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Social Inclusion and aftercare need of care leavers at the Juvenile Correction Centres in Bangladesh

Afsana Islam

Erasmus Mundus Master's Programme in Social Work with Families and Children (MFamily)

Supervisor

Jorge Manuel Leitão Ferreira(PhD), Associate Professor,
Iscte-University Institute of Lisbon

October, 2021

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SOCIOLOGIA
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Abstract

Title: Social Inclusion and aftercare need of care leavers at the Juvenile Correction Centres in Bangladesh

Author: Afsana Islam

Keywords: Juvenile justice, correctional centres, aftercare, and social inclusion.

The study aimed to explore existing juvenile justice systems and the social inclusion of young offenders after leaving correctional centres in Bangladesh. This research tried to understand the perception of professionals who directly intervene in the process. Additionally, it explored the experiences with available services and challenges juveniles encountered after incarceration. The Labelling theory, the Ecological System theory, and Social inclusion theory were employed as the study's theoretical framework and thematic analytical base. This study is conducted as an inductive and qualitative approach consisting of ten in-depth interviews. The respondents were selected through purposive sampling, and the initial contact was made after official approval. The study identified that the main challenges are the need for adequate financial allocations, offering secondary level elementary education to continue studying, lack of appropriate vocational training, and absence of full-time health service providers. However, findings concluded that juveniles had adopted their coping mechanisms to build resilience in adapting skills and supports from JCCs that gradually result in social inclusion. The most promising and praiseworthy step was the introduction of first virtual juvenile court in Bangladesh to expedite the juvenile justice system during this Covid-19 epidemic. In addition, the respondents recommended legal reform for delineating the age from 9 to 12, enhancing administrative collaboration with schools for uninterrupted study, and taking necessary measures for aftercare socioeconomic and mental supports. The study left further research implications for policy inferences and judicial system to ensure a child-friendly correctional process.

Resumo

Título: Inclusão Social e necessidade de cuidados posteriores de abandono de cuidados nos Centros de Correção Juvenil em Bangladesh

Autor: Afsana Islam

Palavras-chave: Justiça juvenil, centros educativos, acompanhamento social, inclusão social.

O estudo teve como objetivo, explorar os sistemas de justiça juvenil existentes e a inclusão social de jovens infratores após deixarem centros correcionais em Bangladesh. Esta pesquisa procurou compreender a percepção dos profissionais que intervêm diretamente no processo. Também procurou conhecer experiências desenvolvidas ou em desenvolvimento nos serviços disponíveis e explorou os desafios que os jovens enfrentaram após a sua institucionalização. Como referencial teórico utilizamos as teorias da teoria da Rotulagem, a teoria sistémica - ecológica e a teoria da Inclusão Social. Esta pesquisa orientou-se por uma abordagem indutiva e qualitativa composta por dez entrevistas em profundidade. O estudo identificou que os principais desafios são a necessidade de alocações financeiras adequadas, oferta de ensino fundamental de nível médio para continuar os estudos, a falta de formação profissional adequada e a ausência de prestadores de serviços de saúde em tempo integral. Como resultado mais promissor e louvável foi o primeiro tribunal juvenil virtual em Bangladesh a agilizar o sistema de justiça juvenil durante a epidemia de Covid-19. Além disso, os entrevistados recomendaram reformas da Lei da Criança para delinear a idade de 9 a 12 anos, aumentando a colaboração administrativa, especialmente com escolas para estudo ininterrupto e a adopção das medidas necessárias para os cuidados pos-saida do centro juvenil de apoio sócio-económico mental. O estudo deixou em aberto outras perspectivas de investigação ao nível das implicações nas políticas e o sistema judicial, a fim de assegurar um processo re-educacional mais favorável às crianças.

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List of Abbreviations

BLAST - Bangladesh Legal Aid and Services Trust
CAPO - Child Affairs Police Officer
CDC - Child Development Centre
CSPB - Child Sensitive Social Protection in Bangladesh
CRC - Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
DSS - Department of Social Science
EST - Ecological System T
GO - Government Organization
JC - Juvenile Courts
JCC - Juvenile Correctional Centres
JJS - Juvenile Justice Systems
MoSW - Ministry of Social Welfare
NGO - Non- Government Organization
PO - Probation Officer
RPOWAB - Retired Police Officers' Welfare Association of Bangladesh
UN - United Nations
UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund
UNCRC - United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1990
WB – World Bank

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Overall, I am always indebted to the almighty in all respects all the way, and I firmly believe it wouldn't have been possible without grace.

Dedication

This study is dedicated to all the juveniles, searching for inspiration and building resilience
within vulnerable situations

&

My parents, they always ensured the best thing possible in my life, so all my accomplishments
are for them.

Introduction

The socio-economic environment works as a stimulant for the essential learning and mobility of a child. Growing up in a specific social setting influences the lifestyle and reflects one's individuality and personality. Therefore, the process of socialization is significantly vital to develop human values and adopt ethics in a life course. In this rapidly changing and improving world, if a child cannot adapt to the coherence of social changes and improvement is more likely to be involved in disruptive activities. During the transition from childhood to adulthood, adolescents can easily get involved in unlawful and antisocial activities by peer influences and socio-environmental surroundings. If any criminal act or offence has been done by a young person, especially whose age is as mentioned state-wise as a child is termed as juvenile delinquency. Juvenile delinquency has become a multilayered social problem in the present era that refers to the 'offense committed by children under a specific limit of age' (Ferdousi, 2011, p. 2). Thus, juveniles can conflict with the law and have to run into the justice system as offenders, victims, or witnesses.

The increasing rate of delinquency worldwide demands more research on rapid social changes and disequilibrium in society. Like many other countries in the world, Bangladesh also encounters increasing incidents of juvenile delinquency. In Bangladesh, about 47.1% of people failed to fulfill their daily basic needs even in the near past¹. Thus, tremendous unemployment, the burden of a vast population, devastating flood and river erosion, other natural disasters, social transition, political unrest and instability, and family crises lead teenagers to deviant actions. Juvenile criminal behavior is not merely a legal issue, but it has a deep-rooted and prolonged connection with socio-economic and psychological aspects. The Action Aid and Retired Police Officers Welfare Association of Bangladesh (2008) claimed that 40% of arrested offenders are juveniles. It is alarming that a large number of both male and female youths are involving criminal activities like trafficking, kidnapping, rape, murder, smuggling, carrying drugs, and illegal arms carrying.

Consequently, young offenders demand particular concern to protect their rights due to their specific physical and psychological development (Dey,2015). Therefore, the increased rate of juvenile delinquency is a challenge to the over-stressed criminal judicial system in Bangladesh. Like many other countries across the world, child protection is becoming a cross-cutting issue to discuss in the discipline of Social Work and sustainable development in Bangladesh. In the past decades, the changing patterns of social consensus and state ordinances considered children as 'objects' to 'active social agents.' Nowadays, different forms of approaches and interventions are being executed in the area to protect the rights of a minor. However, over the past century, the perception regarding children in conflict with laws as specific groups within the civil society has increased the concern of a more sustained and child-friendly orientation of the justice system worldwide. Bangladesh has been crossing fifty years of independence after the brutal genocide and abrupt demographic imbalance in 1971. According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, we now have a potential young generation that includes nearly 59 million, and approximately 45% of the total population is children under 18 years (BBS,2018). Thus, it has become a challenge to ensure youth rights as they are the nation's future.

¹ Report has been presented on poverty in Bangladesh throughout the decades (2021). Publication by Banglapedia, National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh. Available at: <https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Poverty>

However, just after the liberation, Bangladesh declared the Children Act 1974 as a sovereign state. Later on, in 1990, Bangladesh endorsed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Children (CRC) as a first among twenty-two other state parties. Thus, despite having few structural implementation challenges, Bangladesh has made noteworthy progress toward child rights protection and the juvenile justice system at the domestic level. Afterward, the CRC ratification and emerging global concern regarding child protection reflect upon the revised Child Act 2013 that accelerates the traditional law enforcement agencies and mechanisms of juvenile justice. In Bangladesh, the Department of Social Services (DSS)² governs the juvenile justice and correctional procedure under the Ministry of Social Welfare (MoSW). There are a total of three Juvenile Correctional Centres in Bangladesh that named as Child Development Centre (শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র). These centres are responsible for caring, providing basic needs, e.g. food, housing, education, medicine, and clothing, and arranging vocational training and counseling for young inmates. The amenities have been set as per the Bangladesh Child Act 2013, National Child Policy, and UNCRC.

The government pledged to give special attention to the diverse needs of juvenile inmates in terms of protecting human rights. The purpose is to prevent juvenile delinquency and assist the inmate in reintegration into the community as an active citizen by emphasizing the importance of family through the disciplinary process (DSS,2017). According to the report, until June 2008, a total number of 12446 juveniles have been rehabilitated from these three correctional centres (ibid). When a child or young individual is placed out of home care or in a correctional center, it is not about only food or shelter but also about shaping the child's personality and transition to adulthood (Asaduzzaman, 2020; Höjer and Sjöblom,2014). Nevertheless, care leavers' neglected needs of preparing for the future are blurred under the pressure of *Stigmatization* and lack of judicial promptness. While there are many existing laws and policies for juvenile well-being in Bangladesh, some challenges are also there. The prerequisites for their social inclusion are often neglected. The study will give insight into the existing juvenile justice system for social inclusion and the challenges of the juvenile correctional centres in Bangladesh. This study also presents the perceptions of professionals and experiences of careleavers regarding aftercare needs.

² The websites of Department of Social Services (DSS), Ministry of Social Welfare (MoSW) of Bangladesh: <http://www.dss.gov.bd/>

Chapter One: Problem Statement and Background

1.1 Identification of the problem

Children are the essential part of a whole social system in Bangladesh and worldwide and for the future upliftment of the countries. It is considered crucial for the nation because the number of youth is nearly 45% of the total population, which is worth mentioning. Nevertheless, the increasing number of juvenile delinquency creates a concern for the future generation of the nation. The juveniles who are involved in illegal activities are generally affected by the socio-economic condition of the family and society as well. They came from a community and later detention, returning to the same environment where they belonged. Therefore, their personality formation and behavior patterns are very much influenced by their society and culture (Karzon,2008). These young people commit the crime both individually and collectively as a gang with peers. Some of them come into contact with laws and send them to correctional centres. Although few of them fail to exhibit the alteration of the future through the justice system, they resist and involve in reoffending. Thus, Juvenile delinquency should not be considered separately from society; instead, it is an interruption of social norms and values that can collapse the juvenile's life course (Ferdousi,2010).

The Children Act 2013 of Bangladesh states that any child between the age of 9 to 18 years who engages in any unlawful action against society and the state will be considered a young offender. Recently, there have been increasing numbers of young gang groups that trigger youths' involvement in multidimensional criminal activities in Bangladesh. These ominous deeds are growing, and also over time, the patterns of offenses are changing. These young gang members are involved in different forms of felonies such as having and trafficking drugs and arms carrying, cyberbullying, rape, murder, and also blackmailing by using high-tech devices (Mannan,2020). Therefore, it becomes hard to define and find root causes of Juvenile delinquency as the trends and patterns are rapidly transforming. Sometimes, there are a few false cases of criminal acts against juveniles, mostly on hostility, familial enmity, property-related conflict, and eloping. However, the existing law and justice system can not act distinctively but put all young offenders in the same procedure.

Baglivio and fellow researchers (2017)³ stated that after juvenile detention, the continuation of education, job opportunity, mental health, and reoffending are adversely affected. One-third of youth have experienced depression, poor mental stability, suicidal tendencies, and low self-esteem even after living in correctional centres. Therefore, different spheres of society, including youth offenders, their families, and institutions, should be fortified to support the Juvenile Justice System to enhance delinquent youths' futures (Hay, Ladwig, and Champion,2017). Along with other social institutions, a systematic and appropriate unique intervention can generate safeguards for young offenders' future endeavors. Therefore, the Juvenile Justice System has encountered challenges

³ Baglivio, M. T., Wolff, K. T., Piquero, A. R., DeLisi, M., & Vaughn, M. G. (2018). The effects of changes in dynamic risk on reoffending among serious juvenile offenders returning from residential placement. *Justice Quarterly*.

for discharging these juveniles back into their communities at the same risk without ensuring proper inclusion and addressing aftercare needs. Presently, there are three correctional centres in Bangladesh for the rectification and reintegration of juveniles under the administrative jurisdiction of the ministry of social welfare (MoSW,2017). These institutions have set regulations to provide care, protection, and rehabilitation facilities for juvenile offenders through case management, counseling, and trade training for skill development. So, it is crucial to know how far the correctional centres contribute towards reintegration and prepare them for the future employment and livelihood. Also, to examine the enactment of the detention process guided by the Children Act, 2013.

The main objective of this qualitative study is to examine the views of practitioners working with young offenders and the experiences of juveniles after leaving care from correctional centres in Bangladesh. As an inductive and explorative qualitative research, it gives comprehensive ideas to different aspects of professionals' observations and juveniles' experiences after leaving the correctional centre and the general government settings to reintegrate to offer a disciplinary process for the juvenile delinquents. Hence, it is essential to know the overall juvenile correctional process exercised under the legal provision of Bangladesh and how that works. Therefore, research questionnaires were developed to understand how experiences received during and after the detention of affected youths has prosperous futures. The theoretical framework is designed including the Labelling theory, Ecological system theory, and the concept of Social inclusion to determine the functional components and concepts to the research idea. These theoretical implications help understand juvenile offenders' surroundings after the impacts of labelling and the challenges they faced during reintegration.

1.2 The Rationale of the study

There is a limited number of research done on social inclusion and aftercare of youthful offenders in Bangladesh. Available studies found mostly slanted towards the Juvenile justice system, the trends, and causes of juvenile delinquency. Few studies are focused on reviewing the legal depiction of the existing Child Act and challenges to the national measures concerning the juvenile justice system in Bangladesh. This study could be a small step towards child protection that reflects various factors and practices among care leavers of juvenile correctional centres, reunifying with their families and communities. Nevertheless, it is significant for the interconnection between policy framework and field-level implementation. The help of social theories brings in one frame to observe both the experiences and expectations of inmates and professionals in a harmonized process. Hence, the present study contributes to the baseline information about the life of inmates after leaving the correctional center and stakeholders' perceptions that might help further research and attain viable changes to safeguard youths. This study might be suitable to policymakers for other effective policy formulation as it provides information and knowledge about the welfare of young offenders while leaving correctional centres in a developing country context. An enriched insight could have revealed how the professionals who work directly with these youths perceive the detention process to have successful reintegration strategies to guide inmates' life courses.

1.3 Research objectives

This study aims to analyze the existing juvenile justice in the framework of the child protection system in Bangladesh, especially regarding social inclusion after leaving correctional centres. The following statements will lead to more specific objectives of the study:

- To identify the juvenile justice system and existing model(s) in promoting child protection after leaving correctional centres in Bangladesh;
- To know the perceptions of professionals who intervene in juvenile correction centres;
- To analyze the experiences and aftercare needs of young people leaving correctional centres;
- To develop recommendations for improving child-friendly response and practices.

1.4 Research questions

- What are the existing frameworks of the juvenile justice system in Bangladesh?
- How do professionals understand and perceive their roles towards care leavers in juvenile correction centres?
- What are the challenges that juveniles care leavers encounter in being reintegrated into their communities?

1.5 Scope of the study

The research is confined to juvenile reintegration and post-care needs after leaving the correctional centres in Bangladesh. As a social work student, I expect this study to contribute and facilitate a new approach in the follow-up process. In the context of scope and policy relevance, the Department of Social Services, Ministry of Social Welfare (MoSW) Bangladesh has approved the permission to conduct this research in all of the three juvenile correctional centres in Bangladesh in an arrangement to share the findings and recommendations with the respective authorities for further execution. In this study, the perceptions and experiences of professionals and inmates are profoundly reflected. Still, the perspective of the parents or community is critical even though the research cannot include. Time constraints and narrowed scope for the thesis were required to bind the study to the juveniles' and professionals' perspectives. Additionally, the research will benefit and help future policy implications and offer new follow-up interventions of the juvenile justice system in Bangladesh. Moreover, this study provided recommendations on abate arising challenges and ease the inclusion process for young offenders. Finally, as a researcher as a native of a developing country, I will get a chance to know more about the child-focused protection policies and practices that could inspire the knowledge of further policy intervention in an international standard.

1.6 Basic structure of the dissertation

This study is presented through five chapters. Chapter one introduces the research with a brief background to the juvenile delinquency and justice system in Bangladesh. The chapter further presents the identification of the problem, rationale of the study, research objectives, and questions

and scope. The remaining part of this study is designed in the following way. Chapter two reviews literature related to the research topic on the juvenile delinquency and justice system in Bangladesh also depicts relevant act and features of correctional centres. The issues discussed in this chapter deliver the contexts for interpreting results and discussions of the study. Chapter three of the theoretical framework describes the Labelling theory, Ecological system theory, and Social inclusion for a thoughtful analysis of the data. Chapter four outlines the research methodology, how this study has been conducted, sample selection, data collection methods, ethical considerations, and limitations to the study. Additionally, self-reflection of being an Erasmus Mundus MFamily student and as a citizen of Bangladesh has been reflected in the chapter. Besides, the challenges and limitations encountered amid the Covid-19 pandemic in conducting the study are also shared in this section. Finally, The findings and discussion are presented in chapter five. This chapter focuses on the themes mentioned in the methodology chapter. Also, the information is analyzed according to theory, with reference to previous research and supporting relevant quotations of respondents. The chapter reveals the role of correctional centres, perceptions about the challenges that juvenile face after detention, illustrate the coping mechanism to deal with the social stigma. Furthermore, the chapter presents the researcher's observations and some recommendations regarding the way forward. Finally, the concluding section highlights the main research findings, and eventually, this segment ended up with a concise reflection of the entire research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Revising previous researches and literature plays a vital role in comprehending the context of the study (Bryman, 2016). The reintegration of juvenile delinquents after detention is analyzed as a critical phenomenon by this research. The following chapter is intended to provide the relevant literature on the juvenile justice system and social inclusion of young offenders acquired from Bangladeshi contexts. This chapter is split into four broad sections. The first section will start with a brief outline of Bangladesh's juvenile delinquency scenario and existing juvenile justice legislation. It leads to the discussion on the functions of the juvenile correctional centres in the next section. Subsequently, the experience of young offenders in particular contexts of aftercare that are driven to the different life circumstances are also included in the third section. Finally, the last section will depict the literature regarding social inclusion.

2.1 Juvenile delinquency and Juvenile Justice System (JJS) in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is undergoing a socio-economic transitional period through rapid technological expansion, urbanization, modernity, and global quickest connectivity. Along with these experiences and transformations, the nation encounters many unanticipated social deviations. The outbreaks of violence among children and against children, murder of parents by children and vice versa, young gang culture, pornographic mania, substance usage by young people are becoming frequent incidents (Rahman, 2019).

2.1.1 Current scenario of juvenile delinquency

Abdul Hakim Saker (2011) mentioned in his writing entitled *Youthful Offense in Bangladesh: Social Work Role* published in the book *Essays on Crime and Delinquency: Bangladesh Reference* that in Bangladesh, recent gangsterism, defiance family relationships, violence against children, rowdyism, gender-based violence, criminal activities are noticeable juvenile delinquency. He stated the parenting tradition is unwise and punitive towards children, which often leads to irrepressible children. In his study, limitations of the disciplinary process and social work have been identified, also emphasizes family and social networks as influencing factors for the construction of a child's personality and reintegration of offenders.

Dey (2015) asserted that over the last few years, police and guardian complaints cases against juveniles are found primarily because of serious offenses such as murder and murder attempts, explosions, arms carrying, drug, rape, etc. The classifications of juvenile delinquency have been inconsistent, from petty offenses to severe illicit crimes. Conforming to Rahman (2019) and Sarker (2011), she brought up the political and economic transformations as vigorous reasons that lead youngsters to involve recent hostility and criminal activities in Bangladesh. Scholars and previous researchers seem to affirm that juvenile delinquency is a very complicated and multi-layered phenomenon.

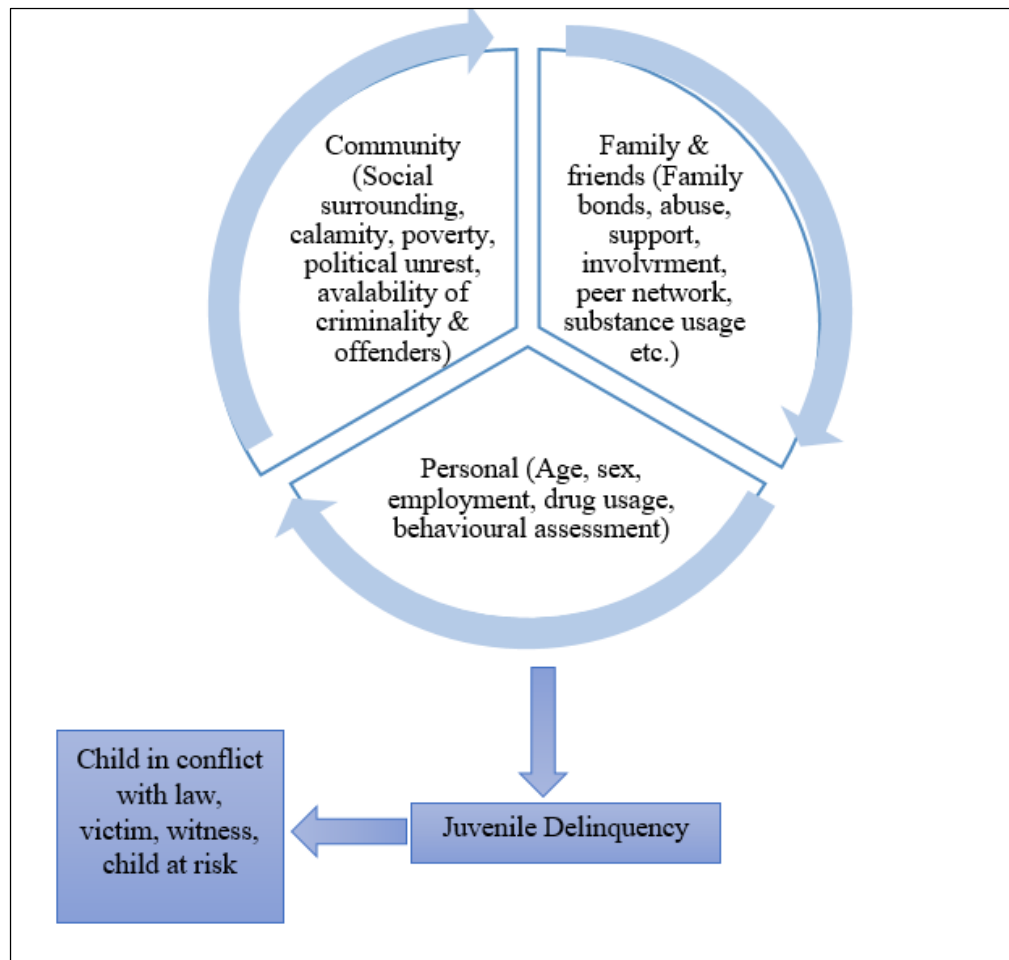


Figure 1: Three domains of juvenile delinquencies

Howard Becker has discussed four categories of delinquencies in general: (a) individual (b) group-supported, (c) organized, and (d) situational (cited in Dey, 2015). However, her analysis divided Becker's idea of the categories of delinquencies into the three domains of juvenile delinquencies in the context of Bangladesh (Figure 1). She stated three domains of criminal occurrences: Community (social surroundings, calamity, political unrest, etc.); Family and friends (networks, support, abuse, drug, etc.); and Personal (age, sex, behavioural assessment, etc.).

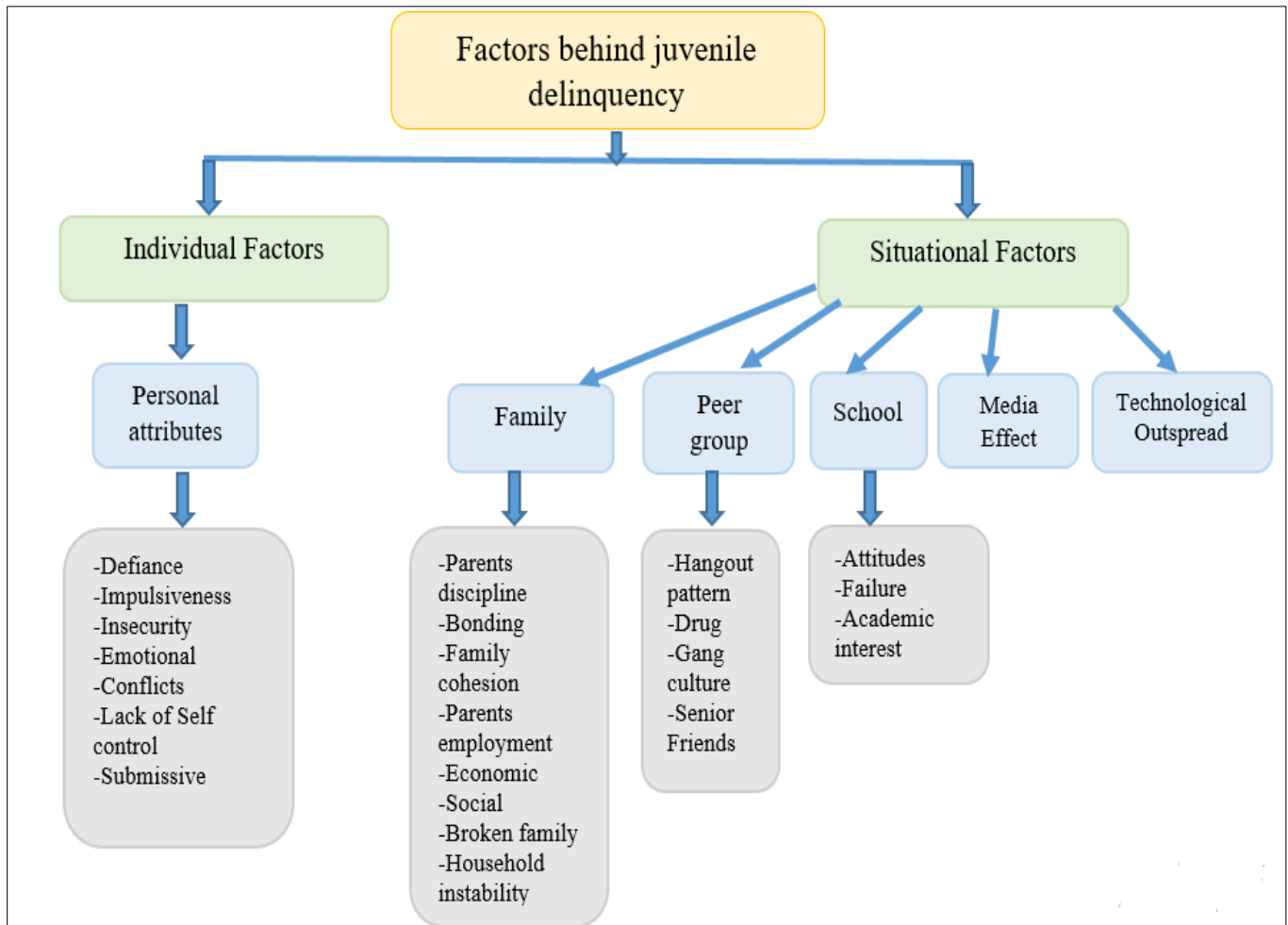


Figure 2: Factors behinds Juvenile Delinquency

Therefore, she explicitly pointed out the factors behind juvenile delinquency into two main factors: Individual and Situational. Firstly, the *Individual factors* include personal attributes: submissiveness, defiance, impulsiveness, insecurity, emotional, lack of self-control, etc. Secondly, the *Situational factors* are sectioned into five groups: family, peer group, school, media, and technological spread; these are liable for juvenile offenses. Consequently, they become victims of various situational causes like poverty, lack of guidance, misuse of media impacts, peer influences, etc. (Figure 2).

2.1.2 Frightening Young Gang culture in cities

A report published by Action Aid and RPOWAB (2008) claimed that 40% of the arrested offenders are children in Bangladesh. Another statistical information recorded by the Ministry of Home Affairs Bangladesh (2016) showed that juvenile offenders involved 36% in drug peddling, 28% in picketing, 10%, and 17% in a mugging and other criminal activities.

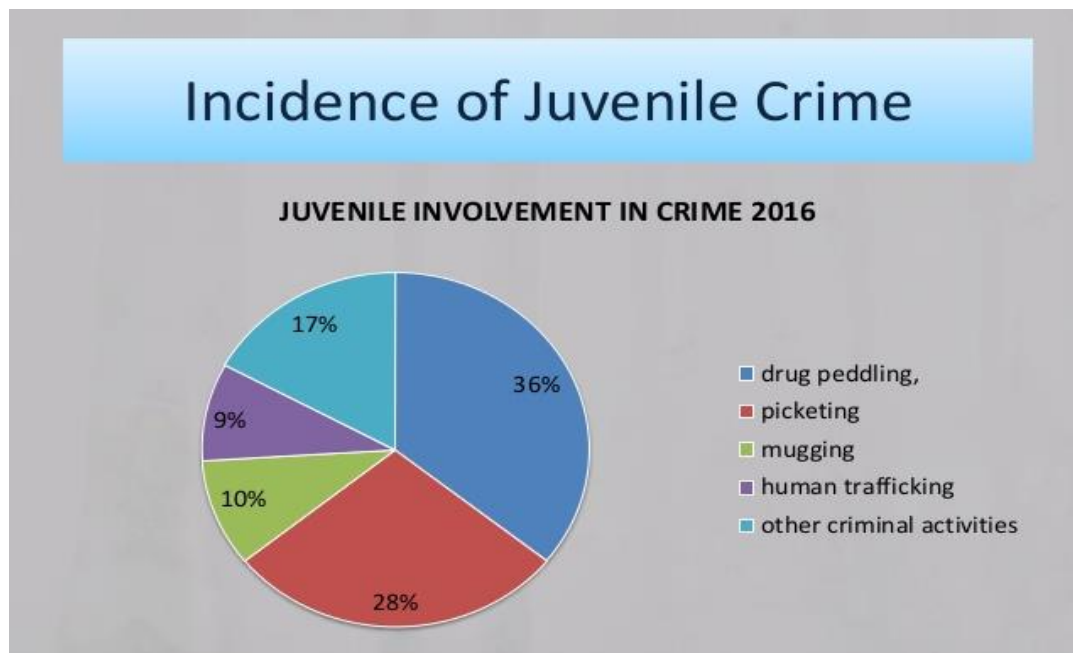


Figure 3: Juvenile Involvement in Crime in Bangladesh, Ministry of Home Affairs

The police headquarters revealed the number of juvenile crimes recorded in 2012 as 751 cases where children were directly accused in 484 cases. Till June 2020, 1,191 teenagers were arrested in 821 cases. Hence, the percentage of children alleged and involved in criminal activities is rising. Most of these adolescents are arrested in drug, murder, and rape cases and sent to correctional centres (Alam, 2020). A recent concern is the dangerous young boys' gang culture in Bangladesh that has aroused in different metropolitan neighborhoods and streets in engagement with various felonious activities such as murder, conflict, bullying, fighting, reckless bike racing, etc. Few gangs are involved in human trafficking by deceiving young girls and creating various internet content on the internet and pornography. The gangs' sources of income are drug trading, petty crimes, robbing pedestrians, pickpocketing, stealing, and often financed by local political leaders or influential 'senior brothers.' Police and security agencies reported that 50 such gangs are actively working in the capital of Dhaka and the other 100 in the Chittagong division. Each of the gangs consists of 10 to 15 members, generally ages between 14 to 19 years. Some members were also involved in making explosions, carrying guns, local fatal weapons, and trenchant knives to show off and mark their controlled area. During elections and other activities, few illicit Political parties use them to frighten and fight with rivals. Sociologists and law enforcement agencies said the lack of monitoring of parents, creative academic interest, and peer group influences worsens the situation (Saad and Rahman, 2020).

2.1.3 Juvenile Justice System (JJS) and Legislation

S. Khair (2005) critically reviewed the juvenile justice system of Bangladesh in her article entitled *Juvenile Justice Administration and Correctional Services in Bangladesh: A Critical Review*. She defines juvenile justice as a process and opportunity to ensure justice for all children. The author specified that the proper formation and function of the judicial organ safeguard child protection who comes in conflict with the state's law. Therefore, JJS is applicable for the alleged children

suspected, involved, or violating the country's laws exist in this regard. Also, JJS is observed as the process for having immediate support from the state, family, and community regarding child rights protection, prevention, and reintegration. Therefore, to understand the juvenile justice system, it is essential to know the administrative, legal framework, correctional institutional set-up, judicial process. However, while referring to the JJS in Bangladesh, she stated how civil society, government, and global stress have led to the present child-oriented JJS from a punishment-oriented criminal justice system over the past few decades. The underlying rationale was that children involved in such acts of conflicts with laws are not fully conscious about consequences further; therefore, the prerequisite is that all children must be treated with responsiveness and care irrespective of any situation (Khair, 2005).

Nahid Ferdousi (2012), in her book *Juvenile Justice System in Bangladesh*, has outlined that, in this region, the distinct legislature of JJS has been ratified initially from the colonial period. Furthermore, before 1947 there were no specific policies or act for JJS, but in the Pakistan period in 1960 probation of offenders' ordinance act (amended act, 1964) was approved. After liberation in Bangladesh, the Children Act, 1974, and the Children Rules, 1976 were sanctioned for administrative and legal justice. However, there were noteworthy incentives in juvenile justice reform in recent years, such as the appointment of a high-level Juvenile Justice Task Force, new law enactment, and identifying priority areas of function (UNICEF, 2006). However, the researcher mentioned that the act was inadequate for fair justice in children's best interest. The existing JJS does not give the required dignity of juveniles for reintegration into society. The researcher recommended a few pathways: i) improving legislative and judicial organs; ii) upgrading of juvenile correctional institutions; iii) enhancement of law enforcing agencies; iv) strengthening of monitoring system and v) involvement community-based interventions for the protection, rehabilitation, and safe return of juveniles (Ferdousi, 2012).

Shilpi Rani Dey (2015), in her Mphil research paper titled *Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents in Bangladesh: A Study on the Efficacy of the Non-institutional Services*, briefly discussed the structure and functions of JJS in Bangladesh. She stated that The Children Act, 1974 and the Children Rules, 1976 has triggered and sowed seeds, and later the amended act of 2013 is the continuation of the JJS in Bangladesh. The author identified four phases that have been instigated the advancement of JJS in Bangladesh. These are as- a) setting of the specialized judicial system for juvenile justice, b) formation of correctional institutions, c) formulation of national action plans and policies, and d) latest legal reforms. She added that despite having several gaps, the ultimate ideology of the JJS is the protection of child rights and the correction of juvenile delinquents rather than punishing them. The researcher has designed a diagram to explain the procedure of JJS in Bangladesh: four categories of delinquents cases of offenders, guardians referred, victimized, and destitute child cases filed to police stations to police officers and POs. These back and forth assessments of case reports were placed to JC. Then, destitute cases solved most to release and in safe custody, whether offenders go through probation and correctional placement to trial. After trial, if any juvenile is found guilty, they are placed into JCC or informal institute. If found not guilty, then JC decides to release the juvenile to the lawful guardians.

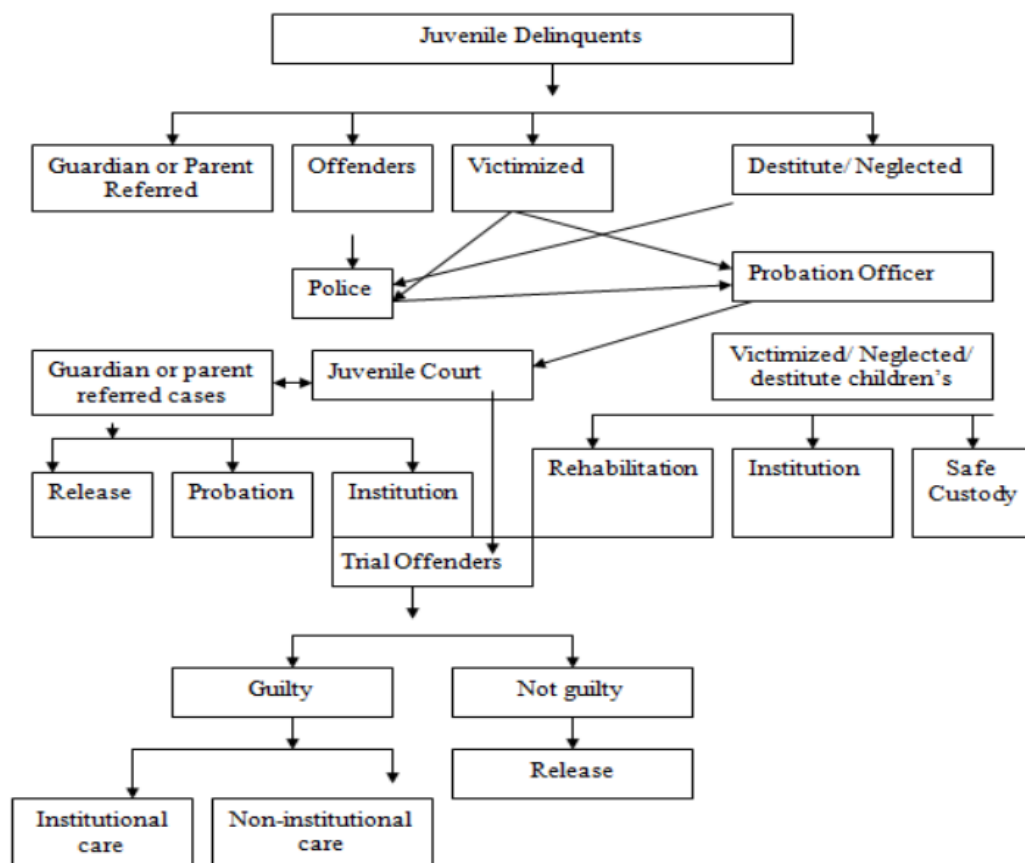


Figure 4: Procedure in Juvenile Justice System (Dey, 2015)

2.1.4 The Children Act 2013: Rights of young offenders from the perspectives of Bangladesh

In 1974, immediately after three years of the independence of Bangladesh, an initiative was taken by the sovereign government of the nation to create a dedicated justice system for juveniles. This successive endeavor had followed the provisions of the Constitution of Bangladesh mentioned in articles no. 15 and 28(1) that special acts and policy should be declared for children. Therefore, Aftab Absar (2020), in his article titled *Juvenile Justice System in Bangladesh: An Appraisal* stated, the replacement of the old Children Act of 1974 by the new one in 2013 was a timely demand of the country. The new act is designed to operate an upgraded justice system for juvenile reintegration and promote new interventions for young offenders. Accordingly, the National Parliament passed the Act on 16 June 2013, subsequently declared by the State Official Gazette on 20 June 2013, and finally was made operative on 21 August 2013. The author described how this act became a comprehensive document by implementing the national constitution, Children rules (1976), and the United Nations Convention on the Child's Rights (UNCRC) 1989.

Consequently, some other international treaties and guidelines, particularly the Beijing Rules (1985) and Riyadh Guidelines (1990), have been incorporated for Bangladesh's inclusive juvenile

justice system. Pursuant to the Beijing Rules (1985), the incarceration of children should be considered the last choice. If detention becomes apparent, it should be ordered for the shortest period. Also, the rules allowed the child's direct participation in the legal and court proceedings, keeping in mind the child's best interest in every aspect. Hence, the Bangladeshi JJS and Child Act complemented two other significant international documents UNCRC and Riyadh guidelines. Firstly, UNCRC (1989) mentioned that any child should not be arbitrarily arrested, detained, distressed, or subjected to any other cruelty. JC should be more humanistic and avoid disrespectful treatment, death sentence, or life imprisonment. This convention also stated that a child who comes into conflict with the law should be below 12 in considering JC proceeding. Accordingly, respective institutions and legislation must be concerned about the reintegration of the child and have access to legal assistance. Secondly, Riyadh guidelines (1990) can be applied to any institution dealing with JJS and supplement several necessary regulations of UNCRC. It promoted health supports and facilities for juveniles to get easy reentry. Therefore, focusing on the 'Social risk' of young offenders, the guidelines outlined the aftercare needs to protect child's rights (Khair, 2005).

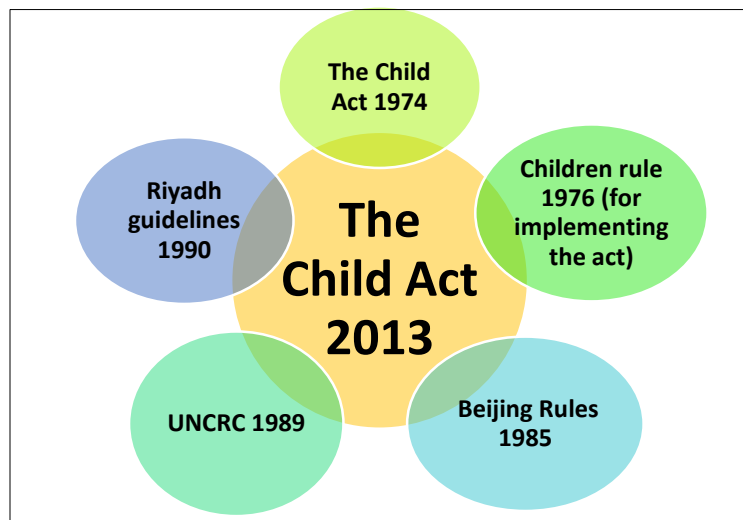


Figure 5: The Children Act 2013 as a Comprehensive Document

The prelude of the Children Act 2013 mentioned that officially it would be known as the Shishu Ain 2013 of Bangladesh. This act is the 24 no. Act of the year 2013 and consists of a total of 11 chapters and 100 sections. The act declared the age of a child is 18 or below as the global standard.

“Child. Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, all persons *up to the* age of 18 (eighteen) years shall be regarded as children for the purposes of this Act” (The Children Act 2013, p. 674, chapter I, section 4).

According to Absar (2020), this act is well-defined to be designated and skilled child-friendly police and probational officer focusing more on family and community-based interventions. The following table briefly presents section-wise provisions of the Children Act 2013:

Sl.	Chapter no. and Name	Sections	Provisions
1.	Chapter I: Preamble	1-4	Name of the Act, Definitions of the child as below 18 years, and effect of the act.
2.	Chapter II to IV: Probation Officer's duties, Welfare board, Child desk, and Police officer	5-15	Appointment of respective officers, Duties and responsibilities, specialized child desk in every district, Child welfare board, investigation report.
3.	Chapter V: Juvenile Courts and functions	16-43	The time frame of decision, regulations, restrictions of sentencing, detention, release, compensation, the confidentiality of juvenile's identity, conscious usage of language, social inquiry, trial, and appeal.
4.	Chapter VI: Arrest, Alternatives, Investigations, Diversion, Bail	44-54	Arrest of children, investigations, informing guardians, diversions, family conference, and special measures and protection.
5.	Chapter VII: Legal Authority and assistance	55-58	Legal representations, representatives, and protective measures.
6.	Chapter VIII: CDC and certified institutions	59-69	Establishment of Child Development Centres, certified institutes at private initiatives, Inspection of certified institutes by the Government, transfer control of the custodian of a child.
7.	Chapter IX: Penalty For Special Offenses In Respect Of Children	70-83	Penalty for any kind of violence and cruelty to a child, Penalty for exploitation of a child, Penalty for publishing secret information by news media.
8.	Chapter X: Alternative Care	84-94	Alternative care, assessors of care, Institutional care for the disadvantaged children, Duration of alternative care and follow-up, Disadvantaged child, Duration of alternative care and follow-up.
9.	Chapter XI: Miscellaneous Provisions	95-100	Power to make rules, power of Govt., protection of child, print, and publishing of acts and rules.
Source: Adapted from The Child Act, 2013 and Absar (2020).			

2.1.5 New provision of the Child Act 2013

Bangladeshi Justice M. Imman Ali (2013) reviewed the new act 2013 and compared it with the old Act of 1974. Many issues were mentioned in the old act, and most of these factors were addressed elaborately in the new version. The author said several provisions that have been presented comprehensively and with a view of implementation. As mentioned previously, in the latest act, the child's age has been increased from 16 to 18 (section 4), and below the age of 9, no child cannot be arrested. Furthermore, if any police officer has to arrest any child, they cannot put on handcuffs or rope around the waist that is strictly forbidden by the act. Another legal Analysis on juvenile justice in Bangladesh and the child act 2013 by Ferdousi gives a comprehensive outline regarding the Act. Ferdousi (2013) asserts the act as a positive step and breakthrough in Bangladesh for protecting child rights.

Furthermore, it adapts lacunas of the previous act and balances the global standards by mentioning several specialized organizations and responsibilities for the child's best interest. For the first time in this act, penalties for breaching and violating any child's privacy and confidentiality have been well-defined. These two papers have addressed the new provisions of the act. As per the review of Ali (2013) and Ferdousi (2013), the following key features of the act are given below:

1. *Appointment of Probation Officers (PO) and their responsibilities:* In the act of 1974, the appointment of PO was mentioned, but Chapter two sections 5 and 6 of the new act of 2013 profoundly mention the appointment, responsibilities, and duties of Probation Officers very descriptively. Additionally, the government should appoint a PO in every district, Upazila (sub-districts), or metropolitan areas. Responsibilities of PO include assessing the possibility of diversion and bail, searching, and informing guardians of the child.
2. *Establishment of Child Welfare Boards in the national, district, and Upazila level:* The New act sections 7, 8, and 9 are devoted to the establishment of the National to Upazila level child welfare Boards which would have the responsibility of monitoring, coordinating, assessing of the Correctional centres and other certified institutions.
3. *Specialized Child Affairs Desk and Child Affair Police Officer (CAPO):* According to the Act, all over the country, a child affairs desk will be set up in every police station, and a sub-inspector or above-ranked police officer will be set up will be accountable on the desk. The officer will be known as Child Affairs Police Officer (CAPO). Provided that if any station has the same ranked female officer, she will be given priority to take over the Child Affairs Desk. Sections 13 and 14 mentioned the responsibilities and duties of the CAPO to preserve case records, assess age, inform parents and PO after arrest.
4. *Establishment of Children's Court and its functions and Participation of child in Court proceedings:* Under the 1974 Act, there were only two juvenile courts in the country. The new act refers to setting up at least one JC in every district and metropolitan area. Respective officers, judges, and staff should be child-friendly. Furthermore, in line with article 12 of UNCRC, Section 22 of the act provided that a child's presence is not necessary during the trial with their consent but parents, guardians, lawyer and PO should be present.
5. *Bail of the convicted children:* Section 52 stated 'Notwithstanding anything contained to the contrary in any other law' after arresting any child if it becomes impossible to send the child to diversion. Then CAPO may release the child on bail, with or without any condition and any surety to parents' custody or lawful guardian or PO. In sub-section no (4), if bail is not settled, CAPO shall bring the child to the nearest Children's Court within 24 hours, excluding travel time.

The Children Act, 2013 comprises several dynamic provisions that are considered a protective approach of the juvenile justice of Bangladesh. Consistent with the UNCRC, the Children Act, 2013 has also mentioned legal representations by the State itself if the juvenile's guardian cannot afford to manage legal proceedings and lawyers (Khan, 2020).

2.2 Institutional Framework of Juvenile Correctional Centres (JCC) in Bangladesh

Juvenile delinquency and teenager gangs culture has emerged as a current concern in Bangladesh. Young citizens involve in criminal activities, and these cases dealt with the rapid justice organizations. From the study of M. Rezaul Islam and Md. Anwarul Islam Sikder (2014), titled *Effectiveness Of Legal And Institutional Framework For Juvenile Justice In Bangladesh: A Critical Analysis* and the documents from the Department of Social Services, Government of Bangladesh, we can get a clear description of Juvenile Correctional Centres (JCC). Presently, the Government initiatives taken through two special Acts in Bangladesh to deal with the Juvenile Justice system are 1) The Children Act, 2013, and 2) the Probation of Offenders Ordinance, 1960 (amended in 1964). Without trial or conviction, a juvenile in charge of any offense is taken through state-authorized and certified institutions, also known as Juvenile Correctional Centres (JCC). The following diagram illustrates the organizational structure of JCC:

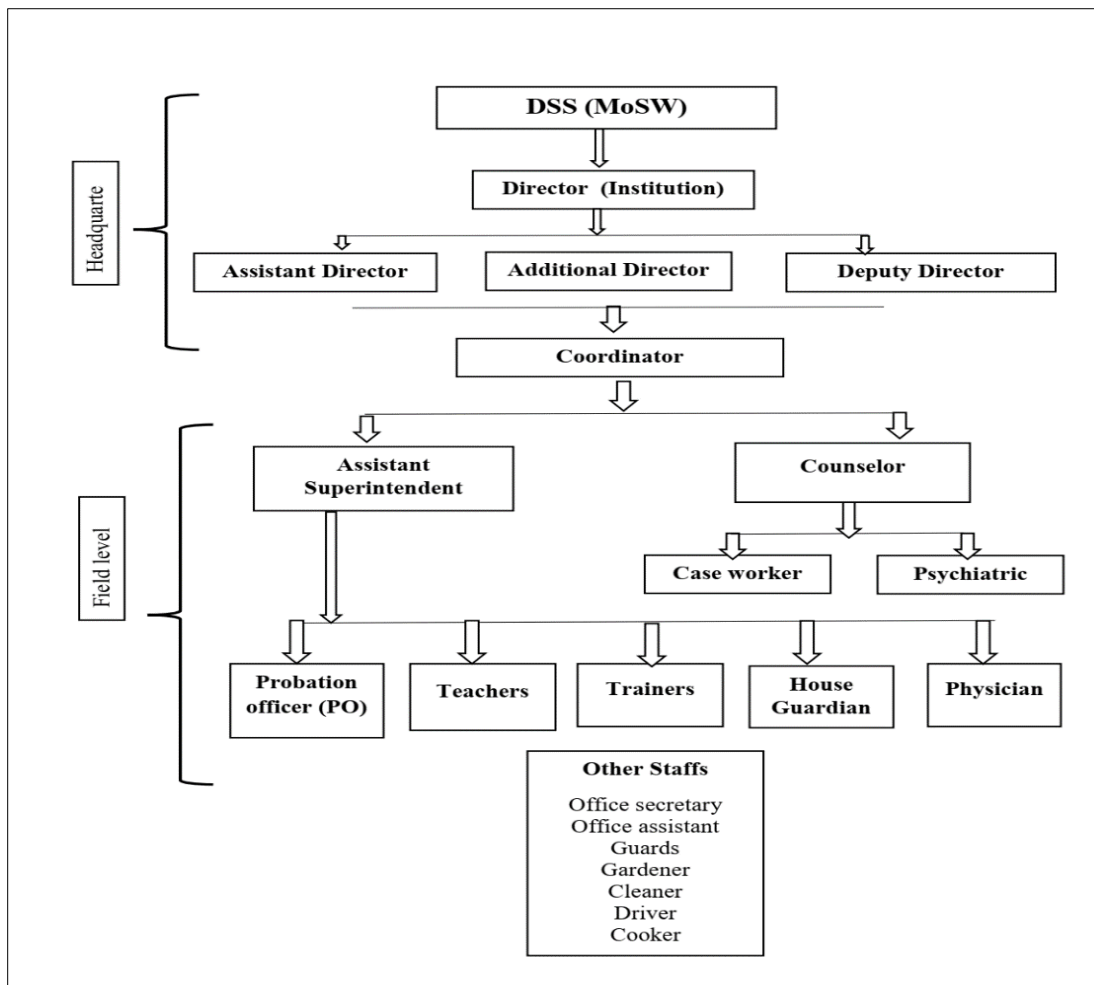


Figure 6: Organizational structure of JCC (Source: DSS website)

Under the Children Act, 2013, each JCC consists of one Juvenile Court (JC), one Remand or safe Home, and one Training Institute. These centres guide, support, and educate through improvements like inclusive casework, training, and counseling. These centres are considered branch institutions of the Department of Social Services, Government of Bangladesh, under the Ministry of Social Welfare (MoSW). These certified institutions' organograms have been well explained in the authors' discussions. The Director (Institution) of DSS, MoSW, is the head of the organizational decision-making. Under his direct supervision, an Additional Director, a Deputy Director, and an Assistant Director at the district level monitor the entire mechanism at headquarters or center of operation level. In addition, three Coordinators are administering the JCC at the field level. Essentially, the Additional Director, Deputy Director, and Assistant Director interact and maintain the basic correspondence of the field level institutions and coordinate with headquarters (figure 6). The Deputy Commissioner also supervises a management committee, and the coordinator acts as the Member-Secretary of the given Committee (DSS, 2021).

2.2.1 Organs of Juvenile correctional Centres⁴

Juvenile Court, remand home, and training institution are three main organs functioning in collaboration with the authority of juvenile correctional centres. According to the Children Act, 1974 (later the new Act in 2013), the Juvenile Court referred those children who have supposedly violated the country's penal laws. Moreover, the guardians filed familial cases against their children's reckless attitudes to the police or district-level social service office. The system also takes care of troubled children who have no place to live, both offenders and victims of any violence in some cases. Police Officer and Probation Officer (PO) get these cases, and then JC consults the instances. As per the juvenile court order, a child send to further observation and detention in JCC. If a child is proved guilty and sentenced to death or imprisonment for life by the Children's Court, then may order to send to Child Development Centre for a period not less than three and not more than ten years (Ferdousi, 2013).

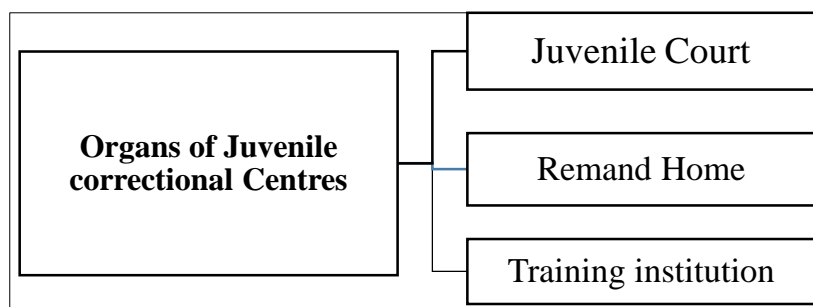


Figure 7: Organs of Juvenile correctional Centres

Every JCC has a Remand Home that utilizes safe stay, custody, and observation of delinquent juveniles remanded by JC and on trial. In the centre, it is a particular custodial setting during the trial period, and it set apart the young offenders from the adult offenders in the traditional prison. PO, the caseworker, and social service officer of respective homes, focusing on individual children's backgrounds and needs. Based on the observational report placed to JC and correctional

⁴ Source: DSS website and reports

institutes for a further treatment plan. The third organism is the training institute for youthful inmates inside the JCC for general education, vocational training, and behavioral correction. These institutes provide life skill training and help to enrich personal attributes.

2.2.2 Three JCCs / Child Development Centres (CDC) in Bangladesh

The eight divisions of Bangladesh are divided into 64 districts for the management of administrative public policy. The Juvenile Justice System of Bangladesh and JC procedure split into the district-wise JC and other courts. Hence, there are three juvenile correctional centres in Bangladesh located in two different divisions. Among these three, two are dedicated to boys and one to girls. The oldest and girl JCC are situated in the capital Dhaka, and another one for boys is located in Jessore district of Khulna Division. Both of the boys JCC covers 32 districts cases as a separate unit, and girl centres deal with all the country's juvenile justice cases (DSS, 2020).

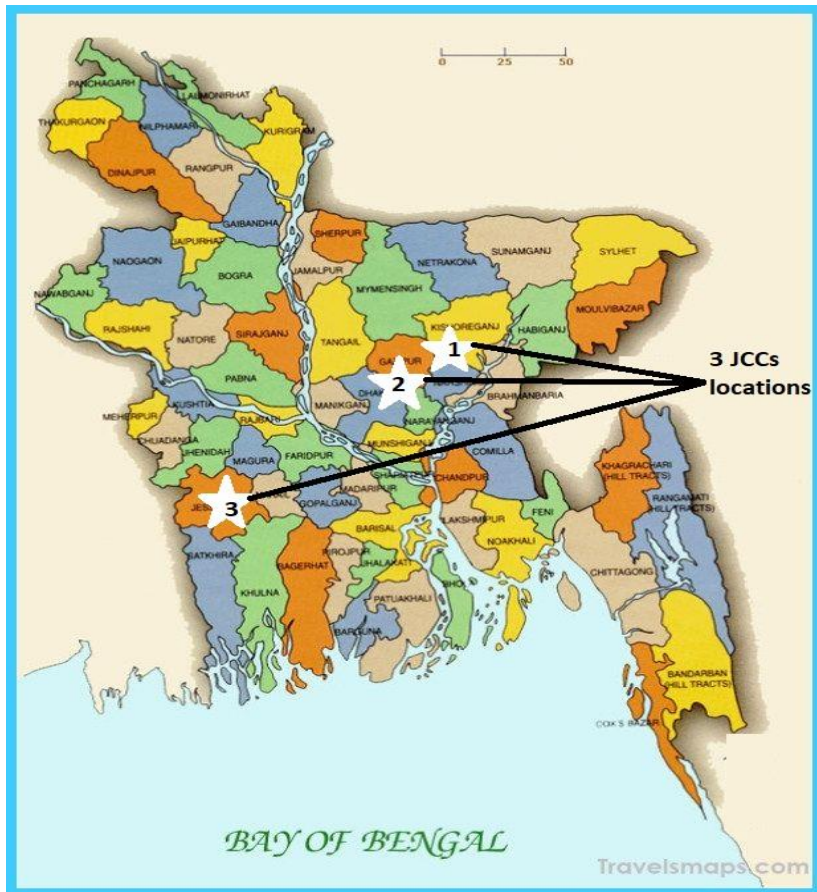


Figure 8: Map of Bangladesh showing three JCCs locations

Each centre receives juvenile delinquents from different police stations and jails to provide maintenance and supports. They arrange the mindful development of these juveniles and rehabilitate them in the community. The motto of the institutions is for correction, not for

punishment, and the judgment takes through utmost humanity. In Bangladesh, many administrative and legislative changes have taken place in the area of the JJS during the last three decades. The first JCC was named Adolescent correctional Centre. Then in 2002, the name changed into Juvenile Development centre, and at the latest in 2017, Child Development Centre in Bangla শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র (Shishu Unnyan Kendra) (Dss, 2020; Hossain, 2020). The following flowchart shows the process of transferring a child to JCC:

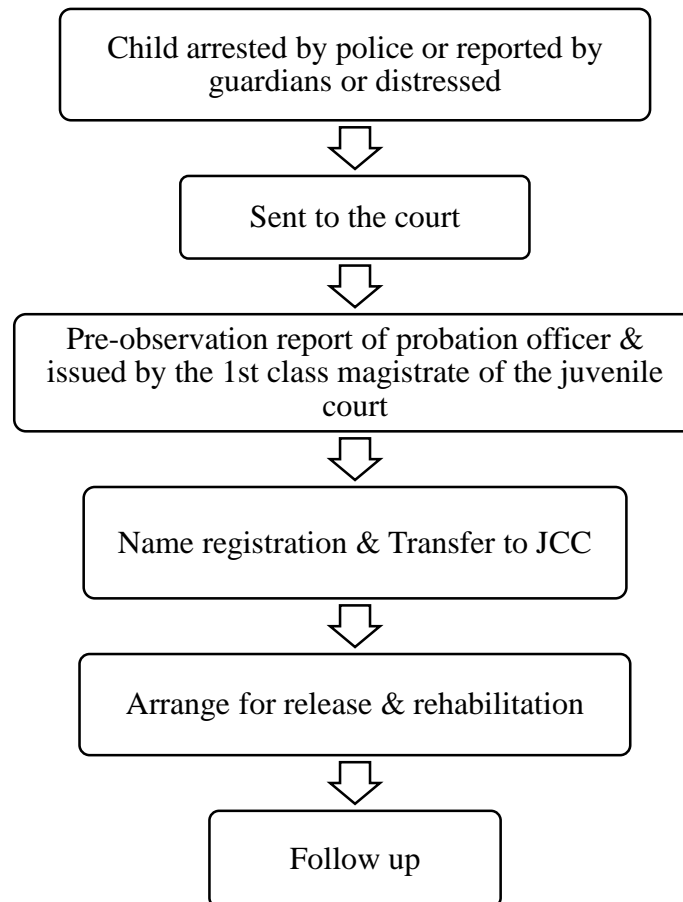


Figure 9: Process of transferring juvenile into JCC

The first JCC was established in Dhaka in the year 1978. Lately, the emerging juvenile delinquency rate that overcrowded in one JCC requisite another two institutions. The division of the youthful inmates is mainly in three categories in this centres: 1) Police filed Cases, or Court refereed cases; 2) Guardian Case (section 33 of Children Act 1974; 3) Safe Custody (Destitute, floating). These three categories of points of juveniles reside in JCC. According to Hossain (2020) and the DSS report (2020), the approved seat capacity of JCC is 600, but presently around a thousand children are staying. The monthly allowance per inmate is three thousand five hundred (3500) Bangladeshi taka. In addition, weekly exercises, religious activities, a special feast, intra-sports programmes are organized by the JCC authority. Main particulars about the three JCCs in Bangladesh has given in the table below:

Table 2: Brief Information of three JCCs in Bangladesh				
Administrative Directorate: Department of Social Services Administrative Ministry: Ministry of Social Welfare, Bangladesh				
Sl.	Particulars	Name of the Institutions: Child development Centres		
		Tangi, Gazipur Dhaka	Pulerhat Jessore Khulna	Konabari, Gazipur Dhaka
1.	Year of establishment	1978	1992	2002
2.	Dedicated for	Boys	Boys	Girls
3.	Quantity of Land of the Institution	3.71 Acres	5.22 Acres	1.5 Acres
4.	Approved seat capacity	300	150	150
5.	Present Number of Inmates (2020)	533	283	167
6.	Number of rehabilitated (up to 2020)	13157 juveniles are freed under probation 80662 people received aftercare services		
7.	Number of sanctioned post	67	49	49
8.	Present manpower	48	33	26
9.	Number of residential buildings	09	04	04
10.	Monthly allocation of the inmates	3500/ (three thousand five hundred taka)		
11.	General Education	Primary education (Class five)		
12.	Training	Automobile, pen crafting, tailoring, etc.		
Sources: DSS website Hossain (2020) news report on the daily Prthom Alo Hoque et al.(2008) report on Under-aged inmates of Action Aid Bangladesh and RPOWB.				

UNICEF published a regional study report in 2006 which mentioned some limitations of these centres' management and facilities. For example, general education up to class five is inadequate for forming children's knowledge. In addition, UNICEF reports stated food quality, vocational training does not provide certificates, and equipment is insufficient. Continuous escape attempts, suicidal tendencies, and corporal punishment cases were also revealed in the study. Additionally, there is limited support for reintegration, and in some cases, if any child turns 18, they are sent to jail to fulfill the sentence period (UNICEF, 2006).

2.3 Aftercare needs: Concept and Technique

A study conducted on aftercare needs by Haque and Sarker (2012) stated that aftercare is indefinite and does not begin after an inmate leaves any institutional care. Despite this, it could be considered an inclusive process that should start after judgment and endures through detention and the offender's return to society. Aftercare needs offer to support youth in every possible means to make a successful journey towards their adulthood. It is also essential to mitigate the recidivism of juvenile delinquency rate. Several studies have mentioned the risk of an unintended delinquent could turn into a potential criminal because of social stigma and in need of inadequate aftercare support. Therefore, aftercare measured has emerged as a crucial need for juveniles' social reintegration as valuable members of society.

R. Deb (1971) defined *aftercare* as an organized programme and service for inmates' rehabilitation after their release from correctional centres. He added this as a broadened concept with the time-lapse programme and measure for offenders facing economic, physical, mental, or social scarcities. The state's legislation and justice system should make aftercare supervision mandatory upon inmates' incarceration. Instead, institutions may fail the process because there is no legal obligation on services after detention for these juveniles. During the stay in correctional institutions in Bangladesh, different techniques have been applied by the Probation Officers and Social service providers. For instance: future job-oriented training, safe return at home, communication with family members, etc. Moreover, executive techniques include the help for continuing education, medical care, institutional placement, recreation, guidance, and counseling that helps prepare young offenders before leaving care (Haque and Sarker, 2012).

2.3.1 Supporting young people: Aftercare

There are some common factors generally followed by correctional and care institutions in respect of aftercare needs. A book written by Dixon and Stein (2005) is *Leaving Care: Throughcare And Aftercare in Scotland* from the perspective of the United Kingdom constituent about aftercare Services. In chapter two, the authors discussed different aftercare demands of juvenile offenders immediately after leaving detention centers. First, *personal support* means directions in various matters such as accommodation, living skills, finance, emotional support, and other issues that a young can seek guidance from after release. Second, *accommodation* refers to residence or housing needs to assess for moving from correctional centres.

In some cases, young inmates do not have a biological guardian or could be homeless or even unwelcome from family. In such a situation, accommodation management required a critical aftercare need for an adolescent. Third, financial assistance becomes another area of concern that includes: sponsorship, help with employment, grants for further education, and instant emergency expenses. Fourth, education, employment, and training appear part of corporate parenting techniques for an individual's career pathways. Fourth, in virtue of casewise assessment should offer specific time-bound appropriate education and skillful training. Finally, health and personal development mentioned that health, especially the mental health needs of young people, needs a better priority. Therefore, a multi-collaborative agency should start for drop-in facilities for young ex-offenders. Besides, the authors mentioned monitoring and evaluation support from ex-carers through the electronic database or manual files used to note and store data for thorough and aftercare initiatives. Additionally, the authors stressed upon both formal and informal sources of

supports. However, their study also showed that an average of six months after leaving care, nearly one-third (29%) of young offenders were still in contact with social service workers, but that had decreased over time (ibid).

2.3.2 Probation and aftercare service in Bangladesh

Since the colonial period to law refurbishment, imprisonment in this region was the only form of sentencing in the criminal justice system. Lately, in the eighteenth century, scholars and stakeholders steadily emphasized the concept of correction rather than punishment. The correctional service of Bangladesh started with the Probation of Offenders Ordinance, 1960, which subsequently became the Probation Act, 1964 and after liberation in 1971 state declared the first Children Act 1974. Under these two major acts and international pressure, two projects of Probation of Offenders; and aftercare services had inaugurated (Haque and Sarker, 2012). According to the Department of Social Services of Bangladesh, the Probation and aftercare service is a Community based Corrective service for young offenders who come into conflict with the law. Firstly, young offenders, pardonable sentenced or under convicted, are put under the supervision of a Probation officer then offers casework, correction, and other Legal aid services needed. Secondly, aftercare provides some supports justifying the need assessments of offenders. This program is operated in a total of 72 units all over the country. Social services officers are authorized by the Child act, 2013 section 5(3) in all sub-district levels. According to the available statistics, from 2004 to 2012, the total number of released cases of juvenile delinquents was 2054. All of them received legal aids as aftercare services. Total 32366 juvenile delinquents received different services during their stays, such as general education (35.72%), religious education (30.33%), vocational training (16.29%), and sewing training (17.66%). Under this program, 13157 inmates have already been released under probation ordinance, and 80662 people received aftercare services, mainly in the form of legal aid (DSS,2020).

2.3.3 Experiences in detention and aftercare needs

Periodic evaluation of the probation and aftercare services is crucial to running the correctional institutions and upgrading with time. Hoque et al. (2008) stated in the research on the status of ex-inmates of juvenile correctional centres in Bangladesh showed that children are victims of circumstances and come under incarceration. Then they have been ill-treated, misguided by the vested interest groups. Sometimes, the negligent role played by the guardian, police, and their community, even after custody and detention, leads to dark life aftermath. Researchers opined that most juveniles suffer from acute psychosocial trauma; these children need care and moral counseling. They are not getting enough aftercare by all means after detention. Institutions have done correctable, but more can create scope for their social rehabilitation (ibid). Collective efforts should be taken to organize and assess the proper training and ensure their career goals and interests can go in line.

2.4 The challenges of social inclusion and reentry

Reintegration or social inclusion after incarceration refers to the experience and journey of reentering into society after a certain period of detention. Travis and Mears (2004) found a difference in the reentry process and experience among juvenile and adult inmates connected to

psychological growth. To design an effective policy, it is vital to trace the challenges of reentry. They suggest that during the transition to adulthood, youth's mental health and family bondings may affect their return to school premises, ultimately hindering future employment possibilities. Researchers also showed that up to two-thirds of freed juveniles had been rearrested, and one-third returned to detention. They emphasized the lack of systematic aftercare services in collaboration with various agencies and institutions impacts the successful comeback of young offenders. Therefore, Altschuler and Brash identified young people confront seven domains during the process of reintegration: (1) family and living arrangements; (2) peer groups and friends; (3) mental, behavioral, and physical health; (4) substance abuse; (5) education and schooling; (6) vocational training and employment; and (7) leisure, recreation, and avocational interests (cited in Travis and Mears, 2004, p.10).

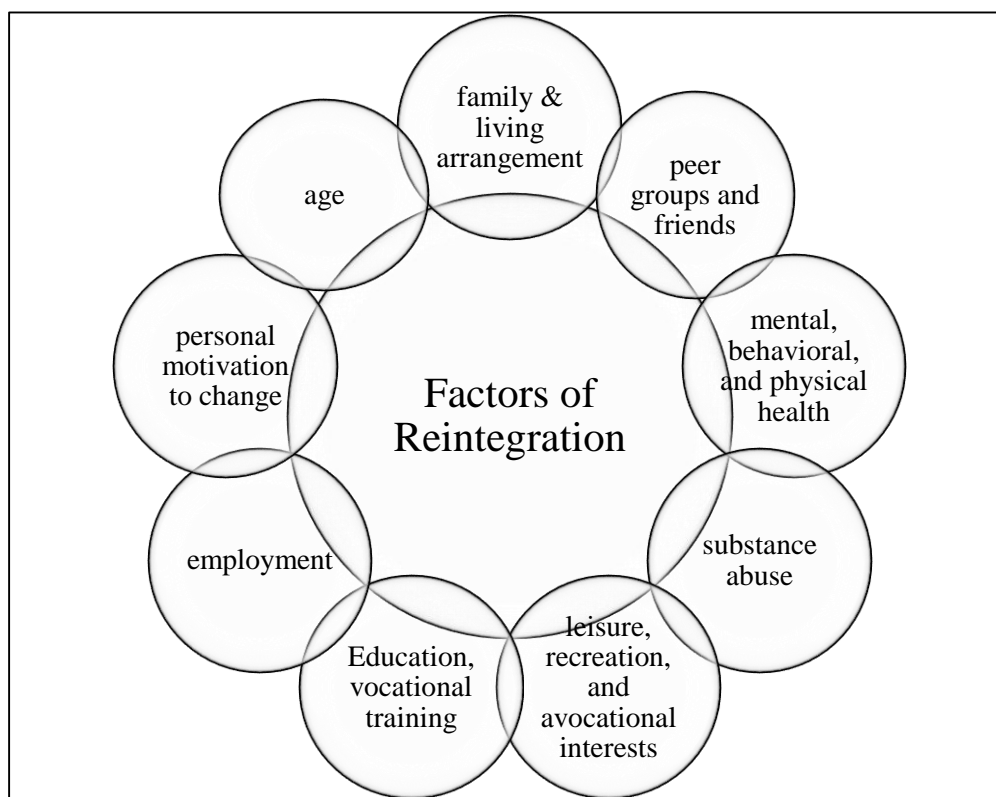


Figure 10: Factors affecting the reintegration process
Adapted from Travis and Mears (2004) and Davis, Bahr, and Ward (2013).

Likewise, these factors remain addressed by Davis, Bahr, and Ward's (2013) article in a qualitative narrative from offenders' perspectives to comprehend the course of reintegration. They argued about six fundamental factors affecting reintegration and recidivism: 1) substance abuse; 2) employment; 3) family support; 4) types of friends; 5) personal motivation to change; and 6) age (ibid, p.451). However, the literature presented that drug use has a solid connection to delinquent activities. In this study, young offenders shared support from family and friends, which was very significant for positive inclusion. Personal aspiration to change the situation and enter into a job

and network is also reciprocal. Authors (2013) observed that age impacts the personality development of young offenders to strengthen the family bonds and raise the desire to transform.

Previous researches and relevant literature promote a strong connection between the role of social workers and social inclusion in the juvenile justice system. For example, Sheppard (2006) argued in their writings about an individual's identity, humanity, values, and personal experiences influencing reentry. Therefore, a social worker dealing with young offenders' social inclusion should respect and empathize with the issues mentioned above. More specifically, there are three themes regarding the relationship between social work and social inclusion. These are: 1) The core concerns of Social work are social exclusion and ensuring inclusion; 2) Social services should expand the possibilities to include, and 3) 'Social work is itself exclusionary' so within the labelling and marginalizing social workers should improve the strengthen perspectives.

Chapter three: Theoretical Framework

Social research is always persuaded by theory and usually contributes to the findings to flow into the most applicable stock of knowledge. In an inductive approach, there is a reciprocal relationship between theory and research. Particularly, a theory is considered the study's outcome. Furthermore, combining theory and data is usually allied with the qualitative research technique (Bryman, 2012). This segment of the theoretical framework guides to a comprehensive explanation of findings and fills the gap in this specific research area (Rubin and Babbie, 2011). Historically, several theories have been discussed in the causality and trends of juvenile delinquency and their reintegration. In this study, the following section focuses on three prominent sociological theories that provide practical implications for working with juvenile delinquency during their stay in correction centres and reentry into society. First, this study applied the Labelling theory based on Becker's (1963) idea and reconsidered thoughts of Sampson and Laub (1993) that intended to focus on the trajectory to adulthood of juvenile delinquents. In addition, Goffman's (1963) concept of Stigmatization also shed insight on the aftercare need and youthful offenders' status as marginalized by the consequences of stigma through their reintegration process. Second, to complement this perspective of labelling theory, Bronfenbrenner's Ecological systems approach (1979) has been analyzed to look into the juvenile's social settings and how it impacts the different domains of a child's life course. Finally, layers of microsystem to Chronosystem, the trajectory of a child being an offender to reentering into the community has been seen. Furthermore, the World Bank's framework of the Social inclusion lens has been used to present three important domains to understand the exclusion process.

3.1 Labelling theory

A number of sociological approaches have denoted the labelling theory from causation, critical, and constructivists' point of view. The present study has tried to extract the essential factors explaining the impact of labelling on the formation of deviant behavior, including its further inferences for social development. The central idea of labelling in Sociology has developed by American sociologist Howard Becker that thrived during the 1960s. Becker (1963) explained that the supposition of labeling the deviants as 'outsiders' is created by society, and no act is inherently criminal. Instead, labelling theory states reoffending criminality is a consequence of the negative responses from the community for being labeled as 'offenders' once (Becker, 1963; Bernburg, 2009; Hart, 2018). In addition, Sampson and Laub (1993) brought the comprehensive point of labelling from the life course perspective on human development and individual interactions within society. They specified that the connection between crime and labelling is not only ended up repeating. Instead, it is linked to the transition period in life throughout which one can choose to act unlawful or stay back from crime (ibid).

However, Becker (1963) distinguished between 'breaking laws/rules' and 'being deviant' labels that have been created by society. Labelling theory describes that deviant behavior has various underlying causes and conditions. If one has been labeled as deviant, they encounter challenges of negative stereotypes from self and others. Hence, being labeled as a criminal by society can elicit

and reinforce the involvement in crime (Bernburg, 2009). Becker has also discussed the notion of formal and informal labelling processes and their probable actors. In this regard, theorists emphasized that formal labelling by formulating state laws, police forces, other laws enforcing the justice system, courts, and correctional centres are significant sources of formal labelling.

On the contrary, informal labels are applied by someone who does not belong to any office or authority- such as family members, neighbors, peers, etc. These social groups informally avoid and label particular people as outsiders (Becker, 1963; Bernburg, 2009). Becker (1963) has asserted that the justice system affects one's social networks. Once having stigma as offenders creates the chances to connect with other deviant groups to build new criminal networks for income. It also establishes social power structure by the dominant group by labelling it as a 'subordinate group' (Steven, Jennifer, and Robert, 2017).

3.1.1 Labelling theory reconsidered

Labelling theory was broadly analyzed in crime and deviance in the 1960s. Still, later in the 1970s, it became debated. It had few critiques on ignoring factors like differences in the socialization process and social safety that can also lead to crime (Bernburg, 2009). Sampson and Laub (1993; 1997) argued that labeling theory has a developmental nature because it gave attention to different processes and adverse consequences of labelling over time. However, Sampson and Laub (1997) integrated the core concept into a life course perspective. This framework explains the detrimental influences of labelling and stigma on development, social bonding, and further life chances. They have stated that some children can be subject to stigma and labels that weaken their social attachments. Thus, insensitivity and undesirable treatment from family, peers, and schools can contribute to deviant behavior and construct one's self-identity (Bernburg, 2009). In particular, adolescents who left correctional centres have experienced labelling or negative stereotyping during reintegration and their adulthood journey. Specifically, it makes it harder for society to offer an "offender" the post of an employee, student, life partner, etc. (Hart, 2018; Sampson and Laub, 1993). Consequently, somehow, they cope with their labeled status and work harder to get work after incarceration. Considering the socioeconomic context of inclusion, Laub and Sampson further focused on coping strategies like residential change that juveniles adopted for the significant changes of daily life and future (Abrah, 2018).

Goffman's (1963) classic theory of Social stigma is also worth mentioning in this context that stigmatization is considered a hindrance to social acceptance. It is a process that segregates people from society for being 'unusual, 'disgraceful,' or unaccepted consistent with social norms. Goffman defined stigma as '*an attribute that is deeply discrediting*' and '*undesirable characteristics*' that eventually result in exclusion and deprivation (ibid, p. 3). According to Goffman, three different types of stigma limit a stigmatized individual's opportunities and life chances. These are physical inefficiencies, a person's certain acts or misdeed (e.g., prostitution, drug addiction, delinquency, etc.), and other types are based on race, nation, religion (ibid). For instance, juvenile offenders who are already formally and informally labeled become mindful of a stereotypical dogma from their learned idea of social attitude towards a 'criminal.' Goffman explained the interactions between 'normal' and 'stigmatized' people in a society mostly create discomfort, humiliation, and rejection. The ambiance passes from the person to family and may also stigmatize or be rejected in society (Abrah, 2018).

Labelling theory and stigmatization have always been distinguished among other crime and deviance theories, especially in analyzing juvenile delinquency. In this study, labelling theory tried to denote young offenders who are lacked everyday social interactions and are treated excluded as having violated sociocultural norms. Labelling theory signifies how stigma is enforced on society and perceived exclude as an ‘unusual or unaccepted group’ in society.

3.2 Ecological System Theory

The psychosocial development of a child is considered a complex process of humankind. American psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) Ecological System Theory (EST) is especially worthy of note to depict the interrelation between different aspects of social institutions and child development. Bronfenbrenner proposed the development and socialization of a child should be studied from an ecological context that refers to various aspects of a developing child’s life. Three features can be described briefly about the concept. Firstly, EST emphasized the ecology or environment of the living has dynamic interactions with the child. Secondly, EST has been characterized as a reciprocal interaction between person and environment that is mainly two-directional. Third, the ecological environment is defined as a complex of nested structures of a given society where a child exists in a centre starting from the individual level and spreading to outer layers (for example, family, peers, school, community) that are affected by the relations within and across the settings. Hence, Bronfenbrenner suggested looking not only at a child’s immediate settings but also beyond larger contexts of interactions (Duerden and Witt, 2010). The ecological system of child development consists of five interconnected socially embedded settings that can influence and affect others. He termed these levels as the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. Though Bronfenbrenner introduced four layers of EST previously, later on, he explained the fifth layer as an extended dimension of settings as his following consideration of the EST (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The following sections employ a brief discussion about the five systems.

Microsystem

The microsystem is the first and innermost layer of the EST. This first level comprises face-to-face settings of interactions, individual roles, activities, and interpersonal relations in the given social institutions and associations such as family, school, teachers, peers, neighborhood, and also with which the child is involved in direct connection in their immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner,1994). Thus, interactions in a microsystem are deliberated as bidirectional. It is reliant on the features of existing beliefs of social interconnections between and among the settings. So microsystem is the prominent level of the EST that Bronfenbrenner denotes such interactions as primary mechanism and proximal processes of child development. It could be reflected in parents-child, child-child relationships, activities in a peer group, learning new skills, studying, and so on (Evans, 2020).

Mesosystem

The mesosystem signifies the direct connections between two or more settings of the microsystem. For instance, interrelations between a child’s parents, siblings, and schools or daycare centre’s representatives or peers have close contact with both groups (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Eventually, it is the coordination of different components of microsystems to foster affiliation and

accountabilities in one's life. Despite having independent functioning in an individual's microsystems, the mesosystem affirms influences upon each other. Consistent with the EST, if a child's family and school setting get along with supportive relationships positively impacts psychosocial development (Duerdin and Witt, 2010).

Exosystem

Exosystem unites child's immediate environment with comparatively broader social settings such as economic system, educational system, governmental policies, social services, etc. Thus, it connects the child with formal and informal social institutions that do not involve the child directly. Instead, indirectly influence both microsystem and mesosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For example, exosystem a developing child could be occupational aspects of parents' or stress in their workplaces can affect a child's social and mental growth.

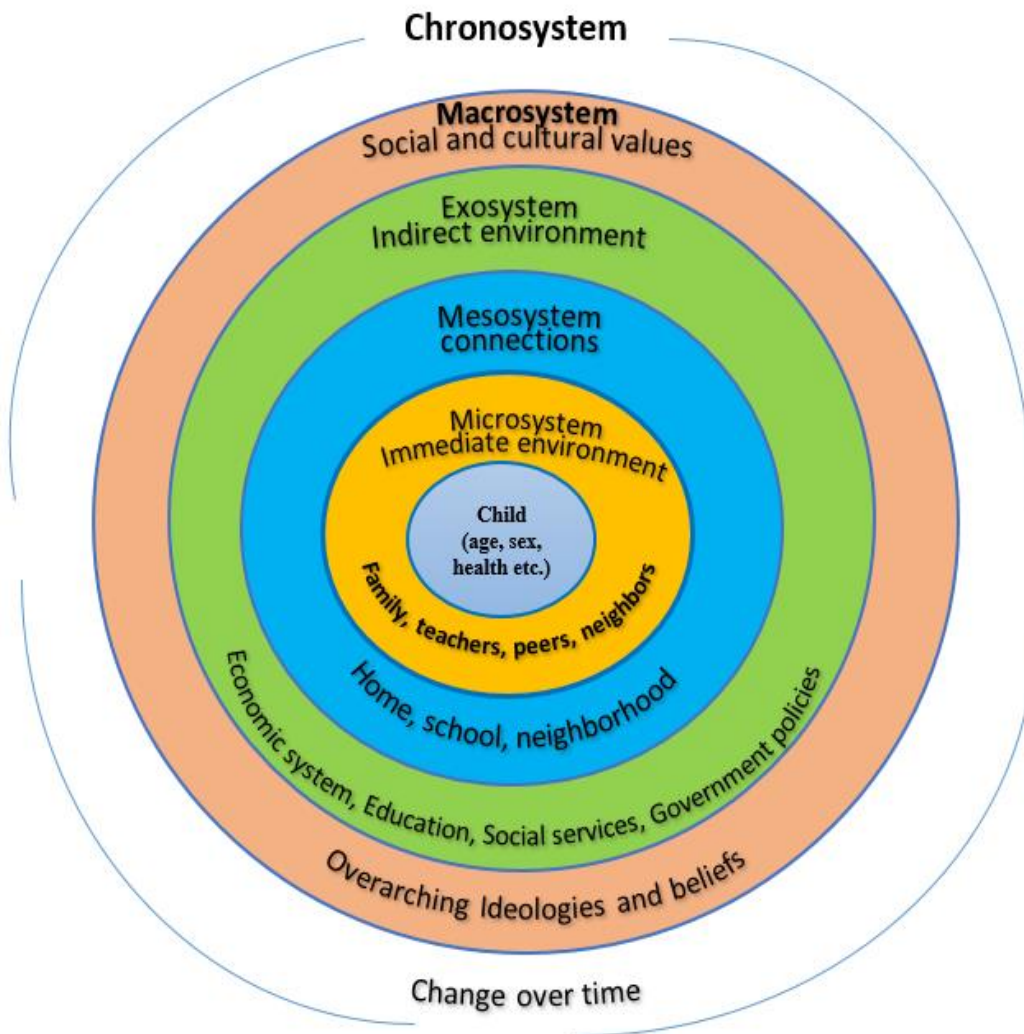


Figure 11: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System Theory

MacroSystem

This system refers to the most wide-ranging level of the ecological environment surrounding the developing child. To define the system Bronfenbrenner (1979, p. 26) compares it with the ‘societal blueprint for a particular culture or subculture’ that includes the specific ideologies, cultural beliefs, values in a given society. It is different from other systems because it represents each system's components by holding the dominant cultural views and lifestyles grounded within the society and shaping a person's personality. Thus, the macrosystem focuses on how sociocultural elements affect a child’s development. For instance, a child living in an economically vulnerable status is different from a child being in a wealthy family. This layer maintains the interconnections and combined involvement throughout the systems (ibid).

Chronosystem

The last layer of the ecological systems theory is titled the chronosystem by Bronfenbrenner (1994). This system demonstrates a time-oriented facet that affects a child’s development on each of the layers of ecological systems theory throughout the life course. This system contains influences and changes through essential experiences and events that ultimately result in life transition and even personality building at a particular time. Hence, the idea of chronosystem is the development of a child is influenced and changed directly and indirectly by different systems over time(ibid).

Contextualizing Ecological Systems Theory in child protection and aftercare needs is reasonable because Bronfenbrenner used five separate but interconnected systems that define the interactions between individuals and within the environment. Therefore, it can be an effective tool to design juveniles’ life courses from starting to leaving the correctional care centres. Therefore, Policies and initiatives in each system can equip service providers and prepare youngsters to achieve a standard of living aftercare. Pardeck (1988) specifically stated that this approach could be helpful for social workers to have a clear understanding of children’s risk and vulnerability. Also, to get insight into the child's environment, the interactions between systems and children can be worthy of long-term decision-making and intervention.

3.3 Social inclusion as a concept of integration

Social inclusion has become a trending topic in policy practices to resolve different aspects of inequalities. The concept of inclusion is the flip side of exclusion that restricts access to resources and opportunities for being an active individual. The early discourse of social inclusion emerged and was first mentioned by the government of France in the 1970s to describe economically disadvantaged and destitute groups as excluded (Silver, 1995). After that, in response to mitigate the crisis of socio-economic injustice and expand the social welfare system, the concept of social inclusion has appeared in Western European countries’ policy inferences in the 80s. Subsequently, in the mid-1990s and earlier twentieth century, the European Union member countries started a comprehensive transition of social inclusion in welfare initiatives from economic concern into active social protection to overcome different forms of exclusion (Prodius, 2019).

According to European Union, Social inclusion is a process of equal participation in economic, social, and cultural life and to attain standards of living in a given society that offers necessary

resources and opportunities for every member (cited in *ibid* p. 411). Indian economist and Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen characterized social inclusion by social experiences and opportunities to attain basic welfare. Therefore, inclusive policy implications and state strategy in education, employment, health care facilities should be improved (*ibid*). Furthermore, it is the process of enhancing the capability, opportunity, and respect of vulnerable or deprived individuals based on their identity and present status in society. For an inclusive society, the economic well-being and the decision-making process of all groups should be involved irrespective of traditional labelling and marginalization (World Bank, 2013). Finally, it refers to the pathway to the escalation of integration. It overcomes the discrepancies of a person with disabilities, ethnic minorities, sexual orientations, and immigrants or at risk and vulnerable situation.

At present, this becomes a lens of building a harmonized society. For years, human civilization has encountered discrimination and treated exclusion based on race, ethnicity, class, caste, disabilities, sexual orientation, etc. These particular identity holders experience exclusion and are deprived of participation in the mainstream standard of living. For instance, institutions such as prisons, correctional centres, and asylums exclude individuals from the broader social environment. These institutions enfold their everyday life and even life after detention replacing interaction in wider society with changed and complex subcultures (Allman, 2013). Social inclusion can be effective by increasing economic participation, improving protection systems, providing housing for the homeless, and particular services for specific groups. (Hayes, Gray, and Edwards, 2007).

Indeed, the parameters of the concept of social inclusion are complex to define because each sector and country has its particularities in its policy of social integration. Hence, the inclusion process is also context-based and edges to the borders of belongings (Prodius, 2019). Although in 2008, The Honorable Julia Gillard PM mentioned the insights in the Australian Government's social inclusion policy, five aspects of social inclusion apply to its measurement. An individual requires economic participation, access to services; personal independence in family and communal life to fulfill social roles; education, and being heard or involved in decision-making (Gillard, 2008).

3.3.1 World Bank's framework for Social Inclusion Lens

The analytical report on *Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity* by World Bank (2013) developed an illustrative set of concepts of social inclusion lens to implement in any policy or interventions. According to World Bank defined Social inclusion as:

The process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society.

More specifically,

It is the process of improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of people disadvantaged on the basis of their identity to take part in society (*ibid*, p. 5).

World Bank interconnects the concept of social inclusion to personal identity, which is socially constructed. As mentioned previously, the specific group who holds the exact identity of specific sexual orientation or practice, race, ethnicity, disability status, divergent, or once incarcerated has also been excluded from the community. This idea highlighted the three main domains: Market, Services, and Space. These can be both opportunities and obstacles for inclusion. (figure 2). *Markets* comprise land, property, accommodation, work industry. This domain manifests the

systematic segregation of particular groups of people. If one group is excluded from the marketplace in the same society, the disparity becomes reasonably visible by the financial gap and being underprivileged compared to privileged counterparts. Hence, marginalization from the market system ultimately results in less access to employment and modest income that is considered a crucial edge of exclusion.

The second domain, *Services*, refers to enhancing human capital such as the social welfare system, education, training, health care, social protection, etc. Access to these services and resources is vital for holistic social inclusion. Social service is planned for the well-being of the excluded group, and these programs provide access to a standard of living. For instance, special education and training for the group who did not attend the mainstream education system can facilitate future upliftment and responsibility as an active member of society. As the third domain, spaces represent both physical and symbolic that have the social, cultural, and political sphere of exclusion. Formal or informal control of the mobility and access to various spaces is linked with inequitable presence in the market and getting services.

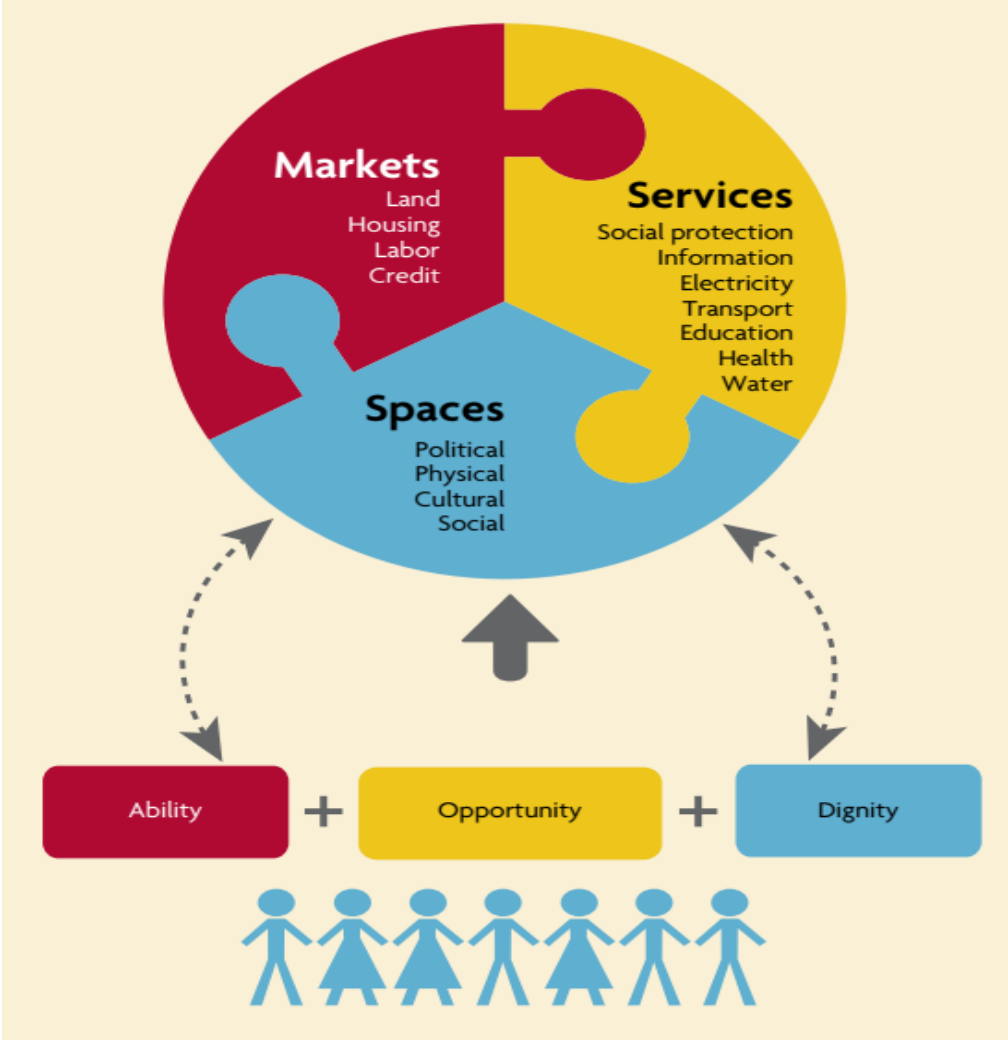


Figure 12: World Bank’s Framework of Social Inclusion Lens

In this report, World Bank (2013) deliberates three connected ideas through the inclusion and exclusion act way. Considering all three domains intersecting and influenced by other features: ability, opportunity, and dignity of an individual that can help to be integrated into a given setup. Ability is instinctive, and it could be socially mediated. For instance, a child who is already affected by disadvantaged background may internalize the exclusion and do not attempt further betterment as they know they could be rejected and unwanted. In addition, the opportunity is another way to understand human capital and as an essential assumption for enhancing person capabilities and access to equal services. Further, in this report, World Bank brought a unique and vital component of dignity. Even after having the ability or providing opportunity, as often, exclusion can covertly occur, so it is not always enough to get respect and recognition in society. The notion of dignity comes through social institutions, policy, changing norms, and welcoming attitudes of dominant social settings towards the excluded group.

In the case of social inclusion, a Strengths-based perspective is often more important in social work practices. It signifies an individual's skills, capability, knowledge, and potential through encouragement and responsive guidance. However, contemporary frameworks have considered an understated focus on personal and environmental social problems illustrated by the ecological system perspective of social work practice (Weick et al., 1989). Also, the 'problem-solving method shows the importance of assessing individual problems and utilizing appropriate resources' (ibid, p. 351). Thus, the problem is seen as a deficiency, then attributes of the problem are well-defined by the professional, and action is guided to overcoming the deficit (ibid, p. 352). Therefore, a strengths assessment is necessary to cope with faster social changes and socio-economic globalization as for the new demand of sustainable development in social work practices as a professional. Rocha (2018) mentioned four points from the perspective; first, the role and responsibilities to recognize local social problems and opportunities that connected economy and environmental issues. Second, sharing and building new knowledge is versatile in teams to promote an inclusive society. Third, defending the groups of vulnerable people and the environment against economic exploitation by focusing the strength and combining eco-neighborhood and empowerment approaches to build inclusive communities, ensuring sustainable development and helping individuals for their life projects (Rocha, 2018).

In this research, the social inclusion of juveniles while leaving correctional centres after a certain period is analyzed from the perspectives of the domains and different spheres of the ecological system mentioned above. Moreover, focusing on the strength of young offenders by providing vocational training and life skills for their career path. It features that if they feel excluded or face challenges to secure jobs and other services in their community.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

Methodology refers to the systematic process to conduct research, and methods are the procedure or technique to collect the information. The purpose of this inductive study is to have a comprehensive understanding of how the life of correctional centers affects the detained youth offenders' capabilities of aftercare. This chapter explained the methodological approach applied in this research. The study took place in the facility of three correctional centres in Bangladesh. In this chapter, the researcher's epistemological standpoint was discussed. Also, the formal procedure of gaining access to the facility and vital sources of data is presented. The sample of the respondents was purposively selected as professionals who are already designated in Juvenile Correctional Centres and young offenders who have experienced detention and returned to their homes. After informing the respondents on the research topic and objectives, this chapter also described the research framework, multilayered semi-structured questionnaire, and interviews. The open-ended discussions from interview transcripts helped analyze the coding approach under several themes and sub-themes. Trustworthiness and ethical integrity have been followed into all phases of the research process were reviewed. Furthermore, this chapter's end highlighted my role as a researcher and my challenges during data collection.

4.1 Epistemological paradigm and Qualitative research method

An epistemological implication refers to the outline for constructing and reviewing context-specific perspectives of social reality. It suggests a framework articulating research objectives and questions suitable for the knowledge base (Merriam, 2009). The researcher's epistemological position influences each stage, including selecting the subject matters, formulating research questions, sampling, and designing research. The epistemological orientation of the study is adopting an interpretive view to understand the respondent's perspective through their direct participation. This study followed the qualitative nature guided by the inductive approach of the exploratory type that presents the deliberations following gathered information and previous literature (Bryman, 2012). Findings are described from the experiences of professionals and juveniles who left the correctional centers.

Bryman (2012) stated qualitative research is a 'procedure to comprehend the connections to the underlying factors of the problem' that informants convey in a particular situation. It is a strategy that emphasizes words rather than numbers (ibid, P.308). A Qualitative exploratory method was carried out in this study that helped to understand the underpinning knowledge and experiences of the respondents about the social inclusion process of the juvenile justice system in Bangladesh. It investigates the perceptions of professionals, including coordinators, stakeholders, and staff of these correctional centres, about the inclusion process and former inmates' experiences of leaving care. Following the above discussion, the study tried to explain the existing reintegration-focused disciplinary process and informants' assessments in a natural setting. The data collection method of this study has met the exploratory goal through conducting in-depth interviews with the

participants. This research design allowed findings to be turned up substantially through coding and prevented gathered information from being worthless.

4.2 Study Settings: Gaining access to the research unit and informed consent

This research is an inductive and purposive study focused on young offenders' experiences and challenges aftercare. To get some contextual and administrative facts, I also tried to find the perception of the responsible professionals within juvenile justice in Bangladesh. There are three national juvenile correctional centres in Bangladesh. Among these, two are for boys, and one is for girls. Two centres (one for boys and another for girls) are situated in Dhaka; the third is located in Jessore Division. The initial idea was to visit all the three dedicated juvenile correctional centres of Bangladesh for background information on inmates who have already left the care centre. In the first Children Act 1974, under section 20, the Government of Bangladesh has established a juvenile correctional centre (later named Children Development Centre, CDC) for the detention, judgment, and protection of children committed to custody by court or police (Hoque et al., 2008). The young offenders are retained in the centre during their interim period of the case hearing. Later on, to cope with the increasing number of adolescent delinquency cases, the Government has established another two centres with the capacity of a total of 600 inmates at a time. All these three institutions are intended to promote juvenile justice and correctional services under the supervision of the Department of Social Services (DSS), Ministry of Social Welfare, Bangladesh.

I wrote a formal application for seeking permission from the Director-General of the Ministry of Social Welfare. Also, I prepared an introductory resume with my accepted research proposal and contract paper from ISCTE to explain the main objectives of the study and my background. This led to an official correspondence of the researcher to the head of the service outlining the research plans. Unfortunately, I did not receive any response immediately. Therefore, I planned to make an appointment to sit in a meeting with the Director of Institutions. Then followed up with a phone call with his private secretary and enabled an appointment to meet with the Director of Institutions. The meeting was brief and deliberate about the purpose and present situation. The Director of Institutions seemed very cooperative, and he verbally approved my research scheduling. Due to the ongoing Covid situation and administrative formalities, the notification of approval was received after three weeks from the date of applying. The Ministry approval letter number is 41.01.0000.063.25.005.16.125 (Please see the approval in Appendix-1). The approval letter from authorities needed to show every time to get access to the study sites. After gaining access to the institution, a brief orientation and a bunch of documents such as conditions and guidelines of the Centre were presented to conduct this research at JCCs to protect the rights and ensure the confidentiality of juveniles. Furthermore, my attachment to this Erasmus Masters program Social work with Families and Children at the ISCTE-IUL; my previous experience of conducting research with adolescents, and my professional experience working as a Faculty at the Department of Gender Studies, University of Dhaka undeniably contributed to grant the access.

From the Department of Social Services, MoSW, an introductory post mail was sent to all three JCCs' Divisional Directors, Coordinators, and responsible district level social welfare officers to inform and request permission for cooperating with me at their facility. Permission to conduct the study by one-to-one in-depth interviews (both physically and by phone calls) with Directors,

Coordinators, and personnel involved in juvenile custody and correctional processes were scheduled. The coordinator from the centres provided information about former inmates and juveniles who are already rehabilitated into society. Stakeholders and Professionals working in JCCs and the former inmates have represented a small sample of the larger population of this present study. Before starting each interview, both physically and via phone calls, I explained the research objectives and questions I would ask the informants and seek permission to continue if they agreed. After finishing in-person interviews, I requested them for a signed informed consent and verbal consent for phone interviews.

4.3 Sources of data: primary and secondary sources of information

This study followed a qualitative method for data collection from both primary and secondary Sources. To get primary data, I have conducted in-depth interviews with stakeholders and young offenders of JCCs. The group stakeholders include directors, coordinators, and professionals who intervene in Bangladesh's juvenile justice and correctional process. They are the focal informants to comprehend the experience of reintegrating young offenders into society after leaving JCCs care. For triangulation and acclamation, the secondary data were gathered from previous studies, relevant books, organizational reports, newspaper features, and corresponding websites. The Bangladesh Children Act (2013) was reviewed with relevant literature to understand the process of social inclusion for young offenders in the existing juvenile justice system and child protection in Bangladesh. To acquire the most recent information on juvenile delinquency and its inclusion into society, I have accessed newspaper articles, the government, and NGO's annual reports for the last couple of years. I intended to understand the reentry process JCCs have taken, and the challenges young offenders face after incarceration. These secondary sources helped me to get a background impression.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

The qualitative approach in Social Work Research affirms the depth of understanding human experiences, personality, and behavior in a particular context to generate worthy theoretical interpretations. Intensive interviewing, observation, focus group discussion, and case study are commonly used as qualitative data collection techniques (Rubin and Babbie, 2011; Bryman, 2012). In this present study, the qualitative approach has embraced in-depth interviews as the primary source of data. The director, centers' coordinators, professionals, and youths who had already left the juvenile correctional centre were considered informants. A standard interview guide with a combination of open and closed questions was prepared for the interviews. It helped investigate the challenges juveniles encountered after being detained and reintegrated into their society, education, and employment sectors.

4.4.1 Sample selection and sample size

In this study, the informants were selected by applying convenience non-probable purposive sampling. However, data collection of juvenile offenders' reintegration experiences and gatekeepers' direct involvement in the disciplinary process made it impossible to plot a large sample within the limited timeframe. Therefore, ten informants were included in the study to explore their experience and perception in-depth with a smaller sample. Hence, Purposive sampling was very useful in this study as it was a sample of predictions that this group would

produce the most comprehensive information for the research subject (Rubin and Babbie, 2011). Moreover, it is a strategic way to select satisfactory representation of inmates as informants from divergent backgrounds, yet they share homogenous experiences. Similarly, policymakers and professionals can also purposefully contribute to the knowledge-building process of research problems (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2007).

Only three JCCs units in Bangladesh and research approval from DSS made more easy access to the director, coordinators, professionals, and young care leavers of correctional centres. The sampling was carried out in two segments: first, the Jessore divisional Director, Coordinator, and three professionals were communicated then each of them were agreed to participate in this study. So, gatekeepers represented five people: the Director as a policymaker, the Coordinator, the social service officer, and two caseworkers as professionals. With the help of the professionals, I found contacts of five young informants who had left JCCs within the previous last six months to two years. Young care leavers' age ranged between 18 to 20 at the time of the interview. They have been convicted of murder, attempted murder, theft, rape, and assault. Three of them had already passed the secondary educational level, one of them was waiting for a high school exam, and one informant was in primary school dropped out. The following tables presented the profile of a total of ten (10) interviewees.

SL	Designation	Assigned Workplace
1.	Director	Divisional Social Services
2.	Coordinator	CDC (Boys) Jessore
3.	Caseworker I	CDC (Boys) Jessore
4.	Caseworker II	CDC (Girls)
5.	Social service officer	Divisional Social Services

Table 4: Profile of Juvenile Respondents

Sl no	Age	Gender	Duration of stay	Left CDC	Education
Respondent 1	18	Boy	2 months 15 days	1 year	Secondary school passed (1 year delayed)
Respondent 2	19	Boy	8 months	2 years	Secondary school passed (1 year delayed)
Respondent 3	20	Boy	22 months	1 year	Higher Secondary college
Respondent 4	20	Girl	16 months	1 year	Primary (Drop out)
Respondent 5	19	Girl	6 months	6 months	Secondary (Drop out)

4.4.2 In-depth Interviews

In qualitative research, the in-depth interview is a popular method of data collection that bridges relations with one person (as an interviewer) who asks questions to another (as a respondent). It refers to an interaction between a researcher and an informant. The interviewer has a set of general guidelines of the inquest for research purposes, but it must not be followed in strict framed words or particular order (Bryman, 2012; Rubin and Babbie, 2011). These interviews may be conducted physically as face-to-face or by telephone, or through any electronic media. This study in-depth conversations with informants intended to reveal post-care transition to the everyday life of young inmates returning to community-what immediate challenges they face, preparation-based training from JCCs, and future expectations. Total ten in-depth interviews were conducted, including Director, coordinator, caseworkers, and young former inmates. Stakeholders and young informants' interviews followed almost similar ground except for the issues asked on policy implications and personal experiences. As an icebreaking conversation starter, I introduced myself at the beginning of each interview and shared my knowledge of the International master's programme.

I have explained their importance for the in-depth conversation with a brief description of the research objectives. I tried to memorize the guidelines and was concerned about swiftly checking the policies if required while asking questions without interrupting eye contact (Creswell, 2007). Furthermore, during the lengthy conversation, I tried to be an active listener with patience and respect for opinions. Each interview continued for one hour or more. I have conducted all five interviews with gatekeepers face to face and five of the young informants' interviews over the phone. Unfortunately, the lockdown was announced due to the Covid-19 pandemic, and I was worried about the integrity of telephone interviews with young CDCs care leavers. Nevertheless, the discussions carried over the telephone have provided enriched and detailed information from young care leavers because they were comfortable being on another side of the phone. I took notes during the interview as the recording was prohibited. After that, I composed transcribed field notes

after the interview very often and every day. It helped me in comparing and contrasting through a particular theme with gathered data and theoretical framework.

4.4.3 Data collection tools: Interview guidelines and Questionnaire

The In-depth interviews were planned to collect data from different aspects of both gatekeepers and juveniles of correctional centres that consistent with the research objectives and the questions. Thus, two semi-structured questionnaires for in-depth interviews with the policymakers/directors, coordinators, centers' professionals, and young care leavers. Therefore, a semi-structured questionnaire comprised seven elementary questions for the professionals, including designation and responsibilities. In addition, it includes a few preliminary questions about study background, designation, and responsibilities. The Questionnaire for JCCs' gatekeepers investigated their perceptions and insights into the existing reintegration process and explored the impediments and drawbacks in institutional collaboration. The questionnaire for juvenile JCC care leavers contains open-ended questions and has questions about general information and present status (age, gender, case, education, residence, and employment); with a total of twenty probing questions categorized in four sections:

- i) experiences in JCCs;
- ii) legal status of the case;
- iii) reintegration: aftercare needs and follow-up; and
- iv) expectations and suggestions.

All the questionnaires were translated into Bangla, and for a better understanding of the conversations between researcher and informants followed in Bangla, all of them are native Bangladeshi. Though later on, the interview notes and final findings were transcribed and translated into English. The questionnaire was provided and explained to respondents at a reasonable time before the interview. At the end of the session, informed consent was requested after mentioning the confidentiality and anonymity of the given information.

4.5 Analyzing the Data: Thematic Analysis and Coding

In qualitative social research, data analysis is the systematic process that rationally appraises each raw data component to get useful information. It is a disciplined technique of data synthesizing according to the research questions for reaching towards proposition (Bryman, 2012). Hence, data analysis helps to break the complex topic into smaller parts and trace probable recommendations. Thematic analysis is one of the common approaches of qualitative data analysis that comprises coding. In this study, Thematic analysis has been applied because of its flexibility and organized pattern. It offers a matrix-based framework to construct code as a catalog of core themes and subthemes (ibid, p. 578). Thematic analysis has been used in data interpretation that helps to define the theme-wise and analyze themes in blend with theories. It also helps to have a forthright analysis and guides to generate substantial outcomes. Furthermore, the reliability of coding through interviews approve that the data can be retrieved in need of multiple interpretations (Rubin and Babbie, 2011).

Studying the existing juvenile justice system and reintegration covers a broad approach to data collection and analysis. The present study developed a data-driven structured and inductive coding connected with the research objectives (Prior, 2008 p. 821). Also, Research questions were identified and continuously reflected in the interviewee's opinion and framed into connotations of themes and sub-themes. It focused on the JCCs correctional program's implications and reliability of interventions (Riessman, 2008, p.82). The collected data have been analyzed with thematic analysis in collaboration with primary data and previous relevant studies. All the interviews were noted first, then transcribed, translated, coded, and analyzed. For better understanding after every interview and reading any documents, I kept key summaries of all of the content with the date and page number, respectively. These summaries were revised and tracked according to the themes that appeared from the data. It was also easy to trace quotations after reading from the data set. I have studied the interview notes and other documents and based on questionnaire according to the themes. Generating themes and sub-themes to guide to answer the relevant questions is known as coding (Merriam, 2009). In this study, coding classifications are formatted into seven core themes within these themes, and thirty different sub-themes help to explain the data. The following table mentioned the outline of the themes and sub-themes:

Table 5: Themes and Sub-themes of the study

Sl. no	Themes	Sub-themes
1.	Child protection and Juvenile justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The juvenile justice system in Bangladesh • Promoting social inclusion and aftercare in CDCs • Future strategic plan for CDCs
2.	Features of CDCs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framework • Legislation • Average information of inmates • Values • Training and support
3.	Perceptions of policymakers, coordinators & professionals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Model • Changes of inmates in behavior, attitudes, and lifestyle • Follow-up after detention • services in the community intervention • Successful cases • Suggestions for further policy interventions
4.	Experiences in JCC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The reasons entering in JCC • Tasks and activities • Positive and negative things • Relationships with staff and instructors • Contacts • Training and life skills
5.	The legal status of the case	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case processing • Awareness • Support

6.	Reintegration process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Challenges after leaving care • Support networks • preparatory training • contact with your instructors/teachers aftercare • influence of JCCs in life
7.	Expectations and suggestions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suggestion to improve JCCs and Process • Future expectations
Source: Researcher's preparation		

4.6 Trustworthiness for the Study

Trustworthiness in qualitative research demands addressing how the data or findings are assembled through four basic principles: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Guba, 1981; Lincon and Guba, 1985). All these four criteria are equally essential to ensure reliability and validity and facilitate respondents' expressions impartially. Therefore, informants have been selected through purposive sampling, and I interviewed both professionals and juveniles who were willing to talk about their experiences. In this way, ten respondents shared their opinions, and cross-checking and triangulation of the information were also applied through probing and consulting relevant studies (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, mentioning direct quotations and respondents' expressions also emphasized the facts of the context and researcher's position. Besides, thesis seminars and peer presentations during the study frequently helped the researcher critically explain the findings and assumptions.

4.7 Possible bias and generalization of data

This present study is a small-sampled qualitative study envisioned to understand the process of social inclusion of juvenile delinquents after detention. The sample is bounded to 10 informants, and there is no firm intention to jump to a generalized conclusion. However, the coordinators, professionals, and former inmates have provided important information about reintegration from JCCs in Bangladesh to have little attention. Notwithstanding, there is the risk of possible bias as the researcher got information about former inmates from authorities. There is a possibility that professionals provided the knowledge of those juveniles considered 'successful' care leavers. Additional impediments towards generalization could be that care leaver with adverse experiences could be reluctant to participate in the study. Thus, while analyzing and presenting the results researcher will always be concerned about the possible biases.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Maintaining ethics and values during data collection and analysis has been considered an important principle of qualitative research. In addition, the data collection process should be concerned with the reliability of information sources (Bryman, 2012). Research with adolescents, particularly young offenders, has always been challenging and requires enough ethical consideration due to its sensitivity. The current study was conducted by following the National Association of Social Workers (NASW, 1999). Preceding the interview, I have sought respondents' consent by notifying the purpose of the research, why their participation was meaningful, and what will happen to the

collected data (please see the approval letter in appendix). Therefore, the basic information of the respondents was conserved with anonymity. All the participants' names were changed into numbers and designations for confidentiality and used further as respondent no. (1, 2,3, etc.) and also with a professional designation. Since most of the interviews with professionals were conducted at the correctional center premises, the rules and conditions have sincerely complied with anticipated respect. I took notes of each interview as using any electronic device is not allowed inside the centre.

Moreover, this study referred to primary data with the existing literature and policies that are publicly available and assure the openness of data usage. The interview was conducted in Bangla, the native language of the participants and researcher, to ease the conversation. Throughout the whole process, I was earnestly sincere about ensuring the confidentiality of the information. All personal information and raw data were stored in a secured laptop, and handwritten notes were kept safely. Before commencing, I informed about the right of respondents to decline to answer any questions or terminate the interview without any explanation. I have also stated that the study has been notified and approved by the Department of Social Services (DSS), Ministry of Social Welfare (MoSW), The Government Republic of Bangladesh (please see the approval letter in appendix).

4.9 My role as a Researcher

In qualitative research, the researcher's primary responsibility is to access respondents' opinions and safeguard both informants and the data. Hence, researchers need to concern about their own biases, presumptions, and viewpoints that might obstruct the gathered data and interpretations (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). In this exploratory research, maintaining a journal of daily research progress always helped me reflect upon personal thoughts and reactions as an outsider and perceive the insider's understanding of this situation. In this way, the tactic of researcher reflexivity supports mitigating the biases through inductive, qualitative methods of interview questions and participants' narratives (Creswell, 2007). From the beginning of this study, I was vigilant and tried to reduce the breach between the respondents and me. My academic research and being a native, my approach with the JCC's authority and juveniles were quite official. I have shown full respect to the guidelines and principles of the Centre regarding visiting the terrain and did not express desperate interest in professionals' work and former inmates' personal life stories. Even though some dissatisfaction about the correction process derived during interviews, I did not mention this issue further with authority as this is not directly relevant to my present research objectives. I avoid interference in their current course of action.

4.10 Limitations and difficulties encountered

First of all, this study was tough to conduct in such a limited time frame, especially during the worldwide Covid-19 pandemic. Moreover, I have started data collection at Jessore JCC. After four days of my stay, the whole country went into lockdown because of the terrific uprise of Covid-19 second-wave. Therefore, I got stuck in that city away from my family. Due to the Covid-19 situation, it doesn't seem easy to contact in person, and I conduct five physical and five interviews over the telephone. My parents and I got infected and have gone through this miserable disease that inverted our everyday lives and doings. During literature access, I found a lack of

comprehensive research and official statistics on the social inclusion and aftercare needs of young offenders in Bangladesh.

As the study setting was a government-run institution, it was a bit lengthy official procedure to seek approval for the fieldwork. Besides, the authority of JCCs also enforced some conditions that hindered the data collection, such as bringing a tape recorder, camera, and other electronic devices during the interview were not allowed. Since the exact recording was impossible, a few statements and points from interviews may be lost, but I had to do active listening and swift note-taking to overcome the challenge. Another obstacle was traveling alone for data collection in a Division 196.0 Km away from my hometown. I was very mindful of the security as the city's roads were entirely unknown and new to me. During the fieldwork, I tried to finish before the night and return safely to my hotel room. Stakeholders and professionals from the JCCs and DSS were very supportive during the whole data collection process. The juveniles were also helpful, but most of them seemed cynical and skeptical about sharing experiences, particularly their involvement in criminal activities at the beginning of the interview. However, after the conversation began, they disclosed their experiences, challenges, and success stories. Another limitation I have realized as a researcher is that the sample size is minimal and not compared with a representative unit. Yet, I tried to focus upon some dynamic issues informants shared. However, regardless of all difficulties, I enjoyed the conversation with my informants very much. Besides the challenges mentioned above, conducting the research in native settings was one of my prominent advantages to get approval from the administration and build trust with informants.

4.11 Summary

This chapter discussed a detailed methodological framework, selection of the study settings, methods and tools of data collection, sampling procedure, and data analysis. In-depth interviews were precisely coded and described for informants' connotation and tracked with the data for further interpretation. Furthermore, Ethical principles and limitations are presented at the end of this chapter.

Chapter Five: Study Findings And Interpretations

This chapter interprets the primary sources of data from qualitative interviews of professionals and former inmates of JCC. Data are presented experiences of juveniles and how they perceive the interventions of social inclusion. Likewise, professionals and respective stakeholders' opinions regarding young offenders' reentry are also presented in this segment. Therefore, it attempts to explore the findings through the theoretical framework and applied literature on the topic. Based on the research objectives and questions, the results are divided into six broad contents that generate the core sections of the chapter. Hence, these contents are derived from the themes and subthemes mentioned in the previous chapter. As well, the relevant quotes from the participants' narratives and conversations are also included.

5.1 Life in JCC and preparation of leaving

The law enforcement agency kept the juvenile offender for supervision before the respective authority settled the cases. After entering JCC, the young offender starts a new life. Living in detention for a specific period impacts upon the preparation of leaving care and reintegration.

5.1.1. *First day at JCC: Dealing with emotions and trauma*

Mainly three categories of children are kept in JCCs: the first category includes guardians' referred unrestrained children, the second category comes by committing offenses guided by the courts, and the third category is abandoned, children. Children are taken to centres at the noon or end of the day and kept in the particular room before house allocation. After allocation, they found the room was overcrowded, severe congestion, and inadequate space for sleeping. In the categories mentioned above, on the first day at JCCs, each of the children must be dealt with enormous emotions and trauma right at that moment. All five young inmates shared their first-day experiences in JCCs. As a newcomer, it was a horrible and mixed feeling of guilt and repentance for them. One of them said,

“My first night at JCC was devastated! I know I am not the murderer. I was trapped. I had mixed feelings of regret, remorse, and guiltiness. I just had a flashback of blood on my friend's hand and my mother's teary eyes. I know I could not rewind the scene from my life. Never”. (Respondent 1)

Another respondent said:

“Whole night, I cried I could not eat my dinner. One word was hammering in my mind 'I am in a Jail'”(Respondent 5)

5.1.2. *Life in JCCs*

As mentioned earlier, there are only three JCCs in Bangladesh which is not adequate. The total number of residential seats in the three centers is 600. According to the information provided by the centre's coordinators, There were 902 residents against 600 seats in 2020 (Hossain, 2020), but

in August 2021, the total resident number is 1205. In other words, the institutions are running with more than two and half of the seating capacity.

Sl.	Name of the JCCs	Capacity of seats	2020	2021
1.	Tongi Child Development Centre	300	533	756
2.	Konabari Child Development Centre	150	86	98
3.	Jessore Child Development Centre	150	283	351
	Total	600	902	1205

Source: Data collected from authorities

From the informants' narratives, data showed that they lived in a congested and overcrowded place. There is a shortage of Sleeping beds and space; in a room, 8 to 10 people are allocated to stay, but 15 to 20 children have to live in the same room. Respondents from Jessore also mentioned dirty floors and insufficient toilet facilities in the houses. In addition, they were not living in a clean and personal hygienic environment. Most of them did not get enough chance to bathe timely or wash clothes daily. In addition, four to five persons have to bathe together; this is also unhygienic. Because of the situation and poor water quality, few of them had skin diseases like rashes, itching, and wounds. Despite having the vulnerable living condition of the children in JCCs, respondents mentioned they cope with the surroundings. Respondents of boys and girls loved the vocational training classes of handcrafted pen making, gardening, and religious practices in JCCs.

5.1.3. Impact on health

Living in a correctional centre was not a good experience for all young inmates, and it had some impacts on their health. Mostly the young residents reported two types of health impacts. These were: Psychological and Physical.

Psychological health impact: Juveniles had gone through a traumatic situation after coming to the centre. Thus they faced emotional insecurity, anxiety about their future, and fear of social stigma. From informants' descriptions, the evidence came out that they were previously traumatized by the incidents that happened in their lives. The new environment in JCCs made the age-old impression of 'Prison' for them. All of them were psychologically depressed as well as hopeless at that time. One of the inmates shared:

"I was super scared thinking that I am in jail. What did I do with my life? And I was absolutely broken inside. I could not get peace. I cried a lot; no one could even imagine. I was thinking- I am a bad son, bad person." (Respondent 3)

Research showed that detention centers have a detrimental impact on juveniles' mental health and growth. Nearly 30% of youth offenders had different psychological disorders after detention, which hampered the normal reintegration of the society as an active member (Wibbelink et al., 2017).

Physical health impact: As mentioned in interviews, young offenders experienced fighting, physical abuse, scuffles, or being beaten up physically before coming to JCCs. In the beginning, in new settings, they had pain in the whole body and also tiredness. They also informed

me that some of them had dehydration, felt itching, and had rashes in the skin. Most of them have experienced skin problems because of the close contacts, inadequate space, poor quality water supply, and the unclean environment they were staying in. In addition, they also shared about insufficient food services that hampered their nutrition. Moreover, the tiredness, unhealthiness, and physical distress continued for a while. One young boy said:

“I was so skinny and weak. In the beginning, I did not feel good, But later on, I had to adapt.”

He added,

“I was allocated in a small room. I could barely see the outside. I used to sit on the field in the fresh air for as much time as I can. I felt suffocated.” (Respondent 1)

5.1.4. Bullying and subject to verbal harassment in JCCs

While juvenile offenders get the judicial pronouncement and are sent to JCCs, the superintendents of centres allot a room and bed for the new detainee. Thus, the detainee begins to reside as an inmate there under the supervision of the JCC authority. Usually, the authority forms small groups of detainees considering the age and crime categories and conviction to maintain discipline in the house. Seniors from among the detainees are made group captains who represent their group for every concerned affair of the JCC. It is observed that the group captains usually misuse the power and seniority strength by bullying and raging the junior inmates. Subsequently, the group captain begins grouping by making small sub-groups with his liked inmates in his house. Newcomers are called ‘noya public.’ The group captain dominates over the junior inmates and is compelled to obey the senior for no reason. Sometimes, juniors are beaten for such disobedience. All these happen beyond the comprehension of the JCC authority.

Moreover, the group leaders also dominate in distributing food. Therefore, seniors take a better portion of nutrition for their consumption. Besides, mocking, bullying, and teasing the newcomers and juniors are the standard features inside JCC, especially the two boys' correction centres. Whichever shatters the mental status of a new juvenile detainee. He becomes more traumatized, which hampers normal mental health and destroys the natural functioning of correction procedures, which ultimately stand as an acute problem in the social integration system.

5.1.5. Self-harm

Previous studies and literature revealed juvenile inmates have some ‘particular psychological deficits’ and lack of resilience that put them in self-harm and make them suicide-prone. It can be described as a situational approach based on the interactions between the environment and displacement of a child (Wortley, 2004). Hence, juveniles in JCCs are at risk and have a common tendency to self-harm. However, various incidents are frequently happening in the centers for the last couple of years. The informant of my study also mentioned these incidents that they have heard during their stay. For example, in 2019, a 15 years old boy tried to commit suicide, and also in October 2020, another boy of the same age hung himself on a toilet rod, but caretakers saved him. In girl JCC at Konabari, 2013 and 2017, two suicide cases were reported and snatched by

respective authorities. A terrific occurrence happened in Tongi centre where 20 juveniles were tried to commit suicide in 2020. They were hitting heads against the wall as a form of protest to improve the center's living conditions (Asaduzzaman, 2020). Recently, in January of the current year, a 17-year-old committed suicide. He was an Indian teenager who illegally entered Bangladesh's border, and police handed him over to the JCCs. He has been found hanging inside a toilet in Tongi JCC⁵. This year, in Jessore JCC, a young offender consumed laundry powder to kill himself. Another case reported that a 15-year-old inmate tried to commit suicide on October 2021 by wrapping a towel around the neck in a grill. The coordinator of Jessore JCC said, in the last one year total of seven children have attempted suicide; most of them are 15 to 17 years old and accused of murder cases⁶.

5.1.6. Escape

As the cases for juveniles' suicidal tendency and self-harm, the risk of escaping is also very threatening for the JCCs authorities. The proclivity or proneness to escape is another severe issue of young offenders' security and evidence of the authority's negligence. The constructive impression and impulsiveness of juveniles led them to flee from the centres. In most cases, inmates who escaped prefer to plan alone and do so. But, in 2014 from Jessore JCC, six inmates and the same year from Tongi JCC, one teenager escaped. The same incident repeated in December 2020 that eight teenagers (aged between 12 to 18) escaped from the top of the wall of the Jessore JCC at midnight⁷. Surprisingly, a juvenile offender (15) escaped from the police security while being carried in court from Tongi JCC in November 2020⁸. Another boy (16) escaped from the hospital during a health check-up in the same year. Earlier this year, a 14-year-old child tried to escape from the three-storeyed building of Jessore JCC by jumping but failed. He was admitted to the hospital in a critical condition⁹. Overall, these incidents increase the restlessness and insecurity of other residents.

5.1.7. Inmate-inmate and inmate-personnel violence

Internal violence in JCC between and among inmates and staff is repeatedly reported in Bangladesh. However, it is absolutely the correctional centre's disorder that has attracted the most practical consideration. Both dominance and deprivation ignite the fury of fightings and conflicts (Wortley, 2004). Sometimes, through punitive actions, simple scuffles, these kinds of incidents turned into serious acts of violence. Inmate-inmate conflicts are include fighting, assaults, and stabbings where both can be assailant and the victim. Conversely, authority often tried to control unrestrained children by corporal punishment, and all this is off the record.

In the first week of May 2014, 15 teenagers of Jessore JCC protested by scratching their bodies with glass. Then, they crashed the windows of several buildings in the building. Later, six

⁵ News of the suicide case of teenager:

<https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/nation/2021/01/22/indian-teenager-commits-suicide-at-tongi-juvenile-development-centre>

⁶ <https://www.prothomalo.com/bangladesh/district/যশোর-শিশু-উন্নয়ন-কেন্দ্রে-আবারও-বন্দীর-আত্মহত্যার-চেষ্টা>

⁷ <https://www.bbc.com/bengali/news-55216598>

⁸ <https://www.bd-pratidin.com/country/2020/11/18/588637>

⁹ <https://www.jugantor.com/country-news/349471/যশোর-শিশু-উন্নয়ন-কেন্দ্রের-বন্দীর-পলায়ন>

teenagers escaped through an old water pipe on the border wall. Similarly, the children of Tongi JCC came on the news again in September 2014. Five teenagers at the center cut off their bodies and injured themselves in protest of not being fed. Recently, on August 13, 2020, Jessore JCC again came to attention, while 18 inmate teenagers were subjected to cruel torture by officials. Three died from the abuse, while 15 were left injured and hospitalized¹⁰. This is the first time that staff inside the center have killed three children. The court took this issue seriously, involved 18 officials sent to jail, and the state filed a charge sheet against their heinous act.

5.1.8. Supportive caseworkers

It is a matter of great fortune to obtain a competent caseworker in juvenile correction centres. Usually, adolescent offenders remain in a vulnerable mindset while they are brought inside the correction institute. Moreover, they enter as they are admitted into the JCC in an entirely new and unknown environment. And their age at that moment is most suitable to build up their physical and mental health and personality as a whole. In such circumstances, a competent caseworker and a service provider are the only resources who can provide the appropriate treatment and suggestions for the proper motivation of these adolescents. This timely intervention may help them change and improve their condition as well the reintegration process may also become more accessible. Most of the juvenile detainees I interviewed urged that they have got several caseworkers very supportive, friendly, and competent. Tongi JCC stated and commented that caseworkers and the supporting staff here are very friendly and cooperative. They used to accept the detainees with a positive attitude and invested utmost effort, took necessary care in hearing the problems of the detainees.

One of the caseworkers from Jessore JCC narrated that once, he focused on a detainee here who was the victim of a family conspiracy. He said:

“A juvenile resident got admitted in this CDC to whom I have attended, had a patience hearing, learned about his personal life, background, past history and also the allegation he was accused. He was sentenced against an allegation made by his guardian-the stepmother-while the father remained silent and was reluctant to the child. The stepmother filed a police case on false ground. Police took the complaint since the parents are the complainant. Police considered nothing behind and before. This is certainly unimaginable. The boy was an examinee of the secondary level at that time. I helped the boy with his academic studies and motivated him to quit and settle the case quickly. We have also Encouraged him to proper rehabilitation. As learned before from the information provided by the boy, we arranged recommendations from the CDC to send back the boy to his extended family member –grandfather. And we keep close contact with the boy over the phone”. (Caseworker I, Jessore JCC)

Over and above, another respondent said that,

¹⁰ <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/nation/2020/08/18/murders-at-jessore-juvie-autopsy-report-submitted-new-supervisor-appointed>

“We had a madam in our centre for counseling as a caseworker who addressed us ‘baba’ as ‘my son’ such an affectionate call. She was so loving, sensitive, and compassionate that we enjoyed it very much. We shall never forget her, the service that she provided for the detainees”. (Respondent 1, Tongi JCC)

A caseworker from the girl JCC shared their earnest effort for the children:

“we receive them formally and open a new file for each of the children. Often, a child says they do not have any contact with family. Few of them do not even remember the phone number of their guardians. We probe and search for the following very minimal clues, if any, we try to trace their family members,”

5.2 Administrative challenges and professionals’ perception

Administrative skills and collaboration with internal agencies of the centre play a vital role in the return of these inmates. Therefore, in this part of the study, the officials shared about the administrative issues, lacking, and challenges of the center, which affected the regular life of the residents during the stay and also in the reintegration process.

5.2.1. Insufficient monetary allocation

Resources, particularly financial allowance, are inadequate as per requirements and for planning in the juvenile justice system in Bangladesh. Consequently, many of the challenges in detention can be quickly resolvable, yet fundamental failure happened for budgetary issues compared to the global standard. It is reflected in the slow judicial process, living conditions of centres, and facilities which results in everything from food and nutrition to overcrowding of inmates. The national five-yearly report of the social welfare ministry (2009-2013) mentioned that the allowances for each inmate increased from 1500 to 2000 in the year 2013. Later, considering the expenditure of an adolescent’s proper meal, health, clothes, toiletries, medicine, books, training instruments, etc., the monthly allocation now increased to 3,500 taka (approximate 35 Euro). From the total monthly budget explicitly distributed in Tk, 2,580 has for food; 200 allocated for education; for treatment is 70; 150 for training; 300 for clothing and 250 for oil, soap and other things. Each inmate’s meals and snacks allocation per day is 86 taka (0.86 Euro) only, covering three meals and two snacks. The low financial resources and expenditure plan negatively affect the nutrition, physical and mental growth of inmates.

5.2.2. Deficiency of appropriate intervention

The arrival of new adolescent detainees in the JCC every day is a common feature. Some of them stay as inmates for a few months, some of them months together and even years together. But unfortunately, there is a visible deficiency of suitable programmes limited to a specific timeframe. It is observed that most of the detainees often attend vocational training for three to six months, but few of them receive release orders from the court before the completion of the programme. In such cases, the applicability of this intervention stands before the question of sustainability. In this regard, the Director in charge of the JCC said-

“Though the maximum detention period for the adolescent detainees is mentioned three years, the minimum period is not exactly mentioned in the institution's code of conduct. As a result, we are unable to frame out a certain programme. We can not suggest or plan any suitable programme for any individual child to get admitted to our centres. Thus, we need to plan more appropriate policies and creative interventions”.

He added,

“We need to consider the age, individual interests, child's capabilities and the suitability of the vocational training in the contemporary job market and social sphere.”

5.2.3. Lack of data recording and record-keeping

It is essential to access the contents of the case file of juvenile offenders and their legal counsel's data recording and record-keeping. A confidential and secure case file should convoy throughout placement and maintain during probation periods. However, there found a lack of data recording and keeping in the centres, and the leading cause is the overcrowding of juveniles. Therefore, the collaboration of the government and the Unicef Child Sensitive Social Protection in Bangladesh project promotes a complete case management form to keep and understand the case of the child. It contains an intake form that should be filled up within 24 hours of inmate's entry; the risk assessment form should be filled in one week. Lately, the detailed assessment, intervention plan, and follow-up form will continue throughout the process. But, in practice, only the first form is filled up with basic information such as name, age, parents name, address, and offense done by a juvenile are mentioned. In comparison, the other forms remained blank. After reviewing the documents, I felt that if the caseworkers maintain the process, we can have a complete picture of social factors involving such crimes and their follow-up detention process.

5.2.4. Lack of interagency collaborations

Many agencies are usually involved in the juvenile justice process in Bangladesh. Therefore, interagency collaboration is determined by the professionals' contribution, enthusiasm, and perceptions. Besides, timely communication, chain of command, and cooperation can ease the whole process. Working as a team achieved the ‘trust level, ensuring timely information exchange’ and supportive communication’ to work successfully together, which is essential for every social worker. Otherwise, professional isolation and active scatteredness will hamper juvenile justice and reintegration (Zhuchyna, 2016). The involved agency members are in a broad range of personnel: police officers, social service officers, PO, caseworkers, and JC, and most of them engage with juvenile detainees in direct interaction. Throughout their stay in JCC, they were involved in the microsystem of the juvenile's environment and mesosystem by being in contact with their parents and each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). In discussing the point of collaboration, the Coordinator and the social service officer were answering from their working experience. Unfortunately, this personnel sometimes missed the proper communication and togetherness that delayed the bail and judicial process.

5.2.5. Inadequate number of Juvenile's Courts

The juvenile's courts conserve particular jurisdiction and tribunal with special authority to permit judgments for the child who conflicts with laws. Thus, the primary purpose of special courts for children in contemporary legal systems is to treat minors differently from adults. The first Children's Court was established along with a JCC at Tongi in 1978 for male children in Bangladesh. Gradually, the other two JC established, but that is inadequate. Consequently, children's cases were gone through ordinary courts and stuck with adults for long periods. According to The Children Act 2013, for the trial of offenses under this Act, at least one Children's Court is to be established in every district. Moreover, in enactment to section no 16(1), the Department of Law and Justice, in session with the Supreme Court, is mandated to declare, by notification in the Official Gazette, one or more courts of Additional Sessions Judge in a district or metropolitan area, as the case may be, as the Children's Court. But still, now many districts in the country do not have a Children's Court, so it becomes difficult for the police to send a child offender from a remote village to the divisional headquarters. Therefore, the Coordinator stated that the lack of JCs possibly increases the prolonged judiciary process and chances of ill-treatment children's detention. But, Jc's judicial power is restricted in some instances. Researcher Nahid Ferdousi mentioned in pursuant with the Act 2013,

“if the allegation is of a minor offense and does not involve murder, rape, robbery, dacoity, drug-dealing, or any other heinous or serious offense. But, where an adult is jointly involved with the child, the trial of the adult shall continue.” (Ferdousi, 2015, p. 198)

5.2.6. Facilities of professional training of caseworkers

Professional training creates the prospect to reinforce skills and a great understanding of personnel's job responsibilities. Regarding JCCs, training enhances and improves staff's overall performance confidence on specialized duties concerning the protection, mentorship, education, and guidance of juvenile offenders. In response to the questions of on-duty training, caseworkers shared that they did not get any professional or skill development training. They did not even have any training on personal mental health protection or skill improvement. Though, correctional personnel must work with youth with motivation, skilled in rapport building, and patient temperament. Working with children and supervising them is very sensitive and working with juvenile offenders is much more challenging. However, the Coordinator said that UNICEF's initiative of professional on-duty training has now been completed with some timely work that will be expedited.

5.2.7. Role conflict in the juvenile correctional process

In pursuing the expected responsibilities, correctional caseworkers experience some role Conflicts during work. Role conflict refers to the inconsistency or ideological stands of roles that personnel is expected to perform. Performing one function hinders with or is incompatible with others. For instance, one professional shared from the experience that, recently, one police officer took one inmate to the doctor and wanted to use handcuff as escaping tendency increased among inmates, so he thought he needed to be more careful regarding the security issues. Later, the Coordinator and other caseworkers inhibited him as the new child act strictly forbade using

handcuff or rope on the waist of any juvenile inmates. Often Correctional professionals experience several role conflicts, regardless of the agency in which they are employed. Besides, few incidents of corporal punishments reflect the negative perception of professionals towards inmates.

5.2.8. Lack of full-time psychologists and doctor

Access to emotional support from Psychologists and Therapists is a vital requirement in a juvenile correctional institute. Yet, all of the young respondents of this study depicted themselves as traumatized, sad, and lonely, without any emotional support in their initial days in JCCs. Their uncertainty, anxiety, and feelings of abandonment make them more vulnerable and physically weak. If the inmates could not have proper guidance, health care, and mental support during their JCCs stay, it will reflect upon their social inclusion aftercare. But, it is a matter of concern that the Jessore JCC has no full-time doctor, but a part-time physiologist visits the centre once a week. Also, there is one psychosocial counselor for all the boys. Also, in the other two centres, there is a visible necessity for full-time psychologists and doctors.

5.2.9. Absence of Workplan or guidelines for professionals

Caseworkers and service providers should uphold the core ethical values and professional guidelines for significant contributions to the juvenile's social inclusion process. Organizational frameworks and job descriptions provide social workers with a guiding principle for their work and professional development. However, professionals of JCCs reported that they do not have any precise Workplan or guidelines. They have been recruited in a traditional process and working under a years-old framework and superior supervision. In this circumstance, as the role is poorly defined, role conflict may be a more significant problem for many JCC caseworkers. Besides, as time passes, juveniles are involving new delinquency patterns and need special attention and support from professionals. All administrative interviewees agreed that all the JCCs should have an up-to-date job description for professionals and a modernized Workplan for juvenile corrections.

5.2.10. Failure to monitor and inadequate follow-up aftercare

During the detention of young offenders, the officers are responsible for correcting them and their aftercare social reentry. While the aftercare program and intervention are merely presented in paperwork, rarely applied in practice. However, when a child is released from the JCCs, they return home to their normal social life with vulnerability and insecurity. Unfortunately, there is no administrative follow-up to help after the return, which is a significant limitation for the correctional process. Bangladesh is a populous country, where the centre is already overcrowded for children. There is also a lack of adequate observers or mentors to take care of or follow up after social rehabilitation. Administrators and caseworkers have also spoken out against this restriction. The Coordinator of Jessore JCC said,

“We do not have enough human resources. For example, is it possible to follow up an old case by handling 30-40 cases of a caseworker? It is not possible, and we also do not have a specific follow-up program for them. If they seek any assistance or guidance, they have to come in contact personally.”

Most of the respondents reported that, while they were in JCCs, they thought their desire to go back to a better path had been created. But, when they leave the centre, they sometimes experience a lack of proper guidance, emotional supports, and suggestions that might be lost. In addition, some of them were disappointed that social workers, who had been deeply involved in their life while in care, didn't bother to give them a call and check how they were doing in their life aftercare. One of them shared,

"I know, Sir and Apa (caseworkers/service providers) are super busy with inmates. But, immediately after leaving JCC, I missed them, so I often phoned them. I had monthly telephone contact with my caseworker. I enjoy just talking to them on the phone; they are still taking an interest in what I'm doing now, and I also seek advice." (Respondent 2)

5.3 Process of reintegration

This section presents the discussions on the reintegration process, keeping in concern regarding community-based initiatives and the diversified roles played by caseworkers. Furthermore, even though JCCs have the management of general education, how far it is applicable for social inclusion for ex-offenders is presented. Besides, overall motivation and the end of recidivism in the reintegration process are also discussed.

5.3.1. Lack of community-orientated interventions

Reintegration refers to the process of reentry of an ex-offender to become an active and productive member of the communities. The community has a crucial role to play in the effective social inclusion of young ex-offenders. According to Ecological System theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the family as community representative is most influential in engaging in the process by ensuring basic needs, emotional supports, and bonds during incarnation and reentry. After family secures immediate needs, community impacts upon employment, future career, personal relationships, and network are essential for practical reintegration. Informants of this study shared, there is a lack of community-based initiatives and programme for inmates. There is an absence of interventions involving community stakeholders, parents, and inmates for awareness building, to end delinquencies, which is one of the main reasons for sustained stigmatization in the community. Thus, the community's supportive involvement can help confer the message towards young ex-offenders that they are accepted and their interest in embedded in society's well-being.

5.3.2. Elementary education and vocational training

There are three JCCs in Bangladesh, and for detainees, there are arrangements of institutional education up to the primary level (grade 1 to 5). In Bangladesh, primary education means classes 1 to 5. Children of age five to six years used to go to school, and usually, they complete their primary education within the age of 10 to 12 years. According to the Children Act, 2013- children aged 9 to 18, if offended, shall be detained in the JCCs, which is quite contradictory to the provision of elementary education inside the correction centre. Research data detects the discrepancies between the age limits of the juvenile offenders and the general elementary education provision of the JCCs. As per the information collected, juvenile detainees aged 12 to

16 are large in number who have already crossed the primary level education. Therefore, there is no scope for these child detainees to continue formal elementary education inside the correction centre. Ultimately, a break of studies occurs to them. Apart from this, the Coordinator of JCC has shared that JCC's vocational training programmes are still traditional and backdated. It needs to be upgraded and improved. Existing vocational and technical training programmes are on: electrical works, automobile trade courses, tailoring, embroidery, crafts, carpentry, and poultry. But, to cope with the contemporary demands of the market and the trend of the society, technical training like repairing the refrigerator, mobile phone repairing, computer, ICT, public speaking, entrepreneurship ideas should be much more essential to be included in the existing list of vocational training. As the Coordinator stated,

“To cope up with the contemporary trend and job market demands, we should improve our systems and policies so that none of our juvenile inmates remains unemployed and can earn their livelihood to improve themselves after leaving care. We are working in this regard”.

One respondent shared:

“I have applied for the post of govt. Office assistant in some offices but failed because of my ignorance in the field of computer literacy. Therefore, JCC should include the basic computer training and learning programme in their vocational training programme.” (Respondent 3)

5.3.3. Diverse roles of professionals in correctional treatment

The role of the professionals and the ways of the role has changed have varied. Evidence-based assessment of cases should guide the responsibilities according to the ethical ground of every social service work involving parents, PO, police officers, caseworkers, and counselors (Kratcoski, 2004). They have to take on different roles to correct teenagers and bring them back to a new life after incarceration. At that challenging time, for the best interests of the young offenders, the professionals have to provide mental courage as the family members, spend quality time like a friend, actively listen to their voice, rule and guide them like guardians. The primary purpose of this approach is to try to bring about the behavioural change of juvenile offenders through the correctional process.

5.3.4 Motivation: Involving social context and end recidivism

In the light of the experience of the professionals and residents, it is seen that there are some active components of motivation for the social inclusion of former young offenders in the social context of Bangladesh. These factors are noted as family, peers, networks, employment, and training. Moreover, it has been proven that ensuring these elements can meet basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, mental support, and skillful preparation for the future. In addition, managing basic needs and emotional supports from family members motivates them. Moreover, they have shared that they realized their deeds through the process and have changes in behavior. The following figure shows the set of connections of the components, and if it works, the adolescents stay away from crime, and the recidivism rate decreases.

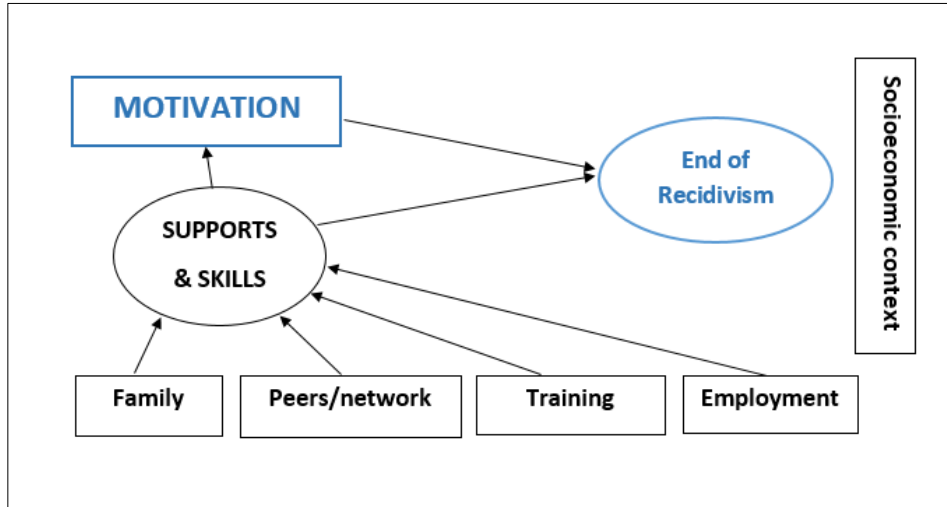


Figure 13: Components of former young offender’s Motivation

A few quotations demonstrate this concept:

“I have learned the lesson! I used to see out of curiosity if any fights or frays occurred in my area, but now I don’t go; I resist. I have also been careful in choosing my friends and circles.” (Respondent 2)

The Coordinator put it like this:

“Rate of Redicivism in JCCs is very low that is only 2-3%; that means the disciplinary process along with vocational training is operating well and also family and friends are supporting them.”

5.3.5. ‘Leaving JCCs made me mature so quickly’

This present study perceived the transition from life in a correctional care setting to living freely after the release directly into adulthood. Especially the male interviewees admitted that without experiencing their teenage years, they had to take the family responsibility and income for their self expenses. In addition, one of the respondents stated that his late teen years were indeed not as typical:

“It’s not normal for sure. Loads of issues I did that I have not done before. But that’s me, and these are like I lost my teenage years.” (Respondent 1)

A rapid transition has seen which immediately demanded many responsibilities, which they were not yet ready to hold:

“I matured too quickly; I had to keep connection with lawyer, court my caseworkers, and keep all contacts after bail. I have managed social life, and I have to earn for my family and me ...I knew only I could help myself...no one else...I have to be strong. Yeah, I grew up fast ... that is how I feel it becomes.” (Respondent 3)

This section focused particularly on the main challenges that the interviewees in this study mentioned during the transition aftercare. The support systems they required were insufficient to

some extent. As a result, they often faced challenges and overcame these almost alone, even in their adolescent years.

5.4 Leaving JCCs: Challenges after incarceration

Although inmates living in JCCs are conscious of the circumstance that their leaving from care is about to happen anytime. Respondents shared that they were not previously involved in the decision-making of leaving the care facility, and often it happened fast and without groundwork. Just after leaving JCCs care, former young offenders encountered many challenges and facilities to return to society. These experiences are linked with the provided services in JCCs and the different coping strategies of these children. This section will focus on the following challenges they faced after leaving care.

5.4.1. Gender perspectives of social inclusion

Return to the previous social settings that we call reentry in the case of an adolescent offender is such a challenging issue, except that it is much more complicated and challenging measured for girls. In a research survey by the broadest circulated national daily, the Prothom Alo showed that 41% of girls in JCC got married by elopement. They are under-aged according to the state policy (age at marriage of girls 18 and 21 for boys). The survey was carried only by those who got married by elopement among 98 adolescent girls facing horrible consequences in their own families and society. Despite the existing age limit regulations in protecting early and immature marriage, it is pretty usual in Bangladesh that premature adolescents, both girls, and boys are escaping from their parents just out of emotions and love affairs and marrying. In such cases, usually, the parents of the girl file a case either in the court or police station stating that the boy has abducted their daughter. This is mainly done under social stigmatization, public embarrassment, family pressure, and an alternative way to escape the complicity. In Bangladesh, the girl adolescent's side gets maximum preferences from the administration in every situation of abduction. And in most cases, if the boy is an adolescent is detected termed as an offender and faces punishment. Usually, the court sentences him for a certain period and sent to a listed correction centre. On the other hand, the girl refuses to go back to her parents because of the embarrassing situation that evolved due to the elopement with the boy (Prothom Alo, 2021). In such a situation, she faces the advice of the PO or children court. Generally, the court or the PO used to send the boy and girl to the JCCs.

This could be appropriate and worth mentioning that several offenders reside inside the JCCs charged against trafficking illegal arms, murder, and petty crimes other than these offenders. However, the centre was established before and had undergone several refurbishments, renovations, and reorganization of the administrative structure. The present shape and phenomenon of the JCCs are the result of so many changes and reformation of physical infrastructure and administrative features. In the beginning, there were several scattered incidences of women's oppression and sexual harassment of young girl offenders. At present, there are not any such cases reported. A sufficient number of experienced and educated women officers and coworkers are supervising the courts with comprehensive attention. Inside, the centre nowadays is safe and violence-free. Detainees residing inside the centre are girls, and 95% of those are school going and their studying are no more continuing but obstructed.

Moreover, instead of contemporary skill development and vocational training, programmes commensurate with the improvement of science and technological change of the society, traditional vocational training remains. But, this is quite uncertain whether the feminine training shall be used to be established individually in the society. The most significant issue of an upbringing adolescent is her daily nutrition and food necessity to meet the demand of her gradual physical growth and the manifestation of mental health. In addition, there are three adolescent mothers among 98 detainees. In this regard, personal hygiene and nutrition are very important. This denotes the importance of gender sensibility in considering the gender aspect of the JCC.

5.4.2. Prerequisite of emotional support

Five of the young people in the sample said that they have received some sort of emotional support from JCCs and later on from their families. Usually, contact with family, mostly parents, was routinized and time-bounded. That is also the frame for monthly twice meeting (date of 7th and 22nd of each month) and weekly phone calls. So, it can be said that during their vulnerable mental state, it is essential to have emotional support from the staff after placement and also after leaving care from JCCs. In some cases, correctional carers' emotional support and future life decisions were more or less anticipated, and the young inmates expected this relationship to endure even aftercare. However, all of the five respondents shared that after leaving care, some at the moment felt lonely and uncertain about the accessibility of emotional support from their ex-caseworkers. It has also been revealed that guardians' attention during and after incarceration is a potential source of emotional support and assistance upon social inclusion for these adolescents. However, administrative respondents stated that few inmates have an irregular visits by their guardians. Sometimes inmates did not have any visitors at all. In these cases, young people have to encounter adversative and prolonged effects in their minds.

5.4.3. Fear of rejection, shame, and stigma

Society enforces numerous hindrances in the early stages of the young offender's transition to normal life from the correctional centre. After release, young offenders faced stable support structures and other parts of regular life. Because society neither wants to see them as usual nor treats them as criminals, which can lead to inferiority and recidivism of children. At the same time, offenders face rejection and shame in their efforts to search for a place to be active citizens in society. The information about detention and involvement in delinquency throughout the locality spread the juvenile as a 'criminal deviant' that ultimately hampered their further life course (Becker, 1963; Sampson and Laub, 1997; Bernburg, 2009). Respondents also felt rejection and shame from the community, and the following quotation explained that:

“After my release from the JCC, my family accepted me well, but my neighbours and relatives were doubtful and curious that did I changed? Hey used to poke me, they rejected me... they always made me feel bad when I was around them, and yes, I felt ashamed and paranoid, then I stopped getting close to them”.(Respondent, 2)

Consistent with the theory of Labelling, to avoid regular interactions and contacts that hold negative perceptions, young offenders often stay away from home town. The findings demonstrated the experiences of former inmates to revise and claim labeling theory (Abrah, 2018).

5.4.4. Uncertain and unstable employment

One of the main challenges that the former young inmates interviewed shared about their struggle of searching for a stable job. It was tough to rely on family income, and almost after release, they reached the age of 18 to 20, so they needed to find a steady source of income and settle livelihood. Therefore, some of them somehow managed informal and unstable jobs for earning. Without proper guidelines after leaving care on the career path and unsuitable vocational training made it toughest to think of proper employment. While sharing about the working hours and wages, it was clear that these young people are experiencing non-skilled and underpaid jobs. However, it put them in a continuous struggle to sort of a stable career path and livelihood.

5.4.5. Difficulties in building new relationships

Going through extreme mental stress and social isolation during JCCs days, it becomes tough for former detainees to adapt to the environment and be mainstream. They are eager to move on in life and start family and love relationships, but the possibility seems more complicated than they ever imagined. All the five young former inmates interviewees stated that building and continuing new long-term relationships is a challenge. They shared that the community showed rejection and stigmatization regarding employment, inclusion, and acceptance as a partner. One of the respondents shared his own experience:

“I have stayed in JCC for a couple of months. Every one of my areas knew it. We are four brothers. I am the youngest one. After my release, my elder brother’s marriage proposal got canceled because of me. Bride’s family did not want to marry off their daughter in a family of ‘criminal’. No one wanted to build a relationship with us.” (Respondent 2)

Thus, one of the respondents shared when he finally entered into a love relationship was also relatively challenging. But it was easier to find a girl who wanted to be with him because she was from his previously known circle. For girls, respondents who were residents of JCC become harder to find partners. They have a fear of being single for the whole of their life as no one wants to be engaged in serious relationships with them.

5.5 Coping mechanism and moving to future

This study also explores the coping strategies of social life, stigma, and emotional breakdowns among adolescent offenders during and after correctional care. Young offenders reported their poor mental status, avoidant and detached life along with the pathways of overcoming. Improved rational coping was also found to diminish depression and ease the effective reintegration process for juveniles

5.5.1 Staying away from home

It is very challenging for any JCCs to return child’s inclusion in society because they carry the ‘criminal’ badge for a long time in life, especially in a country like Bangladesh, where illiteracy,

poverty, prejudice, and religious orthodoxy are extensive. Although there is a difference in the offense categories, involvement level, and time of stay in JCCs, society still tends to stigmatize them. As a result, these children and their families have to be socially degraded and isolated. Therefore, many of the children returning from correctional facilities are unwilling to take back by their families immediately. Although it is fortunate to return to someone's family aftercare, it also may take some time. After detention, many parents prefer to send their children elsewhere, away from home. In some cases, arrangements are made to study in another district or town far away from home, or a job is arranged where no one knows him. It is a common coping strategy of young offenders after leaving JCCs that creates a space and time to let people forget and social inclusion. One respondent shared:

“After I returned from JCC, my father sent me to a relative's house for two months. People don't know anything; people will forget over time”. (Respondent 4)

Many families make arrangements to send their children abroad as it becomes difficult to return to their families and communities. In this way, the child and the family get a way out of social stigma. Another boy said:

“Before I left the centre, my mother arranged for me to be sent to my uncle's house. Then I started the process of going abroad. Because my mother thought staying in her area or country would be a problem for me”. (Respondent 3)

On the other hand, Some young people are very unlucky; after they get released from the JCCs, they are not accepted by society or the family. So, shame, unacceptability can make that child vulnerable again. The criminal group of the community targets the children returning to the correctional facility and pulls them back to the criminal world in various temptations. The initial stage of adapting to the children's social environment returning to the correctional facility is complicated. At this time, their life becomes difficult without the help of society and family.

5.5.2 Trying to be positive and joyful

Exploring the experiences this study found, these young inmates tried to be positive and joyful during their stay. Respondents shared their pastimes and sources of positive resources inside the JCCs. Most of them were fond of gardening and cleaning the premises. One of the respondents shared how he kept a good relationship with teachers, staff, and caseworkers. Once he planted a few trees, he was waiting for the bail and the flower's bloom.

“I love gardening; it is my hobby. So to feel good and joyful I planted a lot of trees in the centre. Once, I planted a sunflower tree and waited for the beautiful flower to bloom, and I thought I would get bail...I will go back to my home. Doing so, I felt more patient and calm.”(Respondent 1)

Inside the JCCs, there are some distressed, abandoned street children, one of the respondents shared how he spent his time teaching these young kids, and he said that was a meaningful contribution.

5.5.3 Paying gratitude and building a new network

The struggle of coping continued for respondents as their stigmatization does not let them forget and create difficulties for their families. However, they try to cope with the situation by developing their skills and mental strength to accept social exclusion and create new networks. Despite the stigma and uncertainty, even after leaving care, three of the respondents keep in contact with their caseworkers, seek suggestions in life, and move forward to achieve economic independence. They called to pay gratitude to the teachers and caseworkers as they supported them in the most vulnerable times in their lives. After leaving care, as most of them had to stay away from family to avoid stigmatization, they tried to create new networks for employment and friendship. One respondent shared that he is presently working in a medical pharmacy, and his training experiences in JCCs helped him overcome the social awkwardness. As a result, he left his home and came to the city are to start a new life and set a new network.

5.5.4 Resilience of young offender

This theme explores the former residents' resilient experiences of life aftercare. This ability to find strength within, encouragements, or particular events empowered them to endure the challenges they faced and move forward. The concept of resilience and determination of interviewees is to continue normal life aftercare, despite having so many complexities. During the interview, they expressed that they dealt with enormous emotional ups and downs, rejections, stigma; however, at the same time, they revealed the spirit of resilience and strength to stand and fight against the hardships. Among five, three of them continued their studies, now earning and contributing to family expenses. In addition, they had the neck to attend vocational training and participation in annual programme sports in the JCCs. They also mentioned about prayer practices inside the centres were peaceful and helped for building resilience.

5.5.5 Present occupation and future ambitions

Despite the various challenges, respondents are ambitious about the future. Three of the boys continued their further studies and found jobs. One boy is working in the family grocery shop, another is working in a medical store or pharmacy, and the other is working in a big clothing store. All of them are earning and also hope to complete their study and their desired job. Unfortunately, two of the girls dropped out of the schools, but they had the training from JCCs on sewing and cooking. Besides, they aimed to be government service holders and start their businesses and teacher. At least they believed that they could start up a new small business with their experience, family supports, and effort. They knew it would not be the same for chasing future ambitions and aims; they still believe they have time and will try their best.

5.6 Hope: The way forward

The participants and professionals shared the opportunities and obstacles of the disciplinary process of JCCs that postures considerably more complex problems. Presumably, the discussion for social inclusion is a sustainable concern with children and adolescents because there is a larger window of opportunity open for their future. For the last couple of years, changes and planning have been taking place in JJS on a global standard. However, the following points here are a ray of hope in the area of JJS in Bangladesh.

5.6.1 Establishment of Child Welfare Board and new CDC (JCC)

In the Child Act, 2013, ‘Board’ or ‘Child Welfare Board’ refers to the specialized ‘National Child Welfare Board’ that will be established in every District. The Board's primary functions are mentioned as ‘to supervise, coordinate, monitor, and evaluate the activities of the CDC and the certified institutes. The Board will give direction in formulating policies and implementing interventions regarding reintegration and rehabilitation of young offenders. During the interviews, both Jessore Divisional Director and Coordinator stated that the ‘National Child Welfare Board’ project is undergoing, and constructions of two more Juvenile correctional Centres in different districts have been started. As the Coordinator Stated:

“I have been fortunate enough to observe closely how Children's issues are prioritized in Bangladesh over the past year. The measure is to enrich the juvenile justice component with understanding and patience. New Board and JCCs will give us the time and interest to see that these children receive the proper assessment, education, and placement.”(Coordinator CDC Jessore, interview 2021)

Hopefully, these infrastructural and administrative moves will lessen the overcrowded situation in old JCCs and ease the justice process.

5.6.2 Child sensitive Social Protection in Bangladesh (CSPB) Project¹¹

The CSPB project stands for Child Sensitive Social Protection in Bangladesh (CSPB). Presently, the second phase is ongoing with the partnership of the Government of Bangladesh and UNICEF. The implementing agency is mainly the Department of Social Services, and the administrative division is the Ministry of Social Welfare of Bangladesh. It is considered a breakthrough project initiative for children approved and started from January 2012 to December 2024. The precise purpose and objective of the project are to enable a stable prevention system to reduce violence, abuse, and neglect against children and take necessary steps to mitigate. Through this project, special arrangements are covering 26 districts, a total of 52 Upazilas, and 11 city corporation areas, and under the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). UNICEF assists the children by counseling and strengthening them on their journey of detention to home. UNICEF facilitates access to health care and psychosocial support for juveniles in JCCs. Therefore, the activities also build the capacity of caseworkers, POs, child welfare board members, and social service providers through relevant training and workshops. To strengthen the child-friendly justice system through fair assessment, sensible case management for a child protection framework, and accomplish the aims of the Children Act 2013. Another milestone in the area of child protection in this country is to introduce the Child Helpline 1098. As part of a formal agreement with the Bangladesh Supreme Court, UNICEF works hand in hand with the Supreme Court special committee on Child Rights and the Ministry of Law and Justice for ensuring child-friendly courts. For example, during the covid-19 pandemic in 2020, following the special ordinance from the President to introduce virtual courts, UNICEF arranged full technical support to virtual children’s courts and expedited the JJS in Bangladesh.

¹¹ Information from DSS website

5.6.3 Child Help Hotline: 1098

The Ministry of Social Welfare announced the first-ever national child helpline with financial and technical assistance from UNICEF to ensure the safety and wellbeing of all children in the country. Officially, in October 2016, the Child Help Hotline: 1098 was launched to reach out and instantly hear from children in trouble across the country. The purpose of the nationwide helpline was to report any abuse, child rights violation, or any other kind of occurrence threatening the protection of children. Being a developing country, it was a technological landmark of Bangladesh to promote child rights and give the child's best interest the utmost priority.



Figure 14: Logo of 24/7 hotline for the protection of children in Bangladesh

Remarkably, hotline phone calls categories are mainly for seeking: emotional support, help for any unpleasant situation, complaints about traumatic and toxic family situations, legal supports, sexual harassment, reporting to stop early marriage cases, etc. Statistical data showed that among the callers, 61% of boys and 39% are girls. In addition, the age ratio and frequency of calls presented that 10 to 14 years old called more than 50,000 times and 15 to 18 years called more than 40,000 times.¹² One of the professionals said:

“We got so many calls to stop early marriage during the last two years, mostly friends and neighbours informed us about the incidents. Sometimes, our service providers got blank or silent calls, but we even sensibly handled the calls thoughtfully”. (Social service officer, Divisional Social Service office)

5.6.4 Virtual Court during Covid-19

The COVID-19 outbreak came at the end of 2019, and the whole world gradually went under the grasp of this pandemic. The death cases until 30 August 2021 were 4,507,837 worldwide, and in Bangladesh, there are around 26109 deaths caused by this virus.¹³ The global impact of COVID-19 is that the whole world has slowed down all administration, productivity had to be shut down,

¹² Habibulla, 2019. ‘Silent calls’ to Child Helpline a cause of concern <https://m.theindependentbd.com/printversion/details/196154>

¹³ Who covid-19 information specialized website: <https://covid19.who.int/>

and regular transportation has been interrupted. In such a situation, while Government tried its best to control the spread of fatal COVID-19, two vital factors within juvenile justice came to the attention of stakeholders: 1) expedite the justice process and 2) curb the contamination of juveniles in JCC. Indeed, the risk of infection should have compulsory alternatives from traditional probation and justice protocols, or juvenile delinquent cases will be piled up. However, it became a challenge and unique opportunity at the same time to reform probation policies and justice procedures amid of pandemic. To stop the contagion and speed up the justice process refers to short-term and long-term policy integration concerning juveniles' health and rights protection (Mooney and Bala, 2020).

On top of that, JCCs authorities were cautious regarding the crowded spaces with healthcare and hygiene of children during covid-19. Physical distancing during detention is hard to maintain, yet in each JCC, service providers and caretakers inform and train the inmates about sanitization and personal safety. The centres have made special arrangements of safe quarantine for the new arrival of juveniles for the first 14 days. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the justice system in Bangladesh interrupted and increased the risk of spreading rapidly in overcrowded detention centres. Therefore, the Bangladeshi President ordered an ordinance for rapid action by introducing virtual courts on 9 May 2020. As a result, Bangladesh experienced the first-ever virtual juvenile court launching in 2020 to resolve the children's cases.

Further, in Bangladesh, the virtual courts have an ease juvenile justice system during COVID-19. Till May 2021, More than 1000 juvenile cases have been settled bail through the virtual courts technical supports arranged by UNICEF and enacted by the Bangladesh Supreme Court. As a result, two-thirds of the youth have been reintegrated with families (Chowdhury, 2021). As the Coordinator said:

“We got more time to connect with them during the COVID-19 crisis. Through the virtual justice procedure, the courts, juveniles, and also their parents got empowered. They developed the resilience and self-reliance to cope with difficult situations”. (Coordinator, Jessore JCC).

A caseworker from the same JCC added that how they help the virtual courts in such cases:

“We sent all the documents, case papers, and Powers of Attorney to the judges and lawyers safely during this epidemic. The main target was to ease our children's justice process and accelerate the procedure... you know, guardians are waiting for their kids, so as the children”! (Caseworker I, Jessore JCC)

Social service divisions, Probation officers, JCC staff, and courts were cordial to accommodate newly introduced technological settings and virtual communication that reorient the justice procedure for future upliftment.

5.6.5 Introducing programmes in collaboration with Open university

In these JCCs, most of the juveniles are students or want to continue their academic lives. Although the children's primary level education is available in JCCs, few students have already passed the level and want to study higher level. But there is a lack of opportunity for secondary or higher level study. Therefore, the social Welfare Ministry proposed secondary level education in

collaboration with the Open University of Bangladesh. This institution is significant and suitable for JCCs because of its mode of education. After independence, Bangladesh had to meet the literacy rate targeted, and for sustainable development of mass people, education is a must-needed goal. Therefore, it was established with an upgraded version of the Audio-Visual Education Centre in 1992 and encouraged policymakers to scale up the plan for establishing a public university with open and distance learning programmes. To date, a total of 79 programmes, 965838 students, and 1550 study Centers the university is operating all across the country. Director mentioned in the interview:

“We plan to extend the JCCs education up to at least the secondary level, class 10, because most of the boys and girls living here are already passed primary level as per their age. With a collaboration with Open University because this institution is renowned for distance learning and education. We already placed the plan”. (Director, Divisional social service, Jessore)

5.7 Discussions

This discussion section is followed by the elaborative analysis that defines the theme of raw data, breaking them into sub-themes to explain with the help of theoretical approaches and relevant literature. However, from the beginning of juvenile delinquent behavior to the release back into society, there are numerous factors mentioned previously for successful reintegration. Still, in this part, I will emphasize a few aspects that should be seen seriously. Hence, for certain irregularities and indisciplined situations, the JCCs are becoming insecure and sloppy. Firstly, the need for placements beyond delineating the age and criminal case category. Presently the age under the consideration of juvenile justice according to the system of Bangladesh is set from 9 to 18. Therefore, the beginning of the age of 9 is too low, having due regard to the child's emotional, mental, and intellectual maturity. Whereas the average number of children residing in JCCs their age is higher than 11. Within the references from professionals, 12 to 18 years should be the standard age for delinquent responsibility depending on the state of mind (Ferdousi,2013). Further, in the case of children under 12, care must be taken concerning separate facilities and safe home, keeping in mind the gravity of their offense, physical growth, mental strength, etc.

Additionally, two or three times more detainees than the capacity of the centres had been accommodated. This situation evolved because of the increasing number of adolescent miscreants in the present social context, the absence of a new centre, and the limitations of the existing facilities (Asaduzzaman, 2020, Hossain, 2020). Ultimately, due to the shortage of accommodation, it is complicated to manage the situation. Therefore, room allocation based on age and categories of offense is almost impossible. Insufficient space and dense accommodation caused loose attention. Thus inhouse conflict usually happens and is tortured or negatively influenced by elders. Secondly, the non-existence of sufficient counselors and caseworkers is hampering the normal functioning towards improving detainees' physical and mental health. Thus, the procedure of returning to a regular social and communal livelihood and a sound and refreshed mindset was hindered. As a result, juvenile offenders' mental health may become worse in detention. One-third of incarcerated detected with depression and anxiety had begun after incarceration (Abrah, 2018).

Emotional support is mainly provided by family, peers, counselors, and formal or informal networks in the form of advice in emotional and life matters. Professionals admitted a gap of prerequisites of the juvenile inmates' material and emotional support and the provided support from JCCs after leaving care. Thirdly, there is no opportunity available to facilitate the continuation of academic courses of the detainees. Therefore, the necessity for expanding primary level education to higher secondary levels in correction centres is foremost for all residents. The existing education programme was intended to ensure literacy to juveniles in JCCs. Still, those who attained primary education should be facilitated and promoted to secondary education and carry a smooth continuation for tertiary institutions.

According to Labelling theory, society's reaction and the subsequent effect of the response create isolation, deviance, and chances of reoffending. Fourthly, from the narratives of professionals and former inmates, the study found that few young people further get involved in anti-social and anti-law behavior because of experiencing negligence and political shelter. Besides, an individual's level of social inclusion meaningfully affects future involvement in crime even after the correctional process; also, it is not definite. Thus, family bonding, socioeconomic status, lack of education, and unemployment affect delinquency through social networks and the future life course of adolescents (Laub and Sampson, 1997). Therefore, in an ecological manner and social work principles, to guide the professionals by putting all at the schools, community levels, and JCCs should promote sustainable and life course interventions for children's best interest.

Furthermore, the ecological approach promotes supportive social networks and collaboration between different systems for precaution and juvenile delinquency prevention (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Prevention is important because the increasing rate and overcrowded JCCs conditions alarmed us that the ecological functioning of our society is somehow losing harmony. For example, according to the report by Justice Audit Bangladesh in 2018 reveals 21.4% in Tongi JCC and 25% of Jessore JCC children were charged under the women and children repression prevention Act. On the other hand, in 2017, the percentage of children was 24 in total in these two JCCs charged under the same Act¹⁴. Thus, in the light of labelling theory and based on data, we have seen that adolescents are unacceptable and neglected after detention. The experiences of reintegration challenges also coincide with elements of the social inclusion concept (World Bank, 2013). Finally, the findings have been found that there is a deficiency of nutritious food supply for juvenile's physical growth and appropriate body fragmentation in JCCs. Simultaneously, there is a scarcity of cultural environments for the psychological improvement of an adolescent. These issues should not be compromised in any circumstances.

¹⁴ Riyasad, N. (2019). Children In Conflict With Law: Juvenile Justice System In Bangladesh. Available at:<https://www.newagebd.net/article/92235/children-in-conflict-with-law-juvenile-justice-system-in-bangladesh>

5.8 Recommendations and the further implication

From the findings and discussion of this study, it was a humble effort to present the existing correctional process and aftercare facilities of JCCs. On the basis of the interviews and previous literature, as well as keeping in mind the limitations of the current situation, it explores the efficiency of the centres for juvenile delinquents. Hence, considering the needs, limitations of resources, restraints, and capability of the state, both short-term and long-term recommendations are derived. Six main areas are identified, and the following steps are suggested to improve the correctional treatment:

A. Comprehensive Reforms of the Juvenile Justice System

- The children's rules and work plan should be articulated as per the Children Act 2013.
- The age of young offenders should be increased from 9 to 12 years.
- To address the challenges of existing policies to step up the practical implementations.
- There should be more specific and child rights-focused laws needed.
- The false and harassment cases should be controlled to ensure justice for the juveniles.

B. Enhancing administrative collaboration and efficiency

- Institutional collaborations within law enforcement agencies, JCCs, and educational institutions are necessary.
- Full-time efficient doctors and medical staff in all detention centers to ensure the health care of inmates.
- Ensuring proper psychological counseling and a full-time psychosocial counselor.
- Need to formulate specific guidelines on official rules and responsibilities of personnel.
- To build awareness among police personnel, PO, and JCC professionals regarding their role and responsibilities in dealing with children.

C. Increasing infrastructural development and maintenance capacity

- An adequate number of centres and safe homes should be established to avoid overcrowded dwellings.
- Infrastructural development of new boundary wall, front side streets reparation is required to ensure the protection.
- The government also needs to establish separate shelter homes for destitute children, level of crime, or casewise children units.
- More certified institutes with standard budgets should be established at district levels.
- Specifically for girl juveniles' protection, more non-custodial centers should be set up.
- The special police unit should be established, and particular conveyance instead of prison-van should be allowed during juveniles' movement.

D. Improving the quality of living in centres

- Establish modern vocational training initiatives with computers, ICTs, mobile repair, latest skill-oriented training in each centre.
- Incorporate with professional instructors to prepare them for future employment.
- It is required to Include these juveniles' concerns in education policies and approval of the continuation of study from the national educational board.

- Each center needs to be upgraded from primary level to secondary level education for children.
- JCCs should provide clean rooms, clean water, and nutritious food.

E. Aftercare supports and care for reintegration

- To ensure the social inclusion of former residents, JCCs can set up a partnership with various organizations for successful employment.
- Particular shelter homes will ensure the protection of destitute and neglected children.
- Contracts offering an in-house job or internship training with corporate organizations should be established to accelerate community-based reintegration services.
- Increasing the budgetary allocation to emphasize reintegration interventions for juveniles.

F. Strengthening of Advocacy and Awareness

- GO, and NGO mechanisms by national child welfare boards should be developed to monitor JCCs.
- Professional training on social inclusion, especially child psychology and the juvenile justice system, should be provided to the people who directly deal with juvenile delinquents.
- Mass media should focus on family bondings, counseling, and the impacts of juvenile delinquency to prevent children's involvement in criminal activities.
- More research is needed to promote further insight for addressing challenges faced by former inmates and alternate chances for reintegration.

From the suggestions mentioned above, the accommodation, education, recreational facilities, vocational training, and other facilities of the JCCs should be child-friendly and improved. However, precise plans are essential to activate and withstand the quality of the administration of the juvenile correctional process. In this regard, family supports and sensible participation in the community are also needed.

5. 9 Chapter summary

Throughout this chapter, the five juvenile care leavers and five professionals have helped with their narratives to gain insights into aftercare needs and reintegration. This portion of the study presents juveniles' struggles, as they finally coped up with massive challenges they have encountered. Furthermore, professionals also explained their working experiences and on filed suggestions for upgrading the process. Findings through these six captions depict the juveniles' journey beginning from JCC life, challenges after incarceration, the administrative lacking, reintegration process, possible coping strategies, and the way forward. Additionally, this chapter focused on the connections of results supporting theoretical explanations from the earlier chapter.

Concluding Remarks

This qualitative and inductive study aimed to identify the existing juvenile justice system and programmes after leaving correctional centres in Bangladesh. Precisely, it navigated through the professionals' perceptions and former young inmates' experiences of opportunities and challenges after detention. Furthermore, the present study attempted to find proper recommendations by enlightening respondent's perception in two ways: First, they described what conditions they considered difficulties during their stay in JCCs and faced after detention, and second, the coping strategies they practiced within themselves and suggested for further improvement of juvenile justice systems. However, data were collected using both face-to-face and telephone interviews which were later transcribed. Thus, the theoretical framework and previous researches helped to analyze the findings under the themes. Following the labelling theory helped to detect the challenges of juvenile offenders, whereas Social inclusion defined the factors influencing the reintegration process. Hence, combining these two theories, the Ecological system theory suggested level-wise agencies and networks for easing the young offender's social inclusion process. This section described the study findings and some essential recommendations, which have been evidenced, applicable, yet not generalized.

First, the findings revealed that the impression of staying in JCCs left a long time impact on juveniles reintegration. Moreover, the time they spend in the center affects their physical and mental health and reentry. Literature found that about one-third of the residents in juvenile detention centers suffer from various mental health problems (Kratcoski, 2004). Additionally, because of their emotional distress, children are more likely to involve in violence and self-harm inside the JCCs that asserted by the findings of Wortley (2004). On the other hand, studies have shown some positive cases where caseworkers and counselors were very helpful in achieving the strengths and capabilities of inmates.

Second, the researcher attempted to present administrative challenges and professionals' perceptions of the correctional process through combining the Ecological system's theory. As discussed in the literature chapter, this finding was consistent with Ferdousi's (2002) and Dey's (2015) assertion of JCCs administrative lacking. It has been found that the allocated monthly expenditure for the accommodation of the residents is very insufficient. At this cost, it is very difficult for a growing teenager's standard of living. Moreover, due to the uncertainty of the living period at the center, qualified training is disrupted and uncompleted. Inter-agency relations and communication are not so well organized for the correction of children. Also, a well-written action plan and guidelines are absent for the professionals. Indeed, they need to be more tolerant and focused on their responsibilities as they are working with children all the time. Data also revealed that each centre has a lack of full-time physicians and psychiatrists. It is becoming difficult to take care of and follow up cases because of the excessive number of juveniles.

Third, this section is very important because these findings connect their previous and life at the center with aftercare life. From the time of the offense to returning into society, all involving factors affect the process of overall correction. But, the biggest shortcoming is the scarcity of community-based initiatives. According to the theory of EST, this study also showed that children require particular attention in different levels and networks in the present social contexts. It has been repeatedly said that juveniles do not have social support and good educational background or economic status for easy reentry in most cases. In JCCs, residents have access to elementary

education up to primary education (class 1 to 5), which most students pass by the age of 10. So, it becomes a problem to continue to the secondary level education. Also, there are not adequate modern vocational training systems to enter mainstream employment.

Fourth, one of the objectives of the study found that juveniles encountered some specific problems just after leaving the center. Therefore, support and suggestions in life-course mapping for education and employment are essential for juvenile offenders shifting from teenage to adulthood. Besides, the theory of Labelling by Becker (1963) and later Laub and Sampson (1993) stated how humiliation and social exclusion hindered returning to normal life. Thus, the former inmates were accepted by their families, but the perception of community people was negative about reintegration that ultimately led to difficulties in building new relationships. Moreover, they become frustrated since they can't find a match with vocational training for later life employment. It also revealed that most of the girls in JCC eloped from home, especially women respondents shared they could not continue their education, so later life became miserable.

Fifth, this study also focused on the self-strength of juveniles to develop resilience against stigma. They have adopted their coping mechanisms to live with the labelling and stigma in society. The juveniles had stopped joining local gatherings, and five young respondents have moved to the city to work and stay away from the family. Furthermore, they tried their best to engage themselves in their favourite pastime and hobbies to be positive and joyful. They also shared their homage to their family and caseworkers, who have supported them in every means. They tried hard to build new networks and peers to lead a regular life in new networks and settings. According to Goffman (1963), these forms of resilience to adapt to stigma helped ease the stress and anxieties of juveniles.

Last but not least, though findings highlighted mostly the significant requirements and challenges of the juvenile justice system, stakeholders also shared some incredible initiatives and future plans for sustainable aftercare programmes and juveniles' smooth reintegration. For child protection, Bangladesh has already launched a 24/7 child help hotline and Child Sensitive Social Protection in Bangladesh (CSPB) project to ease young offenders' reentry. Furthermore, planning to establish the Child Welfare Board and new CDC will mitigate the overcrowded residence in JCCs. Finally, the most promising and praiseworthy step was the first virtual juvenile court in Bangladesh to expedite the juvenile justice system during this Covid-19 epidemic.

From the respondents' experiences, both short-term and long-term recommendations came to improve the disciplinary process of juvenile offenders. These include the Child Act reforms for delineating the age from 9 to 12 years and enhancing administrative collaboration, especially with schools for the uninterrupted study of juveniles. Thus, increasing more certified institutions to avoid gathering in JCCs and confirming full-time efficient doctors and psychotherapists. On top of that, living conditions in centres impacts future reentry, so the stay should be more joyful and healthy for these children. Respondents also suggested updated vocational training and mental supports for aftercare employment and reintegration. The issue of family bonding and social sensibility has also repeatedly come in the respondent's narrations.

In summary, findings allowed to conclude that juveniles' resilience in adapting skills and supports from JCCs and networks gradually results in social inclusion. Additionally, active law enforcement and GO and NGO collaboration have impacts on JJS and successful reintegration. As five interviews were conducted over the telephone due to Covid-19 restrictions, the observation and

non-verbal communication of the juvenile respondents were not possible. Since this is a sensitive issue, rapport building with juveniles was significant. But, a limited time frame hindered the rapport-building process with these young interviewees. More detailed information could be found through in-depth interviews about the state of family relationships, their childhood, and the surrounding environment. Therefore, the results of this study also have implications for future research, such as more intensive research can be done from the gender perspectives of reintegration, and studies should be undertaken to explore the role of family, peers, community, and society as a whole.

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Appendices
Appendix-1: Authoritative and ethical approval of DSS, Govt. Bangladesh

“মুজিব বর্ষের আহবান
সেবায় মিলবে পরিগ্রাণ”

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
সমাজকল্যাণ মন্ত্রণালয়
সমাজসেবা অধিদফতর
আগারগাঁও, শেরেবাংলা নগর, ঢাকা-১২০৭, বাংলাদেশ।
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স্মারক নম্বর: ৪১.০১.০০০০.০৬৩.২৫.০০৫.১৬ . ৯২৫

তারিখঃ ২৩/০৩/২০২২

বিষয়: শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র (বালক/বালিকা)-এ একাডেমিক গবেষনার জন্য অনুমতি প্রদান


সূত্র: ২৩ ফেব্রুয়ারি ২০২১ তারিখের আবেদনপত্র।

উপর্যুক্ত বিষয় ও সূত্রের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আফসানা ইসলাম, শিক্ষক, Women and Gender Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Dhaka University, Dhaka বর্তমানে ইউরোপিয়ান ইউনিয়নের এরাস্মুস মুনডুস মাস্টার্স প্রোগ্রামে অধ্যয়নরত কে “শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র থেকে বের হয়ে সমাজের মূলধারায় প্রবেশ করতে শিশুদের সাফল্যপাখা এবং এ প্রক্রিয়ায় কর্মকর্তাদের অভিজ্ঞতা জানা” বিষয়ে একাডেমিক গবেষনার নিমিত্ত তথ্য সংগ্রহের জন্য নিম্নবর্ণিত শর্তে ৩ (তিন) টি শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র যথাক্রমে (১) শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র (বালক), টাঙ্গী, গাজীপুর (২) শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র (বালক), পুলেরহাট, যশোর এবং (৩) শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র (বালিকা), কোনাবাড়ী, গাজীপুর পরিদর্শনের অনুমতি প্রদান করা হলো।

১. প্রতিষ্ঠানের তত্ত্বাবধায়কের সাথে আলোচনাক্রমে পরিদর্শন ও তথ্য সংগ্রহের সময়সূচি নির্ধারণ করতে হবে;
২. প্রতিষ্ঠানের তত্ত্বাবধায়কের সার্বিক তত্ত্বাবধানে পরিদর্শন ও তথ্য সংগ্রহের কাজ সম্পন্ন করতে হবে;
৩. নিবাসীদের ডরমেটরীতে প্রবেশ করা যাবে না;
৪. কোন আলোক চিত্র, ভিডিও বা ছবি ধারণ এবং বক্তব্য রেকর্ড করা যাবে না;
৫. সংগৃহীত তথ্যের একটি কপি অধিদফতরে সরবরাহ করতে হবে;
৬. সংগৃহীত তথ্যের গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করতে হবে;

০২। এতে মহাপরিচালক মহোদয়ের সদয় অনুমোদন রয়েছে।

আফসানা ইসলাম
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Women and Gender Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
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সদয় জ্ঞাতার্থঃ ও কার্যার্থঃ

- ১। মহাপরিচালক, সমাজসেবা অধিদফতর, ঢাকা।
- ২। বিভাগীয় পরিচালক, সমাজসেবা অধিদফতর, ঢাকা/খুলনা।
- ৩। উপ পরিচালক, জেলা সমাজসেবা কার্যালয়, গাজীপুর/যশোর।
- ৪। তত্ত্বাবধায়ক (সহকারি পরিচালক), শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র (বালক), টাঙ্গী, গাজীপুর/পুলেরহাট, যশোর।
- ৫। তত্ত্বাবধায়ক (সহকারি পরিচালক), শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র (বালিকা), কোনাবাড়ী, গাজীপুর

Appendix-2: Interview guidelines/ Questionnaire Questionnaire for Juveniles/Care leavers (I)

I, Afsana Islam, an Erasmus Mundus Master's student Social work with Families and Children, am conducting research on the topic "Social inclusion and aftercare needs of care leaver at the juvenile development centre in Bangladesh " under the guidance of Professor Jorge Ferreira (Iscte University Institute of Lisbon). The work aims to focus on the challenges young people encounter after leaving developmental centres and the experiences of professionals and practitioners in relation to services.

Therefore, I request your collaboration and availability to carry out the interview to complete this research work, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality of the information collected.

CODE: _____

Age:

Gender:

Educational:

Age of being sent to the centre

Current situation (housing, education, and employment)

Experiences in CDC

- 1) In your opinion, what were the reasons for joining the CDC?
- 2) How did you react to your coming to the centre: revolted, accepted, not having a clear idea, others?
- 3) What tasks, activities were you given at the centre that you were required to perform on a daily basis?
- 4) Tell us some positive and some negative things about your life at the centre? What you liked most and least - give examples.
- 5) Did the technicians and staff of the centre develop affable, austere, punitive, supportive relationships with you? Give examples.
- 6) How often could your family members meet with you? (or phone calls)
- 7) Name 3 to 4 skills you have learned at the centre?

Legal status of the case

- 8) Can you tell us about the process and the organisations involved in your case?
- 9) Are you satisfied with the case closure administration?
- 10) Are you aware of the Bangladesh Law related to your case?
- 11) Have you received any legal information and motivation from the centre?

Reintegration: aftercare needs and follow-up

- 12) What are the problems you faced immediately after leaving the centre?
- 13) Please tell us the types of support you received when you left: i) parents; ii) friends; iii) extended family; iv) neighbours; v) some institution in the local community; vi) other.
- 14) Did you receive any preparatory training for your inclusion in the community at the centre?

- 15) Can you tell us about some principles/interventions of the centre that are working as social integration factors?
- 16) Did you have any support from the centre during the 1st year of your departure to the natural environment?
- 17) Do you have any contact with your instructors/teachers at the centre?
- 18) Do you think the CDP has any contribution or influence that has on your personality and behaviour? How?

Expectations and suggestions

- 19) What are the basic things you suggest to improve within the centre?
- 20) What are your wishes and expectations for the future?

Questionnaire for Director/Coordinator (II)

I, Afsana Islam, an Erasmus Mundus Master's student Social work with Families and Children, am conducting research on the topic "Social inclusion and aftercare needs of care leaver at the juvenile development centre in Bangladesh " under the guidance of Professor Jorge Ferreira (Iscte University Institute of Lisbon). The work aims to focus on the challenges encountered by young people after leaving developmental centres and the experiences of professionals and practitioners in relation to services.

Therefore, I request your collaboration and availability to carry out the interview to complete this research work, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality of the information collected.

CODE: _____

Designation:

Age:

Gender:

Education:

Entitles Center:

Responsibilities:

Tenure:

- 1) As the coordinator of the centre, could you give us a brief description of this centre (legal nature, framework legislation, organization, number of places, average age, gender, etc.)?
- 2) This centre is based on an intervention philosophy, mission, principles, and values. Can you tell us about the theoretical/methodological framework that guides the intervention with the child/young person?
- 3) Does the centre apply a code of conduct or code of ethics in its professional practice?
- 4) Can you tell us about the intervention process characteristic of the centre that promotes the transition of the young person to an active life? (Training, education, social and emotional support, etc.)
- 5) What is your perception of the young people after leaving the centre? (behaviour, attitude, responsibility, autonomy gains, others).
- 6) Does the centre develop any support and follow-up programme for young people after leaving the centre? Or are there other services in the community that develop this intervention? If yes, please give us some information.
- 7) What suggestions do you have for the future well-being and political interventions for these young people?

Appendix-3: Informed Consent form

Informed Consent

The following is a presentation of how I will use the data collected in the interview. To ensure that projects meet the ethical requirements for good research I promise to adhere to the following principles:

- Interviewees in the project will be given information about the purpose of the project.
- Interviewees have the right to decide whether they will participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded.
- The collected data will be handled confidentially and will be kept in such a way that no unauthorized person can view or access it.

Research Title: Social inclusion and aftercare needs of care leavers at the juvenile development centers in Bangladesh

What the study is about?

The study will specifically focus on the challenges encountered by juveniles after leaving development centers and also the experiences of practitioners and professionals towards services that have been provided? This research will be submitted to fulfill the partial requirements of the Erasmus Mundus Master's program in Social work with Families and Children.

Why your participation is important?

In this research, in-depth interviews will be used as data collection tools with professionals. As a stakeholder and practitioner, I respect your contribution to these centers and I believe you have worthy experiences and opinions to share in this regard.

What will happen to the collected data?

The interview will be conducted in the native language of the participants. Researchers will take notes to gather the information. All personal information and data of the participants will be transcribed and stored in a secured device. All the participant's names will be changed into Pseudonyms for confidentiality. The research is planned to submit by the end of June 2021 and after submission, all the recorded data will be deleted.

This study has been notified to the Department of Social Services (DSS), The Government Republic of Bangladesh. You have the right to decline to answer any questions or terminate the interview without any explanation. You are welcome to contact me or my supervisor in case you have any questions (e-mail addresses below).

Student name & e-mail:

Supervisor name & e-mail:

Consent sign of interviewee