CHAPTER V
MODELS OF REINTEGRATION

This Chapter carefully articulates and brings forth the data from interviews and case studies. The data collected has been presented in the form of models of reintegration. Six models have been presented describing six different processes followed within the reintegration framework. The models that have been identified have been compared with models practiced in other countries and running successfully over a period of time. The chapter introduces each model in a paragraph and then provides a detailed analysis of each one separately. The components of each model are the same as they have been followed in the chapter on Review of Literature.

Model 1

NGO Placement Model

The organisation started as a field action project of an academic institution to extend services to prison inmates. With the belief that prisoners need legal and social services to deal with their custodial and post custodial issues and lead a life of dignity after their release, this field action project started with placing social workers in prisons. With an array of socio-legal services, some aiming at instant relief and emergency, individual cases were identified, that required deeper intervention. This work of the project led to the identification of cases of minors in prison. Efforts were made to produce their age proofs and get their cases transferred to the Juvenile Justice Board.

Increase in the number of such cases served as an eye-opener to the fact that children as young as twelve years were getting involved in anti-social activities forcing their entry into the juvenile justice system. It was realised that besides socio-legal aid, children needed other kinds of specialized services that provided them that a social cushion and deterred them from getting involved in illegal activities.
The model started with setting up of a centre at the observation home cum children’s home. ‘Reintegration’ starts at the point of contact with the juvenile justice system. As shared by a social worker, “a child in the midst of his schooling, on landing up in an observation home gets completely disturbed with his/her studies disrupted” and hence the process of reintegration has to start immediately. Thus, the first effort made under the model is to get the child out from the system on ‘bail’ and start with supportive efforts so as to stabilize the child’s life.

The programme is better known as the “NGO Placement model”. It is believed that adolescents get influenced by peer-group and need positive support to lead a crime-free life. Children with poor family support and with background of poverty or facing neglect are more prone to negative influences.

**Theoretical Framework**

*Adolescence* is the most vulnerable period in the life of an individual. Children at this age experiment with life and may need protection from negative influences. The NGO Placement model provides productive engagement to the child while taking care of his/her emotional needs and a protected shelter.

**History of the Model**

This model started with adult offenders and victims of trafficking – thus it worked for both kinds of children. The needs-based model of intervention is based on the availability of a network of services and a close relationship with the coordinators of these services. The model responds to the social and economic needs of the individual. Economic engagement is seen as a means of personality development of the individual. The *NGO Placement model* was therefore conceptualized based on this inherent belief and aims at developing a sense of responsibility among children and diverting them into productive economic engagement. Delving into the history of the model brought back institutional memories as one of the founding team members of the model shared,
...it started around 2003 and was the culmination of experiences with adults. There was a time when we had a workshop where we used to train our clients in making cloth and jute-based products. But we realized that while the trainers were acquiring skills, they could not become entrepreneurs or find jobs with the skills learnt. Their dependence on us continued for getting work. We also realised that it was difficult for our clients to get and sustain jobs in the private sector due to their background and social handicaps. We realized that they needed a protected space to learn vocational and social skills and enhance their employability. The NGO Placement model is based on the premise that clients in the NGO sector learn these skills in a protected environment and gradually gain social re-entry.

In the beginning there was no separate programme for juveniles in conflict with law. Clients placed with a private/public agency and provided for a monthly stipend alongside the skills training. However it was realized that youth who were placed with NGOs showed better adaptability than those placed with private agencies.

Further, youth placed with NGOs showed more independence than others who showed no signs of getting weaned off from the organisation. As a social worker said,

The client placed with the NGO was one placement that was like a load off our chest, because the NGO would say that there are problems but don’t worry, we will take care of it; so my visits to that NGO, was least and with the others there was a lot of fire fighting, and then clients had a lot of negative experience.

This realization resulted in placing more and more children with NGOs and gradually gave birth to the NGO Placement model.

We thought now let’s start working on what we are good at. We have children who have personality issues, on one hand we have them who have had negative experience, they are not being able to adjust with the private sector and in the private sector also good hearted people after a certain point of time were feeling let down, that we are trying to do something and these people are not making any efforts to work up to it. So that match was not happening and around this time there was also a girl who had been rescued from prostitution and she was also placed with a field action project of the same academic institute and then she did a paraprofessional course on social work and that kind of worked out. So then we started looking at this experience. Then I saw that there were other girls also who were placed in NGOs and it worked out for them, too. These were NGOs who were taking responsibility; somehow the responsibility on us was reducing.

These experiences gave way to lot of introspection among our own staff and more and more positive experiences got accumulated with the NGO placements. It was also realised that NGOs needed a work force at the paraprofessional levels, thus opening opportunities to people with less academic skills that could be sufficed with on-the-job training/short term courses for paraprofessionals. Thereafter, the NGO placement model was formally drafted with a few underlying principles, working out on funding sources and a blueprint of the programme model.
Central Idea

This model correlates financial independence and dignity of the individual child.

Principles of the Model

There are four basic principles underlying the NGO Placement model. These principles address the four basic needs of rehabilitation and leading to reintegration. They are:

Stable shelter

‘Shelter’ is the first and foremost basic needs of an individual who is most vulnerable, without which, there are high possibilities of the individual living on the streets and getting exposed to negative influences. Therefore children with families support should be reunited with their families with close monitoring, supervision and regular contacts; for others who did not have family support safe shelter was arranged in some institutions.

...we realized that if we had a programme for women and they were living on the streets then they would keep awake the whole night and come to the programme in the morning and go to sleep, or cannot concentrate; the drop-out rate was very high.

A stable shelter also gives children some kind of physical and mental stability so as to concentrate and take maximum benefit of the NGO Placement programme designed for them.

Stable relationships

Relationships provide emotional support to individuals and children are no exception; in fact children of adolescent age-groups and young adults need greater emotional assurance and constant encouragement to be able to carry on their work productively. It was with this underlying belief that stable relationships came to be identified as an inherent principle in the model. Therefore children with families were encouraged to live with families, and children without families care was taken to place them in
NGOs that could provide them with emotional assistance; counseling became a more emergent need for this group of children. As one social worker said,

*What we realized is that till they are dependent on their past contacts/past life for certain aspects of their life, it is very difficult for them to make this shift to the mainstream, therefore you need to have maximum time and dependency on the mainstream.*

**Income from known/legal source**

Economic need was identified as an important factor that pushed individuals towards crime. Very often parents are unaware of these wrong ways and means of their own children, referring to children of fifteen years or more. It has been found that most cases are from single parent families (in most case the mother), with the pressure on the mother to make ends meet. In the absence of larger family support, children tend to get neglected and fall prey to negative peer group influences. Sometimes the child may end up choosing to earn from the illegal sector to support the family.

Thus ‘stipend’ was identified as an important component of the programme and was built into the model. During their placement in NGO the client was provided a monthly stipend to take care of basic needs. In cases where the child lives with the family, the amount sufficed for such basic needs. However, in cases where the child lived in an institution, his food, shelter and medical needs were taken care of by the organization to suffice his income.

**Freedom from addictions**

The fourth important principle that the NGO Placement model adhered to was freeing children from addictions. It was gathered from experience that children in crime are addicted to one or more forms of substance abuse. As long as they are dependent on them, it is difficult to get them disassociated with their known ways of living and help them develop a positive identity.

Thus the NGO placement model has built a network of de-addiction centres. Children who had been victims of addiction are sent to the centres for de-addiction first and then placed in the placement programme.
The above four main principles underlying the NGO Placement model have been borne out of experience and has led to positive changes in the lives of children who have been reintegrated and leading a settled life. As shared by one of the older and experienced staff who has been around since the inception of the organisation,

More the number of these principles that are negatively affected, greater are the chances of getting back to crime/mental illness/destitution/prostitution – vulnerability. When you look at JCL with family support, shelter and relationships are taken care of, so you only have to take care of livelihood and addiction if there is any. But in the case where family support is not there then you have to start from scratch.

**Beneficiaries**

The programme is designed for offenders and victims, males and females, under eighteen and above eighteen years. However while dealing with juveniles in conflict with law, the model is used only for boys under eighteen years of age. Although the model is not blueprinted in terms of various age-groups of children, nonetheless programmes vary according to their age-groups. Children aged between twelve and fourteen years are generally not placed in NGOs; children aged sixteen years and above are placed in NGOs, as they are found to be physically and mentally more adaptable for the programme.

**Process of Implementation**

The organization has a centre inside the observation home. Cases from the observation home are referred to the centre. However, not all cases are intervened by the organisation.

Cases referred to the organization are observed closely by the social worker; the children sit with him and are encouraged to participate in various types of activities like reading books, painting or playing, the idea being to observe them in an informal environment. After a while, they are given some writing work related to other children’s cases and minor errands like going out to get photocopy of a document. The latter job requires a higher trust and confidence and thus helps the social worker in understanding the intentions of the child, in addition to what is shared by the child himself.
Once this is determined, the social worker gives his report to the judicial magistrate and the JJB passes orders accordingly. The child is asked to visit the social worker regularly, even after release on bail. This is the time when the social worker remains in close touch with the child. While placing a particular child in an NGO, the three ‘M’s are adhered to. They are:

**Matching**

‘Matching’ is done with an NGO looking into the interest and educational profile of the child. As shared by a social worker who has been around since the inception of the model,

> you have to match the client and the agency, in terms of profile, aptitude etc. So you may have an agency that is good for a client but not for another.

**Monitoring**

Monitoring is a very important aspect of the placement model. The client is advised to contact the social worker of the organization, the moment he/she faces any problem, including cases in which the child wants to leave the NGO where he/she has been placed, for any reason. The level of monitoring starts decreasing when the social worker feels that the person is settling down. However the relationship between the organization and the child remains so close as to be able to share anything at any point of their lives.

**Mentoring**

During the process of selection of an NGO, care is also taken to find out a perfect mentor for the child, who is located in the NGO. A mentor hand holds and takes the client forward along his journey of life. The NGO where the child is placed, needs to have a person who is strong, steady and patient to be a good mentor to the child. The job of the mentor is to help in positive personality development of the child and gradually getting rid of his negative associations, habits and relationships behind towards developing a new identity that will help him/her resist recidivism.
Factors Determining Intervention
The NGO placement model has a common concept/format to be applied in all cases of JCLs who are placed in the model. However each child is dealt with in a different way, depending on his age, nature, skills, interest and background. A child living in a family is intervened in a way that is different from a child who is not living with his family. Each case, although has a common interest and that is the ‘best interest of the child’.

The factors that determine intervention, thus, is determined by the three ‘M’s detailed in the previous section under ‘process of implementation’.

Location of the Model

This model of intervention is located across three cities. The model studied in the present research is based in Mumbai.

Mumbai is known as the commercial capital of the country and in local language, is known as maya nagari meaning a paradise of illusions, where commercialization can easily steal away ‘childhood’ and ‘faith’ if not bound by strong ties of relationships. Analysis of JCL cases in Mumbai has revealed that the motivation of crimes, here, is economic necessity, increasing commercialization and increasing gap between two classes. Given this backdrop positive personality development is a very important intervention in cases of reintegration of JCLs; hence the NGO Placement models fits best under such circumstances.

Balak Palak Melava

Besides placing children in NGOs, the centre also organizes a community fair/meeting of parents and children who underwent/undergo the NGO placement model. In this fair, parents and children come together and share their experiences of the programme, with successful cases sharing the benefits of the programme/model. The social worker at the centre shared, ‘there is a boy who is in college right now, one of them has done an AC repairing course, so parents also understand that if he can, then why not my son?’. One of the children who were interviewed also added, ‘I have gained (learnt) a lot from the balak palak melava’. 
A session is also taken by the judicial magistrate and the JJB members wherein they speak about the negative aspects of crime and how they can keep themselves positively oriented. As a social workers says, ‘this sharing also helps the JJB to hear them and understand the importance of the initiative’.

**Impact of the Model**

The *NGO* Placement model has been very helpful in settling down children who were once in conflict with law, thus reintegrating them back to their society. The degree of success has been varied, differing from case to case. Some children have been able to come out of addiction, while some have become more calm and living in harmony with their families, while some have started their own business or got engrossed in their jobs and thus leading a settled life.

The NGO Placement model combines all the above strategies enlisted above. It is a decade-old model and has emanated from needs of clients in prisons, gradually extending to observation homes. A founding member of the model says,

*The NGO placement in a nutshell is meant, for a group that is unstable and our objective is to bring them to a point of stability, the assumption over here is that if they reach a point of stability then that is going to help them to move into the mainstream. So the NGO placement model is nothing but a bridge to the mainstream.*

It was observed that there were many prisoners who were below eighteen years of age, but were kept in prisons for want of age-proofs. The project initiated from the need of such clients to be transferred to observation homes after obtaining relevant certificates for proof of age. A multiple of such needs resulted in similar needs-based intervention in observation homes where children below eighteen years were kept. Gradually, other needs of children were identified and several more interventions were added according to the changing needs of clients and their families, thus responding to the fourth strategy as enlisted above. As quoted by one of the veteran workers of the organization who has been working with the organization since its inception,

*We give them legal guidance, see their background, in which case the person is etc, what is the meaning of charge sheet? In whish section what type of punishment is possible/not possible, what is a report etc...and then explain to them how problems might be created by the records that are made in their names in the police station...*
As relationship between social worker and group of children and their families got deeper, other needs of clients were identified and a skills/interest-based strategy was adopted. It was then that the dimension of reintegration was identified thus necessitating a more holistic approach to the initiative. It was observed that children who go out of the observation home into the community needed certain interpersonal skills other than the vocations taught to them. After several trial and error methods of placing children with job-placement agencies, the NGO Placement model got established with success stories of reintegration encircling around children placed in NGOs. This was implemented with an approach to skills/interest-based strategies.

Over the years this programme has had significant impact in the life of children. This has been stated by children themselves who have moved ahead in their lives. A child who had been part of the NGO Placement model says,

I had no place to stay when I joined job while staying at my maternal uncle’s place and these organisation people even kept me in a lodge once in between. Truly their influence is huge. Even after all these negative influences and conditions around you, how come you did not get affected negatively? A. Yes I also felt like going into crimes many a times. But then the organization people did not let me slip. They kept constant touch with me and gave lectures on life and advice on tolerance etc, at YDC (Youth development centre- at YDC young people’s after care is taken care of. These are people above 16 years). In the beginning focus is made on their behaviour change, so they are generally placed in NGOs, then their education and vocation is taken care of side by side and then after that their employment is taken care of; a client can enter the programme at any point of this YDC programme depending on his mental development ) – the hopes they gave, the road they showed ahead, did not let me slip, let me ignore the past as they had advised.

Another client says,

Like any other project, this one too has had its own share of difficulties and challenges. Owing to the fact that the model is dependent on the sensitivity and professionalism of the social worker in contact with the individual (client in question) it becomes emotionally very challenging for the social worker (point person) to constantly live up to the expectation of the client. This is more so because there isn’t a full team of experts working for the growth of a client – it is the social worker and the social worker him/herself responsible for the success/failure of reintegration of a case.

Another social worker involved in implementing the model says,

But reality is that this whole model is highly stressful and challenging because a client puts in everything at his disposal to the social worker – so it’s almost like a power relationship where sometime he can go to the other way round to say that ‘apne hamare liye enough nahi kiya hai’ (you have not done enough for me…)
This model can be compared with the Prison Fellowship model that has been in practice in New Zealand. The Prison Fellowship programmes include in-prison programmes (mentoring, educational training, biblical training), Operation Starting Line (in-prison high profile evangelism), ex-prisoner transitional care (church-based aftercare and mentoring). At the end of the programme about 50 per cent of released prisoners are included in a Corrections Reintegration Plan while the remaining are given $350 and a bus ticket.

The NGO Placement model has found that about 90 per cent of children who are there in observation homes are from a poor background and many of them are without any family support, trying to fend for themselves when they got into trouble with law, in the process. These are children living on the streets and have been in contact with peers that are themselves involved in illegal activities, many of the group members are often of a higher age and therefore have involved the minors into their group. The organization observed that these children would need some sort of fellowship at the end of their programme so as to start a positive life on their own. The fellowship is just enough to cover their basic necessities and help them move forward in life. Thus ‘stipend’ was identified as an important component of the programme. A child who has been completely reintegrated after having been a part of the NGO placement model, defines the stipend drawing from his own experience,

\textit{At that time, that stipend is very useful, so that others cannot say that ‘he is just idle doing nothing and eating out of our expenses. I told ‘Sir’ (referring to the social worker in contact) of my driving interest, so Prayas gave 50% fees for driving and rest I gave from the money I had saved from the 1700/- (200/- for travelling and 1500/- as out of pocket expenses including food, for the whole month) stipend that I used to get from the organisation.}

However there are certain distinctions from the Prison Fellowship Programme. Prison Fellowship targets the root causes of crime by applying the principles of restorative justice (restoring criminals, victims, and the community) through comprehensive, faith-based programmes. Thus while the former is a faith-based programme, the latter (NGO Placement model) is based on empowering a child through social and vocational skill development. These programmes are catered to groups of children inside the observation home and have value-based approach. Thus \textit{balak palak melawa} programmes are practiced in which children and their families get to meet up with others of similar nature but have been or in process of getting reintegrated into
their communities. Members of the JJB also take the opportunity to educate children and their families of certain values for life. During an interview with the father of a child who has been reintegrated shared,

*I had almost lost faith in my son’s reformation and re-growth until I met this person, ‘X’ during a Balak Palak Melawa. He shared his experience of how he has been completely reformed now and is an independent AC mechanic himself. Further the advice given by the JJB on how a little hand-holding and trust by parents can help my son return to the right path he had been distracted from, confided in me trust in this programme (referring to the NGO placement model of reintegration). I feel completely obligated to the organization and its efforts and particularly to ‘V’ Sir (referring to the social worker in contact with his son) for my son’s returning to our family as before (tear droplets moistened his eyes as he expressed his feelings of obligation).*

The Prison Fellowship Programme practiced as *Operation Jerico* in New Zealand is a church-based programme while the NGO Placement model is empowerment oriented. Both programmes are mentor-based and believe in working together with the community. In the former programme prisoners are supervised by a trained case-management team that guides the relationship of the mentor and the prisoner and oversees all stages of his resettlement into the community and have regular counseling sessions with the family and the community.

The latter also has a ‘mentor’ that is a very important component of the programme. A mentor is preferably a person who is identified in the agency that the individual is placed in and is responsible for hand-holding the person throughout his journey of rebuilding his future. The relationship between the mentor and the client (child) is monitored by social workers in the organization that has initiated the programme. Thus while the Prison Fellowship programme has a professionally trained case management team to oversee the client and guide through the whole journey of mentoring, the latter has a social worker who is the responsible person. The social worker, however, refers and discusses the cases of such children with a whole team of experts in regular weekly meetings. Any particular challenge so identified is therewith discussed and solutions explored.

One social worker associated with the NGO Placement model in another state, where the model has been replicated, shared

*Every Monday we have these team meetings where everybody shares about their cases and how each one is proceeding in their cases. We discuss about our problems and then*
Both programmes have the following operating principles that are common to each other:

i. Active Case management

ii. One-to-one mentoring, up to eight months before release and up to two years following release

iii. Church and community integration

iv. Family support

v. Networking with key support agencies

However while the former one has been evaluated and documented for purposes of replicability, the latter is yet to be systematically documented.

Model 2

Creative Skills Workshop

Theoretical Framework

This model is based on Theory of Differential Association and Theory of Operant Behaviour. Both these theories are Social learning theories, the former introduced by Edwin Sutherland while the latter by Jeffrey CR (1965) taken off from Sutherland’s theory. Sutherland maintained in his theory that behavior is learned and therefore can be unlearnt with the effect of external factors. Jeffrey established that behavior is reinforced by weighing its consequences from reactions/attitude of the society thereof. The present model with its approach of developing positive image of already deprived children (JCLs), their behavior and hence character can be completely influenced positively. The path analysis model suggests that positive self-image leads to decreased delinquency, and association with delinquent peers is the greatest predictor of delinquent behaviour, regardless of race (Church et al 2009).
History of the Model

The Creative Skills Workshop was conceived by the Department of Social Welfare, Government of Jharkhand to help children in observation homes get constructively reintegrated into society on release from the homes. On an experimental basis the programme was initially started in one of the observation homes and later was replicated in ten observation homes of the State. The children undergoing the programme showed significant improvement, even while they spent time in the observation homes.

Central Idea

‘Skill-building’ and productive engagement of institutionalized children aiming towards developing a sense of worth is the backbone of such model.

Principles of the Model

It is believed that children in observation homes undergo a traumatic situation being away from their families and community. Hence it is important for them to be productively engaged to help them overcome their trauma and also get effectively reintegrated into the community. The model had been designed for these children, both boys and girls. Further the programme was not made compulsory, instead kept open as per the interest of a child, so as to inculcate natural involvement and hence practice a natural learning environment. However it is important to note here that since juveniles in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection are kept together in observation homes (still known as ‘children’s homes’) in Jharkhand, therefore the programme was attended by both groups of children.

Beneficiaries

It is important to note here that contrary to the provisions of the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000 observation homes and children’s homes in Jharkhand are more or less the same as far as physical structure and services are
concerned. This implies that both juveniles in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection are kept in the same premises.

**Process of implementation**

The programme was conceptualized by the Department of Social Welfare, Government of Jharkhand and financially supported by UNICEF, Jharkhand.

UNICEF liaised with the Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Jharkhand and local musical instruments was donated by them. Children were provided school bags, note books, pens, drawing sets in their individual kits and for the group other art and craft material was provided by UNICEF. A number of instructors were then identified and trained by UNICEF through training programmes or even by associating them with ongoing training programmes organized by others. The resource persons were trained in a workshop on special needs from the OH on precautions and flexibility in approach that is required while working with these children. “Later children shared their experiences with the UNICEF evaluation team and based on their experiences request was made by the government to expand this intervention to all the ten observation homes of Jharkhand”, says one of the instructors who was part of the training programme. From July 2010, with support from UNICEF the programme was expanded to all the government run observation homes and children homes.

For most of the children it was the first opportunity of this kind. Children readily got involved in various activities. They got involved in using water colours and painting, singing, dancing, and acting. They learnt how to make masks, create designs on walls, playing music and performing in plays. Their negative energies were channelised in a positive direction. Children got so involved in the programme that within a short span of time, counselors could observe visible changes within them. They were full of positive energy and bouncing with life.
In ten observation homes and two children homes, the CSD workshop was spread across by the Directorate of Social Welfare with support of UNICEF. The various art / skill subjects in the creative skill development workshop were

- Music – playing of Instruments and Singing
- Sports and yoga
- Painting, arts and craft
- Theatre
- Computer

Among the ones mentioned above, approximately 3-5 subjects were covered in all OHs, and for this purpose various resource persons were selected to help develop children’s skills.

“It is important to note that this was a process that helped educate vulnerable children to overcome their psychological trauma by engaging them in quality creative activity and give them opportunity to express their feelings. Therefore it has to be done with adequate care and the under guidance of trained people. Hence the resource persons were encouraged to develop personal and individual rapport with children and keep records of their progress”, says the coordinator, UNICEF, Jharkhand.

Factors that Determine Intervention in Each Case

Each child is trained differently based on his/her interest and once it is observed that the child is not doing well in the same, his/her interest is matched as per his/her skill in any particular programme. An older boy and a younger one might be grouped under the same subject and still doing fine, since that matched with the interest of the child. This also shows the importance of the mental age of a child and that might be different from the physical age.

Details of the Model

The CSD workshops were conducted on a continuous basis within the observation homes, with dance, music, art, craft and yoga classes. Children attended the workshops according to their interests. The programme is based on the belief that
‘arts’ as a subject has an inherent potential to influence the personality development of an individual. The programme above was started in 2009 and continued through 2011. It was funded by UNICEF and conducted by the Department of Women and Child Development, Government of Jharkhand.

Art is used as a skill/strength/interest of an individual child, so that a child finds comfort in his area of strength and gets to divert his attention to some productive engagement while in observation home.

As shared by one of the staff at the observation home,

*In the process of engaging the children in creative and sports activities, children open up with the resource persons/teachers and feel connected. This bonding also helps children to share their personal case studies with teachers/staff. They tell the true situation under which they did the crime, although they might not tell the same in the guidance of advocates in juvenile justice boards. This sharing helps them change.*

In this case art is used alongside other skills/interest of individuals i.e. craft, music, meditation etc. This therapy is used in cases where children have/had been involved in serious crimes including involvement in *naxalite movement*. ‘Art’ is believed to divert the human mind into other positive forms of engagement and hence rediscovering one’s inherent skills; it aims at *rediscovering the self* and hence changing all forms of negativity to positive forms of engagement.

The workshops were especially designed based on the interest and demand of children in observation homes. Hence, although the CSD workshop model is practiced in observation homes in the state, the actual nature of the programme differs from one observation home to another. In some observation homes there might be *tabla classes* while in another there might be *harmonium classes* (*tabla* and *harmonium* are two different musical instruments and both very common in practice in classical music in India)

**Location of the Model**

Jharkhand is a state located in the eastern part of India and had been politically part of the state of Bihar till the year 2000. The political context of the state even before its
political separation has been eventful, so to say the least. The state has been witness to tribal uprisings and social movements by the Adivasi population demanding for a separate state to overcome their exploitation by ‘outsiders’. Vast areas of the state have been in the thick of the naxalite movement, which has seen an upsurge in the last decade or so. ‘Since its inception in November 2000, Jharkhand has become a "laboratory" for the Naxals - a place for experimenting with the idea of establishing a parallel system of governance’(Kujur, 2005).

The nature of juvenile delinquency cases in Jharkhand reflects this conflict situation in the state. The naxalite movement has led to children getting involved or being used in the armed struggle as child soldiers.

According to a retired senior police officer who was in charge of anti naxal operations in the state and interviewed by the researcher as a key informant,

*There are a lot of young ones are taken away by naxalites, into their domain. No child would like to be a naxal. But these naxalites go to their houses and then by coercion or by force, not by deceit they trap the child. Interior villages if you go, if a boy/girl is twelve, the naxalites would like to take them into their domain as 'child soldier' or bal sangam. Now this bal sangam initially they take in the child for familiarization for one or two years and then they start brain washing the child an taking him/her for indoctrination, into serious crimes. They are then dragged to the kangaroo courts; in villages if a crime is committed it doesn’t get reported to the police; these people hold the kangaroo courts there and call all public there including the people’s representatives. One of the naxalites will be a self-stated magistrate; another will be a prosecutor and then say here is a charge against you, what do you have to say. Actually he will say something and then they will give a verdict that your fingers will be chopped off; something will be done very serious punishment in front of lot of persons; then these children are made to inflict that wound on the accused. For eg the man’s hand will be kept and the saw will be given to the child. So the purpose is to make the child exposed to such violent acts and make him/her indoctrinated to criminal acts. Eventually after this action the child becomes regimented, a criminal mind develops into the person and they become naxalites. So we have so many persons between ages 15, 16, 17 – all children under the law. They have been arrested by the police or naxalites themselves have published in their website that police have arrested them, kicked them off or dumped them something like that. So the naxalites have admitted that they have children in their domain.*

**Impact of the Model**

The model has impacted the children in positive ways. There have been cases whereby a child who otherwise refused to talk about his past and who attended the CSD workshops later has admitted his involvement in delinquency thus helping him/herself move ahead in life constructively.
The activities chosen for the CSD model had an interesting range. For example, stitching and tailoring was being used as an activity for boys as well as girls. Traditionally this is often used as an activity in institutions for girls in tune with the existing gender roles in society.

Music as an activity was the most popular besides yoga. Many children took part in these classes. Sajjad (name changed), a boy of 14 years made beautiful paintings and was good at crafts too. His paintings were recognized across the institution, and it was very clear that he inspired others too, to enhance their painting skills.

The theatre resource person narrated how she used different kinds of games to encourage children’s skills in writing/creating/innovating,

‘Name game’, ‘follow the leader game’ were some of the games that were used. Let’s take some phrase or a small story, and role play it. Then I encouraged them to design a story, a script though it would have been easier for me to ask them to play role in some readymade natak (drama). I kept on motivating them, and they did it just fine. It was the best in the last few years that children’s expression could be seen. One and half year back there were approximately 70 children, and we divided them into three groups of 17-18 boys each. And it was a whole workshop kind of environment, where all resource persons did their bit to give inputs in various forms.

It was revealed by the evaluation report and the government staff involved in the programme that

...children were not only enjoying participating in the workshop, they were also left very confident and positive in life when they left the observation home. They were confident to face the world with their added skills and also found a positive way forward, to lead their lives. They also mastered a number of marketing skills

The evaluation report by UNICEF (2011) stated that, adding that a number of items made by children had marketing value, ‘files, face masks made of paper mashie, dolls used as puppets, greeting cards, wall hangings and decorated pots have productive value and potential market’ (p.24).

One of the Government staff at Jharkhand which was party to the Creative Skills Development Workshops mentioned,

it is important to understand that even while it is difficult to find a market for each item created, it is the skill that the children have picked up, which they will certainly be able to use in their lives, if they enjoyed doing it. They see most of the things around, and now
they are able to create them by themselves. This gives them a joy, which was very much evident on their faces as they carved out face masks, wall hangings, etc.

The skills/interest with which children are involved in the workshops, are evident in their narration, some of which are highlighted:

Manohar (name changed) says,

> I have stayed for 19 months in OH. It was very difficult to spend time earlier, but later it became easier over there with creative workshops that started. Now, while I have left painting, I sing very confidently. Sartaj (name changed) at the OH sings very well too, he has improved a lot too. Now even computer has come and I think that I can go and learn over there. Computer is very beneficial as all transactions and exam results can also be viewed with the help of computer. I would like to teach others too what I have learnt from Justin Sir.

When Rahul (name changed) was arrested for motorcycle theft, he was taken to Chatra Jail. He tells that the environment there was bad with boys/men from different naxal groups. They asked me to join their parties, basically doing underground extremist work. After I was proved to be a juvenile, I was transferred to observation Home.

(extracted from UNICEF report, 2011, p. 15)

It was during his stay at Observation Home, when he completed some exams in college, and police wallahs used to take him for exams in college at times even with handcuff.

Now, Rahul is relieved from the detention, he has got admission in St Columbus College. He had done a course on Computer Hardware earlier and now he want to do BCA (Bachelors in Computer Applications), to move towards business.

(extracted from UNICEF report, 2011, p.15)

The CSD Workshop model has used skills and interest based strategies and is very innovative in its approach. In this model the interest of each child is taken into account and each child assigned to a particular trade from a wide range of activities offered by experts in each area of art. When spoken to one of the officials of the Department of Social Welfare who was very actively involved in this programme in observation homes, he shared,

> It was amazing to see how interested children were in the programmes. Their involvement changed my notion about ‘juvenile delinquents’ – somewhere in the back of my mind I had some subconscious negative feeling towards them. But the way they got mixed with children in need of care and protection and got themselves involved in their own interest areas, I was forced to get transformed myself. In fact I became one of the team members who proposed the replication of the model in all observation homes throughout the state.

The model differed from those practiced with similar strategies in other countries on multiple fronts. The latter were preceded by baseline surveys highlighting the number
of children interested in different forms of art and gave accounts of how each form of art helped children in their development and reintegration. The CSD model practiced in Jharkhand was based on simple and observed facts without any baseline studies carried out prior to the implementation of the model, the forms of art offered were based on the available forms and expertise available in the required fields. As one of the staff involved in the project says, ‘UNICEF has the documentation with them why they suggested which form of art; so they just instructed and we executed’.

When discussed with an UNICEF professional who shared her institutional memories, she said, ‘the documentation was not a final one, just a draft and therefore can’t be traced now. I am sorry I cannot share that with you’.

The CSD model had no aftercare plans in place and therefore no record of whereabouts of children after their release. The researcher could meet a few children who had themselves kept personal touch with a few officials. These children were back on track in their own lives and therefore narrated their experiences that have been highlighted in an earlier section.

**Model III**

**Working with the system**

**Theoretical Framework**

Any good practice can be inculcated within a system and produce long-term desired results only by working with the system, towards sustainable development of the system. It was with this belief that the project started its intervention with the juvenile system as a whole with its deliberate presence within the system. A planned and systematic approach gives long-term results than sporadic, spontaneous and short-term solutions. This trust in ‘systems approach’ triggered a research study that formed the basis of establishment and working of the project.
History of the Model

The field action project was conceptualized in 2005 by a criminology unit of the social work department of an academic institution as a response to the problems faced by children in conflict with the law under juvenile justice delivery system. To begin with, the project undertook a research study on the status of the justice delivery system for juveniles in conflict with law. The study compares the various provisions in the Act with its implementation status. The study identified many flaws within the juvenile justice system. One of the veteran staff of the organization who was involved during the inception stages says,

*When we started off, there was not a single organization that was working with the system, per se’ as shared by one of the founding members of the organization. This, thus itself became a trigger to start working with juveniles in conflict with law and set forth a model of good practice.*

The study was conducted in Maharashtra to understand the status of the JJS with focus on juveniles in conflict with law and was the first effort towards bringing out realities in JJS across the state. It analysed cases disposed across Maharashtra, during the period of March 2007-08 and outlined the journey of a juvenile within the system. It was an attempt to advocate for more clarity in the functioning of the Juvenile Justice System with focus on JCL and aimed to use this information to engage with the system at the state and the national level proactively.

Some serious gaps thus identified were: lack of appointment of JJB members, appointment of lawyers in place of social workers on the JJB, unavailability of infrastructure for the JJB functioning, JJB functioning as criminal court and not being aware of JJA, huge pendency of JCL cases in 6 districts, lack of awareness of JJB members about basic provisions in JJA, lack of trainings for JJB members and lack of uniformity in the implementation of JJA. Despite the loopholes identified, the study was acknowledged by the Bombay High Court and the Department of Women and Child, Government of Maharashtra.

The study was acknowledged by the Bombay High Court and the Women and Child Department, Government of Maharashtra. A social worker at the project proudly says,
...such acknowledgement of an apex body as the High Court was the beginning of an achievement for us. Following this, permission was granted by the High Court and in order to bring positive change in the system, help desks were initiated in two districts of Maharashtra thus marking the emergence of the project.

The aim of the project was to closely work with the system, identify gaps, work towards networking among stakeholders, build capacities of the stakeholders and most importantly ensure rehabilitation of the children and proper implementation of all provisions of the JJA.

On one hand it started giving socio-legal services to juveniles and their families coming in contact with the JJ system and on the other hand, advocated for better functioning of various stakeholders in the system. The functions of the project have been detailed under a separate section later.

Central Idea

This model, instead of trying to defy the system, supports the system at various points and approaches the issue of reintegration of juveniles in conflict with law, with an integrated approach.

Principles of the Model

There are three principles on which the project functions. These principles are based on the broader faith, belief and functioning of the department. These are detailed as below:

Multi-pronged approach

‘Reintegration’ for JCLs is a function of interaction between several factors in the world of juvenile justice; and hence a multi-pronged approach is necessary to enable
good reintegration practices. Therefore working with the system holistically is an approach that the Centre follows. As shared by a staff of the project who has been working with the urban Centre for the last seven years,

...reintegration cannot be done in a vacuum. So the child who is expected to be corrected is an extremely important component of the reintegration. Same time the parents, the community, the police, the JJB, the NGOs and probably all experts involved directly or indirectly in JJ, everybody’s support is required for reintegration.

The social worker highlighted the work of the project through a case that is in the adjacent box.

In the present case it was observed that the coaching class did not allow the child to attend the class and forced him to study at home stating that the reputation of the institution was in danger. This severely affected the reintegration process of the child. ‘Many a times even the school hands over the school leaving certificate to the child giving such excuses’. The social workers visit such institutions, explain the implications of disqualifying the child and work towards helping them to readmit the child in school,

In certain cases we have also been to Passport Office to share that the child cannot be denied a passport on the ground of his juvenile offence records. Such is the ignorance and stigma among government officials and we have to work at all levels so as to aid in the process of reintegration.

The worker added,

Further it has also been experienced that going against the Juvenile Justice Act, the police maintain records of the JCLs, harass their family and also pick up children and take them into custody on their whims and ways. This has been a regular practice in many police stations which disturbs the entire process of reintegration of the child. In such situations, children or parents contact social workers and social workers immediately contact police to share the implications of their illegal acts. We have advocated against few such police stations while working in few districts. Further we have worked with the JJB, senior police officers to avoid charging children under chapter cases which otherwise poses obstacle to reintegration.

In short, one needs to work with individual children, parents, neighbourhood, school, police, judiciary, educational institutions and other concerned stakeholders to ensure smooth reintegration of the children back into the society.
**With the system**

The project also believes that any change in the system can be brought about by remaining within the system. This method, although is stressful and time-taking, is sustainable. It is with this principle that the project has opened a centre within the observation home in two districts of Maharashtra. ‘The concept was that we will sit there with just a table and chair and whoever approaches just outside the room that the board sits in, inside the observation home campus.’

Being within the system, however, the project has to cater to minor needs of children and their families. Thus several formats were developed by the team to aid parents of children and children themselves to ease the process of transition through the juvenile justice system. ‘There is one set of formats for parents for application about child; second for policemen like we have got a child here etc’. Such an approach also helps in building rapport with them and thus developing their trust. Demands to strengthening the system also comes from within the system, as a respondent social worker says,

> people whom we have worked with, when they get transferred – when they get stuck with something they ask for individual help, that’s also systemic because that is in response to their systemic challenges. At the second level we have the judicial body which has said that because we lack in capacity to train and give regular training, can you come on board and help in training and also develop some formats to be able to help in cases.

**Educating the system**

The research that preceded the establishment of the project brought out the fact that although the amended Act for juvenile justice had been in place since the year 2000, stakeholders within the system seemed to be unaware about their own roles and responsibilities. ‘Apart from JJB people who were working with the juvenile system were clueless about what is child-friendly; then there were no trainings’.

When asked about some of the legal provisions that the system was not aware of and that they have been educated about by the project, the social worker involved in the process gave an account,

> Majority of the police officers were not aware about many provisions of JJA such as not taking children in police custody, inquiry of the child can be done in the Observation
Home also, giving information of apprehension to children’s parents and probation officer, final report to be submitted within 60 days, not keeping records of children, not disqualifying children etc.

JJB was not aware of the fact that all three members on the Board have equal powers, the judicial officers were not aware that the social workers on the board also have powers of JMFC. It was repeatedly observed that the social workers of the JJB used to just silently observe the proceedings and were not even asked opinions by the principal magistrate, the members were not able to function independently in the absence of the magistrate, the clerk and other staff also used to refuse to share the case files and documents with the members as they were not “magistrates”, they never got training from the judicial academy. There was an incident where during a training workshop, all magistrates claimed that they were the “bosses” of Boards and social workers were just members to assist them.

The project discussed all these issues with the JJBs individually and during trainings repeatedly and also advocated with state judicial academy to conduct trainings for entire JJB and not just for the magistrates. Through repeated training workshops on JJA and role and police with the police in practice and trainee police, awareness was brought to some extent. However till now, many magistrates on JJB treat the social workers on board as assistants and do not allow them to take decisions on their own. The defense used by magistrates is members lacking knowledge of legal documentation. There are very few members who have gained legal expertise also and work independently in absence of the magistrate. Terminologies being used by all stakeholders so many years after amendment were and still are biggest concern. Terms like child offender, remand home, arrest, punishment, criminal are used by the JJ functionaries which are directly working with the JCLs.

**Beneficiaries**

The beneficiaries of the project are juveniles of all ages that have come in conflict with law. However besides children, there are other adults such as parents of children, police officers, judicial magistrates and all other stakeholders somehow connected to the life of a JCL.

Parents of children are often explained about the process of the juvenile justice system so as to help them educate about the system and cooperate in the process of easy transfer of the child from the justice system back to their families. They are also helped in filling up certain formats that are requisites within the system. Further parents are explained about the high bribes that advocates ask for and how illegitimate they are. This is followed by escorting of parents by social workers while being produced in front of the juvenile justice board.
Police officers are also supported by the team in their work so as to expedite the process of production of cases before the JJB. This is often done with helping to prepare the child investigation report and also by offering escort service to the JCL, which, otherwise is a responsibility of the police officer in charge.

Judicial magistrates are also helped by presenting their cases in front of the higher authority, on their request, so as to get certain facilities sanctioned from the high court. Trainings are organised for judicial officers and police officers with an aim to educate the system.

**Process of implementation**

As highlighted in the ‘theoretical framework’, the project chose to follow the more complicated path and work with each and every stakeholder of the juvenile justice system and thus aim at long-term results, along with giving short-term and immediate response to JCLs and their families in need. As one of the social workers in the project says,

*I would say that rehabilitation and reintegration of the child is much more simple than rehabilitation of the system, it takes such long time because these people have their own mind-sets and it’s very difficult to convince them and they also have an ego – judges, police and social workers are nobody, they do not understand professional social work. So we had to shift our focus to the magistrate and then we had to go to the high court and district court in order to control this person.*

![Diagram](image-url)

**Figure 5.1 Process of implementation of systems-based reintegration model**
The flow chart in figure 5.1 highlights the process of implementation of a certain case when it comes to the organization.

One of the veteran staff of the organisation says,

*Once you fill in the intake form you do an in-depth review of the case – based upon the in-depth review you get a basic idea of the trajectory in which the child has come in and what are the likely options of the child inside while the case is on. RCJJ works predominantly on the child’s entry and exit from the home to facilitate the entire process. Then we come to know how many times has parents of a child come to visit him etc. and what steps had been taken in the said case. So we come to know that the parent of the child is not coming to the home because of poverty or no knowledge or the child has lost contact with the family. Based on this we put up in front of the board which case needs to be expedited and why etc. Once there is a meeting of the family and the child, through the social worker.*

**Details of the Model**

The model, instead of trying to defy the system, supports the system at various points and approaches the issue of reintegration of juveniles in conflict with law, with an integrated approach. It helps in implementing the Juvenile Justice (C&P)Act, 2000. It also reviews government policies in relation to JCLs and then strives towards pushing these reforms into the mainstream of juvenile justice and child protection. This has been successful in Maharashtra state in terms of discontinuity of treating children brought under 498 A as children in need of care and protection and not as juveniles in conflict with law: this has been recognized and observed in Maharashtra in terms of Government Rules (GR)s.

All its mandates are operationalised with work at several levels through the following activities:

**Working with children**

a. Help desk

As a response to the revelation that there was little awareness among parents/guardians about the working of the JJ system, help desks were established within the premises of the observation homes with due permission from the High Court. The primary function of the help desk in facilitation of cases and the secondary function is moving out for very urgent tasks – ‘it is a sustainable programme and a very replicable model that we have because it is just a desk and the salary of social
workers’, quoted a veteran worker referring to the huge impact that the ‘helpdesk’ has made over the years.

Over a period of time the help-desk has come out with a set of formats like the ‘intake form’, format for filing bail applications and others, thus reducing customary practices of bribing by lawyers and others. A social worker who has been working in the project since its inception says,

In Maharashtra pending JJ cases was highest in the district of X 3500 at that time. So we felt to intervene – the JJ B s were not functioning everyday, the people were not turning up, lot of cases were transferred just like that but clients were clueless about where to go.

She further adds,

So on this background we felt that somewhere we need to start intervening and we took a permission from HC to start a help desk because we thought that we will start with the parents and children and at the same time work with the JJ B. So the concept of ‘help desk’ was given to HC and they gave us permission to initiate the help desk in both the districts of Maharashtra. The concept was that we will sit there with just a table and chair and whoever approaches just outside the room that the board sits in, inside the observation home campus. In the beginning people used to just stare at our desk and go, but later they started approaching us and gradually their trust went up at the help desk everyday.

It has made huge (the ‘u’ is repeated to imply the stress used on the word) impact, that’s the strongest part in the project. Whenever the parent comes to the help desk saying they have not been able to meet a child or the lawyer has been not very helpful, the help desk has helped them to raise those levels of the system. They have gone ahead to help the child. Second if the case is stuck for a very long time and the parent is saying ki mujhe bar bar ana nahi hai (I do not want to come here again and again), then putting forth the fact in front of the JJ B and informing them that these frequent visits are eating into the savings of the family, that much resources would otherwise been available for the help of the child. So then the JJ B expedites the whole process. Whenever a family is helped in some way then that trust builds in the social worker. So whenever a child is not responding then the parents get back to us and we keep getting their reports, like ‘abhi who wapas raat ko late ata hai, aap dekho, sifo usko batana nahi ki humne aapko bola’ (now he has started coming late again, you see what he does, talk to him, just don’t tell him that we have complained to you about him).

b. Supervision of children as per section 15 (3) of the JJA

Each case is closely monitored by keeping constant touch with children, their families, teachers, other people connected with the life of a JCL through regular home visits, and getting children re-admitted in schools by advocating with school authorities. As a respondent social worker adds,

It has been also observed that the educational institutions such as school, coaching classes, colleges force the child for not attending the class and study at home as the
reputation of the institution is in danger. This severely affects the reintegration process of the child. Some institutions forcefully rusticate the child unofficially by giving the leaving certificate to such children. In such cases the social workers visit such institutions, explain the implications of disqualifying the child and support them to readmit the child in the school.

c. Case disposals

In-depth study of each case and regular supervision (as under b.) helps in identifying long-pending cases; further to this an authorization letter that is received from the JJB helps in following up with required authorities on reasons for delay; this is further followed by support offered to required authorities in expediting the disposal of the case in question. This is highlighted by a social worker who says,

...till today there has been a lot of influence of private lawyers in the JJB – the set up is just like a regular court. So the usual tendency among them is to ensure their fees by pulling the matter everyday ensuring some hundred to three thousand rupees. So there are plenty of reasons due to which the pendency was very high. Apart from these reasons if you see Thane district geographically it is a very big district – travelling is difficult to reach. The location of the JJB is at a very odd place even for the police to come with clients; people lose their interest to visit that place often and once the child is out on bail they feel that the case is over. So that realization/understanding of their legal responsibilities was also very less and nobody was there to tell the clients that this is how the system functions and this is your role. This also was a very big reason for the huge pendency of cases.

The role of the ‘help desk’ served as a positive response in many such cases.

Each pending case is individually followed up with police, with authorities, with families of children etc to ensure that they get solved sooner. The worker adds,

...we took up individual pending case and went through it in details to find out where the problem of pendency lies. We started calling police stations and telling them that ‘ye bachha hai yahan pe char mahine se pada hai, aap ne charge sheet kyon nahi bheja, bhej do’ (this child is here for the last four months, why haven’t you filed a charge sheet for him yet, send it soon). Besides, “from 1st September 2011, we identified six districts where the pendency is highest. So in all these six districts, for six months daily JJB started, and thereafter pendency of cases reduced a lot.

In X district particularly, the rate of recidivism has come down a lot. Now there are very less children who are found returning to crime. Usmein bhi ek cheez hai, (there also one thing that should be kept in mind is that) majority of the children are in the age-group 14-18 yrs. By the time their cases are over and all that, they become adults. Then we proudly say that the child has not returned, thus recidivism has reduced. But that is not always true. Therefore, since we have coordination with the organisation which works in prison, so we get to know of prison activities also. So the aspect whether the child has re-entered prison or not is also cross-checked.
She further adds, ‘however there is no data as such with us to show the speedy disposal of cases. We claim the same through our observations, interventions and JJB’s response.’

d. Care plan

Individual Care plans are made for each case that covers identification of vocational skills /interest of each child. In some cases, special counseling of families of children are conducted, that form part of the care plans of the child. While talking about ‘care plans’, a veteran worker of the organisation says,

_The first the care plan begins with identifying the journey of the child, how the child reached the home, what are the circumstances under which they got into contact with law and if any of their sibling is in need of care and protection understanding the comprehensive background of the child. Once we reach there it is shared with the probation officer, if the child shares a good relationship with the probation officer. If not there is a critical other who is identified in the home and then a reintegration plan with the critical other evolves. Many a times you do not have a family in place which happens to mainly children in X; for children in Y we do have a family. So now again care plans differ._

Case (as narrated by a social worker):

_Now this child had run away from home primarily because he had failed his examination and did not want to return to school. He was staying at the railway station with a peer group that for survival had whole lot of conflict with law situations and that is how he got picked up by the police. While in the observation home he would not mingle with other children. So it took a lot of time to deal with him and then through case work it was identified that he belonged to the adjacent areas. Thereafter a lot of activities were undertaken with him to find out the exact location of his house (this is because the boy would not disclose his belonging. Among the significant activities that was undertaken with him, the foremost important was the one in which this boy was asked to draw three different types of homes existing in his area and then asked to draw any amenities near his house – a temple or school etc. So slowly and steadily a map started evolving and the same map was given back for investigation asking them which area can this be in X. Then they gave us around 7 -8 areas and then we went to all of them and finally we came back to the fact that since school was the critical area from where he had dropped out and what he did not like about the school and then that’s how we traced his school, from the school traced his parents and from the parents we found out what were the needs of the child. What emerged from the home visit was single mother but the father comes back every six months, does not belong to a minority religion and the mother was a house worker in the adjacent areas and hence not critically available to the child for support._

_Keeping that in mind we got back to the child and asked the child (till then we hadn’t disclosed to the child that we knew where he belonged to) what is it that he resented at home; It came out that he was resentful towards his elder sibling and the fact that he was not interested in studies he was to be given vocational training. He was highly attracted by the garage businesses that were near his household and the fact that he hated it when his father came after every six months the attention given to him and his sibling was fairly reduced; based upon that we had to work with the mother and the child. There were a few options – either we give the child into some industrial training or we slowly_
get back the child into formal education system and along with that build relationships with the mother and the sibling. In order to do that we needed to have six monthly activity and relationship building timeline.

It took eight months to make a meeting possible between the child and his parents and after that while the child was given skills education he was also enrolled for the third standard (he had dropped out from sixth grade) because his literacy skills were very less which we came to know after we did a skills evaluation. He was not ready to go back to school but we told him that even to do well in his skills training and later at his job he has to be able to read manuals etc. Then there was one plan drawn up for his education and skills, one plan drawn up for his ‘relationship building’ and another one plan made for social skills. On theses there was parameters – first thing was to make him understand that each family is different and that he cannot have an ideal family. So we drew an ideal family in which there was a father, mother in picture - the strange thing was that an ideal family was not what he saw in his vicinity but what he thought would be good for him. So we made him do a family and then explained to him the social reality and made him to link up with other families that were dysfunctional; we made him realize that families are to be evaluated with the relationship they have with the critical others.

That is the first step that took around six months in terms of the child accepting the reality. Once that happened then there was continuous visits from the family to the child and along with we were also counseling the mother for the mother to be able to accept the child and the reality; simultaneously working with the child that the mother has got limitations and she cannot throw away her husband like that. So all this was done and in the mean time one realized that his self-esteem was slowly building up because of skills building, he was not feeling useless anymore. He was given basic skills like electrical repairing was what we got him into. The skill-building was not a part of RCJJ but we link up with institutions offering so; we need to take special permission to take a child outside with an escort. In this case the superintendent was of the opinion that they were not being able to handle it so she wanted to go to any extent to help the child anyways. All this while the child was in the home, not on bail; the case was decided.

The child was kept in home on special request, because here they realised that someone was working with the child. It was one year seven months old. We had assured that if you send the child anywhere else we would lose supervision. So now he is in a school that is near to the home. His mother visits him regularly and every six months his progress report is sent to the JJB. He will stay in the home till he is seventeen years. He is not showing disruptive behavior and quite improving. He had basically stolen railway property and assaulted railway professional.

Working with groups

a. Celebration of festivals

Cultural festivals celebrated within the observation home helps in strengthening cultural bonding among children. It is believed that cultural rooting helps in prevention of crimes and criminal activities. One of the social workers highlights this issue by saying,

Value education is important – how to teach children street smartness. So the team thought of talking to parents about what they have told their children about the
background of each festival. Then social workers help children to understand their religion, accept other’s religion and celebrating all together.

Thus cultural festivals of all religions are celebrated and all values attached to them are discussed with children in observation homes. This is done to keep them value-oriented; this strategy is used with the same intention the Biblical trainings are used as part of the Prison Fellowship model in order to keep prisoners adhered to religious values.

b. Preventive value-based approach

Therapeutic and message-oriented sessions are given to children with the help of interactive educative sessions like puppet shows. One such show was organized on ‘the consequences of elopement at a minor age’, as narrated by a social worker,

_There were many boys and girls in the institution who were apprehended by police in elopement cases. Such cases where minor girl and boys run away from home and stay together are seen as offence for boys and issue of care and protection for girls. We conducted a puppet show separately with girls and boys where a real story of girl boy see each other, like each other, follow each other, propose and start meeting frequently and secretly. The parents come to know about it beat the girl and restrict her movements. Girl boy decide to run, take some money, jewelry, cloths and elope, get marry in temple and stay at friend’s place/ village/rented room of cheap hotel, slowly they are out of money, can’t get food, unable to afford room rent, don’t get work and are frightened. In such condition police find them, apprehend and they are brought to the system._

_After showing this, many girls started crying and discussed the frustrations and difficulties faced by them. Hotel customers and owner looking girls with bad intention, girl boys missing parents, frightened etc. boys also had tears in their eyes and claimed that running away is easy but sustaining independent stay is difficult. Other options such as finishing education, saving money, waiting till 18th and 21st year of age were discussed and agreed upon by both groups._

c. Systems-based approach

Recognising the right of each child and his/her family members to understand details of the act such educative sessions are organised by the organisation, along with details of working of the juvenile justice system. A social worker quotes ‘joint sessions for parents and children along with JJB officials, DWCD, Legal aid lawyers and other stakeholders of the JJ system, to help understanding the system and find out solution of their own problems with the help of the system.’ She further adds,

_We had started off with the principle of educating the system; hence strategies like holding workshops with police officials and other JJ officials were the first in its plate when we started with striving with better systemic issues within the JJ system so as to enable and ensure proper reintegration mechanisms for JCLs._
d. Networking
The project works closely with district Courts, Mumbai and Nagpur High Courts, Maharashtra State judiciary academy and district legal services authorities. Besides educating each body of the judicial and police system, it also identifies loopholes in the proceeding of a pending case and supports to work with each of the bodies mentioned above to help in facilitation of the case. Also if any of the bodies mentioned above faces any problems of their own, the organisation owing to its rapport with higher authorities, helps in solving such issues.

e. Advocacy
State level consultations in collaboration with respective government departments and other training, sensitization and awareness programmes are conducted to help develop an understanding on aftercare for JCLs among all stakeholders involved with the system. The training programmes discussed earlier is conducted in close collaboration with various Government departments.

**Location of the Model**

It started off as a field action project of an academic institution in Mumbai and is now running as a full-fledged organisation with a network of services in Maharashtra and a few neighbouring states. It works in both urban and rural Maharashtra. It should be noted here that Mumbai as a city is a hub of social work institutes and several grass root-level organisations working on several issues spread across the state. Further, the professional institutes have their own field action projects aiming at responding to rights of various disadvantaged groups of people. Thus the society and authorizes are in some way already aware of and are sensitive towards these social issues. Given this backdrop the initiative of the project mentioned here received encouraging response and hence similar work has been extended to the rural parts of the state as well.

**Impact of the Model**

Intervention of the project at various systemic levels in the JJS has resulted in a huge reduction of pending cases in the districts where the project is based. As quoted by a social worker deeply passionate about the project’s work,
The project advocated with the High Court for full time functioning of JJB in Maharashtra for six months which resulted into reducing pendency. Thane was the district with highest pendency of 3500 cases in 2010. Presently the pendency is reduced to less than 1700 cases.

This model works within the system of Juvenile Justice thus identifying gaps in it and trying to fill in the gaps so that the whole system works as integrated whole and not as separate patches. Researching well through various models as part of reviewing varied literature in parts of India and various other parts of the globe it is learnt that this is a very unique approach to the issue of reintegration and is sustainable in itself. It doesn’t stop at identifying gaps and erecting a parallel system but believes in working along with the system. The present model has thus started its operation with a very systematic and scientific approach with a baseline survey preceding the intervention. The study (baseline survey) was conducted with a census approach covering all the juvenile justice constituencies of the state where the organization intended to start its intervention in reintegration. This is an intervention that did not start of as a sporadic response to a need but a well thought and planned intervention.

This model can be studied vis-à-vis the Intervention-based approaches of the practices reviewed in other countries. Over a period of time it has been established that “intervention programmes can effectively reduce delinquency” (Lipsey, 2000; Lipsey, 1992; Andrews et al., 1990). Thus although they come along as response to need of the hour in various dimensions, these get established into a long-drawn strategy over a period of time of practice.

The specific needs and gaps existing with several functions of the juvenile justice system were established by the study that preceded the present model. This helped the organization in outlining the points at which intervention is required. Thus a line of intervention was worked out and social workers placed at such points to start work. The strength was worked out to be a non-interference in the system’s work or even a pointing-the finger approach. However care was taken to intended positive criticism and working together with various functionaries of the system.

The present model however differs from intervention-based approaches studied in various countries by the fact that the former does not necessarily work along with the
system but is an individual-centric model in which various needs of an individual that have come into the purview of the juvenile justice system, are identified and responded to. On the other hand, the present model responds to such individual needs as part of its approach to systems-centric practices. Thus this one can be identified as a broader approach to reintegration than the one reviewed.

Intervention-based strategies thus focus at providing counseling, behavioral programmes, restitution, probation, employment, vocational and academic programmes to an individual child for his/her holistic development while inside the institution so as to help in mainstreaming/reintegration of the child once he/she is out of the JJ system. The present model do have the above mentioned services, but with a multi-pronged approach and entailing more holistic strategies. To quote one of the veteran workers of the organisation who has been there since its inception,

The first and foremost thing you need to understand is that there are three kinds of children that we are dealing with. One – belong to the quantum of children who have run away from their homes, so they are abandoned or people who are caught abandoned, about 50-60 per cent of children belong to this category. Rest 40 per cent belongs to the category where there is a family so to say. So care plans are made accordingly, for the first category they are children who are going to homes till the age of eighteen and the rest of the 40% we have an evolved care plan that leads to reintegration.

Thus the individual care plans form the basis of planning out an intervention strategy in a particular case. The intervention plan thus designed would aim at making dents in various points of the system since it entails working along with a wide range of functionaries. The social worker shared how a certain magistrate had to be replaced from the JJB due to his insensitivity,

...the magistrate of the JJB was a very big problem for us- he was not at all child friendly, he was passing very odd and horrible decisions, giving police custody of children, he also passed orders like jin bachhon ka koi nahi hai unka case khatam karke unko raste pe chor do (those children who have no guardian, finish off their case sooner and leave them on the streets); not even like if these children have nobody I will make the case nil and transfer the case to CWC not even that. Then he would never ask for probation officers report, then the lady probation officer who used to give the reports he once shouted at her saying, ‘aap toh ine moti ho, mujhe nahi lagta aap field pe sach mein gaye honge’ (you are so fat that I doubt you had really made a home visit). We had to shift our focus to the magistrate and then we had to go to the high court and district court in order to control this person. Then out statements were also taken, complaint lodged and then that person was moved. After that the magistrate who came was an excellent person.
This further goes on to the necessity of training such functionaries of the system in certain identified needs that comes out either from identification by people working inside the system and also by social workers working for the organization.

The above revelations highlight the fact that the present model takes its birth from individual need of the child and goes on to a broader approach of working with the system thus targeting a number of other children in similar situation. This strategy makes the programme more sustainable. Further reviewing literature has highlighted the fact that intervention-based strategies (for any vulnerable group of people) in itself are crippled due to their sporadic nature. (Refer: Hybrid Model, University of Houston, referring to Learning disabilities). The present model in discussion thus has inherent strategies for success being linked with group-based programmes and targeting at improving systems of work. Talking of a certain case, how it started off with an individual centric approach and later proliferated to planning out a system-aimed strategy, one of the veteran workers of the model states,

Once that happened (referring to helping the child open up, that took roughly six months) there was continuous visits from the family to the child and along with we were also counseling the mother for the mother to be able to accept the child and the reality; simultaneously working with the child that the mother has got limitations and she cannot throw away her husband like that. In the mean time one realized that his self-esteem was slowly building up because of skills building, he was not feeling useless anymore. He was given basic skills like electrical repairing was what we got him into by linking him up with institutions offering such skills. We needed to take special permission to take a child outside with an escort, we did so working with the JJB. This case opened up a need for sensitizing JJ functionaries on the process of reintegration by giving example of this particular case. The system thus got so enlightened that it eased reintegration of some such cases later.

This systems-based model also has components that draw from the IAP model, ‘continuous case management’ being one such important component. Thus a care plan is put in place from the moment a child enters the juvenile justice system and thereby all influencing factors that encourage or discourage reintegration of the child are chalked out. Systems-based intervention follows there from, step by step working systematically with stakeholders and functionaries involved in the life of the child, thus putting them in place one by one. All through the process home visits are made with social workers and case documentation is carried out. Altschuler & Armstrong, (1994a, 1994b) state that key stakeholder partnerships in the IAP model include the staff at the juvenile correctional facilities, the parole agents, and those community
support systems that will effectively target the needs of the juvenile offenders. Adhering to this principle, the present model works with all JJ functionaries – police officials, judicial magistrate, High Court judges as well as parents, family and community of the child concerned. To quote a social worker working in the model,

...the child who is expected to be corrected is an extremely important component of the reintegration. Same time the parents, the community, the police, the JJB, the NGOs and probably all experts involved directly or indirectly in JJ, everybody’s support is required for reintegration.

Needs-based strategies, skills-based strategies and value-based strategies are some of the other important components of the IAP model and also of the Prison Fellowship model. The present model being discussed here makes use of all these strategies in order to ensure complete reintegration.

Needs-based strategies are used to address the immediate/sporadic needs of the child or his/her family so as to build trust in them about the work of the organization and also see that the case gets disposed as fast as possible so as to ensure speedy and sustainable reintegration of the child.

Skills-based strategies are also adopted by the organization by connecting children to their wide network of organizations and institutions that offer vocations that would suit the skills and interest of the individual child.

**Replicability**

The systems-based model is a highly replicable one. The basic reason behind its Replicability is the fact that it does not talk of building up a parallel system or to scrap the present justice system although there are number of gaps; rather this model works with the system, continuously filling up lacunae within the existing system. To quote in the social worker’s words,

*We just made the JJB realize that boss its your responsibility. We know that you cannot walk down from the dias and go to the field, we will do it, but you have to give orders; you will get the credit for the same.*

It criticizes various points of working of the system and works towards addressing issues of negligence and improving conditions together. This is pointed out by the social worker who says,
Model IV

Child Guidance Clinic

Theoretical Framework

The model is based on the theory that ‘neglect leads to delinquency’. Thus juveniles in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection were kept together. A child, a teen or an young adult who has entered the juvenile justice system committing a single offence or even a few petty offences or is vulnerable and is on the verge of committing an offence can be reintegrated into the society and live a healthy life, if hand-held for that vulnerable period of time and guided in the right direction. A wide array of factors need to be brought together to re-track the child from his/her diverted path of life. Therefore it is the ‘neglect’ that needs to be addressed to hand-hold a child towards a straight and normal life.

History of the Model

The model has been in place roughly for the last seven decades, much before the formalization of the juvenile justice Act of 1986. It started off as recognition of a need for ‘counseling’ along with the establishment of the children’s home in 1936. Later in 1952, long before the Juvenile Justice Act came into force, the psychological counseling reshaped itself into what is known as the ‘Child Guidance Clinic’ of today. As a response to the Bombay Children’s Act in 1948 the Maharashtra State Probation and Aftercare Association had established the District Probation and Aftercare Associations in all districts of Maharashtra to look into cases of children under difficult circumstances and vulnerable children, thus covering juveniles in conflict with law, then known as juvenile delinquents. The Child Guidance Clinic is also...
opened by the association in the same premises as the observation home with an objective of following up cases that come to the observation homes and give them necessary help in rebuilding their personality.

The conceptualization of the *Child Guidance Clinic* marked the beginning of an era that marked the interplay of multiple factors/actors/stakeholders besides individual counseling in complete reintegration of a child and trust in ‘prevention is better than cure’ that has been diverted from his/her normal course of life on entering the juvenile justice system. It is with this inherent belief that the *Child guidance clinic* has grown a wide network of services and stakeholders that are in some way related to the life of that child who has come in conflict with law and has entered the juvenile justice system.

![Location of a child in a social system](image)

**Figure 5.2**

*Location of a child in a social system*

Thus it was the district probation and aftercare association that came to realize that it was more than just individual counseling that is required for these kids and hence opened the *Child Guidance Clinic* in the same premises as the observation home, in 1952.

A child is one of the components within the social system (fig. 5.2). Individual counseling is definitely required to deal with a child with a particular problem. However the primary group that the child connects with/gets influenced by is the family; therefore working with the family is as much important. At the secondary level the ‘peer group’ is an important factor. Therefore group work method using group counseling sessions are conducted. At the third and the tertiary level the community and the neighbourhood play an important role. This is the group that the
child needs to interact with when he/she goes out of the observation home and tries to become self-reliant. Vocational training does help them out arming them with specialized skills. However, networking with the community is as important.

Thus the Child Guidance Clinic works at all these levels so as to help in smooth transition of the child from the observation home to the community. The same applies for neglected children. This is because the neglected children who are in the observation home are children from vulnerable families or are vulnerable themselves, even if they had not committed an offence during the time. Hence they too need optimum amount if care at all levels so as to develop them into matured adults.

This approach of the Child Guidance Clinic has worked wonders and there have been instances when juveniles in conflict with law as well as children in need of care and protection have been completely reintegrated into the community and have also established themselves into self-reliant, independent adults. Details about them would be highlighted under a different section in the same chapter.

Central Idea

The central idea of this model is a structure of dialogue and involvement of the child in reintegration.

Principles of the Model

Individuality of each child

It should be noted here that although both kinds of children (children in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection) are kept together in the same home, each child is dealt with separately. This is done with a few children who are otherwise not influenced positively by group therapies, group counseling or other techniques of behavior modification. This can be illustrated in the case highlighted below by a staff member,

*This was a case of year 2000. He was 15-16 years when he came to the observation home. This was a case of theft. He was staying with his parents and belonged to a*
Brahmin family. His father was out of work for some illness and his mother was working in a hostel in Chinchwadi as a maid and cook. However she had put her child in an English-medium school. This boy had attraction of bike. He had his friend together stole a bike. He was caught by the police. He was in 10th standard then. At first he had not given his address, he had said he was an orphan. Later on after counseling and art therapy he admitted he had parents and gave his home address. Home visit was done. Then his parents were called, they were very cooperative. He was given behavior modification therapy after giving relaxation therapy (physical relaxation), and then meditation. Through counseling he was made to realize that he had committed a mistake and only after that did he admit that he had stolen the bike. He was kept here for about four months, since in the beginning he had said that he was an orphan, it took time to trace his home, etc. He was a smart and intelligent boy, he used to take his sessions regularly and also visit the CGC for follow up. Later he went for NDA.

The campus houses both categories of children as mentioned in the above sections – JCLs and children in need of care and protection. They are taught in a school inside the campus. However, each child is treated separately, as the case is studied in detail by a social worker of the Child Guidance Clinic. Thus individual counseling session is conducted for each child as per the child’s need. At this stage all children are not passed through the same counseling session, since their individual needs and backgrounds differ and this is recognized by the social worker, the psychologist, the art therapist and other set of professionals that work together in the child guidance clinic.

Besides individual categories, children are also categorized as per age groups. Thus three age-groups of children are categorized as per their belief that children of different age-groups have differing needs. The age-groups thus popular here are 8-12 years, 12-15 years and 15-18 years. These groups are named in a very innovative manner against names of different birds – for example children in the age group of eight to twelve are named as ‘popat’ (parrot). Thus categorizing them helps in applying group therapy techniques.

**Vulnerability leads to delinquency**

The Child Guidance Clinic operates on the principle that neglect and vulnerability of a child may lead to delinquency. It is therefore that group sessions are conducted along with individual sessions on issues that commonly affect children between these ages. There are certain attractions/infatuations that children are impulsive about at different points of their life and they get easily influenced by children of same age.
groups under similar spell. This demarcates the thin line between children who are vulnerable (in need of care and protection) and children who have already been affected by their delinquency and are in conflict with law. Therefore it is very important to make children aware of the consequences of such addictions and make them feel responsible for their own life and situations. Thus group sessions are conducted on ‘smoking and its side effects’, ‘drug abuse’ and ‘safe sex’.

**Art therapy**

It is believed that ‘particular forms of art’ helps in positive restructuring of the life of an individual by helps him/her get rid of his/her negative characteristics/behavior/urges. A social worker shares,

> Once children here in the home were asked to draw about mom but that child had drawn a very angry woman with hair blown away and then he made holes on her face with a pin very aggressively. Later when he was asked to explain his art (after completing an art project children are asked to explain their respective art projects), he said ‘this is my step mom’. It was also learnt that the child had run away from home. He wanted to study but his mom would not allow him; although her own children used to go to school. He further added, “Now that you have asked me to make a picture of my mom, I felt that my mom is in front of me, hence I killed her with that pin. Now I am feeling better.” After this the child became calm and was ready for counseling.

**Play therapy**

Play therapy is used for children who are either very young in age or those who have never been to school and those who feel more comfortable with the use of games. In this therapy, children are given soft toys, kitchen set, carom board, chess etc to play; play things depend on the age and problem of the child. If a small child has emotional problems, then he is given soft toys to play with. Chess is given to children who lack concentration and also to hyperactive children; this way they learn to sit on one place with patience. Kitchen set helps in role-play and understand children’s family background. Children who are aggressive are given carom. Minimum 3-4 sessions are required to understand a child and in some cases up to six months.
**Group therapy**

For group therapy, children should be similar to each other – belonging to either same age-group, or similar background, or similar type of offence. For example all cases of theft/runaway is kept in the same group while using *group therapy*. As a social worker says,

‘How do you know which therapy would work out for which case?’ From experience, or even try out a combination of therapies. For example there was a group of children who was accused of theft but they wouldn’t admit. So gave a topic, ‘if you get some money, what will you do? One child said, ‘I will give some to my parents and keep the rest with me and go to Bangalore and settle.’

**Networking**

The model believes in the principle of networking; that no work of reintegration can be complete without working hand-in-hand with a wide range of stakeholders that affect/influence the development of a child. Therefore the centre has a variety of professionals specialized in several forms of psychological aspects of a child; besides it also invites respective professionals from various agencies to take sessions on relevant issues. Further children are also sent to specialized centres outside the campus, to gain positive inputs as and when required. The extent of outside help given to each child, however, depends on the sensitivity of each such case. As quoted by the magistrate of the Juvenile Justice Board, ‘reintegration of JCLs is very easy if care givers are sensitive, well read and a good network of services is there all around; there has to be individual care plans in place’.

**Beneficiaries**

The beneficiaries of the model cover juveniles in conflict with law as well as children in need of care and protection. The campus houses both the above mentioned categories of children and both of them are taken care of by the *Child Guidance Clinic* in ways specific to each child. Thus based on the above mentioned theory that ‘neglect leads to delinquency’, the *Child Guidance Clinic* caters to both categories of children; this is more so because the model has been in practice much before the juvenile justice act of 1986 came into force. Hence although the term ‘observation
home’ is literally used for the home for boys, now, it is still loosely identified as ‘remand home for boys’ among the local people.

**Process of Implementation**

A case of a child wandering on the streets or in conflict with law is first brought to the observation home for boys or referred to the girls’ home. The case is immediately attended to, by the *Child Guidance Clinic* and reports prepared either by the social worker at the centre or by the probationary officer. Although this is a prerogative of the probation officer, in most cases he/she does not do this job proactively and hence, in this case, it is done by the latter. Once the report is prepared by the social worker, the case is presented before the judicial magistrate.

During this time, the case is observed by the social worker, if it is a JCL case or sent to school (in-house) if it is the case of CNCP. Once the judicial magistrate goes through the cases study report and also learns about it on face-to-face discussion with the guardians of the child, he directs the case for some reformatory action that is a conditional bail, subject to fulfillment of the task allocated to the child. Further, he also refers the case for in-depth counseling and application of other therapies as required from case to case.

It has been noted that such reformatory task allotted by the JM and the counseling and therapy sessions implemented by the CGC has helped in reintegration of the child in most instances. As quoted by the art therapist at the Centre,

> One of the children would not open at all. Later I gave him a piece of paper and asked him to draw. So he made the picture of a family in which his mother, he and his sibling was there, but his father was far and he used his pencil to hit on the picture of his father very hard. When we asked him about this behavior of his, he said that he is very angry on his father and wants to kill him since he is an addict and doesn’t look after the children and beats his mother. Later this guy opened up, started talking and even acknowledged his crime. Later he was released on code of good conduct and he got settled in life.

Case study (as narrated by a social worker):

*Akshara Anand* works for observation homes and for corporation schools; we run a mobile library –for books and for toys. We also take children out on tour, trips to different places of interest. The idea is to develop positive interest among delinquent children. We also have tie-up with an organization Lend-a-hand, India, that sponsors children for technical education. Now this child Sajit (name changed) had been referred to us for associating him with a technical training institute since he had shown interest in
it. After many home visits we could get hold of his school certificate that was needed as a pre-requisite at the technical institute. Although in the beginning the child had lied about the whereabouts of his guardian, later, he disclosed the truths on knowing that his certificates are pre requisite for admission to the technical institute. After getting hold of the certificates we approached for sponsorship and then got his one-year course sponsored. The boy completed his course at the institute and it was amazing how a boy who had been caught for theft, gained trust of his employers at the technical institute and now is a successful entrepreneur and settled with a family of his own, today.

Later the staff at the organization also added that how lending a patient ear, showing trust in these children and giving them positive orientation towards life completely reforms them and helps them get reintegrated. She also added that such children, however, refrain from keeping in touch with the reformers, in fear of recalling memories from their earlier negative life that they otherwise wanted to delete from their present settled one.

**Details of the Model**

The model comprises of the following components:

**Individual counseling**

Each child that enters the observation home and shows some internal disturbance is referred to professional in-house counselors. These counselors talk to the child and try to understand the root cause of the behavior. However it should be noted here that difficult cases are referred for therapies, followed by counseling. The counselors use *behavior modification techniques* to handle individual cases.

**Art therapy**

The *Child Guidance Clinic* therefore has a full time art therapist who specializes in several forms of therapeutic art and is herself a fine art professional, with experience of using art in psychological reshaping. The role of the art therapist is to help children bring out their negative thoughts through different forms of art that are taught by the therapist. This has given outstanding positive results in many cases and has contributed largely in the reintegration process of a child.
Referral services

The Child Guidance Clinic has contact with a network of organizations that offer various services. Some of them are technical institutes, mental hospitals, de-addiction centres and counseling centres. Many a times it so happens that cases that come to the CGC are beyond the capacity of the social worker or art therapist in the centre to handle, it is then that cases are referred outside, as per its requirement. However even in such cases regular monitoring is done by CGC and refers it back to its own centre once the problem gets solved with the intervention of the external agency.

Location of the Model

The model is located in one of the main cities of Maharashtra and caters to people of the city. The city of Pune is the second largest city of Maharashtra after Mumbai.

Pune city is the administrative headquarters of Pune district and was once the centre of power of the Maratha empire. Since the 1950s and 1960s, Pune has had traditional old-economy industries which continue to grow today. Further, the city is also known for manufacturing and automobiles, as well as government and private sector research institutes for information technology (IT) education, management and training. This attract migrants, students, and professionals from India, South East Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Pune is also one of the fastest growing cities in the Asia-Pacific region. Such an economy breeds extreme consumerism among the deprived sections and especially among children of the growing age from villages around. It has been learnt that children who are in the observation home mentioned here, were mostly involved in petty crimes of individual and gang thefts. Such cases need counseling as the main tool of intervention to help them reintegrate into the mainstream society. The Central idea of the model is hence justified.

Impact of the Model

The model has two dimensions: working with juveniles in conflict with law and working with children in need of care and protection. While the former one is dealt with a therapeutic and curative approach, the second category of children is dealt with
a preventive approach. Thus while counseling sessions are held in joint with the former group, outreach activities are carried on with communities that showed a greater contributor to children involved in crime. As quoted by the director of the Central Investigation Department of the city,

_We came to know that suddenly the incidences of bikes being stolen increased in the city of Pune. On investigating into the matter it was realised that some juveniles were involved in stealing bikes out of fun. They would be driving away bikes parked in certain locations, to far away places as long as the fuel took them and would leave them there itself. This was further confirmed with the increase in the number of juveniles in the Pune observation home with similar background, caught for such crimes. I traced down these children to their communities and started taking evening sessions for the youth of the community; thereafter I ordered to involve youths of the community in productive engagements; this started working and the number of juvenile crimes in the community started going down._

This was one of the preventive approaches that was taken to decrease the number of juveniles in conflict with law thus proving their belief, ‘neglect leads to delinquency’ and that dealing with neglect at a tender age reduces incidences of delinquency.

Case narrated by the researcher, while attending a case proceeding in Pune JJB,

_A child had broken a railway cable and was caught by the police; he was kept in observation home. While talking to him JM came to know that the child had a talent of teaching children of very small age; he was there for bail. It was also understood that he stole the cable because of need of money. His mother said that he worked in a construction site as a daily labour and earned about 2500/- per month, that he gave all the money to his family. It was also learnt that he doesn’t save any money. The JM gave orders that he should open an account with the bank or Post office, post office preferred and he should start saving in his own name. When the case left the JM shared with the researcher from his experience that the boy was not going to start saving as ordered since he is relieved that he is released on bail; he has to be called at least on 10 hearings to start the habit of saving._

Case story as narrated by a staff,

_There was a case of 2000 in which a gang of boys were accused of house breaking. All the accused were brought to this observation home. After coming here the gang got divided among themselves into two groups. Both of these two groups kept accusing each other for the offence, without acknowledging personal fault. Therapists at the CGC tried with counselling, art therapy but nothing seemed to work out. Then one day, the therapist gave the task of making a drawing of anything of their choice, but something that they cannot speak out. So one of them made the drawing of a man and a big stone lying at his foot, he showed drops of blood oozing out of his foot and the man is staring at the stone angrily. He explained, ‘Ma’am, people generally blame others for their own mistakes - this man, while walking on the road has mistakenly hit against the rock and so his foot is bleeding, but he does not consider it as his mistake, instead he is staring at the stone angrily as if to accuse it of hitting him hard at his foot.” The therapist asked, “are you talking of yourself?” At this question the boy started crying, he admitted that he had committed a mistake and that he was the mastermind behind the ‘gang house-breaking’._
This model can be compared with the IAP (Integrated Aftercare Programming) model that is used in several states of America. The Intensive Aftercare Programme (IAP) model (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1991; 1994a; 1994b) was the first to acknowledge that effective aftercare planning must begin from the moment a youth enters a correctional facility.

The Child Guidance Clinic, as the name suggests, takes a child through an integrated guided experience in which every child is attended to the moment he/she enters the observation home. In the beginning informal talks are carried out by the probation officer and other social workers of the centre. This helps in building rapport with the child and also to understand the temperament of the child in question. Thereafter the child is handed over to a more formal team of experts like the art therapist or counselor or behavior modification therapist as per his/her requirement. ‘Group therapies’ through various kinds of activities are compulsory component of programmes covering all children while formal schooling is given to certain low-risk children.

However, while the IAP model of reintegration evolved out of the necessity to curb recidivism, the Child Guidance Clinic started with an intention of engaging children in observation homes in certain productive, meaningful activities. Gradually over a period of time the programme spread its tentacles in all directions with a multi-pronged approach thus getting included into the dimensions of the Integrated Aftercare Programming model.

On another dimension, while the IAP model has the following key components:

i. Incarceration;
ii. Transition, with a pre-release and post-release phase; and
iii. Aftercare

The first two components are part of the Child Guidance Clinic as well. However the last component of the latter model has limited reach in terms of ‘aftercare’ as a component of the programme. Believing in the value of maintaining ‘privacy of clients’ the programme has not kept in conscious touch with clients once they get settled in their lives and leave the institute. Children who choose to keep in touch with
the institute or with social workers due to previous relationships with them, come to their record and form part of the ‘reintegrated’ lot. As shared by the art therapist,

_While staying here when he crossed 18 years of age he was transferred back to jail and we lost touch with him. However just two years back suddenly I heard, ‘Madam, when I turned back I saw a man with receding hair line, I could not recognise him. But when he told his name and added that he had come here committing four murders, I got stunned and a bit scared, too on the middle of the road. But he assured me saying, No Madam please do not get scared, I have become good now, I am married, have two children and do kheti (farming) back in my village. ‘He also greeted me in the middle of the road by bowing down his head at my foot. He added, ‘I have become good with your blessings Ma’am’. I was touched._

The first component of the programme, ‘incarceration’ so to say, is a necessary part of the programme and is implemented by a band of actors involved in the programme in various capacities. The police pick up a child either lying abandoned on the streets or having committed an offence and mistakenly getting involved in the juvenile justice system. Thereafter the child is brought to the observation and home and produced before the Juvenile Justice Board comprising of a judicial magistrate and two social workers. The board then decides the activities of the child or measures of reformation. The judicial magistrate shared about one case that he had sent for reformation, during his incarceration process, the case had been completely reintegrated:

_This boy was involved in crimes related to Naxalism (Naxalbadi is a movement that had started with opposing any wrong doing of society by the powerful over the powerless. This is a very violent and active movement and many children below eighteen years are involved in such gangs). The JJB had first sent the case to Davidsasoon (Davidsasoon is an industrial school offering a number of vocational trades) and then after he completed the training at Davidsasoon, he sent him under Baba Amte’s (Baba Amte was a well-known reformist in India and has spent his whole life along with his family making himself a house amidst the jungles, serving villagers living around the place) son – Vikas Amte’s (He is a doctor by profession and has dedicated his life to serving villagers around) supervision and care and now after about 4 years, the boy is completely reformed and is still there, working and completely reformed._

This phase is followed by the ‘Transition’ phase that has a pre-release and a post-release plan in place. In the present model, both pre-release and post-release plans are formulated by the JJB and the child is given directions to get involved with the social worker, the art therapist, the behavior modification therapist and other experts working in the organization as per his/her own customized plan. The judicial magistrate said,

_I refer the child and often his family for regular counseling sessions under the social workers associated with the organization working in association with the observation home. He is also given ‘art’ or ‘play’ therapies depending on his need, to help him admit_
Admitting an offence is important from the legal perspective as well as helps him to move forward in life.

As followed in the IAP Model, once a child enters the juvenile justice system and is produced before the JJB, a master plan is then developed, in this model the master plan is developed by the JJB, after listening to the story put forth by the child, his parents/other family members (or sometimes even members of the community that the child belonged to) and the advocate that is dealing with the case. Reassessment of the plan takes place at regular intervals (as in the IAP model compared with here), as the child is produced before the JJB at regular intervals and his progress in terms of behavior reformation and following the reformation orders put forth by the JM is administered and report sent by the social worker in charge of the case. As a judicial magistrate says,

Many a times I ask children to write essays and prepare presentations on why is it that many children commit crimes. It is amazing to note that while in most of the cases children are very less educated, they are still adept in computers and they prepare such things very enthusiastically. After they prepare them and get good feedback from the board, they are admitted in school as per my orders.

The planning assessment and reassessment is done and such information is effectively shared by all the service providers, and with the involvement of all the significant parties (i.e., the juvenile offender, the family, service providers, school administrators, and so on) is monitored from time to time. The JJB gives orders to the school to readmit the child so that the child can continue his education – on disobeying such orders, necessary action is taken. As a judicial magistrate says, ‘if a school denies admission of a certain child then I take strict action, I also send show-cause notice to the school’.

Once the JJB is completely convinced and confident with report from the social worker about the reformation of the child in question, only then is a child released. However, the Board from time to time makes surprise visits to the case and his whereabouts and often calls up the parents and other community members to find out about the child and his how-abouts.

The heart of the IAP model is continuous case management that spans all the three phases named above. In the present model being discussed here, this is followed in practice. This is made possible with the help of the wide range of experts involved in
the whole programme. Besides this, the programme has its own benefits because of the time it has been running (its more than five decades old) and hence has established a wide network of services and stakeholders involved with the cause. Hence continuous case management becomes easy to be practiced. One of the benefactors of the programme who has been reintegrated completely says,

*I had been a party to this programme and now I am actively involved in this institute (referring to the institute she is associated with right now. I myself have been referred so many cases by the organization that I was once benefitted from and I look through the cases with continuous follow up. We run a mobile library and I myself go with the books to the observation home so as to inculcate good values within the children living there. In the beginning I would read out a few books aloud but now children themselves have been interested and they come forward to read books. I am so overwhelmed by the change.*

Agreeing to these similarities with the IAP model of reintegration, the present one also differs from the former in a number of aspects. While the former one is planned and started with an aim of reducing recidivism, the latter one started with a different aim (already stated above). However over a period of time, the success of the latter model also got interwined with arresting recidivism to a large extent. A number of outreach programmes cropped up as an offshoot of the present programme and worked towards its success. As a police officer who was interviewed says,

*When I went to visit the observation home I saw that there were a number of offences of theft; when I spoke to the probation officer she told me that most of those children with similar offences of bike theft belonged to a certain area along the outskirts of the city. On hearing this I ordered my personnel to enquire about the matter in the community and got this news confirmed. Then I myself visited the area and started conducting evening sessions with the youth (children below eighteen years of age) first to establish rapport with them and later to find out about their daily engagements. I came to learn many unknown facts about them, that they were unemployed, unproductive and had no work. Instead of accusing them or labeling them as ‘bad boys’ I started giving evening lectures on certain values of life and also started involving them in productive activities. After about a year of such close monitoring I found out that the rate of crimes in the region has decreased. There is no scientific data collected for the same, but I can tell you this from my twenty five years of experience in the police.*

Further, the IAP programme uses scientific tools for needs assessment, while formulating the pre and post release plans of a juvenile in conflict with law; the Child Guidance Clinic, on the other hand, although does follow needs-assessment based on their professional expertise, such assessment is based on qualitative approach and often lack professional and detailed documentation. As a social worker from the programme says,
We start talking to the child informally the moment he enters the observation home. This way we gradually build rapport and informally start counseling. Our first aim is to make the child open up and tell the truth. From our experience we understand whether he is telling the truth or not. I myself am a psychologist, so that makes it easier for me. If he does not open up, and I feel that the case is difficult and it may need some time to open up, I refer it to the art therapist. She then takes it over and with her techniques does further needs-assessment of the child, thereafter applying techniques as per the need.

The network of services that a certain project under the IAP programme links up with, are formally and legally bound by Government procedures and law, and therefore all their services towards the child in question is maintained very systematically in separate case files. However the network of services that the Child Guidance Clinic links up with have been formed due to decades of rapport and relationship building; many clients who have reaped benefits of the CGC are associated with such networking organizations and hence owe a sense of obligation and responsibility towards clients of CGC. Therefore services offered to them are more out of obligation and personal responsibility and not necessarily borne out of professional/legal binding. Hence proper documentation and maintenance of case files, is missing from the programme. A very active social worker who is engaged in counseling children who enter the institution agrees,

*It is truly very important that we keep proper documentation of our cases- both success and failure cases. These will not only help the model to be replicated elsewhere and many more children would be benefitted in other places, but it will also entail learning for us and help us deliver services better. But there are three very important reasons that deter us from documenting cases, firstly the pledge to maintain confidentiality of cases, secondly the dearth of staff, I am just one full time social worker here and a few more enter and exit at various points of time because they are field workers from social work institute that are placed here for training and third and the most important this is that our organization is funded and owned by a charitable trust that is very old and working for the last six decades and they still adhere to their old principles of being a complete closed nature of work. Being a professionally trained social worker although I understand the necessity of documentation, it doesn’t become possible.*

**Individual care plans**

The IAP model entails personal care plans for each child entering the institute. This is very important for the particular child in his process of reintegration since the background from which each child comes from differs from each other. The present model do have individual care plans for each child. However the case files are not very discreetly maintained or updated. The orders of the JJB are very distinguished and result oriented. However although each case is started off with opening of a new
case file and individual care plan, the lack of updating the file regularly results in defunct nature of the care plan so mentioned here.

‘We are burdened with too many cases and therefore do not find time to update the case files’, said a counselor when asked about Individual care plans. The Judicial magistrate of the board responsible for cases involving children of the same city supported this declaration saying

_In my previous posting I myself used to maintain individual care plan records out of my personal interest, however in Pune till now I have not been able to prepare individual care plans, because the number of cases here is much more than Bhandara, where I was placed before._

_Replibility_

The model is highly replicable being practiced and yielding results in the Indian context for a long period of time. However this can be customized and its limitations worked out for better results in another context. Thus a baseline study can precede the beginning of the programme. This would help in understanding the need for emphasis in the programme. When asked about the possibility of replication and training to other organizations in other states, the head of the organization said,

_Yes of course we are more than ready to send our team to organizations working in other states so that their children can also benefit from the same model, but then they should have a baseline study in their area of work ready so that we can help them customize our model in their context and work towards giving better results._

_Aftercare_

Aftercare is a non-negotiable component of the IAP MODEL. However in this model it is missing; it has also been observed that the component of ‘aftercare’ is missing in many other models that are in practice in India and are quite successful. A very active probation officer placed with an observation home in the same city as the present model is from, when asked about aftercare says,

_No, we keep no deliberate touch with these children once they go out of the institution. They live and work in different places at different points of time. When we meet them by coincidence and find them gentle, we understand that the child has reformed. There, however, needs to be follow up. These children are mostly orphans or even if they have parents, society bans the whole family and hence the family has to shift to some other place._


Model V

Coping, Connecting, Caring

Theoretical Framework

The model is based on the premise of professional training and skill building of caregivers in institutions. It is the care-givers that are in direct and constant touch with vulnerable groups of children and hence their quality of work has a direct bearing to the well-being of the children in institutions. Therefore caregivers need to be professionally trained in order to ensure smooth and sustainable reintegration of children into the community. A transition to their community would in turn ensure reduction in the rate of recidivism. This model cuts across all groups of vulnerable children in institutions and does not differentiate between categories of vulnerability.

The case story narrated to the researcher highlights the necessity of handling such children with care:

“Haroon (14 years) left his village and came to the nearby city. He lost his mother a year ago when his little sister was born. Haroon’s father remarried, as he needed someone to look after the little one. Haroon and his step-mom didn’t get along and his father on the last occasion beat him up for being rude to his step-mom. This infuriated Haroon and he came to the city with a lot of expectations- of a happier life full of options and opportunities.

At the railway station, he met his uncle and wanted help from him. His uncle ran a tea stall and said that he’s not in a position to offer him shelter. Haroon spent two nights in the railway station and finally a drug peddler approached him, offered him food and introduced him to the job. A few weeks went by and a police raid took place. The other peddlers fled but Haroon was arrested and put behind bars. In the prison, other prison mates sexually abused him and Haroon was on the verge of a breakdown when he was produced in court. The judge ordered psychiatric treatment for him. He was admitted into a mental hospital and stayed there for a few weeks. The hospital authorities then contacted a shelter home for street children.

In the shelter home, Haroon talked to everyone very sweetly but soon the workers found out that he was a great storyteller, lying quite a bit and also stealing. Apart from this, after a few more weeks, the boys reported that he was disturbing younger boys, trying to touch their private body parts etc. The caregivers tried to explain things to him with affection; Haroon offered to change his ways but went back to his habits soon after. Then again he was explained to; then scolded. Love, shame, fear, nothing seemed to work.

On the last day of his stay in the shelter home, he was caught stealing again. This time he was shut in a room for three hours. When his door was opened, he seemed to have fled through the window and already gone. He went straight to his uncle who then refused to help him and literally shoed him out of sight.

He took a train and went back to his village and to his father. By this time one year had passed and his father had thought that he had lost his son for good. Seeing Haroon, his father was shocked and hurt and angry and said, “Who are you? I don’t know you! Go away from here!””
History of the Model

In 2003 the regional office of an international aid agency established itself in the eastern part of India to oversee the work being done around the borders of India, Bangladesh and Nepal. Programmes were undertaken in the region to combat trafficking in children and young people so as to promote better reintegration of the children. There were three organisations in Bangladesh and two in India under this programme working with three categories of children:

i. Children on the streets
ii. Children rescued from trafficking
iii. Children in conflict with law

As quoted by one of the core members of the project

One thing I realised is that regardless of the target group they were working with, there was a group of social workers/care givers and that all these organisations had is that there were phases in the whole programme that they had. Children are taken inside these ‘homes’ or ‘shelters’ as they are popularly called and slowly they would be gradually inducted into the main programme – thus there is a process by which the child is inducted into the programme. However what I observed is that there were social workers/care givers as they were called, at every stage of the programme; as social workers they can be placed anywhere among all the stages, and they have to just start ‘working’ or ‘delivering’, there is no weaving in, there is no orientation, all these organisations lacked that part. The profile of the social workers that I was seeing was a range from somebody who is all class VII or VIII pass to somebody who has done a masters in social work – whatever and however each could contribute in their job, started doing so from the first day itself – their intent is good, ‘didi I know that it is not good to beat children, but what to do? They just don’t listen’ and the organisation head has only one remark, ‘no you are not allowed to beat the child’, but then what to do? How long do I listen to the child?’ That experience made me to understand a fact that sometimes we have sensitive orientation at the management level, we have empathetic, soft-handed approach for the children but left out is this care-givers section and they are the doers. It’s like the family, the father is getting the money, the child going to school etc and the mother is the one who is getting left-out. See we are expecting the child to be very empowered, confident and this entire section of the mother who is completely left out. We have this whole section of organisations that have their sets of ‘no’s – what cannot be done with the child”; but no one said what can be done...to discipline the child. Then what I felt is the need of training for care givers, not merely the counselors.

Thus this initiative was intended to making a dent in the reintegration process by improving the quality of service delivered in institutions. It was decided to start a “care givers’ empowerment programme”. The programme was named Connecting, Coping, Caring. The programme has been evaluated using a qualitative approach, details of which are given under a separate section below.
Central Idea

Capacity building and bringing about attitudinal change of caregivers to influence reintegration of juveniles is the central theme on which this model is based.

Principles of the Model

The model is based on the qualities of caregivers and hence the principles of the model are all caregiver-centric.

Resilience of Care-givers

The relevance of the programme lies in the fact that deinstitutionalization and reintegration of children in conflict with the law (as for all other children who have lived in institutions) depends on resilience and self-esteem of young adults to be integrated within a community. Caregivers are the ones that are in direct contact with children and thus have the highest degree of responsibility to instill correct qualities in them. These homes/institutions are the second stage in the life of a child ever since he/she enters the juvenile justice system, the first being the observation home. Endowed with such responsibility it is important that caregivers themselves are professional and handle each case with resilience.
Professional trainings of care-givers

It has been observed that teachers in institutions come with certain training, but there is otherwise no special training for house-mothers so as to handle ‘problematic’ cases with necessary care and attentions. As narrated by a staff,

Teachers come and go, house mothers, they have never gone to school where it is taught how to handle such children. The house mother is actually an adult who as a child has stayed in the home, as a victim of child abuse, with a very violent/oppressive childhood; she had no place to stay as an adult and is hence the house mother now. That she is a very sensitive person is not being overlook, but that she has to look after 120 girls (for eg), what training have you got for this? What training as such? We are the species of ‘mothers’ – as much as these temperaments help in care giving, I realised that they did not understand their limitations. ‘that girl is like my daughter, so if I can box my daughter’s ears, I can also do so for this girl’.

Skill building

State or NGO run institutions for CCL are often staffed with untrained workers, who learn their role on the job, whose education levels may be low, particularly those in charge of shelter homes, housemothers or wardens, support staff such as cooks, security guards etc. - All these personnel engage with the resident children and have relationships with them but their education levels may be low and they may not have undergone any training that is relevant to their role. Further, many of the support staff themselves take up residential jobs in such institutions due to lack of choice, economic and social pressures. All of this hampers care giving and results in perpetuation of stigma, shaming and guilt in children. Thus, it is important that these house mothers and other care givers are entrusted with skills that aid in smooth transition of the child into the third stage of the reintegration process that is in the community.

Each child is different

Last but not the least, all the above principles are based on the principle of understanding the diversity of each child. It should be noted here that these institutions house all kinds of vulnerable children. However they differ from each other not only in their vulnerability but also differ according to their sex, background,
education, country of residence and other factors. A respondent who is also a house mother says,

*When I am handling adolescent girls on issues of sexuality, I cannot do so among a big group of 60-65 other girls. However I have to address to issues of 120 girls in the institute alone. One of the skills that I have learnt in these trainings is to divide the bigger group into smaller groups with similar issues and appoint a group leader for each one. Once they discuss their main issues I can oversee the work of each group and talk on the same; this way it becomes easier to handle groups and these girls also start forming their inner circles of confinement, which is very important for building long-lasting relationship for sharing and releasing pains and sorrows.*

**Beneficiaries**

The direct beneficiaries of the programme are the Caregivers of institutions who are involved with the future planning of life of ‘vulnerable children’ in various capacities. These caregivers are diversified in nature – institutional heads, housemothers, social workers, psychologists and even other point persons in contact with children like cooks and guards.

The training was conducted in phases with the intention of creating trainers who would in turn be training more direct caregivers in institutions so as to be able to cover a greater number of beneficiaries and thus increase the threshold of trainees. The indirect but the long-term beneficiaries are the children who would then be able to be reintegrated into the community.

**Process of Implementation**

The programme has been delivered in three phases of training. Each phase covering certain aspects in order to attain the intended objectives.

The three levels of intervention were:

- The capacity building of caregivers and the development of self care means through a three-phase of residential training
- The development of mental health awareness with managers and directors in order to strengthen the system in which the interventions are taking place through residential workshops and support visits
- The effort for institutionalisation of the programme and the first step of sustainability via the TOT through a two-phase training.
Factors that Determine Intervention in Each Case

The training was conducted with various groups of caregivers – institutional heads & project managers, mid-level staff/coordinators & mental health professionals and fourth class staff.

Details of the Model

The model is based on skill building of caregivers through training in different phases. Before starting the training, a lot of ground work went into developing the module, which was necessarily preceded by a needs-assessment study among caregivers and children about their understanding of ‘reintegration’. Thus it was realized that the programme need not merely be a programme on communication skills, since they have already been trained on such skills before. The needs identified among the groups of people named above led to the designing of a comprehensive programme that had the following components:

i. Understanding who a care giver is and what is his/her role in the life of a vulnerable child who is going to be reintegrated;

ii. How does the relationship of caregiver with such a child as mentioned above, differs from that between a parent and child;

iii. Understanding the limitations and boundaries in the life of a care giver;

iv. Developing the realization that it is OK for a caregiver to seek help and when does a caregiver seek help

v. What qualities needed to be in a care giver to be able to handle a child in adolescent years;

vi. What is it meant to be an adolescent, how does one look beyond the behavior of an adolescent and try to understand what the child is going through; this quality in a caregiver was important to make the proper intervention in the life of an adolescent in an institution.

vii. The training module, therefore, necessarily had been psychoanalytic in nature and not merely behaviour centric;

viii. Ways and means of addressing ‘stress’ of caregivers was another important component of the training since it had been realised from experience and the needs assessment that caregivers get burned out of their energy.
The training was delivered in three phases and it was implemented for six years in India, Bangladesh and Nepal. A panel of six trainers was developed and after the first phase, it was adopted by various government and non-government functionaries in the three countries. As shared by one of the trainers,

…the programme has been taken over by the Dhaka University now and has been institutionalised in Bangladesh. Over the years, we offered it to organisations in India. The programme worked really really (word is repeated to emphasize the meaning) well with caregivers in institutions – children who are survivors of trafficking, whether they are in conflict with law or CNCP or children in orphanages. Skills and methods of connecting children and adult has been the core of the programme. Thus we have trained organisations who have taken their experiences to observation homes.

The components of the Training Module used for the TOT covers the following points. However it should be noted here that these have been modified time and again during different phases, to suit that particular group of people. However the structure of the main programme has been highlighted as below:

1. Techniques for Self exploration
   i. Punishment          v. How to handle all the above situations
   ii. Fighting among children
   iii. Child rivalry       vi. How to control anger
   iv. Child adolescence    vii. How to grow self-confidence

2. Techniques for Communication skill building
   i. Skills of assertiveness  iv. Conflict resolution
   ii. Anger management
   iii. Responding          v. Rapport building
                                vi. Communication errors

3. Stress Management
   i. Understanding stress  iv. Dealing with different kinds of behavior
   ii. Stress awareness
   iii. Managing stress
Location of the Model

The model is located at the Indo-Nepal-Bangladesh border, that is known to be a highly porous border allowing cross-border trafficking. Most such children due to their unknown identities as well as their involvement in illegal acts are booked under the Juvenile Justice Act 1986. As a result these children are dumped in observation homes and often kept under police custody; their cases remain pending for years. This encourages the mushrooming of a number of voluntary organisations that work for the rescue of girls who have been used in illegal activities and help in their rehabilitation and reintegration. This necessitates the professional training of caregivers who are the primary supervisors to such children so as to aid in the transition of juveniles from their current status towards reintegration.

Impact of the Model

The impact of the programme can be measured by communicating with children who were the final beneficiaries of the programme. The programme has also been evaluated using social research methods. This evaluation was done vis-à-vis the objectives of the programme. The tools used for evaluation have been interviews and focus group discussions with people trained and with the children. The summary of the impact of the programme has been presented below:

i. The training responded positively to the first objective of the study that was to help care giving agencies fulfill their role as care giving agencies through the empowerment of caregivers and through the institutionalization of mental health initiatives in the organization

ii. The programme was relevant at an individual level. Some of the observations made by the evaluation team stated,

*The need for an individual centric component was required in the training module because it was learnt that the lack of integrated techniques and means of support to children in crisis leading to far from work, burnout, to a continuous need for “giving up” and to anger with oneself, with children or with peers, managers and family. There was also a lack of understanding of the children’s needs leading to frustration and anger at work and the lack of understanding of the caregivers’ role from an intrapersonal point of view as well as from an interpersonal one (the family, the society, friends…) leading to frustration and anger both at home and at work. Further it was learnt that lack of communication and listening skills prevented a healthy identification of needs and an understanding of necessary support: caregivers reported that children did not feel safe*
to disclose their stories with them and that they did not know what to do to help the child even though they can see that the child is suffering.

iii. The programme’s success was measured by a scale for trained caregivers who gave the training 3.2 on a scale of 1 to 5. Caregivers reported personal and relational level changes post their training. However the need for technical supervision and field coaching was felt. In the words of a manager of an organization about the change in attitude of a caregiver after the training. ‘The changes in attitudes and behaviour are not only observed within the caregivers groups, also we noticed changes that are occurring in children’s attitudes and behaviour. If caregivers can change street children, of course then they can change themselves.’

One caregiver who was trained, herself stated the change she viewed in herself,

_I started working with prostitutes, I live in the same area, since my childhood, I avoided them, I am scared and I hated them before I was trained... when I used to go back home after work, I would only feel clean when I take off all my clothes and I take a long shower. After the training, I understood why I was scared of them, I used to think that they will catch me and make me work with them as a prostitute, my knowledge about them grew, I can understand them more, and now I am even confident to tell the rickshaw to drive me to my brothel to work with them._

The training programme increased the awareness regarding the empathy, effective communication self-care and stress management. However the stress management techniques learned during the training programme are not sufficient for dealing with the work related stressors on a daily basis. The trained caregivers ranked the effect of the stress on their personal and professional lives; the average is 3.5 on a scale from 1 to 5 on average – Evaluation Report: Quality and impact of CEP. All the caregivers reported that their empathy, listening and communication skills improved. A caregiver working with children in shelter home quoted, ‘Now that I am able to communicate and listen in a better way, children share with me more their stories, and to be empathic, I am more attentive, and the more I listen the more I know...’