TRACER STUDY ON
CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW
RELEASED FROM YOUTH DEVELOPMENT & REHABILITATION CENTER IN 2010, 2011 & 2012

Study conducted by Mediamax Consultancy
Thimphu, Bhutan
2013
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<tr>
<td>BLSS</td>
<td>Bhutan Living Standards Survey</td>
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<td>BNLI</td>
<td>Bhutan National Legal Institute</td>
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<td>CCPA</td>
<td>Child Care and Protection Act 2011</td>
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<td>CICL</td>
<td>Children in Conflict with the Law</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<td>CRC</td>
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<td>DHI</td>
<td>Druk Holding and Investments</td>
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<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labor Organization</td>
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<td>JDWNRH</td>
<td>Jigme Dorji Wangchuck National Referral Hospital</td>
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<td>KAB</td>
<td>Knowledge, Attitude and Behavior</td>
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<td>MoE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
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<td>MoLHR</td>
<td>Ministry of Labor and Human Resources</td>
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<td>NCWC</td>
<td>National Commission for Women and Children</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
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<td>RBP</td>
<td>Royal Bhutan Police</td>
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<td>YDRC</td>
<td>Youth Development and Rehabilitation Center</td>
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<td>YDF</td>
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**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Tracer Study on Children in Conflict with the Law (CICL) who were rehabilitated and released from the Youth Development and Rehabilitation Center (YDRC) at Tshimasham, Chukha, in 2010, 2011, and 2012 is a first of its kind undertaken in Bhutan. Since its establishment in 1999, YDRC has provided rehabilitative and reformative services to 274 CICL. However, no proper study has been conducted thus far to assess the impact and efficacy of the program for this group of children, and whether they have been reintegrated into mainstream society after their release.

This Tracer Study was initiated with three principal objectives. First, the study aimed to examine the current status of CICL who were released from the YDRC in 2010, 2011, and 2012 and assess whether the reformative and vocational skills development programs at the YDRC helped in their reintegration into mainstream society. Second, the study also aimed at planning and designing a set of transition activities to ensure successful reintegration of CICL leaving YDRC. Third, the study aimed at designing a simple monitoring system of these children and train relevant staff of Youth Development Fund (YDF) to use the system.

To this end, the study employed a multi-research technique that included both qualitative and quantitative methods. The study administered three individual questionnaires on YDRC graduates, YDRC residents, and rearrested YDRC graduates. The questionnaire adopted 'five impact areas' (ILO, 2011:24) such as education, knowledge, attitude and behavior (KAB), employment, economic wellbeing, and health and social wellbeing as variables that determine 'desired long term impacts' on the beneficiaries. The research also conducted 10 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and 11 Key Informant Interviews (KIs).

The target sample consisted of 69 respondents who had graduated from YDRC in 2010, 2011, and 2012 and 39 current residents of YDRC. Of the total 69 juveniles who were released from YDRC in the past three years, 55 were traced.

**SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS**

The study found that of the total 51 YDRC graduates surveyed, 23 are currently employed, 13 of them are continuing education, and five are unemployed. Ten have been rearrested (14%), of which two minors have been sent back to YDRC for rehabilitation. Among the 13 who are continuing education, seven are in middle secondary level and two each in higher secondary and lower secondary levels. Two YDRC graduates are currently pursuing their college education in Bhutan.

Majority of the YDRC graduates (32) were unemployed before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Only nine YDRC graduates were employed when they came in conflict with the law. There is a dramatic improvement in the employment status of YDRC graduates after their release compared to before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Post

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1 All 274 CICL are boys. Bhutan does not have a rehabilitation center for girl child yet
2 Graduates in this context refer to CICL who have completed their term at YDRC.
release, 23 of them have been employed. While there is an improvement in the overall employment status of the graduates post release, this has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in income. The study reveals that most of them are employed in lowly paying occupations. Except for a few isolated cases, the findings also indicate a mismatch of vocational skills they learnt at YDRC and the nature of their current occupation.

Majority of the YDRC graduates who are currently working felt it was very difficult to get employment. The high level of difficulty to get jobs after release is mainly attributed to factors such as lack of required vocational skills, job opportunities, and financial constraints. Past record and social stigmatization also tend to pose challenges while they look for employment. In some cases, lack of security clearance has been the main difficulty in getting jobs.

Most parents of YDRC graduates (20) are married (together). Combined together, however 21 YDRC graduates come from broken families. This finding suggests that children from broken homes (single parent, divorced, divorced and remarried) tend to be more vulnerable to crime, including children without parents or proper care providers.

The study also reveals that a majority of parents (23) of YDRC graduates do not have any form of education. The highest education qualification of parents of YDRC graduates and residents is higher secondary level. Lower educational levels of parents tend to directly correlate with low educational qualification of majority of the CICL or vice versa. Thus, this finding, with some exceptions, indicates that education level of parents has a bearing on the education of CICL.

The study findings show that most respondents (YDRC graduates and residents) come from a household size that is more than the national average household size of 4.5\(^3\). The average household size of 6.1, under which quite a large number of respondents fall, represents the poorest per capita consumption quintile\(^4\). The main source of household income amongst majority of YDRC graduates is salary-based earnings followed by farming and small business/petty trade. For a majority of the YDRC graduates, the father is the major contributor to the household income followed by the mother.

Majority of the graduates had access to sufficient food while seven graduate respondents did not have sufficient food and two respondents had sufficient food only sometimes. Majority of the YDRC graduates had access to sufficient clothing against only two who did not have access to sufficient clothes and six who had access to sufficient clothes sometimes.

Majority of the graduates identified peer pressure as the main reason for committing offence, followed by intoxication, poverty and broken family. A few YDRC graduates also pointed out that all of these were reasons for committing the offence.

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\(^3\) Bhutan Living Standards Survey report 2012 estimates the national average household size in Bhutan at 4.5.

\(^4\) Ibid, pg-7
Majority of the YDRC graduates felt the quality of YDRC program is good. Majority of the YDRC graduates also claimed the treatment (services, rules, food) at YDRC were satisfactory.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

A combination of several factors (socioeconomic conditions, family relations, unemployment, and circle of friends etc.) tends to influence children to commit offence. Quite a large number of the CICL come from broken homes, large family size, poor, and uneducated parents. Lack of proper parental care and guidance also tend to influence children to commit offence. These reasons are portent catalysts that force most CICL to offend, some even without the knowledge and prior understanding of the gravity of the offence. Unemployment is also a plausible cause that has pushed these children to come in conflict with the law.

Post release, majority of the YDRC graduates faced varying level of difficulties to get employment, mainly owing to lack of required educational qualification and vocational skills, financial constraints and social stigma. Although the number of employed YDRC graduates after their release has significantly increased, almost all of them are employed in lowly paying occupations.

Much needs to be done to reintegrate CICL leaving YDRC by putting in place proper aftercare and support mechanisms and transition activities. As the lone rehabilitation center for CICL in Bhutan, YDRC is trying to provide reformative services and a safe environment to children who come in conflict with the law with the existing facilities and programmes, and within its scope and limitations.

CICL are most vulnerable when they are released from the center and have nothing to look forward to. The rehabilitation program will serve no purpose if CICL are thrown into the same context and environment from where they were picked up earlier. And therein lay the critical role of transition and aftercare activities, which must ultimately address the educational, psychological, social and medical challenges faced by CICL. To this end, the study recommends the following:

- Introduce and implement transition activities and aftercare programs for CICL leaving YDRC through broad-based involvement of government and non-government institutions.

- Transition activities must begin at the center. NGOs and YDRC should engage in mapping of individual career preferences and plans of CICL at the center, and facilitate necessary post release assistance and support to fulfill those career aspirations.

- Establish formal institutional linkages and long-term partnerships between YDRC and relevant stakeholder agencies such as Ministry of Labor and Human Resources (MoLHR), local and international Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and Psychiatry Department of Jigme Dorji

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5 The Right Not to Lose Hope, Save the Children UK, London, UK, 2005
Wangchuck National Referral Hospital (JDWNRH) to build human resource capacity and structured vocational skills development programs at the center.

• Introduce certified and graded vocational skills development programs at YDRC to enhance employability of juveniles leaving YDRC. Tailored and customized short-term courses by considering the security issues, need to be developed for those CICL who are sent to YDRC for short duration.

• Upgrade and build capacity of instructors at YDRC to effectively implement and impart vocational skills training programme to juveniles at YDRC. Also, train instructors and staff on rehab management.

• Build tie-ups with potential employers (government and private) to provide livelihood opportunities to the CICL post release.

• There is a need to facilitate placement of CICL in formal vocational and technical training institutes in the country for those CICL interested to further continue vocational training.

• CICL who prefer to continue education should be provided with necessary support in getting admission in schools of their choice. Particularly children without parents/guardians must be provided admission to schools with boarding facilities.

• Entrepreneurship development trainings and financial assistance in the form of soft loans should be provided to CICL who are enterprising and willing to start-up business on their own.

• Support the establishment of peer support networks of CICL graduates and peer-counseling programs for current residents at YDRC.

• Establish transition homes for children who reach 18 years at the center.

• Strong need is felt to establish a separate rehabilitation center for women and girl child who come in conflict with the law.

• Expedite the formulation and implementation of rules and regulation for Child Care and Protection Act (CCPA) 2011.
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Although there are no substantial research studies conducted so far on CICL in Bhutan (Dorji, 2005; YDF 2013), frequent media reports and crime statistics indicate that juvenile delinquency is a growing social problem in the country. The circumstances that lead a child to come in conflict with the law are more often the same throughout the world. A similar pattern runs through in the lives of children who come in conflict with the law, that of poverty, marginalization, alienation, neglect by family or community, failure in child care and protection mechanisms, and lack of opportunities⁶.

A ballooning youth population in Bhutan, rapid urbanization, gradual breakdown of traditional and social fabric, and unemployment pose new challenges and risks of more children coming in conflict with the law. This problem could be further compounded since nearly half of Bhutan’s population is below 25 years of age⁷.

As party to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC), the Royal Government of Bhutan is committed to minimize incarceration and punitive conviction of CICL. Further, Bhutan’s CCPA 2011 is an indication of the Royal Government’s commitment to promote welfare of all children in the country including of those who come in conflict with the law.

In line with Article 37 and 40 of the CRC⁸, the Youth Development and Rehabilitation Center (YDRC) was established at Tshimasham in Chukha in 1999. The center provides rehabilitative and reformative programs for CICL. YDRC’s reformative services aim at bringing about behavioral changes in CICL and equip them with livelihood skills prior to their reintegration into mainstream society.

Researches done on CICL and reformative programs have revealed that ‘get tough’ and ‘locking up and throwing away the key’ policy of crime control often negates the vital positive outcomes of rehabilitation since most juvenile delinquents and offenders eventually return to society. Rehabilitation programs are therefore critical in reducing recidivism among offenders by training them to be productive members of the society⁹.

Children in conflict with the law face wide range of educational, psychological, medical and social challenges¹⁰. Transition activities such as literacy programs, elementary and high school education, technical skills development and vocational trainings, among others, provide livelihood opportunities after they

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⁶The Right Not to Lose Hope, Save the Children UK, London, UK, 2005
⁷ Bhutan Living Standards Survey Report 2012, pg-8
⁸ Article 37 (Detention and punishment) of Convention on the Rights of Child states that children who break laws should neither be treated cruelly nor should they be imprisoned with adults while Article 40 (juvenile justice) states that CICL should have the right to legal help and fair treatment in a justice system that respects their rights.
¹⁰ Marie Grace A. Gomez, Career Planning for Children in Conflict with the Law, Alipato, pg-90
complete the term, greatly lowering their chances of relapse. Unemployed offenders are said to be three times more likely to commit a crime after release\textsuperscript{11}.

Since its establishment in 1999, YDRC has provided rehabilitation and reformatory programs to 274 CICL\textsuperscript{12}. At the time of this study, 39 residents were undergoing various reformatory programs at the center. However, no study has been conducted thus far to evaluate the outcomes and efficacy of the reformatory programs and assess the situation of children who underwent the rehabilitation process at YDRC. In fact, this tracer study is the first of its kind to be conducted in the country.

1.2 Objective
Recognizing that no proper study has been conducted to gauge the impact and efficacy of YDRC programs and the consequent absence of ex post evaluative measures to ensure smooth reintegration of those beneficiaries into mainstream society, this study was therefore conducted with three principal objectives:

a. Conduct a study of the children who completed their term in the center for the last three years (2010, 2011 and 2012) to find out what they are doing now and how the various reformatory and vocational programs they received at YDRC helped them in their reintegration into mainstream society. The study will also generate views on what types of vocational or other skills would be useful to help them in their successful reintegration.

b. Plan and design a set of transition activities that YDF and other stakeholders could implement for the successful reintegration of the children leaving the YDRC.

c. Design a simple monitoring system of children leaving the center and train relevant staff to use the system.

Besides the main objectives, the study also attempts to understand the causes and reasons that influenced or triggered these children to commit offences at a young age. The study also looks at possible driving forces and parallels between socioeconomic wellbeing and psychosocial conditions vis-à-vis instances of recidivism among YDRC graduates.

1.3 Methodology & Approach
The study employed a multi-research technique that included both qualitative and quantitative methods such as individual survey, desk review, and focus group discussions, key informant interviews, case studies and stakeholder’s meetings.

1.3.1 Desk Reviews and Secondary Data Collection
The study proceeded by reviewing secondary data and available literature on CICL in Bhutan. The desk research involved extensive review of existing legal and policy frameworks such as international conventions and treaties, laws and acts particularly related to child rights. The desk research also involved review of

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid
\textsuperscript{12} Statistics of residents since 1999 till date, Youth Development & Rehabilitation Center
program documents of reformative activities and services at YDRC. This process was critical in drawing up research instruments and benchmarks to assess the success and challenges faced by CICL who have completed their term at the center. The study also reviewed records on CICL maintained by the Royal Bhutan Police (RBP).

1.3.2 Focus Group Discussions
A series of 10 focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with various research participants and stakeholders to elicit a rich mix of perspectives and views. Through this participatory approach, the study engaged and probed participants to discuss and reflect on issues related to CICL, share their collective experiences, concerns, and also suggest recommendations on various aspects of rehab programs at YDRC and transition programs that could be introduced for juveniles released from the Center. A set of loosely structured interview guideline was designed to guide the discussion process.

1.3.3 Key Informant Interviews
The study conducted 11 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders from relevant agencies such as RBP, YDRC, Office of the Attorney General, MoLHR, National Commission for Women and Children (NCWC), Bhutan National Legal Institute (BNLI), and JDWNRH, among others. An interview guide was designed for this purpose.

1.3.4 Case Studies
Two case studies on CICL who have been rearrested and two on YDRC graduates were also conducted as part of the research study. These case studies comprise success stories and stories of relapse. Through personal narratives and accounts, the case studies explore the reasons for recidivism among repeat offenders and identifies the current situation and challenges faced by YDRC graduates post release.

1.3.5 Field Survey
The study administered three individual questionnaires to YDRC graduates, YDRC residents, and rearrested YDRC graduates. The survey questionnaire employed both open and close-ended questions. Usually tracer studies, like any other social research, aspire to go beyond the mere description of the changes that occurred and seek explanations of what caused them (ILO 2011), using deductive general reasoning to more specific. For the purpose of this study, and following ILO (2011:24), we adopted ‘five impact areas’ such as education, knowledge, attitude and behavior (KAB), employment, economic wellbeing, and health and social wellbeing as the variables that determine ‘desired long term impacts’ on the beneficiaries.

The questionnaire covered seven sections namely: Personal information, Education, Employment, Economic status/wellbeing, Knowledge, Attitude and Behavior (KAB), Health and Social wellbeing, and the final section on current YDRC programmes. The questionnaire was refined through a consultative process held with relevant stakeholders.
1.3.6 Survey Sample

The target sample consisted of 69 respondents\(^\text{13}\) who had graduated from YDRC in 2010, 2011, and 2012 and 39 current residents of YDRC. Of the total 69 juveniles who were released in the stipulated timeframe, 55 of them in total were traced, of which 10 were rearrested for various crimes. At the time of this study, seven of the rearrested graduates were under trial or judicial custody while one was convicted to Chamgang Central Prison\(^\text{14}\). Two minors were sent back to YDRC for rehabilitation. Four traced YDRC graduates refused to respond, and despite all our efforts, 14 graduates could not be traced at all\(^\text{15}\).

2 Ethical Aspects of The Study

Morrow and Richards (1996:90) define ethics as “a set of moral principles and rules of conduct” and are precisely “concerned with respecting research participants throughout each project” (Alderson and Morrow, 2004:11). Ethical considerations are paramount in studies involving living subjects (ILO 2011:11) and even more prominent for this tracer study because of the involvement of children.

Most writings on ethics in social research lay significant emphasis on child participation in research, informed consent of both parents and child, confidentiality and anonymity of the respondent, avoiding harm to participants either physical or psychological, respectful treatment of child, and provision of incentives if necessary (ILO 2011: 11). These formed the guiding principles of the study. During the research process, due respect to the sensitivities of the

\(^{13}\) In fact, 70 CICL were released in 2010, 2011, and 2012. However, one was a non-national. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, our sample frame is 69.

\(^{14}\) The rearrested graduate at Chamgang couldn’t answer the survey questionnaire since he was found to be mentally unsound.

\(^{15}\) Of the four traced YDRC graduates, one is a RBA personnel, one is undergoing RBA training at Tencholing in Wangdue, one is a student at Tendu Middle Secondary School and the other one is a farmer in Paro.
children’s rights was accorded high priority. We also respected the survey respondents’ right not to participate in the study. This is also reflected in the introductory page of the individual survey questionnaire.

3 LEgal AND Policy Frameworks

3.1 Commitment to International Conventions

The Royal Government of Bhutan has made strong commitments to the protection of the child’s right and welfare that include children in difficult circumstances and those who come in conflict with the law. This commitment is abundantly reflected in numerous international and regional conventions Bhutan has willingly ratified over the years.

Bhutan ratified the CRC in 1990. Article 40 of the CRC states that children who are accused of breaking the law have the right to legal help and fair treatment in a justice system that respects their rights. The CRC also binds all governments to set a minimum age below which children cannot be held criminally responsible and to provide minimum guarantees for the fairness and quick resolution of judicial or alternative proceedings.

Bhutan ratified the Optional Protocols on the sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography in 2009 followed by the ratification of Optional Protocols on the involvement of Children in Armed Conflict a year later. Bhutan also ratified the regional SAARC Conventions on Preventing and Combating Trafficking of Women and Children for Prostitution and SAARC Convention on Regional Arrangements for the Promotion of Child Welfare in South Asia. In addition, Bhutan is also a signatory to the Beijing Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration on South-South Cooperation for Child’s Rights in South Asia.

3.2 Domestic Laws & Acts

Ratification of international conventions has culminated into sound legal and policy instruments that place utmost emphasis on the child’s rights and welfare. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan guarantees that the State shall endeavour to take appropriate measures to ensure children are protected against all forms of discrimination and exploitation including trafficking, prostitution, abuse, violence, degrading treatment and economic exploitation.

A major legislative breakthrough has come in the form of the CCPA 2011 that covers all child related protections, including rights of children in conflict with the law. The CCPA 2011 defines a child in conflict with the law as a child who is above 12 years of age and who has committed an offence.

16 Mapping and Assessment Report and National Plan of Action for Child Protection, pg-11
17 Ibid, pg-12
18 Ibid, p8-12
19 Article 9, Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan
20 Chapter 6, section 7.2, Child Care and Protection Act of Bhutan 2011
With regard to provision of alternative measures to juvenile delinquency, Royal Bhutan Police Act 2009 also mentions that YDRC shall provide rehabilitative and reformative education and training for CICL.

Although CCPA 2011 spells out child protection rights in great detail, its implementation has been rather slow due to lack of rules and regulations for the Act. For effective and efficient enforcement of the CCPA 2011, rules and regulations will have to be drafted first, outlining necessary standard operating procedures for the establishment of alternative care systems. The NCWC is currently in the process of finalizing the rules and regulations. The first round of national stakeholder’s consultation on the draft rules and regulations has already been completed. After incorporating the inputs from the consultation process, the draft will again be presented to the second national stakeholders for endorsement.

3.3 Juvenile Justice System in Bhutan

Section 38 of the CCPA 2011 states that the Druk Gyalpo on the recommendation of National Judicial Commission may establish a Child Justice Court or Bench. The CCPA 2011 also obligates courts to protect the child’s right to privacy at all stages of the legal proceedings, including the need to expedite legal proceedings. The Act also provides for separate hearings for CICL and adults, among others.

The Civil and Criminal Procedure Code of Bhutan has special provisions for the trial proceedings involving juveniles. It states that juveniles have the right to be accompanied by a parent, family member or legal guardian during trial unless it is considered not to be in the best interest of the child. Juveniles also have the right to a lawyer (jabmi) and privacy at all stages of the proceedings. In addition, the Penal Code of Bhutan states that persons below 18 years are to be awarded half the sentence given to adults for criminal offence.

Currently there are no separate child courts or benches in the country. That said, need is felt to improve the judicial capacity to deal with child related issues, establish separate child justice court/bench, and make the present courts more child-friendly and less intimidating. In addition, there are also suggestions to adopt a separate child procedure code that is more in sync with the CRC.

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21 Mapping and Assessment report and National Plan of Action for Child Protection, pg-14
22 Interview with Deki Dema, programme officer, Children Division, NCWC
23 Needs Assessment Survey on Child Justice System, Bhutan National Legal Institute, 2013, pg-14
4. **KEY FINDINGS OF THE TRACER STUDY**

3.4 **OVERALL STATUS OF YDRC GRADUATES**

- Of the total 51 YDRC graduates surveyed, 23 are currently employed, 13 of them are continuing education, and five are unemployed. Ten have been rearrested, of which two minors have been sent back to YDRC for rehabilitation, that is 14% of the graduates have reoffended.

- In terms of nature of offence, majority of YDRC graduates (44) were convicted for committing offences against property. Nine graduates had committed drug related offences while seven had committed offences against persons. Four graduates had committed sexual offence while another four were convicted for display of weapons. Three graduates had committed offences against public welfare.

- Of the total 41 graduates surveyed (excluding 10 rearrested), 73% of them are single while the remaining 27% are married and currently living with their spouses. Marriage has to a great extent changed their perspectives and attitude toward both life and crime. Most of them view marriage and commitment to the relationship as influential factors that dissuade them from re-offending.

- Most parents of YDRC graduates (20) are married (together). Combined together, 21 YDRC graduates come from broken families. The findings strongly suggest that children from broken families (single parent, divorced, divorced but remarried) and children without parents or proper care providers tend to be more vulnerable to committing offence.

- Majority of the YDRC graduates (19) have 4-5 siblings followed by 16 graduates with 1-3 siblings. Four YDRC graduates have 6-8 siblings while the remaining two have more than eight siblings. Most respondents (YDRC
graduates and residents) come from a household size that is more than the national average household size of 4.5\(^{24}\). The average household size of 6.1, under which quite a large number of respondents fall, represents the poorest per capita consumption quintile. Larger the household size, lower the per capita consumption\(^{25}\).

- Excluding the 10 rearrested CICL, of the 41 YDRC graduates, majority of them (28) are out of school while 13 are currently continuing their education. Among the 13 who are continuing education, seven are in middle secondary level and two each in higher secondary and lower secondary level. Two YDRC graduates are currently pursuing their college education in Bhutan.

- Majority of the parents (23) of YDRC graduates do not have any form of education. Similarly, most parents (19) of current YDRC residents are also uneducated. The highest education qualification of parents of YDRC graduates and residents is higher secondary level. Only one rearrested graduate has parent(s) with educational qualification of university degree or higher. Lower educational levels of parents tend to directly correlate with low educational qualification of majority of the CICL or vice versa. Thus, this finding, with some exceptions, indicates that education level of parents has a bearing on the education of CICL.

- Majority of the YDRC graduates (32) were unemployed before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Only nine YDRC graduates were working/employed when they came in conflict with the law. There is a dramatic improvement in the employment status of YDRC graduates after their release compared to before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Post release, 23 of have been employed.

- By occupation, four are farmers, four are laborers (construction), and another four are drivers/apprentice drivers. Three graduates work as mechanics/auto-servicing while three others run their own small businesses. Two YDRC graduates are painters while a graduate works as a waiter and the other as a vendor. One graduate has joined the Royal Bhutan Army. Except for a few isolated cases, there is a mismatch of vocational skills they learnt at YDRC and the nature of their current occupation.

- While there is an improvement in the overall employment status of the graduates post release, this has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in income. By level of income, majority of graduates (8) who are employed earn monthly income ranging from Nu 3,100 to 6,000. Monthly income of two YDRC graduates is between Nu 6,100 and Nu 9,000 while three of them earn above Nu 9,100. One graduate earns less than the

\(^{24}\) The Bhutan Living Standards Survey report 2012 estimates the national average household size in Bhutan at 4.5.

\(^{25}\) Bhutan Living Standards Survey report 2012, pg-7
National Minimum Wage Rate of Nu 3,750 a month\textsuperscript{26}. Interestingly, majority of the graduates (9) do not earn any income from their current occupation.

- Majority of the YDRC graduates (10) who are currently working felt it was very difficult to get employment. The high level of difficulty to get jobs after their release is mainly attributed to factors such as lack of required vocational skills, job opportunities, and financial constraints. Past record and social stigmatization also tend to pose challenges while they look for employment. In some cases, lack of security clearance has been the main difficulty in getting jobs.

- The main source of household income among majority of the YDRC graduates (18) is salary based earnings followed by farming (11) and small business/petty trade (5). For a vast majority of the YDRC graduates (13), the father is the main person contributing to household income followed by the mother (9), both parents (7), and self (7).

- Majority of the graduates (32) had access to sufficient food while seven graduate respondents did not have sufficient food and two respondents had sufficient food only sometimes. Majority of the YDRC graduates (33) had access to sufficient clothing against only two who did not have access and six who had access to clothes sometimes.

- Majority of the graduates (22) attributed peer pressure as the main reason for committing the offence followed by intoxication (11), poverty (8) and broken family (4). A few YDRC graduates also pointed out that all of these were reasons for committing the crime.

- Majority of the YDRC graduates (20) said the quality of YDRC programs is good while 16 of them said the programs were excellent. Three graduates said it’s average and one said it’s not good. Majority of the YDRC graduates (29) claimed the treatment (services, rules, food) at YDRC were satisfactory while seven of them said it was very satisfactory. Only one graduate said it was very unsatisfactory.

5. **Demographic characteristic**

This section presents the age groups of the respondents, distribution of graduates by current residence, nature of offences committed, marital status of respondents and their parents, and number of siblings of the respondents.

\textsuperscript{26}The national minimum wage rate was recently revised to Nu 125 a day or Nu 3,750 a month.
5.1 **Age Distribution**

Residents

Of the total 39 current residents at YDRC, 24 of them are in the age category of 16 to 18 years followed by nine in the age bracket of 19 years and above while six residents are in the age category of 13 to 15 years.

Although YDRC is a rehabilitation center for CICL who are below the age of 18 years, nine residents who are above 19 years still continue to serve their term at the center. This has occurred mainly because there is neither the mechanism nor appropriate procedure in place to deal with residents who reach 18 years at the center, giving rise to a situation where both minors and young adults are housed in the same rehab environment.

While sending adult residents to normal prison is not the most feasible solution since this could bring them in contact with hardcore criminals, their presence at the center does have certain negative influences particularly on young residents. Adult residents are more defiant and difficult to control and discipline. Young residents often look up to these adults and tend to pick up similar behavioral traits.\(^\text{27}\)

\(^{27}\) FGD with YDRC staff and instructors
Graduates

Majority (25) of the graduates of YDRC are in the age group of 16 to 20 years while 15 of them are in the age category of 21 to 25 years. Only one graduate is in the age group of 15 years and below. The comparatively younger age group of the graduates can be attributed to the fact that this study looked at YDRC graduates of the past three years.

Rearrests

Of the 10 rearrest cases, six of them are in the age category of 16 to 18 years while the remaining four are between 19 to 21 years. One of them has already been convicted and is currently serving his term at the Chamgang Central Prison. At the time of this study, three were at the detention center at the Paro police station, one at the Thimphu police station detention center and another three at
the Thimphu district prison. Two minors who were arrested were sent to YDRC for rehabilitation.

5.2 DISTRIBUTION BY CURRENT RESIDENCE

Respondents were spread across 13 dzongkhags in the country. Majority of the graduates (16) were currently residing in Thimphu followed by 13 in Chukha. Two respondents were in Sarpang. Trashigang, Trashiyangtse, Samdrup Jongkhar, Trongsa, Tsirang, Wangdue, Dagana, Samtse, Haa and Paro had one respondent each.

5.3 NATURE OF OFFENCES COMMITTED

The study classified offences committed by CICL into seven categories in line with classification and grading of offences in the Penal Code of Bhutan 2004. Offences that involve theft, burglary, and robbery are classified under offences against
property. Offences that involve battery, homicide, manslaughter and physical injury are grouped as offences against persons. Possession of contraband substance and drugs are drug-related offences.

Offences that involve display of weapons and arms are grouped under firearms and weapons. Offences that involve attempt to rape, statutory rape and rape are classified under sexual offence. Chorten vandalism falls under offences against cultural and national property. Malicious mischief is included under offences against public welfare.

Majority of the YDRC graduates (44) were convicted for committing offences against property. Nine graduates had committed drug related offences while seven had committed offences against persons. Four graduates had committed sexual offence while another four graduates were convicted for display of weapons. Three graduates had committed offences against public welfare.

Even among the current YDRC residents, majority of them (13) had committed crimes against property followed by sexual offence (8) and crimes against persons (8). Five residents had committed drug related crimes and another five had committed crimes against national and cultural property (chorten vandalism).

5.4 Marital Status of Graduates

![Marital Status Pie Chart](chart.png)

Of the total 41 graduates surveyed (excluding the 10 rearrested), majority of them (73%) are single while the remaining 27% are married and currently living with their spouses. Most of them are in the age group of 16 to 20 years and above. Only one graduate was below the age of 15 years. In-depth interviews with married graduates indicate that marriage has to a great extent changed their perspectives and attitude toward both life and crime.
Most of the married YDRC graduates view marriage and commitment to the relationship as influential factors that dissuade them from reoffending. In that sense, marriage has not only functioned as a deterring agent but has also given the young graduates a sense of purpose and responsibility.

### 5.5 Marital Status of Parents

![Graph showing marital status of YDRC graduates, residents, and re-arrests]

Most parents of both YDRC graduates (20) and current residents (21) are married (together). However, almost an equal percentage of the graduates also come from broken homes. Combined together, 21 YDRC graduates come from broken families. Of this, eight are single parent (not married), five are divorced but remarried, and two are divorced. Parents of three graduates have passed away.

The trend is similar among the residents. Parents of 21 residents are married (together). The rest 18 come from broken homes. Parents of six residents have passed away. In the case of rearrested graduates, three of them have lost both parents, two have parents who are married (together), and one each come from divorced and single parent family.

The findings suggest a strong relation between marital status of parents and children who come in conflict with the law. Children from broken families (single parent, divorced, divorced but remarried) tend to be more prone and vulnerable to commit offences. Children without parents or proper care providers also tend to be more vulnerable to crime.

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28 For this study, the operational definition of ‘broken home’ is ‘a family in which parents have divorced or separated’.
Majority of YDRC graduates (19) have 4-5 siblings followed by 16 graduates with 1-3 siblings. Four YDRC graduates have 6-8 siblings while the remaining two have more than eight siblings. Among YDRC residents, majority of them (14) have 1-3 siblings followed by 11 of them with 4-5 siblings. Seven residents have 6-8 siblings while three residents have more than eight siblings. Four residents are single child. In the rearrest category, five of them have 1-3 siblings, one has 4-5 siblings and the other one is a single child.

Most of the respondents (YDRC graduates and residents) come from a household size that is more than the national average household size of 4.5\textsuperscript{29}. The average household size of 6.1, under which quite a large number of respondents fall, represents the poorest per capita consumption quintile. Larger the household size, lower the per capita consumption\textsuperscript{30}.

By this reference, the findings suggest that most respondents belong to the poorest section of the Bhutanese society, in effect indicating a parallel between poor socioeconomic conditions and committal of crime. Particularly, this tends to be true looking at the nature and category of offences committed by both graduates and residents. Property crimes such as burglary, theft, and robbery dominate the frequency of crimes committed by these CICL.

\section*{6. Education}

This section looks at the education level of respondents and their parents. It also assesses the number of YDRC graduates currently in school and out of school.

\textsuperscript{29} The Bhutan Living Standards Survey report 2012 estimates the national average household size in Bhutan at 4.5.

\textsuperscript{30} Bhutan Living Standards Survey report 2012, pg-7
6.1 CURRENT EDUCATION LEVEL OF YDRC GRADUATES

Excluding the 10 rearrested CICL, of the 41 YDRC graduates, majority of them (28) are out of school while 13 are currently continuing their education.

Among the 13 who are continuing education, seven are in middle secondary level and two each in higher secondary and lower secondary level. Two YDRC graduates are currently pursuing their college education in Bhutan.

For many, continuing their education wasn’t easy. Requirement of parental assurance for school admission, financial constraints, and social stigma/past record were major difficulties they faced while trying to continue education. In certain cases, even parents were unwilling to support their education, which posed significant challenges for them to continue education.
6.2 Level of Parents Education

The figure above shows the education level of parents of CICL. Majority of the parents (23) of YDRC graduates do not have any form of education. Similarly, most parents (19) of the current YDRC residents are also uneducated.

The highest education qualification of parents of YDRC graduates and residents is higher secondary level. Only one rearrested graduate has parent(s) with educational qualification of university degree or higher.

Lower educational levels of parents tend to directly correlate with low educational qualification of majority of the CICL or vice versa. Thus, this finding, with some exceptions, indicates that education level of parents has a bearing on the education of children in conflict with the law.
6.3 **Vocational Trainings by Type (Graduates)**

Majority of the YDRC graduates (20) were vocationally trained in painting followed by haircutting (8), tailoring (7), embroidery (7) and Plumbing (3). CICL admitted to YDRC are given the choice to pick their preferred vocational skills training program. Majority of the graduates had chosen painting, not necessarily out of interest but because the instructor is a civilian inmate from Chamgang Central Prison\textsuperscript{31}. Except for the painting instructor, police instructors head all other vocational skills development programs at the center. Neither are the current vocational programs structured and accredited by competent authority nor are instructors professionally trained.

YDRC plans to add bakery training to the list of vocational skill development program provided at the center. To this end, two police personnel have already been trained in bakery\textsuperscript{32}.

7. **Employment**

This section evaluates the employment status of respondents before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law and after their release, their occupation before and after release, and income level from the current occupation if they are employed. The survey also assessed the difficulty faced in finding employment after their release.

\textsuperscript{31} FGD with current YDRC residents (vocational) & graduates

\textsuperscript{32} Interview with Officer In Charge of YDRC, Captain Karma Dema
Majority of YDRC graduates (32) were unemployed before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Only nine YDRC graduates were employed when they came in conflict with the law. On the contrary, more YDRC residents (22) were working before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law against 17 who were not working. Among rearrested YDRC graduates, majority of them were not working when they first came in conflict with the law. Therefore this indicates that unemployment could be a determinant that influences children to commit offences.
7.2 Occupation Type before Conflict with the Law

among the CICL who were working before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law, majority of YDRC graduates and residents were employed in the agriculture and farm sector followed by the construction sector. Most of them worked in their family or relative’s farms, from which they did not earn any income. Wage rates are usually low for unskilled workforce in the construction sector, forcing some of them to resort to crimes, particularly theft and burglary.

7.3 Current Occupation of Graduates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SI/No</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mechanic/Auto servicing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Driver/Apprentice</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Waiter/Vendor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a dramatic improvement in the employment status of YDRC graduates after their release compared to before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Only nine YDRC graduates were working before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Post release, 23 of them have been employed.

By occupation, four are farmers, four are laborers (construction), and another four are drivers/apprentice drivers. Three of the graduates work as mechanics/auto-servicing while other three run their own small businesses. Two

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33 FGD with YDRC graduates in Phuentsholing
YDRC graduates are painters, one works as a waiter and another as a vendor. One graduate has joined the Royal Bhutan Army.

The table above also indicates a mismatch in the existing vocational skills training provided by YDRC and the type of occupation. Only two graduates who learnt painting at YDRC were able to put the skills to use after their release. The main objective of providing vocational skills development program at the center is to equip CICL with certain life skills, with which they can earn a livelihood after their release.

However, this finding suggests that most YDRC graduates are not able to find employment that matches their vocational skills. This could be in effect a result of the level of their competency, relevance and demand of these vocational skills in the job market, unavailability of specific skills related jobs, and most important of all, the interest and willingness of YDRC graduates to look for jobs that are specific to the skills they have acquired at the center.

7.4 Level of Income

By level of income, majority of the graduates (8) who are employed earn monthly income ranging from Nu 3,100 to 6,000. Monthly income of two YDRC graduates is between Nu 6,100 and Nu 9,000 while three of them earn above Nu 9,100. One graduate earns less than the National Minimum Wage Rate of Nu 3,750 a month.\(^\text{34}\)

\(^{34}\) The national minimum wage rate was recently revised to Nu 125 a day or Nu 3,750 a month.
Interestingly, nine of them do not earn any income from their current occupation. This is mainly attributed to the fact that most of them work as farmers and apprentice drivers, from which they do not earn any income.

While there is an improvement in the overall employment status of the graduates post release, this has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in income. This finding indicates that most YDRC graduates work in lowly paying occupations, which could further worsen their socioeconomic conditions, perhaps eventually forcing them to recommit crimes. This is a reason of concern since CICL have identified poor economic situation as one of the determinants for committing criminal offence.

**7.5 Level of Difficulty in Getting Employment after YDRC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Difficult</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat difficult</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very difficult</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority of the YDRC graduates (10) who are currently working felt it was very difficult to get employment followed by six who said it was difficult. Three of them said it was somewhat difficult while four said it was not difficult.

The findings indicate that YDRC graduates face varying levels of challenges in getting employment after their release. Currently, there are no aftercare arrangements to ensure gainful employment of children after their release from YDRC. This further increases their risks of recommitting offences. This calls for targeted interventions by government and non-government actors to institute mechanisms to provide job opportunities for children released from YDRC.
7.6 **DIFFICULTIES BY TYPE**

The high level of difficulty to get jobs after release is mainly attributed to factors such as lack of required vocational skills, job opportunities, and financial constraints. Past record and social stigmatization also tend to pose challenges while they look for employment. In some cases, lack of security clearance has been the main difficulty in getting jobs.

8. **ECONOMIC STATUS**

This section looks at the economic status of respondents. The survey tried to find out the main source of household income, main person contributing to the income, and whether the respondents have access to sufficient food and clothing before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law.

8.1 **MAIN SOURCE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME**

![Bar chart showing main source of household income for YDRC graduates, current residents, and rearrested graduates.](image)

This figure shows the main source of household income for YDRC graduates, current residents, and rearrested graduates. The main source of household income...
income among majority of the YDRC graduates (18) is salary based earnings followed by farming (11) and small business/petty trade (5). For majority of the residents, the main source of household income is farming (16) followed by salary based earnings (9). The main source of household income in the case of rearrested YDRC graduates is salary based earnings (3) followed by self-employment (2) and small business/petty trade (2).

8.2 Main person contributing to income

For a vast majority of the YDRC graduates (13), the father is the main person contributing to household income followed by the mother (9), both parents (7), and self (7). However, for majority of the residents (13), the mother is the main person contributing to household income followed by the father (9) and both parents (8). Most rearrested graduates (3) said ‘self’ as the main person contributing to income.
8.3 SUFFICIENT FOOD

The survey tried to understand the economic status of respondents by asking them if they had access to sufficient food i.e. three square meals a day (breakfast, lunch, and dinner) before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law.

The figure shows that majority of the graduates (32) had access to sufficient food while seven graduate respondents did not have sufficient food and two respondents had sufficient food only sometimes. Similarly, majority of the YDRC residents (24) had sufficient food, 14 of them did not have sufficient food, and one respondent had sufficient food sometimes. All rearrested graduates had access to sufficient food.
The survey tried to understand the economic status of respondents by asking them if they had access to sufficient clothes before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Majority of the YDRC graduates (33) had access to sufficient clothing against only two who did not have access and six who had access to clothes sometimes. Similarly, majority of the residents (28) had sufficient clothes, five of them did not have sufficient clothes, and six residents had access to sufficient clothes sometimes. All seven rearrested graduates had sufficient clothes.

8.5 Who Would the Residents Go to After YDRC
The survey asked current YDRC residents who they will return to after their release from YDRC. Interestingly, 28 of them said they will go to their parents on their release. Six of them said they will go to their relatives while two said they will go to their siblings.

9. **Knowledge, Attitude & Behavior**

This section looked at knowledge, attitude and behavior of CICL. The survey asked questions on the children’s awareness on the legal consequences of the offences before their admission to YDRC and awareness of laws after YDRC. The study also tried to find out how much YDRC programmes had contributed to their understanding of rules/laws.

9.1 **Awareness on Legal Consequences of the Offence**

The survey tried to gauge the respondents’ awareness on the legal consequences of the offence they committed. Majority of the graduates (23) and the residents (24) were not aware of the legal consequences when they committed the offence. However, 18 graduates, 15 residents, and six rearrested graduates knew about the legal consequences at the time they committed the offence.

FGDs with YDRC graduates and current residents revealed that most of them committed the offence without understanding the gravity and ramification of the act. Only when the police arrested them, did they realize the implication of the offence, and by which time, it was too late to make amends.
9.2 **Reason for Committing the Offence**

The study tried to explore the reasons for committing the offence. It is interesting to observe that majority of the graduates (22) attributed peer pressure as the main reason for committing the offence followed by intoxication (11), poverty (8) and broken family (4). A few YDRC graduates (2) also pointed out that all of these were reasons for committing the offence.

On the contrary, majority of the current residents (9) indicated all of the above (poverty, intoxication, peer pressure, and broken family) as reasons for committing the offence. Eight residents said peer pressure was the main reason while seven each attributed to poverty and intoxication. Five residents said poverty was the main reason. In fact, many of them quoted more than one reason.

Among rearrested graduates, majority of them pointed more than one reason for committing the offence. Peer pressure (4) and intoxication (4) were the main reasons for committing the offence followed by poverty and broken family.

As indicated by earlier findings, majority of CICL belong to economically poor section of the society, which exposes them to risks such as drug and alcohol addiction. Thrown into this unfriendly environment, they tend to be susceptible to negative peer influence and pressure.

Additionally, most CICL come from broken families or have lost both parents at an early age. Lack of proper parental care, affection, and guidance also tend to influence children to commit offence. These reasons are portent catalysts that force most CICL to offend, some even without the knowledge and prior understanding of the gravity of the crime.


9.3 Contribution of YDRC in Awareness of Laws

Majority of the graduates (25) responded that YDRC programs contributed a lot in their understanding of laws/rules while majority of current YDRC residents (15) felt they learnt a great deal about laws at YDRC. However, most rearrested graduates (4) pointed out that YDRC programs did not help them so much in understanding the laws. Only a few respondents said the YDRC programs did not at all contribute in their understanding of laws/rules.

9.4 Awareness of Youth Related CSO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Re-arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t Know</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Why help not sought?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Re-arrests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Didn’t know who to approach</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feared repercussion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didn’t bother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embarrassed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to access such opportunities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The survey also tried to assess the respondents’ awareness on youth related programs and organizations, through which they could have sought interventions prior to coming in conflict with the law. The table above shows that majority of respondents (Graduates =13, resident = 28) were not aware of existing youth related services and intervention programs provided by both government and non-government agencies in the country. There were only a handful of
respondents who were aware of these programs but did not seek help. The main reasons for not seeking help were embarrassment, feared repercussion, and didn’t know whom to approach.

This finding indicates the need to intensify awareness creation on youth activities and programs to reach out to larger section of the youth population. It also reflects the need for youth related NGOs and government bodies to upscale youth targeted interventions, particularly for vulnerable youth groups and those living in difficult circumstances.

9.5 Regret for Committing the Offence

The survey asked current YDRC residents if they regret committing the offence. Majority of the residents (95%) said they regret committing the offence against only 5% who said they do not regret committing the offence. This finding indicates that majority of them are not happy with what they have done in the past, creating a positive impression that they are willing to reform.

FGDs with residents at the center\textsuperscript{35} further revealed that they were in fact going through a process of reformation. Most of them pointed out that YDRC not only provided them with food, shelter, and vocational skills but also necessary guidance to correct their mistakes. Particularly, residents from poor families expressed their good fortune to have received the opportunities to continue education at the center, which could not have been possible outside.

\textsuperscript{35} FGDs with two groups of residents (education and vocational) were conducted at the center.
Residents were also asked if they were willing to apologize to the victims of their offence. An impressive 74% of the respondents said they are willing to apologize to their victims. However, 10% of the respondents said they cannot face the victims, 8% said ‘can’t say’ and the remaining 8% said ‘no’.

The willingness of an overwhelming majority of the respondents to apologize to victims of their offence indicates positive attitude and reconciliatory approach. Regret for committing the crime and willingness to make amends by apologizing reflect that most residents are keen on coming to terms with their past. These are vital signposts of their positive reformation at the center.

### 9.7 Plans After YDRC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finish High School</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finish College</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational training</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study tried to map future plans of current residents by asking them what they would like to do after their release from the center. Of the total 39 residents, 12 of them said they plan to work while another 12 plan to finish college. Ten respondents plan to finish high school, four of them plan to pursue vocational training, and one did not know. Altogether, 22 respondents plan to continue education, an indication that there is a need to provide right opportunities and platforms that will enable them to continue education.
Most YDRC graduates who are currently in school or college highlighted several difficulties such as requirement of parental assurance, financial constraints, and lack of family support in continuing education. These challenges need to be addressed through appropriate mechanisms, institutional linkages with the Ministry of Education, schools, and colleges. Parents or guardians also need to be involved in the process.

Overall, this is a positive indication since all of them seem to have some plans for the future. Given the right opportunities to pursue their plans, it is likely that most of them wouldn’t revert to crime.

### 9.8 Career Preference After Release

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career preferences</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vending &amp; Sales</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police &amp; legal occupation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Services</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residents were asked to choose their career preferences from a list of options. Majority of the respondents (10) chose education (teachers/instructors). These responses were largely from residents who are currently studying, indicating that they are more ambitious than the ones who do not have education. Seven residents preferred careers in the Arts (painting) while six chose Driving. Respondents with low level of education or without one prefer careers that require minimal education. For instance, three respondents chose food services (hotels/restaurants) and two chose construction sector.

### 10. Health & Social Wellbeing

This section tries to assess the health and social conditions of the CICL respondents. The survey looks at whether respondents had access to medical services at YDRC, frequency of visits to hospitals, care and appreciation from parents.
10.1 Access to Medical Services at YDRC

Majority of the respondents (Graduates= 24, Residents = 31, Rearrest = 6) from all three categories said they had access to medical services at YDRC. Only few of them said they have access to medical services sometimes and whenever needed. Only one resident said they don’t have access to medical services at YDRC.

FGDs with residents, graduates and YDRC staff confirmed that residents are provided with medical services. During emergencies, residents are taken to the Tshimasham district hospital even in the middle of the night\textsuperscript{36}.

10.2 Most Frequent Reason to Visit Hospital

The study also tried to gauge the health conditions of the respondents by asking them how often they visited the hospital before or at the time when they came in conflict with the law. Majority of graduates (33), residents (17) and rearrested graduates (6) frequented hospital for minor sickness. Five residents visited

\textsuperscript{36} FGD with YDRC staff (instructors)
hospital for alcohol and drug detox and two residents for physiotherapy. A graduate and a resident visited hospital for psychological advice. This finding indicates that most CICL are healthy and do not suffer from any serious ailments as such.

10.3 Care and Appreciation From Parents

Respondents were asked how often their parents/guardians expressed appreciation when they did something good before they came in conflict with the law. Interestingly, majority of the graduates (27) said their parents expressed appreciation and advice ‘very often’. However, 23 residents said they did only ‘sometimes’. More number of rearrested graduates (3) also said their parents very often gave advice and appreciation.

More parents seem to appreciate their children’s work and were caring enough to give advice. However, this did not prevent children from committing offence. Multiple reasons such as peer pressure, poverty, and intoxication among others are at play, which influence these children to commit offence.

11. Feedback on YDRC Programs

This section attempts to evaluate programs, activities and overall treatment at the YDRC. Further, it also seeks feedbacks on additional programs that need to be introduced at the center.
11.1 Quality of YDRC Programmes

Majority of the YDRC graduates (20) said the quality of YDRC programs was good while 16 of them said the programs were excellent. Three graduates said it’s average and one said it’s not good. Similarly, 15 residents said the YDRC programs are excellent followed by 14 respondents who said it is good. Ten current residents however said the quality of the programs is average. Among the rearrested graduates, four of them said the quality of programs was good followed by two who said it’s excellent, and one who said it’s average.37

37 Respondents were encouraged to be as honest as possible while answering these questions.
11.2 Treatment at YDRC

Majority of the YDRC graduates (29) claimed the treatment (services, rules, food) at YDRC were satisfactory while seven of them said it was very satisfactory. Only one graduate said it was very unsatisfactory. Similarly, majority of residents (22) said the treatment at YDRC was satisfactory followed by 11 who said it was very satisfactory. Four residents said it was unsatisfactory and one said it was very unsatisfactory. Five rearrested graduates said the treatment was satisfactory, one said very satisfactory, and the other one said don’t know.

11.3 Quality of Instructors/Teachers/Counselors
Majority of the respondents from all groups of respondents (29 graduates, 25 residents, 7 rearrests) pointed that the quality of instructors/teachers/counselors at YDRC is good. From all categories, 21 of the respondents (graduates=10, residents=11) said the quality of instructors/teachers/counselors at YDRC is not good. Five of them responded don’t know.

11.4 Additional Programs at YDRC

Residents were asked to suggest additional programs they felt should be introduced at YDRC. Majority of them (15) suggested music classes. A few wanted theatre/acting courses and value education. Three suggested graded vocational trainings. Eleven residents said others, which mainly include driving course, auto-repair, and electrification programs.

12. Case Studies

12.1 Back to the Roots
In the August of 2010, five young men robbed a non-national worker at Pasakha in Phuentsholing. The man was returning home from his workplace during the night. The five boys, out on a prowl, robbed him of his mobile phone and cash worth Nu 3,000, and fled to Phuentsholing town to enjoy the booty.

One of these boys was Dili Ram Chhetri, a minor then. He was sent to YDRC for rehabilitation while other adult accomplices were sent to Chamgang Central Prison. Until that fateful night, Dili Ram Chhetri had never committed an offence. For five years he had worked as a Lab Boy at Druk Ferro Alloys Limited at the Pasakha Industrial Estate, earning a salary of Nu 4,000 a month. He lived with his sister and brother-in-law, both of who worked at the Coca-Cola Factory at Pasakha.
“I would have never done such a thing (robbery) had it not been for my friends,” he recollects. “I was quite young and was easily instigated by friends.”

At 20, Dili Ram Chhetri is no more a young child, and gullible. He has grown almost six feet tall, stout, and muscular. “I have learnt my lessons. I regret for bringing shame to my parents and family. I will never do it again,” he laments.

A changed man today, Dili Ram looks after his aging parents in his village Daragaon, around 45-minute walk from Pasakha. “My parents have a small piece of rice field and a few cattle. I help them with the farming. I am glad I am of some use to them,” he says.

However, during winters he plans to look for employment in Pasakha. “There is no farm work in winter. I am looking for work in the factories,” he says.

But he is worried. Pasakha is a small place and not many have forgotten the incident. “I am worried that my past record may affect my employment chances,” he says.

12.2 On the Road to Recovery

Wrapped in warm gears to brave the winter cold, Kinga Gyeltshen can be seen vending dumplings near the JDWRNH premise. He starts his day around 9 am in the morning and leaves the place only at dusk. During the night, he sells porridge near the taxi stand along the Norzin Lam.

That in a nutshell is the story of his life. Yet, every day is a constant battle. Kinga Gyeltshen has no idea about the whereabouts of his father. His mother passed away in 2010, leaving him with his stepfather. That was the time when he plunged into the depths of drug addiction. No one to care, he smoked marijuana, sniffed glue, and then popped pharmaceutical drugs of all colors and kind. He left school and was eventually caught by the police. He spent six months at YDRC.

On his release, there was nobody he could return to. Police personnel of YDRC had to drop him to his stepfather's place in Thimphu. Kinga Gyeltshen's life again spiraled into the abyss of addiction, this time with alcohol.

Lam Shephen, who works with drugs and alcohol addicts, came to his rescue. Kinga Gyeltshen underwent the detox programme at JDWRNH. He has remained sober for the past seven months. He stays with one of his friends at Babesa. Kinga Gyeltshen hopes to continue his education again.

12.3 A New Leaf

By the time this study is completed, Karma Tshering, 15, would have already left YDRC. A repeat offender, he was caught sniffing fluid (dendrite) and sent back to YDRC for rehabilitation. His term ends on December 20.

This time, he has no plans to return to his family in Thimphu or to his friends who, on repeated occasions, have influenced him to take drugs. This time he

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38 The name of the YDRC resident has been changed to protect his identity.
wants to stay back at Tshimasham town and work at a local restaurant owned by
the spouse of a staff of YDRC.

“I have informed my parents and they have agreed,” he says. “If I go back, I will
meet my old friends, and again, I will land up sniffing dendrite and taking other
drugs. And chances are, I will be again back in YDRC.”

He comes from a family of four siblings. His parents live off collecting and selling
carton boxes at the Centenary Farmers Market in Thimphu. He studied till Class I
at Jigme Losel Primary School, after which for over six months, he worked as a
babysitter for one of his uncles, a khenpo in Sikkim. “I was not treated well in
Sikkim. My uncle used to beat me up, so I decided to run away,” he narrates.

Karma Tshering stole Rs. 400 from the piggybank and took a bus ride till
Phuentsholing, from where he hitched a ride on a truck till Thimphu. By then, a
missing report had already been filed with the police. A few days later, police
found him and handed him over to his parents.

He wanted to resume his studies. “My parents promised to admit me in school
but they never did,” he says.

Nothing much to do, he again got back with his old group of friends. “Initially, I
refused to take drugs but my friends insisted. They told me it was the birthday of
one of my friends and asked me to sniff dendrite to celebrate,” he says.

That was it. He was again dragged into the vicious cycle of addiction. He
continued to take drugs and mostly sniff dendrite in and around the vegetable
market and the centenary park until he was caught again.

“I want to study but there is nobody to sponsor my education,” he laments. “Now
I have decided to work.”

12.4 The Tag Team
Seventeen-year old twins Dorji and Tashi were separated at the age of 7, after
their father who was in the army passed away in 2003. Dorji went to live with his
maternal aunt in Mongar while Tashi lived in Wangdue with his paternal uncle.
Their mother is resettled in Tsirang.

When they met again in 2009, Dorji had completed class VI and Tashi, Class VII.
Both had given up schooling. Three years later in 2012, they committed their first
offence. They stole a truck from Eusena, Paro and were on their way to
Phuentsholing when they were caught at the Tanalung Checkpoint.

Both of them were sent to YDRC for three months. After their release from YDRC,
Tashi worked at a meat shop in Paro, earning a salary of Nu 3,000 a month while
Dorji worked as an assistant painter at Dopshari, earning Nu 5,000 a month.

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39 Names of the both juveniles have been changed to protect their identities.
In 2013, they committed their second offence. This time, the twins stole a Maruti Van. They managed to cross the Tanalung checkpoint but were caught at Rinchending checkpoint in Phuentsholing. “Tashi drove the car and I pretended to be the owner,” says Dorji. “We just wanted to take a joy ride. We had no other intentions.”

Since then, they are serving their time at the detention center at Paro police station. They would be referred to YDRC soon.

13. Conclusions & Recommendations
The 14% rearrest incidence among CICL who were released from YDRC in 2010, 2011, and 2012, although quite low, is a cause for worry. This indicates partly the failure of rehabilitation programme, aftercare support mechanism, and primary care providers. This can also be attributed to nonexistence of post-release support and monitoring system.

A combination of several factors (socioeconomic conditions, family relations, unemployment, and circle of friends etc.) tends to influence children to offend. Quite a large number of YDRC juveniles come from broken homes, large family size, poor, and uneducated parents. Lack of proper parental care and guidance also tend to influence children to commit offence. These reasons are portent catalysts that force most CICL to offend, some even without the knowledge and prior understanding of the gravity of the crime. Unemployment is also a plausible cause that has pushed these children to come in conflict with the law.

Most of them have a background of economic deprivation, a fact that points out why many of them have committed property offences such as theft, burglary and robbery. Most CICL belong to economically poor section of the society, which exposes them to risks such as drug and alcohol addiction. Thrown into this unfriendly environment, they tend to be susceptible to negative peer influence and pressure.

Post release, majority of the YDRC graduates face varying level of difficulties to get employment, mainly owing to lack of required educational qualification and vocational skills, financial constraints and social stigma. Although the number of employed YDRC graduates after their release has significantly increased, almost all of them are employed in lowly paying occupations. Except for a few isolated cases, there is a mismatch of vocational skills they learnt at YDRC and the nature of their current occupation.

Much needs to be done to reintegrate CICL leaving YDRC by putting in place proper aftercare and support mechanisms and transition activities. As the lone rehabilitation center for CICL in Bhutan, YDRC is trying to provide reformatory services and a safe environment to juveniles who come in conflict with the law with the existing facilities and programs, and within its scope and limitations.

The objective of YDRC is not only to rehabilitate CICL but also to ensure that they are reintegrated as productive, law-abiding members into mainstream society
after their release. However, YDRC alone can only do so much. Reintegration programs require broad-based participation and engagement of relevant government agencies and civil society institutions.

CICL are most vulnerable when they are released from the center and have nothing to look forward to. The rehabilitation program will serve no purpose if CICL are thrown into the same context and environment from where they were picked up earlier. And therein lies the critical role of transition and aftercare activities, which must ultimately address the educational, psychological, social and medical challenges faced by children in conflict with the law. To this end, the study recommends the following:

- Introduce and implement transition activities and aftercare programs for CICL leaving YDRC through broad-based involvement of government and non-government institutions.

- Transition activities must begin at the center. NGOs and YDRC should engage in mapping of individual career preferences and plans of CICL at the center, and facilitate necessary post release assistance and support to fulfill those career aspirations.

- Establish formal institutional linkages and long-term partnerships between YDRC and relevant stakeholder agencies such as MoLHR, local and international CSOs, and Psychiatry Department of JDWNHR to build human resource capacity and structured vocational skills development programs at the center.

- Introduce certified and graded vocational skills development programs at YDRC to enhance employability of CICL leaving YDRC. Tailored and customized short-term courses need to be developed for those CICL who are sent to YDRC for short duration.

- Upgrade and build capacity of instructors at YDRC to effectively implement and impart vocational skills training program to CICL at YDRC. Also, train instructors and staff on rehab management.

- Build tie-ups with potential employers (government and private) to provide livelihood opportunities to the CICL.

- There is a need to facilitate placement of juveniles in formal vocational and technical training institutes in the country for those CICL interested to further continue vocational training.

- CICL who prefer to continue education should be provided with necessary support in getting admission in schools of their choice. Particularly children without parents/guardians must be provided admission to school with boarding facilities.

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40 The Right Not to Lose Hope, Save the Children UK, London, UK, 2005
• Entrepreneurship development trainings and financial assistance in the form of soft loans should be provided to CICL who are enterprising and willing to start-up business on their own.

• Since many CICL have committed grave offences such as rape, murder, and manslaughter at a very young age, they need to be provided with professional psychiatric counseling services. For drug and alcohol dependents, recovery and addiction counseling services need to be separately provided.

• Establish transition homes or youth hostels to cater to the needs of children from poor backgrounds.

• Support the establishment of peer networks of CICL graduates and start peer-counseling programs for current residents at YDRC.

• Explore the possibility of outsourcing vocational skills development program and counseling services to civilian institutes (both government & private) while the Royal Bhutan Police can look after security concerns and issues at the center. This is mainly based on the logic that police are involved in the arrest, prosecution, and eventually reformation of these child offenders.

• Establish transition homes for children who reach 18 years at the center.

• Institute a separate child friendly justice court/bench and diversion programme for CICL.

• Ensure CICL leaving YDRC do not face any problems regarding security clearance certificates.

• Strong need is felt to establish a separate rehabilitation center for women and girl child who come in conflict with the law.

• Expedite the formulation and implementation of rules and regulation for CCPA 2011.

14. Transition Activities For Reintegration

Reintegration is the end objective of the rehabilitation program provided to CICL. Reintegration is the process that promotes or facilitates the acceptance of CICL back to the community or society41. Rehabilitation and reintegration process therefore complement each other. Rehabilitation process involves correction of behaviour and attitudes while reintegration enables the offending child to return to society, with a sense of purpose and aspiration, reducing his or her chances of committing crime again.

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41 Back on Track: Making Community-based Diversion Work for Children in Conflict with the Law, Save the Children, UK, 2005, pg-74
Reintegration process will however be incomplete without the provision of meaningful activities and services to enable smooth reintegration and ensure their transition from institutional care to becoming independent and productive members of the community. Government and non-government actors and the community have important roles to play in the effective reintegration of CICL into mainstream society. For the reintegration of juveniles leaving YDRC, the study recommends the following transition activities:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outputs</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Lead Agency</th>
<th>Partner Agencies</th>
<th>Funding agencies</th>
<th>On-going or new program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social environment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal institutional linkages established</td>
<td>Establish formal institutional linkages and long-term partnerships between YDRC and relevant stakeholders (CSOs, MoLHR, JDWNRH, MoH, MoE etc.)</td>
<td>YDRC&lt;sup&gt;42&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>MoLHR, MoH, MoE, CSOs, NCWC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certified vocational training programs introduced at YDRC</td>
<td>Introduce certified vocational skills development programs at YDRC to enhance employability of juveniles leaving YDRC</td>
<td>YDRC &amp; MoLHR</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Save the Children</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailored short-term courses developed and introduced at YDRC</td>
<td>Introduce tailored/customized courses for CICL sent to YDRC for short duration</td>
<td>YDRC</td>
<td>YDF &amp; MoLHR</td>
<td>Save the Children</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity of instructors enhanced</td>
<td>Build capacity of instructors at YDRC and train them on dealing with children/youth in conflict with law</td>
<td>YDRC</td>
<td>MoLHR &amp; MoE</td>
<td>Save the Children</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental health counseling enhanced at YDRC</td>
<td>Provide professional mental health counseling to CICL who have committed grave offences including those convicted for substance abuse</td>
<td>YDRC &amp; MoH</td>
<td>JDWNRH &amp; RENEW</td>
<td>Save the Children</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Reintegration</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual profiles developed and way forward identified</td>
<td>Individual profiles and future plans of individual CICL at YDRC</td>
<td>YDRC</td>
<td>MoLHR, MoE &amp; CSOs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support fulfillment of career aspirations through linkages with potential employers</td>
<td>Establish tie-ups with potential employers (institutions/firms/individuals) for ready absorption of juveniles leaving YDRC in the job market</td>
<td>YDRC &amp; MoLHR</td>
<td>Potential employers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurial skills among CICL developed and are able to start small business</td>
<td>Provide entrepreneurship development programs post release and provide necessary financial incentives and assistance to start-up business</td>
<td>MoLHR</td>
<td>Loden Foundation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>42</sup> YDRC is currently managed by the Royal Bhutan Police.
| YDRC graduates get the opportunities to continue education and upgrade their qualification | Institutional arrangements for placement of YDRC graduates in schools/colleges | YDRC & MoE | YDF, RUB, NCWC, schools & parents | - | New |
| Poor CICL have options to continue education | Boarding facilities for juveniles from poor families or without families, and necessary institutional | YDRC & MoE | Schools, CSOs & HM’s Kidu Office | - | New |
| YDRC graduates are able to continue vocational skills development training in formal institutions | Institutional arrangements for placement of YDRC graduates in technical and vocational education training institutes | YDRC | MoLHR | - | New |
| Network to provide peer support established | Facilitate and support the establishment of Peer Network & Support Group | YDF & YDRC graduates | MoE, Save the Children, CSOs | - | New |
| Peer counselors trained to provide counseling services to YDRC residents | Train YDRC graduates as Peer Counselors | RENEW | - | Save the Children | New |
| Temporary shelter provided to YDRC graduates without parents/families | Provide transit homes/hostels for YDRC graduates without primary care providers/families/parents | CSOs & DoYS | - | Save the Children & UNICEF | New |
| Orient families/relatives to deal with CICL | Initiate community support network for relatives & families | YDRC, RBP | CSOs | Save The Children | New |
| Post release drug rehabilitation | Provide post-release counseling for drug and alcohol dependents | BNCA & YDF | Chithuen Phenday Association, JDWNRH & CSOs | Save The Children | New |
| Enhance right protection of female CICL | Provide legal support to CICL | NCWC & RENEW | RBP, OAG & BNLI | - | New |
| Rehab home for female CICL established | Establish a rehab home for minor girls who come in conflict with the law | YDRC | CSOs | Save the Children | New |
15. ANNEXURES

Annexure I: Survey Questionnaire (Graduates)

Individual Interview Questionnaire
YDRC Graduates
Tracer Study on Children in Conflict with Law

(Data used for this survey cannot be used for taxation, investigation or law enforcement purposes)

Status of the questionnaire:
1. Completed with initially selected individual
2. Not completed, due to refusal
3. Not completed, individual not found
4. Incomplete

I certify that the information gathered in this questionnaire was obtained/reviewed by me personally and in accordance with instructions.

Interviewer’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature

Supervisor’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature

Data Entry Person’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature

INTRODUCTION

Hi! My name is XYZ. I am from Bhutan Youth Development Fund. We have chosen a list of children, such as you, who underwent the reformative programme at Youth Development and Rehabilitation Center at Tshimasham. We were able to find you through the records that YDRC provided us with. We will ask some questions on your daily activities and the changes in those activities. The purpose is to learn about the changes that have occurred in your life over the last few years and to learn how YDRC Programme(s) contributed to some of those changes. Your answers will contribute to the betterment of interventions in future.

CONSENT

You have the right NOT to participate. This will not affect overall results. You can decide which questions that you do not wish to answer. If you do not have time right now, I can come back later when it is more convenient for you. You have the right to leave at any point of time during the interview.

ANONYMITY

Your responses will be restricted to our research use only. Your name will not appear in any public documents. Your answers will be kept confidential.
QUESTIONS
Do you have ANY questions before we begin?

1. **Personal Information**

1.1 **Age (in completed years)**

1.2 **Current residential address (Dzongkhag)**

1.3 **Marital status**
   a. Married   □   b. Single   □
   c. Divorced   □   d. Living together   □

1.4 **Who do you stay with?**
   a. Parent(s)   □
   b. Relatives □
   c. Siblings □
   d. Self   □
   e. Friends □
   f. Institutions □

1.5 **Are your parents?**
   a. Married (together)   □
   b. Single (not married) □
   c. Divorced but re-married □
   d. Divorced □
   e. Passed away □
   f. Others (specify) ___________

1.6 **Were your parents, at the time of or before, you came in conflict with the law?**
   a. Married (together)   □
   b. Single (not married) □
   c. Divorced but re-married □
   d. Divorced □
   e. Passed away □
   f. Others (specify) ___________

1.7 **How many siblings do you have?**
   a. Single child □
   b. 1-3 □
   c. 4-5 □
   d. 6-8 □
   e. More □

1.8 **Who did you grow up with?**
   a. Parent(s) □
   b. Relatives □
   c. Siblings □
   d. Self □
   e. Friends □
   f. Others (specify) _____

1.9 **Who was the first conflict you had when you were released from YDRC?**
   a. Parents □
   b. Siblings □
   c. Relatives □
   d. Friends □
   e. Others (specify) ______________

2. **Education**

2.1 **What was your education (highest level) when you came in conflict with law?**
   a. None □
   b. Non-formal education □
c. Primary  □  d. Middle secondary  □
e. Higher secondary  □  f. College  □
g. Vocational  □  h. Monastic education  □

2.2 Which programme(s) did you attend at YDRC?
   a. Continued education (Skip to Question 2.4)  □
   b. Vocational Training  □
   c. Both  □

2.3 Which vocational training did you undergo?
   a. Haircutting  □  b. Embroidery  □
   c. Tailoring  □  d. Plumbing  □
   e. Others ____________________________

2.4 Are you currently studying?
   a. Yes  □  b. No (Go to Question 2.9)  □

2.5 If yes, what is your current education level?
   a. Non-formal education  □  b. Primary  □
   c. Middle secondary  □  d. Higher secondary  □
   e. College  □  f. Vocational  □
   g. Monastic education  □

2.6 In which school do you study?
   a. Private school  □  b. Government  □

2.7 How difficult was it for you to get admission to schools after the YDRC programme(s)?
   a. Not Difficult  □  b. Somewhat Difficult  □
   c. Difficult  □  d. Very difficult  □

2.8 What kind of difficulties/challenges did you face in continuing your education?
   a. Parental assurance required □  b. Lack of family support □
   c. Financial constraints □  d. Social stigma □
   e. Others (specify) ____________

2.9 What is the education level of your parents (highest)?
   a. None □  b. Non-formal education □
   c. Primary □  d. Lower secondary □
   e. Middle secondary □  f. Higher secondary □
   g. University or higher □  h. Vocational □
   i. Monastic education □  j. Semi-literate □

3. Employment
3.1 Were you working before or at the time you came in conflict with law?
   a. Yes □  b. No □
3.2 If yes, in which sector were you working?
   a. Service industry  
   b. Auto-repair  
   c. Construction  
   d. Agriculture/farming  
   e. Others  

3.3 Current occupation, if employed?
   a. Own business  
   b. Civil service  
   c. Armed forces  
   d. Farmer  
   e. Unemployed  
   f. Others  

3.4 Level of income from current employment?
   a. Below 3000  
   b. between 3100-6000  
   c. between 6100-9000  
   d. Above 9100  

3.5 How useful was the YDRC programmes in finding the current occupation?
   a. Useful to some extent  
   b. Useful to a great extent  
   c. Not at all  
   d. Don’t know  

3.6 How difficult was it for you to get employment after the YDRC programme(s)?
   a. Not Difficult  
   b. Somewhat Difficult  
   c. Difficult  
   d. Very difficult  

3.7 What kind of difficulties did you face? (You can choose more than one answer)
   a. Lack of required skills/education  
   b. Past record/social stigma/Lack of trust  
   c. Lack of job opportunities  
   d. No Security Clearance certificate  
   e. Financial constraints  
   f. Others (specify)  

4. Economic wellbeing/status
   4.1 When you came in conflict with law, what was the main source of income in your household?
   a. No income  
   b. Farming  
   c. Industry (factory)  
   d. Self-employment  
   e. Small businesses/petty traders  
   f. Salary  
   g. Don’t remember  
   h. Others  

   4.2 Who was the main person contributing to income?
   a. Self  
   b. Father  
   c. Mother  
   d. Relative  
   e. Every family member  
   f. Father & mother  
   g. Sibling(s)  
   h. Don’t remember  
   i. Others  
4.3 What type of house did you live in?
   c. Temporary shelter (Shanties) □ d. Don’t remember □
   e. Others ____________

4.4 When you came in conflict with law, did your family own land?
   a. Yes □ b. No □
   c. Don’t know □

4.5 When you came in conflict with law, did your family have sufficient food to eat (three meals a day)?
   a. Yes □ b. No □
   c. Sometimes □ d. Don’t remember □

4.6 When you came in conflict with law, was your family able to provide you with clothes?
   a. Yes □ b. No □
   c. Sometimes □ d. Don’t remember □

5. Knowledge, Attitude and Behavior (KAB)

5.1 Did you know about the legal consequences of the offence?
   a. Yes □ b. No □

5.2 What was the reason for committing the offence?
   a. Poverty □ b. broken family □
   c. Peer pressure □ d. Intoxication □
   e. Others (specify) ____________

5.3 Were you aware of any organization or institution that provided support services?
   a. Yes □ b. No □ c. Don’t know □

5.4 If yes, why did you not seek help?
   a. Didn’t know who to approach □ b. Feared repercussion □
   c. Didn’t bother □ d. Embarrassed □
   e. Difficult to access such opportunities □ f. Others ______________

5.5 Are you informed of some child related laws, such as Child Care and Protection Act, 2011?
   a. Yes □ b. No (Skip Question 5.6) □

5.6 How much did YDRC programme contribute in your understanding of rules and laws?
   a. A lot □ b. A great deal □
   c. Not so much □ d. Not at all □
5.7 How did the YDRC programmes help you?

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

5.8 After your release from YDRC, what kind of supports/programmes do you think would help you reintegrate into the society?

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

6. Health and Social Wellbeing

6.1 Before you came into conflict with the law, were you used to seeing the doctor or hospital often?
   a. Yes □  b. No (skip question 6.2, 6.3) □

6.2 What was the most frequent reason for the visits?
   a. Minor sickness (cough & cold) □
   b. Physiotherapy and bodily check up □
   c. Alcohol and drug detox □
   d. Psychological and mental advises □
   e. Others (specify) ______________________

6.3 Did you have access to medical or hospital services during your stay at YDRC?
   a. Yes □  b. No □
   c. Sometimes □  d. whenever required □

6.4 How often do you visit the doctor or hospital now?
   a. Sometimes □  b. Whenever I need □  c. Not at all □

6.5 Did your parents or guardians, with whom you lived before you came in conflict with law, encouraged and rewarded you when you did well in studies or other activities?
   a. Did not bother □  b. Rarely □
   c. Sometimes □  d. Very often □

6.6 During your stay in YDRC, who visited you the most? (Rank from 1-6; with 1 being most frequent visitor and 6 being the least visitor)
   a. Father □  b. Mother □
   b. c. Both parents □  d. Friends □
   c. e. Relatives □  f. Others (Specify) __________
7. YDRC programmes

7.1 How would you rate the quality of YDRC programmes?
   a. Excellent  □  b. Good  □
   c. Average  □  d. Not good  □

7.2 How would you rate the treatment at the YDRC?
   a. Very Unsatisfactory  □  b. Unsatisfactory  □
   c. Satisfactory  □  d. Very Satisfactory  □
   e. Don’t Know  □

7.3 Do you think the instructors/teachers/counselors at YDRC are good enough?
   a. Yes  □  b. No (Answer Question 7.4)  □
   c. Don’t know  □

7.4 If no, what do you think needs to be done?
   a. More qualified/trained instructors  □
   b. More counselors  □
   c. More instructors/teachers to teach various skills  □
   d. All of the above  □
   e. No comment  □

_______________________________________________
Thank you for participating in the survey!

Annexure II: Survey Questionnaire (Residents)
Individual Interview Questionnaire
Current YDRC Residents
Tracer Study on Children in Conflict with Law
(Data used for this survey cannot be used for taxation, investigation or law enforcement purposes)

Status of the questionnaire:
3. Completed with initially selected individual  □
4. Not completed, due to refusal  □
3. Not completed, individual not found  □
4. Incomplete  □

I certify that the information gathered in this questionnaire was obtained/reviewed by me personally and in accordance with instructions.

Interviewer’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature

Supervisor’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature

Data Entry Person’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature
INTRODUCTION

Hi! My name is XYZ. I am from Bhutan Youth Development Fund. We have chosen a list of children, such as you, who underwent the reformative programme at Youth Development and Rehabilitation Center at Tshimasham. We were able to find you through the records that YDRC provided us with. We will ask some questions on your daily activities and the changes in those activities. The purpose is to learn about the changes that have occurred in your life over the last few years and to learn how YDRC Programme(s) contributed to some of those changes. Your answers will contribute to the betterment of interventions in future.

CONSENT

You have the right NOT to participate. This will not affect overall results. You can decide which questions that you do not wish to answer. If you do not have time right now, I can come back later when it is more convenient for you. You have the right to leave at any point of time during the interview.

ANONYMITY

Your responses will be restricted to our research use only. Your name will not appear in any public documents. Your answers will be kept confidential.

QUESTIONS

Do you have ANY questions before we begin?

1. Personal Information
   1.1 Age (in completed years)______________
   1.2 Are your parents?
      a. Married (together)    □    b. Single (not married)    □
      c. Divorced but re-married □    d. Divorced    □
      e. Passed away □    f. Others (specify)_________

1.3 Were your parents at the time of or before you came in contact with the law?
   a. Married (together) □    b. Single (not married) □
   c. Divorced but re-married □    d. Divorced □
   e. Passed away □    f. Others (specify)_________

1.4 How many siblings do you have?
   b. Single child □    b. 1-3 □
   c. 4-5 □    d. 6-8 □
   e. More □

1.5 Who did you grow up with?
   a. Parent(s) □    b. Relatives □
   c. Siblings □    d. Self □
   e. Friends □    f. Others (specify)____
1.6 Who will you go to when you are released from YDRC?
   a. Parents ☐   b. Siblings ☐
   c. Relatives ☐   d. Friends ☐
   e. Have nobody ☐
   f. Others (specify)________________

2. Education
2.1 What was your education (highest level) when you came in conflict with law?
   a. None ☐   b. Non-formal education ☐   c. Primary ☐
   d. Middle secondary ☐   e. Higher secondary ☐   f. College ☐
   g. Vocational ☐   h. Monastic education ☐

2.2 Which programme(s) do you attend at YDRC?
   a. Continued education (Skip to Question 2.4) ☐
   b. Vocational Training ☐
   c. Both ☐

2.3 Which vocational training are you currently undergoing at YDRC?
   a. Haircutting ☐   b. Embroidery ☐
   c. Tailoring ☐   d. Plumbing ☐
   e. Others ______________

2.4 What is your current education level?
   a. Non-formal education ☐   b. Primary ☐
   c. Middle secondary ☐   d. Higher secondary ☐
   e. College ☐   f. Vocational ☐
   g. Monastic education ☐

2.5 What is the education level of your parents (highest)?
   a. None ☐   b. Non-formal education ☐
   c. Primary ☐   d. Middle secondary ☐
   e. Higher secondary ☐   f. University or higher ☐
   g. Vocational ☐   h. Monastic education ☐
   i. Semi-literate ☐

3. Employment
3.1 Were you working before or at the time you came in conflict with law?
   b. Yes ☐   b. No ☐

3.2 If yes, in which sector were you working?
   b. Service industry ☐   b. Auto-repair ☐
   c. Construction ☐   d. Agriculture/farming ☐
   e. Others __________
3.3 What do you plan to do after completing your years at YDRC?
   a. Work □  b. Finish High school □
   c. Finish college □  d. Vocational training □
   e. Don’t know □  f. Others________________

3.4 Where do you want to work after your release?
   a. Construction (construction worker, painter, carpenter, mason) □
   b. Vending & sales (vendor/sales clerk) □
   c. Driver □
   d. Police and legal occupations (police, lawyers) □
   e. Health services (nurse, doctor, caregiver) □
   f. Food services (farmer, cook, hotels) □
   g. Art □
   h. Education □
   i. Don’t know □
   j. Others____________

4. Economic wellbeing/status
4.1 When you came in conflict with law, what was the main source of income in your household?
   a. No income □  b. Farming □
   c. Industry (factory) □  d. Self-employment □
   e. Small businesses/petty traders □  f. Salary □
   g. Don’t remember □  h. Others________________

4.2 Who was the main person contributing to income?
   a. Self □  b. Father □
   c. Mother □  d. Relative □
   e. Every family member □  f. Father & mother □
   g. Sibling(s) □  h. Don’t remember □
   i. Others________________

4.3 What type of house did you live in?
   c. Temporary shelter (Shanties) □  d. Don’t remember □
   e. Others________________

4.4 When you came in conflict with law, did your family own land?
   a. Yes □  b. No □
   c. Don’t know □

4.5 When you came in conflict with law, did your family have sufficient food to eat (three meals a day)?
   a. Yes □  b. No □
   c. Sometimes □  d. Don’t remember □
4.6 When you came in conflict with law, was your family able to provide you with clothes?
   a. Yes □   b. No □
   c. Sometimes □   d. Don’t remember □

5. Knowledge, Attitude and Behavior (KAB)
5.1 Did you know about the legal consequences of the offense?
   a. Yes □   b. No □

5.2 What was the reason for committing the offence?
   a. Poverty □   b. Broken family □
   c. Peer pressure □   d. Intoxication □
   e. Others (specify)________

5.3 Were you aware of any organization or institution that provided support services?
   a. Yes □   b. No □   c. Don’t know □

5.4 If yes, why did you not seek help?
   a. Didn’t know who to approach □
   b. Feared repercussion □
   c. Didn’t bother □
   d. Embarrassed □
   e. Difficult to access such opportunities □
   f. Others __________

5.5 Are you aware of some child related laws (for e.g. Child Care and Protection Act, 2011 and Penal Code of Bhutan)?
   a. Yes □   b. No (Skip Question 5.6) □

5.6 How much did YDRC programme(s) contribute in your understanding of it?
   a. A lot □   b. A great deal □
   c. Not so much □   d. Not at all □

5.7 Do you regret having committed the crime?
   a) Yes □   b) No □

5.8 If you knew the victim of your offence, are you willing to apologize to him/her after your release?
   a. Yes □   b. No □
   c. Cannot face □   d. Can’t say □

5.9 Do you think you will re-offend after leaving YDRC?
   a. Yes □   b. No □
   c. Don’t know □   d. Depend upon circumstances □

6. Health and Social Wellbeing
6.1 Before you came into conflict with the law, were you used to seeing the doctor or hospital often?
   a. Yes □   b. No (skip question 6.2, 6.3) □
6.2 What was the most frequent reason for the visits?
   a. Minor sickness (cough & cold) □
   b. Physiotherapy and bodily check up □
   c. Alcohol and drug detox □
   d. Psychological and mental advises □
   e. Others (specify) ___________________

6.3 Do you have access to medical or hospital services at YDRC?
   b. Yes □   b. No □
   c. Sometimes □   d. whenever required □

6.4 Did your parents or guardians, with whom you lived before you came in conflict with law, encouraged and rewarded you when you did well in studies or other activities?
   b. Did not bother □   b. Rarely □
   c. Sometimes □   d. Very often □

6.5 Who visits you the most? (Rank from 1-6; with 1 being most frequent visitor and 6 being the least visitor)
   a. Father □   b. Mother □   c. Both parents □
   d. Friends □   e. Relatives □   g. Others (Specify) □

7. YDRC programmes
7.1 How would you rate the quality of YDRC programmes?
   a. Excellent □
   b. Good □
   c. Average □
   d. Not good □

7.2 How would you rate the treatment at the YDRC?
   a. Very Unsatisfactory □
   b. Unsatisfactory □
   c. Satisfactory □
   d. Very Satisfactory □
   e. Don't Know □

7.3 Do you think the instructors/teachers/counselors at YDRC are good enough?
   a. Yes □
   b. No (Answer Question 7.4) □
   c. Don’t know □

7.4 What do you think needs to be done?
   a. More qualified/trained instructors □
   b. More counselors □
   c. More instructors/teachers to teach various skills □
   d. All of the above □
   e. No comment □

7.5 What additional programme(s) do you think YDRC needs to be introduced?
   a. Career education □
   b. Value education □
c. Music □  d. Theatre/acting □
e. Graded vocational training □  f. Others____________

Thank you for participating in the survey!

Annexure III: Survey Questionnaire (Rearrest)
Individual Interview Questionnaire
YDRC Graduates (Rearrest)
Tracer Study on Children in Conflict with Law

(Data used for this survey cannot be used for taxation, investigation or law enforcement purposes)

Status of the questionnaire:
4. Completed with initially selected individual
5. Not completed, due to refusal
3. Not completed, individual not found
4. Incomplete

I certify that the information gathered in this questionnaire was obtained/reviewed by me personally and in accordance with instructions.

Interviewer’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature
Supervisor’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature
Data Entry Person’s Name____________________ Date__________________
Signature

INTRODUCTION

Hi! My name is XYZ. I am from Bhutan Youth Development Fund. We have chosen a list of children, such as you, who underwent the reformative programme at Youth Development and Rehabilitation Center at Tshimasham. We were able to find you through the records that YDRC provided us with. We will ask some questions on your daily activities and the changes in those activities. The purpose is to learn about the changes that have occurred in your life over the last few years and to learn how YDRC Programme(s) contributed to some of those changes. Your answers will contribute to the betterment of interventions in future.

CONSENT

You have the right NOT to participate. This will not affect overall results. You can decide which questions that you do not wish to answer. If you do not have time right now, I can come back later when it is more convenient for you. You have the right to leave at any point of time during the interview.
ANONYMITY

Your responses will be restricted to our research use only. Your name will not appear in any public documents. Your answers will be kept confidential.

QUESTIONS

Do you have ANY questions before we begin?

1. Personal Information

1.1 Age (in completed years)___________

1.2 Current residential address (Dzongkhag)___________

1.3 Marital status
   a. Married □   b. Single □
   c. Divorced □   d. Living together □

1.4 Who did you stay with?
   a. Parent(s) □   b. Relatives □   c. Siblings □
   d. Self □   e. Friends □   f. Institutions □

1.5 Are your parents?
   a. Married (together) □   b. Single (not married) □
   c. Divorced but re-married □   d. Divorced □
   e. Passed away □   f. Others (specify)___________

1.6 How many siblings do you have?
   a. Single child □   b. 1-3 □   c. 4-5 □
   d. 6-8 □   e. More □

1.7 Who did you grow up with?
   a. Parent(s) □   b. Relatives □   c. Siblings □
   d. Self □   e. Friends □   f. Others (specify)_____

1.8 Who was the first conflict you had when you were released from YDRC?
   a. Parents □   b. Siblings □   c. Relatives □
   d. Friends □   e. Others (specify)___________

2. Education

2.1 What was your education (highest level) when you came in conflict with law?
   a. None □   b. Non-formal education □
   c. Primary □   d. Lower secondary □
   e. Middle secondary □   f. Higher secondary □
   g. College □   h. Vocational □
   i. Monastic education □
2.2 Which programme(s) did you attend at YDRC?
   a. Continued education (Skip to Question 2.4) 
   b. Vocational Training 
   c. Both 

2.3 Which vocational training did you undergo?
   a. Haircutting 
   b. Embroidery 
   c. Tailoring 
   d. Plumbing 
   e. Painting 
   f. Others ____________

2.4 Were you studying when you were re-arrested?
   a. Yes 
   b. No (Go to Question 2.9)

2.5 If yes, what is your current education level?
   a. None 
   b. Non-formal education 
   c. Primary 
   d. Lower secondary 
   e. Middle secondary 
   f. Higher secondary 
   g. College 
   h. Vocational 
   i. Monastic education 

2.6 In which school were you studying?
   a. Private school 
   b. Government 

2.7 How difficult was it for you to get admission to schools after the YDRC programme(s)?
   a. Not Difficult 
   b. Somewhat Difficult 
   c. Difficult 
   d. Very difficult 

2.8 What kind of difficulties/challenges did you face in continuing your education?
   a. Parental assurance required 
   b. Lack of family support 
   c. Financial constraints 
   d. Social stigma 
   e. Others (specify) ____________

2.9 What is the education level of your parents (highest)?
   a. None 
   b. Non-formal education 
   c. Primary 
   d. Lower secondary 
   e. Middle secondary 
   f. Higher secondary 
   g. University or higher 
   h. Vocational 
   i. Monastic education 
   j. Semi-literate 

3 Employment

3.1 Were you working before or at the time you came in conflict with law for the first time?
   a. Yes 
   b. No

3.2 In which sector were you working?
   a. Service industry 
   b. Auto-repair 
   c. Construction 
   d. Agriculture/farming 
   e. Others ____________
3.3 Were you working before or at the time you came in conflict with law for the second time?
   a. Yes ☐  b. No ☐

3.4 In which sector were you working?
   a. Service industry ☐  b. Auto-repair ☐
   c. Construction ☐  d. Agriculture/farming ☐
   e. Others ☐

3.5 Level of income from recent employment?
   a. Below 3000 ☐  b. Between 3100-6000 ☐
   c. Between 6100-9000 ☐  d. Above 9100 ☐

3.6 How useful was the YDRC programmes in finding the current occupation?
   a. Useful to some extent ☐  b. Useful to a great extent ☐
   c. Not at all ☐  d. Don’t know ☐

3.7 How difficult was it for you to get employment after the YDRC programme(s)?
   a. Not Difficult ☐  b. Somewhat Difficult ☐
   c. Difficult ☐  d. Very difficult ☐

3.8 What kind of difficulties did you face? (You can choose more than one answer)
   a. Lack of required skills/education ☐
   b. Past record/social stigma/Lack of trust ☐
   c. Lack of job opportunities ☐
   d. No Security Clearance certificate ☐
   e. Financial constraints ☐
   f. Others (specify) ☐

4 Economic wellbeing/status

4.1 What is the main source of income in your household?
   a. No income ☐  b. Farming ☐
   c. Industry (factory) ☐  d. Self-employment ☐
   e. Small businesses/petty traders ☐  f. Salary ☐
   g. Don’t remember ☐  h. Others ☐

4.2 Who is the main person contributing to income?
   a. Self ☐  b. Father ☐
   c. Mother ☐  d. Relative ☐
   e. Every family member ☐  f. Father & mother ☐
   g. Sibling(s) ☐  h. Don’t remember ☐
   i. Others ☐
4.3 What type of house did you live in?
   a. Hut (mud & wattle) □
   b. Brick/concrete □
   c. Temporary shelter (Shanties) □
   d. Don’t remember □
   e. Traditional House □
   f. Others_________________

4.4 Does your family own land?
   a. Yes □
   b. No □
   c. Don’t know □

4.5 Does your family have sufficient food to eat (three meals a day)?
   a. Yes □
   b. No □
   c. Sometimes □
   d. Don’t remember □

4.6 Was your family able to provide you with clothes?
   a. Yes □
   b. No □
   c. Sometimes □
   d. Don’t remember □

5 Knowledge, Attitude and Behavior (KAB)

5.1 Did you know about the legal consequences of the offence?
   a. Yes □
   b. No □

5.2 What was the reason for committing the first offence?
   a. Poverty □
   b. Broken family □
   c. Peer pressure □
   d. Intoxication □
   e. Others (specify)________

5.3 How much did YDRC programme contribute in your understanding of rules and laws?
   a. A lot □
   b. A great deal □
   c. Not so much □
   d. Not at all □

5.4 What type of offence did you recommit?
   5.5 Burglary □
   b. Larceny □
   c. Possession of Controlled substances □
   d. Battery □
   e. Others (specify)________

5.6 What was the reason for committing the second offence?
   a. Poverty □
   b. Broken family □
   c. Peer pressure □
   d. Intoxication □
   e. Lack of after-care Service □
   f. All of the above □
   g. Others (specify)________

5.7 Were you aware of any organization or institution that provided support services?
   a. Yes □
   b. No □

5.8 Why did you not seek help?
a. Didn’t know who to approach
b. Feared repercussion
c. Didn’t bother
d. Embarrassed
e. Difficult to access such opportunities
f. Others

5.9 How did the YDRC programmes help you?

5.10 After your release from YDRC, what kind of supports/programmes do you think would help you reintegrate into the society?

6 Health and Social Wellbeing

6.1 Were you used to seeing the doctor or hospital often?
   a. Yes
   b. No

6.2 What was the most frequent reason for the visits?
   a. Minor sickness (cough & cold)
   b. Physiotherapy and bodily check up
   c. Alcohol and drug detox
   d. Psychological and mental advises
   e. Others (specify)

6.3 Did you have access to medical or hospital services during your stay at YDRC?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Sometimes
   d. Whenever required

6.4 How often do you visit the doctor or hospital?
   a. Sometimes
   b. Whenever I need
   c. Not at all

6.5 Did your parents or guardians, with whom you lived, encouraged and reward you when you did well in studies or other activities?
   a. Did not bother
   b. Rarely
   c. Sometimes
   d. Very often

6.6 During your stay in YDRC, who visited you the most? (Rank from 1-6; with 1 being most frequent visitor and 6 being the least visitor)
   a. Father
   b. Mother
   c. Both parents
   d. Friends
   e. Relatives
   f. Others (Specify)
7 YDRC programmes

7.1 How would you rate the quality of YDRC programmes?
   a. Excellent □ b. Good □
   c. Average □ d. Not good □

7.2 How would you rate the treatment at the YDRC?
   a. Very Unsatisfactory □ b. Unsatisfactory □
   c. Satisfactory □ d. Very Satisfactory □
   e. Don’t Know □

7.3 Do you think the instructors/teachers/counselors at YDRC are good enough?
   a. Yes □ b. No □
   c. Don’t know □

7.4 What do you think needs to be done?
   a. More qualified/trained instructors □
   b. More counselors □
   c. More instructors/teachers to teach various skills □
   d. All of the above □
   e. No comment □

Thank you for participating in the survey!
**Annexure IV: List of FGDs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl/No</th>
<th>Participant Groups</th>
<th>Number of FGDs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Current YDRC residents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>YDRC staff</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Teachers of Tshimasham LSS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>YDRC graduates</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Parents &amp; relatives of CICL graduates</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Annexure V: List of Key Informant Interviews**

1. Captain Karma Dema, Officer In Charge, YDRC,
2. Dasho Pema Wangchuk, Director, Bhutan National Legal Institute
3. Dr. Damber Nirola, Psychiatrist, JDWNRH
4. Major Namgay Dorji, Superintendent, Women and Child Protection Division, RBP
5. M.B Ghalley, Country Director, Save the Children, Bhutan Country Office
6. Phuntsho G. Dorji, Legal Officer, Office of the Attorney General
7. Karma Lhazom, Programme Officer, Department of Human Resources, MoLHR
8. Tshewang Tenzin, Executive Director, Chithuen Phenday Association
9. Sangay Dorji, Principal, Pakshika Middle Secondary School, Gedu, Chukha
10. Deki Dema, Programme Officer, Children Division, NCWC
11. Honorable MP, Ritu Raj Chhetri, Deputy chairman, Legislative Committee, National Assembly of Bhutan