

## The Impact Assessment of Iwawa Rehabilitation Centre programs on its Graduates

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### Abstract

*Delinquency has been an on-going problem in Rwanda that has attracted the attention and interest of the government. National Rehabilitation Service (NRS)<sup>1</sup> report (2019) reported a high number of recidivism. This study was interested in assessing the impact of NRS services through its Iwawa programs offered to the delinquents. Quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted to obtain in-depth information related to the research questions. The key findings were that, the Iwawa rehabilitation centre has no pedagogically and formally designed programs to offer to the admitted delinquents; it has no enough qualified trainers especially counsellors to conduct individual and group therapy sessions-yet the law establishing iwawa centre requires Iwawa to have formal programs and qualified trainers. In conclusion, it is too difficult for Iwawa rehabilitation centre to realize its mandate of rehabilitating delinquents admitted at the centre.*

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Key words: **Delinquency; Rehabilitation, Program and Behaviour change.**

### Introduction

Delinquency is a global problem which may differ in causes from one nation to another. Research shows that the risk factors related to delinquency are compounded by drugs abuse, poverty, political instability, urbanization, dysfunctional family, violence, peer influence and limited income generating opportunities among others. Young people are mainly at risk not just because they may turn to substance abuse, street living and petty crimes as a way of dealing with the difficulties they face but also because they are ambitious and are in danger of being exploited.

In 2010, the government of Rwanda established Iwawa Rehabilitation and Vocational Skills Development Centre (IRVSDC) popularly known as 'Iwawa Rehabilitation Centre' (IRC) with a mandate to receive and rehabilitate male delinquents of over 18 years. Delinquents admitted at Iwawa are supposed to benefit from rehabilitation services such as psychosocial and technical vocational education and training (TVET) courses. Counselling and individual session therapies are for the purpose of healing anti-social behaviours that are detrimental to the delinquents and the community.

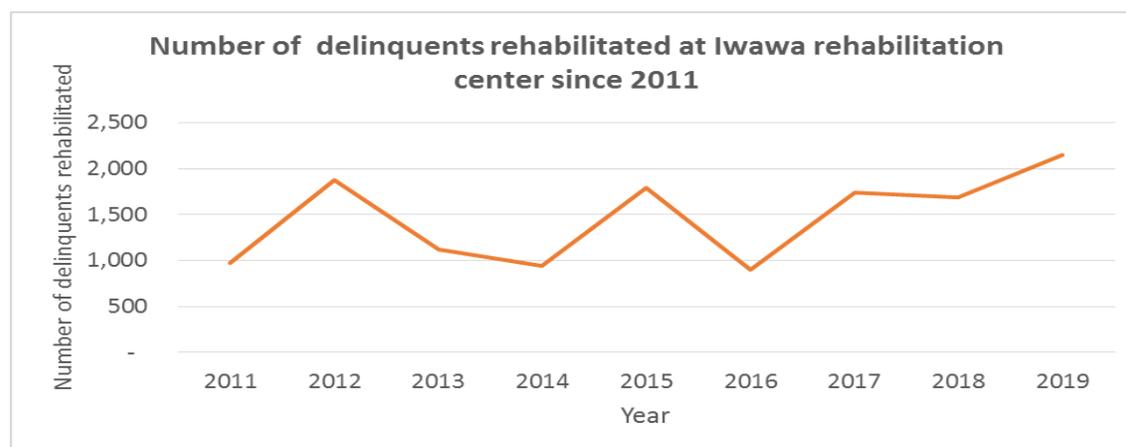
Rehabilitation programs are supposed to focus on psychological counselling and medical services as well as behaviour change. As indicated in figure 1 below extracted from national rehabilitation centre report of 2019, the trend of delinquents' admission at Iwawa Rehabilitation centre from 2011 to 2019 clearly shows a constant rise. Therefore, this prompted the researcher to find out if at all Iwawa rehabilitation centre programs have any impact on the graduates.

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<sup>1</sup> NRS-is a government institution with key objective of preventing the incidence of delinquency

In the first six months, through psycho-social rehabilitation process, the centre is supposed to give basic medical care, counselling and special health care to all delinquents admitted at Iwawa rehabilitation centre. The TVET program under the supervision of the Rwanda Polytechnic (RP) which is a government institution responsible for overseeing the implementation of an integrated Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) system is also offered. TVET programs include carpentry, masonry, tailoring, agriculture, crop production as well as literacy and numeracy classes. The vocational training is offered for a maximum of six months after which those who successfully complete the program are awarded WDA<sup>2</sup> national certificate. Currently, the centre offers carpentry and masonry, agriculture and tailoring programs.

**Figure 1: Number of delinquents admitted at Iwawa rehabilitation centre (2011-2019)**



**Source: NRS reports**

### The Rationale of the Study

On the basis of figure 1 above, it is clear that the rate of delinquency in Rwandan has been very problematic. This attracted the attention and interest of the government of Rwanda to establish Iwawa rehabilitation centre to address this problem among Rwandan youth. Although there are efforts to address this delinquency problem, the National Rehabilitation Service (NRS) has reported a big rising numbers of delinquents going back to their former anti-social behaviour. More so, NRS still encounters challenges in terms of designing appropriate programs and re-integration process that would to a satisfying level assist the admitted delinquents positively change from the anti-social behaviour.

As a result, the aim of helping the admitted delinquents in Iwawa rehabilitation centre quite often becomes a futile attempt. In the absence of reliable program, the targeted interventions may not be effective and

<sup>2</sup> Workforce Development Authority –WDA- is a government agency in charge of promoting, facilitating, and guiding the development and upgrading of skills and competencies of the national workforce in order to enhance competitiveness and employability. WDA offers national certificate in TVET students who complete their studies at various levels and in various disciplines

the resources may be wasted by addressing the symptoms instead of fostering positive change into admitted delinquents. A number of delinquents have been on increase on Rwanda's streets year after year (see figure 1 above). It is from this reality, that the study was interested in the delinquents who had been at Iwawa rehabilitation centre once or more than once and assess the impact of these programs on them.

As the first step before delinquents are taken to Iwawa rehabilitation centre, they are admitted in what is called transit centre (TC) for a short period of one month's rehabilitation. Every district in Rwanda has a transit centre. During this short rehabilitation period, a screening is supposed to be conducted to determine who have positively changed and then return home through local leaders. Those who seem to be hard cores are then taken to Iwawa for 9 months rehabilitation programs.

Unfortunately according to NRS report (2019), all transit centres have no formal programs and qualified staff for the individual and group therapy sessions, not ignoring lack of counsellors to conduct professional screening and counselling. Consequently screening is more often poorly done and henceforth some youth are labelled delinquents yet they might have some mental and psychological problem. In this case they may be in need of mental health hospital while others are just lack of occupation and employment that results into loitering on the street-not necessarily serious delinquents who must go to rehabilitation centre.

More so, the state of the physical infrastructure in the transit centres leaves a lot to be desired. The state of accommodation and hygiene in transit centres is deplorable. It is hard for effective rehabilitation process to take place in an environment that is hygienically very unhealthy and over congested. The coordinators draft a calendar of weekly talks and lessons to be delivered by different speakers ranging from district officials, revenue authority officials, and police to members of the military. All these speakers are more often than not too busy to be available any time they are needed.

### **Scope of the Study**

The study covered all the districts of Rwanda. This was done by visiting the main delinquent zones (hotspots) identified by district officials in charge of youth and culture and through snowball approach. Former delinquents could direct researchers to other delinquents who had been at Iwawa rehabilitation centre. The main target was male delinquents who had been once or more admitted at Iwawa rehabilitation centre and categorized as: vagrants, drug users and beggars because these are the categories that are admitted at Iwawa rehabilitation centre. More so, this is the anti-social behaviour that is defined in the national policy against delinquency (QUOTE IT). Parents of Iwawa graduates who had gone back to their former anti-behaviour, community members and Iwawa rehabilitation centre staff were also interviewed.

### **Conceptualization of Delinquency and Various Experiential Perspectives from Other Countries**

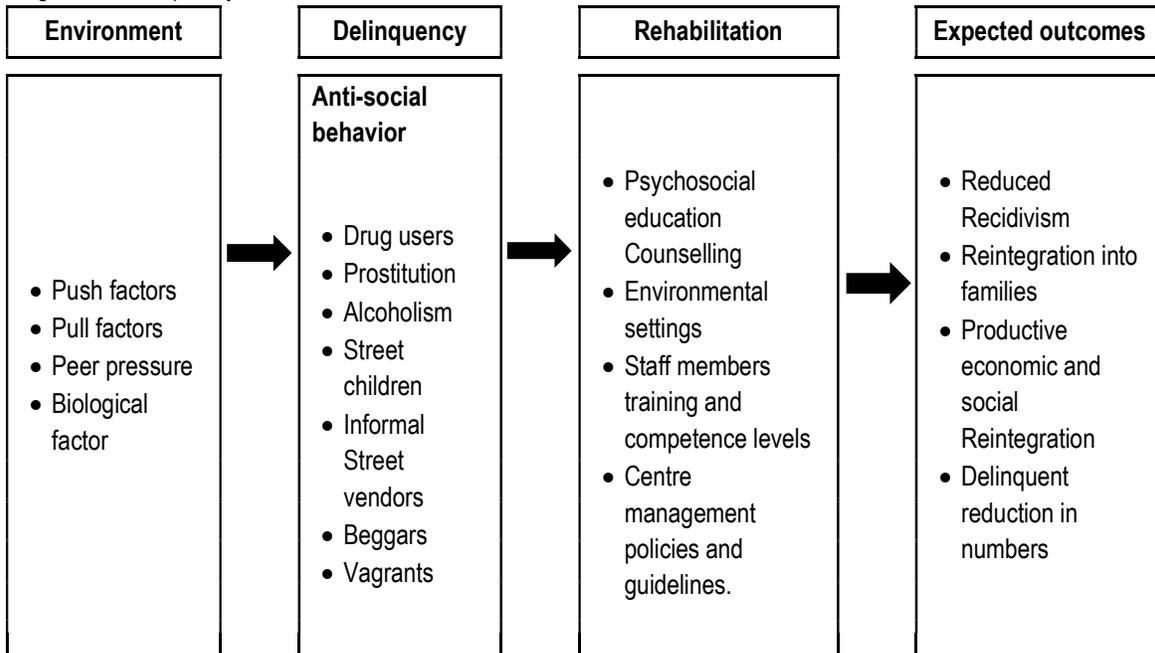
Delinquency is a global concern for developing, developed and emerging market states. Acts of delinquency retard productive capabilities of any country's citizens especially the youth, due to social upheavals and

increased cost of crime management average output per capita and general welfare. Ibrahim (2009) described an adolescent as someone who is unstable, angry, moody, self-conscious and inexperienced in handling emotional problems.

Adolescence, from a psychological point of view, is a period dominated by stress and tensions due to inner emotional instability and as a result of conflicting external influence (Oni 2010). Oni noted that the problems of adolescents are many and the pressure to conform to peer influence becomes very strong during adolescent years. At this stage the adolescents engage in activities that are perceived to be contrary to the norms and values of the societies (Oni 2010).

In view of the above argument, the outcome of rehabilitation programs is the successful re-integration into the society of those who hitherto exhibited anti-social behaviour. It is conceptualized that a combination of independent variables affects the outcomes of the rehabilitation process. The quality of rehabilitation programs coupled with the quality of staff is one of the right combination that might lead to successful outcomes such as reduced recidivism, successful re-integration, productive life and the overall reduction in delinquency in the country. The rehabilitation model below has been developed to explain and understand the context of the process in general. This model (see figure 2 below, was developed by the researchers to assist in the assessment process.

Figure 2: Delinquency Framework



Source: Researcher (2019)

The schema above indicates the steps involved in the entire delinquency, prevention, rehabilitation and reintegration process beginning with the environmental settings within which persons find themselves in and the pressures that push or pull people into delinquency; the onset of delinquency; interaction with rehabilitation

services and the expected outcomes. Successful rehabilitation programmes need to address the issues at each step of the entire process. For example, without addressing the root causes of delinquency, re-integration becomes difficult as the factors that led to delinquent behaviour are still within the setting to which a former delinquent is returning.

According to the World Youth Report (2012) many low income countries have done little or nothing to deal with delinquency problems particularly in designing and equipping rehabilitation centres with appropriate programs. There is a general agreement that behaviour, including antisocial and delinquent behaviour, is the result of a complex interplay of individual biological, genetic and environmental factors, starting during foetal development and continuing throughout life (Bock and Goode, 2015). Clearly, genes affect biological development, but there is no biological development without environmental input. Thus, both biology and environment influence behaviour and henceforth may require appropriate programs to help these victims change.

Studies conducted in North America and elsewhere have made it possible to identify three sets of major risk factors associated with delinquency: personal, family and social factors (Murray JB & Farrington DP, 2010). Canadian studies have focused on two salient predictors of delinquency: personal factors and family variables including exposure to family violence (Yassine AK, 2011; Day D, 2011). Other studies have shown that exposure to traumatic events, especially within the family, can increase future perpetration of later delinquent behaviours (Aaacher JJ., Van Der Put CE., 2015). Youth who have been victims of family violence and abuse or who have witnessed violence between parents in childhood are more likely to engage in delinquent behaviours (Kering P., Becker, S., & Egan, S, 2010). As noted by Kerig et al. (2010), delinquent behaviours can be part of a social learning system of conflict resolution.

### **Experience from USA**

Youth's delinquent or deviant behaviours are not only a result of national weak financial capacity but also psycho-social problem. For example, United States of America (USA) has the seventh-highest total-estimated value of natural resources valued at \$45 trillion in 2015 with the highest average household and employee income among OECD member states. In spite of strong GDP, socio-economy and strong sources of funds for youth, USA remains high in terms of youth delinquency (UN report 2013). In recognition of this problem, USA decided to put greater attention to the role and responsibility of local communities in dealing with delinquency more effective. USA has programmes designed to train groups and individual representatives of local communities to informally control and put delinquents in constructive activities. Delinquent are being asked to sit on boards, submit ideas and support community efforts through structured (sometimes required) volunteering (World Youth Report 2003).

### **Experience from Cameroon and Chad socialization processes**

Different from USA, Cameroon's budget deficit increased from 3.6% of GDP in 2019 to 4.9% GDP in 2020. This resulted into an acute Unemployment, poverty, and lack of access to basic services. In an attempt to have an effective delinquent's rehabilitation process (UN report 2013), Chad and Cameroon used the socialization process and it was found more effective than rehabilitation centres. The government spared some funds for youth empowerment. These countries put emphasis on socialization and integration of all delinquents through the family, the community as well as through voluntary organizations. Due respect was put on personal development of all delinquents and delinquents were accepted as full and equal partners in socialization and integration processes.

Since the family is the central unit responsible for the primary socialization of all young and adults, governmental and social efforts to preserve the integrity of the family, including the extended family, should be pursued. The society took a responsibility to assist the family in providing care and protection and in ensuring the physical and mental well-being of delinquents. Families in need of assistance in the resolution of conditions of conflict amongst their families, the government provided such services. Where a stable and settled family environment and community efforts could be found lacking to assist parents, alternative placements, including foster care and adoption, could be considered. Such placements should replicate, to the extent possible, a stable and settled family environment, while, at the same time, establishing a sense of permanency for delinquents, thus avoiding problems associated with "foster drift".

Measures were taken and programmes developed to provide families with the opportunity to learn about parental roles and obligations as regards child development and child care, promoting positive parent-child relationships, sensitizing parents to the problems of children and young persons and encouraging their involvement in family and community-based activities. Governments took measures to promote family cohesion and harmony and discouraged the separation of children from their parents, unless circumstances affecting the welfare and future of the child leave no viable alternative (UN report 2013).

### **Experience from Egypt**

Like Cameroon and Chad, Egypt's GDP growth has slowed to 3% in 2021 because of continued weakness in net exports. Hence unemployment rate for Egyptian youth aged 15- 24 has been hovering at around 30%. The economy is not growing fast enough to absorb the surge of youth to the labour market, and millions of youth with no other option resort to precarious, often dangerous work delinquent behaviour. This situation is likely to increase youth deviant behaviour (S.S. Souryah 2002).

To tackle delinquency problems, Egypt put emphasis on its root causes, not the act itself. Hereafter, the government launched community-based programs to respond to the special needs of delinquents by offering appropriate counselling and guidance; family-based programs to support the role of parents as socialization

agents in the lives of their children; Adopting the human capital perspective (investment of resources to increase the social, emotional, and educational skills of young people) as a management modality (S.S. Souryah 2002).

## **Research Design and Methodology**

### **Study main objective**

The main objective of this study was to assess the impact of rehabilitation programs offered to delinquents from Iwawa Rehabilitation centre. The assessment included assessing programs offered to these delinquents as well as reintegration process. Specifically, the assessment aimed at:

- Finding out if at all Iwawa Rehabilitation centre has pedagogically designed Rehabilitation programs geared towards Rehabilitating admitted delinquents;
- Assessing Iwawa Rehabilitation centre Programs effectiveness;
- Establishing the extent to which Iwawa Rehabilitation Centre programs have assisted the delinquents to positively change their deviant behaviours and are re-integrated back to their society;
- Finding out if Iwawa Rehabilitation centre's environment is conducive enough to contribute to the required delinquents' deviant behaviour change;

### **Methodology**

A mixed method approach that combined both quantitative and qualitative methods was adopted to obtain in-depth information related to the research questions and allowing triangulation of results. Snowball approach was also employed to identify delinquents who had been at Iwawa rehabilitation centre. Quantitative approach was used to quantify opinions, behaviours, and hence generalize results. Qualitative approach was used to explore and understand respondents' views, experiences and attitudes on the impact of Iwawa rehabilitation centre's programs on its graduates.

### **Research Tools**

Key informant interviews through semi-structured questionnaire (KIIs), focus group discussions (FGDs) and structured quantitative questionnaire for Iwawa former graduates were used to collect data. Additional information was also obtained from, desk reviews of the existing reports from Iwawa Rehabilitation Center, districts, Rwanda National police (rnp), Ministry of youth and culture (Myculture), National children commission (NCC). A structured questionnaire was used to obtain quantitative data.

### **Population and Sampling Procedure**

A total of 550 delinquents who had been at Iwawa rehabilitation centre once or more were identified and participated in this study. Lists of graduates from Iwawa rehabilitation centre was used to locate the possible

hotspots where delinquents congregate (Amaseta) and determine the appropriate samples. Because the study aimed at only graduates from Iwawa rehabilitation centre, purposive approach was used as well as snowball approach to reach the targeted respondents. Snowball approach was used to identify the interviewees where the first interviewee could identify other hotspots where researchers could find other graduates.

In order to assess the impact of Iwawa rehabilitation centre programs, the researcher interviewed each of the identified informants through a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Researchers also interviewed parents and local community members (KII) to find out why many former Iwawa graduates go back on the streets or their hotspots in spite of having been at Iwawa rehabilitation centre process. KII from Institutions relevant to Iwawa and NRS such as Iwawa staff, government officials from the ministries of: local government; family protection; education; youth and culture; national policy; NRS staff; NIC staff; NCC staff; district officials, community members, Iwawa graduates' parents representatives; community members were interviewed.

## Analysis

### Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 2: Socio-demographics Characteristics of Respondents

Variables	Percentage (%)
<b>Age at entry in rehabilitation centre (n=550)</b>	
Below 18Yrs	21.1
18-35Yrs	76.4
36+ Yrs	2.5
<b>Ubudehe (socio-economic category)</b>	
Category 1	25.7
Category 2	31.8
Category 3	17.5
Category 4	0.4
Don't Know	24.6
<b>Participant knows how to read and write (n=549)</b>	
No	16.9
Yes	83.1
<b>Completed education level (n=546)</b>	
not completed primary school	57.7
Completed primary school	25.1
Not completed secondary school	11.7
Completed secondary school	3.5
Completed vocational training	1.8
Others	0.2

Regarding the age at entry in Iwawa rehabilitation centre, the results show that 76.4% of the respondents were aged 18-35 years, 21.1% were aged less than 18 years while 2.5% were aged above 36 years old. In terms of socio-economic status (Ubudehe), 31.8% were in ubudehe category two, 25.7% were in category

one. Regarding the education level, 83.1% knew how to read at the time of the interview. Among these 57.7% did not complete primary education; 25.1% completed primary school, and 3.5% of respondents completed secondary school.

Going by these results, it is clear that the majority of delinquents who are taken to Iwawa rehabilitation centre have no basic education and this means that these young delinquents lack the basis for behavioural awareness and change. According to Farrington (2010), there is strong evidence in research that education can play an important role in prompting positive behavioural change. There is a strong history of the role of education in fundamentally supporting positive behavioural change among the youth. Education can clearly communicate to learners the risks of not taking action and the benefits of taking action to address behaviours. School teachers usually do this by integrating academic work with cultural values. Education often prompts an incentive for learners to take action, and therefore ideally include options, resources, and information on how to respond to good behaviour.

#### **Iwawa Rehabilitation Centre Programs' effectiveness**

Table 3 below summarizes the views of graduates of Iwawa rehabilitation centre who were interviewed on the effectiveness of the programs and their impact on their behaviour.

Table 3: Iwawa Graduates' views on the impact of Iwawa programs on their behavior

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1. Iwawa Rehabilitation centre has programs to teach admitted delinquents</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	<b>81.4%</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>18.6%</b>
<b>2. Iwawa Rehabilitation centre programs of psychosocial positively changed my bad behaviour</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	<b>25.6%</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>74.4%</b>
<b>2. Iwawa Rehabilitation centre staff pay attention to individual delinquent problems</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	<b>30.1%</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>69.9%</b>
<b>3. Iwawa Rehabilitation centre staff give enough time to help an individual delinquent</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	<b>25.3</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>74.7</b>
<b>4. Iwawa Rehabilitation centre TVET program gives graduates capacity to effectively work</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	<b>33.4%</b>
<b>Some how</b>	<b>45.6%</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>21%</b>
<b>5. After graduation from Iwawa Rehabilitation centre, I was re-united with my</b>	

<b>family and I live with it now.</b>	
<b>Yes</b>	<b>36.8</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>63.2</b>

The rehabilitation programs are intended to help delinquents change and reduce the frequency of anti-social and deviant behaviour. This is expected to be achieved through psycho-social programs such as counselling/guidance/treatment of the delinquents and providing them with work readiness through vocational training, cognitive skills training and behaviour therapy. As indicated by Table 3 above, majority of the respondents rated the existence of Iwawa rehabilitation centre programs at 81.4%. However, during in-depth interviews, informants clarified that, the programme they meant were the speeches and talks they once in a while receive from visiting government personnel not formal programmes.

The centre uses some Ministry of family promotion documents to teach delinquents. To supplement these documents, the centre also drafts a calendar of weekly talks delivered by different speakers ranging from district officials, revenue authority officials, police and military personnel. However, more often than not, these speakers are too busy to be available any time they are needed. Hence, most of the time, delinquents go without any form of teaching in line with behaviour change.

As a substitute, they are made to spend greater parts of day doing manual work and singing. The main reason for this kind of idleness is due to the fact that, Iwawa has no structured and standardized curriculum for psychosocial support, therapy session and professional counsellors.

This insufficient number of staff especially the trainers and counsellors that are crucial for individual and group therapy sessions prevents the provision of individualized psycho-social support and counselling. Respondents especially KII and Iwawa staff re-iterated that, if the centre can have pedagogically and formally designed programs as stipulated in the law establishing Iwawa centre, delinquents would gain much more psychosocial support and counselling during rehabilitation process.

If Iwawa staff give enough time to help individual delinquent scored 'No' at 74.7% while 'Yes' at only 25.3%. If Iwawa rehabilitation TVET program gives capacity to its graduates scored 'somehow' at 45.6%; 'yes' at 33.4% while 'No' at 21%. Whether after graduation the centre graduates get re-united with their families scored 'No' at 63.2% while 'Yes' at 36.8%.

Considering the number of staff providing psycho-social support and session therapies, and the number of delinquents at rehabilitation centres, it was noted that the number of staff was too small to create any impact on these delinquents. Therefore, providing individualized psycho-social support and counselling becomes difficult and this leads to poor services being rendered to delinquents.

The similar trend of lack of positive change among delinquents was re-iterated during interviews and focus group discussions. It was quite unfortunate that, respondents were very negative to all Iwawa

rehabilitation centre programs. Delinquents who had been at Iwawa and Iwawa staff, all reported that, the centre has no formal designed programs; have no enough trainers especially counsellors to conduct individual and group therapy sessions. By the time this study was being conducted, the centre had only 19 staff with 4300 delinquents.

The psychosocial programs' contribution to positive change amongst the delinquents or former delinquents scored 'No' at 74.4%, only 25.6% recognized positive change. Whether IRVSD staff pays attention to individual delinquent problems scored 'No' with 69.9% while 'Yes' scored only 30.1%. According to Duroasro (2016), since counsellors are trained in modifying maladaptive behaviour and because counselling aims at solving delinquent problems, lack of pedagogically designed programs makes Iwawa rehabilitation centre's mandate of positively changing the admitted delinquents very minimal. Reinforcing delinquents' positive response blocks the appearance of undesirable behaviours (Winkielman 2005 pg. 23).

On the issues of TVET programs offered by Iwawa centre, Iwawa staff themselves confessed that, while other students in TVET formal schools across the country are trained in 34 weeks for level one certificate, Iwawa delinquents are trained in 9 week only. As if this is not unfair enough, the centre has no equipment, extremely limited workshops and with very insufficient staff. In addition, the respondents reported that, the certificate given to them bears the 'Iwawa Rehabilitation centre name'. And they wondered which employer would be comfortable to employ a former delinquent. 'Employers always doubt our full recovery' (Source: from the field)

On the positive note, although Iwawa has no pedagogically designed programs, informants acknowledged that, some speeches and talks given to them by some government officials, put emphasis on personal delinquent's sense of responsibility, integrity, personal hygiene, good health and above all being law abiding citizens.

These ideas coupled with cultural values and taboos of Rwandan society help delinquents integrate with the rest of the community. They are taught how to live with other Rwandans peacefully with respect and in harmony. These lessons and speeches aim at making sure that, once these delinquents graduate, they are ready for re-integration with their families.

### **Iwawa Graduates re-integration process**

The Presidential Orders establishing Iwawa rehabilitation centre provide the manner in which rehabilitated delinquents can be re-integrated in the community (Presidential Order, 2018). In principle, re-uniting the former delinquents with their families is the most desirable outcome of rehabilitation programs.

Re-integration must take into account the family's capabilities and willingness to receive and protect former delinquents from going back to deviant behaviours. When these young delinquents are considered to have positively changed their deviant behaviour, Iwawa centre administration hands them over to the police for it to hand them over to their districts and finally to their families.

Unfortunately, in the majority of cases, the police does not physically handover graduates to their respective districts and finally to their homes for full re-unification with their families. They are rather put in the vicinity of their villages and tell them to home.

It has to be noted that, these are youngsters who might have been away from their homes for a long period of time and for different reasons-some may include crimes and some of them their parents might have migrated to other places without their knowledge. In such situations, there is a need to identify alternative solutions such as foster families, adoption, or community homes. Follow-up and tracking activities are also necessary to make sure that re-integration is a long-term success. Unfortunately, Iwawa centre does not have a formal re-integration programme. It neither knows the homes of these delinquents nor the causes of leaving their homes.

Re-integration process requires special and professional handling by social workers. Under normal re-integration process, the centre should determine whether the family is ready to receive the graduates before eventual re-unification. If the family is either not ready to receive the former delinquent or cannot be found, the former delinquent should be assisted to get suitable homes that can adopt them.

As a result of this incomplete re-unification process, most graduates often revert to their former behaviour. Even the few who manage to be re-unified, they often get rejected or continue to be labelled. These are some of the contributory factors to the relapse cases (recidivism) among former delinquents.

## **Conclusion**

This study has shown that, due to lack of pedagogically designed programs, limited or in some incidents lack of qualified counsellors and social workers, staff, big number of delinquents in Iwawa rehabilitation centre, the needed psycho-social support is not adequately provided to the delinquents. As a result, there is very little impact registered in terms of positive behaviour change of the delinquents admitted. This means that delinquents in some cases leave the rehabilitation centres without receiving the healing they needed. The centre does not provide a comprehensive rehabilitation package that permits complete rehabilitation to occur.

There are few activities to engage the delinquents and this leads to redundancy. Manual work is given priority at the expense of time spent on behavioural change therapy sessions. This, in the end, retards the expected Iwawa programme positive impact on Iwawa graduates.

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