



MINISTER OF YOUTH, SPORTS AND CULTURE

Disaffected and Delinquent Male Youth in Rwanda: Understanding Pathways to Delinquency and the Role of Rehabilitation and Vocational Skills Training

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The research reported on aimed to provide clarifications on how the issue of disaffected and delinquent youth in Rwanda is handled and treated. Providing residential rehabilitation and training is expensive and therefore it needs to be used for those young men most in need of and likely to benefit from such training. What are the pathways to youth disaffection and delinquency? What are the most effective and efficiency ways of dealing with disaffected and delinquent youth? Is the Awawa rehabilitation centre fit for purpose? Are the graduates from the Centre likely to become reintegrated into society as productive citizens?

The research was undertaken in June 2011 and involved desk research as well as mixed methods

field research involving trainees and trainers at the Iwawa Rehabilitation and Training Centre.

The research must be regarded as preliminary and the conclusions reached as tentative. The time and resources available for the research were inadequate to permit detailed and comprehensive research to be undertaken.

Youth is a problematic time for young men as they make the transition from childhood to adult hood – from dependent family member to an independent adult citizen earning their own living, getting married and setting up an independent household. This transition can become even more problematic and prolonged when, as in Rwanda, opportunities for productive work are limited with young men entering the labour market being poorly educated and lacking employability/income generating skills. A situation compounded by the numbers of young men without a stable family to support them with the numbers being higher than in many other countries due to the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi.

The main findings and conclusions from the research are:

- The main driver of youth disaffection and delinquency is the inability to get productive work;
- Youth without a stable family background with poor educational attainment and who

migrate from rural to urban areas in search of employment are especially vulnerable;

- Youth who are detained by the police and selected for training at the centre have mainly been living on the streets and surviving from petty trading and casual work;
- Whilst some of the youth have been engaging in illegal activities such as petty crime and substance abuse others seem to only be guilty of not having legal identity papers¹;
- Youth at the centre fall into three main groups: the first group comprised men who were engaged in petty trading before they were admitted to the centre some of whom are married. The second group comprised men that have parents (one parent or two) with land who can provide them with some social and economic support. The third group, which is the most vulnerable group, is comprised of men who have no parents or other relatives they can rely on to provide them with support when they graduate. This group were mainly concerned with how to meet their basic needs such as shelter, food and clothing when they graduated.

- The most vulnerable group of male youth and those most at risk of re-offending are

¹ The concern about being sent to the rehabilitation centre for not having legal identity papers was raised in all the focus group discussions. We cannot, of course, state with certainty that the only reason was lack of legal identity papers. However, the point was made by informants who were about to leave the Centre and who generally made favourably comments about the education and training they had received.

those who do not have a family who can provide them with support when they are reintegrating into the community on graduation;

- The programme of rehabilitation and training offered at the centre seems to match that which has been shown to most likely reform male delinquents. However, the literature suggests that community based training and rehabilitation programmes are more suited to first time and minor offenders with residential training reserved for more serious and habitual offenders;
- Without support following graduation there is a strong possibility of reoffending.

The main recommendations from the research are that:

- to ensure the maximum effectiveness of rehabilitation an after-care system to support graduates integration into the community as productive citizens needs to be put in place;
- a graduate tracer study of the young men included in the research should be carried out in June 2012 to enable an evaluation of the effectiveness of the rehabilitation and training provided at the Centre;
- a youth crime survey should be carried out nationwide with street youth included in the sample to ascertain the extent of disaffection and delinquency amongst male youth; This would help the GoR to develop informed youth policy that addresses the issues of the two types of groups;
- better screening of male youth to be sent to the rehabilitation and training centre should be carried out to ensure that those most likely to need and benefit from residential rehabilitation and training are selected;
- community based alternatives should be explored for those young men for whom it

is more appropriate especially those who are married and/or have family to live with;

- youth whose only offence is not having legal identity papers and permits should be provided with papers and, if necessary, community based support ;
- training in parenting skills, careers guidance and the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse should be introduced into the school curriculum;
- the potential for introducing community based early preventative intervention measures for at risk and vulnerable children and young people, especially those out-of-school, should be explored;
- local authorities, especially out-side of Kigali, should develop programmes and projects to support young men in the school-work transition to reduce the flow of migrants to Kigali and other urban areas;
- the feasibility of providing reception centres, shelters and support in finding income generating work and permanent homes in Kigali and other urban areas for youth migrating to Kigali should be explored.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This report sets out the findings from preliminary research undertaken to provide a more detailed understanding of the experiences of male youth² undergoing training at Iwawa Rehabilitation Centre³. It aimed to uncover the pathways to disaffection and delinquency as well as the experiences of youth at the training centre. Mixed methods research were used including desk research, a structured questionnaire completed by all the trainees at the centre and FGDs held with a purposive sample of trainees and trainers. The findings are indicative and provide a guide to the further research that is necessary to fully inform the Ministry, and the Government more broadly, on the ways in which it can further develop its policies for deterring young men becoming disaffected and turning to delinquency and proving an effective and efficient rehabilitation system that meets its objectives.

Providing residential rehabilitation and training is expensive. It is, therefore, important that young men who are most in need of and are most likely to benefit from the training are selected. It is also important that the rehabilitation and training programme are designed to meet the needs of beneficiaries and designed to give them the capabilities to be reintegrated into society and become productive citizens on graduation from the centre.

1.1 Goals of the Research

The main goal of the research was to provide the Ministry of Youth with evidence based recommendations to enable the Ministry to:

- better design interventions to prevent male youth becoming disaffected and deter them from adopting delinquent lifestyles;
- develop a rehabilitation programme that supports disaffected and delinquent young

² Youth in Rwanda is officially defined as 14-35 years

³ Limited funding meant that the scope this research was limited and the findings have to be seen as indicative.



men to reintegrate into society as productive citizens;

- determine what further research would enable them to better understand why young men become disaffected, engage in antisocial behaviour and turn to delinquency.

The research aimed to provide a better understanding of the pathways to disaffection and delinquency amongst male youth (18-35 years) in Rwanda. It provides information on how youth move into delinquent lifestyles and what they see as the support necessary for them to become productive and engaged citizens. It also provides base-line data for the follow up of a cohort of male youth who have undergone rehabilitation and training with the aim of enabling them to be re-integrated into society. Follow up of the youth interviewed after 12 and 24 months will enable an evaluation of the effectiveness of the programme to be made.

The findings from the research provide:

- a better understanding of the characteristics and background of men who have become disaffected and engaged in petty criminal behaviour;
- a better understanding of the pathways to disaffection and delinquency;

- an evaluation of the rehabilitation programme by trainees on graduation;
- a picture of the intentions and aspirations of men on graduation from rehabilitation;
- A baseline cohort of graduates from a rehabilitation centre who can be followed to evaluate the effectiveness of the programme and provide detailed information on the characteristics of graduates who return to a life of petty crime and those who are reintegrated into society.

The findings from the research will enable the Government to:

- develop strategies to prevent young men becoming disaffected and deter them from becoming
- petty criminals;
- review the rehabilitation training programme in the light of the evaluation of graduates and
- trainers;
- consider what additional support might be put in place to better support graduates
- in becoming reintegrated into society as productive citizens;
- provide information on the intentions of graduates and their aims and aspirations for the future;
- provide a baseline study of a sample of graduates that can be followed up to enable the
- Government to measure the effectiveness of the programme and post graduation support and get
- detailed information on the outcomes for

different groups of male youth.

1.2 Limitations of the Research

The research described in this report and the findings and recommendations must be regarded as tentative and preliminary. The resources and time available did not permit extensive and comprehensive research. This meant that it was:

- only possible to carry out a limited review of the extant literature on the rehabilitation and training of disaffected and delinquent youth. Also this literature generally focuses on young males, generally those between 18 and 21 or 25 years, as in most jurisdictions males 21 years and over are handled by separate adult legal procedures;
- to use a self completion structured interview schedule with a limited number of questions. This both limited the type of questions that could be asked and the number of issues that could be covered;
- to carry out limited qualitative research restricted to focus group discussions with a purposive sample of trainees and trainers.

There is also no reliable official crime statistics at national level to base on determining the extent of disaffection and delinquency amongst male youth, the extent of arrest/detention for misdemeanours and minor crime, the numbers living on the streets and sleeping rough⁴, or the number of drug addicts and problem drinkers.

There is no comprehensive data on the social and economic characteristics of male youth with which to compare the trainees at Iwawa Centre. This makes it difficult to say with any certain what the correlates of becoming disaffected and delinquent are and to consider possible causes.

In the absence of reliable survey data on male youth and of official statistics on the extent and type of antisocial behaviour and delinquency

⁴ Living on the streets means that the youth spend most of their time on the streets and have no permanent place to live, while sleeping rough means sleeping on the streets or in other public space.

engaged in by them it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the pathways to disaffection and delinquency.

1.3 The Report

This report, including this introduction is divided into eight parts:

- part two provides a background and the context. It discusses issues relating to disaffected and delinquent youth in Rwanda and describes the rehabilitation and training programme at the Iwawa Centre;
- part three provides a brief review of the literature on the causes of disaffection and delinquency in young men, programmes for prevention, rehabilitation and training, and strategies for reintegration into the community as productive citizens;
- part four describes the methods used in the study;
- part five describes the findings from the quantitative and qualitative research carried out at the Centre amongst trainees in June 2011 to uncover pathways to disaffection and delinquency;
- part six discusses the findings and outlines the conclusions that can be drawn integrating the findings from the literature review with those from the quantitative and qualitative empirical research;
- part seven provides an evaluation of the centre for the perspective of trainees and trainers;
- part eight looks at the aspirations the trainees have for their future;
- part nine makes policy recommendations informed by the findings from the research.

2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

1.1 The Youth Problem

The transition to adult life is a difficult time for many young people and a period during which young men in particular become disaffected and engage in antisocial behaviour, delinquency and petty crime. In Rwanda as in many other African countries the problem is compounded by lack of productive work and employment opportunities for young people. The danger is that young people and especially young men will turn to a life of delinquency and crime. Once delinquent behaviour becomes habitual reform and reintegration into mainstream society becomes difficult.

Youth as an age group raise specific concerns in Rwanda and they are regarded as a vulnerable group. Land scarcity and few opportunities for paid employment leave many young people and especially young men vulnerable to unemployment, street living and homelessness (Abbott *et al* 2010; Hussein 2008; Education Development Centre 2009). Whilst reported unemployment is low, underemployment, marginal employment and hidden unemployment rates are high amongst youth and especially amongst male youth. For many young men the transition to adulthood is protracted and many may never gain secure productive work and a permanent home. There is a concern that the lack of opportunities for productive work is driving many young people, and especially young men, to migrate to urban areas where they live on the streets and may turn to petty crime to make a living as well engage in other delinquent behaviour such as substance abuse (Education and Development Centre 2009).

Youth are seen as an important group in Rwanda and youth is a cross-cutting issue in the *Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy* (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2007). Rwanda is a young society and 15-35 year olds make up 37 per cent of the total population

and 64 per cent of the population aged 15 years and over (NISR 2009 – authors own calculations). Of special concern are young youth (aged 15-24) years the majority of whom are underemployed or employed in marginal work. Those who are unable to make the transition to productive adult lives are likely to remain marginalised from mainstream society. Whilst young women tend to stay in rural areas many young men end up living a marginal existence in Kigali and other urban centres and turn to petty crime in order to survive (Abbott 2010; Abbott 2011; Abbott *et al* 2010; Education Development Centre 2009). There are just over one million young men in this age group, the vast majority of whom are at best marginally employed.

Rwanda faces then the problem of integrating youth and especially male youth into adult society and enabling them to make the transition into productive employment and adult roles. There is an excess supply of labour that is low-skilled and poorly educated and a deficit of decent jobs, with some evidence that the process of matching workers and jobs is not optimal. There is a mismatch between the skills of those seeking employment and the skills employers are looking for, with a shortage of skilled labour at all levels from technical and vocational to higher education (HIDA 2009; Abbott and Rwirahira 2010). Youth face many challenges including being poorly educated and lacking employability skills, a lack of employment opportunities, high levels of poverty and poor health. Education attainment is poor even amongst younger age groups, with many of those who have only attended primary school being barely literate (Education Development Centre 2009). Many come from broken homes and do not have stable family backgrounds. Rwanda has more youth from unstable family backgrounds due to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi with many children being brought up as orphans, in child headed families or lone parent families due to the death or imprisonment of their parents.

A particular concern is rural urban migration, with young men in particular, moving from rural to urban areas seeking employment (Abbott *et al* 2010; Education Youth Centre 2009). Many young men move to urban areas and especially Kigali and make out a marginal existence by petty trading, hawking and other marginal income generating activities (Education Development Centre 2009). Self employment is a survival strategy not a positive choice for many (Abbott 2010; Education Development Centre 2009; Hussein 2008). Lack of technical and entrepreneurial skills and inability to access microfinance are major barriers to developing viable enterprises. Many are homeless, sleeping rough or having marginal access to housing and vulnerable to homelessness. Many migrate between urban areas and the rural areas of their childhood home but others take up permanent residence in urban areas (Education Development Centre 2009).

In this situation it is not surprising that disaffection and delinquency is seen as problem amongst male youth. There are concerns about the level of petty crime and drug taking amongst young men much of which is thought to be the result of unemployment and homelessness. Homelessness and street living are seen as leaving young men vulnerable to engaging in petty crime and substance abuse (drugs and alcohol) and potentially escalating into a life of crime. There is, however, little information on the extent of the problem. However, research in Kigali and Butare examining unemployment amongst young men suggests that there is a growing number living a marginal existence. They are, however, the research found resilient and do develop coping strategies including providing mutual support (Education Development Centre 2009).

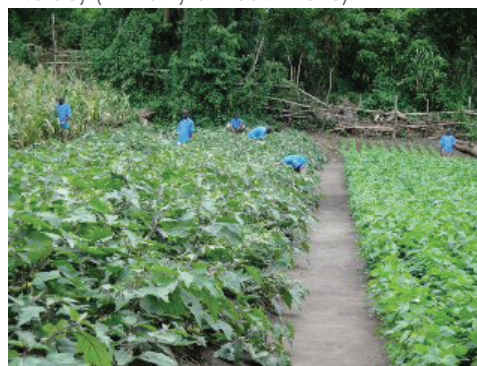
2.2. Reform and Rehabilitation

The Government of Rwanda is investing significant resources in rehabilitation centres' designed to reform youth who have become disaffected and moved onto a pathway of delinquency and petty crime. The aim is to reform male youth without criminalising them before they move onto more serious criminal behaviour and to reintegrate

them into society as productive citizens. The Government is concerned to ensure that the investment it makes is used to best effect, has the intended impact and that graduates from rehabilitation centres are reintegrated into society and do not return to a delinquent lifestyle and petty criminal behaviour on graduation from rehabilitation and training.

2.3 The Iwawa Rehabilitation and Vocational Training Centre

The purpose of the Iwawa Rehabilitation and Vocational Training Centre is to rehabilitate disaffected and delinquent male youth in a residential setting, provide them with vocational employability skills and on graduation support them in reintegrating into the community as productive citizens. Support in getting gainful employment is seen as central to this.⁵ The main aim is to provide them with the capability to become productive citizens on graduation from the programme. The target group for the centre is male youth who have been involved in antisocial or delinquent behaviour including misdemeanours and substance abuse aged between 18 and 35 (Table 1). Trainees are selected for the programme from amongst those kept at various transition centres across the country. Once selected they are moved to the rehabilitation centre where an initial assessment is made to identify training needs and enable a programme of rehabilitation and training to be put in place including where necessary basic literacy (Ministry of Youth 2010).



⁵ We use the term work to include self-employment, working in a work cooperative, subsistence agriculture or other income generating work sufficient to enable them to support themselves as members of the community without resorting to petty criminal behaviour.

Table 1: Categories of Male Youth Eligible for Placement

Group	Characteristics/Definition
Vagrants	Persons who wander from place to place and lives by begging or stealing
	Persons caught in petty crimes
Prostitutes	Persons who engage in sexual activity for payment
Swindlers	Persons who deprive others of their property by deceit (conman)
Delinquents	Persons who repeatedly commit petty crime
Substance Abusers ¹	Persons who use illegal drugs or other harmful substances or are problem drinkers.

The centre has three educational components; rehabilitation, skills training and civic education training. Those completing the training are expected to leave the centre with positive values and equipped with the necessary skills to gain employment and play an active part in the development of their communities.

The training programme includes rehabilitation, civic education, language training (English and Swahili), vocational training and entrepreneurship training. Basic education is provided for those who need it. On completion of the training certificates are awarded and graduates supported in looking for work or apprenticeships. They are encouraged to and supported in setting up work cooperatives in order to enable peer support and engender team work. The centre provides graduates with opportunities for internships and apprenticeships and some scholarships for vocational training. A start up pack is given to graduates and support given in accessing funding to start an enterprise with links to Umurenge SACCOs and COOJAD.

The main objectives of the training programme are to provide;

- an education and training that will enable graduates to earn a living and to make a new life for themselves;
- a high quality and relevant training that meets the needs of trainees;
- a blend of technical and ‘soft skills’ so that graduates will be equip to set up their own enterprises;
- provide careers guidance to enable graduates to choose relevant careers that suit their abilities and for which there is market demand for.

In sum the Centre aims to enable produce graduates with positives values and equipped with the skills to gain employment/ generate their own income and play an active role in their own community.

3 CAUSES, PREVENTION AND REFORMING DISAFFECTED AND DELINQUENT YOUTH

3.1 Introduction

Youth is a time of change and uncertainty for young people. It is the period of transition from childhood dependency to adulthood and independency, of the interface between child and adult roles. It is a socially and legally defined. The social expectations that young people are expected to meet and the activities they are expected to engage in change. In many societies a married person is regarded as an adult even if they have not reached the age of majority while an unmarried person who is legally an adult may not be accorded the social status of adulthood. There are no agreed definitions of youth but the United Nations defines youth as those aged 15 to 24 years and the British Commonwealth as those aged 15 to 29 years. In Rwanda the legal age for being able to vote in local and central government elections is 18 years and the age of majority (legally becoming an adult in law) is 21 years.

Youth are in transition from dependency on family to independency. The transition to adulthood means becoming economically independent, taking on adult roles and responsibilities and establishing one's own family. Young people need support in making this transition from their family and their community (Muko *et al* 2004). Youth transitions can become protracted when young people are unable to gain employment and/or set up their own independent family. Some may never make the full transition and failure to make the youth transition can be especially problematic in patriarchal societies such as Rwanda (Chigunta 2002; Mkandawire 1996; Mkandawire and Chigunta 2002).

Many young people find the period of transition stressful and those who cannot find productive work and socially acceptable roles are especially vulnerable. Whilst many young people experiment with drugs and alcohol and may engage in antisocial behaviour the concern is with those for whom it becomes habitual. Diverting

youth from a path of disaffection and antisocial behaviour is important before they drop out of mainstream society and street living, petty crime and substance abuse become a habitual way of life. Once young people habitually engage in antisocial and delinquent behaviour it can be difficult to reform them. Prevention or early intervention is better than trying to cure as recidivism rates for those habitually engaging in petty crime, drug taking and homelessness are high (e.g. Chamberlin and Mackenzie nd). This is mainly because having undergone rehabilitation and treatment on return to the community they face the same problems as before they entered treatment. Faced with these problems they return to their old way of life. It is therefore essential to design programmes with the greatest chance of success that include supporting graduates from rehabilitation in the transition back into the community.

Delinquency and disaffection is the outcome of social experiences. Delinquents are made not born. It is, however, important not to treat disaffected and delinquent youth as passive victims of social processes but as actively creating ways of using public space and forming supportive networks which are crucial for their livelihood. They are actively finding ways to survive and resilient (Education Development Centre 2009). Street youth in particular, should not be seen as leading chaotic lives and as inevitably becoming delinquent but as having changing street careers with increasing age being important in decision making. They are active in their own lives and trying to create meaning. Street youth are reliant and survivors and should be involved in strategies designed to support them (Chigunta 2002; Mkandawire 1996; Mkandawire and Chigunta 2002; Theron and Macalone 2010).

3.1 Causes of Youth Disaffection and Delinquencies

To identifying at risk/vulnerable youth we need to understand the risk factors for young men

to become disaffected during the child to adult transition and how they can be supported to overcome the challenges. Social factors are mainly responsible for the difficulties young men face so we need to look to the social and economic context in which they lead lives rather than to the individual personal characteristics of young men – equal opportunities and empowerment. Research studies across the world have found that a similar range factors correlated with disaffection and delinquency and also with reoffending (e.g. Centre for Research on Youth at Risk nd; Centre for Youth Justice nd) McRae *et al* 2011). In Africa the risk factors are compounded by poverty, political instability, war and genocide, urbanization, parental loss and limited income generating opportunities (Muko *et al* 2004; Ochanda *et al* 2011). Young people are at risk not just because they may turn to substance abuse, street living and petty crime as a way of dealing with the difficulties they face but also because they are in danger of being exploited by sex traders and drug dealers.

Personal Characteristics

The personal characteristics of young people most at risk of becoming disaffected are young men aged 15 to 21 years from poor homes. Young men who are impulsive and aggressive and have emotional health problems are a special risk. The main protective factor is having a high IQ.

Family Breakdown

Young men from broken homes, homes where they have witnessed domestic violence or who have been subject to abuse as children are especially venerable. In Rwanda the Genocide against the Tutsi left many children as orphans or to be brought up in lone parent or child headed households. The main protective factor is being raised in a warm, supportive family with secure attachments to adults

Education and Training

Young men who are poorly educated and lack employability skills are especial vulnerable. Educational attainment amongst youth in Rwanda is poor and few have the employability skills

demanding on the labour market (Education Development Centre 2009). The main protective factors are a positive attitude and employability skills

Peer Pressure

Young men are especially vulnerable to peer pressure. Those who are members of gangs even more so.

Environment

Young men who are bored and lack opportunities for income generating activities are at risk of living on the street. Once they are on the street they are at risk of drug taking, sexual exploitation, harassment, violence, lowliness and fear, physical and emotional abuse and living in insanitation conditions with poor hygiene (Ochanda *et al* 2011) (Figure 1).

Employment

Unemployment is a major risk factor with those unable to find employment being at risk of retreating into substance abuse and/or turning to petty crime as a survival strategy.

Migration

Young men who are unable to get employment in their childhood home tend to migrate to urban areas in search of employment. Once in urban areas they are at risk of living on the streets and relying on petty trading, casual work, stealing, pick picketing, prostitution, and other illegal activities to survive. The main protective factor is productive employment. Figure 1 illustrates the stages of the transition to chronic homelessness.

Figure 1: Transition to Homelessness

	Short-term	Long-term	Chronic
At Risk	In and out of home	Permanent break with home	Chronic homelessness
	Tentative Break	Permanent Breakdown	Transition to Chronicity

Street living leaves young men especially vulnerable to becoming disaffected and delinquent with the most common causes of homelessness generally being family breakdown (Chamberlin and Mackenzie (nd). However, in Rwanda as elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa unemployment is a major risk factor (Education Development Centre 2009; Ochanda et al 2011).

3.2 Prevention and Dealing with Disaffected Youth

There is no doubt that prevention is better than curer because generally this is less costly than rehabilitation and because once young men engage in antisocial behaviour and petty crime it becomes difficult to rehabilitate them. Recidivism rates for those graduating from rehabilitation are high.

The main strategies to reduce offending in the first place are to:

- strengthen families and provide additional support to children living in broken homes;
- keep children in school, ensure that education prepares them for employment and for health education to warn children about the dangers of alcohol, drug abuse and street living ;
- enable young people to get employment or become self employed;
- ensure that communities are supportive of young people and provide meaning full activities for them.

Early intervention is also important with a

spectrum of programmes for intervention when delinquency first occurs. These should be community based as including low risk youth in residential programmes increases the risk of reoffending. For controlling chronic offenders there needs to be graduated sanctions with offenders held accountable for their offences (Centre for Research on Youth at Risk nd; Centre for Youth Justice nd; Latimer *et al* 2010).

3.3 Rehabilitation and Training Programmes

Assessment is essential to identify young people for rehabilitation and training who pose a higher risk of reoffending as this is a more effective and efficient, use of resources. It is important to manage and treat offenders according to risk levels, and match to appropriate rehabilitation programme. More intensive services should be reserved for higher risk offenders. It is also important to carry out periodic assessments of rehabilitative effectiveness and build a data base for the need for different types of programme interventions (Centre for Youth Justice nd).

Residential training can be counterproductive (Centre for Youth Justice nd; Brown *et al* 2002; Latimer *et al* 2010). Intensive community supervision combined with non-custodial interventions including alternative education and substance abuse programme) has been shown to be as if not more effective as residential programmes and to cost considerably less (Centre for Youth Justice nd; Latimer *et al* 2010).

Other factors that have consistently been found to reduce recidivism following rehabilitation programmes are:

- not criminalising disaffected and delinquent youth who have only committed minor crimes and providing rehabilitation in a therapeutic environment;
- providing anger management programmes;
- instilling positive and conventional values, challenging anti-social attitudes and building respect for authority;
- providing opportunities for human capital development including the skills to function in a socially acceptable way in conventional society, cognitive skills and communication skills, education, pre-employment and employment skills;
- preparing trainees for productive work/employment;
- involving trainees in the in development plans for them;
- involving parents and community and provide parents with appropriate skills to monitor and supervise youth;
- limiting programmes to six months;
- non-residential treatment and rehabilitation;
- strong political will.

3.4 Reintegration and After Care

The first few months after release have been shown to be the period when recidivism is most likely. There is a need to support the transition of graduates into the community and provide follow up support.

The gains made during rehabilitation and training diminishes without follow up (Centre for Youth Justice nd; (Muko *et al* 2004). Especially important is that graduates are able to be economically self sufficiency (Brown *et al* 2002; Latimer *et al* 2010).

4 METHODS

4.1 Research Methods Used

The methods included a self completion questionnaire and focus group discussions (FGDs). Analysis of 2005/6 Household Survey for young men aged 15-35 years was undertaken to provide data to compare the characteristics of trainees with the general population of male youth. The data from the self completion questionnaire provides basic information on demographic and biographic details, pathway to delinquency, perceptions of the training and plans for their future after leaving the centre. The FGDs provide more a more nuanced and detailed understanding from the perspective of the youth and their understanding of the reasons for their being sent to the Centre. The FGDs with trainees and those with trainers enable a preliminary evaluation of the training programme from the perspectives of trainees and trainers.

The self completion questionnaire was admin-

istered by trainers at the rehabilitation centre following a briefing by IPAR researchers. In total 1,468 trainees completed the self completion questionnaire. The FGDs were facilitated by IPAR researchers with trained assistants to take notes. The questionnaire data was coded and entered into SPSS for statistical analysis. The FGDs were transcribed and thematically analyzed.

4.2 Sampling

The sample for the self completion questionnaire was a 100 per cent of male youth at the rehabilitation centre in May 2011, approximately 1,500 male youth. The FGDs were held with trainees and trainers at the rehabilitation centre. There were 20 FGDs with a purposive sample of trainees and trainers (Table 2). This purposive sample ensured that we included the range of young men who have been at the rehabilitation centre in terms of age and offending history.

Table 2: Sample of Focus Groups

- Two FGDs with young men aged 18 -24 years who have a history of drug abuse;
- Two FGDs with young men aged 18 -24 years who have a history of living on the streets;
- Two FGDs with young men aged 18 -24 years who have a history of petty criminal behaviour;
- Two FGDs with young men aged 25 - 30 years who have a history of drug abuse;
- Two FGDs with young men aged 25 - 30 years who have a history of living on the streets;
- Two FGDs with young men aged 25 - 30 years who have a history of petty criminal behaviour;
- Two FGDs with young men aged over 30 year who have a history of drug abuse;
- Two FGDs with young men aged over 30 years who have a history of living on the streets;
- Two FGDs with young men aged over 30 years who have a history of petty criminal behaviour
- Two FGDs with trainers.

4.3 Research Ethics

All participants gave verbal informed consent to their participation in the research. They were informed about the purpose of the research and told that no individual would be named

in the research report. Ethical approval for the research was given through the IPAR ethical approval procedures.



5 PATHWAYS TO DISAFFECTION AND DELINQUENCY AMONGST RWANDAN YOUTH

5.1 Introduction

In this section we look in more detail at the pathways to disaffection and delinquency that ultimately result in male youth being sent to a rehabilitation centre. We do this by drawing on the findings from the questionnaire as well as the focus group discussions.

We have seen from the review of the research literature that a number of factors are related to youth becoming disaffected and delinquent. Age is an important factor with those most likely to engage in antisocial behaviour being between 12 and 21 years – the period of transition from childhood status to adult status. However, this period can be prolonged if achieving adult status is closed to some through lack of productive work opportunities. Coming from a broken home, being poorly educated, poverty, lack of

employment opportunities and peer pressure are all risk factors that can propel a young person into disaffection and delinquency. Not all young people who become disaffected and delinquent have these characteristics and not all young people who share them become disaffected and delinquent. Nevertheless they have been consistently shown to be the main risk factors.

5.2 Participation in Delinquent and Criminal Behaviour

In the self completion questionnaire just under 36 per cent (35.5%) of the youth said that they had slept on the streets, 44.4 per cent that they had taken illegal drugs, 7.6 per cent that they had engaged in petty thieving and 12.5 per cent in other criminal activities. Only 7.2 per cent had been in a rehabilitation centre previously (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Participation in Delinquent Behaviour

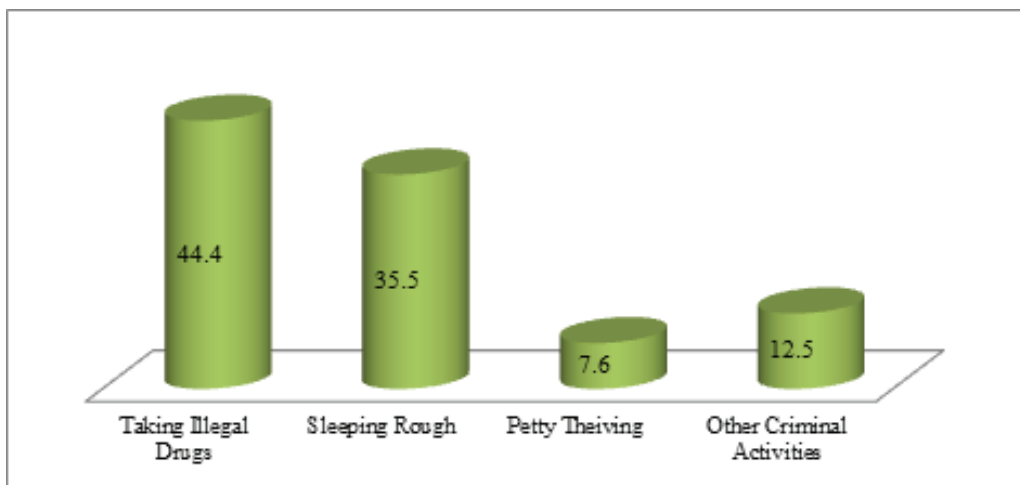
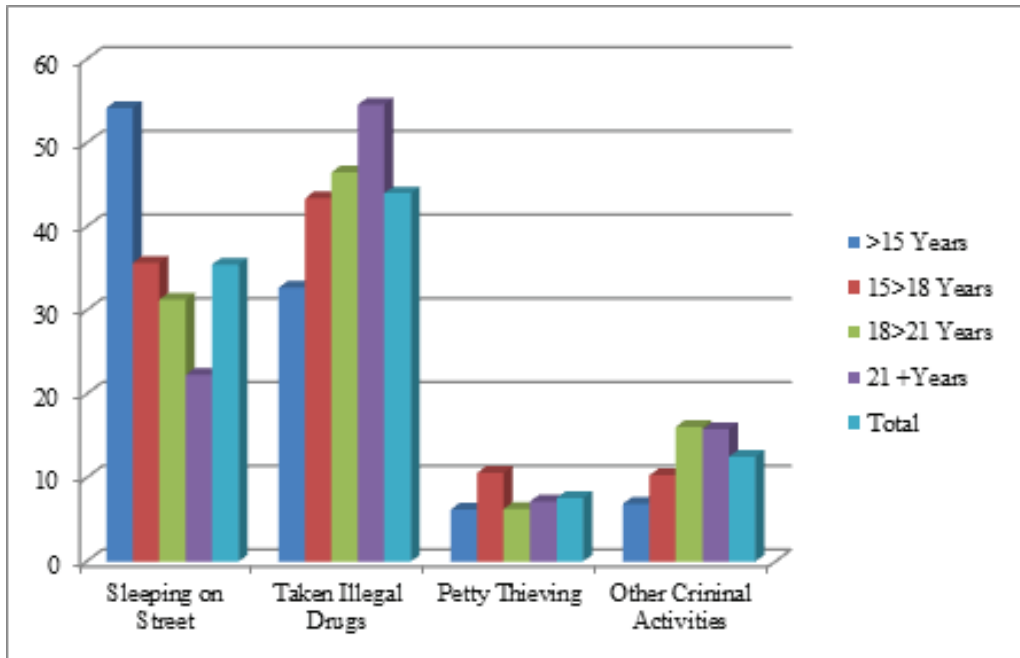


Figure 3 shows the data for engagement in delinquent activities by age at which they left home. Those who left home at less than 15 years were significantly more likely to have slept on the streets than those who were older when they left home but they were less likely to have

taken drugs, engaged in petty thieving or other criminal activities. This suggests that boys who leave home at a very young age are especially vulnerable to ending up on the streets.

Figure 3: Participation in Delinquent Behaviour by Age



(Sig. $X > 0.001$)

In the focus group discussions those that were involved in casual work in particular said that many of them had no legal identification papers and that they were involved in excessive drinking of alcohol, violence, prostitution and pick-pocketing. Most of these said that they were taken to the rehabilitation centre after being caught by police using drugs, for not having legal identification papers, for petty and illegal trading, for violent behaviour or for being drunk and disorderly. However, not all the participants in the focus group discussions agreed that they had done anything wrong and a number reported that the only thing they had done was not to have legal papers as some of them had left their home villages with no legal identification papers and lived in Kigali in search for employment. Others said they had been arrested by the police during security check round “pandagari” as hawker.

5.3 Age

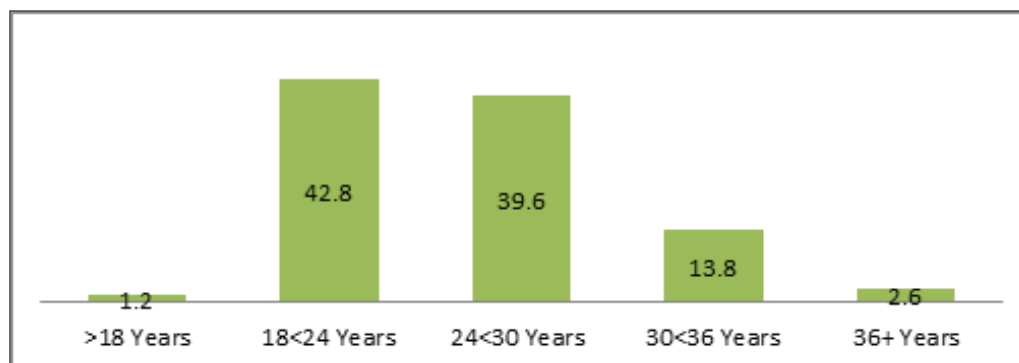
The centre caters for young men aged 18 to 35 years. Ninety-six percent of the trainees completing the self-completion questionnaire reported their age as 18 years or over and under 36 years. The other four per cent report their age as under 18 years or as 36 years or older (Figure 1)⁶. It is difficult to compare the ages with those for young men in general as the age breakdown in the official statistics includes 15-17 year olds with 18 and 19 year olds. However, the proportion of 30-35 years olds looks somewhat lower than would be expected given their proportion in the population (NISR 2009) suggesting those taken to detention centre and then selected for rehabilitation are more likely to be under 30 years. This seems to be confirmed by the proportions in each age group in the 2006 Household Survey with 44.6 per cent 18>24 years, 33 per cent 24>30 years and 22.4 per cent 30-35years.

⁶ This could be the respondents inaccurately reporting their age or alternatively it could be that some men are sent to the rehabilitation centre that fall outside the designated age group.

The overrepresentation of young youth is likely to be because younger men are more likely to be engaging in delinquent behaviour than older youth. However, it could be because older youth are more experienced and better able to avoid

being picked up by the authorities or it could be that the authorities are more likely to prosecute older youth through the criminal courts rather than sending them to rehabilitation centres.

Figure 4: Age of Trainees



(Number: 1468)

5.4 Family Background and Martial Status

The data from the self completion questionnaires and the focus group discussions suggests that the trainees were less likely to have stable family backgrounds than youth generally and were experiencing a delayed transition to adult status.

Just over 14 per cent (14.4%) of the trainees were married or cohabiting immediately before coming to the rehabilitation centre and 17.9 per cent have children. This compares with 44.1 per cent of men aged 18 to 35 years being married/cohabiting in 2006 (authors analysis of 2006 Household survey). This suggests that youth detained for delinquent behaviour and selected for rehabilitation and training are much less likely to be married than is the norm for their age group and that they are experiencing a prolonged transition from childhood to adult status.

The trainees were then much less likely than other male youth to be living with their parents and if they were more likely to be living with just their mother. Immediately before being sent to the rehabilitation centre 59.1 per cent

lived with a relative/guardian (18 per cent with their mother, 4.5 per cent with their father, 9.5 per cent with both parents, 9.1 with their wife/cohabite and 18 per cent with other relatives/guardians). This left 40.9 per cent living alone. At the time of the 2006 Household Survey 38.8 per cent of men aged 18-35 were living with both their parents, 25 percent with their mother and 5.5 per cent with their father. In total 69.3 per cent were living with at least one parent over half of whom lived with both parents (authors own calculations of 2006 Household survey data).

This suggests that the trainees were more likely to come from broken homes than male youth generally. This is confirmed by looking at who they were living with at age 15. By age 15 only 24.9 per cent of the trainees lived with both parents, 26.3 per cent lived with their mother and 9.7 per cent with father. In total 82.4 per cent lived with a relative. Nine per cent lived on the streets.

Of the 40.9 percent who lived alone immediately before coming to the Centre twenty-two percent had left their childhood home by the age of 15

years, 47.5 per cent by 18 years and 79 per cent by 21 years. Sixty-six per cent of these had slept rough at some point since leaving home. Those who left home young were more likely to be living alone immediately before admission to the rehabilitation centre than those who were older when they left home. Just over half of those who left their childhood home before 15 years and nearly half of those who left home between 15 and 18 years lived alone compared with a third of those aged 18 to 21 years and a quarter of those aged 21 years and over.

In the focus group discussions the male youth indicated that not having a stable family is a major cause of disaffection and delinquency. Some youth in the focused group discussions said that they lived on streets to escape domestic violence and others that they had been living with relatives who mistreated them and forced them onto the street. Not having parents was another one of the factors that lead youth to migrate from rural to urban areas. Youth with no parents were also thought to be likely to return to the streets on graduation as they have nobody to return to and nowhere else to go.

However, according to the data from the self

completion questionnaire the main reason for leaving home was to seek employment rather than lack of parents, although other reasons did include lack of parents, domestic violence and being asked to leave by their parents (Figure 5 and Table 3).

The youth also thought that the genocide contributed to delinquency more generally because of the large number who had been orphaned, whose parents went into exile or whose parents were/are in prison. Many of these youths they suggested are not only taking care of themselves but also their siblings. The impact of the genocide they suggested is not only the loss of a stable family but the trauma they have experienced. This can lead youth to substance abuse - drug addiction or alcohol dependency, for example. One trainer at rehabilitation centre pointed out that:

A child survivor of genocide is in the house with no parents, or relatives and is overwhelmed by problems and what he does is to begin thinking about drugs to get peace of mind. He also added that children whose parents are in prison are also faced with poverty, trauma, humiliation and some of them cannot go to school, so they end up soliciting for drugs and join street life.

Figure 5: Reasons for Leaving Childhood Home

Table 3: Reason for Leaving Home by Age

Reason Age	Asked by Parents	Look for Employment	Domestic Violence	Peer Pressure	No Parents
>15 Years	2.9	37.4	7.0	4.8	47.9
15>18 Years	2.8	55.9	6.7	7.0	27.5
18>21 Years	1.3	74.0	4.6	5.4	14.8
21 + Years	5.4	68.6	5.1	6.1	14.9

Poverty

We were not able to collect objective data on the economic circumstances of the male youth before admission to the Centre. We did, however, ask them to estimate the level of poverty of their household when they were aged 15 years and immediately before coming to the Centre using the national subjective poverty categories. As Table 4 shows there is little difference in their responses for their household at age 15 years and the situation immediately before they came to the Centre. However, whilst just over 70 per cent see themselves as having been poor they are much less likely than the general population to define their circumstances as making them amongst those living in the poorest circumstances and are more likely to see themselves as vulnerable rather than poor.

Table 4: Subjective Poverty Survey and National

Subjective Poverty	National ¹	Aged 15 Years	Immediately Before Training
Destitute	18	12.2	12.8
Poorest	52.5	7.5	5.1
Poorer	9.8	12.9	13.9
Poor	7.1	44.8	45.5
Vulnerable	4.8	13.8	14.8
Surviving	1.1	7.3	6.3
Other	8.8	1.5	1.7

(¹ Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2007)

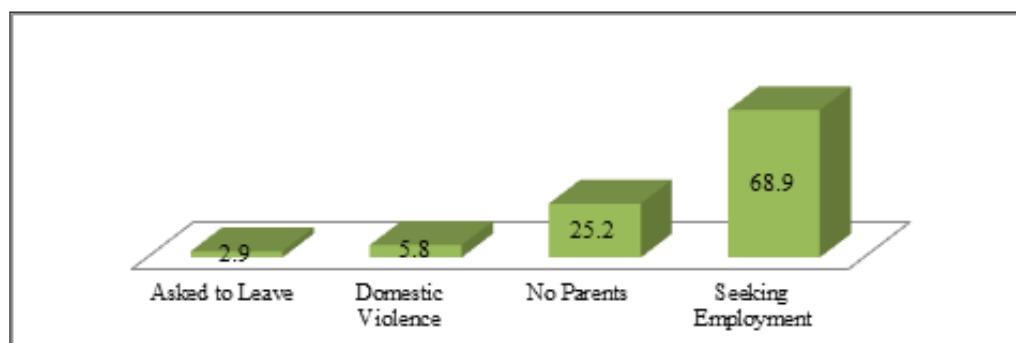
In the focus group discussions poverty was, however, seen as a major cause of delinquency amongst male youth in Rwanda. However, it was an indirect cause as it was lack of financial support that forced them to discontinue their education. Some were forced to drop out of school because of household poverty. Lack of employment opportunities forced them to migrate to Kigali in search of employment. When they arrived in Kigali they had no relatives or friends to support them with accommodation and so ended up on streets.

5.5 Education

The level of education amongst the trainees at the centre was not high. In total nearly 80 per cent had no education and 14.9% had only incom-

plete primary education, and 63.5% respectively. This compares with just over 60 per cent of male youth in general in 2006 (Figure 6) indicating that on average the educational achievement of the trainees was lower than amongst youth in general. In total 66 per cent of the trainees had some basic literacy training in writing and/or reading while at the Centre providing further support for the conclusion that youth sent to the Centre are likely to lack basic education. In the focus group discussions it was clear that the youth felt that lack of education was one of the main reasons they could not get employment or other productive work.

Figure 6: Highest Level of Education, Survey and 2006 Household Survey



(Source: authors calculations 2005/6 Household Survey data)

5.6 Residency and Migration

There is evidence that many of the male youth at the Centre had migrated to urban areas, mainly Kigali. Whilst it is not surprising that a majority lived in Kigali immediately prior to being sent to the Centre as the transit centre they were held in is in Kigali what is notable is that most had not been born in Kigali. Only twenty-seven per cent had been born in Kigali but 82.8 per cent were living in Kigali immediately before being

sent to the Centre.

In 2006 only 12.1 percent of 18-35 year old males reported that they had migrated to find employment, although only half still lived in the same place as they were born in (authors own calculation of 2006 Household Survey data). This suggests that the male youth sent to the Centre were much more likely to have migrated in search of employment than is general amongst male youth (Table 5).

Table 5: District of Residence at Birth and Immediately Prior to Coming to the Centre

Province	District	% Born	% Prior to Entry into Rehabilitation
Kigali City	Nyarugenge	8.4	32.7
	Gasabo	10.4	29.8
	Kicukiro	8.2	20.3
Southern	Nyanza	2.9	0.5
	Gisagara	4.0	0.3
	Nyaruguru	1.7	5.0
	Huye	4.6	0.8
	Nyamagabe	1.7	0.1
	Ruhango	3.6	0.6
	Muhauga	5.2	1.0
Kamonyi	6.5	0.8	

Western	Karongi	3.0	0.4
	Rutsiro	2.2	1.2
	Rubavu	3.4	6.4
	Nyabilhu	1.2	0.2
	Nyororenro	4.0	0.4
	Rusizi	2.8	0.1
	Nyamasheke	4.9	0.3
	Rulindo	5.9	0.9
	Gakenke	2.5	0.2
	Musanze	0.6	0.4
	Burera	0.3	0.1
	Gicumbi	2.0	0.4
	Rwamagana	1.8	0.3
	Nyagatare	0.3	0.1
	Gatsibo	0.3	0.4
	Kayanza	0.8	0.1
	Kirche	1.0	0.3
	Nyoma	1.0	0.2
	Bugesera	2.5	0.4
Other Countries		2.1	

In the focus group discussion youth said that they migrated from rural to urban areas to search for employment. However, when they arrive in urban areas they have nowhere to go and no one to provide them with support and help them find employment. As a result they end up living on the streets and struggling to survive. Life on the streets is tough and they have to develop survival strategies. Lacking parental guidance and control they are at risk of engaging in petty criminal behaviour to survive. As one of the trainees put it:

Life on street is permissive, no one controls you, we used to do whatever we wanted, but life of being chased by police every time was at the same time so risky because most of us did not have legal personal identifications.

They are also at risk of getting caught up in the drug culture and being drawn into prostitution.

5.7 Employment

In a self completion questionnaire it is difficult to capture accurate information to classify respondents' occupational status accurately. However, around 23 per cent of the respondents were engaged in agriculture (subsistence farmers, dependent family workers and paid agricultural work) prior to coming to the Centre and about 47 per cent in petty trading. Only 41 respondents gave answers which suggested they were engaged in no income generating activities, 12 that they had regular employment and four that they were students. The rest seemed to be engaged in casual work, working as domestic workers or engaged in household enterprises.

This picture is confirmed by the informants in the focus group discussions. Many of them said that they were engaged in illegal petty hawking in Kigali before they were taken to Rehabilitation centre. Others said that they were involved in casual labouring such as carrying peoples

shopping, working on construction sites and selling charcoal.

This pattern of employment contrasts sharply with the 2006 Household survey where 85.5 percent of males aged 18 – 35 year reported that they were employed, 8.6 per cent that they were students, 1.6 per cent unemployed and 4.3 per cent other. According to the 2006 Household Survey data 52 per cent of males aged 18-35 years were employed in agriculture (farmer, waged farm work, dependent family worker) 17.8 per cent in nonfarm paid employment, 12.1 per cent running an enterprise and 18.3 per cent working as a dependent family worker in an enterprise. The survey of course underestimates the number of youth who are living on the streets as they are not included in the sample. Nevertheless it is clear that the trainees at the detention centre had a very different patter of income generating activities from the norm and were much less likely to be in stable employment with a regular income.

5.8 Peer Pressure

In the focus group discussions the youth pointed to the important role that peer pressure plays an important part in youth delinquency. Many of them begin to take drugs and heavy drinking of alcohol because of peer pressure. Factors such as the availability of drugs and the absence of social control were important but may reported intimidation and the threat of violence by gangs as a factor. Some youth said that they were intimidated into taking drugs. As one informant put it:

I came back from DRC in 1997 where I had got separated from my parents in 1994. I arrived in Rwanda with no relatives in Kigali. So I joined other children who had similar problems to mine in Gacuriro. We used to get food from people in the neighbourhood that saw us on the streets. After some time, I learned there was a youth training centre in Kimisagara which I joined. But when I was studying in this training centre, one of my roommates asked me to try marijuana and because was afraid being harassed by this boy, I tried it

and then continued to take it. However, we got caught by the centre administration and I lost my training opportunity and had to go back to living on the streets.

5.9 Environment

Young people can also be encouraged to engage in antisocial and other delinquent behaviour because of the environment in which they live. Informants in the focus group discussions also suggested that some youth become drug takers because they live in areas where drugs are grown by their relatives or they selling drugs for people or they live with people who are taking drugs. Some of the youths at the rehabilitation centre reported that they had taken drugs as much as 15 years. The informants were aware of the dangers of drug taking but said that it was easy to become addicted without intending to do so. As one informant in a focus group discussion put it:

Drugs are dangerous. Once you have tried them, it is over. I used to sell drugs for someone and he convinced me one time that I should take drugs because they are good for sleep. I tested once and that that's it! I became an addict and I took drugs for 15 years until when police caught me and brought me here.

5.10 Conclusions

The analysis of the data from the questionnaire and focus group discussions and a comparison of the characteristics of the trainees worth youth more generally in Rwanda has enabled us to identify the main risks for young men becoming disaffected and delinquent. We need to exercise care in assuming that all the men sent to the rehabilitation centre are delinquent and engaged in criminal activities, however. Some may only be guilty of trying to make a living on the streets from petty trading and casual work.

The main risk factors are coming from a broken home, having been brought up in a violent home, poverty, poor educational achievement, lack of opportunities for productive work, environmental influences and peer pressure. It is,

however, the combination of risk factors that is important. They combine to propel young men onto a pathway that can lead to disaffection and delinquency. The central factor is lack of employment opportunities which results in young men migrating to urban areas in search of work. Many of those who migrate lack any support in the urban area when they arrive and they end up living on the streets eking out an existence from petty trading, casual employment and petty crime. They become at risk of drug taking, alcohol abuse and being drawn into prostitution. Young men who come from broken homes and who have had little education are at a disadvantage in securing productive work when they migrate. Poverty and/or coming from a broken home also makes it less likely that young men can become subsistence farmers in their settlement of origin or even have a home they can live in while they work as paid agricultural labourers. Living on the streets exposes the young men to the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse as well as turning to petty crime in order to survive.

6 EVALUATING THE TRAINING PROGRAMME

6.1 Introduction

In this section we consider the training programme. A full evaluation of the programme depends on measuring the outcomes. In other words what happens to graduates from the programme? What we can do here is consider how the rehabilitation and training programme measures up with what research has indicated works. We can also examine the experience of the programme from the perspective of graduates and trainers and the intention of the graduates once they return to the community.

6.2 How Does the Programme Measure Up?

The rehabilitation and training programme seems to be broadly in line with what reviews and evaluations have shown to be the most effective. However, not all the youth selected for the programme seem to be those that the reviews suggest are mostly to benefit from residential training. Also we found little evidence that the trainees are involved in the design of

the programme or given any say in the training they receive.

6.3 Perspectives of the Participants on Graduation

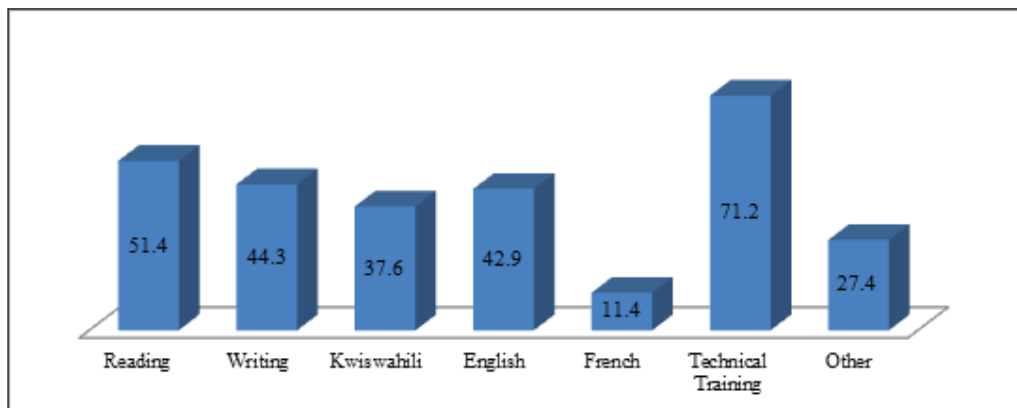
In the focus group discussions the youth said that they had benefitted from the programme. However initially they were resistant and did not understand why they were at the Centre. Typical comments by members of focus group discussions included:

Initially we thought this was the worst prison.

Our major concern was how we could escape and return to Kigali because we spent three months here before vocational training began.

We were caught by surprise; we did not know what we were coming here to do.

Figure 7: Training



The answers to the questions on the self completion questionnaire indicate that the youth had had the opportunity to benefit from general education as well as technical training/skills for employment. Over half the sample indicated that they had had some basic literacy education

and nearly half that they had had training in English. Over 70 per cent indicated that they had had training in skills to help them gain productive work on graduation. What is surprising is that some nearly 30 per cent appeared to have had no training to help them gain employ-

ment on graduation and that only just over a quarter indicated that they had had other education/training given that the Centre includes civic education in its core provision (Figure 7). There was no significant difference by age in likelihood of having had training in any specific area.

In the focus group discussions the men reported having gained vocational skills that would help

them to get employment or up an enterprise on graduation. They also said that they had gained skills in Swahili, English and Kinyarwanda and relationship building and had benefitted from civic education. During their time at the centre they had been able to reflect on their past and plan for their future as well gaining a sense of worth of self and gaining in self confidence (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Testimonies of Changed lives

- *The Rehabilitation centre was a blessing in disguise. We were brought here without knowledge of what we were coming to do, but at the centre we have an opportunity to gain skills.*
- *I learned that youth who live on street lack discipline and waste energy that they would use to help develop their country.*
- *Life is no longer the same. We used to make chaos in the city but now we have gained skills that will enable us to support our selves.*
- *I used to pick-pocket people, but I have come to realize that this behaviour creates a bad image of the country especially when tourists have their property stolen in our country.*
- *We regret our past and wish our friends on the streets could also come here. We gained a lot in terms of changing our behaviour and we urge those who are still on streets to stop bad behaviours.*
- *We have realized that our government is a parent to have brought us here to transform us from drug addiction, fighting and excessive alcohol. Some of us had been in police custody more than four times. We were a mess and we thought we knew it all, but we were in a black out with no respect for people and lacked basic discipline.*

6.4 Graduates Suggestions for Improving the Centre

The youth welcomed the vocational training skills provided by the centre which they thought would enable them to engage in productive work on graduation. However, some of them thought that the training offered in construction at the Centre was too basic and needed to be expanded. Others suggested that the Centre add mechanics and electrical engineering to its curriculum. They felt that there were likely to be good opportunities for employment for graduates trained as mechanics or electricians.

The youth also felt that they needed a better diet. They said that the food they received was insufficient to meet their energy needs and that there should be more variety in the diet. A number of youth also said they would like to be able to talk to their parents on the 'phone while they were at the Centre

6.5 The Trainers Views of the Training Programme

The trainers recognize that government support for the rehabilitation and training delinquent youth is part of an effort to transform street youth

into responsible citizens. They also think that the rehabilitation centre provides an opportunity for educating youth about the dangers of living on the streets and engaging in anti-social behaviour.

However, they said that providing training to the youth at the centre is very difficult and demanding. Most of the trainees are young and keen to learn but they come from a variety of backgrounds and take time to settle down at the Centre. Budgetary constraints make it difficult to offer student centred training so it is difficult to meet the specific needs of trainees. Also the staffing is inadequate.

They felt that the centre lacked adequate trans-

port and that the lack of electricity and clean water was problematic. However, the isolated location makes it easier to control the trainees and reduces absconding.

6.6 Conclusions

The programme provides rehabilitation and training that is in line with good practice guidelines. The trainees are of the view that they have benefited from the programme and learnt skills that will enable them to get employment or start an enterprise on graduation. However, the programme may be under resourced and some of those being sent to the Centre might benefit more from support in the community.

7 REINTEGRATION INTO THE COMMUNITY

7.1 The men's Intentions, Hopes and Ambitions for the Future

The answers to the questionnaire suggest that the trainees were optimistic for their future or at least that they thought neither they nor their colleagues were likely to return to the Centre. Only 12 per cent think that those

start small enterprises.

It is possible to identify three distinct groups among the graduates:

1. The first group comprised men who were engaged in petty trading before they were



who have been at the rehabilitation centre will return and only six per cent think they themselves will return. The main reason given for people being likely to return was not being able to find employment (45 per cent for others and 33 per cent for self).

From the focus group discussions it is clear that the intention of the trainees is to get employment or productive work on graduation. The main challenge they faced was financial. They said they needed funds to enable them to reintegrate into their communities and capital to

admitted to the Centre some of whom are married. This group planned to resume petty trading on their release but also put to use newly acquired skills to start household enterprises. Members of this group wanted reintegration support that could help them begin their small businesses.

2. The second group comprised men that have parents (one parent or two) with land who can provide them with some social and economic support. Their main need is for access to capital so that they can set up

household enterprises using their newly acquired skills.

3. The third group, which is the most vulnerable

group, is comprised of men who have no parents or other relatives they can look to to provide them with support when they graduate. This group were mainly concerned

with how they would meet their basic needs such as shelter, food and clothing when they graduated. They had nowhere to return to begin life. This is the group that is mainly vulnerable and would seem that they have the greatest chance returning to living on the streets.

The men clearly think that reintegration into the community will be challenging and that they need support, and especially financial support if they are to do so. Reintegration will be especially difficult for the third group who lack family or others that can support them with reintegration.

7.2 Support for Reintegration

The reviews of what type of programmes are most likely to reform disaffected and delinquent youth pointed to the importance of trainees maintaining contact with their families, support in the transition back into the community and ongoing support.

During the time the trainees have been at the Centre arrangements have been made to enable them to keep in contact with their families. Maintaining contact with their families is important for effective reintegration on graduation as they are more likely to return to them. However, the trainees were concerned that they did not have access to phones to enable them to speak to their families regularly.

The brief of the Centre indicates that there are plans to provide start-up kits for graduates to help them reintegrate into the community and

get productive work and to provide support for graduates in getting employment. According to the trainees start-up kits are to be supplied and the Ministry of Youth has also signed a memorandum of understanding with districts to support graduates without a family to provide support in getting accommodation and employment. However, the male youth we spoke to did not seem to be aware of the support they were going to be provided with on graduation which was imminent

8 CONCLUSIONS

The literature review suggested that the main pathway to disaffection and delinquency in young men is a lack of a stable family background, poverty, poor educational attainment and lack of employability skills, lack of support in the community and lack of opportunity for employment or income generation activities. A comparison of the trainees at the Centre with male youth in the 2006 Household survey suggests that the youth at the centre differed significantly from male youth generally on all these factors apart from poverty for which we do not have data for the trainees. They were much more likely to come from a broken home and they had, on average, poorer educational achievement. They were less likely to be engaged in stable income generating activities and much more likely to have migrated to seek employment. Migration from rural to urban areas in search of employment frequently results in the migrant living on the streets and vulnerable to engaging in anti social behaviour and delinquency.

The trainees had generally been making a living from hawking and petty trading or casual employment. Many had lived on the streets and had experimented with drugs and alcohol and engaged in petty criminal and antisocial behaviour. It is not clear how many have been

addicted to drugs and been problem drinkers, however.

The rehabilitation centre provided the youth with skills and the trainees saw it as an opportunity to reflect on their past. Most of them developed more positive images of self and gained more self confidence. They hoped to be reintegrated into society and become productive citizens on graduation. Only time will tell if they are able to move back into the community as reformed citizens. Importantly, the research also highlights the need for reintegration support especial capital to invest in starting an enterprise. Therefore it is uncertain whether the skills they have learnt will help them to reintegrate without economic financial support.

The findings also show that a significant minority of the youth claim that they were rounded up by the police because of a lack of legal identification papers, and that is the only reason for them being sent to the rehabilitation centre. If this was the case then it is evident that this group was primarily taken to centre then the selection criteria should be revised to ensure that only those in need of rehabilitation and training are placed at the training centre.

9 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Providing residential rehabilitation is expensive and it is important that both those most likely to benefit are selected in the first

- a graduate tracer study of the young men



place and that there is evaluation of the extent to which the centre is meeting its objectives. The latter can only be ascertained by a follow up study, a graduate tracer survey undertaken about 12 months after graduation. A coherent strategy needs to be put in place to deter young men becoming disaffected and delinquent in the first place and with a range of options for dealing most appropriately with those who do. Graduated treatment and rehabilitation options should be put in place including community based as well as residential options. Care should be taken to ensure that more hardened and habitual offenders are handled separately. Based on our analysis of the research findings and our review of the literature on the training and rehabilitation of disaffected and delinquent youth we would recommend the following

- to ensure the maximum effectiveness of rehabilitation an after-care system to support graduates integration into the community as

productive citizens needs to be put in place;

- a systematic review of the literature on the effectiveness of rehabilitation and training programmes for disaffected and delinquent youth should be carried out and used to further develop the handling of them ;
- a youth crime survey should be carried out nationwide with street youth included in the sample to ascertain the extent of disaffection and delinquency amongst male youth;
- better screening of male youth to be sent to the rehabilitation and training centre should be carried out to ensure that those most likely to need and benefit from residential rehabilitation and training are selected;

- community based alternatives should be explored for those young men for whom it is more appropriate especially those who are married and/or have family to live with;
- youth whose only offence is not having legal identity papers and permits should be provided with papers and, if necessary, community based support;
- training in parenting skills, careers guidance and the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse should be introduced into the school curriculum;
- the potential for introducing community based early preventative intervention measures for at risk and vulnerable children and young people, especially those out-of-school, should be explored;
- local authorities, especially out-side of Kigali, should develop programmes and projects to support young men in the school-work transition to reduce the flow of migrants to Kigali and other urban areas;
- the feasibility of providing reception centres, shelters and support in finding income generating work and permanent homes in Kigali and other urban areas for youth migrating to Kigali should be explored;

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