

IDENTIFYING RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH JUVENILE OFFENDERS' RECIDIVISM IN INDIA: A THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING

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ABSTRACT

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Juvenile offenders' recidivism is considerably a less recognised topic in India. However, it is recently emerging as a major challenge for the Indian juvenile justice system and the society in general. Identifying the risk factors that facilitates recidivism among juveniles can better address the problem through incorporating successful rehabilitative measures. Intervening with the problem of juvenile recidivism is also important for the reason that the anti-social behaviour of juveniles does not persist throughout adulthood. The efficacy of the correctional programs undertaken in different correctional agencies and institutions for the offenders can also be identified while intervening into the problem. Prior research also shows that juvenile delinquents if not intervene effectively, later turns into adult hardened criminals. Therefore, to address the growing rate of adult criminal activity, the juvenile criminal activity needs to be prevented. Thus, the purpose of this study is to identify the major risk factors responsible for reentry of juveniles into juvenile institutions and intervene in order to help combat juvenile offenders' recidivism. The study found that better rehabilitation programs designed for juvenile offenders reduce the recidivism rate. The paper is descriptive in nature and relies on secondary sources of data. This study would lead to the understanding of the background variables for the reason of juvenile offenders' recidivism in India. It will also be useful for preventing juvenile offenders' recidivism in the country and will consequently serve as a way of updating the literature on the topic.

Keywords: Recidivism; juvenile offenders; crime; risk factors

1. INTRODUCTION

The problem of juvenile offenders' recidivism is a global concern. Juvenile offenders' recidivism is considered particularly as a difficult problem (Mallet, 2013), which has high risk and can affect largely to the overall society as a whole. However, there is no uniform policy of dealing with the problem of juvenile offenders' recidivism, as different countries and states deal with this problem in varied ways. It is also seen that there is little or no consensus on the best strategies to reduce recidivism (McMasters, 2015). Also, the rate of recidivism can differ from country to country and can be considered secondary to many factors (Butorac et al., 2017). There exist different legislations in different countries to address this problem, though the

procedure for addressing may vary from country to country, and from state to state. However, India does not have a separate legislation exclusively for dealing with juvenile offenders' recidivists. In India, recidivism among juvenile offenders is still a less recognised topic though it has been emerging as a challenge for the juvenile justice system and the society in general. According to the statistics displayed by the National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB), the number of juvenile recidivism has been increasing in the country. As per the NCRB data, the number of juvenile arrest in the year 2016 was a staggering number of 44,171. The number shot up to 60,160 in the succeeding year and further increased to 65,452 in 2018. The problem heightens when the country does not have a separate provision in its existing laws for dealing with the problem of juvenile recidivism. The growing rate of recidivism can in a way be reflective of the failure of the justice system and the ineffectiveness of the various rehabilitative programs. Therefore, recognising the significant causes of the problem has become a ground of concern. Identifying the risk factors that facilitate recidivism among juveniles can better address the problem by incorporating successful rehabilitative measures. Intervening with the problem of juvenile recidivism becomes important so that the anti-social behaviour of juveniles does not persist throughout adulthood (Moffitt, 2006) and thereby for improving public safety. Research on recidivism is also crucial for the reason to identify the efficacy of the correctional programs undertaken in different correctional agencies and institutions for the offenders (Mandel et al., 1965; James, 2015). Considerable evidence also shows that adult hardened criminals begin their criminal careers as juveniles (Farrington, 1992). Therefore, to address adult criminal involvement and to save the society from any further criminal activities, juvenile criminal activity needs to be prevented. Thus, the purpose of this study is to identify the major risk factors responsible for the reentry of juveniles into juvenile institutions and intervene in order to help combat juvenile offenders' recidivism.

2. CONCEPT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS' RECIDIVISM

There has been a lack of consensus in defining the concept of recidivism (Mandel et al., 1965). The term "recidivism", a derivative from the Latin word "*recidere*" which means to fall back. The word "*recide*" appeared in a 1609 version of the Bible, found its first uses in a German publication Pali Mali in 1886, "... recidivism is largely represented by low foreheads, the scowling brows and cunning eyes." In the recent times, recidivism implies chronic criminal behaviour which may lead to several arrests and re-imprisonment of a person (Kalia, 2001).

A recidivist is a person who commits recidivism a term used for habitual criminals, repeaters, career criminals or hardened criminals. Juvenile offenders' recidivism can be a reference to a group of juvenile criminals who often repeat offence over time despite different rehabilitation program provided to them time and again. It is the re-arrest or reconviction of a prior offender (James, 2015), rather than a new separate event (Glaze and Kaeble, 2014) within a particular period. "Juvenile offenders' recidivism" or "recidivism" can include several outcomes such as re-arrest, re-imprisonment and reconviction. Recidivism is an important measure to identify how far a prison or a rehabilitative system is effective and has been able to reintegrate offenders successfully into the community (James, 2015). Thus, the rate of recidivism reflects the degree to which released offenders have been reformed and identifies the effectiveness of a correctional program in reintegrating inmates into the mainstream society.

3. THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS' RECIDIVISM

Understanding crime and anti-social activities is not a recent effort as it has existed since ancient times (Bartol and Bartol, 1986). Different theorists, philosophers and many other concerned groups had tried to explain the reason or the motivational forces which compel people to get involved in criminal activities. Eminent theorists like Marx and Engels (1847) and Durkheim (1893) contributed to explaining different forms of deviant behaviour. The Marxist approach believes that deviance is any kind of behaviour that differs from the societal norm and is considered disrespectful and dangerous to society. According to the Functional approach of Durkheim (1893), crime is essential for the maintenance of a healthy society, serving to identify and validate what was morally acceptable in society. The approach further argues that the lack of adequate socialisation is responsible for an individual's involvement in criminal activity.

A theory put forwarded by Robert Agnew known as "General Strain Theory" describes three categories of strain, which increases the likelihood of negative emotions like anger and frustration that are responsible for an individual's association in any offending (Agnew, 1992; 2001). These categories include failure to achieve positively valued goals; removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual; and strain as a result

of negative stimuli (Agnew, 2001). Thus according to this theory, any released offenders may repeat offences if he/she faces or come into contact with these strains. Another theory known as “Anomie Theory”, as the precursor of General Strain Theory argues that the pressures existing in the society and attitudes are the major influences on deviant behaviour (Agnew, 1992). Anomie Theory was put forwarded by Emile Durkheim to describe a condition of normlessness and deregulation that arises in society. An individual suffering from this kind of anomie (social deregulation and normlessness) facilitates him to exhibit criminal behaviour. Thus, the theory argues that the breakdown of social norms in society led people to get involved in criminal behaviour.

Further, Social Learning Theory stresses the role of the environment and the social models for an individual's learning of criminal behaviour. According to this theory, the behaviour of any kind learnt by individuals is from one another through observation, imitation and modelling (Bandura and McClelland, 1977). Thus, by interacting and imitating a person having criminal records, another person can develop and continue criminal activities.

Furthermore, another theory known as “Labeling Theory” developed and popularised during the 1960s by Howard S. Becker posits that any individual's behaviour and identities are moulded by how the society labels him/her (Crossman, 2020). This societal response can allow the individual to engage in deviant behaviour. For instance, when society labels an individual as deviant, they are more likely to engage in that labelled deviant criminal behaviour. This labelling trait can affect an individual's social identity, which may continue throughout his/her lifetime (Wright and McNeal, 2003).

During the earlier period, punishment, either deterrence or retribution, was considered as a sole method to deal with people that get involved in crimes and offences. However, it was only recently that the humanitarian approach of treatment gained identification and was used as implementation to fix the problems of juvenile offenders. Since the identification of humanitarian attitude, reformative measures of treatment have been given preferences over punishment, to address the problem of juvenile offenders.

4. THE LITERATURE ON JUVENILE RECIDIVISM

Literature review reveals that there are virtually minimal studies available on the topic of juvenile offenders' recidivism in India. However, a very brief review available in both the international and national level on juvenile offenders' recidivism goes as follows:

Calleja et al. (2016) in the article *Reducing Juvenile Recidivism through Specialized Reentry Services: A Second Chance Act Project* published in OJJDP Journal of Juvenile Justice found that a specialized reentry programming designed particularly for juvenile offenders is more successful than a standard reentry service. The study also suggests guidance by the assessment of mental health and substance use treatment needs for the specialised reentry program for juvenile offenders. The result of their study further finds that nonsexual offenders' youth are more than six times more probable than sexual offenders' youth to repeat offence.

Mallet (2013) in the article *Factors Related to Recidivism for Youthful Offenders* published in Social Work Faculty Publications found that there are different expected and unexpected variables that significantly predicts juvenile offenders' recidivism placement. Predictive (expected) factors include more likely with a previous diagnosis of conduct disorder, a self-reported previous suicide attempt, those who were older, and those who had an increased number of court offences. While, on the contrary, predictive factors that made recidivism less likely include race, a previous attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder diagnosis, and a misdemeanor conviction.

Hayward (2007) in the study *Situational Crime Prevention and its Discontents: Rational Choice Theory Versus the “Culture of Now”* published in Social Policy and Administration, argues about the youth. According to Hayward, the youth inclining to engage in different kinds of criminal activities or certain forms of criminal decision-making ‘strategies’ may be the by-product of a series of subjectivities and emotions that reflect the material values and cultural logic associated with late modern consumerism.

Carcano (2016) in her study *Recidivism in the State of California* published in Capstone Projects and Master's Theses found that teenagers commit crimes because of many factors that have or had happened to them earlier. These factors include alcohol and drug use, depression, anxiety, mental illness, homeless individual, lack of support from family, single parent, abusive parent, traumatic experiences and suicidal ideation. A consistent correlation between alcohol and drug use was quite common with high recidivism rates.

Steiner et al. (1999) in their study *Personality Traits and their Relationship to Juvenile Recidivism* published in the Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry found that personality of an individual influence criminal activity and chances of recidivism in the future. They studied personality traits and their relationship to juvenile delinquency and juvenile recidivism in 481 incarcerated juvenile delinquents. Through the questionnaires assessing distress and restraint relating to personality traits, they

found that there is a significant relationship between self-reported levels of distress and restraint relating to personality traits and prior criminal behaviour, as well as behaviour during incarceration.

Mennis and Harris (2011) in their study *Contagion and Repeat Offending among Urban Juvenile Delinquents* investigated the role of repeat offending and spatial contagion in the juvenile delinquency recidivism. They used a database of 7,166 male juvenile offenders sent to community-based programs by the Family Court of Philadelphia and found that parental criminality records, ethnicity and prior contact with the juvenile justice system of an individual bring the likelihood of recidivism. The study also finds evidence of repeat offending among juvenile delinquents, particularly for drug offenders.

Singh and Bose (1980) in their study *Resolution of the Etiology of Persistence in Criminal Habits* found that large family composition; inter-personal conflicts environment; the deprivation of adequate socio-economic and cultural background; the constant labelling of an individual as a deviant; rejection by the larger society led persons to become members of deviant and criminal subcultures. They further argued that the deprived or the less privileged persons try to find the acceptance and support denied to them by the larger society by getting themselves involved in criminal activities.

5. RISK FACTORS OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS' RECIDIVISM

Risk factors are those variables that are used by the criminologists to predict future outcomes on juvenile recidivism (Farrington and Welsh, 2007). A large number of variables act as risk factors for juvenile offenders' recidivism. Number of factors, such as lack of access to education, employment or job opportunity, mental health, substance abuse and experiences of growth limitations affects recidivism (Lockwood et al., 2012; Polaschek, 2012). The major risk factors that are discussed in the present paper include substance abuse, lack of employment, peer influence, stigmatisation, environmental factors and rehabilitation program. Each of these factors may individually or cumulatively impact increases juvenile offenders' recidivism.

5.1 Substance abuse and recidivism

Substance abuse or substance uses have substantial risk factors for juvenile offenders' recidivism (Sealock and Manesse, 2012). Juvenile offenders having the previous record of substance abuse are more likely to be engaged in anti-social behaviour, and their recidivism rates are higher than juveniles with no record of substance use or substance abuse (Shaffer et al., 2011; Stahler et al., 2013). Research states that recidivism and substance use are endogenous as they can affect each other throughout reentry. The use of a substance can facilitate continuity of criminal activity, and involvement in criminal activity can enable a person to use substances. Mulvey et al. (2010) found that there are linkages between offending and substance use; their causes are reciprocal and are fueled by each other. Research shows that multiple cases in which adolescents in the juvenile justice system have problems with substance use, and their primary causes are their involvement with alcohol and drugs. However, it does not indicate that the substance use of juvenile offenders always leads to criminal activity and vice-versa (VanderWaal et al., 2001). However, both the variables are found to be strongly connected to each other by the researchers (VanderWaal et al., 2001); and they expects that the treatment for substance use can reduce offending if the treatment approaches reflect best standards of practice (Mulvey et al., 2010).

5.2 Lack of employment and recidivism

Lack of employment opportunities or unemployment has a linkage with juvenile offenders' recidivism (Hagan, 1993; Raphael and Winter-Ebmer, 2001), and several studies have tracked the linkage. Employment serves as a key factor in stabilising a person's life after release from incarceration and a boost which helps avoid falling back into the same criminal behaviour. Having stable employment or good job stability can decrease the likelihood of criminal activities among youth. Being employed makes a person committed towards his/her job and other pro-social values; therefore, there is a lesser chance for him/her to initiate any criminal activities (Sampson and Laub, 1993; Sampson and Laub, 2005; Kassem, 2017). Ex-offenders having trouble finding jobs, including lack of opportunity, cumulative disadvantage, and unstable employment can significantly increase their risk of reoffending and increases recidivism rates overall (Sampson and Laub, 2005; Apel and Sweeten, 2010). Wilson et al. (2000), in their study, found that offenders participating in career programs during incarceration are less likely to recidivate and can significantly increase later employment. People who are unemployed and at the same time are not seeking any work to engage themselves are found to be the most likely to commit crimes like, robbery or burglary (Apel and Sweeten, 2010). Further, denying employment to ex-offenders for any reason can make the person repeat criminal acts. A person struggling to get employment before offending due to its lack of education and other opportunity and witnessing different barriers to employment and any job opportunities after release from incarceration can significantly increase

the rate of recidivism (Apel and Sweeten, 2010; Schmitt and Warner, 2010).

5.3 Peer influence and recidivism

Considerable evidence supports that anti-social behaviour or any deviant behaviour of an individual is strongly related to peer influence. Keeping company with deviant peers, or exposure to and interaction with deviant peers significantly increases the likelihood of an individual's deviant activities (Smith et al., 2005). Spending more time with deviant peers, attachment or adherence to them, and experiencing pressure from a peer for deviance behaviour may heighten the possibility of delinquent behaviour of a person (Hoge et al., 1994). Peer influence has a particularly strong relationship to delinquency in the context of family-related conflict. For instance, adolescents who have a lack of respect for their parents and not adhering to them are prone to any antisocial behaviour (Simons et al., 1991). A youth's preference for spending time with peer members having criminal records rather than spending time with family members is a warning sign of the youth's involvement in deviance activity. For understanding how crime led to dispersion, Bayer et al. (2009) made an analysis based on 8,000 individuals serving time in 169 juvenile correctional facilities during two years. They found from the study that any existing criminal behaviour, reinforced by peer influence, and peers having shared histories of criminal behaviour lead to the expansion of criminal activities and creation of criminal networks. Exposure to peers with earlier experience of involvement in a particular crime can increase an individual's tendency to recidivate in a crime category in which the individual has prior experience.

5.4 Stigmatisation and recidivism

Stigmatisation is the action of describing or regarding something or someone as unworthy, undesirable and devalued. It is often replaced with the words "branding" or "labeling". An influential sociologist of the 20th century, Erving Goffman (1963), defined "*stigma*" as a "special kind of gap between virtual social identity and actual social identity". When a person is perceived and labelled as different from other members of the society, the rest of the people will consider him/her as different and the person will remain stigmatised. In this process, the person will be devalued and looked down by the rest of society, which ultimately may facilitate the person to recommit offences. Recidivism acts as a response to the devaluation created by the society towards the person. Stigma, though sometimes conceptualized as a deterrent and a mechanism of social control, may also have a rebound effect on society by causing a rise in recidivism rates rather than dropping its rate (Tan et al., 2016). Youth that are released from detention centers often becomes subjects to significant stigma (McDaniel, 2017). They face different mental disorders, experiences trauma, abuse, anxiety and depression, which therefore may affect the behaviour of the individual. Mental disorder can be one of the predictors of criminal behaviour such as low and regrettable decision making, and sometimes, unlawful actions (McDaniel, 2017). Liberman et al. (2014), in their longitudinal study of labelling effects of first juvenile arrests, found that first arrests increase both the likelihood of subsequent offending and arrest. Public rejections (Berry and Eigenber, 2003), negative opinions and differential societal response (Liberman et al., 2014) can lead to mental disorders, social isolation and distress of an individual and thereby contribute to recidivism and re-arrest (Crisp et al., 2000).

5.5 Environmental factors and recidivism

Environmental factor also has a significant role in determining and influencing the lives of youth. Some children are born into a supportive and well-resourced family and environment that enables them to be having all opportunities to be successful, while others are less fortunate enough to have these facilities. Youth belonging to a family who cannot afford minimum requirements of living tends to re-offend in order to meet these needs. The socio-economic status of the juvenile's state or the place where he/she resides is also found to be affecting recidivism. Juveniles living in a state with a higher per capita income may also modestly improve recidivism rates. Children that belonged to a disadvantaged area are more prone to recidivate and commit serious offence in compared to children located in positive socio-economic environment (Yan, 2009). Thus, the environment within which a child is raised can also be responsible for his/her participation and nonparticipation in criminal activities.

5.6 Rehabilitation program and recidivism

The rehabilitation program and policies designed for juvenile offenders play an important role in increasing or reducing the rate of juvenile recidivism. An effective program would lower the rate of recidivism among juveniles. Marier and Reyes (2014) found that ex-offenders who used supportive rehabilitative services have improved quality of life and also experiences less recidivism post-release. An inadequate rehabilitation program can create difficulty for the ex-offenders while finding a job after release, which later may facilitate them to recidivate offence. If no proper work skills and trainings are taught during their incarceration period, there will be a very little opportunity for them to successfully reintegrate into the community. Visher et al. (2008) conducted a study to observe the amount of time taken to find a job for the released prisoners. They

found that individuals who had participated in job training programs had a better chance for employment opportunities after release as compared to individuals without these training facilities. It was further found that prisoners with weak employment and educational histories needed additional assistance to find a job. Thus, they highlighted the importance of effective rehabilitation programs.

6. MEASURING RECIDIVISM

In the criminal justice system, recidivism serves as a key indicator of success and failure for any juvenile correctional programs. It is generally measured by criminal acts of a person that resulted in re-arrest, reconviction, and the re-incarceration of the offender over a specified period of time (Butorac et al., 2017). However, the most used measurement of juvenile recidivism within juvenile justice system is occurrences of re-arrest (Harris et al., 2011). Recidivism or reoffending is considered as a major overall performance measurement or indicator for the effectiveness of any juvenile justice system. The efficacy of rehabilitative programs that are provided in the juvenile institutions could be measured by the increasing and decreasing rate of juvenile offenders' recidivism.

7. COUNTERING JUVENILE OFFENDERS' RECIDIVISM

Different countries deal with the problem of juvenile offenders' recidivism in different ways. However, there is no separate legislation or amendments in India to deal with this problem. The Indian juvenile justice system, after various amendments, has presented a comprehensive legislation to deal with the problem of juvenile offenders. The amended legislation or the current legislation that takes care of the problem related to juvenile offenders in India is named as The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015. However, this amended legislation though included many essential provisions relating to children in India; however, it fails to cover the issue of juvenile recidivism within its jurisdiction. Juvenile offenders' recidivists in India are rehabilitated together with normal juvenile offenders in the same rehabilitative program. Thus, it reveals that the Indian juvenile justice system has not yet recognised the severity of the problem and therefore, it has little consensus towards countering juvenile offenders' recidivism.

The present study had identified different risk factors that influence juvenile offenders' recidivism. Each of the risk factors identified can individually and collectively responsible for influencing juvenile recidivism. As put forwarded by the Marxist and Functional approach, crime and deviance differs from societal norms and lack of socialisation may lead an individual to criminal activity. Both these theories argue that socialisation and societal norms are important for an individual to shape his/her behaviour. Activities of juvenile, such as substance abuse which is against social norms can also serve as a risk factor for its engagement in criminal action in the country. Similarly, the Strain Theory and the Anomie Theory put forwarded in the paper argue that different kind of strains and pressures existing in society influences deviant behaviour. Strain released due to unemployment and lesser job opportunities can serve as risk factors for recidivism. Juveniles having trouble finding jobs post-incarceration can significantly increase their risk of reoffending. Also, strain and pressure existing due to poor environment and poverty are found affecting recidivism. Additionally, the Social Learning Theory advocates that individual learns through interactions and imitating another individual. Juvenile's interactions with peer groups and their criminal influences are also responsible for recidivism. Peer influence can therefore serve as one of the major risk factors for recidivism. Lastly, the Labelling Theory argues that society labels an individual as criminal, and this societal response allows the individual to continue its criminal activity. Constant public rejections and negative opinions from society stigmatised the individual which later facilitate him to re-offend. Thus, all the theories put forwarded in the present paper are found to be relevant in identifying the risk factors of juvenile offenders' recidivism in India.

The issue of juvenile offenders' recidivism is an emerging challenge in India. Consequently, the need for countering the problem has also become important. Programs and policies that emphasise more on rehabilitation, treatment and rendering different support services to the juvenile offenders are likely to reduce juvenile offenders' recidivism. Filling-up the gaps in existing programs and finding the right support system to understand the minds and motives of juvenile offenders is one of the primary responsibilities that any juvenile justice system is required to ensure. Considering the life experiences of the juveniles that may have led to their involvement in criminal activities and consequently, an effective intervention can counter the growth rate to a great extent. However, effective reentry program and a sound support system can also help them to get reintegrate into the society successfully. Arrangement of different programs related to self-employment can help the juvenile from falling back into the same criminal activities. Different professional or short term courses can become a part of the rehabilitation centres to groom the juvenile to take up different jobs such as that of a

plumber, electrician, cook and more. Appropriate counselling services (individual or group counselling) and different therapeutic programs specially designed to deal with the juvenile offenders' recidivists can help them to successfully reintegrate into the society. Different counselling programs such as behaviour counselling, social skills related counselling, inter/intrapersonal skills related counselling and counselling to treat substance abuse behaviour (Dadashazar, 2017) can be offered to the juvenile offenders' during their incarceration. Training and counselling programs on how to behave and live in a society can surely help the juveniles to modify their behaviours. Mental health services like anger management can also be arranged in correctional centres to reform the juvenile offenders. Motivation and trust on the part of the juvenile offenders can play an important role in changing their behaviour. Studies have also shown that recidivism rates have high correlation with low levels of academic performance. Children having poor academic outcomes can negatively affect his/her behavior, and early behavioral problems can lead to poor academic outcomes (Katsiyannis et al., 2008). Thus, implementing a sound academic environment in the rehabilitative programs can relatively reduce the rate of juvenile offenders' recidivism.

The study also identifies after-care programming as a priority for countering this problem. Developing a comprehensive after-care model is of utmost importance in the Indian juvenile justice system. Juvenile offenders' often face problems after moving out from juvenile institutions. Therefore, to address this, different services and facilities are needed to be provided to facilitate the ex-offenders' more successful transitions to society following incarceration. However, more researches are encouraged to explore and identify the contributing different risk factors in reference to reducing juvenile offenders' recidivism and thereby to counter the growing rate of juvenile recidivist.

Furthermore, different correctional programs or other alternatives need to be identified to address the issue of juvenile offenders' recidivism in India. Programs like, "Pet keeping and human health" (Davila-Centeno, 2016) which is gaining popularity in the contemporary rehabilitative programs, can also be incorporated. Correctional facility for juvenile offenders in India can identify this positive relationship between "pet keeping and human health" to reform the behaviour of offenders, and include it in its various rehabilitative programs designed for them. Incorporating Prison-based Animal Programs (PAPs) into rehabilitative programs in India can also help in improving the disciplinary behaviour of the juvenile offenders. Many countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada are found to have implemented PAPs (Turner et al., 2007). In PAPs, variety of animals is included in the correctional program to improve the behaviour of the offenders. However, more research on the PAPs is encouraged in order to identify its effectiveness.

8. CONCLUSION

Juvenile offenders' recidivism can have a significant impact on the society as a whole. In India, juvenile offenders are found to be released from the juvenile institutions without having any adequate skills for survival in the society, thereby making them troublesome which also increase the probabilities of repeating crimes after their release. The services and care given them are identified insufficient and sub-standard (Kumari, 2010). Thus, they are not given the promised care (Kumari, 2010). In order to stop the cycle of juvenile offenders' recidivism, the most important thing to ensure is that the rehabilitative programs designed for juvenile offenders in juvenile institutions need to be very effective. Different skill development programs on need-based as well as a good counseling need to be guaranteed to stop the cycle. There may be plenty of obstacles that a former prisoner encounters when looking for work. As a result, preparing them to overcome these obstacles should be a crucial juvenile justice system priority. The effectiveness of the existing correctional facility needs to be tested regularly and opt for an alternative, if it requires, for addressing the growing rate of juvenile offenders' recidivism in India. Thus, the juvenile justice system in India is expected to have separate provisions to deal with juvenile offenders' recidivist, rather than rehabilitating them together with the other juvenile offenders. By doing this, the recidivist will get a distinctive chance to reform themselves and become a useful member of the society.

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