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**SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF LONG
TERM IMPRISONMENT OF WOMEN ON
THE NUCLEAR FAMILY.**

***THE CASE OF LANGATA MAXIMUM WOMEN
PRISON***

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

By

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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This project is my original work. It has not been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.



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DECLARATION BY THE SUPERVISOR

This project paper has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor



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DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of my mother

Florence A. Milanya

(1948 – 2005)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, great deal of attention has been focused on the delinquent inside a correctional institution. In Kenya, great deals of discussions have been concentrated on congested state of our prisons and therefore the poor state of those who are incarcerated. However, no systematic attempt has been made in this country to study incarcerated married women and how their long term imprisonment affects their families.

Current thinking about the family tends to polarize between those who feel that it is in the process of disintegration and decay and those who consider that the demands placed upon it in the contemporary society are so great that its ability to withstand these additional stresses is indicative of its very great vulnerability. Both groups are agreed upon the importance of the basic family unit in a society as presently constituted, and that the function of the family in industrial society has changed greatly over the past years.

This study was designed to investigate the sociological effects of long term imprisonment on the nuclear family, the case of Langata Maximum Women Prison. More specifically the research sought to investigate the effects of separation of the incarcerated mother on her children, like who takes the role of care giving and how do the husbands cope with loneliness arising from the incarceration.

The research focused on serious offenders sentenced for a period of between 7 months to 30 years who were married before their imprisonment. Husbands also formed part of the sample. Information from the field was collected by use of questionnaires, interview schedules, focused group discussions and use of interview guides, to assess what goes on, during visitation by their husbands and children.

In studying the effects of women incarceration on the family, various theories have been used to guide the study. Attachment Theory, for example, was used to study the effects of a mother's incarceration on the child. Attachment Theory predicts that rupturing of parental bonds through separation cause psychosocial difficulties for children.

Data analysis was done using SPSS. Research questions and hypothesis were adequately answered through use of percentages and frequency tables.

The study revealed that imprisonment of a mother is harmful to children even of dysfunctional families as it causes home moves for children at a very vulnerable age. The key informants informed the study that stigmatization of ex-offenders and their families is a threat to reintegration of released prisoners back to the community.

Long term incarceration was also established to contribute to divorce. 50% of the respondents were found to have divorced by the time of this study. On women reproduction, the study established that long sentences curtails women reproduction life as majority of the offenders were serving long sentences and at their active reproductive life. No family visit was in place to allow the incarcerated women time with family members.

Among the recommendations proposed by the study are maintaining greater sensitivity to a family oriented approach regarding inmate mothers, Introduction of conjugal visits in female institutions, establishment of half-way homes, implementation of parole and economic support by the state for upkeep of children of incarcerated mothers.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND

The woman is a backbone of the family and the community, therefore, her incarceration denies the community an important resource. Incarceration of a woman is seen by many as the 'very negation of feminine ideal' which helps to break all her trust and social networks she may have developed within her community.

As posited by the concept of social capital theory, which has existed ever since, small communities interacted with the expectation of reciprocation and trust. It is a notion that is based on the premise that social relations have potential to facilitate the accrual of economic and non-economic benefits to the individual (Coleman 1998b:98). According to an English historian Lucia Zedner, society viewed women as being more pure and moral by nature than men and those engaging in criminal activities are seen as having fallen a greater distance beyond any possibility of reform, than a male.

In Kenya as in other parts of the world women imprisonment is on the increase.

Statistical abstract (2007) indicates that between 2002 – 2005 women's daily average population in Kenya Prisons increased by 42% while male increase over the same period was only 26%. Although women have this dubious distinction of being the fastest

growing segment of prison population, scant attention has been paid to their involvement in criminal justice system and its effects on the family unit.

This increase in women imprisonment is not just a Kenyan phenomenon but global. Research by Frost and Judith (2006) on women imprisonment in the United States shows that increase in women incarceration has been dramatic. In 1977 the United States imprisoned 10 women per 100,000 female residents; in 2004 the rate had grown to 64 per 100,000. In terms of numbers, in 1977 those imprisoned were 11,212 women and by 2004 the number had ballooned to 96,125, a 757% increase.

In Kenya, women are a small population of the prison population, roughly 10% (economic survey 2007) so one wonders why the concern on the effects of women imprisonment. Heidensohn (1985) talks of women criminality as an area of public achievement where women hardly compete with men. Women's low level of performance in crime has been cited as the reason for lack of attention given to them by criminologists because they seemed not to pose a problem (Smart 1977).

However, there is a lot of bias in treatment of women with regard to offences. Heidensohn (Ibid) states that certain offences relate only to women; it is a mother who can be charged with infanticide, soliciting among prostitutes and other similar actions specific to women. However, women may also be charged as accomplices in crimes, like rape, which they can practically commit.

What scholars have not focused on is how the removal of a woman from the community impacts on her family. Who plays her role as a mother and a wife in society when incarcerated? The imprisonment of a woman has a destabilizing effect not only on the women's immediate family members but also the social networks of their communities. They are more often than not the primary caretakers of young children and other family members. Their incarceration therefore, creates many effects in the community that are different from men's incarceration that has been the focus of many studies by scholars.

Over the years it has been widely believed that the home is a woman's place. The home was considered a moral sanctuary and morality which flourished in the home was considered the work of women. It was women who would shape future generations. Although their place was ideally limited to the domestic sphere, within that sphere, women were charged with preserving and creating the moral fibre of society.

In African societies women are the primary and sometimes sole caregiver of their children. The continued increase of female incarceration therefore raises the fundamental question of who provides nurturance and physical care to their children and spouses. Many women in society are known to be key supporters of their household and that being in prison may be a major economic and emotional blow to their families. Important issues of children's safety on the outside from delinquency, drug abuse and rape of daughters are critical.

Husbands may also find it difficult coping with long term separation from their wives who are in prison which may result in second marriages. The imprisonment of a woman

from this perspective can be seen as a recipe for disintegration of many families, the very fabric of society.

The incarceration of the woman therefore threatens the very survival of the family, an institution found in all known societies. Leslie and Korman (1985) argue that for a society's survival there must be provision for continued and adequate biological functioning of the members of the community. This is not possible in households of incarcerated women.

The imprisonment of a woman has put a lot of pressure on the nuclear family. The nuclear family is sometimes called the basic social institution. The term refers to two adults of opposite sex living in a socially approved sexual relationships with their own or adopted children. Marriage specifies the appropriate way of establishing a relationship, the normative structure of ordering it, and often includes provision for terminating it. Marriage always provides for meeting the sexual needs of adults, the enforced separation due to incarceration of the women therefore leaves the husband without a sexual partner. Nuclear family is also seen as the unit of reproduction; it is the primary unit of economic co-operation and has important responsibility for the socialization of children.

In most African communities, and Kenya in particular, women have roles for provision of new members of society, maintenance of order within the group and outside, care and protection for the family members. One therefore wonders how families are coping with the absence of women due to incarceration. This matter is even worsened by the fact that the numbers of those imprisoned are actually increasing.

As with other institutions, families have been undergoing rapid social changes. Recent changes have resulted in greater sharing of household responsibilities. This rapid social change may have put a lot of pressure on the women resulting to their increased participation in crime. This increase is revealingly having a significant effect on the family in Kenya.

According to Blackwell (1959a) the involuntary separation resulting from imprisonment of a woman is a crisis which the family members have to cope with. He states that imprisonment is different from other forms of family dismemberment. According to Blackwell, there appears to be a demoralization connected with imprisonment which is not found from other forms of involuntary separation. Imprisonment carries with it stigma that is difficult for families to eradicate, especially where children are involved. The incarceration of a woman who is a mother and a wife in the family system therefore throws the family unit off balance. Parsons (1902 - 1979) felt that balance is best achieved when the members share same values and goals and when they carry out differentiated roles, that is, each spouse fulfilling a different role such as an instrumental husband and an expressive wife.

Like any social group, the family strives to preserve its internal balance, thus opposing change and guarding its boundaries. Moreover, like other social systems, the family must be capable of changing its basic structure, organization and values in order to remain viable. The relevant issue is whether all families are capable of reorganizing their internal structure so that they may cope functionally with enforced separation of a mother

and a wife due to the imprisonment of the woman and what happens to those who fail to reorganize.

According to theories that deal with a family in crisis, the loss of a family member may result in the disorganization of the family unit. The resources of a family unit, the flexibility of its division of labour and its capacity to reorganize its internal structure and functions determines to large degree, its capability to overcome loss of a member and to maintain a functional equilibrium. In this respect, the incarceration of a woman will more likely bring disequilibrium which the remaining family members may find difficult to break. Equilibrium is essential to the continuing existence of the family. The woman's place in the family is critical. Her temporary loss from the family unit and its effects on the family members is therefore the main objective of the study.

The study therefore attempts to investigate how confinement affects the nuclear family. This is so with the view that prisons facility has been isolated from society by its architecture and locations which have fostered separation from the outside world. Rothman (1971) in the *Discovery of the Asylum* states the historical perspective which explains the rationale for this isolation. He postulates that the prison institutions deliberately removed themselves from interaction with the community because it was believed that any relations would interfere with their effort to create an environment of discipline and control which other social institutions, especially the family had failed to provide. This historical view point over looked the fact that an environment of discipline and social isolation is not conducive to aiding the incarcerated person, and especially a

mother, in eventual functioning in a free society having put their roles in abeyance while in custody.

Challenges facing the institution of the family are many, like gay relationship which is under attack, conflicts and violence within the family. The extra pressures brought about by the incarceration of a woman may, therefore, exacerbate an already over burdened institution.

This situation may be worsened in Kenya as a result of the continued rise in numbers of incarcerated women. Families are not functioning, children are not going to school, siblings are taking the roles of their imprisoned mothers at a very critical age in their lives and husbands are not just coping. It's important that the government put measures in place to save the family unit from disintegration by addressing pertinent issues that can make a woman inmate functional even if incarcerated.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

An incarcerated woman becomes dysfunctional and cannot carry out her duties effectively as a wife or a mother. Consequently there is a spill over to the community as children are not properly socialized to take up their positions and become responsible citizens and leaders in society since they lack a role model in the person of a mother and instead find themselves in the custody of new care givers.

In many instances, the mother is the sole or main caregiver, in which case the children must be placed with either extended family, a foster family or in the care of state social

services. In these circumstances, not only are the children separated from their mother but it is also common for siblings to be separated from each other thus increasing the trauma of family break up. The effects of this separation on the mother and child relationship and the difficulties many mothers face in retrieving their children from children homes and reunifying their family on being released from prison is not guaranteed.

A mother is the child's constant companion. She is the teacher in the family at everyone's formative years. A mother is the first to handle a child, change nappies and give a shoulder to sleep on. Clearly no human being can deny the importance of a mum's place in a child's life. As Shaw pointed out almost 20 years ago, if we do not attend to the effects of imprisonment on children, we face the possibility of punishing innocent victims, neglecting a group seriously at risk of possibly causing crime in the next generation (Shaw 1987).

According to Koban (1983), imprisoned mothers are more likely than imprisoned fathers, to believe that their children are not happy. In most cases mothers are more likely to be living with their children prior to their arrest, than are incarcerated fathers, thus incarceration of mothers puts their children at greater risk.

Incarceration of a mother usually means that the child has to be removed from the home and placed with relatives or in foster care, with siblings sometimes being separated in order to accommodate the new arrangement (Johnston 1995 a, Koban 1983, Stanton 1980). This arrangement is bound to break the family unity and therefore threaten its

very survival as an institution in the society. In contrast, when fathers are incarcerated their children usually remain living with their mothers, with less consequent disruption in the children's lives (Hairston 1995, Koban 1983).

Failure in one part or subsystem of the family can lead to failure in other subsystems of the family. When a mother is absent from home due to incarceration and no attempt is made to maintain the family cohesiveness, a juvenile delinquent or school dropout may be the consequent (Pollak and Friedman 1969). Additionally if the social disorganization of the family is related to an absent parent, the family may become what Aukerman (1958) calls a "fringe" or "hardcore" family.

Women who are pregnant on entering prison as well as nursing mothers are in need of particular health care facilities which are often unavailable or inadequate. Very young children often accompany their mothers into prison and for Kenya the exact age limit is 4 years. What happens to the child after separation from the mother when he or she attains the age of over 4 years is quite critical.

Imprisonment curtails reproduction. This is more critical in cases of women imprisonment as opposed to male imprisonment. Unlike their male counterparts, female reproduction is guided by the menstrual calendar and in this case a woman's ability to give birth ceases with the commencement of menopause. Menopause is the point in a woman's life when menstruation stops permanently signifying the end of a woman's ability to have children. It is the last stage of a gradual biological process in which ovaries reduce their reproduction of female sex hormones. Menopause occurs naturally

between the ages 45 to 55 years. On the average, this occurs at about age of 52 years (Barclay 2001).

Imprisonment of a woman can cause divorce and relationship problems (Anderson et al 1983, Mc Evuy et al 1999). Partners with children face single parenthood at a particularly vulnerable time (Peart and Asquith 1992). This is bound to impact negatively on the institution of the family and therefore should be addressed. The presence of female convicts is rarely mentioned in the standard histories of the rise of penitentiary while the gendered nature of crime, punishment and social control has only recently begun to be authored.

Michael Foucault argued that the penitentiary symbolized modernity itself, representing the creation of a "carceral society" that employed radically new and expanded technologies of power, knowledge, discipline and control. Foucault argued that one should study the prison and asylum not in and of themselves, but as sites for analysis of power relationship in wider society in the reproduction of social order "beyond the wall".

As feminist Sandra Bartky has noted in her proactive critique, Foucault treats the body throughout as if it were one, as if the bodily experience of men and women bore the same relationship to the characteristic institution of modern life.

The woman who violated the law transgressed not only legal norms, but the boundaries of femininity itself. English historian Lucia Zedner notes that criminal women whether their crimes involved sexual or legal transgressions were widely represented the "very

negation of feminine ideal". Because women were viewed as being more pure and moral by nature than men, the woman who dared to stray or fall from her elevated pedestal was regarded as having fallen in greater distance than a male, and hence being beyond any possibility of reform. Illinois penitentiary commissioners reflected this popular attitude when they wrote that, women prisoners were generally regarded as the "most degraded of their sex if not of humanity".

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study was guided by the following questions:-

1. How imprisonment makes a woman dysfunctional with regard to her functions in society?
2. Whether and how duration of sentence affects the inmate's family?
3. Under what context do children turn delinquent?
4. What's unique of those who survive?
5. Under what circumstances will families break?
6. Under what circumstances do families remain stable?
7. How does the incarceration of a woman impact on development of their local communities?
8. Which interventions or policy changes could prevent the effects of the women imprisonment on the family?

1.3 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The study aimed at meeting the following objectives.

OVERALL OBJECTIVE

To analyse the effects of women imprisonment on the family.

Specific objectives sought to:

1. Analyze how the imprisonment of a mother affects child socialization process.
2. Analyze how women imprisonment affects her reproductive life.
3. Establish whether women imprisonment leads to divorce.
4. Examine how women imprisonment interferes with male sexuality.
5. Examine how women imprisonment affects economic stability of their families.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.

The family is the only institution that is universal, the most cohesive primary group. It is the nuclear of the society to which the society owes its existence. Any threat to this important fabric of the society therefore calls for investigation. The increase in the number of women who go to prison particularly in terms of long term incarceration therefore raises the critical question of what happens to the family. Without this study the potential impact of incarceration of mothers on children will remain unrecognized and therefore neglected. The study will thus shed light in policy framework that surrounds increased reliance on imprisonment in Kenya.

Literature review reveals that no study has been carried out on effects of women incarceration in Kenya. There is knowledge gap in this field and this is the first attempt to shed light on this topic.

Also the information generated in this study will help policy makers and the government to know what is happening to the family as a result of a woman's incarceration. The information will constitute an important background or entry point for family counselors. The study will help explain problems in society like divorce which threatens the survival of the family unit in various communities world wide. Women prisoners have been little studied, the effects of women imprisonment on families and children are almost entirely neglected in academic research. Yet the number of women offenders continues to rise in our penal institutions.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The study only considered married women before incarceration serving a sentence of 7 months upto 30 years imprisonment. Consequently my results refer to specific category not the whole Langata Women Prison population.

The study investigated effects of women imprisonment on the family, specifically the study focused on effects on reproduction, regulation of sexual behaviour, socialization of the children, protection, care and social placement and economic stability.

The study was localized, confined to Langata Women Prison in Nairobi Province hence the findings cannot be generalized. Langata Maximum Prison is unique in the sense that

it is situated in a metropolitan set up which contrasts in many ways with rural areas. This study cannot therefore be representative of other women penal institutions in the country.

Its location within the metropolitan set up brings with it a lot of differences, like relatives having to board vehicles when going for visitation as opposed to rural areas where relatives may just have to walk to the prison for a visit. Proximity to the prison in rural areas may not be applicable to an urban institution like Langata.

The location of Langata being in Nairobi makes it closer to central Kenya than any other province. Its proximity to central Kenya therefore implies that the majority of women incarcerated in this facility are more inclined to be Kikuyus. Any trend noted in the study may therefore be as a result of either imprisonment and or the predominant culture in the region or a combination of both.

Management styles differ and since there are different women penal institutions in the country, the experiences expressed by inmates in Langata may not be generalized.

The researcher also appreciates the fact that there are many types of families in the prison context prior to imprisonment, single families, separated, widowed and divorced. This study is particularly focused on women who were married prior to their incarceration.

The prison population is characterized by different categories of offenders. This includes petty offenders, remandees both on ordinary and capital charge, those on life imprisonment, those on death row and serious offenders sentenced for a period of between 7 months to 30 years.

The study concentrated on the functions on the family unit, the socialization of the children, reproduction, care and protection and sexuality. The family may have other functions which this study did not explore.

The study was concerned primarily with the effect on husbands and children but others are likely to be affected by a collective stigma, by the attitude of neighbours, by material problems and probably by consideration of what will happen when the prisoner return to the community.

1.6 DEFINITION OF TERMS

This section defines and clarifies key or new terms to be used in the study.

- a) **Nuclear Family** – A basic social unit of parents and their dependent children living in one household.
- b) **Inmate** - Someone who is kept in a prison
- c) **Offender** - Someone who has committed a crime
- d) **Incarceration** - The state of being imprisoned
- e) **Parole** - The release of a prisoner whose term has not expired on condition of sustained lawful behaviour that is subject to regular monitoring by an officer of law for a set period of time.
- f) **Furlough** - A level of absence from prison granted to a prisoner.
- g) **Probation** - The act of suspending the sentence of a person convicted of a criminal offence and granting that person provisional freedom on the promise of good behaviour.

- h) **Court** - Any court or authority entitled to pass a sentence in a criminal case or to order a person to be detained in custody in any case.

- i) **Conjugal** - Visit to a prisoner by their husband during which they have time together in a private room, and may have sex.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Literature review in this study focused on the following themes:-

- a) Care and protection
- b) Socialization
- c) Gender and Reproduction
- d) Regulation of sexual behaviour
- e) Marriage and economic stability

According to Steffens (1969), criminologists agree that the gender gap in crime is universal; women are always and everywhere less likely than men to commit criminal acts. The experts disagree, however, on whether the gender gap remains stable or varying over time and across cultures, and societies. If there is variance, how may it best be explained? How is imprisonment of woman different from that of a man?

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Increase in number of imprisoned women has been noted in many countries like United Kingdom, South Africa, Austria and Kenya. A study by Caddle and Crisp (1997) within the United Kingdom established that 61% of female prisoners were either with young

children pregnant or both. Many of the children (71%) had been living with their mothers prior to their incarceration. To the majority of whom (85%) of these children such incarceration marked the first time they were separating for a prolonged period of time.

The term family is associated with the ideal institution consisting of a husband, wife and their children. Robertson (1997) sees the family as relatively permanent group of people related by ancestry, marriage or adoption who live together and form an economic unit in which the adult members assume responsibility for the young.

The nuclear family which is the focus of this study is sometimes referred to as the conjugal family and consists of husband, wife and their immediate children (Leslie 1973). Haralambus (1985) asserts that the nuclear family is the universal human social grouping, it exists as a distinct and strongly functional group and is the basic unit from which more complex forms are compounded. The nuclear family is characterized by sexual reproduction, residential, economic co-operation and socialization of the children.

Murdock who analysed the family institution of 250 human societies defines the family as a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, owned or adopted by sexually cohabiting adults.

The family unit serves several functions in the society. One of which is to ensure the perpetuation of the species. Besides, man being a social being, the family fulfils man's

social needs necessary for maintaining the entire social order and ensuring the survival of the individual. The functions of the family in this perspective are seen as regulation of sexual behaviour, replacement of members or reproduction, and to provide for socialization, care and protection (Blackwell 1956).

According to Ghail and Chris (2007), contemporary commentators on gender relations have suggested that the family is undergoing significant changes with a wide range of family formation now commonplace. This includes non-married, cohabiting partners, the increasing number of non-blood related children and the visibility of gay/lesbian partnership, all emerging alongside the traditional extended family and the modern nuclear family.

The family is already burdened with a lot of problems and mother's imprisonment can be the final and lethal blow to an already weakened family structure (Adalist- Estein 1994).

It is evident from studies that the major problems encountered by inmate's families are related to stigmatization, finances and housing, loneliness, management of children and visits with inmates. Some of the reviewed works are as follows:-

Murray conducted a study on the effects of imprisonment on the families and children of prisoners in United Kingdom. Comprehensive study of prisoner's wives conducted by Pauline Morris, who interviewed 825 imprisoned men in England and 469 of their wives (Morris 1965).

- Morris found that imprisonment of a husband was generally experienced as a crisis of family dismemberment rather than a crisis of demoralization through stigma or shame. Stigma was experienced almost exclusively by wives whose husbands were imprisoned for the first time, and then only at the initial stages of separation.
- 63% of wives experienced deterioration of the financial situation. 81% deterioration in their work, 60% deterioration in relationship with in laws and 57% with friends and neighbours.
- Since Morris early work, other studies of prisoners' partners and wives have found remarkably similar themes across the U.K., U.S., Ireland and Austria.
- Studies consistently report that loss of income is one of the most important difficulties faced by partners of male prisoners (Anderson 1966, Ferraro et al 1983, Mc Envoy et al 1999, Noble 1995, Richard et al) Sharp and Marcus Mndoza (2001) found that imprisoning mothers also caused drastic reduction in family income.

Noble (1995) found that imprisonment of a partner can cause home moves.

In Morris study 49 percent of prisoners wives reported adverse changes in children's behaviour since their husband's imprisonment. Friedman found that children of jailed inmates were more often rated below average in the second world, on social, psychological and academic characteristics compared to controls. (Esselstyne and

Friedman 1965). These studies suggest that parental imprisonment is a risk factor for mental health problems among children.

Evidence suggests that children are at risk of antisocial reactions to parental imprisonment. One boy in Morris study was discovered by a policeman tampering with car locks and the boy declared his intention of joining his father in prison (Morris 1965:91).

Murray and Farrington found that, of London – boys who were separated because of parental imprisonment between birth and age 10, 48% were convicted as adults compared to 25% of boys who were separated for other reasons.

2.1.1 CARE AND PROTECTION

Care giving is women's work (Abel 1986). This is true of both informal care giving and formal care giving. The rise in women participation in paid labour force has not altered the fact that majority of care is provided by women (Brody and Schoonover 1986, Thompson and Walker 1989).

The most well known proponent of the belief that care giving is inherent in the identity of women is Nancy Chodorow. From a psychoanalytic frame work, Chodorow (1978) has argued that mothering is reproduced in this society in such a way that care giving becomes identified with women. In Chodorow's view, the psychological foundation for parenting occurs during infancy, because they were raised primarily by women and not men, "girls come to experience themselves as less separate than boys, as having more

permeable ego boundaries they tend to define themselves more in relation to others" (Chodorow 1978 P. 93). The lack of separation means that girls remain part of the mother child relationship longer than boys do. Thus girls include empathy in their self definition, while boys do not. This mother-girl relationship is therefore bound to be affected by the imprisonment of mothers.

Gilligan's (1982) view of gender as a basis for moral behaviour is grounded in Chodorow's work. That is, it arises from the assumption that women have empathic personalities and define themselves in relation to others. Gilligan extends Chodorow's argument, however, concluding that women have an ethic of care that reflects both their "sensitivity to others" and the assumption that women have a responsibility for care giving. In Gilligan's view, women struggle over the conflict between their own needs and the needs of others.

In both of these models women are care givers. It is central to their identity. Men on the other hand, come to define themselves in other ways – as the recipients of care or as instrumental agents but not as hands or care givers.

Sociologists posit that individuals are trained or socialized into roles that define care giving as women's responsibility. Parsons and Bales (1955) have described role differentiation that occurred as a result of industrialization. They distinguished between complementary "instrumental" and "expressive tasks", thus differentiating the role of women from that of men. Men were responsible for the connection between families and the cruel cold outside world. That is they were the family breadwinners and they

mediated between their families and other social institutions. Women were responsible for nurturing family members. They took care of family members social and emotional needs.

Few studies of family care giving have focused attention on effects of women imprisonment on the family in regard to care giving.

Most studies that have focused on gender have simply described rates and the extent of care giving for wives versus husbands and/or daughters versus sons (Horowitz 1985b Stone et al 1987). This study intends to analyze how imprisonment of women affects their care giving role both to their children and husbands.

2.1.2 SOCIALIZATION

The main institutional unit of socialization in the modern world is family. In the context of the family, behaviour is taught and monitored and the language values, norms and beliefs of the culture are transmitted. The family remains the earliest and most significant unit of socialization (Robertson 1977:317).

According to Odetola and Adel (1987) socialization is regarded as the way by which culture is transmitted and individuals are fitted into the society's organized way of life. It can be argued that human personality is developed through socialization. Human beings possess drives which does not direct behaviour to highly specific goals. It has been argued that a drive impels activity but does not determine it in great detail. This quality

of drives makes the child's need amenable to training and social direction. Man has longer childhood dependence than any other primates, a child takes between nine to thirty or more months to learn to walk thus the need for long term emotional dependence and ties.

Socialization inculcates basic discipline by restraining a child from immediate gratification. A child who is toilet-trained will delay relieving itself until the proper environment is created, socialization instills aspirations, it teaches social roles, it teaches skills, teaches and conformity to norms.

The family plays a vital part in socialization. It is within the family that the basic personality, attitudes, values and moral ideas are laid down. It is upon this foundation that adult socialization will be built.

Assuming that the imprisoned mother was previously contributing positively to the life of the family, her imprisonment can deprive the family of an important resource for the socialization of the child. Sociological and criminology theories commonly emphasize the importance of parental supervision, role models and support in the childhood socialization process.

Konyango-Male and Anyango (1984) argue that socialization in the African family involves a large number of agents of socialization. Traditionally, a child was socialized by the whole community in the sense that he could be corrected or disciplined by any

adult if he misbehaved. Adults also had full authority to tell any child to perform simple duties, although this authority was not normally abused.

Age groups or peer groups were the most important socializing agent. They were usually sex segregated. African disciplined members primarily through social ostracism, which consisted of open disapproval of bad behaviour and continuous rebukes until the behaviour ceased. These peer groups also refused to talk or interact with deviant members.

Grandparents were other important agents of socialization in traditional African society. They relied largely on storytelling, proverbs and songs as techniques of socialization. Siblings were also heavily involved in the socialization process of other siblings.

Parents were most directly involved in socializing their children into adult roles, particularly their roles within the family division of labour. Hence boys spent more work hours beside the father and girls more time with the mother. The children thus learned their future adult roles through actual performance of many of these roles from an early age.

Performing certain work roles was not only intended to teach the child particular skills or technical perfection in that work, it was also meant to make the child diligent, persistent and responsible to all others. In other words, character - moulding was a central aim of parental socialization efforts.

In the modern times and places the role of fathers as agents of socialization has been altered tremendously. They seldom work beside their children and expect the mother to administer most discipline because of their absence from home during the day. Grand parental roles in socialization have been severely circumscribed in urban areas because of physical distance between the village and the town. Peer roles in modern times have altered as well. Peer in modern times are less supportive of the values of their parents or the larger cultural group.

The socialization process is therefore squarely on the shoulder of the mother, her removal from the family unit by way of imprisonment may be detrimental to the character of the children.

2.1.3 GENDER AND REPRODUCTION

According to Brettell and Carolyn (1993) all human reproductive behavior is culturally patterned. Thus cultural patterning includes menstrual beliefs and practices; restrictions or the circumstances in which sexual activity may occur, beliefs and practices surrounding pregnancy, labour and the post partum period; understandings and treatment of infertility; and the significance of menopause.

Biological reproduction refers to the production of human beings, but this process is always a social activity, leading to the perpetuation of social systems and social relations. The ways in which societies structure human reproductive behavior reflect core social

values and principles, informed by changing political and economic conditions (Browner and Sergeant 1990:215).

Consequently, decisions about such reproductive health issues, as family size and composition are never left to the individual woman, but are influenced by kin, community and state interest.

From literature reviewed, it is evident that reproduction is an important function in any society for its continuity. This study aims to investigate how imprisonment of women negates this very important function.

2.1.4 REGULATION OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

According to Bolton and Ferraro (1983) the impact of a prisoner's spouse is generally severe, various studies indicate that approximately 50% of incarcerated men consider themselves to be in committed heterosexual relationships and intend to return to their partners upon release from custody. (Calson and Cervera 1991, Grinstead Zack and Faigeles, 1999, Hernandez and Warren 1986, Nacro 1994)

Leslie and Sheila (1985) see all societies as regulating sexual behaviour. They all provide regular sexual outlet for most adults and sex is frequently seen as a necessary evil. Most commonly, sexual regulation is part of broader regulation of marriage, reproduction, kinship and social status.

Married couples vary enormously in the frequency of coital activity. A recent study of a random sample of people married five years or less centered around this issue. Subjects were asked how many times per month they had inter course with their spouses during their first year of marriage. Responses ranged from episode of intercourse per month all the way to 45 times per month. Research on the frequency of marital intercourse has been going on for about 30 years. Since the time of Kinsey's original work, a study based on two national samples of women aged 15 to 44 examined rates of marital intercourse for the years 1965 and 1970. The researcher found that average frequencies of marital coitus had increased over 20 percent during this time period from 6.8 times per month in 1965 to 8.2 in 1970. By 1975 it had increased to 8.9 times per month.

This study investigated how husbands are sexually gratifying themselves with the imprisonment of their wives or constrains that they are forced to face as a result of their absence.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Knowledge has to be fitted into a framework of some kind in order to be usable. Social theories are important and worth attention because they offer or attempt to offer coherent explanations of social happenings (Heidenson 1985)

2.2.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

The concept of social capital existed ever since small communities formed and humans interacted with the expectation of reciprocation and trust. Broadly social capital can be

seen in terms of five dimensions; first networks, lateral associations that vary in density and size, and occur among both individuals and groups, second, reciprocity expectation that in short or long term kindness and services will be returned; third trust- willingness to take initiatives (or risks) in a social context based on assumption that others will respond as expected; fourth, social norms – the unwritten shared values that direct behaviour and interaction and fifth, personal and collective efficacy the active and willing engagement of citizens within participative community (Bourdiell 1983, Coleman 1988 a,b, Onyx and Bullen 2000, Paxton 2007).

Social capital is a broad term that encompasses the ‘norms and networks facilitating actions for mutual benefits’ (Woolcock, 1988 P. 155). At one end social capital can be seen as a notion that is based on the premise that social relations have potential to facilitate the accrual of economic or non economic benefits to the individuals (White 2007) and on the other end social capital can be seen to reside in the relations and not in the individuals, themselves (Coleman 1988b P. 98) social capital is context dependent and takes many different inter-related forms including obligations (within the group), trust, intergenerational closure, norms and sanctions with underlying assumption that the relationships between individuals are durable and subjectively felt (Bourdiell, 1983 p. 249). The relationships themselves form the complex web of interactions and Communications (Fukuyama, 1995, Fuluyama, 1999, Lin 1996, Putnam, 1993, White 2002).

Incarceration of a woman is seen by many as the “Very negation of feminine ideal” and thus helps to break all her trust and social network she may have developed within her

neighborhood. As put by English Historian Lucia Zedner, society viewed women as being more pure and moral by nature than men thus those who engage in criminal activities as having fallen a greater distance than a male, and hence being beyond any possibility of reform.

2.2.2 ATTACHMENT THEORY

Attachment in children is a theory of attachment between children and their care givers specifically addressing the behaviours and emotions that children direct towards familiar adults. It is primarily an evolutionary and ethological theory postulating that infants seek proximity to a specified attachment figure in situations of distress or alarm for the purpose of survival.

It is associated with work of John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. Drawing on concepts from ethnology cybernetics, information processing, development psychology and psychoanalysts. John Bowlby formulated the basic tenant of the theory. He revolutionized the thinking about a child's tie to the mother and its disruption through separation and deprivation. Mary Ainsworth helped in expanding the theory. She contributed the concept of the attachment figure as a secure base from which an infant can explore the world. In addition, she formulated the concept of maternal sensitivity to infant signals and its role in the development of infant mother attachment patterns. Both of them were influenced by Freud and other psychoanalytic thinkers.

Bowlby stated that for a child to grow up mentally healthy. "The infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment" Bowlby, (1951, P. 31)

Bowlby emphasized the female parent's role as opposed to that of a male parent. In infancy he comments, fathers have their uses, but normally play second fiddle to mother. Their prime role is to provide emotional role to their wives.

According to Bowlby attachment provides a secure base from which the child can explore the environment, a haven of safety to which the child can return when he or she is afraid or fearful. As the young child develops and matures, this style of interacting becomes more static and less open to change.

According to some psychological researchers, a child becomes securely attached when the parent is available and able to meet the needs of the child in a responsive and appropriate manner.

2.2.3 SYSTEM THEORY

Buckley in his book sociology and modern system theory developed a general framework for approaching the investigation of socio-cultural phenomena from a systems perspective. His framework consists of three overlapping entities, the system, the systems components or constituent members, and the systems significant environment. Buckley defines a system as a complex of elements or components which are directly or indirectly related in a mutually causal network, "such that at least some of the

components are related to some others in a more or less stable way at any one time”
(1967: 41)

Buckley postulates that social systems must be capable of changing their basic structure, organization, and values in order to survive and remain viable. Applying Buckley’s conception of systems, the family can be seen as a self-organizing system constantly changing and elaborating behaviours in response to selective aspects of the external environment and demands of its own members. The active agents choosing the internal and external factors they respond to however are the family members themselves
(Aldous 1970: 254).

Riskin (1963: 343) view the family as an ongoing system tending to ... maintain itself around some point of equilibrium, which has been established as the family evolves. The system is a dynamic, not a static, one. There is a continuous process of input into the system, and thus tendency for the system to be pushed away from the equilibrium point... over a period of time, the family develops certain repetitive, enduring techniques or patterns of interaction for maintaining its equilibrium when confronted by stress; this development tends to hold whether the stress is internal or external, acute or chronic, trivial or gross. These techniques, which are assumed to be characteristic for a given family, are regarded as homeostatic mechanisms. Generally, the concept of family system implies that all parts of the family are in some way in mutual interaction. Consequently, the concept of system is familiar in research on families under stress.

Hill (1972 Cf Stolte, 1974) states that general systems theory is relevant to the study of the family, since the family may be viewed as a “relatively closed (or open) system; a

purposive, goal oriented, task performing system that maintains a morphogenic equilibrium with its environment". Hill's definition implies that in the process of interaction and survival, the family as a system responds to change by changing its structure.

The definition that Hill gives the family as a system is of particular importance for the examination of the incarcerated mother and her child. When a mother is incarcerated the structure of the family changes depending on who assumes caretaking responsibility for children i.e. family members or foster parents. The child may therefore adapt to this change by fabricating stories of where the mother is.

To conclude, it must be reiterated that an important reason for the study of the family as a system is the need for typology that differentiates families in accordance with distinctively different whole family processes. In addition, it is important to look at families in a systematic model in order to develop a model for researchers and therapists who work with families to explain what happens in families

2.2.4 ROLE THEORY

By the mid century, the idea that individuals are connected to larger social structures by virtue of incumbency in status positions and role behaviours sociological theory. To Turner (2003), role was the key concept that linked individuals and social structure, and as a result of this emphasis, role theorizing became prominent.

The thrust of much early role analysis, as it flowed from a mixture of Robber Parks, George Simmel's, Jacob Moreno's Ralph Linton's and George Herbert Mead's insights, was often captured in the mid century by quoting a famous passage from Shakespeare's

As you like it: All the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players. They have their exits and their entrances. And one man in this time plays many parts. (Act 11, scene VII)

The analogy was often drawn between the players on the stage and the actors of society. Just as players have a clearly defined part to play, so actors in society occupy clear positions, just like players must follow a written script, so must actors in society follow norms just as players must obey orders of a director, so must actors in society conform to the dictates of those with powers or of those of importance, just as players react to each other's performance on the stage so must members of society mutually adjust their responses to one another, just as players respond to the audience, so do actors in society take the role of various audiences or "generalized others" and just as players with varying abilities and capacities bring to each role their unique interpretations, so actors with varying self conceptions and role playing skills have their own styles of interaction. In Turner's view, humans act as if others in their environment are playing identifiable roles. Humans assume others to be playing a role, and this assumption is what gives interaction a common basis.

Role theory posits that human behaviour is guided by expectations held both by the individual and by other people. The expectations correspond to different roles, individuals perform or enact in their daily lives, such as mother, father, friend etc. **Roles**

specify what goals should be pursued, what tasks must be accomplished and what performances are required in a given scenario or situation. Role theory holds that a substantial proportion of observable day by day social behaviour is simply persons carrying out their roles, much as actors carry out their roles on the stage or ball players theirs on the field.

Many role theorists see role theory as one of the most compelling theories bridging individual behaviour and social structure. Roles which are in part dictated by social structure and in part by social interactions, guide the behaviour of the individual. The individual in turn influences the norms, expectations and behaviour associated with roles. In the family, the imprisonment of a woman therefore denies the woman from playing her role as a mother and a wife. This study thus strived to investigate how this gap is filled and effects on the family as an institution.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK

The research aimed at studying the effects of women imprisonment on the family.

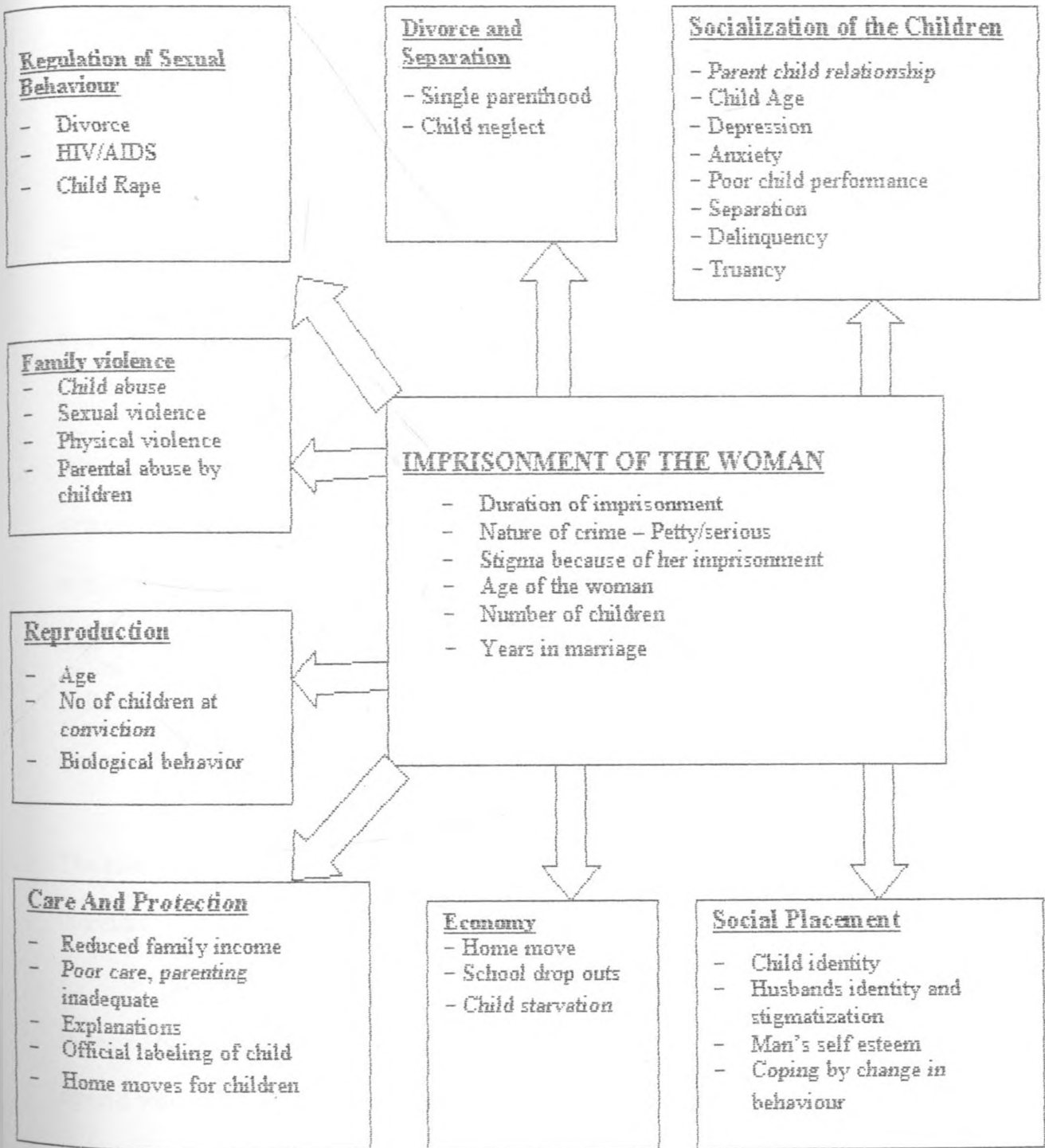
Therefore, the conceptual framework is a description of how likely the factors may relate to impact on the family as a result of the incarceration of the woman as a mother and wife.

Whether socialization of the child was affected by the imprisonment of a mother? What are the adjustments put in place by the spouse to help fill this gap? Who fills the gap of the mother away from home due to her incarceration? Whether the reproduction function

of the woman is curtailed by imprisonment? How care and protection is catered for in the family? Who cooks for the children? Who takes care of them at home?

How the imprisonment of a mother affects social placement of her children. What happens to the children when asked the whereabouts of their mother? How the identity of the husband is affected and what they do to adjust?

2.4 CONCEPTUAL MODEL



This model is an illustration of the assumption of how concepts in the study relate to impact on the nuclear family as a result of a woman's imprisonment. I considered the imprisonment of a woman as a dependent variable and how it relates to other variables in the study. Issues in the boxes are pertinent to the study.

2.5 CONCLUSION OF THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORIES

Research on this area is limited, majority of the literature reviewed are on impacts of male incarceration on the family. The few studies existing on women incarceration indicated that the imprisonment of a mother is more harmful to children, even when they come from dysfunctional families and that they are more likely to compound than mitigate pre-existing family problems, one such study is the impact of mother's incarceration by Dona C. an assistant professor in criminal justice, University of Baltimore. None of the studies conducted so far have been done on women offenders in Kenya and therefore a gap exists on this area.

The essence of this study, which used both qualitative and quantitative statistics, was therefore to fill this established gap.

In regard to theories, the work of Hill has provided a very useful theoretical background against which this study has been carried out. Hill defines family crises as 'situatic' as which create a sense of sharpened activity, or which block the usual patterns of action and calls for new ones. He sees three variables at work;

- (a) The situation or event itself

- b) The resources of the family, its role structure, flexibility and previous history of crises.
- c) The definition of the makes of the event, whether or not they use it as a threat to their stress and objectives.

This crisis situation and adjustment as affecting the individual, as affecting the pair (husband/wife) and as affecting the whole family and its relationship with its neighbours.

The process of family adjustment is discussed by Hill in terms of 'role conception', the socially prescribed parts (roles) each member plays in a family's life. Good adjustment to separation involves closing of ranks, shifting of responsibilities and activities of the husband to other members, continuing the necessary family routines, maintaining husband/wife and father/child relationship, relative and neighbours and carrying on plans for reunion.

In the context of this study it is reasonable to accept that imprisonment is a crisis as defined by Hill.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This section outlines the approaches and areas where the research was conducted. It also describes how data was gathered, analyzed and presented.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design for the study was cross-sectional research design which comprised of a survey of views of inmates with a length of sentence of 7 months to 30 years.

3.2 SITE SELECTION AND DESCRIPTION

This is a survey of views from the inmates, their children, spouses and other relevant key informants. Langata Women Prison is the only maximum women security facility in Kenya. It is located on southern part of Nairobi about 15 kilometers from central business district. Given the targeted respondents, the site was purposively selected since it is the only women prison in the country with all categories of offenders. These are convicted inmates serving both short and long sentences and remandees on capital charges and ordinary remands. It had a total population of 522 inmates as at 1st September, 2008 (lock up register Langata Women Prison).

3.3 SAMPLING UNIT

The researcher interviewed 45 inmates at Langata Women Prison all having been incarcerated for a period of 7 months to 30 years. 28 of them, who were married prior to their incarceration, formed the focus of study as respondents. Also interviewed were 18 spouses and 32 children.

3.4 UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The unit of analysis is the entity around which the variables of interest to the researcher vary (Singleton 1998:132). The study analyzed the views of family members in the case of Langata Women Prison. It looked into factors about women imprisonment which make them dysfunctional.

3.5 UNIT OF OBSERVATION

The researcher studied inmates at Langata Women Prison. The spouses and whenever possible their children. The women offenders studied were those imprisoned for a period of 7 months to 30 years referred to by prisons department as serious offenders.

3.6 SAMPLING DESIGN

All those interviewed included the women inmates, spouses, children and key informants. The study applied stratified sampling to get inmates serving a period of between 7 months to 30 years. In conducting stratified sampling the researcher excluded other categories of

inmates like the petty offenders serving short term imprisonment, and in most cases have options of fines that allow them quick re-union with their family members. Also excluded were those serving 30 years and above. The researcher viewed this group to be serving very long terms of imprisonment and therefore not ideal for family continuity. Those serving life sentences and those on death row were also excluded since they were viewed by the researcher as serving very serious offences that would have at the time of sentencing thrown most of their families off balance and subsequently given up the hope of ever seeing them again. Those on Presidential Pleasure were also excluded because of the indefinite nature of their sentences. Most of these offenders are normally in custody until such a time that His Excellency the President deems it fit for them to be discharged. The nature of their sentences also always arises from circumstances that find most of them having not been engaged in family life. Those on Presidential Pleasure are those who in majority of cases have committed capital charges but had not attained the age of 18 years at the time of crime commission and lastly the researcher excluded all the remandees, that is, both the ordinary remands and those on capital charge. The reason for their exclusion was that in Kenya all those on remand are presumed to be innocent until proven guilty by a court of law, this notion, the researcher reasoned may keep the family holding on until the trial is concluded.

The researcher again applied stratified sampling to get from the 45 sampled women, those who were married before incarceration. This provided a sample of 28 inmates providing the major focus of the sample.

Stratified sampling was then followed by purposive sampling of the inmates' spouses, children and key informants. Purposive sampling was applied by the researcher because of the nature of information that the researcher was interested in. 45 women inmates, 18 spouses, 32 children and 12 key informants were interviewed. For women prisoners, there existed a sampling frame of 522 inmates all incarcerated at Langata Women Prison at the time of the study.

For children and spouses, having been sampled purposively, it was followed by convenience sampling as they were interviewed as they came visiting at the institution. The children were all interviewed during an open day at Langata Women Prison during the last August school holiday and the spouses as they came during normal visitation. The researcher also interviewed key informants among them prison officers, discharged inmates and other stakeholders dealing with inmates and their families. The prison officers interviewed were 2 welfare officers as link persons between the inmates, 2 visiting clerks on issues of visitation of inmate's families and 3 spiritual officers, 1 from protestant, 1 from catholic and 1 maalim on issues of spiritual welfare of the inmates, 2 ex-offenders at their houses at Donholm and Kibera Slum and 3 staff of Faraja Trust, an organization dealing with families members of incarcerated and discharged women inmates. They were purposively sampled based on the information sought for by the researcher.

3.7 DATA COLLECTION

3.7.1 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Two major techniques were adopted, interview and observation.

3.7.1.1 INTERVIEW

Questionnaires were used to collect data from inmates and spouses, while interview guides were used to collect data from children and other key informants who were interviewed in focused group discussions.

3.7.1.2 OBSERVATION

Observation as a method was used in reference to inmates and their family members in relation to how visitations were conducted.

3.8 TYPES OF DATA – VIEWS

This study used primary data. The information collected was based on the background characteristics of the sample, the age of the offender, type of crime committed and length of sentence and how these impacts on the family.

3.9 SOURCES OF DATA

Primary data was collected from inmates at Langata Women, their spouses, children and key informants.

3.10 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Key informant guide was designed and used to obtain information from key persons namely prison officers at various service delivering points like the welfare officer, visiting clerk at the visiting bays and spiritual officers in their offices, 3 members of staff from Faraja Trust and 2 ex-prisoners. Information from this group were aimed at capturing various themes and patterns.

3.10.1 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

This tool was applied to interview groups of children visiting their mother's during an open day at Langata Women. Three groups of eight children aged between 6 years to 17 years both boys and girls were interviewed. The permission was granted by their mothers and care takers. Confidentiality of the information gathered was taken care of by the researcher by ensuring that the interviews were conducted in friendly environments for the children and away from any other party other than the researcher and the recorder.

3.10.2 STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

Open and closed ended questionnaires were designed and administered to the inmates and their spouses as they came visiting at the prison.

3.11 DATA ANALYSIS

The study was both qualitative and quantitative. The field notes written in the course of gathering data were analyzed thematically. Based on the themes developed, emerging patterns were elaborately described and classified. Thereafter, obtained information was summarized by use of percentages, frequency distribution tables and cross tabulations. The qualitative data analysis was used in making general statements on how categories of data are related.

3.12 FIELD EXPERIENCE

The researcher managed to commence research after getting clearance from Prisons Department. This is a requirement taking into account that prisons are 'security zones'. The time frame for data collection in the field was one month two weeks. The main challenge was reaching the anticipated sample target of 50 women incarcerated for a period of 7 months to 30 years. Despite the fact that there existed a sample frame in the form of an admission register at the institution, some of the target population declined to fill the questionnaires.

Another challenge was that of getting information from the spouses. Availability of information from spouses was pegged on the hope of capturing those who come for visitation at the institution. The numbers were very few to an extent that many days could record no visits from the husbands. This made it difficult to attain the targeted number of husbands. Focused group discussion with the children was emotionally

draining. Some of the children were so over-whelmed with situations they find themselves in as a result of their mother's incarceration to an extent that they broke down and calming them required a lot of emotional restraint from the researcher. Of the targeted sample for spouses of the inmate only 18 were interviewed. They were the only ones who came to visit their wives during the period of data collection. The researcher had to personally administer the questionnaire with the help of a research assistant due to the unpredictable nature of spouse's visitation. It took a lot of tolerance as one to two days would register nil visitations of the targeted spouses.

Getting some of the key informants proved to very elusive as tracing some of them was not easy. The researcher finally caught up with two informants who had been imprisoned for more than 5 years.

The researcher also held a focused group discussion with the inmates arising from the conflicting responses on whether or not prison department should in co-operate conjugal visits within prisons visitation. Majority of the men respondents were of the view that conjugal visit is the way forward for married couples while majority of the inmates were not in support of the same. The focused group discussion with the women enabled the researcher to get an in depth view of the situation. Majority of the women were fearful of being contacted with AIDS virus as their spouses were free and they could not predict what they were doing as free men in society.

Another interesting experience that emerged during the study was what women thought and what was actually found to be the real situation. Most inmates felt that the most affected child by their incarceration was the youngest. However, the study arising from a focused group discussion with the children revealed that the most affected child was the eldest. Their helplessness was quite evident.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

A total of 45 women inmates serving a period of between 7 months to 30 years and 18 spouses were interviewed. Seventeen of the inmates were either single, separated or widowed at the time of imprisonment. The remaining 28 were married and formed the focus of the study.

4.2 WOMEN RESPONDENTS

This section present the analysis of the general characteristics of the women respondents (n=45).

4.2.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The socio-demographic characteristics looked at age and marital status of the 45 inmates.

a) Age of the Respondents

Among the 45 women prisoners interviewed the minimum age was 19 years, maximum age was 59 years and the mean age was 34years. This makes it feasible to find out the situation of the nuclear family among inmates of various ages.

b) Marital Status

Among the respondents 62% (n=28) were married, the rest of the respondents were either separated, divorced, single, never married or widowed.

The distribution indicates that majority of the sampled population were married prior to their incarceration, thus had families back in the community as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the 45 Inmates

Variable	Status	Frequency (n)	Percent
Marital Status	Married	28	62.2
	Separated	5	11.1
	Divorced	5	11.1
	Widowed	1	2.2
	Single	3	6.7
	Never Married	3	6.7
	Total		45

4.2.2 Socio-economic Characteristics of the Respondents

The socio-economic characteristics of the respondents analysed included education, occupation, and income of the respondents.

a) Level of Education

As shown in table 2, 45.5% (n=20) of the respondents had primary level education while 4.5% (n=2) of the respondents had university education. This indicates that majority of the inmates had low education levels and thus low social status of the society which are factors in crime commission.

Table 2: Education Level of the 45 Inmates

Variable	Status	Frequency (n)	Percent
Level of education	Primary	20	45.5
	Secondary	12	27.3
	College	10	22.7
	University	2	4.5
	Total	44	100.0

b) Occupation Before Imprisonment

Among the respondents, as shown in table 3, 41% (n=18) were employed before imprisonment, 41% (n=18) were self employed and 18% (n=8) were housewives. This implies that 82% of the respondents were making financial contributions to the households and therefore their incarceration seriously affected the economic status of their families.

Table 3: Occupation of the Respondents

Variable	Status	Frequency (n)	Percent
Occupation	Employed	18	40.9
	Self Employed	18	40.9
	House wife	8	18.2
	Total		100.0

c) Income

The minimum income of the respondents was Kshs. 1,500, the maximum income was Kshs. 30,000 and the median was Kshs. 10,000. It's evident from the incomes that the majority of the respondents were making positive economic contribution to their

households and thus their incarceration subjected their family members to economic hardships.

4.2.3 Offences

The most common crime among the respondents was stealing at 20% (n=9), followed by manslaughter at 17.8% (n=8), drug trafficking at 13.5% (n=6) (see table 4).

Table 4: Offences

Type of Offence	Frequency	Percent
Stealing	9	20.0
Man slaughter	8	17.8
Drug trafficking	6	13.5
Forgery	5	9.2
Grievous harm	3	6.6
Obtaining by false pretence	3	6.6
Attempted murder	2	4.4
Breaking and stealing	2	4.4
Child abduction and sexual assault	2	4.4
Child neglect	1	2.2
Child stealing	1	2.2
Handling of stolen goods	1	2.2
House breaking	1	2.2
Murder	1	2.2
Possession of firearms and ammunitions	1	2.2
Threatening but it was altered to obtaining	1	2.2
Total	45	100.0

It can be seen that women are engaging in more serious crimes which previously were the preserve of male criminality like manslaughter, drug trafficking, possession of firearms, causing grievous harm, etc. From the focus group discussions this was attributed to economic difficulties, family conflicts and pressure for better social status.

4.2.4 Length of Sentences

All the respondents were inmates serving long term imprisonment. Of the total sample of inmates interviewed 59.8% had sentences ranging 7 months- 4 years which formed the modal class of n=27 (27 out of 45). Among the respondents 19.9% (n=9) of the inmates had sentences of 5 -9 years and 11% (n=5) had sentences of 10-14 years. This grouping according the length of sentence enables the study to analyze the inmates by the length of sentence.

The sentences, as shown in table 5, are prolonged periods of time suggesting increased likelihood of negative consequences on the nuclear family.

Table 5: Length of Sentence.

Length	Frequency	Percent
7 months - 4 years	27	59.8
5-9 years	9	19.9
10-14 years	5	11
Above 15 years	4	8.8
Total	45	100

4.3 Spouses (n=18)

a) Age

The mean age was 36 years ranging from 25 years - 45 years and the standard deviation was 8 years indicating 8 years deviation from the mean age for the population sampled.

This shows that the all the male respondents were young and sexually active.

4.4 Analysis by Objectives

Objective 1: The first objective was to analyze how the imprisonment of a mother affects the socialization of the child.

4.4.1 Married Women Responses to Socialization of the Children

a) Number of Children

In order to examine the effects of prolonged imprisonment on children socialisation, the study investigated how many inmates had children and the corresponding number of children. With all married inmates having children this shows every child's socialisation process was disrupted by the separation. The number of children ranged between 1-7. In total 77 children were affected.

Table 6 below shows that majority of the inmates (35.7%) had a total of 2 children, 25% had 4 children, 17.9% had 3 children and 10.7% had 1 child. The study reveals that the incarceration of women destabilizes a significant number of children whose lives' are put on the balance due to the absence of their caregiver. A total of 77 children arising out of a sample size of 28 incarcerated women is by no means a small number.

Table 6 – Number of Children

Number of Children	Mothers	Total no. of children	Percent
1	3	3	10.7
2	10	20	35.7
3	5	15	17.9
4	7	21	25.0
5	1	5	3.6
6	1	6	3.6
7	1	7	3.6
Total	28	77	100.0

b) Ages of the Children

The ages of the children ranged from 1-17 years. Majority of the inmates (54%) had children below 1-9 years. The young children who were the majority are in critical human development stage that requires training e.g. toilet training. This age is critical for the socialization process. Incarceration of their mother implies that they lose on the fundamentals of the socialization process.

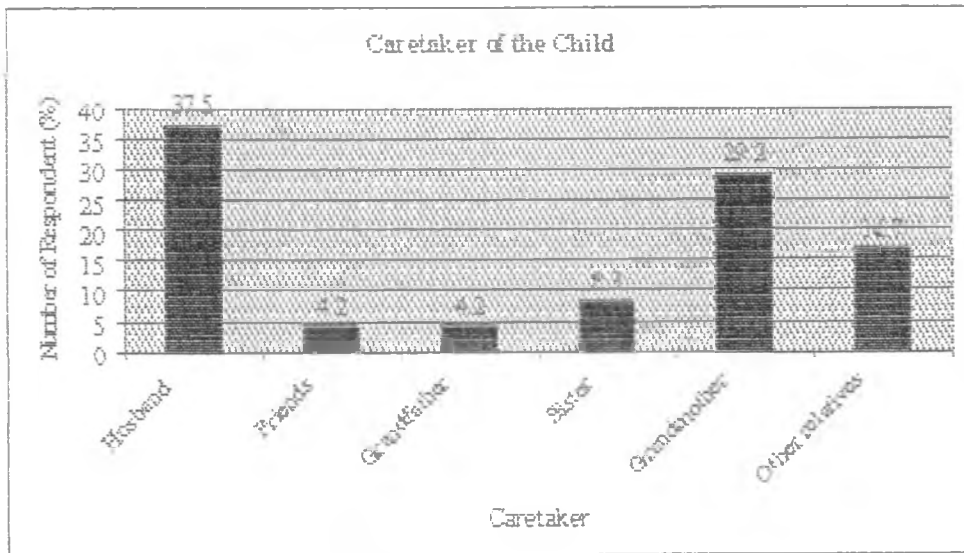
Table 7 – Ages of the Children

Ages(Years)	Frequency	Valid Percent
Below 1 – 9	15	53.6
10 – 17	13	46.5
Total	28	100.0

c) Composition of Caretakers

As shown in figure 1 37.5% of the caretakers of the children were husbands, while others accounted for 62.5% including grandmother (29%), relatives (17%), sister to the inmate (8%), grandfather (4%) and friends (4%). The distribution is an indication that majority of the children had to be taken care of by other people. From this, it can be argued that many children were subjected to old caregivers like grandmothers and grandfathers. The quality of parenting by grandparents is obviously compromised by old age and other problems accompanying old age like ill health.

Figure 1 - Composition of Caretakers

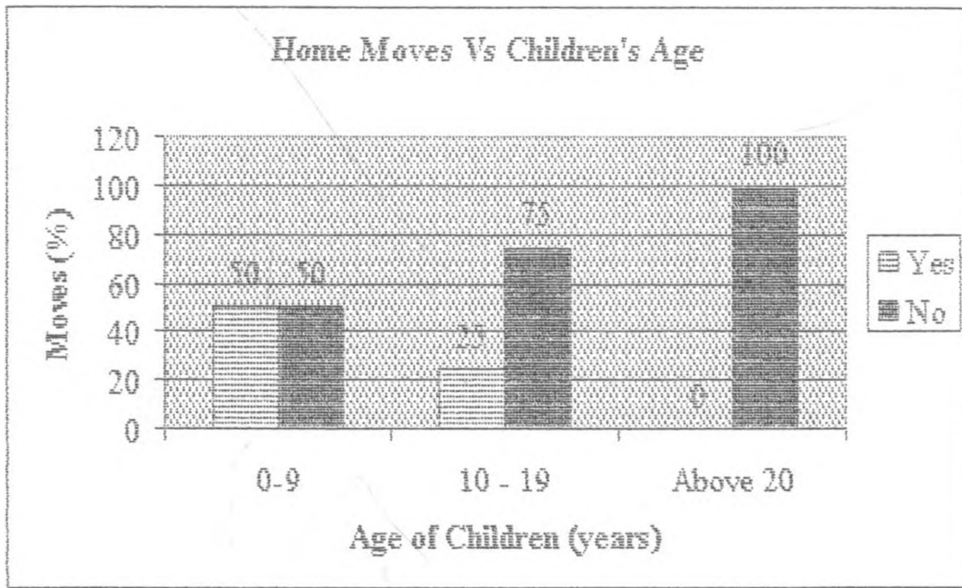


d) Home Moves in Relation to the Age of Children

As illustrated in figure 2, 50% of the children of ages 0-9 years had been moved from their homes, while 75% of children of age 10-19 years had not moved from their home. All the children who were above 20 years had not moved from their homes while young children had been moved after their mothers incarceration.

This confirms the experiences shared by the children's focused group discussions that the older children take on the role of their mothers as caretakers of the younger ones thus stay in the home. The young ones are moved at their critical developmental age and therefore affecting their socialization process.

Figure 2 - Home Moves



e) Women Responses on Socialisation of the Children

As shown in table 8 below all the children (n=77) were staying with their mothers and were separated for the first time for long period at the time of the mothers imprisonment. Also 57.2% of the children were not living with their fathers though the parents were still married. Thus the mothers were seen as the primary caretakers of the children. The table also shows that 15.4% of the children have separated from one another an indication of family disintegration.

Table 8- Women Responses on Socialization of the Children

Item	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Person Raising the Children before Imprisonment	Self	13	46.5
	Self and husband	11	42.9
	Self and sister	4	10.7
	Total	28	100.0
Whether All the Children Staying together	Yes	22	84.6
	No	4	15.4
	Total	26	100.0
Most Affected by the Woman's Imprisonment	Children	23	85.2
	Husband	1	3.7
	Parents	3	11.1
	Total	27	100.0
Children Affected by Incarceration	Yes	21	80.8
	No	5	19.2
	Total	26	100.0
Children dropped out of school because of incarceration	Yes	6	23.1
	No	20	76.9
	Total	26	100.0
Satisfied with the care the children are getting today	Yes	12	42.9
	No	16	57.1
	Total	28	100.0
Living with the Children Before Imprisonment	Yes	26	92.9
	No	2	7.1
	Total	28	100.0
How often do you get visitation from your children	Monthly	6	22.2
	Quarterly	5	18.5
	Twice a year	1	3.7
	Once a year	5	18.5
	Not even once since imprisonment	10	37.0
	Total	27	100.0
Are you satisfied with the frequency of child visitation	Yes	17	73.9
	No	6	26.1
	Total	23	100.0
Children accompanying you in prison	Yes	5	17.9
	No	23	82.1
	Total	28	100.0

NB: where the number of respondents is not equal to 28, some respondents declined answering particular questions.

It was the view of the majority of the inmates (84.2%) that the most affected by the imprisonment was their children, while 3.6% stated that it was their husbands. This confirms the tenets of attachment theory that this kind of separations ruptures the bond between the mother and the child at a very critical time in a child's developmental stage.

Among the inmates (57%) were not satisfied with the quality of care the children were receiving during their incarceration. This was supported by the focused group discussions with the inmates that children were staying with people they had not lived with before which they believed would interfere with the children's upbringing.

A few respondents at 23.1% (n=6) stated that their children had dropped out of school as a result of their incarceration interfering with their education and future. The focused group discussions with the children confirmed that majority of them even though in school were facing many challenges e.g. lack of guidance, unaided homework, time wasted while handling household chore etc. in regard to schooling that were attributed to the mothers absence.

Since their imprisonment 37% of the mothers have not received any visit from their children. This lack of visitation by the children makes it difficult for the mothers to know how their children are fairing on and is bound to affect the children's socialization process due to lack of supervision.

4.5 Husband's Responses on Socialization of the Children

Table 9 below presents the responses of the husband towards the socialisation of the children.

Table 9 - Men Responses on Socialization of the Children

Question	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Views on problems the children are facing	Low moods	5	62.5
	Poor School Grades	2	25.0
	Aggressive Behaviour	1	12.5
	Total	8	100.0
Who Play the role of motherhood to children	Self	16	100.0
	Total	16	
Are you satisfied with the current care and safety arrangement given to the children	Yes	9	52.9
	No	8	47.1
	Total	17	100.0
Are you experiencing any problems with the children which you can attribute to the imprisonment	Yes	8	50.0
	No	8	50.0
	Total	16	100.0

NE: where the number of respondents is not equal to 18, some respondents declined answering particular questions

As depicted on the table 9 above, husbands were asked to state their views on particular difficulties and problems they were encountering with children in relation to the incarceration of their wives. While 62.5% (n=5) held the view that the children were facing the problem of low moods, 12.5% (n=1) had dropped in their school performance and 12.5% (n=1) were exhibiting aggressive behaviour.

It is evident that the children's reaction to their mother's imprisonment are varied and an indication that the socialisation process of the children is affected as they exhibit different behaviour patterns which they were not having previously.

Objective 2: to analyze how women imprisonment affects her reproduction life

The distribution in table 10 below depicts that the majority of the respondents, 71% (n=20) were young and middle aged women; with 35.7% falling within the age bracket of either 18 – 29 or 40 – 49 years each. 63% of them stated that incarceration had interfered with their reproductive life. In human developmental stage, these are the most active reproductive ages in human cycle. This age group, forming the majority is thus an indication that incarceration curtails reproduction of men and women offenders.

Table 10 - How Women Imprisonment Affects Her Reproduction Life

Item	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Age of the Respondent	18 - 29 years	10	35.7
	30-39 years	10	35.7
	40 - 49 years	6	21.4
	Above 50 years	2	7.1
	Total	28	100.0
Wish to have more children	Yes	9	32.1
	No	19	67.9
	Total	28	100.0
Length of Sentence	7 months - 4 years	14	50.2
	5-9 years	3	10.8
	10-14	8	28.6
	Above 15 years	3	10.8
	Total	28	100.0
Has incarceration interfered with your reproductive life	Yes	7	63.6
	No	4	36.4
	Total	11	100.0

When the question of women reproduction was put to the male respondents, 50% of them reported that they did not mind their women conceiving while in prison custody.

Currently women offenders are not permitted to have conjugal visit thus no room for any female offender conceiving while in prison custody.

All the 28 respondents were married before imprisonment and 82% (n=23) had been married for three years or more. As shown in table 12, 42.9% (n=12) reported good spousal relationship prior to incarceration. The inmates further reported that 90.9% (n=20) of their spouses were taking care of themselves. It is evident that majority of the respondents were in stable relationships not losing focus that 25% (n=7) stated that their relationships with the husbands were strained.

In order to obtain some practical assessment of the stability of the present marriage, the researcher asked them their current marital status and 50% of the married inmates were found to have divorced. Despite the fact all the 28 respondents were married, the most frequent visitor was reported as parents at 26.1%. Lack of visitation by spouses was seen by many women as a sign of abandonment at a time of need. The respondents expressed a lot of anger and bitterness during the focus group discussions, most of them saw their husbands as unreliable. From the responses it is evident that incarceration of women weighs heavily on both the offender and the husbands.

Objective 3: To Establish How Women Imprisonment Leads to Divorce

Table 11 - Women Responses on Divorce

Question	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Who is taking care of your husbands domestic responsibilities	Himself	20	90.9
	Relatives	2	9.1
	Total	22	100.0
Family set-up before imprisonment	Monogamous	27	100.0
Relationship with your husband before imprisonment	It was very good we used to spend a lot of time together	12	42.9
	It was good but we didn't spend a lot of time together	8	28.6
	It was strained, we used to quarrel and fight a lot	7	25.0
	It was very strained	1	3.6
	Total	28	100.0
Duration of staying together before imprisonment	0- 4 years	5	18
	5-9 years	6	21
	10-14	5	18
	15-19 years	8	28
	20-24 years	2	8
	Above 25 years	2	7
	Total	28	100.0
Most frequent visitor in prison	My children	5	21.7
	My friends	2	8.7
	My husband	5	21.7
	My parents	6	26.1
	My siblings	5	21.7
	Total	23	100.0
Should prisons incorporate conjugal rights	Yes	9	33.3
	No	18	66.7
	Total	27	100.0
Relationship with in-laws	Good	14	58.3
	Bad	10	41.7
	Total	24	100.0

Question	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Marital status before imprisonment	Married	28	100.0
Current marital status	Married	14	50.0
	Divorced/separated	14	50.0
	Total	28	100.0
How often does your husband visit you	Once a month	7	28.0
	Once a year	2	8.0
	After every three months	2	8.0
	Not at all since conviction	14	56.0
	Total	25	100.0
How do you rate your husband	Loving husband	15	53.6
	Dependable	3	10.7
	Uncaring husband	7	25.0
	Very unpredictable	3	10.7
	Total	28	100.0

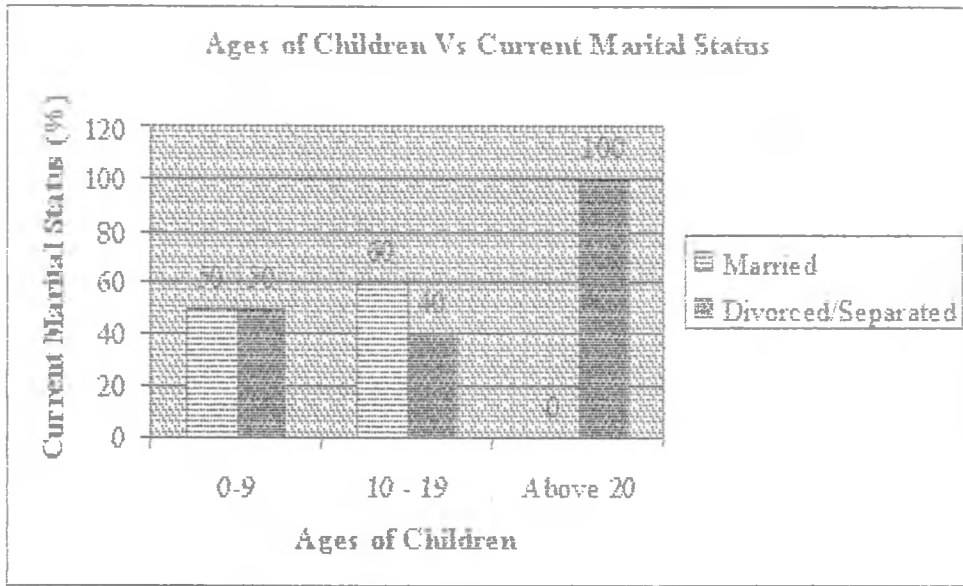
As shown in table 12 below a total of 16 men out of 18 responded to the question of conjugal visits in relation to divorce, 68.8% (n=11) were on the view that conjugal visits should be introduced in women prisons to help guard against divorce cases. Many of them (62.5%, n=10) were of the view that the length of their wives sentences was too long. These findings illustrates the fact that the husbands of incarcerated women are faced with a lot of challenges in view of situations that they find themselves in as a result of long term separation from their wives due to incarceration.

Table 12: Men Responses on Divorce

Question	Response	Frequency	Percentage
View on conjugal rights	Yes	11	68.8
	No	5	31.3
	Total	16	100.0
Were you and your wife living together with your children	Yes	16	94.1
	No	1	5.9
	Total	17	100.0
How long had you lived with your wife before	0- 4 years	3	16.8
	5-9 years	8	39
	10-14	2	11.2
	15-19 years	3	16.7
	20-24 years	1	5.6
	Above 25 years	2	11.1
	Total	18	100.0
What do you have to say about your wives duration of sentence	Long	4	25.0
	Too Long	10	62.5
	Manageable	2	12.5
	Total	16	100.0
How many times do you visit your wife	Rarely	1	5.9
	Every Month	13	76.5
	Twice a month	3	17.6
	Total	17	100.0
Pressure from family members to remarry	Yes	4	23.5
	No	13	76.5
	Total	17	100.0

As shown in figure 3 below majority of the families with children above 20 years (100%) had broken. Families with children of between ages 10-19 years (60%) were still intact. While the families with young children of age between 1-9 years 50% were broken and 50% were still intact. Thus the older the children the more likely the family will break. This indicates that most of the families that are still intact have the children holding them together.

Figure 3 - Age of Children and Current Marital Status



4.6 Objective 4: How Male Sexuality is interfered with

Male responses on regulation of sexual behaviour

Table 13 below captures some of the husband's responses to questions put forward in regard to how they cope with the absence of their wives due to their incarceration. Majority of the respondents were putting up with their wives before imprisonment and were alone as a result. When asked how they were coping with the lack of their spouse's conjugal responsibilities, 81.3% stated that they were abstaining, while 18.8% had to do with other sexual partners. Majority of those abstaining cited the fear of contracting HIV/AIDS as a cause of their action. 68.8% of them recommended for incorporation of conjugal visits within prisons visitation programs to help bail them out of their sexual frustration.

Table 13: Men Responses on Regulation of Sexual Behaviour

Question	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Were you and your wife staying together before imprisonment	Yes	17	100.0
Relationship with wife before imprisonment	Cordial	16	88.9
	Strained	2	11.1
	Total	18	100.0
How you cope with lack of your spouses conjugal responsibilities	Sexual Partners	3	18.8
	Abstinence	13	81.3
	Total	16	100.0
Satisfaction with current visitation	Yes	14	77.8
	No	4	22.2
	Total	18	100.0
Recommend for conjugal visit	Yes	11	68.8
	No	5	31.3
	Total	16	100.0
Allow your wife conceiving in visit if conjugal visits are allowed	Yes	8	50.0
	No	8	50.0
	Total	16	100.0

Objective 5: to examine how women imprisonment affects economic stability of the family.

Majority of the husbands sampled expressed concerns stating that they had to put up with a lot of financial constraint. This was evident by the fact that 75% of their wives were either employed or self employed at the time of incarceration.

The husbands had the following responses in regard to their wives incarceration and family finances: it was a great loss to the family finances, they were unable to save because of new habits like drinking, they incurred losses due to the wives absences,

property was stolen because of the wives absences and constraint for losing a working partner.

The figure 4 indicates that 75% of the incarcerated women were either employed or self employed. This is an indication that they were positively contributing to their family finances and therefore a negative consequence on family finances.

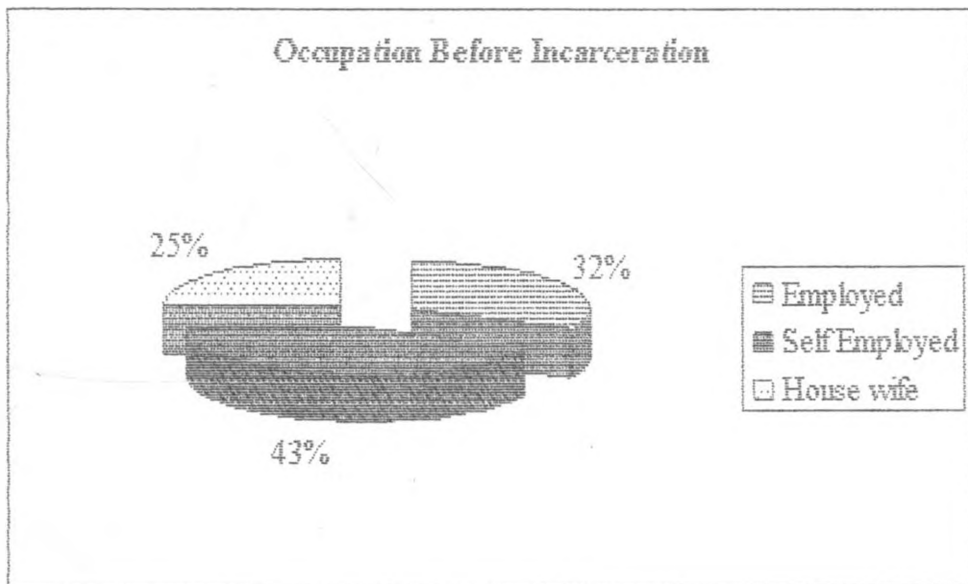


Figure 4 – Occupation Before Incarceration

Others were being assisted by their other wives, accepting the situation as it were and they had adjusted household expenses to cope.

How husbands have filled the Gap of the Role Previously played by the Wife

Further responses from the husbands indicated that they were coping with single parenthood. The coping mechanism which included cooking, washing and maintaining family standards by themselves to fill this gap.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provides a summary of key findings obtained during the study. Conclusions have been drawn to explain the current status and recommendations for further research and issues of policy concerns are made. The main objective of this research was to analyse the effects of women imprisonment on the family the case of Langata Maximum Women's Prison. This project aimed at establishing what happens to child socialization process how women imprisonment affects her reproductive life, to what extent the imprisonment of a woman results to divorce and how it impacts on male sexuality, and how their imprisonment affects economic stability of their families.

5.1 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

This section highlights the extent to which the research objectives were answered based on the findings of this research. Findings in this report were derived from, in depth analysis of first hand observations at Langata Women Prison, interviews with inmates, key informants, and Langata Women staff. The following is a summary of the major findings:

5.1.1. WOMEN IMPRISONMENT AND CHILD SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

The study sought to establish how long term incarceration of a mother affects the socialization process of the child.

Imprisonment of mothers is harmful to children even in dysfunctional families. This is because imprisonment will more often compound than mitigate pre-existing family problems. Furthermore once the mother is removed from the household the quality of alternative care arrangements for the children is found in this study to be inadequate further compounding the trauma of separation.

It was established that children of incarcerated mothers are not consulted at all stages of the criminal justice system from trial to imprisonment to release into the community.

This results in their rights needs and best interest being over looked or actively damaged.

Children were found to take new roles following their mother's imprisonment in order to provide domestic, emotional or financial support for other family members as revealed during focused group discussion with the children. Most of the children interviewed expressed their reaction to their mothers' imprisonment as a feeling of loss, one of the children expressed this by stating that "a family without a mother is incomplete", we can no longer get advice and her role has to be played by someone else, which is a big challenge.

The function of the family is to procreate and socialize children, with the imprisonment of a mother; the expressive role of the family is removed from the family unit, the love, communication support and psychological satisfaction is missed by the children of imprisoned mothers as brought about during the focus group discussion with the children.

The impact of a mother's imprisonment on children was established to go far wider than just the relationship between the child and the imprisoned mother. It was established that it affects all aspects of a child's life, from where they live and how they cope at school to their relationship with other family members and their standing in the local community. It was found that as a result of a mother's incarceration, most children's primary care giver changed. This is because mothers are the primary care givers of the children. In this study 92.9% of the imprisoned women lived with their children prior to their incarceration. This implies that many children's lives were disrupted by enforced separation caused by imprisonment of their mothers.

When fathers are imprisoned, the children's mother usually continues caring for them; this study however established that this is not the case with fathers. Out of the 18 men who were interviewed, only 37.5% lived with their children. Majority were compelled to move in with their mother's friends, grandmothers, sisters and to foster homes. Some children continued to live alone in previous address, some of them became homeless as narrated by one key informant dealing with children of imprisoned mothers.

This study revealed that the imprisonment of the mother resulted into new living arrangements for the child. Majority (62.5%) were compelled to make for new living arrangements with other relatives, with many of them facing "multiple care changes during a mother's imprisonment". One teenage daughter stated during the researcher's focused group discussion how she continued changing residence between her aunt's place and the grandmother's residence. She finally dropped out of school due to lack of school fees at Form Two while all her aunt's children made it up to university level. The new

living arrangements for children of imprisoned mothers subjected them to decreased quality parenting which affects their socialization process.

New living arrangements were established by this study to affect children of imprisoned mothers in many ways. Children's schooling, friendship groups and support networks, which are particularly needed at stressful times, were seriously affected. Wherever they moved to, children's day to day life changed. The children stated that because of their mother's imprisonment they had to wash their own clothes, do their homework without any guidance, cook and clean the house, tasks which were previously done by their mother. The most striking thing was that some of these children were as young as 6 years old.

Drawing on focused group discussion of thirty two (32) children who visited their mothers at Langata Women Prison, the children were seen to be grappling with feeling of anger and guilt, flashbacks about their mother's crime or arrests. One ten year old girl commented that if she would ever set her eyes on the policeman who arrested her mum, she would definitely shoot him. This is because she witnessed how the police harassed her mother on the day of arrest at home. She had this to say about her mum's absence, "I miss mum so much and I am tired of being taken to school in a school van, I miss the days mum used to drop me in school with our car".

The mother's opinion according to this study is that the most affected child and therefore the hardest hit as a result of their incarceration are the youngest children. This is evident as 84.6% of the sampled respondents held this opinion.

However, from the three focused group discussion held with children of various ages, it emerged that the long term effects of a mother's incarceration on children varied by age and gender. It was evident that the older children suffered severely as opposed to the young ones. They suffer from fatalism and feelings of helplessness. Majority of them broke down when trying to explain their helplessness arising from their mum's incarceration and the problems they have to face as a result including lack of school fees, not being able to visit their mum in prison due to lack of bus fare, hassling to get house rent and upkeep and many other challenges.

The effect on children was particularly apparent in the group of adolescent child. Adolescent in a child's development stage is normally seen as a crisis thus a critical period in a child's life requiring parental guidance. Absence of a mother makes the situation unbearable for many children under this study. Anderson (1990) emphasizes that the presence of "old heads is integral to the successful transition to adulthood for both boys and girls".

Variation in the well being of the children of imprisoned mothers were found to include early adulthood as many firstborns were forced to take charge of other siblings, educational failure, irresponsible sexuality, premature departures from home, early pregnancy, child bearing and marriage. This was established through focused group discussion.

The caretakers interviewed in this study, the father staying with some of the children stated that children of imprisoned mothers exhibit many problems associated with

absence of their mothers. The problems cited by the fathers included low-self esteem, impaired achievement motivation and poor peer relations. In addition, they reported that these children also contend with feelings like anxiety, shame, sadness, grief, social isolation and guilt. Some of them suffer withdrawal and regression in development. Another group was even exhibiting behaviours of younger children, like bedwetting which was not previously the case. As the children reach adolescence, some begin to act out in anti-social ways. The study also established that many children had to relocate to another home due to the imprisonment of their mothers.

Focus group discussion with the inmates revealed that many caretakers opted to lie to the children about the whereabouts of their imprisoned mothers. With intent of protecting the children, many care-takers developed stories about the absence of the mothers like mother is in hospital or on a long journey.

The imprisonment of the mother was found to be very hard on many children. It emerged from the focused group discussion with the children that for the fear of stigmatization by their friends, many children opted not to tell their friends of their mother's imprisonment. Many adapt to the problem by fabricating stories of mothers' whereabouts. The definition that Hill gives the family as a system in system theory is of particular importance for examination of the incarcerated mother and her child. First of all, the child may adapt to the mother incarceration by fabricating stories of where the mother is as confirmed by this study. Secondly, the structure of the family changes depending on who assumes care taking responsibility for the children that is family members or foster parents. However, most researchers commonly argue that children are better off knowing

the truth about their mother's imprisonment rather than experiencing confusion and deceit.

The study also revealed that a mother's incarceration lead many children to experience stigma, bullying and teasing. One mother during a focused group discussion stated that the care taker of her child once told her that her child's friends were asking her why her mother stopped visiting her during parents day. This was traumatizing to the mother who had instructed the care taker not to tell the child that she was in prison. She reasoned that her child being aware of her imprisonment would deny her role model status in her life and therefore disrupt their socialization process. This confirms the tenents of Role Theory which posits that human behaviour is guided by expectations held both by the individual and by other people.

The study found that 80.8% of the women respondents felt their incarceration has affected the socialization process of their children. Majority of them had the feeling that locking them away from their children and family members break the family bond. This is particularly so since majority of them had young school going children raging from nursery level to all the way to university.

Visitation by children to prison was also discussed. The group of adolescents' boys and girls reported mixed experiences of visiting their mothers in prisons custody. Some of them found it frightening seeing their mother through wires and thus saw the visiting facilities as physically uncomfortable seeing their mothers standing across a window.

According to the study 17.9% of women respondents had children living with them in prison. The Prison Act (Chapter 90) stipulates that mothers are permitted to be accompanied by their children in prison up to the age of four years. Research has suggested that having young (pre-school aged) children in prison with their mothers enhance bonding and avoid some of the negative impacts of separation for both mothers and children.

The study established that mothers with their children were accommodated separately from other inmates, some children were also found to be attending nursery school together with children of prison officials and children living close to the prison. The scheme helps to mitigate the problem of children living in prison becoming socially isolated by allowing them to mix with children from surrounding areas. As compared to other children of incarcerated mothers, children in prison have greater access to the imprisoned parent than they would have otherwise, but their relationship with non-imprisoned family members, friends and the outside world was found to be greatly diminished. A key informant talking about her child who lived in prison until the age of 3 years stated that "he was (initially) afraid of men because he lived with women all the time. He was crying at the sight of trees and grass". When stating the problems that she and her child had to put up with after discharge from prison.

A mother's imprisonment was reported by caretakers interviewed as a cause of psychosocial difficulties for children. A father commenting stated "my six year old could not sleep. She was a real wreck. After a while I figured out what the problem was – she thought her mother was having to live on bread and water". Intrinsic features of a

mother's imprisonment has been noted in this study that causes direct psychosocial difficulties for children – there is the experience of separation and enduring loss.

Attachment Theory predicts that rupturing of parental bonds through separation causes psychosocial difficulties for children.

Child socialization is seriously compromised as a result of a mother's incarceration.

Child mother contact is currently not catered for within Cap 90 that guides operations of prisons department. It was noted that currently normal visitation is designed in a way that it caters just for the adult visitor and not the child. The visiting bays are constructed in such a way that people talk while standing through a window. This is obviously not conducive for young children.

Also missing is a liaison office between prisoner's family members and the inmate.

Welfare office as is currently constituted lacks personnel and resources to expeditiously handle the many problems faced by these families.

Child mother contact is lacking to an extent that some mothers reported that they are not even aware whether their children are still alive since they have not seen or heard from them for as long as three years.

At Langata Women Prison, the researcher established that the institution runs an open day for the family, referred to as Remote Parenting. This is an event that the researcher found to be very impressive. On this day children of imprisoned mothers are permitted to visit their mothers once every school holiday. The researcher had an opportunity to

attend the August holiday re-union between the mothers and their children which was inspiring. The program is still a pilot scheme facing a lot of challenges including funding.

The study established that long term incarceration of women offenders has serious repercussions on the child well-being. It impacts negatively on children's critical time in life by affecting their developmental stages through different care takers, home moves resulting to new unfamiliar environments, stigmatization, school dropouts, psychological problems and many hardships. All these expose the young children to vulnerable situations.

The study also established that majority of incarcerated women have children with whom they will return to live with in their communities on discharge from Langata Women Prison. The effect of women's imprisonment as seen from the study has far reaching effects on their children and consequences for the broader community.

A mother's imprisonment is also experienced as desertion or abandonment by many children hence causes distress for children.

Uncertainty about how a mother is treated while inside the prison also causes a great deal of anxiety among children of imprisoned mothers. The study established that majority of incarcerated women have children with whom they will return to live with in their local communities on discharge from Langata Women Prison. The effect of women's imprisonment as evident from the study has far reaching effects on their children and

consequence for the broader community. Their children and spouses can be categorized as a disadvantaged population group within the community.

5.1.2 SOCIAL PLACEMENT

Majority of respondents in this study felt that the stigma assigned to currently and formerly incarcerated women is often greater than the stigma assigned to their male counterparts. They were of the view that generally women are stereotyped by the society as "more passive" and less inclined to commit crimes than men. Female according to the majority of those interviewed are thus commonly considered to be even more "deviant and abnormal" than males who commit crimes.

Labeling was also found to be a serious problem, with discharged women offenders hence impending on successful re-integration back to the community and bonding of families after release from prison custody. This was gathered through the interview with key informants. The key informants, working with families of serving and discharged inmates informed the study that in an effort to help the families of ex-women inmates, start up and pick up after incarceration, they usually provide for micro financing as start up capital for small business like kiosks. In most of their studies, the discharged women normally start off very well and their businesses thrive at initial stages but after a short while, it starts to go down. The key informant attributes this downward trend to the realization of the neighbourhood that the business is being run by an ex-convict and thus the withdrawal of the clientele. The key informants view was that stigmatization of ex-

inmates is so serious that a lot has to be done in order to help families of discharged women offenders get their footing in the community.

5.1.3 WOMEN IMPRISONMENT AND REPRODUCTIVE LIFE

Biological reproduction refers to the production of human beings. The study established that majority of the women respondents were within the active reproductive age (see Table 10) reflects age of the respondents against their length of sentences. Majority of them were sentenced for a long period of upto 30 years. The length of sentence against their ages is an indication that incarceration to a large extent curtails a woman's active reproductive life and resulting to some of them leaving the prison at menopause and thus unable to give birth.

On reproduction, 50% of male respondents did not mind their wives conceiving in prison. 63.6% were of the opinion that incarceration had interfered with their reproductive life.

5.1.4 WOMEN IMPRISONMENT AND DIVORCE

At present, women are not given options in between their sentences to visit their families. Parole also is not practiced; this implies that when a woman is imprisoned, her relationship and contact with the husband is curtailed upto completion of sentence regardless of its duration.

The study established that long term incarceration of women has a correlation with divorce. This has been proven by the fact that at the time of admission, all the 28 women

in the study were married, 82% of them having been in marriage for a period of over 3 years. 42.9% of the women respondents also reported that their spousal relationship prior to imprisonment was good.

Majority of the men respondents were of the view that the sentences awarded to their wives by courts are too long and thus short sentences for women according to their view would help save their marriages.

5.1.5 WOMEN IMPRISONMENT AND HOW IT IMPACTS ON MALE SEXUALITY.

As brought about in literature review, all societies regulate sexual behaviour and provide regular sexual outlet for most adults. The marriage institution offers such outlet. There is no provision for sexual outlet for married women once they are incarcerated. The practice is that one has liberty on discharge before which no sexual contact is allowed between spouses. The prison department do not have conjugal visits as part of visitation programs. Majority of husbands interviewed indicated that they were abstaining from sexual behaviour due to the absence of their wives. One wonders however whether this is true as majority of them had indicated that they were staying with their wives prior to imprisonment and study conducted by other scholars on married couples in regard to coital frequency reported responses ranging from episode of an intercourse per month all the way to 45 times per month.

The study revealed that all the male respondents were staying with their imprisoned wives prior to their imprisonment, majority of the reported that they had to contend with

a lot of loneliness as a result. To help save their families from disintegration, majority of them recommended that conjugal visit be introduced as part of prison visitation. 81.3% stated that they were abstaining from sexual engagement. This could be assumed to be related to fear of HIV/Aids.

5.1.6 WOMEN IMPRISONMENT AND ECONOMIC STABILITY OF THEIR FAMILIES

Majority of spouses reported that they had to put up with a lot of financial constrain as a result of their wives incarceration. Prior to their incarceration, majority of the women prisoners were contributing significantly to their family finances. This is evident by the fact that 75% of them reported having been either employed or self employed.

The husbands also reported added financial responsibilities on their part since they are now forced to cater for other things like travelling to prison to see their wives, visiting their children putting up with other care givers like the grandmother.

Families of incarcerated women face a lot of financial difficulties. As revealed by key informants, the welfare officer at Langata Women and members of Faraja Trust that deal with families of women offenders. Many children were reported to have dropped out of school as a result of their mum's imprisonment and the welfare officers on several occasions is called upon to make arrangements for children rendered homeless, and starving as a result of their mother's imprisonment.

Currently prison department has no funds allocated for families of incarcerated nor any government department dealing with such. Their children, the very desperate cases are currently catered for by foster homes privately owned as at present.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

The study has revealed that the enforced separation of a woman as a result of her incarceration makes her dysfunctional in regard to her functions in the society. As brought about by role theory, humans assume others to be playing a role, and this assumption is what gives interaction a common basis. It is evident from this study that the incarceration of a woman denies her the opportunity to effectively play her role as a mother to her children and a wife to her husband.

Imprisonment of women makes them dysfunctional in regard to their functions in the society in many ways. From the findings of the study it is evident that the position of a woman as a mother and wife in the community is seriously threatened as a result of her incarceration. The family literally disintegrates with children moving homes, new care givers coming into children's life, husbands trying to cope by playing the role of a mother unsatisfactorily with children reacting to the separation in different ways.

The incarceration of a mother and a wife impacts negatively on the family unit and the community as a whole. The children of imprisoned mothers are at risk as a result of the incarceration of growing up and coming of age in disadvantaged communities. The children suffer emotional and behavioral problems due to the loss of a parent and displacement into the care of others.

The study has confirmed the tenets of attachment theory which predicts that rupturing of parent-child bonds cause psychosocial difficulties for children. It is evident from the study that if issues of children are not addressed and thus treating them as forgotten

victims of crime, 'orphans of justice' or 'Cinderella of penology' then various communities are bound to loss a generation of young children without realizing.

The study has established that the nuclear families of the incarcerated woman is at the verge of disintegration. As revealed by the study, the family members are faced with many challenges that need to be serious addressed.

There are several programs that can be put in place to make women offenders remain functional and contribute positively to their families even when incarcerated. These are enhancing child mother contact, improving on the visiting environment to make it more conducive to all including the children. The study can conclude that women imprisonment makes her dysfunctional in many ways and as a result contributes to the disintegration of many family units in society.

The study appreciates the efforts being made by prisons department to improve the contact between the mothers and their children but a lot still need to be done to make a mother remain in regular contact with her family members.

Given these findings, it appears entirely valid that an incarcerated mother would experience considerable difficulty and distress concerning her child's welfare and changes in their relationship.

Focused group discussion held by the target group saw many women expressing their deepest fears about the rearing and maternal responsibilities arising out of their

incarceration. Some of the parenting responsibilities for rearing children expressed by them were provision of nurturance and physical care, orienting the child to their immediate world, neighbourhood, community and society and to their own feelings, teaching and skill training in language, physical skills and self-care, transmitting cultural and sub-cultural goals and values, promoting inter personal skills, motives and modes of feeling and behaving in relation to others, guiding, correcting and helping the child to formulate their goals and plan their own activities.

As brought about in Role Theory, Role playing within the nuclear family is very critical. Imprisonment of a woman brings with it role exit and with it the nuclear family is left grappling with role strain and role ambiguity as family members try to cope.

Most mothers reported feelings of anger, anxiety, sadness, depression, shame, guilt, decreased self-esteem and a sense of loss as a result of being separated from their children and spouses.

Imprisonment also implies that a large fraction of young women attain prison records and are made less able to contribute to their communities and families. The incarceration of a woman damages their human and social capital, their families and their communities.

More specifically, imprisonment engenders negative consequences for female offenders as the prospects for employment after release are diminished. In terms of human and social capital, it is evident that the remaining single parents simply have less money and time to invest in their children.

As seen in social capital theory, social capital results from membership in social networks or other social structures. Imprisonment of women swiftly and irreparably alters the social networks and structures to which the inmate and those to whom they are connected belong.

Since rehabilitation and reentry of offender into the community is the ultimate goal of the correctional system, it should be obvious that the maintenance of offender's family system is of vital concern. If reentry into the community is to be successful, the returning offender must be reentering a society where she will be supported by a family system or network which will strengthen her rehabilitation and prevent her from becoming a recidivist.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Several policy recommendations can be proposed for the treatment of this population. There should be some consideration of the child's welfare at each point in the criminal justice system. For example training police officers to recognize and consider needs of dependent children at the time the mother is arrested, attorneys should consider the child's needs when preparing the mother's case, pretrial investigation and pre-sentence investigation reports should include specific mention of the defendant's family responsibility and this factor should be considered when recommendations are made to the court. Judges should consider the needs of children when making decisions about pretrial release, bail and sentencing. At the correctional level, the staff should be trained to adopt a family - centered approach to female offenders and parole should be implemented as provided for in section 49 of Prisons Act (Cap 90). This should be encouraged to consider a woman's family responsibility and the needs of her children when making decisions about parole.

The Kenyan criminal justice system is majorly based on retributive model of justice, where our focus is increasingly on identifying someone to blame and punish. Little effort is devoted to identifying much less, addressing the needs and or losses of the victim, the offender her family or the community.

The criminal justice and social service systems should develop closer policy coordination and service integration if women prisoners and their children are to be treated more appropriately. This requires the development of intervention programs designed to

maintain continuing contact between inmate mothers and their children during her incarceration. These interventions include nursery care within the prison or maintenance of family in small units in the community under close supervision; developing programs designed to prepare inmates mothers for coping realistically with their roles as mothers following release; and providing furloughs for inmate mothers.

To maintain greater sensitivity to a family oriented approach regarding inmate mothers, a variety of programs designed to improve mother-child relationship should be developed within the institution. Program suggestions include open and extended visits, family counseling, child care courses or mother release programs. These interventions would help in addressing the socialization problems faced by many children as a result of their mother's incarceration.

Historically, the development of probation and parole was intended to offer the prospect of reintegration to criminal offenders as alternatives to the stigma of imprisonment but this use of probation and parole is less common in Kenyan criminal justice system and should be enhanced in the absence of efforts to encourage reacceptance and re-absorption.

Strengthening and improving of family interactions during incarceration. This would result to post release success and decreased recidivism.

Prisons department should provide an opportunity to work on distress levels and parenting skills. Parenting programs should therefore be adopted as a strategy. Also to

be considered should be the provision of quality contact and privacy with their children, with this in mind programs such as the extended visits scheme, improving visitor processing and environments, and active involvement of family members in rehabilitation programs.

The family members, that is the children and spouses can be categorized as a disadvantaged population and thus the government should come up with intervention to address their issues.

For the needs of incarcerated mothers, it would be useful to identify those prisoners likely to be badly affected by the experience of incarceration and to identify coping strategies which might be effective in reducing the impact of such stressors. Accurate identification would contribute to the development of strategies or programs to train women prisoners in effective ways of dealing with stress due to the separation from family and reframe their parental role.

It is important that the government should avail options for those women offenders serving long sentences to continue with their reproductive function as women who are faced with menopause unlike their men counterparts.

In conclusion, correctional facilities must aggressively set into place programs and procedures that maintain and enhance connections between incarcerated persons and their families regardless of gender.

The best interests of the child should be a primary consideration when considering how, when and how often children and their imprisoned parents should remain in contact. Children should be consulted in determining the extent and type of relationship they want with an imprisoned parent and it should be remembered that one child's wants and best interest may differ from another's even with the same family.

Use of telephones is also recommended. It is possible for mothers in prison to be a positive influence on their children's lives and upbringing. Prisoners who have failed as citizens can succeed as parents. Prison can be an opportunity to become a better parent more caring, concerned and informed. But families can only benefit from their relationship with an incarcerated member when and if they stay in communication. Good practice can be cited, programmes allowing imprisoned mothers to produce an audio recording of book for their children to listen have been credited with strengthening the parent-child relationship, raising self esteem of prisoners and improving literacy among both children and prisoners. This may reduce children's fear and concerns for their imprisoned parents.

Visits to a parent or jail are usually helpful in keeping children connected to their parents. Many studies suggest that allowing children to visit imprisoned parents can be positive for both parties. Children are visibly less disruptive after seeing their parents in prison.

When a mother is taken from their community and put in jail, the composition of the community changes and the social dynamics are changed. This affects all relationship and eventually impacts on community well being as a whole.

Various groups should work to support children during their mother's imprisonment for example mentoring schemes where children are matched with adults who act as role models can result in children fighting less at home and at school as well as allowing them time with someone primarily concerned with them. Also, projects which bring together children of imprisoned mothers can reduce feelings of isolation and allow them to meet people who are in same situation.

The risks to children of imprisoned mothers continuing their education as well as the importance of their doing so should be recognized. A scholarship scheme to support children of imprisoned mothers should be initiated. Imprisonment of a mother is not good solution if it results in children not attending school. The costs associated with having a mother imprisoned have led some to argue that imprisonment acts like a hidden tax, one that is visited disproportionately on poor families. The child poverty caused by parental imprisonment can seriously damage the life chances of many children leading to a cycle of deprivation which repeats itself from generation to generation.

The needs of children living in prison should be provided for and they should be allowed to live as closely as possible to life on the outside. The needs of caregivers should be considered as their welfare will impact on the children of imprisoned mothers.

Arising from the high level of divorce recorded in this study, measures should be put in place geared towards addressing this problem. As noted from the study, many of the respondents were still young despite the fact that they are serving long sentences. I recommend halfway homes and conjugal visitations between sentences to keep the family

intact. The Prison Department should also embrace new concepts like furlough which have been implemented in developed countries. This should be put forward to those inmates who comply with certain requirements like good behaviour on the part of the inmate.

To avoid the disintegration and divorce in the nuclear family unit, Prison Department should embrace modern trends in correctional management. The study recommends introduction of electronic monitoring systems, this is seen as an electronic rehabilitation project on one hand it would reduce recidivism, allow family members to stay together on the other communication with central station would have an educative and humanizing effect. It costs less and a solution to prison overcrowding.

To alleviate economic strain among prisoner's families and reduce adverse outcomes among children of incarcerated mothers there is need for financial assistance to ensure that children of incarcerated mothers receive necessary benefits and provide emergency funds to help overcome the immediate financial difficulties caused as a result of a mother's contribution to the family.

Provide inmates with paid jobs while in custody and increase work schemes that employ former prisoners. Currently in Kenya ex-prisoners are not considered for employment, not even by the government.

5.4. RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Research into the needs of mothers in prison and children accompanying them. In Kenyan prisons, the mothers are allowed to have children in custody upto a period of 4 years. Many mothers come to prison pregnant. These children and other young ones who accompany their mothers grow up in prison environment. Further research is recommended in this field to help address the needs of this category of children.

The study also established that there are many single women incarcerated for long periods. One wonders how their children are coping in their absence. I'm therefore recommending that a study on the impact of incarceration of single mothers on the children be undertaken.

Also of interest to the research are the families of those on death row and those serving life imprisonment. The families of these groups of inmates should be studied to find out their coping mechanisms.

Stigmatization of the female offender was found to be an issue. A study from the perceptive of the community should be undertaken. This can shed light on the fears that the community are grappling with in respect to discharged inmates.

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APPENDIX 1

Inmates at Langata Women Prison Administered questionnaire

I Background information

1. Name of respondent (optional).....

2. Age in years
Under 18 years 18 - 29 30 - 39
40 - 49 50 - 59 60 +

3. Level of education
Primary Secondary
College/Diploma/certificate University

4. State whether you were in possession of any professional training/trade before imprisonment.....
.....

5. What was your marital status before imprisonment?
Married Separated Divorced
Widowed Single Never married

6. What is your present marital status?
Married Separated Divorced
Widowed Single Never married

- 7(a) Religion
Christian Muslim Others (specify)

- (b) If Christian state whether
Catholic Protestant

8. What was your religious commitment before imprisonment?

Saved Christian

Not saved

9. What is your ethnic group?.....
.....

10. What was your occupation before imprisonment?

Employed

Self employed

House wife

11. How long had you worked in that occupation?.....
.....

12. Monthly income.....
.....

II Prison Data

13. What category of offender are you?

Petty - 6 months and below

Serious - 7 months and above

14. Are you a first offender?

Yes

No

If No. About how many times have you been imprisoned?

Twice

3 times

More than 5 times

15. What offence were you convicted of?.....
.....

16(a) Were there other accomplices?.....
.....

(b) If yes, state your relationship with the accomplice?

Friend

Husband

Offspring

Relative

17. What do you have to say about your offence?

18. Do you think you were framed?

Yes

No

19. What type of rehabilitative programs are you currently deployed in the prison?

Industry

Industry and school

Industry and computer

Salon

Others

20. How do you spend your free time in prison?

21. How long have you been in prison?

22. What is the balance of your sentence?

23. What is your view on the duration of sentence passed in relation to crime committed?

24. In your opinion what motivates women to crime?

Lack of income

Marital status

Family background

Children

Other

25. What are the major hardships faced by women in prison?.....
.....
.....

III Care and Protection

26(a) In your opinion, who are the worst hit by your imprisonment?

My children My husband My parents
My friends My siblings

(b) Explain your choice in 26(a).....
.....
.....

27. How many children do you have?.....

28. What were their ages at the time of your imprisonment?

0 - 4 yrs 5 - 10 yrs
11 - 15 yrs 16 - 17 yrs

29. Which category of your children is the most hit by your incarceration

The youngest The big ones

Explain your answer and state the ages of worst hit.....
.....
.....

30. Were you staying with all your children prior to your arrest?

Yes

No

⇒ If No, where were others?
Boarding school
With Husband
With parents
With relatives

31. Currently, who is taking care of your children?

- | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Husband | <input type="checkbox"/> | Father | <input type="checkbox"/> | Mother | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Brother | <input type="checkbox"/> | Sister | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | House help | <input type="checkbox"/> | Foster homes | <input type="checkbox"/> |

32. Are the children still staying in the same residence they were in prior to your arrest?

Yes

No

If No. Where are they now?

Same town different houses

Moved to different town

Moved to different estate

33. Are all your children putting up together presently?

Yes

No

34. If No above, state the present residential arrangement for the children?.....

.....

35. How has your imprisonment affected your children's safety?.....

.....

36(a) Are you happy with the level of responsibility of the current care taker of your children?

Yes

No

(b) If No above, state why?.....

.....

37. Who is taking care of your husband's domestic responsibilities?

Himself

House girl

Older children

Relatives

38. In your opinion is he doing fine with the choice above?.....
.....

IV Marriage, Divorce and Separation

39. What type of family set up did you have before imprisonment?

Monogamous Polygamous

40(a) How do you describe the relationship between you and your husband before imprisonment?

It was very good we used to spend a lot of time together
It was good but we didn't spend a lot of time together
It was strained we used to quarrel/fight a lot
It was very strained

(b) Explain your answer above.....
.....

41. If separated/divorced while in prison custody explain circumstances.....
.....

42. If still married, explain what you think have continued to hold you together.....
.....

43. How long had you lived with your husband before imprisonment?.....
.....

44. How would you rate your husband?

Loving husband Uncaring husband
Dependable Very unpredictable

45. How often does he visit you?

Once a month After every three months
Once a year Not at all since conviction

46(a). In your opinion should prisons incorporate conjugal visits as part of prisons visitation?

Yes

No

(b) Explain your answer whether yes or No

.....

47. What improvements would you suggest in terms of prisons visit?

.....

.....

48. If divorced while in prison how has this affected the children?

.....

49(a) How is your relationship with your in-laws?

Good

Bad

(b) Explain your answer above

.....

.....

50. Where is your husband residing at the moment?

Nairobi

Outside Nairobi

51. On discharge where do you intend to reside?

52. Who is your most frequent visitor since conviction?

My children

My husband

My parents

My Friends

My siblings

53. On discharge how do you intend to start up?

.....

.....

V Socialization of the children

54. How often do you see your children?

1. Monthly 2. Quarterly 3. Twice a year
4. Once a year 5. Not even once since imprisonment

55. If 5 above, what is the reason.....
.....

56. Are you satisfied with the frequency of child visitation?

- Yes No

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57. If No, what would you recommend?
.....

58(a) Do you have any children accompanying you in prison?

- Yes No

(b) If Yes, explain your answer.....
.....
.....

59. Before imprisonment who was raising your children?.....
.....

60. Were you raising the children alone, with husband or with relative?.....
.....

61. Where were you convicted?

- Nairobi Outside Nairobi

62. If transferred how has this affected your family especially children? Explain your answer.....
.....

63. What difficulties have your children faced since your incarceration?.....
.....
64. Do you think that the difficulties are related to your incarceration?
Yes No
65. If Yes above, state what makes you think so?.....
.....
- 66(a) Do you think that your imprisonment has in any interfered with the socialization process of your children?
Yes No
- (b) Explain your answer above.....
.....
67. How many of your children were in school at the time of arrest?.....
.....
68. State at what class or level they were at time of arrest?.....
.....
69. How many have completed primary school?.....
70. How many have completed high school?.....
71. How many have joined university?.....
72. Are there any of your children who for any reason discontinued schooling?
Yes No
73. If yes, what are they currently involved in?.....
.....

74. If discontinued school what is the reason of this discontinuity?

.....

.....

75(a) Are there any of them who have become delinquents?

Yes No

(b) Explain either of your answer

.....

.....

76(a) Are all your children aware of your imprisonment?

Yes No

(b) Explain either of your answer

.....

.....

77(a) Have you informed your children of the offence that you were convicted of?

Yes No

(b) Explain your answer above

.....

.....

VI Gender and Reproduction

78. What is your view of female imprisonment?

.....

79. How has it impacted on your role as a wife and mother in society?.....
.....
80. How many children do you have?.....
81. Would you have wished to have more than that number?
Yes No
82. If yes, do you think that your incarceration has in any way interfered with your reproduction life?
Yes No
83. Do you intend to have more children on discharge?
Yes No
84. If No why?.....
.....
85. What suggestions can you put forward in relation to female imprisonment and reproductive life?.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX 2

Administered to husbands who come to visit the inmates at Langata Women Prison.

I Background information

1. Name of respondent (optional).....
2. Age in years.....
3. Marital status
Single Married Separated
Divorced Widowed Other
- 4(a) Religion
Christian Muslim
- (b) If Christian state whether
Catholic Protestant
5. What is your ethnic group?.....
6. Level of education
Primary Secondary
College/Diploma University
7. Occupation?.....
8. Employer?.....
9. Work experience?.....
10. Name of visited prisoner?.....
11. State whether
Convicted Remandee

12. State relationship with the visited inmate?

.....

II Care and Protection

13. How many children do you have?

14. What are their ages?

Below 5 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 - 10 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
10 -15 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	16 and above	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Where were you staying prior to your wife's imprisonment?

.....

16. Were and your wife living together with the children?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

17(a) Are you still putting up in the same residence?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

(b) If No, above state reasons for the move

.....

.....

18. Do you have any of your children staying with your wife in prison?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

19. If yes above, explain your reason for this arrangement

.....

.....

20. If you live out of Nairobi do your children accompany you to see their mother?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

21. If No, explain your answer.....
.....
.....

22. Who plays the role of motherhood for the children (cooking, washing, taking them to school, remaining with them at home, sleeping with the young ones etc)

House help	<input type="checkbox"/>	Grand parents	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other wife	<input type="checkbox"/>
All are in boarding school	<input type="checkbox"/>		

23. Are you satisfied with the current arrangement in respect to care giving and safety of your children particularly when you are away from home and the mother is in prison?

Yes No

24. If No, what are your fears?.....
.....

III Regulation of Sexual Behaviour

25. What was your relationship with your wife before her imprisonment?

Cordial strained

26. Do you think that her incarceration has strained your relationship in any way?

Explain your answer.....
.....

27. Were you and your wife staying together before imprisonment?

Yes No

28. If No, above state reason for staying apart.....
.....

29. What duration of sentence is your wife serving?

30. How do you cope with lack of your spouse's conjugal responsibility?

Married

Abstinence

Sexual Partners

Others (specify)

31. Are you satisfied with the current arrangement in regard to visitation at the prison?

Yes

No

Explain in either case

.....

32. Given a chance would you recommend for conjugal visits?

Yes

No

Explain in either case above

.....

33. If conjugal visits were to be introduced in prisons, would you mind your wife conceiving while in prison?

Yes

No

34. Explain your answer in either case

.....

.....

IV Socialization Role

35. How many school going children do you have?

.....

36. What classes are they in?

.....

37. How many if any have dropped out of school?

.....

38. Are you experiencing any problems with the children which you can directly attribute to their mothers imprisonment?

Yes

No

39. If yes above, what kind of problems are these?

Depression

Hyperactivity

Withdrawal

Aggressive behaviour

Regression

Clinging behaviour

Sleeping behaviour

Sleeping problem

Running away

Truancy

Poor school grades

Others

Explain your answer.....

.....

40. What are the sexes of your children?.....

.....

41. How do you handle the girl child and what unique problems are you faced with?

.....

.....

42. Do you attribute any of your children's negative behaviour to peer influence?

Yes

No

Explain in either case.....

.....

.....

43. What behaviour changes have you noted on the children which were not the case before the imprisonment of their mother?.....

.....

.....

V Social Placement

44. What offence was your wife charged for?.....
.....

45. What is the duration of her sentence?.....
.....

46. How many times has your wife been convicted?.....

47. For how long has your wife been in prison?.....

48. Was your wife admitted direct from court to this institution or transferred from another prison?.....

49. If transferred, where from and how has it affected your visitation?.....
.....

50. How many times do you visit your wife in a year?
Rarely Every month Twice a month

51. How is your wife imprisonment viewed by other family members and your neighbourhood?.....
.....
.....

52. Is there any pressure from your family members to remarry?
Yes No
Explain your answer.....
.....

53. Has the imprisonment of your wife impacted on your relationship with significant others in society?
Yes No

Explain in either case.....
.....
.....

54. Did you used to take alcohol before your wife's imprisonment?

Yes No

55. Are you drinking currently?

Yes No

56. What behaviour change have you embraced since your wife's imprisonment?

Explain your answer.....
.....
.....

57. Has your wife's incarceration affected the children's identity in school and neighbourhood?

Yes No

Explain your answer.....
.....

VI Marriage, Divorce and Separation

58. How long had you lived with your wife before imprisonment?.....
.....

59. What do you have to say about your wife's duration of sentence?

Long Too long short

Too short Manageable

Explain your answer.....
.....

60. In your opinion, has imprisonment improved or worsened your relationship with your wife? Explain in either case.....
.....
.....
61. If still married, what do you think has continued to hold you together?.....
.....
.....
62. If separated, was it before or after imprisonment? Explain your answer.....
.....
.....
63. When is your wife due for discharge from Langata Women Prison?.....
.....
64. What plans do you have for her on discharge?.....
.....
.....

VI Families and Economy

65. How are you coping with temporary single parenthood?.....
.....
.....
66. How have you tried to fill the gap of the role previously played by your wife within the family set up?.....
.....
.....
67. How has the imprisonment of your wife impinged on the family finances?.....
.....
.....

68. What can you state as your overall assessment of your wife's absence, as a wife and mother?.....
.....

APPENDIX 3

Interview guide for focused group discussion with children of imprisoned mothers.

1. How are you getting on at home?
2. Who are you staying with?
3. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
4. Are you staying with all your brothers and sisters together?
5. If No, where are the rest?
6. Were you staying with mum before she came here?
7. Tell me, what has happened since mum left home? How are you getting on?
8. Do all other siblings know that mum is in prison?
9. How many times have you visited mum since she was imprisoned?
10. Where were you and mum staying before she came to prison?
11. Do you enjoy coming to visit mum?
12. Did you travel from far coming to see mum?
13. Are all of you going to school?
14. What classes are you in?
15. Do you like going to school?
16. Do you have any problems with school work?
17. Are you given home work at school to carry home?
18. Who helps you with your home work?
19. Are you still in the same school you used to be before mum came to prison?
20. What is your best number in school since you begun?

21. In what class was this? Which year?
22. Do you have any other problems in school? Which ones?
23. Do you have friends in school?
24. Are your friends aware that mum is in prison?
25. What do they tell you?
26. Have you ever fought with any of your friends?
27. What was the fight/quarrel about?
28. Who washes your clothes, takes you to school and cooks for you?