

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology

Study of Psychosocial Problems Faced by Former Juvenile Delinquents in Addis Ababa

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Abstract

This study is concerned about the psychological and social problems that rehabilitated and reintegrated juveniles face. The study adopted the qualitative design of research. Six former juvenile delinquents who served time at the rehabilitation center in Addis Ababa and were released at least before six months of this study were selected by the staffs of the center and a case study of these six former juvenile delinquents was conducted including the views of professional staff members of concerned governmental offices using the semi structured interview. The collected data were categorized under thematic areas and detailed descriptions of the data were made under the themes. Findings show that rehabilitated and reintegrated juveniles delinquents face a number of psychological and social challenges. The psychological problems these group face are self-stigma (negative beliefs about one's competence, low self-esteem and self-discrimination), guilt, shame, sadness, loneliness and anger. The finding also shows the social problems that these group face after getting back to the society are stigma, discrimination and loss of their reputation of "good girl/boy". Moreover, the findings show that rehabilitated and reintegrated juveniles delinquents develop diverse coping mechanisms for the psychological and social problems they face.

Acronyms

BOWCYA	Addis Ababa City Government Women, Children and Youth Affairs Bureau
CBCCs	Community Based Correction Centers
CRC	Child Rights Convention
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopian
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
UNCRC	United Nations Child Right Convention (also referred as CRC)
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In today's society crime is an aspect of life that is present whether it is acknowledged or ignored. Crime is being committed more frequently and more often by adolescents (Darbouze, 2008). Young people who are at risk of becoming delinquent often live in difficult circumstances. Children who for various reasons—including parental alcoholism, poverty, breakdown of the family, overcrowding, abusive conditions in the home, the growing HIV/AIDS scourge, or the death of parents during armed conflicts—are orphans or unaccompanied and are without the means of subsistence, housing and other basic necessities are at greatest risk of falling into juvenile delinquency (Nayak, 2013).

Large numbers of children in conflict with the law (juvenile delinquents) are socio-economic victims, denied their rights to education, health, shelter, care and protection. Many of them have had little or no access to education; many are working children. Some children have left their homes and taken to the streets to escape from violence and abuse at the hands of their families. Some are forced to make a living on the streets, in order to survive. Others have been abandoned by their families and left to fend for themselves and sometimes for younger siblings. These children, who are abandoned and destitute, are also at high risk of sexual exploitation, trafficking and becoming involved in substance abuse and the drug trade through peer influence or the influence of adult criminals (Save the Children UK, 2004).

According to Darbouze (2008), crime is being committed more frequently and more often by adolescents and juvenile delinquency has been on the rise and as delinquency raises so does the number of delinquents that go to correctional facilities to serve time for the crimes they have committed. Darboze further states that eventually incarcerated youth have to come out of the correctional facilities and be re-intergraded back into mainstream society once time has been served.

For children in conflict with the law, the processes of arrest, trial and custody destroys their childhood as a result of being denied their right to, for example, family life, education, care, protection and play. Many of them have little chance of rehabilitation and reintegration into society: discrimination against children who have been in conflict with the law, together with deprivation and poverty, limit their opportunities for developing into active and contributing adult citizens (Save the Children UK, 2004).

Juvenile criminal offenses are a significant societal problem with great financial and social costs (Darbouze, 2008). One of the greatest challenges in the area of juvenile delinquency is how to change the general public's negative view of children in conflict with the law. The fuller picture is rarely seen: that these children are in need of understanding and assistance, and are often themselves victims of violence and social injustice. Children such as these, if given help, can go on to lead constructive lives (Save the Children UK, 2004).

Under the UNCRC all children, including offenders, have a right to education and to humane treatment, and those who come into conflict with the law have a right to due process of law, and to rehabilitation and reintegration. However, the lack of sympathetic understanding and

public support means that juvenile justice reform and thus respect for these rights is difficult to achieve (Save the Children UK, 2004).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Juvenile delinquency is a major problem in many societies as it causes major distress and damage to victims, perpetrators, and society at large. This problem is very much common in cities and towns of Ethiopia, which is taking place at fast rate, having its own consequences as seen in other parts of the world (Nayak, 2013).

In Ethiopia, although the total number of delinquents fluctuates in the past few years, the number is still high and showing variations from region to region (Federal Police Commission Criminal Investigation Directorate, 2014). According to the Addis Ababa Police commission statistics of juvenile delinquency, the number of delinquent children is increasing over the years. For example, the number increases from 651 in 2010/2011 to 708 in 2011/2012 and again to 740 in 2012/2013 G.C. (Addis Ababa Police Commission Criminal Investigation Directorate, 2014)

Juvenile delinquents are coming into the juvenile justice system with an array of problems that have caused them to commit delinquent acts. Once juvenile delinquents finish their sentence, they must re-enter society. Correctional facilities that over see the rehabilitation process for juvenile delinquents have to address problems that include giving adequate treatment that rehabilitates the juvenile offender, making sure the juvenile delinquent has realistic and obtainable resources and means to make it in society and is fully ready for the transition back into society (Mincey, Maldonado, Lacey, &Thompson, as cited in Darbouze, 2008).

In Ethiopia, even though attempts have been made to study the challenges faced by juvenile delinquents, the issue of challenges faced by rehabilitated juvenile delinquents after they are reintegrated into the society has not been studied.

1.3 Research Objectives

General Objective

The previously mentioned and other several challenges exist in relation to juvenile delinquency. Therefore, the general objective of this research is to find out the psychological and social challenges that former juvenile delinquents face after joining the society, how they adjust to life and how they cope with the consequences of their past criminal activities.

Specific Objectives

In order to be able to paint a clear picture and to make the analysis feasible, the above mentioned general objective is broken down into specific objectives. Hence, the specific objectives of this research paper are to

- To explore the psychosocial challenges faced by former juvenile delinquents ones they re-enter to their society
- How they cope with the consequences of their past criminal activity.
- To find out how these juvenile delinquents adjust to life after rehabilitation

1.4 Research Questions

In order to attain the objectives of the study and to add to the existing limited knowledge on the life of juvenile delinquents after rehabilitation, the following research questions need to be answered in the process:

- What are the psychosocial challenges that rehabilitated juveniles delinquents face because of their past criminal activity?
- How do juvenile delinquents adjust to life and cope with the consequences of their actions?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Juvenile delinquency is an important issue that has to be addressed because it is becoming more visible in today's society. Juvenile delinquency is a complex trend that must be critically dissected to begin to understand specifically all the reasons why children turn to delinquency. Unlocking the key to understanding juvenile delinquency is important because this deeply shapes ways in which juvenile delinquents who go through the juvenile justice system are rehabilitated (Darbouze, 2008). This being the fact, reintegration into the society after being rehabilitated is also an important matter to deal with since it is crucial in keeping the rehabilitated juveniles to be productive citizens after reintegration into the society. This entails for the need to have a closer look at the experiences of the rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents.

Therefore, what this study would strive to do is to add to the existing little literature on the subject matter and shed some light on reintegrated juvenile delinquents' experiences by

exploring their challenges and the support mechanisms they need by truly listening to the meanings they give to their experiences of being former juvenile delinquents. The study will benefit the only rehabilitation center of the country by giving information about these psychosocial challenges that former juvenile delinquents face and help the center to work on the juvenile delinquents while they are at the center in reducing these psychosocial problems that they might face when they leave the center.

1.6 Delimitation of the study

The study doesn't attempt to address all matters concerning rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents in the country. It is rather delimited to only psychosocial aspects and coping strategies rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents in Addis Ababa. Moreover it delimits itself to only six rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents, one counsellor from the Addis Ababa Rehabilitation Centre for Children in Conflict with the Law and Remand Home and one counsellor from BOWCYA.

Since the problem of juvenile delinquency in the country is wide issue, hence studying the problem and its solutions throughout the country is necessary. However, the findings in this study are from the study conducted with six rehabilitated and reintegrated former juvenile delinquents in Addis Ababa. They do not necessarily represent the situation of rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents in Ethiopia as a whole, but it gives good indication of psychosocial issues and coping mechanisms. Additionally, though most of the former juvenile delinquents were open and it was possible to get an honest response from them, it has been observed during the interview that some of them were either hesitant or unable to describe how they feel inside especially when asked to describe issues that were very sensitive.

Limitation of the study: - The process of finding literature related to some study topics was difficult. There is no abundant research done in areas like psychological problems that former juvenile delinquents faces and coping mechanisms they use.

2 Operational Definition of Terms

Key Concepts:, *Juvenile Delinquency, Reintegration, Rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents*

Juvenile Delinquency: in this paper the word refers to the actions that violate the law, committed by a person who is under the legal age of maturity (18 years). Depending upon the type and severity of the offence committed, it is possible for persons under 18 years to be charged and tried as adults (The Children Act, 1960).

Rehabilitation: in this paper the word rehabilitation refers to an attempt, through treatment or programming, to stop offenders from continuing to offend.

Reintegration: in this paper the word reintegration will be used to refer re-entry into society after rehabilitation.

Rehabilitated and reintegrated Juvenile Delinquents: in this paper the word reintegrated juvenile delinquents refers to juvenile delinquents who were found guilty of a crime and have completed the rehabilitation ordered by the courts and re-entered the society.

Psychosocial problems: for the purpose of this study it will mean the psychological and social problems that the group studied face when they go out of the prison because of their past criminal activities.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literature

2.1. General Overview of Juvenile Delinquency

Although the vast majority of young people move through the adolescent years without experiencing major difficulty, some encounter serious psychological and behavioral problems that disrupt not only their own lives but also the lives of those around them. Psychosocial problems and mental health difficulties in adolescence are generally divided into three broad categories of emotional-behavioral disorder: internalizing, externalizing, and substance abuse (Steinberg, as cited in Capaldi & Shortt, n.d.)

Internalizing problems are generally considered to belong to the subgroup of psychopathology that involves disturbances in emotion or mood, whereas externalizing problems have tended to refer to irregularities in behavior (Graber, n.d.). Liu (as cited in White & Renk, 2011) described externalizing behavior problems as overt behaviors that have a negative effect on the external environment.

Generally, experts distinguish among three main categories of externalizing problems in adolescence. These are conduct disorder, aggression and delinquency (Steinberg, 2010). The word juvenile has been derived from the Latin term juvenis, which means young and etymologically, and the word delinquency has been derived from the Latin word delinquer which means to omit (Sahmey, 2013). In the year 1484, William Caxton used the word delinquent to describe a person who was found guilty. Juvenile delinquency refers to the involvement by the

teenagers who are usually under the age of 18 in an unlawful behavior and commits an act which would be considered as a crime. A child is known as a delinquent when he/she commits an act which is against the law and which is not accepted by the society. Thus a “juvenile” or “child” means a person who has not completed eighteenth years of age and violates the law and commits an offence under the legal age of maturity (Sahmey, 2013).

Since the human civilization, crime has been one of the dominant problems which occur when someone breaks the law by an explicit act, omission or neglect that can result in punishment. A child is born innocent, but due to the unhealthy environment, negligence of the basic necessities and wrong company, a child may turn into a delinquent. The phrase “ignorance of the law is no excuse” means that a person can be held responsible even when he or she break a law which they do not know. Therefore, juveniles, given the benefit of doubt regarding ignorance of law, are generally treated differently in the criminal justice system (Sahmey, 2013).

In any human society where accepted modes of conduct are laid, deviance is inevitable. Deviance and crime is and has always been a threat to the serenity and tranquility enjoyed by members of a community. Beside the gradual moral degeneration which can befall perpetrators when they are embittered with deviance and crime, there arise huge custody, health and economic cost to be borne by a nation fraught with the issue of crime (Simões, Matos & Batista-Foguet, as cited in Boakye, 2012). For this reason, juvenile delinquency has now become one of the important social issues which every nation try to bring under control amidst the glaring evidence that, if the right nurturance is not given to the young offenders, they may graduate to become criminals. By reason of infancy and to avert derogatory labels, the young offenders are

relinquished of their responsibility for their offence and therefore they do not get treated as an adult (Rabinowitz & Tubman, as cited in Boakye, 2012).

Large numbers of children in conflict with the law are socio-economic victims, denied their rights to education, health, shelter, care and protection. Many of them have had little or no access to education; many are working children. Some children have left their homes and taken to the streets to escape from violence and abuse at the hands of their families. Some are forced to make a living on the streets, in order to survive. Others have been abandoned by their families and left to fend for themselves and sometimes for younger siblings. These children, who are abandoned and destitute, are also at high risk of sexual exploitation, trafficking and becoming involved in substance abuse and the drug trade through peer influence or the influence of adult criminals (Roy & Wong, 2004).

For children in conflict with the law, the processes of arrest, trial and custody destroy their childhood as a result of being denied their right to, for example, family life, education, care, protection and play. Many of them have little chance of rehabilitation and reintegration into society: discrimination against children who have been in conflict with the law, together with deprivation and poverty, limit their opportunities for developing into active and contributing adult citizens (Roy & Wong, 2004).

2.2. Defining Juvenile Delinquency: The legal perspective and frameworks

Juvenile delinquency is a legal term that is defined as criminal behavior committed by minors. Delinquency is legally differentiated from status offenses, which are considered illegal only

because of a child's age. The major status offenses include truancy, alcohol and drug use, running away, and incorrigibility (Flannery et al., n.d.).

In a legal sense juvenile delinquents are underage counterparts to adult convicted criminals. That is, juvenile delinquency is a legal court assigned label. In a strictly legal sense, for one to be considered legally delinquent, the juvenile must have violated the law. It is therefore, only upon finding of the court that the juvenile has violated a certain law that he or she will be labeled delinquent (Admasu, 2003).

The most important international instruments for the administration of juvenile justice are the UNCRC and the ICCPR. The UNCRC sets out the basic principles that should be included in a juvenile justice system as well as specific due process guarantees. Apart from these international treaties, there are four main supporting juvenile justice instruments: United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Riyadh Guidelines); United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules); United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (Havana Rules); and the Guidelines for Action on Children in the Criminal Justice System (Vienna Guidelines) (Hamilton, 2011).

These four instruments do not have the same status as the UNCRC. They are not regarded as treaties, which States ratify and by which they consent to be bound. Rather, the four instruments are internationally accepted minimum standards to which States should have regard when setting up or amending their existing juvenile justice system. Setting policies and drafting legislation that incorporates the minimum standards will assist States to comply with the obligations imposed upon them by the CRC (Hamilton, 2011).

Regard also needs to be paid to regional instruments, which include: the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (European Convention); the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul Charter); the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child; the Arab Charter on Human Rights (Arab Charter); the American Convention on Human Rights (American Convention); and the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man as well as the jurisprudence developed by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. In addition, there are a number of detailed international and regional standards and norms governing criminal justice generally but also applicable to juvenile justice (Hamilton, 2011).

The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child has decided that it wishes to issue a General Comment on the minimum age of criminal responsibility. In its recommendations to States Parties to the Convention, the Committee has cautioned that ages of criminal responsibility it considers as too low (e.g. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 years old) are in violation of the Convention. In general, the Committee tends to support the highest possible age of criminal responsibility (Cappelaere, 2005).

Article 40(1) of the UNCRC requires States to take into account the desirability of promoting the child's reintegration and the child's assuming a constructive role in society.

In addition, Rule 79 of the Havana Rules requires States to ensure that all children in detention benefit from rules designed to assist them in returning to society, family life, education or employment after release. To enable the child to re-integrate into the community, legislation

should set out the child's right to be provided with accommodation, employment, clothing and sufficient means to maintain him or herself upon release.

The subsequent rule, Rule 80, states that competent authorities should provide or ensure services to assist juveniles in re-establishing themselves in society and to lessen prejudice against such juveniles. These services should ensure, to the extent possible, that the juvenile is provided with suitable residence, employment, clothing, and sufficient means to maintain himself upon release in order to facilitate successful reintegration. The representatives of agencies providing such services should be consulted and should have access to juveniles while detained, with a view to assisting them in their return to the community.

The importance of programs that prepare young people for their release and help them to adjust to life after prison cannot be overstated. Research has shown that there is a high rate of recidivism among juveniles who have not had access to regular long-term support after their release from prison. Re-socialization can begin when the young offender is still in detention, and when they are released they should receive appropriate after-care to assist them through the process of rehabilitation. After-care services, where they exist, are generally of a very practical nature and involve guidance in finding a meaningful occupation – whether studying or working - and housing. They can also provide individual counseling, family counseling, educational courses and social skills courses, or therapeutic programs to treat drug and alcohol addiction. In more developed social welfare systems, after-care and rehabilitation services are provided mainly by NGOs, with funding from government. NGOs can offer programs flexible enough to meet the needs of individual children or specific groups of children and by setting an example

can often help to bring about good practice among official service providers and influence government policy (Roy & Wong, 2004).

Rule 8 of the same document stipulates that competent authorities should constantly seek to increase the awareness of the public that the care of detained juveniles and preparation for their return to society is a social service of great importance, and to this end, active steps should be taken to foster open contacts between the juveniles and the local community.

Hamilton (2011) states that, though the above stated rules give guidance for the smooth reintegration of children in conflict with the law to their communities, in many countries, services are inadequate or do not exist, leaving children vulnerable to further offending when they are released.

Despite the elaborate international framework that exists for juvenile justice, the fact remains that there is a big gap between this and the real situation on the ground. In many countries there is inadequate legislation, and even where an appropriate legal framework exists, it is not properly implemented. Too many children come into contact with the formal criminal justice system unnecessarily and, once within the system, they are badly treated (Roy & Wong, 2004).

According to Roy and Wong (2004), there is insufficient use of alternatives; community-based measures are not well known and not promoted. The authors further argue that although it has been more than a decade since the UNCRC came into force, the administration of juvenile justice around the world is far from satisfactory and juvenile justice remains a neglected issue both in terms of governments' reporting of the situation in their countries and, more crucially, in terms of the reality on the ground.

When discussing the matter of rehabilitation and social re-integration, Cappelaere (2005) states that assistance should be provided to minors with a view to social re-integration both during the period of confinement and following the period when they are about to return home and into the community. But on the ground, programs preparing minors for release or providing assistance once they have been released are, in spite of legal provisions requiring such assistance, still often non-existent or ineffective. For him, it is lack of human and financial means which prevents the setting up of a framework which promotes and facilitates the reintegration of these young people into the community.

Cappelaere (2005) also states the almost total absence among the general public of awareness-raising programs directed towards easing the social reintegration of children who have been imprisoned as another obstacle for the proper reintegration of juvenile delinquents into their society.

An analysis of government reports to the Committee on the Rights of the Child concluded: 'Juvenile justice is the unwanted child in the UN system' (Abramson as cited in Roy & Wong, 2004). Roy and Wong (2004) state some of the various reasons why governments are not doing enough in this area or why they find it difficult to implement the UNCRC with regard to young people in conflict with the law. The reasons they stated are:

- The unpopularity of juvenile justice as an issue (public and political perception of children in conflict with the law as 'criminals' and therefore deserving punishment, not sympathy);
- The fact that the administration of juvenile justice involves a number of overlapping systems, so that reform is not a simple matter, because it requires a holistic approach;

- Over-reliance on exposing weaknesses relating to juvenile justice, focusing on the abuse of rights within the system, and relative neglect of the more positive development aspects, which are crucial for promoting juvenile justice, including greater involvement of communities, investment in vocational and skills based education programs;
- Lack of knowledge about alternatives, lack of resources, and higher priority being given to other issues, such as education, health, etc, which are perceived as being more important.

The Ethiopian Criminal Code of 2004 stipulates the start of the age of criminal responsibility at 9 years. Children between 9-15 years are considered as minors, while children between 16- 18 years are punished as adults, although there are provisions for taking measures of mitigation, which rests on the discretion of the judge.

In the Criminal Code, there are two categories of measures: Ordinary Measures and Penalty. Ordinary measures may include admission to curative institutions, supervised education, reprimand and school or home arrests for young offenders. Penalty may include fines and imprisonment. Although according to the Code, children 15-18 years are considered as adults, they are not subject to life imprisonment and death penalty. All children are also entitled to separate waiting and detention facilities.

Although Arts. 117 and 176 of the Criminal Code quite rightly prohibit the imposition of death penalty on a young criminal who is below 18 years of age, there is no such prohibition on imposition of solitary confinement on the offenders of this age group. It is possible for a child of 15 to 18 years of age to be sentenced to solitary confinement. Obviously, solitary confinement is a very serious form of imprisonment which can have very serious psychological effects on the

prisoner and a young child definitely will be subject to serious psychological and emotional disturbances (Nirmala 2009).

Nirmala (2009) argues that though the criminal code prohibits the keeping of young offenders in penitentiaries meant for adult criminals, the reality is that the prison population is composed of a considerable percentage of juvenile offenders, who stay with the aged and hardened criminals. Juvenile courts and Boards have not been constituted everywhere. Judges in the existing juvenile courts are not properly trained in the correctional methods of treatment. Police Department does not have much regard to this special law. On most of the occasions for police, an offender is an offender and it makes no difference for them that he/she is a child or an adult. It is a reality that the child offender is always a victim of certain circumstances.

She further alleges that there are no special institutions that are designated for young offenders that are specially equipped with trained staff and other recreational and training facilities which are helpful in reformation and rehabilitation of these children except for some insufficient juvenile facilities in Addis Ababa. She suggests that since the atmosphere of jail has highly injurious effect on the minds of a child, estranging him from the society and breeding in him aversion bordering on hatred against a system which kept him in jail, on no account should the children be kept in jail and if State Government has not got sufficient accommodation in the remand home the children should be released on bail instead of being subjected to incarceration in jail.

Ethiopia acceded to the CRC without any reservation on the 14th of May 1991. The statement of the accession was published in 1992 in the *Negarit Gazeta*, which was the official law gazette of

the then existing government, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia operating under the then existing transitional constitution (Yohannes & Assefa, n.d.).

The present Ethiopian constitution which came into force in 1995 stipulates under its Article 9(4) that:

All international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land.

This article is a constitutional provision providing for the incorporation into Ethiopian laws of international agreements to which the nation is a party. It simply, but quite powerfully, declares that they become laws of the land upon ratification. The CRC was ratified by Ethiopia by Proclamation No. 10/1992 and thus according to this proclamation it has therefore become integral part of the domestic laws of Ethiopia (Yohannes & Assefa, n.d.).

According to Yohannes & Assefa (n.d.) FDRE Constitution has very well incorporated both the CRC in a solid way. It has integrated them into the domestic laws of Ethiopia; it has elevated them to the status of interpretive guidelines; and it has embodied some of their parts in the text of the constitution itself. International agreements are incorporated into Ethiopian law by a single act of ratification without reproducing the text of the treaty. The statement of ratification is the only information that is published in the *Negarit Gazeta* after the legislative body decides to ratify a treaty. Arguably, this in effect means that a treaty in the original version automatically becomes the law of the land, and binding, as soon its ratification is published.

The authors argue that when a treaty is ratified this way, the courts are left without a clue as to its contents. To begin with, obtaining the text of the treaty is difficult. What is more, even if that difficulty is surmounted the treaty will not be available in the languages in which the courts do

their job. It is quite proper at this juncture to recall that courts in Ethiopia are required by law to take as law only those letters that appear in the official law gazettes. This worsens the confusion since only the statement of ratification is published. The authors conclude that as a result, courts may hesitate to apply human rights treaties such as that of the CRC.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

To holistically combat juvenile delinquency demands an enquiry into its causal underpinnings and this has led researchers to identify risk factors which increase the likelihood of children to engage in delinquent behaviors (Hunte as cited in Boakye, 2012). Some of these risk factors include poor socioeconomic background, parental absence, emotional strain, negative peer influence, and negative community elements (Simões, et al. as cited in Boakye, 2012). These risk factors were deduced after thorough study of delinquency and how it develops which has led to a plethora of theories in this area. Psychological theories have been influential in shaping the way society thinks about crime and delinquency and in shaping policies that relate to these issues (Sampson & Laub as cited in Moore, 2011).

This study presents a range of theories which will serve as the explanatory framework of the young offenders' delinquent behaviors. The theories presented include social learning theory, differential association theory, psychodynamic-psychoanalytic theory, Cognitive theory and social development theory, and labeling theory.

2.3.1. Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is one of the theories that is referred to explain criminal behavior. This theory implies that individuals learn certain behavioral patterns by imitating the others' behaviors (İçli & Çoban, 2012)

Albert Bandura expands this perspective in a social context and believes that people learn behavior through observing others' behaviors. Consequently, many modes of behavior are learned by observation of other behavior models; and in this way the individual has the knowledge of the ways of displaying subsequent behaviors and thus this codified knowledge directs individual in his/her subsequent behaviors (Bandura, as cited in İçli & Çoban, 2012).

It is the daily activities that influence their identity development, social relationships and abilities. It is during these activities where children begin to see and develop their own abilities and begin to identify with the leaders of the activities (Burdick, 2014).

Within this context, social learning theorists stress that primary groups and intimate/admiring people are the key factors which compromise the individual's major source of reinforcements (Vito et al., as cited in İçli & Çoban, 2012). In this way social learning theories highlight both the individual and the social sources of behavior. So, the studies in the field of criminal behavior are more likely to analyze the environment where the crime is learned and criminal behavior than the criminals (İçli & Çoban, 2012).

Social learning theorists posit that the conditions by which behavior is shaped include internal and external forces, and that behavior itself is a determinant of future behavior. Deviant, criminal

or delinquent behavior, like all behavior, results from this model of causation (Bandura as cited in Moore, 2011).

2.3.2. Differential association theory

Differential association theory is a social learning theory which supposes that, young people develop the attitudes and skills necessary to become delinquents through their sustained contact with other individuals who harbor the norms of delinquency (Wood & Alleyne as cited in Boakye, 2012). This indicates that, adolescent's exposure to delinquent attitudes and skills increases their propensity to also emulate such behaviors with time (Bandura as cited in Boakye, 2012). Hence, so long as young people are exposed to attitudes that are in favor of the violation of law than the ones that are law abiding, delinquency will prevail (Boakye, 2012).

The earlier people are exposed to criminal norms of conduct 1), the more often they are exposed to them; 2), the longer those exposures last; 3), and the more strongly they are attached to those who supply them with the definitions favorable to law violation; 4), the more likely they are to commit criminal acts in case of having enough chance (Cullen & Agnew, as cited in İçli & Çoban, 2012).

Within this context it can be stated that differential association is a group interaction process through which the individual gets positive or negative response about the behavior he/she displays. (Payne & Salotti as cited in İçli & Çoban, 2012). In other words, differential association represents groups which make a consensus on definitions favorable to deviance (norm violations) and form a subculture deviant of social norms. And in deviating from the social norms, the individuals who get involved in these groups turn into crime (Sutherland & Cressey as cited in İçli & Çoban, 2012) since as for this theory, criminality is learned through

social interaction with others, as well as through impersonal communication (İçli & Çoban, 2012).

2.3.3. Psychodynamic-psychoanalytical theory

The psychodynamic-psychoanalytic theory, developed from the writings of Sigmund Freud, posits that personality is developed early in life and is composed of three distinct parts: the id, the ego, and the superego. The id represents the instinctual drives, the ego represents understood social norms that harness the id, and the superego is learned moral reasoning. Delinquent behavior occurs as a result of imbalance between these three parts of our personality and is thought to be a symbolic way of meeting our unconscious needs (Siegel et al. as cited in Moore, 2011).

The internal conflicts that lead to delinquency, usually resulting from a conflict between the id and societal norms understood by the ego, are very painful to the individual, so the individual pushes them into the unconscious. Then, the individual develops coping strategies called defense mechanisms to cope with the conflicts, and these defense mechanisms can lead to problematic personality traits and problematic behaviors, such as delinquency. In essence, delinquent behavior is seen as the external manifestation of an internal disease (Shoemaker as cited in Moore, 2011).

Erikson expanded on this theory, explaining delinquency as an “identity crisis” created by inner turmoil (Siegel et al., as cited in Moore, 2011). As has been noted by many critics of psychoanalytic theory, this identity crisis created by inner turmoil is difficult to test empirically. The utility of psychoanalytic theory to explain complex, delinquent behavior is limited by the lack of evidence to support it (Shoemaker as cited in Moore, 2011).

2.3.4. Cognitive and Social Development Theories

Cognitive theorists focus on mental processes that assist us in ordering and understanding our world and in engaging in problem solving. Piaget identified and labeled the step-wise approach to the development of reasoning and morals in children (Siegel et al.as cited in Moore, 2011). The age-related stages include the egocentric stage, the concrete operational stage, and the formal, cognitive operational stage whereby an individual can use abstract thinking, logic, and rules to navigate a situation (Feldman as cited in Moore, 2011).

The importance of reasoning and thinking processes is also emphasized in other psychological theories of offending, for example in the moral development theory of Lawrence Kohlberg. According to this theory, people progress through different stages of moral development as they get older: from the pre-conventional stage (where they are hedonistic and only obey the law because of fear of punishment) to the conventional stage (where they obey the law because it is the law) to the post-conventional stage (where they obey the law if it coincides with higher moral principles such as justice, fairness, and respect for individual rights). The pre-conventional stage corresponds to rather concrete thinking, whereas abstract thinking is required to progress to the post-conventional stage. Clearly, the developing moral reasoning ability is related to the developing intelligence (Farrington, 2002).

The key idea of moral reasoning theory is that moral actions depend on moral reasoning. Specifically, the theory posits that offenders have poor powers of moral reasoning and are mainly stuck in the pre-conventional stage (Farrington, 2002).

2.3.5. Labelling Theory

Labeling theory posits that individual deviants who are identified and sanctioned may interpret their “offender” stigma as a master status, thus altering their social identity, and consequently, their behavior. Offenders may also encounter social obstacles that effectively bar them from the benefits of conventional society as a result of serious stigma. Difficulty obtaining meaningful work, earning a high school diploma or post-secondary degree, or building a strong, participatory civic life because of a criminal record severely limits the professional networks open to labeled offenders (Ascani, n.d.).

Informal sanctions may reinforce the label, weaken the social support of family and friends, and create community expectations of deviant behavior from the individual. Because of this, the offender may withdraw his or her stakes in conformity, reject the institutions that they feel rejected them, and seek out deviant peers who may be seemingly less judgmental and willing to provide a system of social support. Subculture formation that approves of or condones deviance may be conducive to further criminal behavior on the part of the individual offender, as well as on a societal scale (Braithwaite as cited in Ascani, n.d.).

Serious criminal sanctioning may produce social obstacles that discourage investment in conventional society. Rejection from conventional groups may come in the form of difficulty obtaining employment, barriers against qualifying for student loans, and informal exclusion from conventional social networks. Punishment that generally excludes the offender from the majority—physically or socially—such as incarceration, increases the risk of offenders’ alienation from society and consequent “rejection of their rejecters” (Okimoto & Wenzel as cited in Ascani, n.d.).

Incarceration may also fail to adequately prepare released offenders to reintegrate themselves into conventional society due to ineffective treatment or underdeveloped reintegration programs (Halsey as cited in Ascani, n.d.). A sufficient mass of offenders in society allows for the formation of deviant subcultures. This kind of association with deviant peers after a term of incarceration may create environments conducive to recidivism by providing appropriate opportunities, values and definitions (Braithwaite as cited in Ascani, n.d.).

2.4. General Situation of Juvenile Delinquents in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, many children live in conditions of poverty that undermine the functioning of protective social networks around them. In addition, there are also various factors that push children to commit acts that are in conflict with the law. Major factors are breakdown of families, inadequate parental supervision, economic hardships, lack of recreational services, harsh corporal punishment on children, peer influence, inadequate educational system, sexual abuse and exploitation, HIV/AIDS and substance abuse (Save the children Sweden, 2005).

In Ethiopia, although the total number of delinquents fluctuates in the past few years, the number is still high and showing variations from region to region (Federal Police Commission Criminal Investigation Directorate as cited in Wondimu, 2014). According to the Addis Ababa Police commission statistics of juvenile delinquency, the number of delinquent children is increasing over the years. For example, the number increases from 651 in 2010/2011 to 708 in 2011/2012 and again to 740 in 2012/2013 G.C. (Addis Ababa Police Commission Criminal Investigation Directorate as cited in Wondimu, 2014).

The problem of juvenile delinquency is very much common in cities and towns of Ethiopia, which is taking place at fast rate, having its own consequences as seen in other parts of the world. People young and old have been uprooted from the relatively closed static patterns of rural life and hence been thrust into the uncertain turbulences of the city where every man is a. The observation capacities of Ethiopian cities being very limited a large number of unemployed people roamed around city streets. In the early 1970s, the unemployment rate was estimated at 15-20% of the labor force. It is inevitable for such people to be fertile ground for deviancy activities such as theft robbery, burglary, and other similar crimes (Andargachew as cited in Nayak, 2009).

The Addis Ababa Rehabilitation Centre is the only institution in the country that caters for the needs of children in conflict and contact with the law. Two other specialized rehabilitation and reintegration centers were built in Hawassa and Bahir Dar, but other departments are now using them. The Addis Ababa center is capable of hosting only 150 children. Initially established to accommodate boys, it started admitting girls in 2000, even though it was not built to meet their special needs. In March 2010, 76 male and 20 female children had been placed in the center. The center suffers from acute shortages of human and financial resources. The supervision and inspection of the center that is envisaged by Article 3(3) of the CRC is spasmodic and inadequate. The services available are far from ensuring the right of children to an adequate standard of living (UNICEF, n.d.).

Although the Criminal code has no clear provisions for the diversion of young offenders to an informal system of rehabilitation and correction, Forum on Street Children Ethiopia (FSCE) in collaboration with Save the Children Sweden has established a Community Based Correction

Centers (CBCCs) in Addis Ababa, Adama, Bahirdar, Dessie, and Diredawa (Deda, 2011). However explains Deda (2011), in addition to lack of legal backing, inadequacy of human and material capacity, structural and operational gaps, prevalence of personnel inadequacy and incompetency, as well as the resource constraint are some of the short falls and challenges that the program encounters.

2.5. Recidivism and Rehabilitation

Recidivism, in a criminal justice context, can be defined as the reversion of an individual to criminal behavior after he or she has been convicted of a prior offense, sentenced, and (presumably) corrected. It results from the concatenation of failures: failure of the individual to live up to society's expectations – or failure of society to provide for the individual; a consequent failure of the individual to stay out of trouble; failure of the individual, as an offender, to escape arrest and conviction; failure of the individual as an inmate of a correctional institution to take advantage of correctional programs – or failure of the institution to provide programs that rehabilitate; and additional failures by the individual in continuing in a criminal career after release (Maltz, 2001).

Rehabilitation is essential to juvenile delinquents and re-entry into mainstream society because being rehabilitated sets the foundation to lead a healthy lifestyle in the community once out of the juvenile justice system. The rehabilitation model is ideal over retributive model because the retributive model which primarily focuses on punishment as deterrence is not as effective (Bradshaw & Roseborough as cited in Darbouze, n.d.). Darbouze (n.d.) argues that rehabilitation is practical because some rehabilitative methods addresses the personal needs of juvenile delinquents and gives juvenile delinquents realistic options to make it in society without

having to recidivate. When trying to explain how rehabilitation is vital because it teaches the necessary steps to getting one's goals in a legitimate way, Darbouze (n.d.) states that if one does not have the means to obtain goals, sometimes one is forced to resort to illegal means to achieve one's goals. In addition to this for Darbouze, juvenile delinquents' receiving proper rehabilitative methods is important because this lessens the likelihood of juvenile delinquents that will recidivate and have to re-enter the juvenile justice system.

Furthermore, rehabilitation is a major factor for juvenile delinquents' successful re-entry into mainstream society. Effective intervention plays an essential role in any strategy designed to diminish the rates of juvenile delinquency (Lipsey, Wilson & Cothorn as cited in Darbouze, n.d.). Rehabilitation is a necessary resource that is provided to juvenile delinquents to help ease the re-entry process back into society. Effective rehabilitation is important because it helps to eliminate the vicious cycle of recidivism and proper rehabilitation can lead to juvenile delinquent population not resorting to adult criminal activity (Darbouze, n.d.).

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter gives a detailed description of aspect of the methodology that is employed in order to address objectives of the study with the maximum possible effort. A description of the research design chosen, the research site, the population and sample, data collection tools chosen, the data collection procedure taken and the data analysis procedure is given respectively.

3.1 Research Design

The study had the aim of exploring what the psychosocial problems of rehabilitated juvenile delinquents face after reintegration into the society and is entrusted to narrate their stories. As a result, a qualitative design of research was adopted to realize the objectives of the study. The goal of qualitative research is to present a range of perspectives or information on a topic and it provides a comprehensive or holistic understanding of the social setting in which research is conducted and helps to understand social problems by focusing on few people affected by a problem (Vanderstope and Johnston, 2009). Moreover, qualitative research is used when the need to empower individuals to share their experiences and the need for their voice to be heard is there (Creswell, 2005).

Hence, using qualitative design was appropriate in this study. Qualitative design helped in grasping the experience of rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents and understanding the meaning they give to their experience. It also served as an instrument for the voice of the children to be heard. Hence, Case study research design was chosen to help

understand complex social phenomenon and allow the researcher to retain holistic and meaningful characteristics of the real life. Case study can also achieve a rich description of a phenomenon from the participants' perspective. Hence, using case study helped to see each of the rehabilitated and reintegrated juveniles' experience and describe it accordingly.

3.2 Research site

The study is conducted in Addis Ababa. The country's only rehabilitation centre for juveniles, Rehabilitation Center for Children in conflict with the law and Remand Home, is located in Addis Ababa and houses both boys and girls between the ages of nine and fifteen, under the responsibility of the Children and Women's Affairs Bureau (UNICEF, n.d.). According to Nayak (2013), delinquency is found in the most urbanized sections of a country. Since Addis Ababa is the capital and the most urbanized city of the country representing a high-risk area for juvenile delinquency, the city was selected to be a research site.

3.3 Population and Sample size

The study population is rehabilitated juvenile delinquents who were reintegrated in the society after rehabilitation. These rehabilitated juvenile delinquents are adolescents who have completed the rehabilitation program ordered by the court at the Addis Ababa City Government Rehabilitation Center for Children in Conflict with the Law and Remand Home, which is located in Addis Ababa and reintegrated back to the society at least six months before they were interviewed for this study. Six months is assumed to be adequate for internalizing the psychosocial problems/challenges that the rehabilitated juvenile delinquents face after being reintegrated.

The participants of the research were purposefully selected to fulfill the criteria of being rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents for six months and more and those who were willing to participate in the study through giving an extensive interview to the researcher. Purposive sampling technique was employed in the study. The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information rich cases for study in depth. Information rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry (Patton, 2002).

There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resource (Patton, 2002). Hence six rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents were purposefully selected by a staff of the Rehabilitation center. Out of the six participants, two of them are female. Two key informants, one from the Addis Ababa City Government Rehabilitation Centre for Children in Conflict with the Law and Remand Home and the other from BOWCYA were also interviewed in order to gather information mainly on what the center and the Bureau are doing to make the transition of children from the rehabilitation center to the society looks like, what problems they face in properly rehabilitating the children and to understand what is being done in order to address the problems.

Ultimately, the intention of the study is to bring out major themes that capture and describe the struggles of the selected study subjects.

3.4 Data collection tool

The major data collection tool for this study is in –depth interview as it will allow in-depth exploration of rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents from their point of view. In-depth interviews are chosen when you want detailed information about a person’s thoughts and behaviors or want to explore new issues in depth (Boyce & Neale, 2006). A semi-structured interview was employed since semi-structured interviews are often used when the researcher wants to delve deeply into a topic and to understand thoroughly the answers provided (Harrell, & Bradley, 2009).

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

The participants were selected through a staff from Rehabilitation Center for Children in conflict with the law and Remand Home. The responsible staff from the agency was briefed on the purpose of the study and selection criteria so that they can select the participants who fit the criteria. To this end, the selected former juvenile delinquents who fit the criteria and agree to participate in the study were contacted. In order to make participants understand the purpose of the study and to clear any concerns that they might have, an orientation before the interview with each of the participants were held. They were informed about the data collection procedure, confidentiality of their identity, their right to terminate the interview at any time and other ethical issues.

After the orientation those were willing to participate in the study were asked to give their consent verbally. Throughout the study there was a very friendly relationship and that gave the participants the chance to express their emotions and share their experiences freely. All the interviews were conducted in the informant’s place of preference and in the time that was most

convenient and comfortable for the participants. After requesting their permission, a voice recorder was used to record responses of the respondents in order to capture their responses more faithfully and to make the researcher have full attention on the interview. All the names of the participants are pseudonyms.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedure

The analysis of the data collected through an in-depth interview started simultaneously with data gathering. The recorded interview was transcribed to English and the nonverbal expressions were properly transcribed using the field notes taken while interviewing. The collected data were categorized under the thematic areas of the research and in a way it could give a meaningful line with the research questions. After a repeated reading, a code was assigned by the lines and paragraphs of the data and then were refined and adjusted as the analysis proceeds.

A detailed description of the data was made under the themes. Then depending on the findings of the study, discussions were made and recommendations forwarded.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY FINDINGS

The purpose of this study is to investigate Psychosocial Challenges that rehabilitated juvenile delinquents in Addis Ababa face because of their past criminal activity and how they adjust to life and cope with the consequences of their actions. This section contains the findings of the study. The section was organized on the basis of the research questions they answer. It has included data obtained from six rehabilitated former juvenile delinquents who were sentenced by a court of law to serve at the Addis Ababa Rehabilitation Center for Children in Conflict with the Law and Remand Home and served the court sentenced time at the center and were released and two key informants, one representing the rehabilitation center and the other from Addis Ababa City Government Women, Children and Youth Affairs Bureau (BOWCYA) that supervises the rehabilitation center. It begins by describing the background of the participants. It then discusses the participants' psychosocial challenges, their coping mechanisms and efforts being made by governmental for a better future of the rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents.

Table 1: Background Information of rehabilitated and reintegrated former juvenile delinquents

Name	Sex	Age	Crime committed/Reason of arrest	Time sentenced by the court in the rehabilitation center
Leul	M	19	Attempted murder	3 years
Ephrata	F	15	Theft	1 year
Sosena	F	16	Theft	2 years

Girum	M	14	Assault	4 months
Abinet	M	15	Theft	1 year
Amen	M	16	Theft	1 Year

All of the participants served time at the Addis Ababa Rehabilitation Center for Children in Conflict with the Law and Remand Home. All of them are now out of prison for a period more than six months.

4.1 Psychological problems encountered by former juvenile delinquents

Former juvenile delinquents experience psychological problems like self stigma, shame, guilt, sadness, loneliness, anger towards alleged victims and feelings of being not forgiven by their victims and families.

4.1.1 Self-Stigma

Former juvenile delinquents experience self-stigma because of their past criminal activities and the fact that they have served time at the juvenile center. They think that the society will consider them dangerous and bad influence to other children so they impose self stigma and avoid deep involvement with their community. Keeping secret the fact they ones were involved in criminal activity or detained and served time in prison is what most of the participants struggle with. This is mainly because most of them feel that people will discriminate them if they know their secret. So they self-stigmatize themselves before people find out and discriminate them. The self-stigma that the participants manifested can be described as follows.

4.1.1.1 Negatives beliefs about one's self

Former juvenile delinquents above everything else feel like they are less of their peers. The participants have negative beliefs about themselves. They do not express what they think of themselves in positive terms.

Leul described himself before he committed the crime that sent him to juvenile center for three years as a decent boy who doesn't go out of the house even to play with the children his age. He now thinks of himself as a person who has a problem in his brain.

He said, *"My brain has some kind of problem; it is because I have some kind of problem in my brain that I did horrible things."*

Ephrata states that she feels unconfident and suddenly will feel that she is beneath all of the people around her and feels like she is an imposter. She states the feeling she has when people talk about theft around her as,

"When people [who do not know of her past criminal activity] talk about theft, I cannot participate in the conversation with full confidence, I keep silent and I feel like I am beneath all because I am just pretending to be a good person when I am not."

Abinet feels bad when he sees his friends who joined high school because he flunked 8th grade. He thinks they are going to talk about why he is still in 8th grade and that they will think of him as a thief because they do not know the whole truth. This makes him feel like he is a awful person. He said,

"When I see my friends who are now in high school coming my way, I go the other way because I don't want them to see me because if they do, I know they will talk about me and why I am still

in 8th grade. I know they will talk about my arrest, they don't know the whole truth. This makes me feel like I am somehow less of them and I feel awful about myself."

Amen has accepted himself as a delinquent boy. He stated that though it is not does not feel pleasant to be considered as a bad influence, he understands that his neighbors have every reason to protect their children from him because he is indeed a delinquent.

4.1.1.2 Thinking less of a person

Sosena believes that no one thinks her as a good girl anymore because of what she did and this makes her feel like she is less of a human. She said,

"I feel like people do not think of me as the good girl they knew before because I stole the gold from my mother and went to jail for it. This makes me feel like I am somehow less of a human being."

Ephrata feels like she is less of the people around her when the issue of theft is raised and discussed in front of her. She thinks those people talk about theft in full confidence because unlike her they have never been involved in one and this makes her think of herself less of them.

Abinet feels like he is less of his old classmates because everybody is now in 9th grade unlike him and that they are going to talk about his arrest and that is why he is still in 8th grade.

4.1.1.3 Self-Discrimination

Leul talks about what would be like to live with his grandparents had they accepted him back after he was released from the rehabilitation center, he thinks his family would have second

guessed his every move and would have seen him with suspecting eyes because of the horrible things he committed. So he decided to live on the streets instead of going to his parents' house.

Ephrata's uncle offered her to come back and live with him again after she was released from the rehabilitation center. However, she refused to go back to the place where the crime happened because she thinks the neighbors and the community now hates her for what she did and chose to stay with one of her maternal aunts where the people there does not know that she has a history of stealing and going to rehabilitation center for it.

She says she had a very good place in the community before she stole the gold and was sent to the rehabilitation center. She says people trust her so much that when her neighbors found out that their gold was stolen, people never even thought to come and ask her if she knew about it. She now feels that her neighbors think that all she ever did until then was fooling them by hiding who she really is so that she can gain their trust. She says,

“Now people must think that all I did was act like a good girl because I wanted to con them by hiding who I really am i.e a thief. That is why I don't want to go to my uncle's house even for a visit.”

Girum's parents concealed the fact that he is at the rehabilitation center by telling their neighbors that he went to visit his uncle in Adama because they feared that the neighbors will discriminate Girum if they knew he was arrested. Girum states it as follows,

“When I came back home, a lot of our neighbors welcomed me and asked me how my uncle was doing. My parents told them I went to visit my maternal uncle who lives in Adama. I am not sure if they believe it because it was the middle of a school year if people hear that I went to prison,

they will directly think that I am a delinquent and I did not want people to have that idea about me.”

For **Girum**, the first few weeks of his release were very stressful because people ask him where he has been and he says he hates to lie to them but had no choice. *“If they knew the truth, they would have judged me for something I did not do and will discriminate me and I didn’t want that so I lied.”*

So he avoided going out of the house until people stopped asking. He did not want to be seen by people so he avoided them.

Girum had to repeat 7th grade in a different school because he did not want to go back there because everybody knows he was arrested and he did not want that. So he went to another school far away from his previous one.

Abinet repeatedly asked his father to take him to the rural area where his relatives are from just so he can be away. He says *“How can I live here when people see me as a criminal? I asked my father to take me to his relatives who live in the rural area so that I can live with them. But my father refused saying that I will not go anywhere from my home.”*

He says *“I want to go to my father’s relatives because they will not treat me badly since they don’t know I went to prison.”*

4.1.2 Guilt and regret of past actions

Sadness that is related with guilt and regret is the other psychological challenge that former juvenile delinquents face.

Leul regrets all of the things he had done in the past. He says,

“...had I known my actions will have these consequences I would not have done them in the first place. But I was very young back then and my mind was not capable of thinking that through.”

He further states that he feels guilty for all the things he has done by saying,

“I know I have disappointed my family, I have made them feel sad, I have let them down, I have done things they don't expect from me, I have ruined their good name and these all make me feel bad. I feel sad for failing to meet the expectation that my parents have for me i.e to complete my education, graduate with a good grade and have a very good job. I feel guilty that instead I choose to be a criminal, a liar, a street boy and in general for who I am now.”

He thinks that his family lost the son they raised and loved because of the things that he has done. He expresses how he feels about this as,

“I was supposed to support them not steal from them. I hear from some relatives I have contact with that my mom still cries over me and at times get sick because of that and this breaks my heart and feel guilty that she is suffering because of me.”

Leul further explains the guilt that he feels by saying,

“...words cannot explain how sad I am that I am in this condition. The worst part is that I am responsible for everything. I feel like I wasted golden years of my life. I always wish I had not done all the bad things I have done in the past.”

Ephrata had the chance of speaking to her mother over her uncle's phone while she was in prison. She says she never felt guilty for what she did until she has a conversation with her mother and that is when it strikes her that she had done a terrible thing. She says,

"...after I went to prison, I talked with my mother over the phone and she asked me why I had done such a thing when she is working abroad, away from family, working so hard just so she can provide for me and my brothers. My uncle also showed his disappointment by asking me why I did what I did instead of asking him to get me what I wanted. This made me feel like a failure because I did a very bad thing when all they were doing was trying to provide everything I need. After a conversation with my mother and what my uncle said to me I wished I had never stolen the gold."

She also feels guilty when she thinks of the people she stole the gold from. The gold that she stole was given to her neighbor as a gift from the company he worked for years. Ephrata says she feels ashamed and guilty for just taking what is very valuable for another person. She expresses her feeling as,

"I stole something very valuable to a person. My neighbor got that gold after working hard for years and that was not just gold for him, it was a symbol of his hard work. So I feel very guilty because I did not just steal gold but also years of a person's hard work. I feel very much ashamed of what I did."

Sosena thinks she has let her aunt down by stealing because she says this is not how she raised her. She said

“I felt really bad when my aunt who raised me as a mother asked me “is this how you repay me for all that I did for you?” and told me she is ashamed by me, I cried hard because I was ashamed of what I did. It is the worst feeling ever.”

When talking about the stealing, **Sosena** says she understands that what she did is not a good thing and she feels guilty about it *“I know I made a mistake, I know what I did is wrong and I feel horrible about it”*

Amen says he thinks about his life nowadays and says he knows he has made a lot of mistakes in his life and he sometimes feels guilty about it. He said *“I tried to steal something that is not mine, something someone worked hard for and it now feels bad.”*

4.1.3 Feeling of shame for the criminal activity and for being arrested

Former juvenile delinquents feel ashamed either for the fact that they once involved in a criminal activity or for serving time at the rehabilitation center.

Ephrata and **Leul** fell ashamed of what they have done. **Ephrata** states that she feels ashamed because she stole a reward given for a person’s years of hard work. She explains her feeling as,

“I did not just steal gold but also years of a person’s hard work. I feel very much ashamed of what I did.”

She avoided going to her uncle’s house because she could not face her neighbors because the crime she committed makes her feel horrible. Even though she avoids people who know about what she did, **Ephrata** feels very small when people who do not know her story talk about theft. She said,

“When people [who do not know of her past criminal activity] talk about theft, I cannot participate in the conversation with full confidence, I keep silent and I feel like I am beneath all”

Leul on his part states that he avoids going to his old neighborhood because he feels people will hate him for what he has done. He feels that he let his good neighbors feel down by the crimes he committed and by the way he acted. He said,

“I started living in the streets and became an even worse delinquent. Some of these people saw me, so I feel ashamed to go back to my old neighborhood and see them in the eyes. I will never go back there!”

Girum and **Abinet** on the other hand feel ashamed for the fact that they went to the rehabilitation center accused of being delinquents. They both claim that they are not guilty of the crime that they were accused of so they do not feel ashamed of committing the crime. They only feel ashamed for the fact that they went to prison. They both felt that they did not deserve being sent to prison for the crime they committed but still feel ashamed that they were rehabilitated just like the kids they met in the rehabilitation center who committed all the “horrible” crimes. So they feel the need that they either have to hide the fact that they went to prison or avoid people as much as possible.

4.1.4 Sadness resulting from changes in the life after rehabilitation

Former juvenile delinquents feel sad because the whole involvement in the criminal justice system makes them feel that they have wasted years of their life because of it. The sadness emanated from a regret they had or the anger they feel because they got involved in a very negative experiences of their lives. **Leul** and **Abinet** share their experiences as follows,

Leul feels sad whenever he compared the life he had back when he was with his family with the life he is leading without them and regrets for being a delinquent since all it got him was wasted years of his life. He said,

“I am used to a very good life where I can get everything I need. I was a spoiled kid and this life I have now is really difficult for me. Words cannot explain how sad I am that I am in this condition. The worst part is that I am responsible for everything. I feel like I wasted golden years of my life. I always wish I had not done all the bad things I have done in the past.”

Abinet does not want anyone to talk to him about his arrest because he says he feels angry and sad when he thinks about it. He stated,

“I don’t want my family or friends to talk to me about the arrest or my time there because it makes me feel very sad and in some occasions I left the conversation and cried alone.”

4.1.5 Anger towards alleged victims

Anger towards victims is mainly felt by participants who believe that they did not commit the crime. From the six participants **Girum** and **Abinet** are the ones who stated that they did not commit the crime they went to the rehabilitation center for. Due to this fact, they feel very angry towards the people who accused them of the crimes. They felt like they have been punished for the crime they did not commit not only once but twice.

The first punishment for them was being sent to the rehabilitation center and for **Girum** the second punishment is having the burden of concealing being away in prison which made him detached from his community for fear of discrimination and also for stealing a year from their

life because they had to repeat 7th grade because of the whole thing. This made **Girum** to be angry at the mother of the girl who he was sent to prison for.

For **Abinet**, the second punishment is the discrimination he got from his community for the crime he did not commit and this makes him to be angry with the person who falsely reported to the police alleging that he has stolen her camera. He described his anger by saying,

“I was waiting for the time of my release mostly because I wanted to physically hurt her for sending me to prison for something I did not do and for putting me through all these trouble.”

He feels wronged because he knows he was arrested for something he did not do and now his neighbors are punishing him. He says *“They think that I will teach their children to be delinquents just because I was arrested. I paid for something I did not do twice. Once at the prison and now where I live.”* He says he feels frustrated and angry when he encounters such things.

4.1.6 Felling of being not forgiven by victims or loved ones

Three of the participants, **Leul**, **Ephrata** and **Sosena** have the feeling of being unforgiven. In the case of Ephrata, she has this feeling when thinking of her victims only. She feels lucky to have such an understanding family who she feels that they have forgiven her for everything. However, she does not have this feeling when she thinks of her victims and the whole neighborhood. She believes that she has wronged the people who loved and trusted her and feels like they still think of her as a “con artist” who build their trust in order to get what she wanted in the first place. She said,

“Now people must think that all I did was act like a good girl because I wanted to con them by hiding who I really am i.e a thief. That is why I don’t want to go to my uncle’s house even for a visit.”

Leul, thinks neither his victims nor his family have forgiven him for what he did. He feels much more worried and expresses more guilt because he says his victims are not his family only, they countless. Due to this he says he is burdened with a lot of imprecations. But he thinks he has seen a lot of problems a boy his age should not see and he thinks the imprecation of his victims got an ear by God. For him, all the problems he faced and is still facing are payments for his sins.

When we come to **Sosena**, she feels she is not forgiven by her mother only. Her feelings are not deep as she blames her mother for everything she has gone through, even for her stealing gold from her mother. She feels that her mother has not forgiven her for the stealing because she is still not living with her mother.

4.2 Social problems encountered by former juvenile delinquents

Former juvenile delinquents who are now living among their communities face societal problems because of their past criminal activity or the fact that they served time at the rehabilitation center believed to have committed a crime.

4.2.1 Stigma

Stigma is one of the highly experienced social challenges in former juvenile delinquents. Most of the participants expressed that they suffer from social stigmatization.

Leul's grandparents never came to pick him up from the rehabilitation center on the day of release even though they were told that he will be released that day. He went straight home after his release but he found out they moved to a new house they built. He said they never tried to communicate with him even though they knew they he was released. He said,

“... they think I am damaged and dangerous so they don't want to have any kind of relationship with me. I never thought it would be like this, after all they are all they were all I got.”

He expected the treatment from the community would be unpleasant because of the harsh treatment that the caregivers at the rehabilitation center used to give them. However, he never expected his family will completely abandon him.

“I hate how they [caregivers at the rehabilitation center] made us feel. If the people who spend the whole day with us treat us badly, imagine how worse the outside community who does not know our good side will treat us when we live the rehabilitation center. But I never expected that my own family will leave me on the streets.”

When he was at the rehabilitation center, **Leul** expected his grandfather will treat him badly. But he did not get what he expected; he did not even find his family at the house. Angered by this he brought five of his friends who were released from prison with him to the house where it is the relatives who are living in it now. But this did not stay long. Some of the people in the area reported to the authorities that they do not feel secure as bunch of young people straight out of prison are living in one house. So he was forced to live on the streets and became an even worse criminal.

“after I started living in the streets, though I never got arrested by the police again, I became an even worse criminal than I already was. I stole from people, I pick pockets, I

snatch bags and different materials in crowded places, I involve in fights, was a house breaker during night and so on. The only difference now was I was too careful not to be caught.”

Sosena also got the same treatment from her mother and some neighbors. Her relationship with her mother got so worse after she was released from the rehabilitation center to the extent of her mother expelling her from the house. She now has nowhere to stay. She sometimes stays with her friend by sneaking into her bedroom without the family of her friend seeing her. But most of the time she stays with a group of friends who steal for living.

When explaining the stigma she got from her mother, she said,

“She [her mother] did not like it when I went to the house where she lives with her husband because she is afraid that I will steal her husband’s laptop and the rest of her gold jewelries. When she said that I asked myself why she agreed for my release if she does not trust me or if she does not think I have changed.”

Sosena says her neighbors used to treat her very well before the arrest. In her words,

“when my mother kicks me out of the house, they were the one who give me shelter and food until she takes me back again. They used to think that my mother is the one at fault.”

But after she got arrested, went to the rehabilitation center and came back home, she says they stopped treating the same way.

After **Girum** started going to his new school some of the children that he knew before joining this school stopped treating him like they did before. He said

“The children that used to give me a very warm and friendly greeting started giving me very limited and respectful one. I can see that they now fear me. I am not sure what they heard I did but the way they treat me is exaggerated.”

According to **Abinet**, the treatment he got from his neighbors changed after his release. He explained,

“...they [his neighbors] don’t want their children to be seen with me. I know this because my friends come and tell me that their parents have told them not to be with me.” He feels wronged because he knows he was arrested for something he did not do and now his neighbors are punishing him. He says *“They think that I will teach their children to be delinquents just because I was arrested. I paid for something I did not do twice. Once at the prison and now where I live.”*

Amen said that his friends in the neighborhood hide when their parents show up while they are with him

“...I know they [his friends] are told by their parents to stay away from me because when they see their parents while playing with me, they hide. When I see that I wish they never approach me again because if they are told by their parents to stay away from me, they should.”

4.2.2 Discrimination

The other challenge that former juvenile delinquents face because of their past criminal activity and the fact that they went to the rehabilitation center is discrimination. They face discrimination from their family, friends, teachers and their community as a whole.

Though **Girum** tried to hide the fact that he was arrested in his new school, some of the children knew that he was arrested because they are friends with children from his old school. He recalls the incident on his first day at the new school as,

“I came late to the morning flag raising and as I approached the children, they did something that shocked me, they all dispersed. I felt like I am some kind of monster. I immediately turned around, went straight back home and never came back to school for a week.”

In addition to the above treatment he got from students at his school, one of his teachers gave him hard time at first and he thinks it is because he knows about his arrest.

“He [his teacher] used to tell me to leave his class for no reason, he knows that I was arrested because I have provided the school evidence that I have been going to class which is from the prison. Sometimes, the first thing he does is expel me from his class for no reason at all.”

Abinet got discrimination from some of his friends and his neighbors. Some of his friends stopped talking to him after he was released and he says this makes him sad and that he does not belong there anymore.

There was also one incident where one of his neighbors told him to come to her house anymore and that she does not want him to hang out with her son. He said,

“I used to study with one of my neighborhood friends before I was arrested. We both study together in each other’s houses so as usual I went to his house to study. But his mother never allowed me to enter her house. She told me not to come to her house or hangout with her son anymore. I know it was because I was arrested. After that incident, I always avoid my parents of my friends.”

4.2.3 Loss of the “good girl” / “good boy” label

Most of the participants answered that they had a very good reputation or a “*good name*” as they put it before they were arrested. However, they state that they do not have that good name anymore because of their arrest.

Leul states that his neighbors used to tell him he was one of the decent boys in the neighborhood. Though his close neighbors did not stigmatize him or discriminate him, he says that he does not have the “*good boy*” status anymore. He says,

“I am not the boy they raised anymore...”

Ephrata feels the same way. She said her neighbors were wonderful people who treat her with love and respect. She said they used to trust her and complement her by calling her a “*good girl*”. However, after she was caught for stealing, they have a whole new idea of her now, i.e, in her words, “*bad girl*” or “*criminal*”.

Sosena also has the same feeling as the two above. She said,

“I have destroyed my reputation of a good girl, no one thinks that I am the old Sosena they know and this does not make me feel good.”

Abinet also thinks that he has lost the very good name he has before the arrest. He said,

“I used to be a boy who is liked by everyone and was treated as one of the good boys. Things have changed now; “good boy” is not what popes in the mind of people when they see me.”

4.3 Coping mechanisms

Former juvenile use different mechanisms to cope with the psychosocial challenges they face. The study found out that former juvenile delinquents have their own way of coping from the challenges that were stated in the above sections.

4.3.1 Spirituality and selfless good deeds

Looking back **Leul** regrets all the bad choices he made in his life and feels guilty for everything he has done but also believes that God will forgive him for everything that he did.

“At this point, I regret the all the stealing, the arrest, the fights and the bad things and feel like I failed my parents. But I know God will forgive me. I always pray for his [God’s] forgiveness. I am also grateful for what I have now even though it is almost close to nothing and even though I go hungry at times. This is because I believe that God’s challenges are the hardest on those he loves the most.”

He does not think that praying is enough to be forgiven by God. He believes he has to do selfless good deeds not only to be forgiven by God but also for him to feel like he offsets the crimes or sins he committed with the good deeds he does. He said,

“When I see old women carrying stuff, I will help them by carrying and walk them up to their destinations. Whenever I do these I feel like may be God will forgive me for all my sins. It also makes me feel like I delete one of my regrets if I do one good deed and eventually I will feel normal again. I do these for my conscience.”

Leul says he does things like these on purpose. When explain that he said,

“...I intentionally wait for something I can help people with. For example, I might see a blind person needing guidance so I go ahead and help them cross the streets or show them the right way.”

He does not think God will completely forgive him for his sins but he says it means a lot to him if he at least forgives him for half of his sins. He says the good deeds he does give him internal strength.

Ephrata also said that her mother and her grandmother are Muslims and the rest of her family are Christians. She says when she feels guilty over the crime she committed, she prays to the creator to forgive her. She stated,

“When I feel sad or guilty because I stole, I don’t say Allah or God, but pray for the creator to forgive me. I tell him that I will never do such a thing anymore and ask him to soften the hearts of the people I stole from so that they can truly forgive me. I believe that he will hear me.”

Sosena also turns to God whenever she is stressed about her arrest, situation with her mother or her life in general. She said,

“When I think of what I did or think about the relationship with my mother or get stressed about my life, I go to church and pray for everything to be fixed.”

4.3.2 Wanting to be left alone

In addition to praying, **Leul** goes to a quiet place where he can be alone.

“Whenever I feel sad, I come to a place like this [the place where the interview was being conducted] and be with myself. It calms me down”

Abinet also wants to be alone in a quiet place whenever he is angry or sad because of his arrest or the way people treat him. He said,

“I sometimes go to Entoto alone when I feel sad. I sit quietly and think about things that are not related with my arrest. I usually feel better when I do this.”

Girum usually feels angry because he feels wronged by the mother of the victim. He said he does not want to talk to anybody so he just goes to any place where he can be alone. He at times sits alone for hours, trying to forget about the arrest and think about what he wants to be in the future.

4.3.3 Crying

Crying is the other coping mechanism that former juvenile delinquents use when they are in distress. Most of them reported that whenever they have the above stated psychosocial problems crying helps them to calm down.

When **Ephrata** finds herself in a conversation about theft, she always leaves and wants to be left alone and cry. She says,

“... in these situations I will go home or somewhere I can be alone and cry.”

When talking about how she has let down her family and people who cared about her by committing the crime, she says all she wants to do is cry her eyes out.

“... I will lock the bedroom and cry for long hours and when they [her aunt and her cousin] knock the door to check up on me I will open the door pretending that I was sleeping the whole time when I all I ever did was cry a lot.”

When **Sosena** feels sad, regrets her actions or feels guilty, she says she reads books, go to church and pray or listen to music because she does not want to face these feelings. But when those feelings are stronger, the only way she says she feels better is if she cries very hard going to somewhere that no one sees her.

Leul usually feels lonely and abandoned because his grandparents have no desire to have relationship with him. He said,

“When I see children with their families, I feel completely lonely and empty inside. This feeling worsens when the holidays come. I am usually a mess during the holiday, I drink a lot and cry hard alone.”

Abinet also uses crying as a coping mechanism. When he feels angry about his arrest, he wants to be alone and cry.

“I don’t want my family or friends to talk to me about the arrest or my time there because it makes me feel angry and in some occasions I left the conversation and cried alone.”

4.3.4 Drinking/smoking

Leul hates the feeling he has during the holidays. He says he feels very lonely and abandoned by his grandparents. He drinks hard during the holidays so that he does not feel the liveness and how much he hates the life he has. He also smokes a cigarette which he says will calm him down and makes him forget whatever that made him sad.

When **Amen** feels sad or bored he says he will either go to a video house or drink *Tella* (homemade alcoholic beverage).

4.4 Rehabilitation and Reintegration efforts by the government

Table 3: Background information on counsellors

Name	Sex	Place of work	Position	Educational background	Experience in the area
YF	M	Addis Ababa Rehabilitation Center for Children in Conflict with the Law and Remand Home	Counselor	BA in Sociology	8 Months
YT	F	Addis Ababa City Government Women, Children and Youth Affairs Bureau (BOWCYA)	Counselor	BA in psychology and MA In counseling Psychology	4 years

The results were obtained from counselors working with juvenile delinquents. YF is a counselor at the Addis Ababa City Government Rehabilitation Center for Children in Conflict with the Law and Remand Home and YT is also a counselor at the BOWCYA.

The Rehabilitation Centre for Children in conflict with the law and Remand Home, which is located in Addis Ababa, is the only corrective institution for juvenile delinquents in Ethiopia (Seelig & Tesfaye, 1994). The centre was established in 1942 under the auspices of the Ministry of Interior, with an initial intake of 35 boys (ECA, 1989).

According to YF there were 101 boys and 22 girls at the time of the interview but the number fluctuates everyday as children come and go on everyday basis with 200 being its maximum capacity. In addition to the basic necessities, the centre gives regular education up to 8th grade. Counselling services are also being given to the children in the centre. Aside from tapestry, there is no vocational or technical trainings being given. YF states that, there used to be wood and metal work trainings for all the children in the centre but the program ceased to exist due to lack of proper workshops.

YF does not believe that the centre is giving appropriate rehabilitation services to the children. He stated that the centre gives group counselling services only as it is not equipped both in manpower and facility.

He states that there are only five counsellors for all the children in the centre and giving a one to one session to all of them is impossible. In addition to this, he states that there is no suitable space to give counselling service to the children. YT from BOWCYA discussed more on this by saying,

“The counsellors do not know the procedures of giving the proper counselling because most of them have first degrees and it is very difficult to say that one can give a professional counselling with first degree only. I don’t believe that the children get the counselling services they need to get them ready when they re-enter the society.”

YF raises the main concern he has in addition to the above mentioned one is problem of space. He states that,

“Since the centre is a very old one, the rooms are not suitable for the services rendered. When new children join the centre, they should not just mingle with the rest of the children. They should be kept separately until their case is identified. They should also be kept according to

their age and according to the severity of their cases. But we have no screening procedure and even if we do, we do not have enough space to keep the children according to their cases and ages. I cannot confidently say that the children are released by being fully rehabilitated; most of them get new skills of theft or other crimes from the experienced ones here.”

YT also agrees with this point by saying that,

“Since they spend most of the time with each other, not with us, they learn from each other than they learn from us. We have seen cases that children who came in for spontaneous crimes left with skills of theft from the high number of recidivists of theft in the centre.”

Regarding what the centre is doing to make sure that the children’s socialization process is smooth and if the centre has any program that works with the community, both YF and YT responded that there is no program where the centre works with the community though they both agree that some awareness creation needs to be done.

Though YF states this, he says works have to be done to tackle juvenile delinquency first because, even if they start working with the community to make sure that the reintegration is smooth, it would be pointless if the children are not rehabilitated at the centre, which he thinks they are not as far as he is concerned.

YT on her behalf states that though the Bureau is supposed to follow up on the four institutions (Kebebetsehay Orphanage, Kolfe Orphanage, Kechene Orphanage and the Rehabilitation centre), much of the attention is given to the three orphanages.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

As indicated in earlier chapter, the purpose of this research is to identify the psychological challenges, social challenges and the coping mechanisms of rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents. Based on an earlier assessment with the study participants, the study identified pre-dominant psychological and social problems that rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents encounter and their coping mechanisms. Additionally, an attempt has been made to further investigate the issue from professionals' point of view that work around these group of children. In this part of the study, data from the participants is analyzed and discussed in terms of helping meet the objectives of the study and answer the research questions.

5.1 Psychological challenges

One of the main psychological challenges that former juvenile delinquents of this study experienced is self-stigma.

Stigma can be regarded as a label placed on an individual or group that results in devaluation and association with undesirable characteristics. Public stigma can be differentiated from self-stigma, with the former referring to the discrimination imposed by more powerful groups like the community or government on the labeled group (Link and Phelan, as cited in Chui and Cheng, 2013) and the latter taking place when the minority group (in this case, ex-prisoners), internalizes these beliefs against itself (Corrigan and Watson; Mak and Cheung, as cited in Chui and Cheng, 2013).

Chui and Cheng (2013) state that there are three components that makes up self-stigma. The first one is stereotype (such as negative beliefs about one's competence), prejudice (such as low self-esteem), and discrimination (such as avoidance of pursuing employment and interaction).

In line with this the findings of this study revealed that former juvenile delinquents experience self-stigmatization. Most of the participants feel that they are broken and cannot be fixed and think of themselves less of a person. The study also revealed that the participants show avoidance of interaction either because of the offence they committed or because of their imprisonment. Most of them hide the fact that they were involved in a criminal activity or have been accused of and being sent away to the rehabilitation center for it. Most of them hide that they went to the rehabilitation center when they meet people or they try to avoid meeting people so that the conversation never comes up.

Guilt is “private” experience represented by internally-generated pangs of conscience. It arises from a negative focus on a specific behavior. People stricken with guilt are drawn to consider their behavior and its consequences, rather than feeling compelled to defend the self. Feelings of remorse and regret are central to the phenomenology of guilt. When feeling guilt, people are inclined to ruminate over the misdeed, wishing they had behaved differently. Their concern is the offense committed, such as consciously breaking the law or having failed to comply with a rule, standard or protocol. Thus, if the guilty is aware of moral rightness in thought, word or deed, then it follows that the guilty must have perceived or realized that he or she has committed a moral wrong. A typical response of a guilty person would be to say, “I did that horrible thing,” with the emphasis on “did that” and “thing”. It may be indicative of a sense of responsibility, especially if the transgressor attempts to make reparation for his or her actions (e.g., seeking opportunities and ways to undo the harm caused). A typical example of such behavior is the

repentant sinner who acknowledges, confesses and asks for forgiveness for past transgressions. Another typical response of people with a deep-seated sense of guilt is to weep. In this way they express their sorrow, pain and *regret* — a feeling of deep disappointment and dissatisfaction with a certain state of affairs as a result of their actions (Tangney *et al.*, 2011).

In line with this the study finds out that most of the study participants show the feeling of guilt and regret, Most of the participants stated that they ponder over the crime they committed and wished they have never done it. Most of them refer to what they did as “*horrible thing*” and they repair what they have done by doing selfless deeds, by pray to God for forgiveness and sometimes by crying hard.

Shamed people, following a wrongful action, typically focus on themselves. The reason is because objectionable behavior is seen as a reflection of a defective or objectionable self; the I (the emphasis is on the “I”) did a horrible thing and the self is therefore experienced as bad. In other words, an error is attributed to one's own character. The feeling of shame is especially acute when the wrong committed causes a break in or a loss of intimacy with important others. This entails and implies that a shameful person is one who perceived or realized that he or she is no longer the kind of person others thought him or her to be. Typical self-reports of shamed persons are that they feel themselves exposed. Put differently, they are intensely self-aware and are ashamed of what they have become: Wrongdoers. It is therefore also typical of shamed individuals to hide themselves, to withdraw from or escape the scrutiny of important others. Alternatively, when under scrutiny, the shamed person will make attempts to shift blame, which could be indicative of a tendency to seek a scapegoat in order to justify him or herself (Tangney *et al.*, 2007).

In line with this, former juvenile delinquents in the study experience the feeling of shame. Most of them think that they committed the crime because there is something wrong with them. The feeling of shame becomes more severe when they think about how their actions ruined the relationship they had with their family or loved ones. They expressed themselves as someone who is no longer the kind of person who others thought them to be. Some of them also expressed that they feel very small and exposed. They also hide themselves from people so that people do not find out what kind of “horrible” individuals they are. Some of the participants also tried to shift the blame to their family to avoid feeling bad about themselves.

5.2 Social challenges

One of the social challenges that former juvenile delinquents of this study face is stigma. Stigma is defined as a “mark” that discounts a person’s credibility, endowing him or her with undesirable characteristics (Link and Phelan, as cited in Chui and Cheng, 2013). For many ex-prisoners, the mark of being a convict endures long after their sentences have been served. The stigma of stereotyping, labeling, discrimination, status loss, and separation felt by ex-prisoners is viewed as a form of “invisible punishment” that is likely to hamper their successful reentry into society. Facing stigma and reintegration is particularly challenging for young offenders leaving prison as they are often already behind in “markers of adult status,” such as obtaining stable employment and being independent, compared to their peers prior to incarceration (Uggen and Wakefield, as cited in Chui and Cheng, 2013).

As Austin (n.d.) puts it, roughly speaking, stigma is a mark or a characteristic that designates a person as "flawed, compromised, and somehow less than fully human." Stigmatization erects boundaries or barriers between persons who would otherwise belong to the same community.

The stigmatized are outcasts who are to be avoided and isolated. They are dehumanized and considered defective or unwholesome.

In line with this, the findings of the study revealed that the participants of the study faced stigma upon their reentry to the community. Most of the stigma came from neighbors and in some cases even loved ones. In most of the participants of the study, the stigma came from neighbors and peers which made it difficult for their successful reentry. Most of the participants lagged behind their peers in their education because of the process of arrest, trial and finally the incarceration. This has already disrupted their normal psychological development to transition into the adult status and the addition of stigma to the already existing problem hampers the successful reentry of the former juvenile delinquents in to their respective societies. In addition to these, most of the participants expresses that they were punished not only once when they were arrested for their crime but twice when expressing how challenging the stigma they faced was.

Discrimination of ex-prisoners is considered to be an offshoot of social stigma (Goffman, as cited in Ahmed & Ahmed, 2015). Generally, the perception of discrimination can be seen as a verdict that an individual has experienced one form of rejection, unequal, or unfair treatment because of being a member that belong to a particular disadvantaged social group (Kaiser & Major, as cited in Ahmed & Ahmed, 2015) like the ex-prisoners.

According to the respondents interviewed in this study, they revealed that; they are discriminated all over the society simply because they have been to prison regardless of the gravity of the offence.

5.3 Coping mechanisms to reduce psychosocial challenges

Kedeja (2006) has believed that when children are faced with psychologically or socially challenging situations, they normally develop their own means to cope with these problems that mainly include crying and praying. In line with this, the findings of the study revealed that the main coping mechanism that the participants used when faced with the psychosocial challenges they mentioned is spirituality. Most of them tend to pray for God to forgive them for the crime they committed. The other coping mechanism is crying. The participants stated that when they are stressed because of these psychosocial challenges, crying gives them comfort.

The study found out that juvenile delinquents in Ethiopia do not receive any kind of skills to cope with the psychosocial problems they face when they leave the rehabilitation center. Both the children and the professionals in the area stated that lack of proper counseling during the arrest. Due to the lack of essential/core element of the rehabilitation process, the participants did not have the proper knowledge to help them cope with the problems they face during their arrest or upon release. However, when they are under psychosocial distress, they found their own way to ease the pain which includes, apart from the ones stated above, helping others in need, being alone, drinking alcohol and smoking.

5.4 Rehabilitation efforts by the government

Juvenile crime is often serious and may represent a significant proportion of the total criminal activity in a community. It is usually assumed that adolescents deserve and require special handling because they are in a formative period and criminal behavior at this stage of life will not necessarily be continued into adulthood. Therefore, rehabilitation has particular appeal for use with juveniles. Theoretically, rehabilitation is the focus of corrections programs for

juveniles. In practice, however, as occurs with adult programs, juvenile rehabilitation programs may be poorly implemented (Bilchik, 1999).

From the interview with the key informants working on juvenile delinquency, the study revealed that the government is not doing much regarding rehabilitation and social reintegration of the children that came to the center committing different crimes.

Both the key informants believe that the center, being the only one in the country, is not working as it is expected. They both raise different reasons for the center failing to provide the proper rehabilitation services which it is intended to give.

In addition to these, the center does not do any kind of formal mechanisms of reintegration. If the child has a family who follows up and visits, they will be notified, otherwise the doors of the center are open for children who wish to go wherever they want to up on release.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Conclusion

The main focus of this research paper was to investigate the psychosocial challenges and coping mechanisms of rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents. Furthermore the study assessed the rehabilitation efforts given by the country's only rehabilitation center for juvenile delinquents. Detailed data was collected through in-depth interviews with six former juvenile delinquents and two key informants and data was analyzed qualitatively. Accordingly, from the findings of this research, the following conclusions could be drawn.

The study revealed that rehabilitated and reintegrated juvenile delinquents generally face psychological problems like guilt, shame, self-imposed stigma, feeling of insecurity, low self-esteem and fear of discrimination because of their past criminal activity and the fact that they were sent to the rehabilitation center meant for young people by juvenile courts.

Moreover, it is identified by the study that these former juvenile delinquents are subjected to various forms of pessimistic societal reactions such as stigma, discrimination and mistreatment that come in many forms including labeling by adults, peers and teachers. They also suffer separation from friends, family and relatives which has caused them a sense of insecurity in forming relationships. As a result, the study revealed that they are secretive about their past criminal activity and the fact that they were sent to the rehabilitation center for fear of these pessimistic societal reactions.

The findings also show that the severity of the psychological challenges are less in participants who have supportive family who understand what the children are going through and support them in

any way they can. The participants who were also discriminated by their own family showed deeper psychological problems and suffer the most and feel detached. These participants were also prone to substance abuse than the participants with support and understanding from the family.

The findings show that the country's only rehabilitation center for juvenile delinquents lacks the capacity to provide the basic rehabilitation techniques that should be given to children sent to the center in order to produce a responsible citizen. The center gives very poor counseling services only given in groups and the study found out from both the participants and the key informants that it was not useful at all. In addition to having a very poor quality, there is no counseling or skill given to the juvenile delinquents in the center that will help them in socializing with the community upon their release. Due to this gap, the children who leave the center will have no skill that will help them manage any problem that they might face from the community and will have no way of building a positive image of themselves in the society.

The study found out that the counseling services given by the rehabilitation center is very poor to make the children leaving not to recidivate and join the center again and again. It was found out that children who feel genuine guilty feeling of their past criminal activity do not want to engage in another criminal activity.

The study found out that the quality of education provided in the center is very low in which some of the participants could not keep up with their education after they left the center and joined other schools. Some of the respondents stated that they got a very low grades compared to their previous grades they had before sent to the rehabilitation center. They also reported that the school in the center lacks efficient teachers and the attention given to education in general is very low. Therefore, this study concludes that the center is not performing in giving the proper education to the children inside and it creates a gap in its rehabilitation efforts.

In addition to formal education, ideal rehabilitation facilities for juvenile delinquents provide technical and vocational services so that the children will have additional skills to widen their opportunities when they join the society. But the study found out that the rehabilitation center does not have any vocational or technical training programs. The only activities in the center are dance and circus trainings which are being given by volunteers.

The study found out that some of the caregivers lack the skills and professionalism when dealing with these groups of children. Children in the center are being treated in an inhumane manner which is against all the laws that are meant to protect children. The laws of Ethiopia including the international ones ratified by the country intend to work for the best interest of the child, and this included children who are in conflict with the law. The inhumane treatments mentioned in the finding above quiver the very core of these laws. Besides it is an additional limitation to the already poor rehabilitation program that the center is currently providing.

6.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the conclusions drawn, the researcher would like to forward the following recommendations that are believed to mitigate the psychosocial wellbeing of juvenile delinquents who re-enter the society and forwards alternative rehabilitative programs to avoid having the psychosocial problems in the first place.

The findings of this study indicate that the situation of children coming in contact with the criminal justice system needs to be improved in many respects. Many of the problems identified in the study call for fundamental changes in practice.

The need to provide legal and psycho-social support to children coming in contact with the law does not end at detention. On the contrary, it is often during detention that children need such

support. The meaningful re-integration of the children into society also requires follow-up and support.

To strengthen the efforts that are currently underway, rehabilitation center needs adequate funds and resources which will help it provide the necessary services and facilities to children.

The concerned government body should work on development of information and training resources like operational guidelines and training manuals in line with international standards. Such resources can be developed for use by the rehabilitation center authorities to build the capacity of their personnel, drawing from foreign experience in managing correctional facilities for children for this purpose.

One of the basic principles recognized in the international legal framework for the protection of children who offend is, the use of custodial measures only as a last resort. That is, the rights of these children are best protected by making sure that they are not detained. Ideally this could be achieved by diverting the children from the formal criminal justice system towards less formal, preferably by using community structures as the first point of contact with the formal system. For this to work effectively, the existing structures should get a legal backing. The Ethiopian legal system does not formally recognize the diversion of children suspected of crimes by the Police. This is one of the obstacles to the implementation of this principle in Ethiopia.

Diversion can also be made by placing children who now go to the rehabilitation center for petty offences, through community service programs. Policy makers should highly consider avoiding children to go through the formal justice system, as they are now believed to learn more crime in the rehabilitation center than they are rehabilitated for the ones they committed.

As it is seen in the finding, placement of children in the rehabilitation center is carried out on the basis of the principle of separate accommodation for female and male prisoners but no separate arrangements are made for children in prisons. There is also no segregation of prisoners who are serving sentences and those on trial or awaiting trial. The concerned government body of NGOs should consider this and make the necessary adjustment to arrange separate accommodation according to age, case and the number of times the child comes to the center.

The school in rehabilitation center is poorly staffed, barely supplied with essential materials and suffer from lack of sufficient educational facilities. Vocational training that used to be given in the rehabilitation center is not available because of shortage of material, staff and mainly workshop. Vocational training is one of the skills that detainees can gain from their stay at rehabilitation centers in order to help them broaden their work opportunities when they enter the society and become productive. Therefore, the trainings that used to be given at the rehabilitation center should resume.

The study revealed that the penalties that are meant to discipline the children in the rehabilitation center included inhuman and degrading punishment. This is in part because rehabilitation center officials delegated disciplinary authority to the caregivers without strict supervision. Therefore, the necessary supervision should be conducted by the officials of the center so that the children get the proper treatment which will also help the rehabilitation program.

Adequate counseling and social services are not provided to children in the rehabilitation center. There is also no follow-up and support arrangements after the children are released to

make sure that they are adequately integrated in their communities so that this would deter them from re-offending. Therefore, the rehabilitation center should hire professional counselors, who have the skills of handling children who are involved in crime. BOWCYA and other stake holders should give technical or financial support to help the center start a follow up program on the children released from the center to make sure their transition from the center to their societies is as smooth as possible.

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Appendix I

Informed Consent For participants

I am Lemlem Tsegay, a student of Addis Ababa University and I am currently pursuing my Masters in Developmental Psychology.

As part of my master's degree program, I am conducting a qualitative study on the psychosocial problems of rehabilitated juvenile delinquents in Addis Ababa. This research will involve a personal interview of rehabilitated juvenile delinquents who will be willing to volunteer for the study. This will ensue after consent has also been sought from the participants themselves and parents/guardians, if available. The interview will be audio recorded or (note will be taken) to enhance responses adequately documented. This is purported to enable the researcher perform a thorough analysis of the responses provided by the participants in relation to the topic in question.

AIM OF THE STUDY

This research intends to gather in-depth information about what rehabilitated juvenile delinquents face after their release from the rehabilitation center and being reintegrated with their community as seen from the perspective of the children themselves. The results will be useful to concerned governmental or non-governmental bodies to intervene and work to make the life of rehabilitated juvenile offenders easy, to institutions operating correctional facilities to re-socialize young offenders to fit back into the society upon their release and to abstaining from delinquent behaviors. Moreover, there is a dearth of literature on Ethiopia with respect to juvenile delinquency and the voice of young former offenders so a study like this could inform further research.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Confidentiality of participants' information will be strictly observed in this research. Your name and other traceable information will be held in absolute confidence. The tapes will remain in the custody and control of the researcher always and would not be given out for any purpose to anyone who is not working directly with the researcher. The researcher will not share information which could identify you with anyone or in publication. Person identifying information that will be obtained from the participants will be destroyed when the entire research comes to an end.

PARTICIPATION

Partaking in this research is on voluntary bases. After your decision (free will) to volunteer for this study, you are still entitled to withdraw from the study at any point in time and you can also decide not to respond to questions which pose discomfort to you.

(Signature of researcher) (Date)

Consent of Informants/Participants

I certify that the purpose of the study has been thoroughly explained to me in a language I understand to my satisfaction. I understand that any information obtained from me for this research will be kept confidential. To further ensure privacy, I have the option of using a pseudonym. I understand that participation is voluntary and I have the right to refuse participation at any time in the course of the interview. I agree to participate in this study.

Appendix II : INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARTICIPANTS

How old are you?

Where did you live immediately before the arrest?

How long have you stayed at the rehabilitation center?

How long has it been since you were released?

Do you go to school? (If no, why not?)

A. Delinquency related questions

1. What offence did you commit or what delinquent behavior were you arrested for?

Probe- can you narrate the situations or circumstances that led you to commit the act?

2. What was the result you achieved as a result of the delinquent behavior?

3. Can you go through the learning process of this delinquent act?

4. Can you narrate to me the process of the arrest?

5. Was it your first arrest? (If no, how many times were you sentenced at the rehabilitation center?)

• Before the arrest

B. Relationship with the family before arrest.

1. Can you describe the composition of your family and other members in your household?

2. Were you living with your parent(s) or a guardian(s) up to the time of arrest?

3. What was their occupation?

4. How would you describe your relationship with you parents? Emotionally....
5. Can you describe the daily routine of your parent(s) or guardian(s)?
6. Can you describe your daily routine in the house?
7. How would you describe your relationship with your siblings and other family members? Emotionally....
8. What are some of the challenges you confronted in your family?

C. Community or neighborhood background and relationship before the arrest

1. Can you describe the neighborhood you were living in? (Kind of people, their occupation, some activities there, structures).
2. Can you describe some good as well as bad elements that were in your neighborhood?
3. How did you perceive your place in the community? Probe- Do you think the community had a positive attitude towards you?

D. Relationship with friends before arrest

1. Can you describe the most important friends that you used to hang out with?(age, occupation, number, etc).
2. Can you take me through your daily routine with them?
3. Can you describe to me some of the things you and your friends spend most time doing?
4. Do you have a friend who has been arrested by the police before?

- **During the arrest/ in the rehabilitation center**

E. Experience in the rehabilitation center

1. Can you tell me more about your normal routine in the rehabilitation center? ie. From Monday-Sunday.

2. Can you describe your relationship with your family members ever since you were brought to this corrections center?

Probe: Did family members, neighbors or friends pay you a visit? If no, how does it made you feel?

3. How did the institution help you in the re-socialization process?

Probe: Did they teach you any skills on how to go back to your community after your release?

Probe: What were the skills?

Probe: What other things did you learn at the center?

Probe: Did those skills help you after your re-integration in the society? (If yes, how)

4. If it rehabilitation is not your first, what did you do to be sentenced back to the rehabilitation center?

Probe: why did you re-offend? What factors led you to reoffend?

Probe: Is it the treatment of your family, friends or the community that led you to re-offend? Did they call you names? Can you describe the treatment you got?

Probe: How did it make you feel?

Probe: What do you do in these situations/how do you deal with it?

- **After Rehabilitation**

F. Relationship with family after release from the rehabilitation center

1. Can you describe to the process of your release?

2. Did you go to the place you used to live after your release? (If no, why?)

3. If yes, how do you describe your family's or guardian's treatment after your release?

Probe: How does their treatment made you feel? Did it made you feel you don't belong there anymore?

4. What do you do in these situations/ how do you deal with it?

5. Do you think your family or guardian(s) are disappointed at you for involving in delinquent acts and for being sent to the rehabilitation center?

Probe: How does that make you feel?

6. If you think your family is disappointed at you, do you feel forgiven now that you have been rehabilitated? Do you feel that you have paid your dues for the delinquent act you committed?

Probe: If you don't feel forgiven, how does that make you feel? What do you do in those situations/how do you deal with it? (e.g do you go to church and pray?)

G. Relationship with the community after release from the rehabilitation center

- 1.Can you describe how people in your neighborhood treated/treat you after you were released from the center?

Probe: Do you think people fear you? Do you feel discriminated from children who have never committed delinquent acts? Do people made you feel you don't belong there? How? Can you describe? How does that make you feel? What do you do when you feel like that/how do you deal with it?

2. Do you have a sense of guilt? If yes, can you describe how you feel? How do you deal with it? (do you go to the church and pray for forgiveness?)

Probe: Do you feel forgiven by your victim(s)? If yes, how does that make you feel? If no, how does that make you feel?

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Probe: If you don't feel like you have not been forgiven for the delinquent act you committed, how do you deal with it?

3. Do you feel forgiven by the community? If not, how does that make you feel? Can you describe it? How do you deal with it?

Thank you!

Appendix III

Interview Guide for a Key informant in the Rehabilitation Center for Children in conflict with the law and Remand Home

1. What is your position in this centre?
2. How long have you been since you started working here?
3. How many children are currently in the centre?

Probe: How many of them are girls and how many of them are boys?

4. What is the aim or purpose of the centre? What is it meant to do?
5. Do you think the centre is performing according to its aim? (If no, can you explain the reasons why you don't think so? And if yes, what are the achievements that made you think that the centre is performing according to its aim?)
6. Can you tell me the services the centre gives for the children? (e.g, school, vocational training, counselling etc)

Probe: Can you explain the services in detail?

7. Do you have rehabilitation programs for the children?
8. What are these rehabilitation programs? Can you explain them in detail?
9. Do you think the rehabilitation programs are successful? (If Yes, how, If no, why not)
10. How do these programs or services help the children when they return to their community?

Probe: Do you think they get skills on how to socialize in their return? How do they tolerate being labelled as a criminal when they return to the society?

Probe: Do these programs teach them coping mechanisms to feelings of discrimination because of their past delinquent acts? If yes, what are these coping mechanisms? If no,

don't you think they should learn coping mechanisms to help them in situations like these?

11. Do children come back to the centre for re-offending?

12. Do you keep data of the children who re-offend?

13. Do you study or try to find out why these children re-offend?

Probe: Do you think the centre failed to properly rehabilitate them? If yes, can you explain how the centre failed them?

Probe: If no, why do you think they re-offended?

14. Do you have a procedure where you follow-up on children who returned to the society?

Probe: Do you check up on their education, family life, how they are doing with the society at large, etc?

15. Do you have a group counselling sessions with families of the children while the children are in the centre?

Probe: If yes, can you explain how these sessions work?

16. Do you have an awareness creation programs with the community?

17. Do you think the centre is well equipped both with staff and other materials to rehabilitate the children in the centre?

If no, what are the problems the centre faces not to do so?

Thank you!

Appendix IV

Interview Guide for a Key informant from the BOWCYA

Name

Position

Duration of post

1. Can you please explain about your job position?
2. What are the services that the bureau renders for children in conflict with the law?
3. Does the bureau have aims/goals regarding children in-conflict with the law? If yes, can you explain?
4. What is the bureau's involvement with the Rehabilitation Centre for children in conflict with the law and remand home? Would you please explain?
5. Do you keep record of the children in the centre or is it the mandate of the remand home?
6. If yes, how many children are currently in the centre?

Probe: How many of them are girls and how many of them are boys?

7. What are the services that the remand home gives for the children in the centre and what is the bureau's involvement on that?
8. What is the aim or purpose of the centre? What is it meant to do?

Probe: When did the bureau started working with juvenile delinquents/children in conflict with the law?

9. Do you think the centre is performing according to it aim? (If no, can you explain the reasons why you don't think so? And if yes, what are the achievements that made you think that the centre is performing according to its aim?)

10. What are the rehabilitation programs for the children? What is the role of the Bureau in these programs (Supervision, technical help etc.)

11. Do you think the rehabilitation programs are successful? (If Yes, how, If no, why not)

12. How do these programs or services help the children when they return to their community?

Probe: Do you think they get skills on how to socialize in their return? How do they tolerate being labelled as a criminal when they return to the society?

Probe: Do these programs teach them coping mechanisms to feelings of discrimination because of their past delinquent acts? If yes, what are these coping mechanisms? If no, don't you think they should learn coping mechanisms to help them in situations like these?

Does the bureau help the remand home make follow ups or do follow ups on its own of children rehabilitated and returned to the community? (Check up on their education, family life, how they are doing with the society at large, etc?)

13.) If yes, how do you or the remand home do these follow ups?

If no, don't you think follow ups are necessary to see how the children are fitting in their communities and help you find ways to change/make strategies to change the rehabilitation programs that the centre is currently using according to the needs of the children?

Probe: If you think follow ups are necessary why are you or the centre not doing it? Is it out of the bureau's mandate? If so, why is the remand home not doing it? Can you explain?

14. Do children come back to the centre for re-offending?

15. Do you keep data of the children who re-offend?

16. Do you study or try to find out why these children re-offend?

Probe: Do you think the centre failed to properly rehabilitate them? If yes, can you explain how the centre failed them?

Probe: If no, why do you think they re-offended?

17. Does the remand home have any group counselling sessions with families of the children while the children are in the centre?

Probe: If yes, can you explain how these sessions work? What is the bureau's take on this? (Participate on the sessions; give trainings to the staff of the remand home, etc.)

18. Do you or the remand home work on an awareness creation programs with the community? (to create positive image of children who ones were involved in deviant acts and show that they can become productive citizens after being rehabilitated?)

If yes, can you explain how that works?

If no, why not? Is it out of you mandate? If so, don't you think it is necessary

19. Do you think the centre is well equipped both with staff and other materials to rehabilitate the children in the centre?

If no, what are the problems the centre faces not to do so?

Probe: what is the bureau doing to help improve the services being given at the remand home?

20. What is the bureau doing to help rehabilitated children who are back to the society in coping up with any kind of problem they face from the community (it could be stigma) related to their past criminal activities?

Probe: Do you work with any NGO's who work in this area? If yes, what do they do to help these children?

21. Do you have any additional points or suggestions?

Thank you!!