

**Identification of Behavioural Problems among Inmates of
the Child Development Centres (*Shishu Unnayan Kendra*)
Run by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Exploring the
Way-outs: A Psychosocial Study**

**Study Conducted for
Bangladesh National Social Welfare Council (BNSWC)
Ministry of Social Welfare
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*(সমাজকল্যাণ মন্ত্রণালয় পরিচালিত কিশোর কিশোরী উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্রের নিবাসীদের আচরণগত সমস্যা চিহ্নিতকরণ
এবং তা নিব্বসনের উপায় নির্ধারণ: একটি মনোসামাজিক সমীক্ষা)*

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Dhaka: 2017

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Tendency of behavioural problem among the children particularly the teenagers is a rising social concern in Bangladesh. According to the media reports, a section of the children, mostly the teenage boys, are allegedly getting involved in antisocial activities like murders, rape, drug peddling, possessing arms, cybercrimes, eve-teasing, stealing, robbery etc. From the gender perspectives, boys are much more involved in these activities while the girls are getting victims of child marriage, eve-teasing, oppression and sexual assault. The more recent addition to the urban scenario of such behavior is the formation of so called 'gang culture' in some of the elite areas. According to the media reports, these gangs dominate others and create anarchy which hinders peaceful living of the city dwellers. The reasons behind delinquent behavior of the children in Bangladesh are rooted in social, psychological, cultural and political phenomena. Urbanization, information, communication and technologies couple with distorted socio-cultural values have brought variations in such activities among them.

The Government of Bangladesh (GoB) has set up three Child Development Centres (Shishu Unnayan Kendra) which are run by the Ministry of Social Welfare. These centres are serving more than 700 boys and girls coming in contact with the law. Counseling, motivation, education, skills training, food and lodging, medical treatment, entertainment, sports, procedural litigation supports etc. are provided by these centres. These activities reflect the government's child friendly policy from the very past through the Ministry.

In the recent years, violent behaviour among the inmates of these centers have increased which include violation of institutional rules and regulations, taking drugs, bullying, quarrelling and beating others, trying to commit suicide etc. This situation has also brought attention of the media and civil society. It is the solemn responsibility of the government and the society to provide them with ample opportunities of developing through appropriate course of incarceration and rehabilitation facilities to prepare them as the healthy citizens. So, it is important to conduct an in-depth study to find out the reasons behind the inmate's delinquent behavior and explore their way-outs. Not much and quality studies have been carried out in this area. In this context, the present study aims to bridge the gap of understanding the behavioral problems of the inmates and the quality of the services provided to them. The study would facilitate the authority to rethink the issue and redesign the further services to be deemed necessary for creating a healthy atmosphere at the centres.

In order to conduct the study, the research team visited all of the centres and gathered information from the inmates, their parents/relatives, centre management and relevant experts applying several methods of data collection i.e. Survey, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Case Study and Observation. The questionnaire survey facilitated to gather mostly the

quantitative data on the needs, attitudes and behavior of the youths besides their responses on the package of the services received from the centres. On the other hand, FGDs and KIIs facilitated to understand the perspectives of the centre management and the guardians in detailed manner.

Key Findings:

Socio-economic features: The study reveals, about 63 percent inmates came from the lower and lower middle class families having monthly income within BDT 20,000. More than three-fourths of the inmates belonged to the 15 to 17 age group. The highest percent (29%) of the inmates completed primary education while 12 percent did not go to school. The highest percent of the children (26%), particularly the boys, came to the Child Development Centers being charged under the murder cases. After this, charges of the oppression on women and children, and the drug (selling/using/carrying) topped the list of the reasons. Among the girl inmates, a large chunk was undergoing the safe custody being victimized of early marriage. According to the centre supervisors and the officials, only a few children (10-15%) show unexpected behavior while the remaining ones comply with the rules and regulations of the centres.

Centres' facilities and inmates' feelings: About 57 percent inmates felt 'moderate' in the centers while about 20 percent felt 'not good' and 18 percent felt 'good'. Most of the inmates rated the facilities of the Child Development Centres as good, for example, more than 80 percent of them told that they got food and water timely. More than 66 percent of the respondents got medical treatment during their ailment while more than 66 percent of the enjoyed entertainment facilities. Regarding adequacy of entertainment, about 33 percent respondents thought that, it was not enough for them. About 71 percent respondents replied that they continued their study in the centers while 36 percent of them could not run the same due to lack of opportunities.

Contributing factors to behavioral problems: The study reveals that some children (about 20%) used to live without their parents. Even nine percent children did not get additional time from their parents despite living with them. Some of the inmates (about 18%) belonging to the age group 15-17 (mostly) developed drug addiction before coming to the centres. The FGD findings (with the inmates) show that, although most of the boys gave up the habit after coming to the centres, a few could manage drugs somehow and used the same. Before coming to the centres, more than 50 percent inmates had used various communication tools like cell phone, computer, internet, facebook and other media. Among the users, about 31 percent could not give concrete reasons for using the devices. Most of the inmates (67.2 %) state that punishment was given to them for violation of rules or disciplines. Beating was common in the opinion of 61 percent inmates while 30.5 percent mentioned of rebuking and scolding by the staffs. The FGD with the inmates show that some staffs (warders, guards/ansars) used to behave roughly with the inmates

and used slangs, especially to the girls. The survey shows, 67 percent inmates did not hear anyone of being sexually tortured while 17 percent replied positively regarding this. More than 65 percent inmates did not quarrel with their fellows while 26 percent respondents agreed that they used to quarrel each other over food distribution, participation in sports, watching TV, sharing of beds, and even for bullying, trash-talking, showing dominance or heroism. The findings show that more than 56 percent inmates used to watch action and romantic film. It reveals, 74 percent of the senior inmates did not torture on the juniors or newcomers while 17.4 percent told the juniors or newcomers were tortured and 8.7 percent did not answer.

Getting angry/feelings of heartbroken: Of the respondents, 61 percent did not feel angry or heartbroken because of the misbehavior of the staffs or the inmates while 26 percent felt angry and heartbroken and more 12.7 percent did not give answer regarding this. Regarding reasons for getting angry, nearly 74 percent of the respondents did not wish to disclose the reason or remained silent. Among the respondents, 8.7 percent got angry because of the staffs' beating, 7.0 percent for the staffs' rough behavior, and 3.3 percent for not allowing them to meet their parents and the rest 7 percent got angry for other reasons.

Reactions/activities after being angry: More than 65 percent respondents did not reply about their reactions or activities after being angry. After that, 17 percent replied that they did nothing rather than sleeping after being angry, 6.4 percent intended to cry lonely, 2 percent desired to beat their counterparts, 1.3 percent intended to punish themselves. The study shows, 14.7 percent inmates used to torture themselves while more than 75 percent did not do the same. The remaining 9.7 percent did not give answers. The KII with the centre supervisors and the officials show that some inmates try to hurt themselves with broken pieces of glasses and electric bulbs; and sharp objects while a few break water taps, cut fingers and hands, push their heads on the walls etc. The FGD findings with the inmates and the officials show, when the inmates find no or little hope of bail or release some of them demonstrate the unusual behaviours. Some inmates feel deprived when they find their roommates get bail despite being charged with serious offences like murder, rape, drug or arms cases due to the 'discriminatory trial system'. A few get frustrated when they come to know divorce of their parents. Cruelty of police and the centre's security staffs also fuel into their violent behaviour. Suicidal tendency also grows for some other reasons including familial matters.

Strengths of the Centres: The Child Development Centres were set up in their own complex having play grounds, gardens, own buildings with necessary supplies and utility capacities. Due to own infrastructure, the centres got individual identity. The officials of the centres were found cooperative, dedicated and experienced who hold offices and discharge their entrusted duties even

after the office periods. The centre management follows comprehensive model of incarceration of the inmates through diversion, counseling, motivation, litigation, education, employment skills as well as serving food, medical treatment and entertainment facilities.

Weakness/Challenges of the Centre Services: Present infrastructure of the centres is inadequate comparing to the number of the inmates since the inhabitants sometimes stood double in the centres. Per capita monthly budget BDT 2600 including special feast on the occasions is inadequate to accommodate proper food for the inmates. The medical facilities are incomplete mostly limited to primary health services. Dependence on district police headquarter for escorting the inmates to the courts sometimes deters litigation procedure, often associated with torture and rough behavior. All the centres were found lacking of appropriate number of human resources which hinders proper service delivery. The centre's primary education facility is often useless to the overwhelming number of the inmates mostly constituting those requiring high school and college level education. The vocational trades in the centres were less demand-driven and market oriented.

Opportunities and prospects: The present government is concerned with the welfare of the children especially those coming in contact with the laws. The government has passed necessary laws and the policies to protect the children from all sorts of violations or the exploitations. The Child Development Centres have been established as an outcome of government's desire to prepare the children coming in the contact of laws in a manner so that they can be assets to the society through appropriate service delivery. The government, in compliance with some of the international legal frameworks and policies, have already shifted the name of the previously 'Juvenile Correction Centres' to the present 'Child Development Centres'. It is an overt approach of the government to handle the children coming in contact with the law from the viewpoint of development to prepare them as the sensible citizens. The child development centres are managed by the Department of Social Services under the Ministry of Social Welfare which is a relevant implementation approach to the child development. The government has formulated a comprehensive law 'Shishu Ain 2013' which has defined all the aspects related to the litigation process, formation of child welfare board at the upazila and district level, setting up of separate desk and assigning a separate police official, setting up of specialized child court, establishing of child development centre and comprehensive service delivery to the children coming in contact of the laws.

Way Forwards: Keeping the needs of the inmates, the government should take necessary steps to set up more infrastructures to address the accommodation crisis, to increase per capita budget for the inmates, to facilitate the centres with own squad of police forces, to ensure services of specialized doctors, recruit the necessary human resources against the vacant positions, to arrange

training and workshops for building further capacities of the officials, to set up a separate litigation cells in the centres with experienced legal experts to handle the cases properly, to expand the primary education to highschool, to develop a tripartite relationship among the Ministry of Social Welfare, Judiciary and Police Department for effective functioning and proper implementation of 'Shishu Ain 2013'.

Conclusion: Due to the backward socio-economic position, most of the inmates' parents were not aware of their children's activities and attitudes. Some of the parents did not give their children additional time and accompany which created alienation and led them staying out-of-home. Many children at their growing stages cannot understand reality of life and fail to select proper accompanies. Uniting with deviated ones lead them to be engaged in violent activities and thus come in contact with the laws. After coming in contact with laws, their first experiences with the police personnel are not smooth. In the child development centres, some of them face difficulties to adjust with a changing environment. Moreover, some of the inmates used to torture or rag the newcomers for money and materials and demonstrate dominance. Some of the inmates are physically tortured for violating the disciplines by the security staffs and the warders. A section of the inmates felt deprived in the trial system since some of the inmates coming from the influential quarter manage bail or release even being charged with serious crimes like murder and rape while the disadvantage ones could not get bail even for charging with lighter cases. All these contribute to behavioural problems of the inmates which sometimes turn into developing suicidal tendency and violent behaviour. In order to minimize these behavioural challenges, the gaps and limitations of services provided by the Child Development Centres should be addressed. In addition to that, government should initiate counseling services in every primary and high schools. Mosques, clubs and local government institutes like *Union Parishad* can be useful platforms of creating awareness among the children and their parents. Teachers, Imams, UP members and the Chairman should be oriented on these issues so that they can work as social advocates in minimizing the unexpected behavior of the children.

সমাজকল্যাণ মন্ত্রণালয় পরিচালিত কিশোর-কিশোরী উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্রের নিবাসীদের আচরণগত সমস্যা

চিহ্নিতকরণ এবং তা নিরসনের উপায় নির্ধারণ : একটি মনোসামাজিক সমীক্ষা)

সারসংক্ষেপ

বাংলাদেশের সমাজ ব্যবস্থার অন্যতম একটি সমস্যা হচ্ছে উর্গতি বয়সী শিশুদের - বিশেষ করে কিশোর-কিশোরীদের আচরণগত সমস্যা। মিডিয়া রিপোর্ট অনুসারে উর্গতি বয়সের হেলেরা নানা অসামাজিক কার্যকলাপে জড়িত : খুন, ধর্ষণ, মাদক সেবন ও চোরচাণান, অস্ত্রবহন, সাইবার অপরাধ, ইভটিজিং, চুরি, ডাকাতি ইত্যাদির সঙ্গে জড়িত হচ্ছে। জেতার দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে দেখা যায়, মেয়ে শিশুদের চেয়ে হেলেরা এসব কর্মকাণ্ডে বেশি মাত্রায় জড়িত হচ্ছে। অন্যদিকে মেয়েরা কাল্যনিবহ, ইভটিজিং, পিতৃভিত্তিক অত্যাচার এবং সৈন্য নির্যাতনের শিকার হচ্ছে। সামগ্রিক শহরাঞ্চলে শিশু-কিশোরদের মাঝে আচরণগত যে পরিবর্তনটি যুক্ত হয়েছে সেটি হচ্ছে কিছু খনী এলাকার জালের 'প্যাং কালচার' বা 'দলীয় সংস্কৃতি' তৈরি। মিডিয়া রিপোর্ট অনুসারে এই দলগুলো অন্যদের নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে এবং সমাজে নৈরাজ্য সৃষ্টি করে যা শহরবাসীদের শান্তিপূর্ণ জীবনযাপন বিঘ্নিত করেছে। বাংলাদেশি শিশুদের এই অপরাধ প্রবণতার কারণ সামাজিক, মানসিক, সাংস্কৃতিক এবং রাজনৈতিক ঘটনার মধ্যে প্রোগিত হয়ে আছে। অপরাধন, তথ্য, হেপায়োদ ও প্রযুক্তি কিছু বিকৃত সামাজিক-সাংস্কৃতিক মূল্যবোধের সাথে যুক্ত হয়ে তাদের কর্মকাণ্ডে বৈচিত্র্য আনছে।

বাংলাদেশ সরকার সমাজ কল্যাণ মন্ত্রণালয়ের অধীনে তিনটি শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র স্থাপন করেছে। এই কেন্দ্রগুলো আইনের সংস্পর্শে আসা ৭৩৩ এর অধিক হেলেরা-মেয়ের আবাসস্থল হিসেবে কাজ করেছে। এগুলো কাউন্সেলিং, উৎসাহ প্রদান, শিক্ষা, কারিগরি প্রশিক্ষণ, খাদ্য এবং বাসস্থান, চিকিৎসা, বিশ্রাম, খেলাধুলা, আইনগত সহযোগিতা প্রভৃতি সুবিধা প্রদান করেছে। এসকল কর্মকাণ্ড সরকারের শিশুস্বাক্ষর নীতির প্রতিফলন হিসেবে বিবেচিত।

সামগ্রিক বছরগুলোতে কেন্দ্রগুলোর নিবাসীদের মধ্যে সহিংস আচরণের মাত্রা বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে। এগুলোর মধ্যে রয়েছে প্রাতিষ্ঠানিক নিয়ম কানুন ভঙ্গ করা, মাদক গ্রহণ, অপব্যবহার, ঝগড়া করা ও অন্যদের আঘাত করা এবং আত্মহত্যার চেষ্টা সহ নানা ধরনের অপ্রত্যাশিত আচরণ। এই পরিষ্কৃতি সরকার, মিডিয়া, গবেষক ও স্থানীয় সমাজের মনোযোগ আকর্ষণ করেছে। রাষ্ট্রের একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দায়িত্ব হচ্ছে এ শিশু-কিশোরদের উন্নয়নের জন্য পর্যাপ্ত সুযোগ সুবিধা প্রদান করা। তাদেরকে সুযোগ্য নাগরিক হিসেবে গড়ে তুলতে উপযুক্ত পুনর্বাসন সুবিধা

এসময় অর্থাৎ প্রয়োজনীয়। নিবাসী শিশু-কিশোরদের অপরাধ হ্রাস করার পেছনে যেসব কারণ রয়েছে তা খুঁজে বের করা ও সেগুলোর কার্যকর সমাধানে একটি গবেষণা পরিচালনা করা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। এখন পর্যন্ত এ বিষয়ে ব্যাপক কোনো গবেষণা পরিচালিত হয়নি। এদিক থেকে বর্তমান গবেষণাটির লক্ষ্য হচ্ছে নিবাসীদের আচরণগত সমস্যার সাথে তাদের যেসব সুযোগ-সুবিধা প্রদান করা হচ্ছে তার মতো যেসব ফাঁকি-ফেঁকি রয়েছে তা উদ্ঘাটন করা। বর্তমান গবেষণাটি কর্তৃপক্ষকে সমস্যাটি নিয়ে পুনরায় ভাবতে সাহায্য করবে এবং কেন্দ্রগুলোতে উপযুক্ত পরিবেশ তৈরিতে যেসব সুবিধা প্রদান করা হচ্ছে তা পুনর্মূল্যায়নে তথ্য-উপাত্ত নির্ভর নিকনির্দেশনা প্রদান করবে।

গবেষণাটি পরিচালনা করতে গবেষক দল প্রতিটি কেন্দ্র পরিদর্শন করেছেন। নিবাসী, তাদের পিতা-মাতা, অষ্টীয়-জন্ম, কেন্দ্রের কর্মকর্তা-কর্মচারি ও বিশেষজ্ঞদের কাছ থেকে বিস্তৃত গবেষণা পদ্ধতি যেমন : জরিপ, ফোকাস দল আলোচনা, মূল তথ্যদাতা সাক্ষাৎকার, কেইস স্টাডি এবং পর্যবেক্ষণের মাধ্যমে তথ্য সংগ্রহ করেছেন। নিবাসীদের জরিপ, দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি, আচার-আচরণ, কেন্দ্র থেকে প্রদত্ত সুযোগ-সুবিধার ওপর মতামত জন্মের জন্য জরিপ পদ্ধতি ব্যবহার করে পরিমাপগত তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হয়েছে। অন্যদিকে ফোকাসদল আলোচনা এবং মূল তথ্যদাতা সাক্ষাৎকার কেন্দ্রগুলোর ব্যবস্থাপনা, অভিভাবকদের মতামত ও বিশেষজ্ঞদের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি বুঝতে সাহায্য করেছে।

মূল তথ্যসমূহ :

আর্থ-সামাজিক বৈশিষ্ট্য : গবেষণায় দেখা যায়, নিবাসীদের ২৬০ ৬৩ শতাংশ শিশু-কিশোর নিম্নলিখিত ও নিম্ন মধ্যবিত্ত পরিবার থেকে এসেছে যাদের পারিবারিক মাসিক আয় ২০,০০০ টাকার মধ্যে। ১৪০ তাদের তিন ভাগেরও বেশি নিবাসীদের বয়স ১৫ থেকে ১৭ বছরের মধ্যে। নিবাসীদের মধ্যে ২৯ শতাংশ শিশু-কিশোর প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা শেষ করেছে যেখানে ১২ শতাংশ নিবাসী বিদ্যালয়েই যায়নি। সর্বোচ্চ সংখ্যক (২৬%) ছেলে নিবাসী খুলের মামলার শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্রে এসেছে। এর পরেই রয়েছে নারী ও শিশু নির্যাতন, মাদকদ্রব্য বিক্রি, ব্যবহার ও বহন করার মত বড় অভিযোগ। মেয়ে নিবাসীদের মধ্যে অধিকাংশই বাল্যবিবাহের শিকার হয়ে নিরাপত্তা হেফাজতে (সেইফ জার্ডি) রয়েছে। কেন্দ্রসমূহের তত্ত্বাবধায়ক ও কর্মচারীদের মতে অল্প কিছুসংখ্যক (১০-১৫%) শিশু অপ্রত্যাশিত আচরণ করলেও অন্যরা এই কেন্দ্রগুলোর নিয়ম-কানুন সঠিকভাবে মেনে চলে।

কেন্দ্রগুলোর সুযোগ-সুবিধা এবং নিবাসীদের অনুভূতি : প্রায় ৫৭ শতাংশ নিবাসী কেন্দ্রে থাকার অনুভূতি সম্পর্কে 'হেটামুটি' মনে করলেও ২০ শতাংশ মনে করে তা 'ভালো নয়' এবং ১৩ শতাংশ 'ভালো' বলেই মনে করে। অধিকাংশ নিবাসী কেন্দ্রগুলো থেকে প্রদত্ত সুযোগ-সুবিধাকে ভালো মনে করেছে। উদাহরণ স্বরূপ বলা যায়, ১০

শতাব্দে নিবাসী বসেছে তারা সময়মতো খাবার ও পানীয় পেয়ে থাকে। উত্তরনাতদের মধ্যে ৬৬ শতাংশ বলেছে তারা প্রয়োজনের সময় চিকিৎসাসেবা পেয়েছে, ৬৬ শতাংশ জানিয়েছে তারা বিনোদনের সুযোগ-সুবিধা পাচ্ছে। তবে বিনোদনের পর্যাপ্ততা বিষয়ে ৩৩ শতাংশ উত্তরনাতা মনে করে তা পর্যাপ্ত নয়। উত্তরনাতাদের মধ্যে ৭১ শতাংশ বলেছে তারা কেন্দ্রে এসেও পড়াশুনা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে যেখানে ২৬ শতাংশ জানিয়েছে তারা সুযোগের অভাবে পড়াশুনা চালিয়ে যেতে পারেনি।

আনন্দময় সমস্যার কারণসমূহ : গবেষণায় দেখা গেছে, কিছু নিবাসী (প্রায় ২০%) তাদের পিতামাতার সাথে বাস করতে না। তাছাড়া নয় শতাংশ নিবাসী পিতামাতার সাথে বাস করা সত্ত্বেও তাদের কাছ থেকে আলাদা সময় পেতে না। কিছুসংখ্যক নিবাসী (প্রায় ১৮%) মাতার বয়স ১৫ থেকে ১৭ বছরের মধ্যে তার কেন্দ্রে আসার পূর্বেই আনন্দময় হয়ে পড়েছিল। নিবাসীদের সাথে করা ফোকাস দল আলোচনায় দেখা যায় যে, অধিকাংশ ছেলে নিবাসী কেন্দ্রে আসার পর মাদক গ্রহণের অভ্যাস ত্যাগ করলেও কিছুসংখ্যক তা যে-কোন ভাবে যোগাত্ত করে গ্রহণ করে থাকে। কেন্দ্রে আসার পূর্বে ৫০ শতাংশেরও বেশি নিবাসী যোগাযোগের মাধ্যমে হিসেবে স্লেমফোন, কম্পিউটার, ইন্টারনেট, ফেসবুক প্রভৃতি ব্যবহার করেছে। ব্যবহারকারীদের মধ্যে ৩১ শতাংশ এমন ব্যবহার করার উপযুক্ত জ্ঞান উল্লেখ করতে পারেনি। অধিকাংশ নিবাসী (৬৭.২%) বলেছে, কেন্দ্রের নিয়ম বা শৃঙ্খলা ভঙ্গ করলে তাদেরকে শাস্তি প্রদান করা হয়। ৬১ শতাংশ নিবাসী জানায়, মারধর করা এখানে একটি সাধারণ বিষয়। অন্যদিকে ৩০.৫ শতাংশ নিবাসী উল্লেখ করেছে, কেন্দ্রের কর্মচারীরা তাদের গালাগালি করে ও ধমক দেয়। নিবাসীদের সাথে পরিচালিত ফোকাস দল আলোচনায় দেখা যায়, কিছু কর্মচারী (যেমন : গ্রহণী/আনসার) নিবাসীদের সাথে রুচি আচরণ করে এবং অপব্যবহার ব্যবহার করে। বিশেষত : মেয়েদের সাথে এটি বেশি ঘটে। জরিপে দেখা যায়, ৬৭ শতাংশ নিবাসী কারো যৌন নির্যাতনের শিকার হওয়ার কথা শোনেনি, তবে ১৭ শতাংশ এই ব্যাপারে হ্যাঁ-বোদক উত্তর দিয়েছে। ৬৫ শতাংশেরও অধিক নিবাসী অন্যদের সাথে বাগড়া না করলেও ২৬ শতাংশ উত্তরনাতা জানিয়েছে যে তারা একে অপরের সাথে খাবারের বস্টন, খেলাধুলার অংশগ্রহণ, গির্জা দেখা, বিছানায় শোয়া, অপব্যবহার, কর্তৃত্ব প্রদর্শন প্রভৃতি বিষয় নিয়ে বাগড়া করে। গবেষণায় জানা যায়, ৫৩ শতাংশ নিবাসী মারদাঙ্গা ও ক্রোমান্টিক কিল্লা দেখে দেখা যায়, ৭৪ শতাংশ সিনিয়র নিবাসী কনিষ্ঠ বা নতুন আসা নিবাসীদের ওপর অত্যাচার করে না। তবে ১৭.৪ শতাংশ নিবাসী জানিয়েছে, কনিষ্ঠ ও নতুন আসা নিবাসীদের ওপর অত্যাচার করা হয় এবং ৯.৭ শতাংশ এ বিষয়ে উত্তর দেয়নি।

সম্প্রদায়িক হত্যার/হুময়ভাঙনের অনুভূতি : উত্তরদাতাদের মধ্যে ৬১ শতাংশ কেন্দ্রের কর্মচারি বা নিবাসীদের দুর্ভাগ্যের কারণ হতনি বা মনে কষ্ট পায়নি বলে জানালেও ২৬ শতাংশ নিবাসী রাগ হয়েছে বা কষ্ট পেয়েছে বলে জানিয়েছে। এ বিষয়ে ১২.৭ শতাংশ উত্তরদাতা কোনো জবাব দেয়নি। রাগের কারণ জানতে চাইলে ৭৪ শতাংশ উত্তরদাতাই কারণ বলতে চাননি কিংবা নিশূন্য থেকেছে। অবশিষ্ট উত্তরদাতাদের মধ্যে ৮.৭ শতাংশ নিবাসী কর্মচারীদের মার খাওয়া, ৭ শতাংশ কর্মচারীদের দুর্ভাগ্যের এবং ৩.৩ শতাংশ তাদের পিতামাতার সাথে দেখা করতে না দেওয়ার রাগ হয়েছে বলে জানিয়েছে। বাকি ৭ শতাংশ অন্যান্য কারণ উল্লেখ করেছে।

সম্প্রদায়িক হত্যার পর প্রতিক্রিয়া/কর্মকাণ্ড : উত্তরদাতা নিবাসীদের মধ্যে ৬৫ শতাংশের বেশি রাগ হওয়ার পর কী করে সে সম্পর্কে কিছু বলেনি। তবে ১৭ শতাংশ বলেছে তারা রাগ হলে দুমামো ব্যতীত আর কিছু করে না, ৬.৪ শতাংশ একাকি কান্না করে, ২ শতাংশ তাদের প্রতিপক্ষকে অস্বস্তি করার ইচ্ছা পোষণ করে, ১.৩ শতাংশ নিজেদেরই শাস্তি প্রদান করতে চায়। গবেষণায় দেখা যায়, ১৪.৭ শতাংশ নিবাসী নিজেদের ওপর অত্যাচার করে যেখানে ৭৫ শতাংশের বেশি তা করে না। বাকি ৯.৭ শতাংশ এ বিষয়ে উত্তর প্রদান করেনি। কেন্দ্রগুলোর জরুরিবেতক ও কর্মচারীদের সাক্ষাৎকার থেকে জানা যায়, কিছু নিবাসী কার্যের টুকরা বা বৈদ্যুতিক ব্যস্তির ভাঙ্গা অংশ নিয়ে ধারালো কোনো বস্তু দিয়ে নিজেদের আহত করে। অন্যদিকে কিছু নিবাসী পার্মিট কল ডেঞ্জে ফেলে, হাত ও আঙুল কেটে ফেলে, মাথা দেয়ালে ঠুক দেয় এবং এরূপ নানবিধ উপায়ে নিজেদের শাস্তি দেয়। নিবাসী ও কর্মচারীদের সাথে হেঁকস দল আলোচনায় দেখা যায়, যখন নিবাসীর জামিন কিংবা ছাড় পাওয়ার কোনো আশা পূরণ না তখন তারা এ ধরনের অস্বভাবিক আচরণ করে। কিছু নিবাসী দাবি করেছেন, নিজেদের বঞ্চিত মনে করে যখন তারা দেখতে পায় যে তাদের সাথে কোনো নিবাসী খুন, ধর্ষণ, মাদক বা অস্ত্রের মতো মহাত্মক অপরাধের মাধ্যমে থেকেও লৈখ্যমূলক বিচার ব্যবস্থার কারণে ছাড় পেয়ে যায়। কিছু নিবাসী হতাশ হয়ে পড়ে যখন তারা জানতে পারে, তাদের পিতামাতার ছাড়ছাড়ি হয়ে গেছে। পুলিশ এবং কেন্দ্রের নিরাপত্তাকর্মীদের নিষ্ঠুর আচরণও তাদের সহিংস আচরণের দিকে ঠেলে দেয়। এভাবে পরিবারিক বিক্ষমতা আরও কিছু কারণ রয়েছে সেগুলো নিবাসীদের মধ্যে আত্মহত্যার প্রবণতা তৈরি করে।

কেন্দ্রগুলোর সবল পিকসমূহ : উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্রগুলোতে তাদের নিজস্ব ভবন, হেলার মাঠ, বাগান ও প্রয়োজনীয় অবকাঠামোগত সুযোগ-সুবিধা রয়েছে। নিজস্ব অবকাঠামো থাকায় কেন্দ্রগুলো স্বতন্ত্র পরিচিতি পেয়েছে। কেন্দ্রের অধিকাংশ কর্মকর্তা-কর্মচারি ইতিবাচক মনোভাবসম্পন্ন, নিবেদিত প্রাণ ও আন্তরিক। অনেককেই অফিসের সময় শেষ হতে গেলেও দায়িত্ব পালন করতে দেখা গেছে। কেন্দ্রের কর্মকর্তারা নিবাসীদের জন্য বিস্তৃত একটি মডেল অনুসরণ

কেন্দ্রে তারা পরামর্শ প্রদান, উৎসাহ প্রদান, আইনি সহায়তা, সাধারণ ও কারিগরি শিক্ষা প্রদানের পাশাপাশি খাদ্য, চিকিৎসাসেবা ও বিনোদনের ব্যবস্থা দিয়ে থাকে।

কেন্দ্রগুলোর চ্যালেঞ্জসমূহ : কেন্দ্রগুলোর বর্তমান অবকাঠামো বসবাসরত নিবাসীদের তুলনায় অপর্বাণ্ড কেন্দ্রগুলোর মাঝে মাঝে আসন্ন সংখ্যার তুলনায় বিগুণ নিবাসী অবস্থান করে। নিবাসীদের খাবার ও অন্যান্য খরচের জন্য মাসিক ২৬০০ টাকা হারে বরাদ্দ দেওয়া হয় যা বর্তমান দ্রবামূল্যের উর্ধ্বগতির সাথে সামঞ্জস্যপূর্ণ নয়। নির্মিত খাবার, মাস শেষে উন্নত খাবার ও অন্যান্য খরচের জন্য এ বরাদ্দ পর্যাপ্ত নয়। কেন্দ্রের চিকিৎসাসেবা অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই প্রাথমিক চিকিৎসার মতোই সীমাবদ্ধ। কেন্দ্র থেকে নিবাসীদের পাহারা দিয়ে কোর্টে নিয়ে যাওয়া ও নিজে আসার জন্য জেলা পুলিশের ওপর নির্ভরশীলতা মাঝে-মাঝে বিচার প্রক্রিয়ায় ব্যত্যয় ঘটায়। অনেক সময় নিবাসীদের ওপর অত্যাচার ও দুর্ব্যবহার করা হয়। প্রতিটি কেন্দ্রেই কর্মচারি দলটি রয়েছে যে কারণে সঠিকভাবে সেবা প্রদান করা সম্ভব হচ্ছে না। কেন্দ্রের প্রাথমিক শিলাবান্ধা অনেক ক্ষেত্রেই কার্যকর নয়। কেননা অধিকাংশ নিবাসী মাধ্যমিক বা উচ্চ-মাধ্যমিক পর্যায়ের শিক্ষার্থী। তাছাড়া কেন্দ্রে যেসব বিষয়ে কারিগরি শিক্ষা প্রদানের ব্যবস্থা রয়েছে সেগুলো বর্তমান চাকরির বাজার ও কর্মসংস্থানের সাথে অতটা সঙ্গতিপূর্ণ নয়।

সুযোগ ও সম্ভাবনা : বর্তমান সরকার শিশুদের বিশেষ করে আইনের সংস্পর্শে আসা শিশু-কিশোরদের সার্বিক উন্নয়ন ও কল্যাণের ওপর জোর দিয়েছে। প্রয়োজনীয় আইন ও নীতিমালা প্রণয়ন করে শিশুদের সকল প্রকার অসুস্থতা ও নির্যাতনের হাত থেকে রক্ষার ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করেছে। এরই ধারাবাহিকতায় সরকার শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছে যার মাধ্যমে আইনের সংস্পর্শে আসা শিশু-কিশোররাও অন্যান্য শিশুদের মত যোগা নাগরিক হিসেবে গড়ে উঠতে পারে ও দেশের মানবসম্পদে পরিণত হতে পারে। আন্তর্জাতিক কিছু আইনি কাঠামো এবং নীতিমালার সাথে ভাল মিলিয়ে পূর্বের 'কিশোর সংশোধন কেন্দ্র' নাম বদলে বর্তমানে 'শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র' নামকরণ করেছে। এটি সরকারের একটি ইতিবাচক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গির বহিঃপ্রকাশ। সরকার আইনের সংস্পর্শে আসা পরিবারিক ও সামাজিকভাবে নিপৃহীত শিশুদের উন্নয়নের দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে বিবেচনা করছে এবং তাদের দক্ষ মানবসম্পদ হিসেবে গড়ে তোলার জন্য উদ্যোগ নিচ্ছে। এ শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্রগুলো সমাজকল্যাণ মন্ত্রণালয়ের অধীনে সমাজসেবা অধিদপ্তরের মাধ্যমে পরিচালিত হচ্ছে। সরকার 'শিশু আইন ২০১৩' নামে একটি বিস্তৃত আইন তৈরি করেছে যেখানে আইনি প্রক্রিয়ার বিভিন্ন দিক যেমন : উপজেলা ও জেলা পর্যায়ে শিশু উন্নয়ন বোর্ড গঠন, আশ্রয় ডেপুটি কমিশনার ও আলাদা একজন পুলিশ কর্মকর্তা নিয়োগ, বিশেষায়িত শিশু আশ্রয় গঠন, শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠা এবং আইনের সংস্পর্শে আসা শিশুদের পর্যাপ্ত সেবা প্রদানের কথা উল্লেখ রয়েছে।

প্রয়োজনীয় পদক্ষেপ :

- নিবাসীদের আবাসন সমস্যা মনে রেখে সরকারের উচিত প্রয়োজনীয় পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করা এবং আরও বেশি অবকাঠামোগত উন্নয়ন সাধন করা।
- মাসিক বরাদ্দ বৃদ্ধি করা; মোটে নিবাসীদের স্বাস্থ্যগত ঝুঁকি বিবেচনায় রেখে তাদের জন্য বরাদ্দ পুনর্নির্ধারণ।
- কেন্দ্রগুলোর নিজস্ব পুলিশ ফোর্সের ব্যবস্থা করা যাতে নিবাসীদের আনালতে সন্তোষজনক আরও গতিশীল হয়।
- বিশেষজ্ঞ ডাক্তারের ব্যবস্থা করা - বিশেষ করে মোটে নিবাসীদের কেন্দ্রে একরূপ ব্যবস্থা জরুরি।
- শূন্য পদগুলোতে সেমন : হাউজ প্যারেন্ট, সাইকো-সোশ্যাল অউল্ফার, কেইস ওয়ার্কারসহ অন্যান্য পদে প্রয়োজনীয় লোকবল নিয়োগ প্রদান।
- কর্মচারীদের দক্ষতা বৃদ্ধিতে নিয়মিত প্রশিক্ষণ প্রদান ও কর্মসূচির ব্যবস্থা করা।
- আনসার, ওয়ার্ডার ও পুলিশ সদস্যদের মনোভাব ও আচরণ পরিবর্তনে কার্যকর প্রশিক্ষণ, কাউন্সেলিং ও মোটিভেশন প্রদান।
- উপজেলা ও জেলা পর্যায়ের সমাজকল্যাণ কর্মকর্তাদের কার্যালয়সমূহকে ডিজিটাইজড করা যাতে নিবাসীর অভিভাবকের সাথে চাহিদামত অডিও-ভিডিওয়াল পদ্ধতিতে যোগাযোগ করতে সক্ষম হয়।
- বিচার প্রতিষ্ঠান সংশ্লিষ্টদের সেমন : বিচারক, আইনজীবী, আদালতের পেশকার প্রমুখের জন্য শিশুদের বিষয়ে সংবেদনশীল বিচার পদ্ধতি সম্পর্কিত কার্যকর প্রশিক্ষণ কর্মসূচি আয়োজন করা।
- নিবাসীদের মামলাগুলো সঠিকভাবে পরিচালনা করার জন্য অডিও আইনজীবী প্যানেল তৈরি।
- কেন্দ্রের প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থাকে মাধ্যমিক পর্যায় সম্প্রসারিত করা ও কারিগরি শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থাকে যুগোপযোগীভাবে কর্মসংস্থাননির্ভর করে পাঠানো।
- সমাজ কল্যাণ মন্ত্রণালয়, বিচার বিভাগ এবং পুলিশ বিভাগের সাথে সম্পর্ক উন্নত করা।
- প্রতিটি বিভাগীয় শহরে একটি করে শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করা।
- 'শিশু আইন ২০১৩'-এর কার্যকর ও সঠিক প্রয়োগ নিশ্চিত করা।

উদ্দেশ্যের : পশ্চাদমুখী আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থার কারণে অধিকাংশ নিবাসীর পিতা-মাতা তাদের সন্তানদের কর্মকাণ্ড ও আচরণ সম্বন্ধে অবগত নন। কিছু ক্ষেত্রে পিতা-মাতা সন্তানকে আলাদা করে সময় ও সম্পদের না হার ফলে তাদের মাঝে বিচ্ছিন্নতাবোধ ও একাকিত্ব সৃষ্টি হয়। এতে করে ছেলে-মেয়েরা বাড়ির বাইরে বেশি সময় অতিবাহিত করতে শুরু করে। অনেক শিশু তাদের বয়স পৃষ্ঠির সাথে জীবনের বাস্তবতা সম্পর্কে বুঝতে এবং সঠিক সঙ্গী বাছাই করতে পারে না। পঞ্চমত অন্য সঙ্গীদের সাথে যুক্ত হয়ে তারা সহিৎস কর্মকাণ্ডে জড়িয়ে পরে এবং এভাবেই বয়সের সংস্পর্শে চলে আসে। আইনের সংস্পর্শে আসার পর তারা যখন প্রথম পুলিশ সদস্যদের সাথে পরিচিত হলে তাদের সেই অভিজ্ঞতা মোটেই সহজ হয় না। এমনকি শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্রগুলোর পরিবেশের সাথে কিছু ছেলে-মেয়ে মনিয়ে নিতে সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয়। তাছাড়া কিছু নিবাসী নতুন আসা শিশুদের টাকা ও অন্যান্য পত্রের জন্য সজাগ করে এবং নিজেদের প্রভাব ও কর্তৃত্ব প্রদর্শন করে। কিছু কিছু নিবাসী নিরাপত্তা প্রহরী ও ওয়ার্ডারদের দ্বারা নিয়ম-শৃঙ্খলা ভঙ্গের জন্য শারীরিকভাবে অত্যাচারিত হয়। কিছু নিবাসী নিজেদেরকে অসহায় ও বঞ্চিত মনে করে অন্য ভাবে দেখে খুন, ধর্ষণের মতো বড় অপরাধ করেও কেউ কেউ পারিবারিক ও রাজনৈতিক প্রভাব খাটিয়ে তাদেরই জামিন পেয়ে যায় অথচ তারা সামান্য অপরাধের অভিযোগে দীর্ঘসময় ভেতরে আটক থাকে। এসকল ক্ষেত্রেই নিবাসীদের আচরণগত সমস্যার সৃষ্টি করে যা অনেকসময় তাদের মধ্যে আত্মহত্যার প্রবণতা বা সহিৎস আচরণ তৈরি করে। এই আচরণগত চ্যালেঞ্জগুলো হ্রাস করতে শিশু উন্নয়ন কেন্দ্রগুলোর প্রদত্ত সুযোগ-সুবিধায় যে সীমিত ও সীমাবদ্ধতা রয়েছে তার প্রতি নজর নিতে হবে। এছাড়া সরকারের উচিত প্রাথমিক ও মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে কার্যকর প্রাটিকর্ম হিসেবে জুমিকা রাখতে পারে। শিশু, কিশোর ও পিতা-মাতাদের মধ্যে সচেতনতা সৃষ্টি করতে পারে শিক্ষক, ইমাম, ধর্মীয় নেতা, সংস্কৃতি কর্মী, স্থানীয় সংবাদিক, ইউপি সদস্যগণ এবং প্রোগ্রামারদের এ বিষয়ে যুক্ত হওয়া প্রয়োজন যাতে করে তারা সামাজিক সচেতনতা সৃষ্টি করে শিশুদের অপ্রত্যাশিত আচরণের মাত্রা হ্রাস করার জুমিকা রাখতে পারেন।

Chapter One **Motivation for the Study**

1.1 Background

Immoral tendency among the children particularly the teenagers is one of the most critical social issues in both the developing and the developed countries and it has been a key concern to the sociologists and criminologists (Islam, 2005). If comprehended from a social perspective, the teenagers who cannot cope with their society or its institutions get engaged in unlawful activities. If it is seen from the cultural perspective, the children, especially the teenagers who act against the values of their own cultures and perform immoral activities are considered as the criminals (Sarkar, 2002). On the other hand, from a psychological perspective, teenagers who believe themselves right and fail to realize that their activities are being harmful to others are considered as the criminals. In the present perspective of Bangladesh, the teenage crime is a newer addition to the problems like poverty, joblessness, drug addiction, slums, and child labor. Although newer, this particular problem is increasing, and its impact is going far greater in the cities than the rural areas. Teenagers who break the law and act against the social norms and values are considered the criminals. Psychological and social issues contribute much in making them to carry out such criminal offenses. Social stratification, as well, is a determinant of variations in such activities carried out by the teenagers (Islam, 2005).

Recently, the delinquent behavior of the children has risen alarmingly in Bangladesh. Various media reports show that the offending behavior among the youths living in both the urban, semi-urban and the rural areas are being committed frequently. The youths are getting involved in serious forms of crimes like murders, rape, drug peddling, possessing arms, cybercrimes, eve-teasing, stealing and robbery. From the gender perspectives, boys are much more involved in different types of crimes than the girls. On the contrary, the girls are getting victims of child marriage, eve-teasing, oppression and sexual assault. The more recent addition to the scenario of youth's offence is that some of the youths in the urban elite areas have created so called 'gang culture'. The media reports show that in different areas different 'gangs' have been formed to dominate others and create anarchic state which hinder peaceful living in these areas, and similarly triggered apprehension among the people of the country. Amidst taking of the matter

seriously by the law enforcers, such gang cultures are not in a static position, rather some incidents of desperate behaviour of the youths are being noticed at times.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Socio-psychological trouble is one of the key problems the teenagers face in the support centers (now in Bangladesh, the child development centres). They cannot lead a normal life there, and they cannot enjoy life in full as they have to live without their parents. Boys and girls below 14 years constitute 41 percent of the total population (Census Report, 2011). When they engage in criminal activities, it instigates an utter despair for all. The reasons behind criminal activities among the teenagers in Bangladesh include social, cultural and political determinants. Besides, modernization, modern science & technologies, and distorted values have brought variations in criminal activities among them. These are not limited to traditional activities of lying, fleeing away from the schools, theft etc. rather they are now engaging in different new offenses like creating mass chaos, disturbing the classes and examinations, possession of illegal arms, bombing, hijacking, drug addiction etc. (Sarkar, 2002). Psychological and social issues contribute much in making them carry out such criminal offenses, and social stratification is a determinant of variations in such activities carried out by the teenagers. So, teenage criminals can be judged from the social, cultural and psychological perspectives. Three child development centers in this country are trying to correct more than 700 boys and girls as of 28.12.2016 (the officials of the child development centres). Hence comes the necessity of conducting a study in light of the problems the inmates are facing in the centers so that it facilitate to understand their behavioral problems and find out their solutions.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

The inmates living in the child development centers face many troubles mostly socio-psychological problems. These centers have some limitations in providing quality care regarding shelter, treatment, and entertainment which ultimately affect their normal living pattern and they undergo some difficulties. Before turning into a crucial national issue, these problems should be minimized properly.

In the recent years, aggression and violence among the inmates of the development centers have increased which include violation of institutional rules and regulations, drug addiction, use of

malpractices, suicide etc. This situation has also brought attention of the media and civil society, and it has been a matter of great concern to them all. It is the solemn responsibility of the government and the society to provide them with ample opportunities to correct them. So, it is important to conduct an in-depth study to find out the reasons behind the inmates to become engaged in such wrong activities, and find out their solutions. Not much and quality studies have been carried out regarding the inmates facing challenges in these centers; so, it is important to carry out a comprehensive study.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

There are three Child Development Centres (Shishu Udayan Kendra) run by the Ministry of Social Welfare, GoB. The centres serve the children coming in contact with the law. Counseling, motivation, education, skills training, food and lodging, medical treatment, entertainment, sports, procedural litigation supports etc. are provided by these centres. These activities reflect the government's child friendly policy from the very past through the Ministry of Social Welfare.

The present study aims at understanding:

- i. the nature and causes of behavioural problems of the inmates and comprehend their needs
- ii. capacity of the centres in terms of strengths, weakness, opportunities and prospects for effective services
- iii. pragmatic way forwards for the improvement of the centre's service delivery

1.5 Definition of Terminologies

Ministry of Social Welfare: Ministry of Social Welfare is one of the Ministries relating to human resources development. This ministry provides care and services to the underprivileged, vulnerable, disabled, and orphans. The ministry materializes social safety net by covering 47 projects. This ministry is playing a vital role in developing the socio-cultural condition and living status of the underprivileged, vulnerable, disabled, orphans, street children and those children coming in contact with the laws.

Department of Social Services:

After the partition of India in 1947, 'Mohajers' started to come in abundance in this land. Urban social services project first started to function in 1955 under the Directorate of Health at Kayettuli of Dhaka. Different units were set up later on for this project in Gopibagh and Mohammadpur of Dhaka. Department of Social Welfare was incepted in 1974 under the direction of Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to enhance the functions of social services and to face various social problems. In 1984, social welfare became a full department and was named the Department of Social Services (Department of Social Services, 2013). The Department of Social Services is working to achieving the 'Sonar Bangla' through providing social safety and socio-economic development to the underprivileged and vulnerable segments of the society, and the department is playing a vital role in mainstreaming those segments. It has a total of 735 offices including the head office and 42 institutional ventures.

Child Development Center

At the beginning, Juvenile Development Centers were set up to provide support towards the boys and girls under 16 who generally came under the contact of the laws in the country. Those centers provided shelter to such children including those who were condemned or judged for penalty for breaking the law besides facilitating with correcting measures. To bring up those children as the ideal citizens of the country, a development center for boys was set up in Tongi of Gazipur in the year of 1978 and one for the girls at Konahari in 2002, and another for boys in Jessore in 1992. Mainstreaming those children again in the society by developing their psycho-social status through case work, case management, guidance, counseling, education, training and diversion method are the key objective of those development centers. Run by the Department of Social Services, these centers can accommodate 500 children while the current residents are two or more girls.

Behavioral Challenges

Socio-psychological problems faced in the centers by the inmates have been considered as the behavioral challenges in the study. Socio-psychological problems, in fact, result out from the unstable social and psychological status and impede their daily lives (Sarkar, 2002).

1.1. Literature Review and Related Theories

Children with strong social bond will commit less crime than those who have weak social bond (Hirschi, 1969). Hirschi states that what prevents individuals from acting upon internal motivations to commit crime is informal social control which results from the development of social bonds through the process of socialization.

Karen (1995) states that there should be a good relationship between the mother and the child so that the child will not develop mistrust and anger. If a child develops anger and mistrust then that child becomes a child without conscience and behaves in an anti-social manner.

Supersmidt and Dodge (2004) maintain that there are two extreme hypotheses which specify the different roles of peers in developing the aggressive and antisocial behavior of a delinquent child, and there are some individual characteristics which give rise to delinquency among children.

Harvey and Fine (2004) studied that the children who had emotions of anger inside them led to the opposite end of the law and this was found in the case of the children whose parents were divorced. This occurred because children needed proper care from their parents which was lacking.

Zigler et al. (1996:310) observed that children who frequently expose to environmental violence experience the symptoms of fear, anxiety, and stress which leads to delinquent behavior in the later stage.

Social learning theory: In 1977, Albert Bandura, a Stanford University Psychology Professor, outlined social learning theory in which he suggests that human learning is a continuous reciprocal interaction of cognitive, behavioral, and environmental factors. Sometimes called observational learning, social learning theory focuses on behavior modeling in which a child observes and then imitates the behavior of adults or other children around him or her.

In his research on social learning theory, Bandura studied how violence portrayed in mass media can have a tremendously negative impact on the behavior of certain types of children watching violent television shows. What he noted was that some children will observe and then imitate the

behavior of the characters on the television screen. From this observation, we can see that we can conclude that juvenile delinquency is the result of imitation of aggressive action.

Social strain theory: This theory was propounded by Merton in 1937. Merton proposed that a society instills in its citizenry aspirations for upward mobility and a desire for selected goals. Merton assumed in his theorizing that humans are conforming organisms who only violate the law when the disjunction between goals and means becomes so great that the individuals believe he or she can no longer pursue socially sanctioned goals via legitimate channels. According to Merton, a society that emphasizes goals over the means to obtain these goals, and that restricts access to opportunities for legitimate advancement is establishing the conditions for economic and future criminality.

Agnew's (1992) general strain theory offers a promising framework for understanding juvenile delinquency. A major type of strain according to Agnew's general strain theory consists of experiencing unpleasant events or circumstances, including aversive situations at home, particularly arguments and violence (Brody, 2001:21). The social strain theory proposes that adolescent or juvenile are pressed into delinquency by negative emotional reactions that result from being situated in an aversive situation from which they cannot escape.

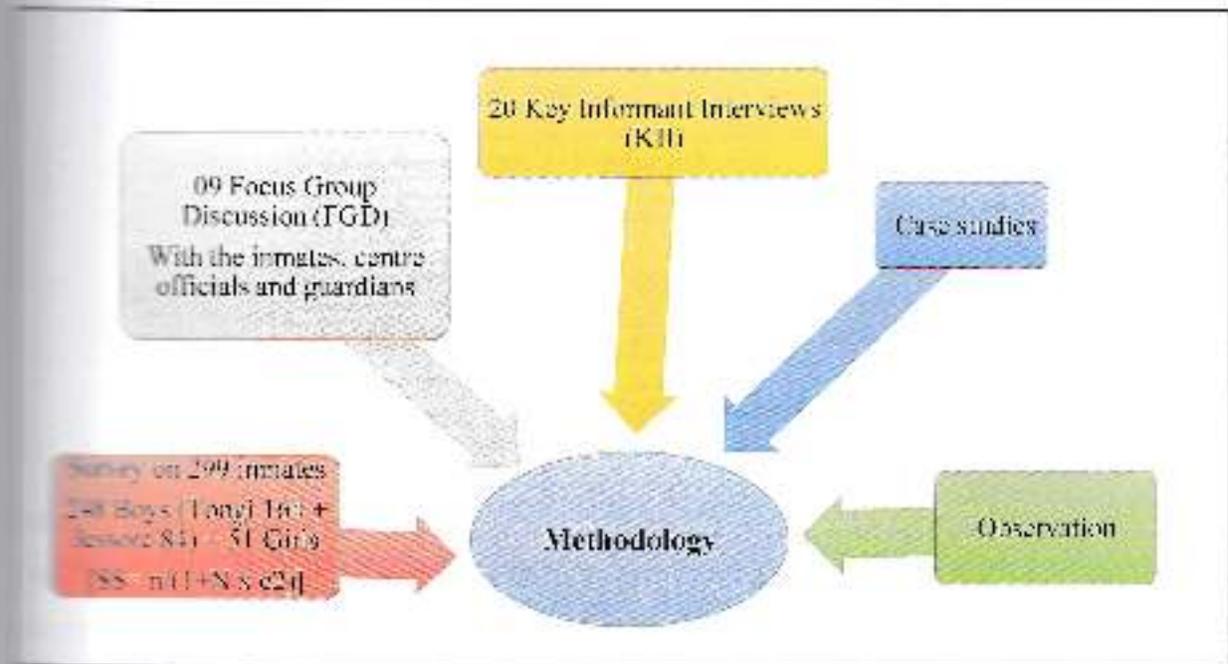
Behavioral Theory: This theory was studied by J. Watson, I. Pavlov and B.F. Skinner. It describes the outcomes of the consequences of certain behavior on occurrence of such behavior in the future. Operant conditioning developed by Skinner is one of the learning methods according to which the likelihood of behavior is increased or decreased by the use of reinforcement or punishment. In case of positive reinforcement, certain behavior becomes stronger by the effect of experiencing some positive condition. In case of negative reinforcement, certain behavior becomes stronger by the outcome of stopping or staying away from some negative condition. In case of extinction certain behavior becomes weaker by the outcome of avoiding experiencing some positive condition or stopping some negative conditions.

Chapter Two

Methodology and Demographics

2.1. Methodology of the Study

The study investigated the state of services rendered by the child development centres, behavioral ~~disorder~~ of the inmates and explored the way-outs for making the centres as effective service providers to the young inhabitants. There are three such centres: two for the boys (one in each ~~Gazipur~~ and Jessore) and one for the girls in Kanabari, Gazipur. At present (as of 28.12.2016), 713 children (both boys and girls) are undergoing services through various approaches. Out of ~~these~~ 713 youths, 400 boys are inhibited in Tongi Child Development Centre, 122 boys were in ~~Kanabari~~ and the rest 191 girls were in the Jessorecentre. These centres and the inhabitants underwent the study. Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered applying several methods of data collection i.e. Survey, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Key Informant Interviews (KII) and Case Study and Observation. The questionnaire survey facilitated to gather mostly the quantitative data on the needs, attitudes and behavior of the children besides their responses on the package of the services received from the centres. On the other hand, FGDs and KIIs facilitated to understand the perspectives of the centre management and the guardians of the children in detailed manner. Relevant literature were gathered and reviewed accordingly.



2.1.1. Questionnaire Survey

A total of 713 children (both the boys and girls) formed the population of the study. Since the population was known to us, the formula below was applied to determine the sample size:

$$SS = \frac{n}{1 + N \times e^2}$$

SS=sample size, n=total population, e=margin of error 0.05 (for 0.95 confidence interval)

$$SS = \frac{713}{1 + 713 \times (0.05)^2}$$

$$SS = \text{or } 256.2 \text{ or } 257$$

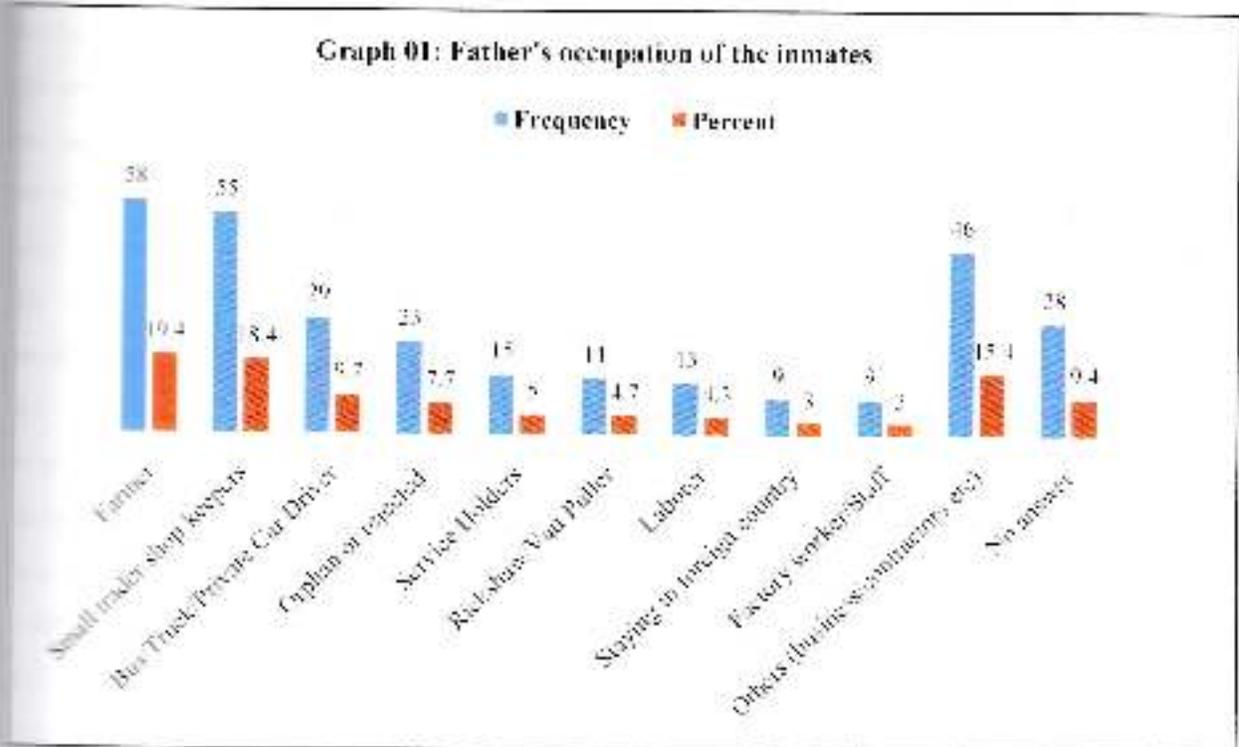
In social research, design effect is considered for lessening the level of set error. For the social research in Bangladesh, design effect is generally set at 1.1 to 1.2. If we set design effect 1.1 for the study, the sample size will be $(257 \times 1.1) = 282.7$ or 283 (since the respondent cannot be a fraction). Finally, the sample size was 299 which were taken randomly and distributed proportionately against the children living in the 03 centres.

Table 1 : Distribution of the Sample Population

Name of the center	Frequency	Percent
Tongi	164	54.8
Jessore	81	28.1
Konabari	51	17.1
Total	299	100.0

Father's Occupation:

The findings of the survey indicate that the progeny of the farmers were in the top of the list with almost one-fifth share in the total sample population. The inmates, whose fathers were running small trades/shops, scored the second position in the centres with more than 18 percent share in the sample population. It is evident that most of the inmates were from the lower and lower middle class families.



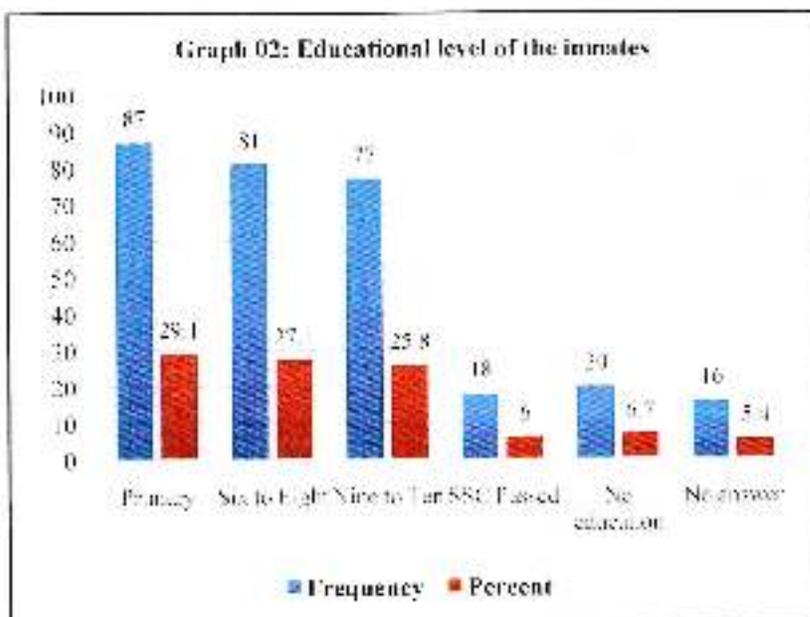
The survey shows that the highest number of the inmates coming to the Child Development Center was the teenagers. More than three-fourths of them belong to the 15 to 17 age group who came in contact with the law for various reasons. After this, the second highest chunk of children belongs to the 12-14 age groups.

Table2: Age groups of the inmates

Age	Frequency	Percent
9-11	11	3.7
12-14	57	19.0
15-17	225	75.3
No Answer	06	2.0
Total	299	100.0

Education:

It reveals that the highest percentage (29%) of the inmates included the children who completed primary education. After that, the second position scored by the six to eight graders which was more than one-fourth of the total respondents and the another one-fourth percent of the children belong to class nine to ten graders, the secondary level. Among the rest, 6 percent were SSC passed while another similar chunk, 6.7 percent were illiterate and the rest 5.4 percent respondents did not tell about their education.



Mothers' Occupation:

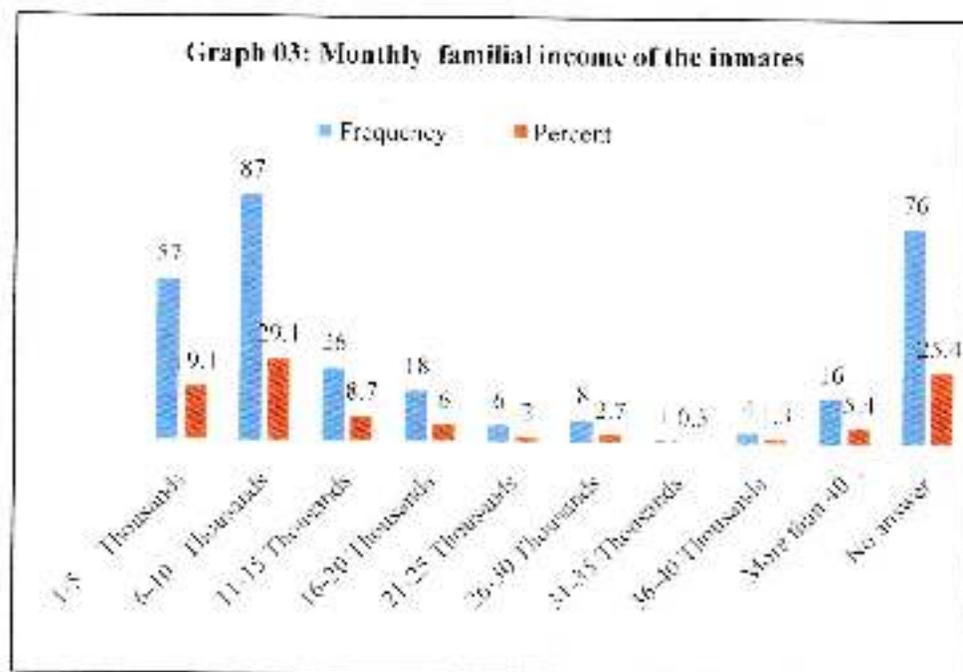
More than 80 percent of the inmates' mothers were the housewives. The other occupations of the mothers included job-holders, home maids, factory workers etc. More than four percent of the inmates did not answer about their mother's occupation.

Table3 : Mother's occupation of the inmates

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Housewife	246	82.3
Job holders	13	4.3
Home maid	10	3.3
Expired	6	2.0
Factory workers	5	1.7
Others	6	2.0
No answer	13	4.3
Total	299	100.0

Family Income:

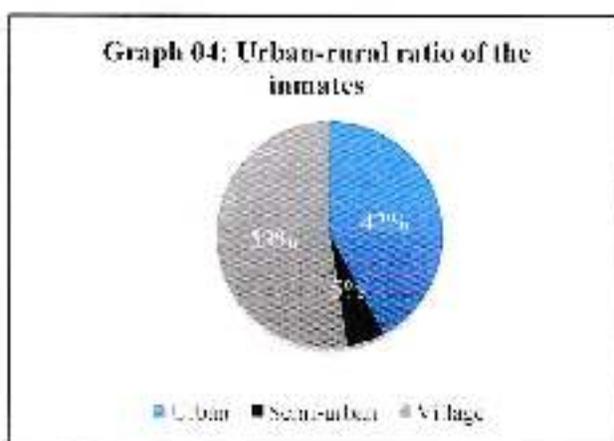
Most of the inmates belong to the lower income families. The highest percent of the inmates' families stayed in the range of BDT six to ten thousands as monthly familial income. After this,



most of the inmates from the families having monthly familial income of BDT one thousand to five thousands. The findings also showed that more than 25 percent inmates didn't either want to disclose their monthly family income or didn't know about that. The FGD shows, among the inmates undergoing the study, most of the girl inmates didn't have information about their family income.

Urban – Rural Ratio:

The findings show that most of the inmates (53%) have come to the child development centres from the villages. In the second position, there stayed the inmates coming from the urban regions (divisional, metropolitan and district headquarter) from where more than two-fifths have come. The least, five percent, came from the semi-urban, meaning upazila or municipal towns.



2.1.3. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Three types of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) – with the service providers at the centres, comparatively senior children (aged between 15-17 years), and the parents/guardians of the inmates were conducted in each of the centres. Thus, a total nine FGDs were conducted in the three Child Development Centres. Pre-designed guidelines were used in conducting the FGDs.

2.1.4. Case Studies

A total of 12 case studies, 04 from each of the centres were collected for detailed analysis of the problems and prospects of the inmates.

2.1.4. Key Informant Interviews (KII)

A total of 20 KII were conducted with the centre superintendents, senior official of the directorate of the social welfare, lawyers, human rights defenders, sociologist, psychologists, cultural

communities and the academics to know their perspectives from the broader points of views on the issue.

2.1.2. Observation

Observation method was applied to understand the infrastructural facilities, relationship between the center managers and the children, and the relationship among the inmates; and their overall activities.

2.1.3. Literature Review

Relevant literature i.e. books, research reports, journal articles, media reports were gathered and reviewed as and where required.

2.2. Study Implementation Process

2.2.1. Developing Instruments/Questionnaire

i. **Desk Review:** Relevant study reports were collected and reviewed for getting a clear understanding of the study which helped the research team to develop necessary instruments in line with the objectives of the study.

ii. **Drafting the instruments:** The instruments were framed both in English and Bangla through rigorous exercise, team interaction and consultation. While framing the questionnaire, the following things were taken into consideration:

- Does the questionnaire cover the objectives of the study adequately and comprehensively?
- Is the questionnaire valid and reliable to understand the aforesaid issues? Appropriateness of open-ended and close-ended questions?
- Appropriateness of questions for validity of results (e.g. some respondents tend to tick 'strongly agree'; therefore questions should be phrased differently)?
- Ease-of-use of physical layout of questionnaire?

iii. **Pre-testing of instruments:** In order to test the survey instrument, a pilot survey was conducted on 5% of the total samples respondents. The difficulties and problems faced in the field survey were discussed and analyzed by the research team and the instruments will be revised accordingly.

v. **Finalizing the instruments:** After the pilot survey, a brainstorming session was arranged with the study team for reviewing the questionnaire. The learning from the field will be adjusted and the instruments were finalized accordingly.

2.2.b. Data Collection Method

A simple and 'systematic random sampling' procedure was applied in collecting data. A pre-designed and pre-tested questionnaire was used for interviewing the respondents.

i. Selection of Data Collectors

After the questionnaire is finalized, the data collectors were employed by the research team. Experienced data collectors were hired and trained accordingly. Nine data collectors were employed to gather data from the relevant stakeholders.

ii. Orientation of data collectors (DC)

In order to get a good result in data collection, the selected data collectors were trained accordingly. After hiring the DC's, they underwent a three-day rigorous orientation. The orientation covered;

- the art of interviewing
- techniques of building rapport with the respondents
- proper filling in the questionnaire
- recording the responses fairly mentioning the date, time and address of the respondents
- techniques of photo documentation, if possible.

iii. Supervision during data collection

The team leader as well as the core researchers directly supervised the data collectors in the fields. They visited the survey areas as and when necessary to ensure the quality of work.

Technical approaches and strategies to collecting accurate/complete data

- Finding out targeted respondents as per the 'Data Collection Matrix'
- Probing the instrument as and where necessary as per the guidelines of the survey
- Filling in the questionnaire properly and checking double
- Initial Data Screening by the supervisors whether: a) the responses are legible/readable, b) all questions answered, c) the responses are complete, d) relevant contextual information e.g. date, time, place

- Central Data Screening by the Lead Researcher for ensuring accurate data
- Peer Reviewing to ensure accuracy of the questionnaires completed.
- Data cleaning by the Lead Researcher to verify the data for accuracy

iii. Quality Control

Quality control is a prime concern of the study. All the data collectors and supervisors were initially responsible for controlling quality of the collected data. Apart from them, the team leader and the core researchers directly supervised the data collection.

iv. Data Entry

With completing data collection, a data entry frame in SPSS was developed. After checking and coding, the filled-in instruments were entered into the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) frame. A detailed guideline and codebook was prepared by the research team which was maintained during data entry.

v. Data Cleaning

The research team checked and verified the data for any error that might arise due to oversight or other human errors. It was detected and corrected to ensure accuracy.

vi. Data Analysis

Members of the research team analyzed the data in the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) and prepared presentation in PowerPoint and disseminated the study findings in a seminar.

vii. Preparing Report

After analyzing data, a draft report was prepared and presented for feedback and comments from the relevant stockholders. The report was finalized accommodating the comments and feedbacks.

Chapter Three

Findings

The study has been conducted with three specific objectives: understanding the nature and causes of behavioural problems of the inmates and assessing their needs; figuring out capacity of the child development centres in terms of their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and prospects for effective service delivery; and exploring the pragmatic way forwards for the improvement of the service packages delivered to the children living in the centres. Against these objectives, necessary data were gathered from the Questionnaire Survey, FGD, KII, Case Study and the observation methods. For the convenience, the findings derived from all these methods have been furnished under each of the objectives:

Objective-1: To understand the nature and causes of behavioural problems of the inmates and assess their needs

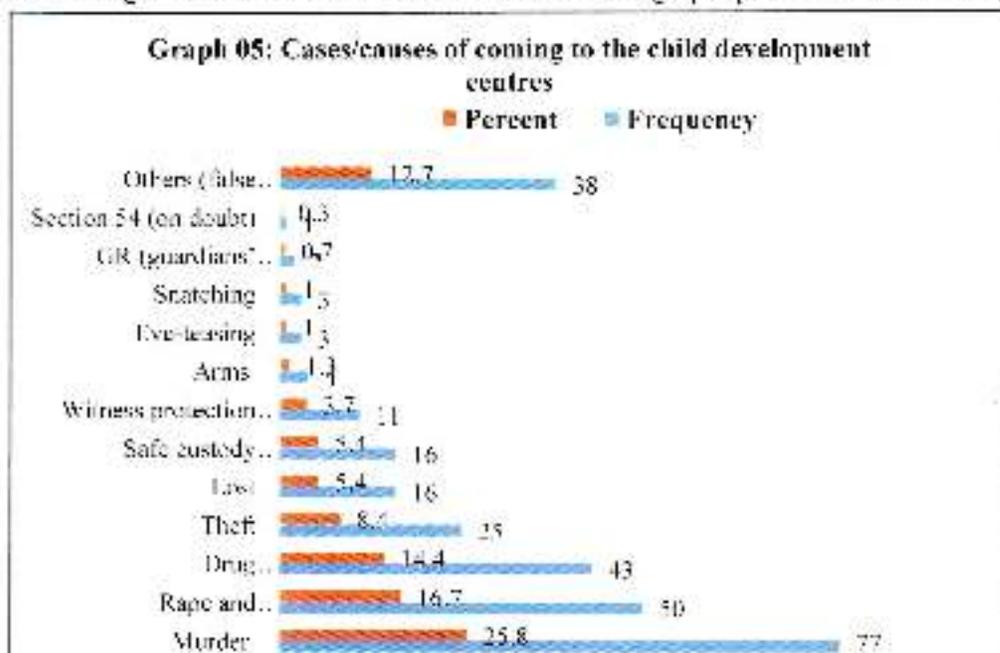
Under this objective, types of unexpected behaviour of the children coming in contact with the laws (inmates), living conditions of the inmates at the Child Development Centres and the feelings of the inmates, relationship among the inmates and the officials, reasons for problematic behaviour and further needs of the inmates have been searched out. The findings are narrated below:

3.1.1. Reasons for coming to the Child Development Center

The questionnaire survey shows that the highest percent of the inmates, particularly the boys, come to the Child Development Centers being charged with the murder cases. After this, charges of the oppression on the women and children, and the drug (selling/using/carrying) topped the list. Due to safe custody, most of the girls were inhibited in the child development centre of Kanabari, Gazipur. According to the KII, tendency of delinquent behaviour among the girls is less than the boys, while the tendency of child marriage and victimization due to the cases was more common among the girls. The children coming to the Child Development Centers after coming in contact with the laws mostly include the boys. It reveals that more than 80 percent of the total inmates are the boys while the remaining ones are the girls.

The FGD findings show that some of the inmates were reportedly the victims of the situations. Some of the neighbours of the inmates and the police personnel allegedly brought false allegations against them. Some of the guardians in the FGDs claim that the village people are now becoming

critical who want to take revenge over disputed land, village politics and animosity. In some cases, these matters created enmity between the families which



ultimately led to the police station and the law suit. The vested interest groups including a section of the police personnel fuel into the matters. One of the guardians in Tangicentre state, "Village become hail to many people. Bad accompany leads many young boys and girls to go to drugs". Another guardian in the same centre said, "Village have become a place of politics and unworthy to live peacefully".

Case Study: Victim of Situation!

Farhad (not real name), is a boy of only 10 years who came of a village under Patuakhali District. He went to visit his grandparent's home. After visiting his grandparents, Farhad was on the way of returning home. On the way, he met a generous person who offered him to stay with. Farhad's family is too poor to manage both ends a day. So, Farhad accepted his offer and went to his new master's home. Next night, his master was murdered and Farhad was only the eye-witness who found a gang of few masked men killing his master. Later, Police personnel arrested Farhad and tortured him to make him bound to give confessional statement. Farhad states that the police personnel threatened him to give the statements otherwise they will punish his mother.

Arrest over Trifle Matter!

Shahab (not real name), is a boy of only nine years who came of a village from the district of Lalmonirhat. He was arrested on the charge of stealing the danbox (donation box) of a nearby mosque. Police personnel made him bound to give confessional statement though the child was not the mastermind. Later the real culprit was caught but this tiny boy was suffering in the Child Development Centre for the last seven months. Although the district administration as well as the centre management was trying much, the court did not grant him bail.

The tendency of youth delinquency can be related with the use of internets and the smart phones. Many young boys use smart phones for entertainment and erotic pleasure rather than using the devices as the tools of gathering information and education, according to the FGD participants and the KII respondents.

3.1.6. Feelings of living in the centers

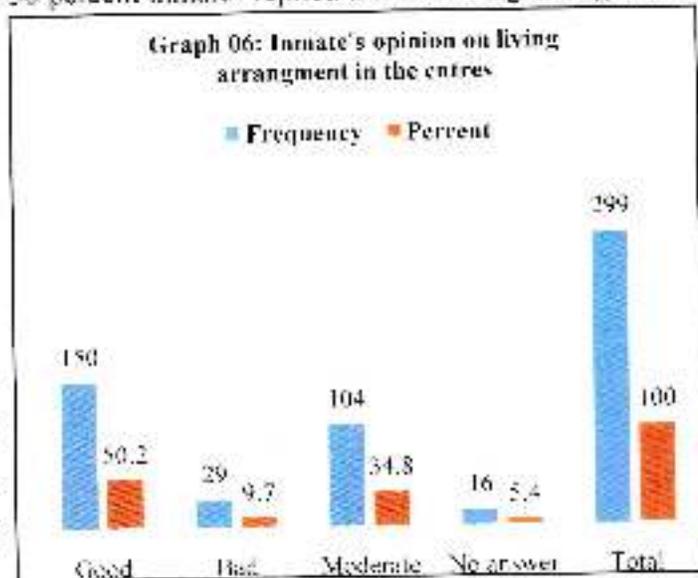
Regarding feelings of staying in the child development centers, mixed responses were revealed. The highest percent of the respondents, about 57 percent, expressed that they felt 'moderate' in the centers while about 20 percent as 'bad' and 18 percent respondents felt 'good' in the centers. The remaining 5.3 percent inmates did not respond in that regard. The FGD with the children reveal that most of the inmates developed a relationship among them and also with the officials of the centers which generated a feeling of 'good' to stay in the center. According to the KII, the poverty-stricken children deprived of food and clothes found the centers moderately better than their previous life in the inconvenient situations like staying at the footpaths, slums and lower habitation.

Table 04: Inmates' feelings of living in the centres

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Good	54	18.1
Bad	59	19.7
Moderate	170	56.9
No answer	16	5.3
Total	299	100.0

3.1c. Living Arrangements

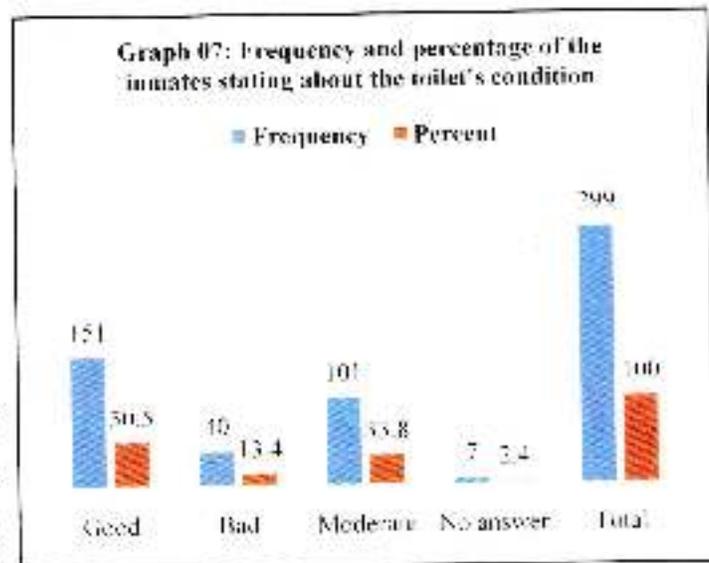
Regarding living arrangements, more than 50 percent inmates replied that the living arrangements in the centres was 'Good'. More than one-third percent (35%) respondents replied that the living arrangement for them in the centers was 'Moderate'. About 10 percent inmates opined the living arrangements as 'Bad' while 5.4 percent, the remaining ones, did not respond in that regard. Though a big number of inmates replied that the living arrangement in the center was either 'Good' or 'Moderate', some of the FGD participants complained that they did not have access to the bedstead or closet.



3.1d. Situation of Toilet and Bathroom

Regarding situation of toilet and bathroom, more than 50 percent inmates replied that the toilets and bathrooms in the centers were 'Good'. Also a big chunk of inmates, 34 percent replied that the quality of bathrooms and toilets were 'Moderate'.

Observation of the atmosphere of bathrooms shows that the bathrooms were dirty emitting bad smells. Among the three centres, environment of bathroom and kitchen was better in Konabari than others.



3.1e. Food and Drinks

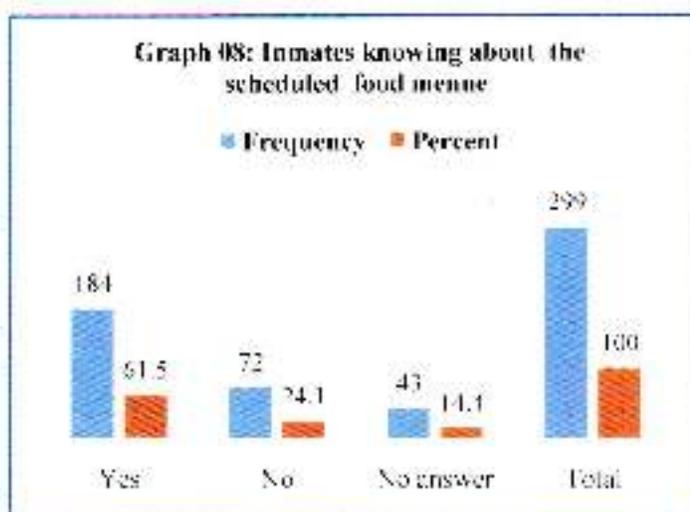
More than 80 percent of inmates replied that they got their food and water timely. But a small number of inmates described that they did not get their food and water on time.

Table 05: Inmate's statement on getting food and drinks timely

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	246	82.3
No	20	6.7
Irregular	25	8.4
No answer	8	2.6
Total	299	100.0

3.1.1.1 Knowing Food Menu

Regarding knowing of the food menu, a big chunk of the inmates, more than 60 percent replied that they know the food menu. Nearly one-fourth inmates replied that they did not have idea about the menu or they did not know about the same. The FGD findings reveal that the newcomers usually do not know about the food menu but they come to know the same after staying some days in the development centres.



Maintaining the food menu: Regarding maintaining the food menu by the centre management, more than half of the inmates replied that the authority properly maintained the same while nearly one-fourth of the respondents remained silent. The FGD responses show that some of the inmates claim that the items (mostly the potato, papaya) of the vegetables remained unchanged in most of the meals.

Table 06: Inmate's statement on maintaining the food menu

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	167	55.9
No	38	12.7
Irregular	24	8.0
No answer	70	23.4
Total	299	100.0

3.1.3 Study facilities in the centres

About 71 percent respondents replied that they still continued their study in the centers while one-fourth of them replied that they could not run their study there. The FGD findings reveal that facilities of education at the centres were limited upto grade five only. The vocational trades were also insufficient comparing to the demands of the job markets.

Table 07: Inmates studying in the centres

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	212	70.9
No	77	25.8
No answer	10	3.3
Total	299	100.0

Types of education: Among the inmates continuing education, 40 percent were undergoing vocational education while 34.4 percent were the participants of general education. The remaining ones could not specify their type of studying at the centres.

Feeling about education: According to the half of the total respondents, the quality of education in the center was 'Good'. More than one-fourth of the respondents think that the quality of education was 'moderate' while 11 percent think that 'not good'. The remaining ones, 9 percent respondents, did not wish to disclose their thoughts on the quality of education.

The FGD findings from the parents, inmates and the officials reveal that the provision of general education is only upto class v which is not suitable for many inmates since a good chunk of the boys and girls come in the centres at an age of high school and college. Moreover, the vocational

trainings are also limited to some of the identical trades which do not generally attract many of the inmates. The officials, parents and the inmates state that some of the inmates attended the JSC, SSC and HSC examinations with the permission of the court. But, due to lack of high school and college level education facilities at the centres, many inmates could not prepare them for the examinations.

Many inmates, despite interests, cannot participate in the academic courses in the development centres due to their instability and short stay in the centres. The inmates have to appear before the courts, await for the bail and suffer from depression- all these negatively contribute to the educational interest of the inmates in these centres.

Table 08: Inmate's statement on quality of education

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Good	153	51.2
Bad	33	11.0
Moderate	86	28.8
No answer	27	9
Total	299	100.0

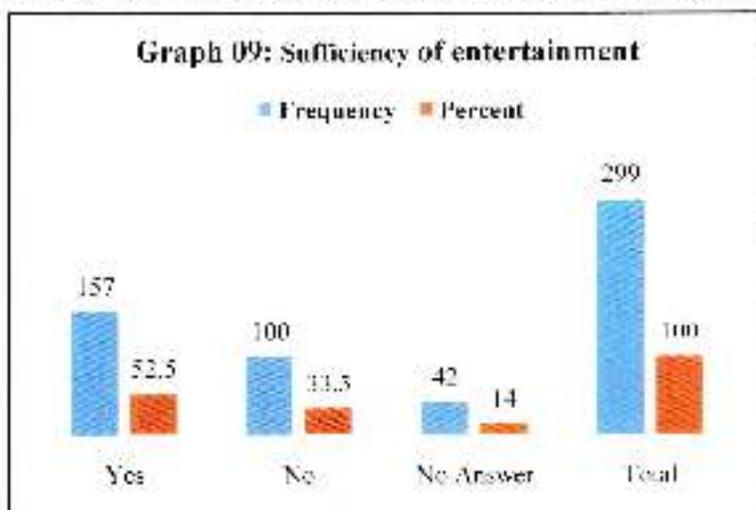
3.1.b. Entertainment Facilities

More than 66 percent respondents replied that they have the facility of entertainment at the centres while 14.4 percent replied that the facility was not provided timely, hence they were offered to them 'sometimes'. Thirteen percent respondents replied that they didn't have access to any kind of entertainment facilities and the rest six percent did not wish to disclose their answer.

Table 09: Inmate's responses on the entertainment facilities

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	99	66.6
No	39	13.0
Sometimes	43	14.4
No answer	18	6
Total	299	100.0

Sufficiency of entertainment: Regarding adequacy of entertainment, more than half of the respondents thought that the entertainment they can access was enough and they were satisfied with that. On the contrary, about 36 percent respondents thought that the entertainment was not enough for them and they needed more facilities. The FGD findings reveal, the inmates want more sports kits like football, cricket bat etc. and they intend more time to watch television programmes.



3.1.1 Communication Facilities

The study shows that nearly 90 percent respondents enjoyed the TV facilities. The second most facilities they enjoyed were mobile phone. The most frequent responses coming from the FGDs with the inmates show that they could only use the mobile phone once a week to talk to their family members and they had earnestly requested to increase the facilities of using the mobile phone facilities in the centers.

Table 10: Inmate's responses on the types of communication facilities

Facility	Frequency	Percent of Cases
TV	250	88.3%
Mobile	73	25.8%
Newspaper	44	15.5%
Internet	6	2.1%
Radio	3	1.1%
Total	376	132.9%

*Due to multiple responses, percentage became higher than 100

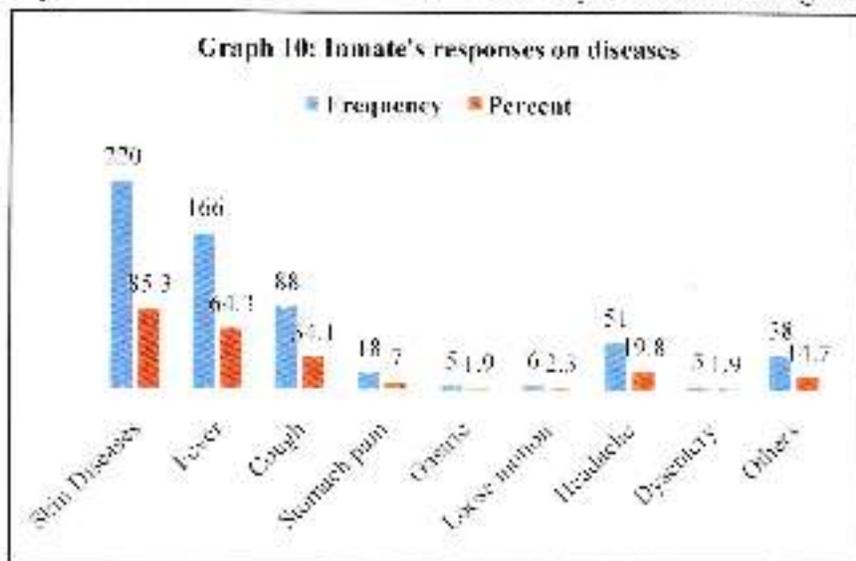
3.3.4 Health and Hygiene

Maintaining health and hygiene: Regarding personal cleanliness, nearly 80 percent respondents replied that they regularly maintained their personal cleanliness like bathing, cutting nails, brushing teeth, using soap etc. About 14 percent respondents replied that they could not maintain their personal cleanliness regularly but they 'sometimes' maintained that.

Table 11: Inmate's responses on maintaining personal cleanliness

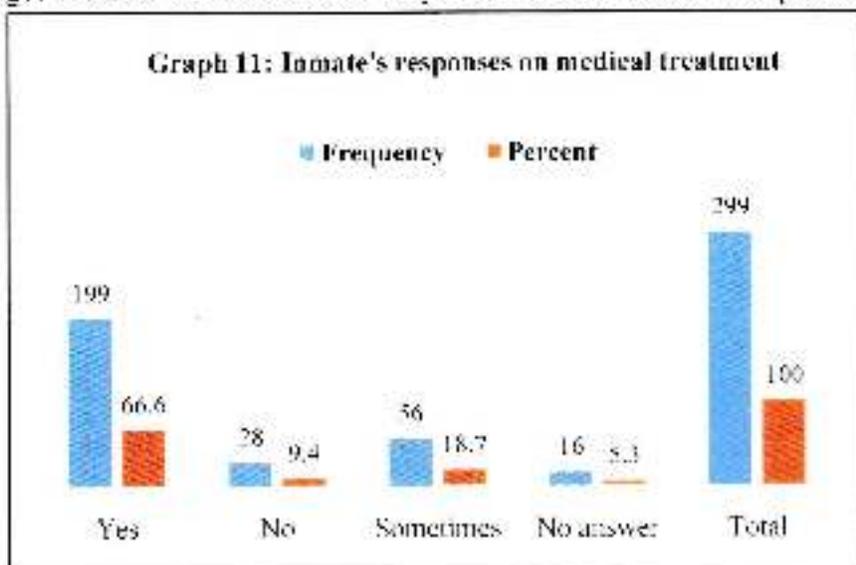
Responses	Frequency	Percent
Regularly	239	79.9
Sometimes	41	13.7
No	5	1.7
No Answer	14	4.7
Total	299	100.0

Types of diseases: The survey shows that the skin diseases were very common among the inmates, mostly the boys. The second most common disease among the inmates was reported as the 'fever'. The most frequent responses coming from the PGDs with the inmates show that the water tanks were not cleaned for a long time and the water they use for bathing was polluted.



The KII with the officials show that, they refused the allegation of the inmates regarding the skin diseases. According to the officials, most of the inmates entered the centers with skin diseases which mostly inherited from the interim jail, mostly located in the police stations/custodies.

Availability of medical facilities: The survey shows that more than 66 percent respondents replied positively that they got medical treatment when they became sick. About 19 percent respondents replied that they 'sometimes' got the medical treatment and the 14 percent respondents replied negatively that they did not get any medical treatment during their ailment. Most frequent responses coming from the FGDs show that the medical facilities were



not up to the mark. Some of the inmates claim, "For fever or skin diseases, similar type of treatment or medicine is given. Diseases are not removed with the treatment or medicines". However, the authority refuses the allegation and told that they are trying to improve the medical services.

3.1.3. Physical labour

Regarding physical work, more than half of the respondents replied that they did not have to do physical work at the centers but nearly one-fourth of the respondents replied that they had to do some sorts of physical work at the centers. Another 13.4 percent respondents replied that they had to do physical work 'sometimes' and the rest 5.3 percent respondents did not wish to answer. The FGD participants (inmates) reported that the physical labours generally carried out by the inmates included to assist the cook in the kitchen and washing the bathrooms and the floors.

Table 12: Inmate's responses regarding physical labour in the centres

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	72	24.1
No	171	57.2
Sometimes	40	13.4
No Answer	16	5.3
Total	299	100.0

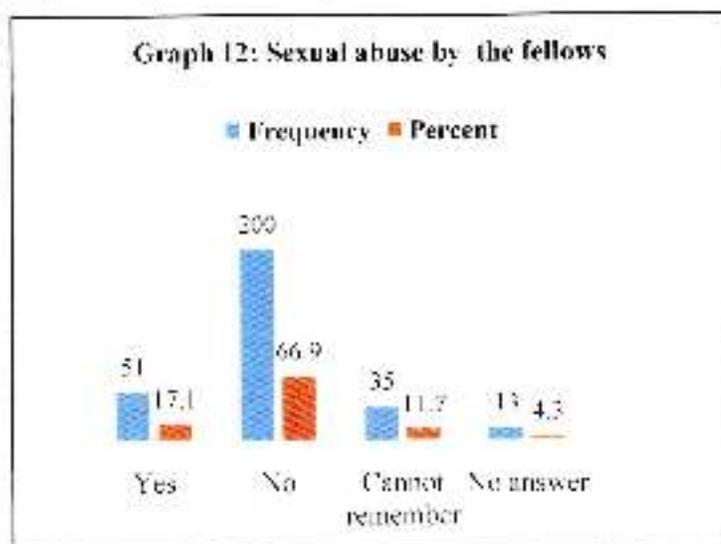
3.1.1. Sexual abuse

The survey shows that most of inmates, 67 percent, did not see any inmates being tortured sexually but 17 percent respondents replied that they were informed of the matter that the inmates faced sexual harassment by other inmates or the officials.

About 12 percent respondents replied that they could not remember anything regarding the issue while the rest 4.3 percent did not respond.

The FGD shows that, though most of the complains about

sexual harassment came from the boys, the female inmates have complained that the security guards at the center try to touch them in various forms of excuses.



Consulting on physical issues: Regarding consultation on physical or sexual issues, more than 43 percent respondents replied that they used to consult on their physical or sexual issues with the staffs of the centres. Nearly one-fourth of the respondents replied that they only consulted with their roommates. Of the respondents, 18 percent replied that they did not consult with anyone; instead they tried to keep solving their own while 13.4 percent respondents did not respond.

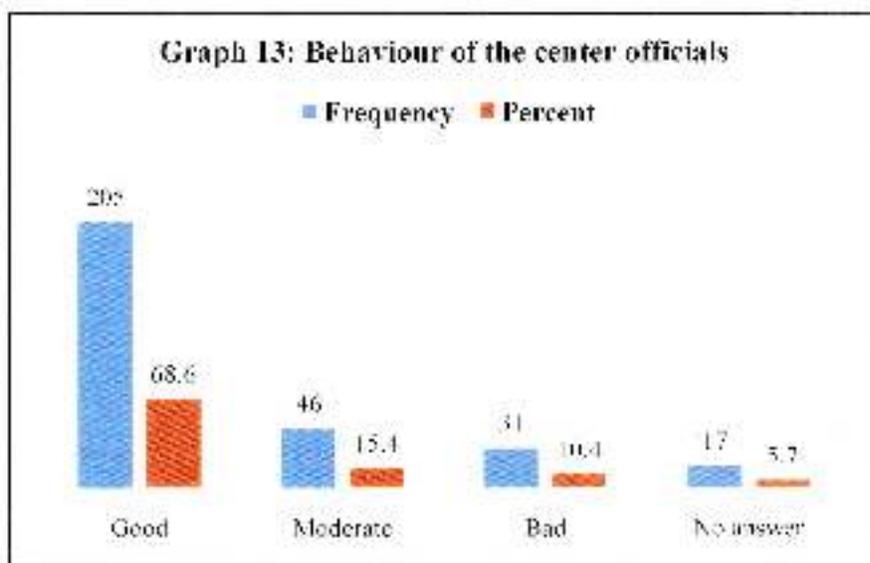
Table 13: Inmate's statement on consultation of physical issues

Responses	Frequency	Percent
With worker here	131	43.8
With roommates	67	22.4
None	54	18.1
No Answer	40	13.4
Total	299	100.0

3.1.m. Behaviour of the officials and workers

It reveals that more than 68 percent respondents think that the behavior of the officials or workers at the center was 'good' while 15.4 percent reported their behavior was 'moderate' and 10.4 percent respondents found their behavior 'not good'.

The FGD with the inmates show that some staffs (warders, guard/ansar) used to behave roughly with the inmates. In Konabari, a few guards (female) behaved with the girls roughly, used slangs and rebuked them. A few



girls alleged that there were a few staffs and guards who tried to take advantages of the situation to touch them while going to the courts and returning to the centres. The inmates did not generally claim of being affected with the rough behaviour of the officials, rather their allegations were against the guards, security personnel and the warders.

Centre and gender wise behaviour: The center wise findings show that more than 80 percent inmates in Konabari think that the behavior of the center's staff was 'good' while in Tongi, the percent of the respondents was 75, and in Jessore, the percentage was 57, the lowest in the

category. The FGD findings show that the troublemaking inmates in Tongi Center are often shifted to Jessore. According to some of the inmates, unruly attitude of a few inmates fuel the aggressive behavior of the staffs. The study also indicates that the staffs from Jessore and Tongi centre reportedly misbehave with the inmates than those of the Konabari Center. In Jessore 12 percent inmates reported about the misconduct of the staffs while the percentage was 11.53 in Tongi.

Table 14: Inmate's responses on the behaviour of the officials (Centre wise)

Center	Good	Moderate	Bad (Not good)	No answer	Total
Tongi	117(75%)	19(12.17%)	18(11.53%)	2(1.28%)	156 (99.98%)
Jessore	47 (57.31%)	21(25.60%)	10(12.19%)	4(4.87%)	82 (99.97%)
Konabari	41(82%)	6(12%)	3(6%)	0	50(100%)
Total	205	46	31	6	288

Gender wise findings show that a large chunk of female inmates thought that the staffs behavior was either 'Good' or 'Moderate' while a large chunk of male inmates, six percent thought that the staffs' behavior was 'not good(bad)' to them.

3.1.n. Punishment for violating rules

Most of the inmates, 67 percent, told that punishment was given to the inmates if the rules were violated. Of the respondents, 23.7 percent replied that they did not get punishment in case of violation of the discipliners while nine percent inmates did not respond. The TGDs with the inmates reveal that the officials tried to motivate the inmates through counseling on how to cope with the changing atmosphere at the centres and lead a disciplined and collective life in the centres. Some of the inmates, desperate by nature, usually experienced the punishment.

Table15: Inmate's responses on punishments at the centres

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	201	67.2
No	71	23.7
No answer	27	9.0
Total	299	100.0

Gender wise punishment: The survey shows that the boys got more punishment than those of the girls. Of the respondents (n=201) who mentioned of the punishment, 89 percent were the boys while the girls constituted 8.45 percent only.

Table16: Inmate's responses on punishments at the centres (gender-wise)

Gender	Yes
Male (Boys)	179(89.05%)
Female (Girls)	17 (8.45%)
No response	05(2.50%)
Total	201(100%)

Centre wise punishment: The study reveals that 56 percent respondents mentioned of the corporal punishment at the Tongicentre while the percentage was 36 in Jessorecentre. The least, 8 percent inmates at Kanabari centre mentioned of the punishment.

Table17: Inmate's responses on punishment (centre wise)

Center	Yes
Tongi	113 (55.72%)
Jessore	72 (35.82%)
Kanabari	17 (8.45%)
Total	201(99.99%)

Type of punishments: The study shows that beating, in the opinion of 61 percent inmates, was common for the inmates in the centres in case of violations of any rules or disciplines. Apart from this, a large number of inmates, 30.5 percent, replied that they were punished with rebuking and scolding. The least percent of the respondents, 1.7 mentioned of standing under the hot sun as the punishment.

Table 18: Inmate's responses on type of punishments

Types of punishments	Frequency	Percent of Cases
Beating	106	60.9%
Rebuking and Scolding	53	30.5%
Handcuff setting	55	31.6%
House change	41	23.6%
Holding ears	33	19.0%
Humiliation	12	6.9%
Transfer	8	4.6%
Standing under sun	3	1.7%
Total	311	178.7%

*Due to multiple responses, percentage became higher than 100

The FGDs with the inmates reveal that most of the inmates received beating heavily with belts, sticks, fuel-woods, and other heavy materials. According to the senior inmates partaking the FGDs, some *taxor* in Jessore centre rudely behaved with the inmates and beat them while a few of the guards and the warders in Tongicentre did the same.

3.1.0. Sharing life and relationship with fellows and old friends

Of the respondents, 61 percent replied that they could share their personal problems with their roommates or the staff's at the center. Of the respondents, 14 percent told that they could not do the same while the remaining 14 percent could do that sometimes. The rest 7.3 percent respondents did not give answer.

Table19: Inmate's responses on sharing personal problem

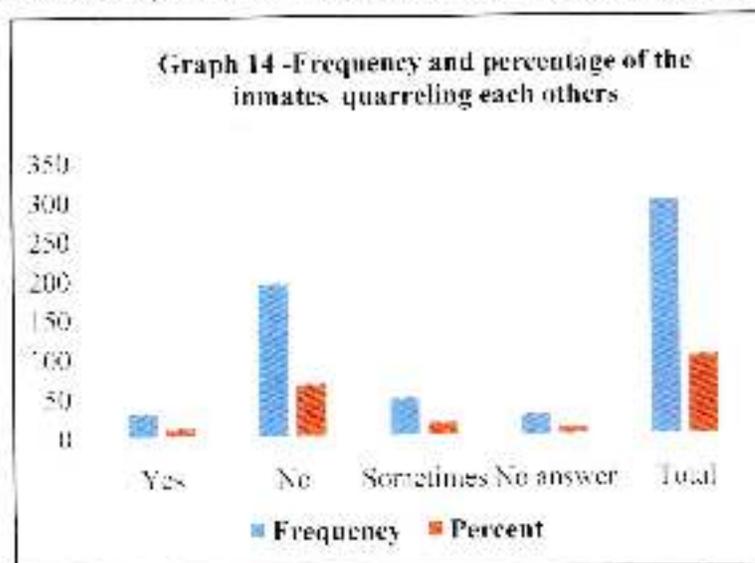
Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	192	64.2
No	42	14.0
Sometimes	42	14.0
No answer	23	7.3
Total	299	100.0

Relationship with inmates: According to 68.6 percent respondents, the inmates used to maintain a good and healthy relationship with their fellows while 21 percent respondents opined the relationship was moderate. As per the opinion of the four percent respondents, the relationship among the inmates was not good while more than six percent did not respond.

Table20: Relationship among the inmates

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Good	205	68.6
Not good	12	4.0
Moderate	63	21.1
No answer	19	6.3
Total	299	100.0

Quarreling among the inmates: More than 65 percent inmates replied that they did not quarrel with their inmates who intended to live peacefully with others. However, 10 percent respondents agreed that they used to quarrel while 16 percent used to quarrel 'sometimes'. The FGD findings from both the inmates and the guardians show that there were some practices of ragging the newcomers in the centres. Some '*baroyai*' (big brothers i.e.



senior inmates having influence) charged the newcomers for money, materials and dominance. In case of failure to meet their demands, the newcomers were beaten. The FGDs with the centre officials reveal that the system of ragging was not practiced since a few years. However, some of the inmates and the guardians claim that the system did not abolish completely though reduced significantly. There are still a few such boys who try to rag the newcomers. The officials also agreed that, though, the prevalence of such ragging reduced, a few such incidents take place now and then. The KIIs with the center supervisors show that, in every floor they introduced 'captainship' system. The gentle, senior ones and active inmates are now being selected as the 'captain' who looks after the discipline of the inmates of a floor. The captain is changed monthly.

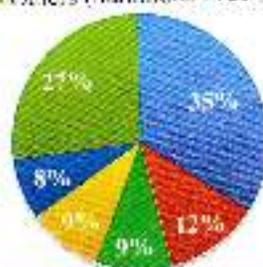
Reasons for quarrelling: More than one-third respondents stated that quarrelling took place due to teasing and provoking each other while 12 percent respondents replied that they were engaged in quarreling because of food distribution, 9 percent for bed sharing and arranging.

A good many inmates, 27 percent were engaged in quarreling for queer varieties of reasons like trash talking, showing pride and power, heroism, joking and mocking and alleged

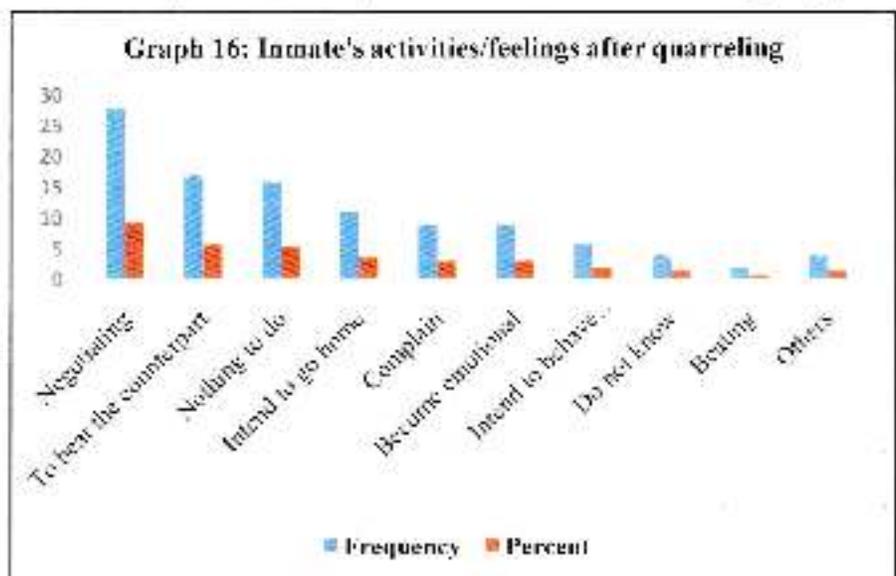
disrespect for each other etc. The FGDs with the inmates show that, sometimes, quarreling takes place for showing dominating attitudes and bullying by some inmates.

Graph 15: Reasons for quarreling-percentage distribution

- Tease and provoke
- Food distribution
- Bed sharing and arranging
- Scolding on lame excuse
- Sports
- Others (humiliate, order, dominance)



Feelings after quarrelling: Among the inmates responding to share their feelings after quarrelling, 9.4 percent told that they tried to negotiate with the counterparts while 5.7 percent intended to beat the rivals. Of the respondents, 5.4 percent did not want to do anything, 3.7 percent felt to go home, 3 percent complained to the authorities, 3 percent became emotional and cried alone after quarrelling with their inmates. The supervisor of Jessore Child Development Centre states that some of the inmates did some sorts of



emotional behavior including attempt to commit suicide by hanging themselves with the ceiling fan, by catching the electric bulb, pushing the head to the wall, cutting hands and vein by sharp needles and knives. These types of abnormal behaviors were associated with some sorts of frustration. He added that staying long term in the centers without possibility of interim bail, lengthy trial system, and torture by the police outside the centre and torture by the *ansar* warder and the guards inside the centre compelled them to carry out such abnormal behavior. Suicidal tendency also grows for some other reasons including familial matters. Some of the rich guardians buy costly and attractive dresses on the occasion of Eids and other festivals which create sense of discrimination among the inmates coming from the lower income class. Divorce of the parents, or in most of the cases, rejection of mothers by the fathers of some inmates create frustration among them which lead them to do abnormal behavior. Some of the inmates grow frustrated due to the discriminatory trial system when they find their senior inmates getting bail even after being charged for murder, rape, drug or arms cases.

Contacts with old friends: About 85 percent inmates stated that they had no communication with their old friends while about 9 percent had the communication. The remaining ones did not give answer. The TGD findings show that the tight security measures and rules of the centres do not encourage the friends to come and meet the inmates.

Table 21: Contacts with the old friends

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	4.3
No	253	84.6
Sometimes	13	4.3
No Answer	20	6.7
Total	299	100.0

3.1.p. Life and living before coming to the centres

The survey shows that nearly 80 percent of the total inmates used to live with their parents before coming to the center while a little chunk of the inmates, whose parents were separated or expired, used to stay at their relatives' homes. A small chunk of the respondents used to live in the 'mess' while 9 percent had no permanent place to stay.

Table 22: Inmate's responses on their previous living places

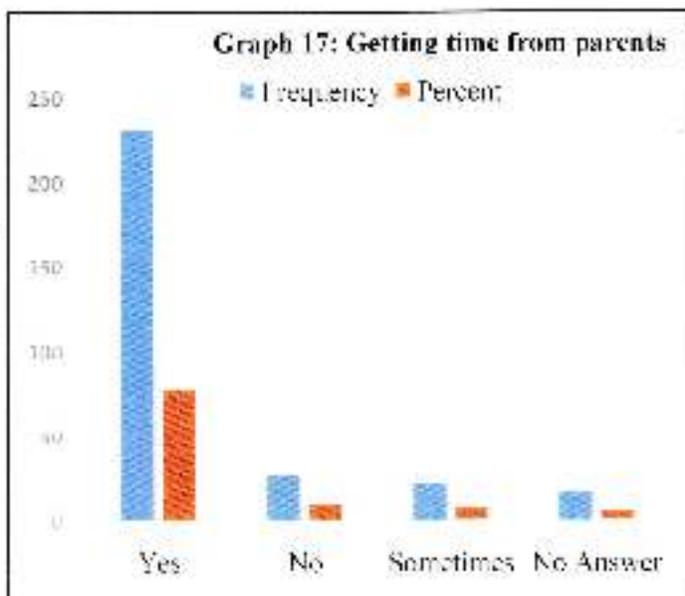
Responses	Frequency	Percent
Own residence	237	79.3
Relative's house	12	4.0
Mess	5	1.7
Footpath and no permanent place	27	9.1
No Answer	18	6.0
Total	299	100.0

Relationship with the persons living before: The survey shows that nearly 80 percent of the respondents replied that their relationship with whom they lived earlier was 'Good'. Of the respondents, 7.4 percent mentioned the relationship 'moderate' and 7 percent mentioned the same as 'not good' while the rest 6.3 percent did not give answer.

Table 23: Inmate's responses on their relationship with the persons living earlier

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Good	237	79.3
Moderate	22	7.4
Bad (not good)	21	7.0
No answer	19	6.3
Total	299	100.0

Getting time from parents: The survey shows that 77.6 percent of the total respondents replied that their parents used to give them extra time while 7.4 percent told that their parents gave them time 'sometimes' and 9 percent replied that their parents never gave them extra time to pass together. Of the respondents, 6 percent did not respond regarding that. Here, extra or additional time means accompanying to discuss and share life together in the forms of storytelling, experience sharing besides staying at home for doing daily activities. The social-psychologists, the KHs, stated that giving the children some additional time for sharing experiences, telling stories, watching television programme together etc. contribute positively to forming sympathetic personality of the children.



Of the respondents, 92 percent thought that their parents were the closest persons while 6.4 percent did not respond. The remaining ones were the relatives and friends. The FGD participants and the KH respondents stated that some of the boys show desperate behaviour due to their broken familial relationship. In case of parent's separation or step mother's interference, some children got frustrated and found happiness in the outer home activities by mixing with the friends and accompanies and thus become addicted to drugs and got involved in antisocial activities.

Case Study: Entrance of stepmother in the family exited Faruk !

Faruk(not real name) is 16 years now who came in the Tongi Child Development Centre three years back. He was from Narayanganj. Faruk and his mother were rejected by his father after his second marriage. Faruk's mother had to work very hard as a home maid to feed her five children. Faruk did not get accompany of his parents and at one stage he engaged with the bad accompanies who led him to use and carry drugs. Faruk was, by nature a mischievous boy who used to fight with others and tried to show his dominance. His mother did not want him to get out of the centre but she sometimes visited to see him. He was not eager to participate in any activity rather preferred to take part in sports. Faruk has recently been released and promised not to be involved further in drug using and carrying. The counselling and motivation of the centre officials has brought some positive changes in him.

3.1.q. Experience of using drugs

Most of the inmates, 82 percent stated that they did not use drug while 8.7 percent had the habit. A little chunk, 2.7 percent replied that they 'sometimes' had the experience of using the drug and 6.3 percent did not give answer. The gender wise findings show that all the drug addicts were the boys.

Table24: Inmates taking drug before coming to the centres

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	26	8.7
No	246	82.3
Sometimes	8	2.7
No answer	19	6.3
Total	299	100.0

The age wise findings show that most of the drug users were the teenagers. Those who belong to 15-17 age groups constituted the largest percentage of the drug users. After that, the second largest category was the boys consisting of the age limit 12-14 years old inmates who had experienced drug.

Table25: Taking drug before coming to the centres (Age wise)

Age	Yes	No	Sometimes	No answer	Total
9-11	0	1(0.43%)	0	0	1(0.37%)
12-14	5(19.23%)	50(31.64%)	1(12.5%)	0	56(20.97%)
15-17	21(80.76%)	180(77.92%)	7(87.5%)	2(100%)	210(78.65%)
Total	26	231	8	2	267

The findings derived from the FGDs show that those who were active in drug using in the previous life mostly gave up the habit. However, a few inmates were yet to manage drugs somehow and used to take. One of the principal reasons for being addicted to drug is accompanying g with the wicked friends and accomplices.

Case Study: Wicked accomplices made Saidur drug addicted!

Saidur(not real name) is a boy of 13 years who has come to the Tongi Child Development Centre in February 2017. He was bound to use drugs like ganja and yaba with his wicked accomplices. Before accompanying with the wicked boys, he did not develop such terrible habit. For the last two months, Saidur became addicted to drugs. In order to manage money for buying drugs, he used to snatch with other boys. He can now understand his faulty behaviour for which his parents complained to the police stations.

3.1.r. Use of communication tools

The survey shows that more than half, 50 percent of the inmates used different types of communication tools like cell phone, computer, internet, Facebook and other media. About 44 percent of the inmates did not use the same.

Table26: Inmates' using communication tools before coming to the centres

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	125	41.8
No	131	43.8
Sometimes	25	8.4
No answer	18	6
Total	299	100.0

The gender wise data shows that boys were ahead of using the communication tools than those of the girls by nearly 16 percent. The percentage for the boys was 55.41 while the same was 39.58 was for the girls. It means that the girls are lagging behind the boys in terms of using the communication tools. In terms of age, the inmates belonging to 15-17 years were much more users with 84 percent than the groups 9-14 years' inmates with 16 percent.

Purpose of using the communication tools: Of the communication tools users, 37 percent used the tools for their study while 16.4 percent used them for entertainment, 15.7 percent for getting information, 7.4 percent for various reasons and the rest 23.4 percent did not give answer. The FGD findings show, some of the inmates state that many children of the age groups belonging to 12-17 years passed time with these tools secretly and searched for the contents that should have been immoral.

Table 27: Purposes of using communication tools

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Study	111	37.1
Entertainment	49	16.4
Getting information	47	15.7
Others	22	7.4
No answer	70	23.4
Total	299	100.0

3.1.5. Watching action and romantic film

The findings show that the highest number of the inmates, more than 56 percent, replied that they were used to watch action film on TV or in the cinema hall. Among the remaining ones, 35 percent did not watch the same while 8.7 percent did not give answer.

Table 28: Watching action and romantic films

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	98	32.8
No	105	35.1
Sometimes	70	23.4
No answer	26	8.7
Total	299	100.0

The age wise findings show that the inmates belonging to 15-17 age group constituted most of the viewers of the action movies which was 75 percent. The remaining ones belonged to 12-14 age group. The FGDs with the inmates of 15 years and above reveal that most of the boys at this stage were habituated to watch various types of action films on both the television and cinema halls. On the other hand, the children below 12 years liked to watch cartoon series.

The KII, mostly the psychologists, state that frequent exposures to action movies create excitement among the viewers. They develop a sort of heroism like the action heroes of those movies and try to show their worth in case of any chance and get involved in fighting and aggressive behaviour. Some of the boys think that showing aggressive behaviour gives them a different identity in the community since they do not understand that the temporary power and dominance do not give them any permanent achievement. Some of the boys, after releasing violent behaviour, feel gratified internally that other people get afraid of them. Thus, they become violent and show desperate behaviour when there is any chance.

The gender wise findings show that the tendency of watching romantic motives was common among the girls according to 59 percent respondents while others did not like to view or respond in that regard. The FGD with the girls reveal that the girls were fond of romantic films, mostly the Indian romantic films, while the boys were fond of the action movies. The findings from the key informant interviews reveal that too much exposure to the romantic movies generally lead the girls to early marriage. It might be one of the reasons for the girls undergoing safe-custody in the child development centre.

3.1.1. Getting angry/feeling heartbroken and its consequences

The highest percent of the respondents (61%) replied that they did not feel angry or heartbroken because of the misbehavior of the staffs or the inmates while 26 percent felt angry and heartbroken and more 12.7 percent did not give answer regarding this.

Table 29: Feelings of getting angry

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	78	26.1
No	183	61.2
No Answer	38	12.7
Total	299	100

Reasons for becoming angry: The study shows nearly three-fourths of the respondents did not wish to disclose the reason or remained silent. Among the respondents, 8.7 percent got angry because of the staffs' beating, 7.0 percent got angry because of the staffs' rough behavior, 3.3 percent got angry for not allowing them to meet their parents and the rest 7 percent got angry for other reasons.

Table 30: Reasons for becoming angry

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Beating	26	8.7
Rough behavior	21	7.0
Not allowing to meet or contact with parents	10	3.3
Others	21	7.0
No answer	221	73.9
Total	299	100.0

Reactions/activities after being angry: The findings show that more than 65 percent respondents did not reply about their reactions or activities after becoming angry. After that, 17 percent replied that they did nothing rather than sleeping after becoming angry, 6.4 percent intended to cry lonely, 2 percent desired to beat their counterparts, 1.3 percent intended to punish themselves.

Table 31: Inmates' activities after becoming angry

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Sleeping	51	17.1
Intend to cry lonely	19	6.4
Intend to beat the counterpart	6	2.0
Intend to punish self	4	1.3
Recall parents	2	0.7
Intend to go home	2	0.7
Intend to smoke	1	0.3
Others	19	6.4
No answer	195	65.2
Total	299	100.0

Self- tortures of the inmates:The study shows that 14.7 percent inmates used to torture themselves while more than three-fourths did not do the same. The remaining 9.7 percent did not give answers.

Table 32: Respondents opinion on the self- tortures

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	32	10.7
No	226	75.6
Sometimes	12	4.0
No answer	29	9.7
Total	299	100.0

The KII with the centre supervisors and the officials show that some inmates try to hurt themselves with broken pieces of glass and electric bulbs; and sharp objects while a few break water taps, cut fingers and hands, push their heads on the walls etc. when they find no or little hope of bail or release. Some inmates feel deprived when they find their roommates get bail

despite being charged for serious offences like murder and rape. A few get frustrated when they come to know divorce of their parents. Cruelty of police and the centre's security staffs also fuel into their violent behaviour.

Tortures on juniors or newcomers: The findings show that nearly three-fourths of the total respondents replied that the senior inmates did not torture on the juniors or newcomers while 17.4 percent told that the junior or newcomers were tortured and 8.7 percent did not answer.

Table 33: Tortures on the newcomers

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Yes	43	14.4
No	221	73.9
Sometimes	9	3.0
No answer	26	8.7
Total	299	100.0

3.1.a. Plan after returning home

The findings show that more than 60 percent of the total respondents replied that they wanted to go back to their study while 20.7 percent wanted to be involved in any available work after leaving the center, 9.7 percent wanted to go to their previous place and the rest 9.1 percent did not reply.

Table 34: Plans after returning home

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Study	181	60.5
Will involve in work	62	20.7
Return to previous place	29	9.7
No Answer	27	9.1
Total	299	100.0

The gender wise findings show that more than half of the total inmates both boys and the girls would go back to their study after returning from the centers. Nearly one-fourth of the total boys would be involved in any available work after their release while nearly 15 percent girls wanted to be involved in work after their release. Those who replied that they would return to the previous place, among them more than 22 percent were the girls and nearly 8 percent were boys.

Table 35: Plans after returning home (gender wise)

Gender	Study	Will involve in work	Return to previous place	No answer	Total
Male	149(83.70%)	53(88.33%)	18(62.06%)	8(88.88%)	228(82.60%)
Female	29(16.29%)	7(11.66%)	11(37.93%)	1(11.11%)	48(17.39%)
Total	178	60	29	9	276

Objective-2: Figure out capacity of the centres in terms of strengths, weakness, opportunities and prospects for effective services

In this objective, strengths, weakness, opportunities and prospects for effective service delivery by the centres were analyzed on the basis of the qualitative findings derived from the FGD and KII as well as the documents review. For the convenience, this part has been discussed in the chapter four.

Objective-3: Pragmatic way forwards for the improvement of the centre's service delivery

In this objective, some pragmatic suggestions have been discussed on the basis of the findings and feedbacks derived from FGD, KII, Observation and Workshop. These have been discussed in the chapter four.

Chapter Four

Analysis of the Findings

4.1. Issues that affect the behaviour of the inmates

The FGD and KII findings show that most of the inmates were from the lower income class with low educational background of the family members, particularly the parents. A number of the inmates were from the poor and broken family. This is because they do not get proper guidance to develop their social and moral character. They become easy prey to the vagrant and wicked boys, mix with them and get involved in antisocial activities. Some take drugs while some are involved in theft and snatching. Since these boys do not get parental accompany and did not undergo the process of proper socialization, they develop desperate attitude and delinquency. Many guardians from the lower income class are not aware enough to take care of their children for which they can't monitor the overall activities of their children.

Some of the inmates from the upper income families were staying at the centres. These boys were provided with additional money to meet their demands. As a result, they spent the money for unnecessary purposes and a few of them got addicted to drugs and other types of antisocial activities. After getting money on the hands, they wanted to show their power and influence by dominating others. As a result, conflict took place among the boys and their groups. In a few cases, the guardians of the high income class did not tolerate that other boys could dominate over their sons. Due to high egoistic problem, a few such guardians preferred their sons to beat other boys rather than to be beaten. According to the KIIs, some guardians provide their sons and daughters with the money rather than giving them time and accompany. All these attitude and behaviour of the guardians contribute to the deviant behaviour of the children.

Many children at their teenage cannot understand reality of life and they fail to select proper accompanies which lead them to mix with deviated boys and persons and thus get engaged in violent activities and come in contact with the laws. After coming in contact with laws, their first experiences with the police personnel were not smooth. They are violated and harassed in many ways. In the child development centres, some of them face difficulties in terms of food, lodging, halting and above all living. Moreover, in the changing atmosphere they could not easily adjust with the fellows since some of the inmates used to torture or rag on the newcomers for money and

materials and above all for the dominance. Some of the inmates are physically tortured for violating the disciplines by the security staffs or the warders while some of the inmates get frustrated for not granting bail. A section of the inmates felt deprived in the trial system since some of the inmates coming from the influential quarter manage bail or release even being charged for serious crimes like murder and rape. On the contrary, some of the inmates could not run the litigation smoothly and stay in the centres even for being charged on relatively lighter cases like theft, eve-teasing, drug using or possessing etc. The table below shows interrelation between causes of behavior problems, psychological impact and expression of the unexpected behaviour of some of the inmates.

Causes of behavior problems	Psychological impact	Expression of unexpected behaviours
Punishment by the ansar, warder and police personnel	Frustration	Cutting hands and fingers, pulling heads against walls, hurting with broken bulbs, breaking water taps, electric bulbs, twisting necks with bed-covers; showing desperate behaviours like releasing temperament, lack of spontaneous participation in the centres regular course of activities, aggressive and violent behaviour
Discrimination in getting bail	Depression	
Divorce of parents	Withdrawal	
Lengthy bailing system and litigation process	Surplus Repression Sense of suffocation	
Quarrelling with the inmates	Emotional release	
Ragging by the older/senior inmates	Cognitive dissonance Lack of patience	
Long-term ailment, particularly skin diseases	Sense of insecurity Lack of self-confidence	
Exposure to action movies	Indolence and indifference towards life	
Use of facebook, mobile phone and internet	Lack of emotional fitting	
Insufficient food, entertainment, physical exercise, medical treatments		

4.2. Strengths of the Centres

The centres are being operated by dedicated and skilled supervisors with the cooperation and support from the officials. The TGD and KII with the officials show that some of the officials have considered their services as a social and moral responsibility to serve the children with coming in contact with the laws. They have thought their job as 'services to humanity' rather doing an occupation for money. Some of the officials were also found staying in the offices after office period so that they can complete their entrusted responsibilities. Moreover, the Government is concerned with the issues of the children. There are institutional arrangements for serving the children coming under the contact of law. The centres are being guided by the existing Children Act and policies. The centres have spacious playgrounds and secured habitation situated in good locations.

Own infrastructures: The Child Development Centres have been set up in huge complexes having play grounds, gardens, big buildings with necessary supplies and utility capacities. Due to own infrastructure, the centres got individual identity. The community people easily can identify them.

Trained and dedicated staffs: The officials of the centres were found cooperative, dedicated and experienced. The officials were found holding offices and discharging their entrusted duties even after the office periods.

Comprehensive model: The centre management follows the model of incarceration of the inmates through diversion, counselling, motivation, education, litigation, employment skills and linkage with the employers as well as addressing basic needs. The model on which the centres were founded is a comprehensive one which has envisaged to rehabilitate an inmate after finding the course of incarceration at the centres.

4.3. Challenges of the Centre Services

Infrastructure: Having been huge complex, the present infrastructure does not allow the increasing quantity of inmates' habitation. Due to lack of available seats and rooms, the number of the inhabitants is more than double in Tongi and Jessore child development center. The inmates have to live in a messy atmosphere since 400 inmates are accommodated against the capacity of 200 lodging arrangement in the Tongi centre.

Budget: Per capita budget (BDT 2600 monthly) is too inadequate to accommodate proper feeding for the inmates. This budget includes special menu on the occasions too. Moreover, the inmates are at the growing stage when the children require more food and nutrition than the allocation, the KII respondents state. The KIIs at the Konabari show that the budget is too scanty for the girls, and due to that, the additional needs of the girl inmates were very hard to meet up. Comparing to the boys, the girls need some additional cloths, accessories, health and hygiene matters for which some additional budget is required.

Police Escorting: The centre has to depend on the district police headquarter for escorting supports to fetch the inmates to the courts. Sometimes, the police forces reach to the center delayed due to distance and traffic jam. Moreover, during the VIP movement, police escorts are not possible manage for fetching the inmates. This is because; some of the inmates could not appear before the courts which lead the litigation procedure lengthy.

Medical Treatment: The medical treatment was found inadequate comparing to the health care needs of the inmates. There were some gaps in the access of the inmates to expert doctor's suggestions on some sorts of major cases of ailment like severe skin diseases.

Human Resources: All the child development centers lack of adequate human resources. The number of house parents, warders, psycho-social counselors, case-workers was found insufficient for which the centres's proper management hampered. Although the ideal proportion of the counselor-inmate should be 1:20, it is now about 1:100 which is not so effective. Two existing posts of house parents are vacant in Tongicentre. In Jessorecentre, there are 49 approved posts of the officials and the staffs of which only 28 officials and the staffs were in the current positions and thus there lacked 21 human resources. In Tongi Child Development Centre, there are 57 approved posts of which 31 are filled in and 26 posts are vacant. The positions were designed in 1978 which needs to be revised according to the present needs.

Rehabilitation: There are some gaps in the rehabilitation schemes of the children after incarceration. There is lack of employment support services for the inmates after their tenure.

Education: The primary level of formal education is not enough for the inmates since many of them come to the centres at the stage of high schools and colleges. Many inmates despite interest to continue education are not facilitated due to lack of high schools and colleges.

Vocational Trades: There are only a few trades of vocational education in the centres which are partially demand-driven and market oriented. Moreover, the trades are not suitable for many of the inmates since they don't find interest in them.

Behavior of police forces: The police forces behave roughly with the inmates during their escorts. They put handcuffs even before the centre supervisor and officials. During the visit to the Tongi and Jessorecentres, a few police forces were found who put handcuffs to the inmates. The system of body searching was also found very mechanical and apprehensive. The inmates, in general, claim that the police forces scold them using slangs even by the name of their parents and tie the handcuffs tighter for money. "If the money is given, they like to value us. They allow us time to meet our parents and guardians and pass more time". However, a few inmates claim that some police forces use to behave goodly with them, feed them banana and biscuits.

Case Study

Rimon (not real name) is a boy of 17 years who has been staying at the Jessore Child Development Centre for a month. He came of a district under the Barisal division. Rimon's family is a happy one with his only sister and parents. His father is a businessman. He was a HSC candidate who was riding on a motor bike with his friends. A team of police forces stooped their vehicle and claimed some money otherwise they will be punished. Rimon refused to give the ransom and for this he was picked up by the team and beaten. While escorting them into the police station, the police team allegedly pushed some bottles of Phensidyles for which they were charged and harassed. They were forced to provide with the confessional statements of carrying the drugs in the face of tremendous physical torture.

Behavior of Ansars, Warders and Officials: The Ansar(in Jessorecentre) and the warder in Tongi appear as 'symbol of fear' to most of the inmates. They claim that they were beaten mercilessly on trifle excuses. Some of the inmates state that, "the matters that we can solve are usually handled with rods by the ansar and the warder". But, the inmates had no any major claim against the officials of the centers. The inmates in both Tongi and Jessore centers uttered some names of the officials who took care of them goodly and treat them nicely.

Traditional attitude and mindset: The study reveals that the centre guards, warders, ansars and the police forces bear a traditional mindset and attitude towards the children undergoing

incarceration in the centres. They treat them like the 'criminals' of the adult ages and show such type of behavior with them. In Konabari, a few girls complain that even the female guards take the opportunity to take them to task as and where possible. They throw slangs to them due to their early marriages and becoming victims of the situations like oppressions and harassment.

Digitalization: Some of the offices of the Social Welfare Officers are yet to be digitalized from which the guardians of the inmates could not talk and interact with the inmates using skype and video conferencing. As a result, some financially insolvent guardians cannot meet with their children which creates frustration.

Close monitoring: There are lack of close monitoring of the inmates after returning from the centers due to dearth of human resources and mechanism. Some sorts of supervision and monitoring are carried out informally. For example, some inmates call the centre supervisors after returning to their homes.

Trial procedure: The study reveals that some of the cases, even having low merits like simple allegations of stealing, witness, victims of situation etc. take long time to go trial procedure due to loopholes in various stages. Such type of lengthy process make many children stay at the 'district' jails where they have to stay with the serious types of criminals. This, sometimes, provokes the children to know more about the process of crimes.

Discrimination in the legal procedure: There is some discrimination in the process of getting bails. For example, some of the children get bail in the serious type of cases like murder, rape and drug peddling while some of them do not have bail due to financial insolvency and weak forwarding with the legal process.

4.4. Opportunities and prospects

Government's positive attitude: The present government is concerned with the welfare of the children especially those coming in contact with the laws. The government has passed necessary laws and the policies to protect the children from all sorts of violations or the exploitation. The child development centres have been established as an outcome of government's desire to prepare the children coming in the contact of laws in a manner so that they can be assets to the society through appropriate counselling, education, skills development, motivation, employment and overall rehabilitation. The government, in compliance with some of the international legal frameworks and policies, have already shifted the name of the previously 'Juvenile Correction

Centres' to the present 'Child Development Centres' which is an overt approach of the government to handle the children coming in contact with the laws from the viewpoint of overall development so that those children are turned into the assets of the society.

Relevant Department: The child development centres are managed by the Department of Social Services under the Ministry of Social Welfare which is a relevant implementation approach to the development of the children.

Shishu Ain 2013: The government has formulated a comprehensive law 'Shishu Ain 2013' which has defined all the aspects related to the litigation process, child welfare board at the upazila and district level, setting up of separate desk and assigning a separate police official, specialized child court, child development centre and overall service packages.

4.5. Recommendations and way forwards

- ▶ More infrastructures should be set up to accommodate the inmates properly
- ▶ Per capita budget for the inmates should be increased; a little bit more for the girls at Konaharicentre
- ▶ The centres should belong a squad of police forces who would work under the supervision of the centre supervisors which would ensure more child-friendly services to the inmates
- ▶ Inmates of the centres should undergo the medical treatment by the specialized doctors
- ▶ The number of house parents, wardens, psycho-social counselors, care-workers should be increased. Capacity of the existing officials should be enhanced through proper training and workshops.
- ▶ Proper rehabilitation should be ensured by imparting the inmates employability skills and then employment in various trades like garments, mobile phone companies, hospitals, showrooms etc.
- ▶ The primary level of formal education should be expanded to the high school level education
- ▶ A tripartite relationship should be developed among the Ministry, Judiciary and Police Department
- ▶ Vocational trades should be revised in demand-driven, and market oriented manner in consultation with the skills experts, employers and the Directorate of the Technical Education

- ▶ Attitude and behavior of the Ansars, warders and the police personnel should be changed positively through trainings and workshops on the child issues, protection mechanisms and laws so that they are sensitized effectively
- ▶ Upazila and district level offices of the Social Welfare Department should be digitalized to facilitate the guardians to communicate with the inmates using skype and video conferencing. Thus, the financially insolvent guardians will be benefited more
- ▶ Trial procedure should be sensitive toward the children's issues; the judges should undergo sensitization programmes on the matter
- ▶ Entertainment facilities for the inmates should be increased and more effectively organized
- ▶ Setting up of a Child Development Centre in every divisional headquarters

4.6. Conclusion

The study captures views and statements of the inmates, centre officials and the experts to know detailed behavioral challenges of the inmates and the service delivery of the management. Further studies should be conducted on the development and rehabilitation of the inmates who return to their homes after the incarceration. The gaps and limitations of services provided by the Child Development Centres which were found in the study should be addressed so that a complete package of incarceration can be rendered effectively. In addition to that, government should initiate counseling services in every primary and high schools. Mosques, clubs and local government institutes like Union parishad can be ideal platforms of creating awareness among the children and their parents. Teachers, Imams, UP members and the Chairman can be oriented on these issues so that they can work as the social advocates in minimizing the unexpected behavior of the children.

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