

Juvenile Justice System and the Rehabilitation of Juveniles in Mardan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

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Abstract:

The purpose of this paper is to delineate the contextual realities related to the implementation of juvenile justice system for the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents in Mardan, Pakistan. The focus of the study is to analyze Juvenile Justice System Ordinance 2000 (hereafter JJSO 2000) with reference to the obstacles in the way of its proper implementation. Principally, the Ordinance and its Rules guarantee the rehabilitation of juveniles but practically the laws relating to juvenile justice are not implemented so far. This is a qualitative research for which data was collected through participant observations, in-depth interviews and focused group discussions. The data was collected from the officials of all agencies responsible for the implementation of Juvenile Justice System including police, judiciary, probation and prison. The analysis of empirical data indicates that Juvenile Justice System Ordinance is not implemented with true spirit and resultantly the juveniles are not properly rehabilitated.

Keywords: Juveniles, Rehabilitation, Police, Judiciary, Probation, Prison, Ordinance, Rules, Recidivism

I. Introduction

“Rehabilitation is a central goal of the correctional system. This goal rests on the assumption that individuals can be treated and desist from crime” (Huebner and Inzana 2020). To rehabilitate juveniles, the first house was established in 1825 in New York known as the “House of Refuge” (Carter, Glaser and Wilkins, 1977:25). “Prior to the establishment of the juvenile justice system, children were treated the same way as adults in terms of criminal processing. Children were considered as “imperfect” adults or “adults in miniature.” They were held to the same standards of behavior as adults” (Ave, 2018:8). However, through time it was realized by the social reformers and philosophers that juvenile delinquents are sick and can be cured by treatment rather than physical punishment. Hence, the practice was initiated to place juveniles separately from adult criminals. It was argued that juveniles who came in conflict with the law are stumbled and de-tracked. For them, rehabilitation is indispensable to make them law abiding citizen (Sandhu and Heasley, 1981).

According to Juvenile Justice System Ordinance 2000 and Prison Rule of Pakistan 1978 juvenile is a person who has violated the law and has not attained the age of eighteen years (GoP, 2000 and Jeelani, 1999). Since 2000, Pakistan is trying to stimulate and asserts the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. Hence, the Juvenile Justice System Ordinance was promulgated in 2000. The ordinance guarantees the proper rehabilitation of juveniles. But the increasing rate of juvenile delinquency deepens the observation that juveniles are not properly rehabilitated. This research aims to find out that why the laws relating to the rehabilitation of juveniles are not properly implemented in District Mardan, Pakistan?

II. Literature Review

Juvenile delinquency exists worldwide and “the problem of juvenile delinquency is becoming more complicated and universal, and crime prevention programs are either unequipped to deal with the present realities or do not exist” (World Youth Report, 2003: 190). It is reflected in Lawrance (2008, p. 21) that “The Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents in New York advocated for the separation of juvenile and adult offenders (Krisberg, 2005, p. 27), and in 1825 the New York House of Refuge was established to take independent, neglected, and delinquent youths”. In addition, other houses were established as depicted by Granger (2018, p. 28), “For example, the city of Philadelphia established the separate House of Refuge for Colored Juvenile Delinquents in 1849, alongside its original house or refuge for whites only, with significantly longer lengths of stay for black children compared with white children” (Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969, 2009; Ward, 2012). Further as mentioned in Lawrence (2008, p. 21) that “Other houses of refuge in Boston and Philadelphia were soon established, and these were followed shortly thereafter by reform schools for vagrant and delinquent juveniles. State reform schools opened in Massachusetts in 1847, in New York in 1853, in Ohio in 1857; and the first State Industrial School for Girls was opened in Massachusetts in 1856” (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1976, p. 65).

In the United States about five lac juveniles are arrested annually where seventy percent of them are released with parents. The remaining thirty percent are passed through the process of juvenile justice system. Juveniles are arrested by the juvenile unit of police. They are housed in the separate place built for them. Furthermore, they are passed through three steps i.e. intake, adjudication and disposition (Samaha, 1978; Inciardi, 2005). Those convicted in minor cases are released under the supervision of probation officers until the delinquents are effectively rehabilitated. Those who are convicted in heinous offences are subject to the juvenile proceedings (Carter, Glaser and Willkins, 1977). Currently, some three thousand juvenile courts are established in all States of America. Juveniles are treated in the way as reflected in the law and it is seldom that they get the help of criminal courts in cases when the numbers of juveniles are increased and the juvenile courts are unable to resolve their cases properly (Inciardi, 2005).

Juvenile Justice System of Scotland is working in the light of Children Act of Scotland 1975. The Act define juvenile as a person who has violated the law and has not attained the age of sixteen years. An official designated as reporter administrates the Scottish juvenile justice system and he makes decisions about juvenile processing and the police interference is minimal (Janeksela, 1999 and Janeksela, 1991).

The Juvenile Justice System of Great Britain is regulated by the Children and Young Persons Act of Great Britain 1969. The Act defines a juvenile as a person who has committed an offense and his age is sixteen years or below. In Great Britain civil proceedings are practiced in cases of juveniles rather than court proceedings. The aim behind the practice of civil proceedings is this that they do not want to get the juvenile realize that he has committed an offense. In contrast, they assure the juvenile that he has mistakenly done this act due to which he is subjected to this process (Samaha, 1978).

India has a long history of rehabilitating juveniles. In the pre-independence era, the Lord Cornwallis established “Ragged Schools” for housing and treatment of juveniles. Several acts were passed for rehabilitation of juveniles in India which includes Apprentices Act 1850, Reformatory School Act 1876, Act of Criminal Procedure 1898, Indian Children Act 1919 and the currently prevailing Juvenile Justice Act 2000. This Act was amended several times in 2006, 2007 and 2011 respectively. Though there are several acts and laws for juveniles but still the delinquency rate is increasing day by day. (Dey, 2014; Agarwal, 2015).

Pakistan is having a comprehensive juvenile justice system as reflected in JJSO-2000. This study is carried out to highlight the gaps between the juvenile justice system as reflected in the law and its practical implementation.

III. Methodology

In this qualitative research the implementation of JJSO is evaluated to see the gap between theory and practice. The tools used for the collection of primary data include rapport building, interview, focused group discussions (hereafter, FGD’s) and observation. The respondents include police officials, probation officer, judges, prison administration, lawyers and juveniles. Interviews including formal, informal and semi-structured interviews were used for the collection of primary data. Information were collected from five Station House Officers and *Muharrars* of the police stations located in Mardan city to highlight the actual role of police in Juvenile Justice System and the obstacles they face in the implementation of juvenile justice system. Moreover, one probation officer was interviewed to highlight his actual role in juvenile justice system and the hurdles he was facing. Beside this, four judges were interviewed who deal the cases of juveniles including three judicial magistrates (one female and two male) and a judge of juvenile court (District and Session Judge). Seven lawyers, who were appointed as legal assistants for juveniles were interviewed. In prison administration, the superintendent prison, deputy superintendent, in-charge (Assistant Sub-Inspector) of the juvenile’s house (*Munda Khana*) and four constables, who accompanied the in-charge, were interviewed to analyze the prison role in the implementation of juvenile justice system. Finally, all the seventy juveniles who were housed in *Mundakhana* were interviewed. The aim behind interviewing them was to know about the whole process through which the juveniles were passed and to cross check the data collected from official employees and juveniles. A total of five focused group discussions were carried out one each with lawyers, *Munda khana* administration and three with juveniles. The focused group discussion was conducted with seven lawyers. The FGD with *Munda khana* administration was comprised of five persons including the warden of *Mundakhana* and constables who accompany warden. There are three barracks of juveniles and one group discussion was conducted in each barrack. This technique was

used to cross check the data collected through other tools. Observation helped the researchers to see the physical condition of police stations, courts, and prison.

IV. Findings

The findings of this research reflect that police, judiciary, probation and prison administration did not play their actual role which results in the in-effectiveness of the rehabilitation process planned for juveniles. The police deal the arrested juveniles in the same way as adult criminals. None of the police official has contacted the parents, guardian of juveniles or the concerned probation officer after the arrest of a juvenile. Five arrested juveniles were manhandled, handcuffed, tortured and misbehaved in the police stations. They were housed with adult criminals in cells. One of the five arrested juveniles was hanged upside down and water was poured in his nose. Two juveniles arrested in theft cases were subjected to unlawful detention for twelve and four days. The police underestimate the probation officer. Three of the Station House Officers and five *Muharrars* arrogantly viewed that probation officer has nothing to do with juveniles. This is the duty of police to deal with them. The police were unaware of the legislation reflected in juvenile justice system and they were found ignorant of their role as mentioned in JJSO. The political intervention in police matters was also noted which negatively affect the implementation of JJS. A juvenile was tortured and housed for four days in police station due to political intervention from the opponent side. Though there are problems like lack of trained police, separate detention facilities in police stations which adversely affect the performance of police but at the same time the police were found in misuse of their powers. The probation officer was found concerned about his own issues relating to obstacles preventing them to play his actual role. His concerns were about scarcity of man power, underestimation by police; conveyance facilities and restriction over frequent visits to prison to see the juveniles. The judiciary also did not play their actual role. There was not a single separate juvenile court, juveniles were trial in the criminal courts, they dispose of the cases of juveniles using their discretion and they hesitate to invite a probation officer for hearing. The judges normally appoint untrained legal assistants and they do not discourage the police for ill treatment of juveniles. Several obstacles the judges faced in the way of effective delivery including scarcity of the number of judges, lack of infrastructure, burden of cases, and financial problems in the appointment of legal assistants. Not a single legal assistant (Lawyer) was appointed for juveniles who could fulfill the eligibility criteria as legal assistant. Finally, the role of prison administration is not satisfactory due to which juveniles are not properly rehabilitated. None of the juvenile was medically checked up nor thoroughly searched during admission to prison. The use of snuff (*naswaar*) and cigarettes was very common in *Mundakhana*. Eleven juveniles were observed using snuff and two of them were addicts of smoking. Adult prisoners of the age of sixty years were housed, one in each three-juvenile barracks. Two adult prisoners accused of murder cases whose ages were above twenty years were housed in juvenile barracks on the basis of political interference. Two handsome adults were housed in juvenile's barracks due to the fear of being sexually assaulted in adult prisoners' barracks. All of the juveniles were observed wasting their time as they were lacking technical or vocational training facility. There were no arrangements of teaching formal education to the juveniles. Juveniles were put to labor during imprisonment. Four to six juveniles were observed during each visit busy in cleaning the barracks, offices, lawn and other rooms of *Mundakhana*. There was dearth of trained people and hence there was no effective management to equip the juveniles in proper formal education and physical trainings. Neither coach was provided for training

in different sports nor was the expert provided for healthcare. Accommodation was improper with a bad hygiene and there was not proper arrangement for moral training of juveniles in the prison. Sexual harassment of juveniles was also noted. Two juveniles were harassed and five were sexually assaulted by other juveniles and adult prisoners.

V. Discussion

In Pakistan juvenile justice system was introduced in the form of an ordinance in 2000 but after eighteen years of its promulgation the purpose of rehabilitation of juveniles could not materialized in the real sense. The idea about the rules inculcated in the ordinance was taken from the legislation of technologically advanced countries but practically the laws are not implemented in true letter and spirit. Besides United States, other countries like Scotland and England also have juvenile justice systems, but in those countries the system was implemented as reflected in the law; that's why it gives positive results in the shape of decreasing delinquency rate. There are countries like India and Bangladesh where the juvenile justice system is not properly implemented as in Pakistan, and the results are alike that juveniles are not properly rehabilitated. In Pakistan, there are several lacunas in the ordinance itself and drawbacks in the implementing bodies which turn the system ineffective. The problems faced by the implementing bodies fourfold the improper rehabilitation of juveniles.

Police is the main component of juvenile justice system because they arrest the juvenile allegedly involved in any delinquency but practically the role of police was found disappointing. The police officials were found following the traditional methods they inherited from their predecessors related to dealing with the juvenile delinquents. Police did not inform the parents, guardians or the concerned probation officer after the arrest of juveniles. Moreover, the ordinance bound the police to release juveniles arrested in minor cases with their parents or guardian with or without surety, but the police considered it their success to file many more cases rather to follow the law. It is a clear violation of section (10) of the JJSO, 2000 but was widely observed in the police stations. Police underestimated the probation officer and do not inform him about the arrest of a juvenile since the police deal with the juveniles in traditional methods of handcuffing, manhandling, snubbing, pressurizing, and torturing juveniles. Juveniles and adult criminals were housed jointly in one cell known as *hawalaat*. It was identified that a convicted juvenile was tortured favoring a local political leader. Police were found more loyal to their colleagues than the law. It was observed that a family member of the opponent of a convicted juvenile was a police official. The detained juvenile was subjected to torture because of the intrusion of that police official. The police in general put the juveniles to labor in police station that were marginalized and detached from their families (scavengers) and in need of care. Besides this, the Section (10) of the JJSO, 2000 bound the police to present an arrested juvenile before the court within twenty-four hours. In contrast, the police unlawfully keep the juveniles in their custody for a couple of days. They use unlawful acts to force the juvenile to accept his wrongdoing without going into a lengthy legal procedure. The end results of these acts manifested in the form of improper rehabilitation which in turn increased the delinquency rate. The police explained certain problems which hindered the process of rehabilitation. Those problems included untrained and less qualified police force, burden of cases, and lack of separate detention facilities for juveniles in police stations.

Probation officer was given key role in the juvenile justice system. Section (9) of the Ordinance depicts the appointment of probation officer and the release of juveniles on probation which is not practically followed. The probation officer was aware about the system and his duties but several obstacles are there due to which he is unable to play his due role. Only one probation officer was appointed for the whole district of Mardan who works without any conveyance or fuel charges facility which makes his job difficult. Police neither properly coordinates nor allow the probation officer to function as per the law. The responsibility of probation officer is to prepare social investigation report (SIR) of juvenile, and present it in the court during hearing but he is only informed in selective cases in which the police officials, prosecutors and judges have any personal interest to get a particular juvenile released on probation. However, in some cases when the probation officer is rarely informed then unavailability of car facility becomes an obstacle to arrive at the police station in due course of time. Furthermore, scarcity of man power is another problem faced by the probation section. In such circumstances the probation officer neither can visit the prison frequently nor can supervise and monitor the juveniles effectively. The scrutiny of official records indicated that rarely the juveniles were released on probation through the recommendation of probation officer.

Judiciary is also a key component of the juvenile justice system. Section (3) of JJSO 2000 has empowered the judge to appoint legal assistant holding five years' experience to defend the juvenile delinquents on the expenses of state. It was noted in several cases that those who were appointed as legal assistants to defend juvenile delinquents' were not fulfilling the eligibility criteria. Regarding appointment of untrained and less experienced lawyers, it was identified that the senior lawyer reject to work as legal assistant because of less fee i.e., between five to ten thousands rupees, late payments and lengthy procedures of payment. Section (4) of the ordinance reflects the establishment of juvenile courts in the country. Contrarily, it was noted that judges in the same court and day were hearing juvenile cases along with adult criminals. They use discretionary powers to dispose of the cases of juveniles in adult courts. With reference to the violation of section (4) of the JJSO 2000, the judges argued that the government has failed to establish juveniles' courts hence the juvenile hearings are fixed in the same court where other cases are trial. Furthermore, they argued that there is overload of cases and it is impossible to hear only Juvenile case(s) on a separate day because in the presence of heavy workload it is difficult to spare a full day for juvenile case(s) only. The scarcity of man power and infrastructure is another reason of the prevailing practice which is contradictory to the law. Section (7) of the ordinance reflects the determination of the age of a juvenile. Though, according to the law, the age of juveniles would be determined through documents and medical reports of the ossification tests but it was observed that the judges determine the ages of juveniles by physical appearance through personal judgment rather than following the law.

Borstal institutions or reformatory schools have been given a significant role in the juvenile justice system. JJSO, 2000 also emphasized the establishment of borstal institutions for housing and rehabilitation of juveniles. Though, the process of borstal institution was not clearly mentioned in the Ordinance 2000 but in 2002 the provincial government made rules in the light of JJSO 2000. The rules thoroughly depict the establishment of borstal institutions, and the overall procedure related to the admission of a juvenile until his release. However, not a single borstal institution has been established in the area under study so far.

Education play a vital role in the rehabilitation of juveniles but there is neither formal education system nor the government has appointed any teacher for this purpose. The warden of the barrack identified two literate persons both were under trial and prisoners in alleged murder cases were voluntarily teaching the juveniles. Only Urdu and English text books were taught to the juveniles. There were no strict rules for juveniles to attend the classes regularly. The warden viewed that religious education is also provided to the juveniles by a religious scholar on daily basis but we did not observe any religious scholar during several visits to *Munda Khana*. To cross-check the information provided by the warden regarding religious education, we came to know through focused group discussion with the juveniles that the religious scholar seldom visits the prison. Furthermore, an inauguration board was observed in the *Munda Khana*. A note was portrayed on the board "Adult and Non-Formal Education Center". It was confirmed by the warden of *Munda Khan* that it is just a nominal inauguration and nothing was practically done in this regard. Albeit, Section-2 of the Rules 2002 reflects that juveniles must be provided basic education, moral and psychological training but the empirical data explored that the practical implementation of Section-2 was not materialized.

Accommodation facility has a key role in the rehabilitation of juveniles. Section (5) Sub-section (1) of the Rules 2002 reflects that juveniles should be provided with reasonable facilities of toilets and bathrooms. Moreover, cellular accommodation will be provided to juveniles for night. The worst accommodation facilities were observed in the prison. There were no glasses in the windows of barracks. The windows were found covered with plastic sheets to protect the barracks from cold air. The plastics sheets were found badly damaged by the sunlight as they were changed once in a year. It was further observed that the juveniles used cemented beds for sleeping. There was one and half feet distance between two beds. Most of the juveniles used to sleep in the places between the cemented beds due to cold air. Most of the juveniles were suffering from back-bone pain due to these hard beds. The barracks were very dirty. Snuff rounds and cigarette filters were found lying on the ground. The walls of the barracks were white-washed years ago. Though, the snuff and cigarette are prohibited items for juveniles but some of the juveniles were observed using snuff and cigarettes. Dirty smell was felt from the toilets and washrooms because they were built inside the barracks. The toilets and washrooms were having half sized doors where an outsider can easily see a person inside. The kitchen was located adjacent to the toilets and washrooms. Though, the food was provided by the prison administration but the kitchen of the barracks was used by the juveniles for personal cooking. They were only allowed to use coal as fuel. Due to the use of coal, the walls of the barracks were looking like wearing a black veil. Electric and gas heaters were prohibited in the barracks. Regarding the miserable and unhygienic condition of the barracks, we came to know through an interview with the warden and constables of *Munda Khana* that the barracks are dirty because of the laziness of the juveniles. According to them it was the responsibility of the juveniles to keep the barracks clean. However, the Rules 2002 reflects that no juvenile shall be put to labor but the real situation was observed as otherwise. Moreover, no cellular accommodation was provided to the juveniles at night for the purpose to control sexual intercourse. Three adult prisoners of the ages above sixty years were observed in the juveniles' barracks who were sentenced for life imprisonment in murder cases. Their responsibility was to maintain check and balance in the barracks and prevent sexual intercourse between juveniles to fulfill the purpose of cellular accommodation which is provided to prevent sexual intercourse between juvenile delinquents. Beside preventive measures three

juveniles confessed that they were sexually assaulted by the adult prisoners who are primarily appointed to protect the juveniles from sexual assaults. However, the sexually harassed juveniles cannot disclose the facts due to the fear of deterrence practiced in *Munda Khana*. Even juveniles cannot submit any query against misconduct of others, dirtiness of barracks or improper treatment from the officials. Contrary to law, juveniles were forced to labor and they were observed cleaning the barracks, offices, lawns and other rooms of *Munda Khana*.

The law reflects that juveniles will be housed separately from adult prisoners. However, a number of adult prisoners were observed in juveniles' barracks. Beside the three graybeard persons i.e. one in each barracks, there were other adult prisoners as well. In one barrack, two adult prisoners between the age of twenty-five and twenty-six years were observed. Regarding their presence in juvenile barracks, the warden of *Munda Khana* viewed that these two persons are very handsome. There is fear of sexual assault if they are housed with adult prisoners. Therefore, every handsome prisoner is housed with juveniles. The political interference surges the law violation in the prison. Two prisoners above the age of twenty years and suspected in murder cases were housed in *Munda Khana*. The warden exposed that due to their strong influential and political family background the prison administration housed them in *Munda Khana*. This practice of housing adults with juveniles is the violation of section (7) of the Rules 2002, which restricts the adult criminals, must not be housed with juveniles. Besides the presence of adults in the barracks, some adults were seen standing in the gate of *Munda Khana*. They were prisoners wearing red caps, known as *Numberdars* and were assigned the duty to restrict the entry of adult prisoners in *Munda Khana*. However, a number of prisoners were observed entering the *Munda Khana* regularly. Furthermore, the juveniles use the same place for meeting with relatives where adult prisoners meet. Moreover, when the under-trial juveniles were presented before the court, they used the same bus which carried the adult prisoners and they were housed combined in the cell made in courts.

Health facilities were not properly provided to juveniles according to the law. It is depicted in Rules, 2002 that the District Health Officer will examine every juvenile during admission to the Borstal Institution and will take appropriate steps for providing health and medical facilities to juveniles. No medical check-up of all juveniles was observed during admission to prison. In cases, when juveniles are suffering from any kind of disease only then medical treatment is practiced. Not a single visit of the District Health Officer, warden or constable has been witnessed by the researchers to *Munda Khana* to monitor health issues of the juveniles. A small hospital is located inside the prison. During visit to the hospital, a register was observed on a table which carries the record of medication provided to prisoners. A doctor and technician were providing duties in a single room. Juveniles and adults were treated in the same hospital.

The provision of hygienic food and environment is the responsibility of administration of Borstal Institution as reflected in the law. The unhygienic environment of the barracks is coupled with the miserable condition of kitchen from which the food is supplied to the prisoners. The kitchen is known as *Langar*. According to the warden and constables of *Mundakhana* they are the prisoners who cook and are expert in cooking. The *Langaryan* were wearing dirty clothes. The sanitation system of *Langar* was not good. The pipes which carry out water were blocked. None of the prison officials was observed supervising the process of cooking. It was identified through the interviews

with the constables and an inmate that the wet flour is pressed and processed through feet. Though, the quantity of bread and meal was quite appropriate but the quality, the process of preparing bread and meal, and the environment of *Langar* was not hygienic.

Section (14) Sub-section (1) of the Rules 2002, reflects that individual attention should be given to every juvenile for moral treatment. Moreover, the rehabilitation programs including religious instructions, educational, industrial, vocational and technical training to juveniles are reflected in section (14) Sub-section (2) of the Rules 2002. Nonetheless, the juveniles will select training facility of their own choice. The real situation was contrary to the formal law. During several visits to prison only once a religious scholar was observed demonstrating religious instructions to the juveniles. Besides this, no other vocational, technical or industrial training facility is provided to the juveniles in prison. The whole prison had no training facility. Due to non-availability of training facilities by the government to the juveniles, most of them were observed wasting their time. They spend most of the time with playing Ludo, Carom board and gossips in the barracks. Though, section (17) of the Rules 2002, depicts that juveniles should not be allowed to waste time in the borstal institution but due to the scarcity of any alternative facility, the juveniles were observed wasting their time. Section (16) of the Rules 2002, reflects that for physical fitness and recreation, juveniles would be provided with the facilities of sports, drill, and gymnastics. Furthermore, a playground will be provided to the juveniles in borstal institution. A lawn in *Mundakhana* was rarely used for playing badminton as according to the juveniles they had played badminton months earlier. The prison administration did provide rackets and shuttles but they were dented due to their poor quality. A big hall on the left to the entrance of *Mundakhana* was identified as "Sports Hall". We thought, this hall is specified for indoor games. When we entered the hall, telephone sets were observed placed in the center of the hall. Ten to twelve juveniles were sitting around the telephone sets. They were busy contacting their homes and friends. The ward of *Mundakhana* viewed that this hall is used as a public call office. The government has neither provided indoor games facilities for juveniles nor is any drill master or physical education instructor appointed for the physical training of juveniles.

VI. Conclusion and Recommendations

The juvenile justice system in practice for the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents was thoroughly studied in district Mardan of Pakistan. A big gap was found between the laws related to the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents and their practical implementation. The rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents can be improved through the implementation of juvenile justice system if the government provide, required infrastructure, manpower, financial assistance and to establish juvenile units in every police station plus to arrange special trainings for the officials responsible for dealing with the juveniles. Establishment of a monitoring unit is necessary for ensuring coordination among the implementing bodies. As per law borstal institutions are to be established in every district of the country with all facilities to ensure proper and effective rehabilitation of juveniles' delinquents.

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