post course-follow-up, p-value= 0.00<0.05. The findings support the conclusion that Vipassanā meditation can be an effective and sustainable approach for prison reform technique.

4.8 Subjective feedback

Qualitative feedback was solicited from randomly selected eight prison officials, and 20 inmates (personal communication, 23 June-20 August 2024) who had not participated in the Vipassanā courses. The first question addressed their observations on with the regularity of Vipassanā practice among prisoners. Among the 20 inmates, five reported that most of the inmates who participated in the Vipassanā course maintained a consistent daily practice, while the remaining 15 indicated that some inmates practiced regularly whereas others did so as their circumstances. All eight prison officials stated that the inmates practiced as much as possible given the constraints. The second question explored observed behavior changes among the inmates after Vipassanā practice. Six inmates responded significant positive changes

in those who practiced Vipassanā meditation, while other 14 observed noticeable improvements in inmate behavior. All prison officials consistently conformed that they observed positive behavioral changes among inmates after Vipassanā practice, which facilitated smoother jail administration. The third question concerned the potential of Vipassanā course as a tool for jail reform. Nineteen out of 20 inmates and all eight prison officials agreed that institutionalizing Vipassanā courses would be beneficial for prison reform. Supporting this, Vipassanā teachers and volunteers actively involved in facilitating prison courses expressed strong interest in conducting additional Vipassanā courses. According to Jail course volunteers and Vipassanā teachers (personal communication, 25th August 2024), the demand for courses is increasing steadily, with both from new participants and repeat attendees. Due to limited capacity, prospective inmates have to wait for many months to join the prison Vipassanā course. These qualitative insights validate and reinforce the quantitative findings reported in previous sections.

5. Conclusion

Vipassanā practice has demonstrated a positive outcome among not only monks, nuns and other lay practitioners but, also among incarcerated people. This study specifically examined the impact of Vipassanā courses within Nepalese prisons, aiming to evaluate how it affects inmate behavior and well-being. The findings indicate that Vipassanā practice accelerates mental purification by fostering concentration and inner peace. Notably, Vipassanā practice contributes to a reduction in prison recidivism rates, an outcome extensively documented in developed countries. While many inmates initially experience feelings of anger and revenge; these negative emotions get significantly alleviated over time through regular Vipassanā practice. Among participating inmates, a decline in smoking habits and drug related problems was observed in the study, which are common problems among prisoners.

Despite differences in age, educational background, gender, marital status, and the offences committed, Vipassanā meditation supports inmates in improving their attitudes, behavior, and relationship with other inmates and prison administration. Additionally, reductions in anger, stress, and anxiety contributed to improve mental well-being and higher psychological strength. Such behavioral improvements foster more peaceful and cooperative prison environments and support inmates' reintegration into society upon release. From an institutional perspective, Vipassanā presents a cost-effective yet sustainable approach to prison reform. By promoting the purification of mind character, Vipassanā practice aids in rehabilitating even hardened offenders and improving overall prison management. Continued governmental and administrative support for Vipassanā meditation programs within Nepal's prisons is strongly recommended as a complementary tool for behavioral reform and inmate rehabilitation.

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Annex 1 Sample Questionnaire

A. Personal Details

Name____Age (Years)_____Address /Country)_____Prison From_____ Nature of offence____

B. Effects of Vipassanā Mediation

S. N.	Statements	Please marks) (✓) your choice.				
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not-Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
1	*Vipassanā* has helped me to develop a positive and optimistic attitude					
2	*Vipassanā* has the capacity to reform human mind and character.					
3	*Vipassanā* has inspired and enabled me to recognize my mistakes and improve upon them					
4	Because of *Vipassanā*, my general health, and in particular, my mental health has improved					
5	*Vipassanā* has reduced my anger, stress, irritation and anxiety					
6	*Vipassanā* has helped me improve relations with friends and others					
7	*Vipassanā* meditation could be used as one of the Jail reform technique					

C. Additional information for post and follow-up questionnaire

(i) How much time do you daily practice Vipassanā?)

(a) more than two hours (b) one to two hours (c) one hour (d) less than one hour

(ii) Please share your experience what you feel during and after the Vipassanā course.

Annex 2 Prison Vipassanā Courses in Nepal

Name of prisons	Number of courses	Course date	Participants	Remarks
Non center (Gipsy) courses -Nakkhu, Biratnagar, Bhimphedi, Nawalparasi	11	Nov 1998-Feb 2023	428	3 prison officials also participated

Dhammasaya Center Courses	32	Feb 2024-Dec 2025	992	-11 prison officials also participated - 9 courses for 216 women prisoners
Total	43		1420	

Source: Nepal Vipassana Center, Kathmandu.

Annex 3 Effects of Vipassanā on inmates

Table 1 Frequency distribution

S. N.	Questions	Pre- *Vipassanā* Stage (n=547)				Post- Immediate after *Vipassanā* Stage (N=467)				3-6 Months follow-up stage (N=279)			
		5	4	3	2+1	5	4	3	2+1	5	4	3	2+1
1	Positive and optimistic attitude	226 (41.3	263 (48.1)	46 (8.4)	12 (2.20)	302 (64.6)	162 (34.6)	3 (0.6)	0	166 (59.5)	106 (38.0)	6 (2.2)	1 (0.40)
2	Reform human mind and character	183 (33.5)	297 (54.3)	58 (10.6)	9 (1.70)	307 (65.6)	153 (32.6)	6 (1.2)	2 (0.40)	148 (53.0)	122 (43.7)	7 (2.5)	2 (0.80)
3	Recognition of mistakes and improve upon them	176 (32.2)	309 (56.5)	52 (9.5)	10 (1.80)	284 (60.7)	176 (37.6)	7 (1.5)	1 (0.20)	158 (56.6)	109 (39.1)	8 (2.9)	4 (1.50)
4	Improvement of physical & mental health	182 (33.3)	300 (54.8)	58 (10.6)	7 (1.30)	272 (58.1)	177 (37.8)	17 (3.6)	2 (0.40)	151 (54.1)	111 (39.8)	12 (4.3)	5 (1.80)
5	Reduction of anger, stress, irritation and anxiety	186 (34.0)	297 (54.3)	56 (10.2)	8 (1.50)	301 (64.3)	154 (32.9)	13 (2.8)	0	169 (60.6)	98 (35.1)	9 (3.2)	3 (1.10)
6	Improvement in relations with friends and others	185 (33.8)	284 (51.9)	62 (11.3)	16 (2.90)	263 (56.2)	190 (40.6)	11 (2.4)	4 (0.80)	137 (49.1)	121 (43.4)	15 (5.4)	6 (2.10)
7	Prison reform technique	218 (39.9)	269 (49.2)	54 (9.9)	6 (1.10)	315 (67.3)	138 (29.5)	13 (2.8)	2 (0.40)	167 (59.9)	99 (35.5)	11 (3.9)	2 (0.70)

Note: 5= Strongly Agree, 4= Agree, 3= Not Sure, 2=Disagree, 1=Strongly Disagree, 2+1 = Sum of two categories strongly disagree and disagree.

Table 2 Paired sample t- test p-values

Pair	Variables	Pre-post p-Value	Pre-follow-up p- value	Post-follow-up p-value
1	Positive & Optimistic attitude	0.000	0.000	0.000
2	Reform human mind & character	0.000	0.000	0.000
3	Recognition of mistakes & correct upon them	0.000	0.000	0.000
4	Improvement of physical & mental health	0.000	0.000	0.010
5	Reduction of anger, stress, irritation and anxiety	0.000	0.000	0.006
6	Improvement in relations with friends and others	0.000	0.001	0.003
7	*Vipassanā* could be used as prison reform technique	0.000	0.000	0.000

Source: Calculated from SPSS