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**The Experience of Incarcerated Mothers Living in Prison with their
Children in Ethiopia**

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Children**

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ABSTRACT

Title: The Experience of Incarcerated Mothers Living in Prison with their Children in Ethiopia

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The study focused on imprisoned mothers accompanied by their children in the Ethiopian prison, aimed at exploring their motherhood experience, the challenges they and their children face and their experience with the available services and programs in Ethiopia prison from their perspective. A generic qualitative approach was taken, which consisted of ten in-depth interviews with imprisoned mothers who had a child living with them in prison in Ethiopia under the paradigm of social constructivism. The participants were selected through purposive sampling under the criteria that the participants are imprisoned mother and have a child in prison. The initial contact was made with the participants through the prison guards as gatekeeper after official approval obtained. The study employed thematic content analysis.

The thematic analysis of these interviews identified the following themes: Inclusiveness of services for the mothers, The challenges of the family unit that are the mothers and their children in prison, Mothers relationship with the justice system and the society and the final theme is Mothers being a survivor. The themes showed that the incarcerated mothers are a victim of societal discrimination, abuse and structural injustice before and after incarceration. The poor prison facility affected both the mothers and their children. The mothers had emotional issues because of failure to provide the physical, emotional and educational needs of their children. There are available services like education and vocational training for all prisoners, but the mothers are limited to participate in these services except for the small enterprises or businesses that are organized to rehabilitate and support inmates' financially by the prison. The last finding was the mothers' resilience and strength notwithstanding the many challenges they experience in prison. The study had implications for social work practice, research, the judicial system, and

policy to address, enhance and empower mothers in prison. Conclusively, the experience of mothers in prison including their children is difficult with multiple challenges that need to be addressed urgently by the prison administration, the government and policymakers through policy change and by enhancing the implementation process in prisons. The social workers must fill roles as advocate, educator, consultant, broker, planner, data manager, resource mobilizer, clinical behavior changer, liaison person and researcher at different levels and systems. Findings were not based solely on researcher's opinion but passed through rigor to ascertain its trustworthiness.

LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
NASW	National Association of Social Workers
QCEA	Quaker Council for European Affairs
RNR	Risk- Need- Responsivity
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime
USA	United States of America

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter states the problem, the significance of the study, research aim and questions; scope of the study and lastly the organization of the thesis paper will follow.

1.1 Background

Crime is one of the most significant social problems in the world (Coyle, 2003). Even though women are small minority groups in the general prison population, they are growing at an unbalanced rate in many countries (Caddle & Crisp, 1997). According to The Sentencing Project report, for example, in the USA, the number of women in prison increased at nearly doubles the rate of men since 1985 (Schirmer & Nellis, 2009). Similarly, in Africa, the number of women in prison is increasing (Linonge-Fontebo & Rabe, 2015). For example in Ethiopia as the World Prison Brief (2016) reported their number increased from 3% in 2001/02 to 5.3% in 2014.

As a commentary on the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners stated, the number of women increased in prison is because in some countries, mostly due to the increased use of imprisonment to punish offenses that were before punished by non-custodial sentences. It is mainly the case of drug offenses and non-violent theft (Townhead, 2008; Müller-Fabian, 2015).

Women's imprisonment and offending are related to women's poverty. Women are predominantly vulnerable to being detained because of their incapability to pay fines for minor offenses or to pay bail (Townhead, 2008). According to the United Nations (2014) report, women offenders usually come from economically and socially disadvantaged groups of society. They are usually unemployed, have low levels of education, young and have dependent children, as well as many of them, have histories of alcohol and substance abuse. A high amount of women offenders have experienced and victim of violence and sexual abuse (MacDonald, 2013). At the same time, there tends to be a greater stigma attached to women's imprisonment than men's, and their families and communities may ostracize and discriminate women who have been in prison (Townhead, 2008; Baldwin, 2018).

The needs and concerns of women prisoners are different from those of men prisoners. Women prisoners very often have family responsibilities (Pierre, 2016). Women inmates have special health needs, primarily related to reproductive and sexual health. In some countries, women may be pregnant in prison and may give birth in there. According to Coyle (2002) and World Prison Brief (2016), for example:

- In the USA, 75% of the incarcerated women are mothers and two-thirds with children under the age of 18.
- In the UK, 66% of women inmates are mothers, 34% were single parents before imprisonment, and 55% have at least one child under 16 years of age.
- In the Russian, 80% of imprisoned women are mothers.
- In Brazil's, 87% of women prisoners are mothers, and it is a large number.
- In Lebanon, 49% of female inmates have children under 16
- In Rwanda, 45% of female prisoners have children less than 16 years of age
- In Ethiopia from 2,474 women prisoner in 2010, there were 546 children incarcerated with their mothers.

The above statistics showed the majority of the imprisoned women are mothers in different parts of the world and this makes the children be the primary victims of mothers' imprisonment. Moreover, while the children of male prisoners stay at the care of their mothers on the outside, most women inmates rarely get the support of their partners in childcare when they get imprisoned (Du Preez, 2006). Sometimes, especially in developing countries, young children live in prison with their mothers for a temporary period if there is no one to take care of them outside of the prison (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004). According to Murray & Murray (2010), in a study in the UK found out that maternal incarceration tends to cause more disruption for children than paternal incarceration. Parental imprisonment appears to affect children over and above separation experiences and associated risks. Further research on possible moderating and mediating factors such as stigma, reduction in family income and reduced quality of care is required to identify the mechanisms by which parental imprisonment affects children (Murray & Murray, 2010).

The debate about whether women should be able to have their young children with them in prison or not has taken places across the world for decades. A prominent reason for allowing women to have their children in prison is that the children are looked upon as a motivator for mothers to change their lives and become law-abiding citizens as well as to create and strengthen the bond between mother and child (Valiente, 2014). A study conducted in the USA by Carlson (2001), at the Nebraska Correctional Centre for Women, showed that mothers felt that the prison nurseries fostered strong bonds with their children and increased their self-esteem and confidence. With the review indicating that overall the nursery and its associated policies and practices reduced misconduct reports, drug use and recidivism rates amongst the imprisoned mothers (Carlson, 2001). Nevertheless, the issue of children being the victims in these types of situations has been debated meticulously also (Gandhi, 2008). In most cases, the needs and right of children who accompany their mothers to prison may not be fulfilled like education, food and other basic needs in many developing countries like Africa (Malambo, 2016).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) protects the right to health as well as mothers and children have the right to special care and assistance (UDHR 1948: Art. 25). The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Federal Prisoners Enactment of the Council of Ministers also have laws that safeguard the right of women and children in prison in Ethiopia. However, there are still many issues that need to be improved and addressed for incarcerated mothers and their children in practical level.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Since many of the prison administrations are designed predominantly for male prisoners, usually the need and right of incarcerated women are not fulfilled (Coyle, 2002). Prison systems and prison administrations are almost usually designed for the majority male prison population from the architecture of prisons, to security procedures, to facilities for healthcare, family contact, work and training (Townhead, 2008). Furthermore, the human rights and basic dignity of women in prison are systematically violated, and prisons tend not to meet the needs of women prisoners (ibid). According to a commentary on the UN

Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, most women prisoners are mothers, and many are the primary or sole caregivers of young children. This condition is rarely taken into account in their sentencing, and also the best interests of their children are not considered (Townhead, 2008). The physical, emotional, social and intellectual development of their children may also be affected by living in prison with their mothers (Javeed, 2014).

The situation and experience of mothers in prisons and detention centers including those children detained with their mothers is one of the most invisible, under-researched and critical areas (Shaw, Downe & Kingdon, 2015). There is a very limited published data on the experiences and outcomes of childbearing women in prison. It needs to be addressed as part of the reform towards the realization of the wellbeing of women and children who come in contact with the legal system. Given the complexity of this issue, it is important to continually add to, modify, and enhance research on the impact of incarceration on mothers and children (Harris, Graham & Carpenter, 2010). However, not much information about these vulnerable groups is available in developing countries especially in Ethiopia (Kelbisow, 2006). Since, there seems to be very little known about the welfare of incarcerated mothers and their children living in prison in Ethiopia, this may lead to mothers and their children suffering, without any hope of their needs being known and met. Therefore, it was imperative to conduct this study to fill the information gap mentioned above.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The Ethiopian prison selected as a study area is mainly because there are a very limited studies and information about incarcerated mothers and their children in the country. Therefore, the current study provides baseline information for governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as researchers to base appropriate interventions and further studies that achieve sustainable changes to safeguard mothers in prison. It may also equip them with information about the welfare of incarcerated mothers and their children, which prior to this study remains unknown. This study may be a voice for the voiceless that the study explores the experiences of the mothers from their own

perspective. Furthermore, the findings of this study may add to the body of knowledge on the rights of women and children living in prison in a developing country context. This study may also be useful to policymakers, as it will provide information on the welfare of incarcerated mothers and their children in selected prison of Ethiopia. The information provided in this study may in turn lead to the formulation of new and progressive policies concerning these groups. The general public who may be interested in the issue can also consume the information.

1.4 Research Objective/Aim

The interest of the study is to examine how women in a particularly marginalized and vulnerable situation, being both incarcerated as well as mothers accompanied by their children inside of a prison experience the prison life as well as the responsibility of motherhood. Therefore, the aim of the study is to explore the experience of incarcerated mothers accompanied by their young children in an Ethiopian prison from the mothers' perspective.

1.5 The Research Questions

The general research question is, what is the experience of incarcerated mothers living in prison with their children in Ethiopia? The specific questions are:

- From the perspective of the Ethiopian mother, how does motherhood look like in the prison? Or what are their perceptions of motherhood?
- What challenges do incarcerated mothers face in prison in Ethiopia?
- From the perspective of the incarcerated Ethiopian mothers, what are the challenges for their children who live in prison with their mothers?
- From the perspective of the incarcerated Ethiopian mothers, what programs and services are available for mothers and their children in prison?

1.6 Scope of the Study

The research is limited to mothers deprived of their liberty while at the same time caring for their young children behind bars in Ethiopia. The perspective of the child in these settings is obviously very important even though the scope of this study cannot include their perspective. Researchers often embrace the child perspective, and there are comparatively more extensive research covering the children's aspect than the mothers'. Therefore, the decision to limit the study to the perceptions and experiences of confined mothers accompanied by their young children can be of value in the research field. According to Stanley and Byrne (2000), the research gap is prominent where the incarcerated mothers needs and motherhood issues are not addressed. Therefore, the mothers' perspective has significance to examine for both imprisoned mothers and their young children's sake as well. The limitations regarding time and scope for the dissertation is of importance as well in the decision to limit the study to the mothers' perspective.

1.7 Organization of the Study

To begin with, a section combining previous research with the policy framework will follow the introduction chapter. The methodology chapter for the research will be presented. Here, an overview of the context of the study, trustworthiness and its methodology will be given together with ethical considerations and further reflections and limitation of the study. The results chapter will be presented subsequently. Finally, a discussion, which summarizes and answers the research questions for the study as well as presents some recommendations regarding a way forward followed by the concluding chapter will be included.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This section provides background literature on the topic of the experience of incarcerated mothers and their children in prison. The chapter will start with a brief introduction to prison system and definition of motherhood to give a general overview. The experience of motherhood in different population groups will then be presented to have a broader understanding of how motherhood can be impacted depending on the different life circumstances of women. After that, the experience of motherhood in prison and the challenges these mothers face will follow based on the findings from studies conducted in different countries. Subsequently, literatures about children who live in prison and their different challenges they experience because of their mothers' incarceration as well as the positive impact of mother-child interaction is also included. Lastly, a policy framework will be presented including the international standard and the Ethiopia laws that concern and safeguard incarcerated women and their children.

2.1 Introduction to Prison

Prison is also known as a correctional facility, jail, penitentiary, detention center or remand center. According to the Oxford Dictionary Online, “prison is a building or place where people are legally held as a punishment they have committed or while awaiting trial.” The modern prison system has different justification and explanation why the state imprisons people. The most common one is, one, deterrence argues that by punishing the offender in a harsh penalty, it prevents others from committing a crime out of fear of the consequences. Second, incapacitation argues that while criminals are imprisoned, they cannot commit a crime, so it keeps the community safe. Third, retribution, this theory focuses on "paying back" for the wrongs offenders have committed to achieving the moral balance. The last one is rehabilitation, which is widely implemented in many countries including Ethiopia. The goal is to change prisoners' lives in a way that make them law-abiding and productive citizens of a country (Pollock, 2005).

According to the World Prison Brief (2016) report, more than 10.35 million people are in prison around the world. As the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC) on

its Global Prison Crisis Strategy (2015) stated, a considerable number of prison systems around the world are at a point of crisis, that affect prisoners, their families, and society as a whole. The reality of many prisons tends to be far from international standards and also risks the ultimate objective of a sentence of imprisonment that is protecting the society from crime. According to the report, although the nature of the prison crisis is multidimensional, it has the following manifestations: one, continuing growth of prison population and overcrowding. In 2013, the average imprisonment rate was 144 prisoners per 100,000 of the world population. In the same year, the occupancy level of 114 national prison administrations was over 100 percent. Second, inadequate prison conditions, this linked with the issue of overcrowding even though there is regional deference. This brings a significant obstacle to implement proper and adequate services for all prisoners. The strategy also points out some of the factors contributing to the crisis like insufficient measures to prevent crime, lack of access to legal advice and assistance, and insufficient measures to promote social reintegration.

The penal system in Africa and Ethiopia from the infrastructure the legislative framework remains mostly unchanged from where it was inherited from the colonial period (Tefera, 2017). Even though prisons, in general, have shared facilities like kitchen and dining, healthcare, educational programs, recreational facilities and etcetera, but prison services in Africa are under-resourced and understaffed as Amnesty International (2012) reported. Many of the facilities have basic necessities, but there is a shortage compared to the prison population. African prisoners continue to suffer disease, violence, death, and humiliation as a result of being accumulated into cells with no regard to the capacity of the prison. Increasing rates of imprisonment and lengths of sentences only aggravate this phenomenon (Sarkin, 2008).

2.2 Motherhood

2.2.1 Definition of Motherhood

The concept of motherhood concerning imprisoned mothers is under-researched, and there is little information about the issue. According to the Cambridge Dictionary online (2018) motherhood is "the state or time of being a mother." Motherhood marks a new

chapter in every woman's story. In all cultures, it is given for granted that women play the mother role and the protective function becomes one of the few universal and enduring elements of the division of labor according to gender (Stanghellini, 2012).

On a study in Colombia on 34 pregnant women interviewed to answer the meanings of motherhood-related to the start of the pregnancy and its progress, the change in their identity and the role they assume as mothers, and the expectations they have regarding their child, parenting, and delivery. For most of the pregnant women, pregnancy was initially perceived as a surprising and inconvenient turn of events because it brings changes in physical, emotional and psychosocial aspects (Castro Franco & Peñaranda Correa, 2011). There was deference concerning the women's acceptance of their pregnancy and their role as mothers. The women did not imagine dedicating themselves exclusively to their role as mothers and expressed that they were building an identity as mothers based on their own stories, needs, professional and sentimental nature. Some of them felt their plans had been disturbed as they were forced to leave their places of residence, work, study and in general abandon their life anticipations (ibid).

2.2.2 Experience of Motherhood

Mothers from all background of life regardless of ethnicity, age, culture, religious affiliation, geography, or occupational status agreed in their views of the importance of mothering. The satisfaction that comes from being a mother, their desires for a culture that would make the work of mothering less challenging and their concerns about the adverse situations that threaten their children (Erickson & Aird, 2005). Pregnancy, childbirth, and motherhood are natural processes that bring joy to individual women and families. Motherhood also changes a women's life; for example, in a study in Colombia, the interviewed pregnant mothers expressed how pregnancy and being a mother could change their life in different ways. They said that there are changes in their emotional lives like an increase in anxiety and depression, which made their condition of insecurity and vulnerability even more complicated. There are also changes in their social relationships especially with family members, partners, and friends. They expressed their concern and fear regarding their economic situation since pregnancy and parenting demand many things (Castro Franco & Peñaranda Correa, 2011).

Motherhood can be affected and interrupted because of different living conditions and adversities. An ethnographic study conducted in Australia on immigrant mothers showed that migrant women's pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood experiences are influenced by societal and cultural values, and they differ depending on the adjustment process in the new home country (Benza & Liamputtong, 2014). On another study conducted in New Zealand on Māori, Pacific, and Asian women by analyzing different data indicates that racial discrimination has severe direct consequences for the mother's mental health issues and further effect in bringing a healthy child to the society (Bécares & Atatoa-Carr, 2016). In Sweden also a study was done by Lindberg, Fransson, Forslund, Springer & Granqvist, (2017) on mothers with a mild intellectual disability by using a matched-comparison study through semi-structured interview and observation showed how motherhood and maternal relationship with the child affected by the mother's mental health condition. In the study, they found out that significantly lower sensitivity among mothers with intellectual disabilities than mothers without intellectual disabilities. Mothers with intellectual disabilities were, as a group, clearly less sensitive ($M = 4.3$) than mothers without intellectual disabilities ($M = 5.6$) (Lindberg et al., 2017).

In conclusion, the above studies presented to show how motherhood could be interrupted differed and affected due to various life experiences among different population groups. The situation of incarcerated mothers also among the many life adversities and conditions that affect motherhood and maternal responsibility in many ways. The experience of motherhood in prison set up will be discussed in the next subheading.

2.2.3 Experience of Motherhood in Prison

Usually, the maternal experience of mothers in prison is often interrupted, at worst damaged by the location. Mothers in prison not only endure their pain and feel their own emotions, but also describe feeling the pain and emotions of their children (Pierre, 2016). Motherhood in prison presents a different set of challenges. Before incarceration, mothers are subject to gender-based expectations related to mothering like all mother in the society (Enos, 2001). In prison, mothers also face multiple challenges, including overcoming familial and structural obstacles to take care of their children and also to

explore the prison life in general. It often requires women to reconstruct their identities as mothers as they attempt parenting roles from behind bars or inside the prison (ibid).

For a mother being incarcerated blemishes the perception of being a "good" mother in the society. In a study in England interviewed released mothers and they expressed their feeling that their 'good mother' identity was forever tarnished, and they struggled with similar emotions to those experienced while still in prison, often despite being reunited with their children (Baldwin, 2018). The release brought its own set of maternal challenges. Even for mothers no longer in contact with their children, the acknowledgment of their mothering identity and maternal emotions was again significant in the emotional management of their imprisonment and subsequent release (ibid). Based on the above study in England incarcerated mothers are labeled as the bad mother who violates the basic maternal responsibility to care for her children by engaging in wrongful criminal activities. However, studies showed that imprisoned mothers do not defer from non-offenders regarding the importance of providing the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of their children (Stanley & Byrne, 2000). For example, in the USA study on 17 women inmates and the mothers showed a high level of love for their children (Gilham, 2012). On the same research, the women who had been in the facility for longer periods seemed genuinely sad and guilty about their actions and were focused on changing their thinking and behavior, especially as it related to their caretaker role (ibid).

2.3 Incarcerated Mothers and the Challenges they Face

Most women in prisons are mothers, and their imprisonment can cause the violation of their rights as well as their children's. A study conducted in the United Kingdom reported that 61% of female prisoners were mothers of children under age 18 or were pregnant (Caddle & Crisp, 1997). For the 85% of the children, their mother's incarceration was the first time they had been separated for an extended period (Caddle & Crisp, 1997; Stanley & Byrne, 2000). In Ethiopia also the number of women incarcerated in prisons has grown significantly (Kelbisow, 2006).

Imprisonment affects women differently than men. On a commentary on UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, the critical areas of concern that women

prisoners face including but not only limited to: (1) lack of proper accommodation and healthcare, family contact, education, work programs (2) a history of mental, physical or sexual abuse and (3) adverse impacts that extend onto their children (Townhead, 2008). A study in England and Wales interviewed mothers, and all of them described merely being in the physical space of prison magnified the challenges to motherhood (Baldwin, 2018). Many mothers in the study reflected on the significance of being separated or not being 'at home.' Many of those challenges or emotional consequences followed the mothers even after release (ibid).

Young and Smith (2000) have stated that a considerable amount of distress amongst incarcerated women is a consequence of separation from family and children. This separation leads the mothers in prison to exhibit anger, anxiety, sadness, depression, shame, guilt, decreased self-esteem and a sense of loss (Stanley & Byrne, 2000). According to Goldberg et al., (1996) many of the arrangements resulting from separation because of imprisonment were made without a proper intervention of courts or child protective services regarding where the child can stay when the mother imprisoned.

Unfortunately, the incarceration of mothers is complex and often linked to various issues like sexual and physical violence against women (Moloney, Van den Bergh & Moller, 2009; Weiss & Sekula, 2008). Nevertheless, governmental policy makers, institutions, and the international community ignore the needs and rights of women prisoners in many countries (Townhead, 2006). Besides, the criminal system has been mostly unresponsive to changes that would better meet the needs of incarcerated women, including those who are pregnant and parenting (Weiss & Sekula, 2008).

When a mother is imprisoned, her child or younger children may go into jail together with her or be separated from her and left with relatives or someone else, which can put the child at danger (Townhead, 2006). The reason is that mothers are the first and usually sole caretakers of their children (Stanley & Byrne, 2000). Compared to the children of female prisoners, children of male prisoners tend to stay within the care of their mothers out of prison; however, the children of woman prisoners often end up in the care of immediate or prolonged family members (Gabel, 1992). Gabel and Schindeldecker (1993) showed that the woman's parents or other relatives take care approximately 75%

of children of imprisoned mothers, while less than 10% cared by husbands and 15% by friends or in foster homes in Australia.

2.4 Children who live Inside Prison with their Mothers

During parental incarceration especially when the mother is the offender, children usually have two options: (1) left with someone who can take care of them or (2) go to the prison with their mothers in many developing countries. Since the focus of this research/paper is on children who live in prison with their imprisoned mothers, most of the information is on them.

It is becoming common to see many children living in prison with their incarcerated mothers in most developing countries (Puig et al., 1999). Children in prison are those children who accompany their mothers when they are imprisoned or those who are born in prison (Kelbisow, 2006). The main reasons for this are the inability of parents to support their children or having no relative to take care of them, pregnancy when admitted and other related factors (Zezelew, 2001). In Ethiopia, the number of incarcerated mothers and children who live in prison with their imprisoned mothers is increasing (Sloth-nielsen, 2003). The increase in number is attributed to most offenders to be single mothers without parents or partner to support their children outside the prison (Zezelew, 2001). Many prisons in the world allow children to stay in prison with their mothers mostly if the children are infants. Depending on the country the prisons develop special facilities like in-prison nursery schools, separate living quarter, medical care and counseling services for the mothers and children (Linonge-Fontebo & Rabe, 2015).

According to The Quaker Council for European Affairs report (2007), in Europe, in Nordic countries like Sweden and Denmark, babies are rarely accepted in prison, but they can be accommodated for up to a year, and the average stay is three months. While in the UK, Portugal, Netherlands, and Switzerland it is longer up to four years. In the United States, prison nursery is not typical as other countries in Africa and Europe. The duration of the child and the mother to stay together in prison is usually for weeks or months, and the prison nursery basic assumption for allowing the newborn children to stay with their

mothers is to create a positive mother-child relationship and to rehabilitate the mothers (Byrne et al., 2010).

According to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) (2000, 2001 & 2004), African countries such as South Africa, Benin, Cameroon, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Gambia, Sudan, Uganda, and Ethiopia allow imprisoned mothers to bring their infant and young children into the prison. The maximum age for the children to stay in prison is different from country to country but children as old as eight years old live in prison in Ethiopia. In South Africa, there were three hundred eighty-six children up to the age of five who lived with their mothers in prisons in 2002 (Eloff & Moen, 2003). In World prison brief (2016) report, in Ethiopia, the entire prison population according to a census conducted at the end of 2010 was estimated to be 86,000 of whom 2,474 were women and 546 children who were incarcerated with their mothers. Not only children but also juveniles are sometimes incarcerated with adults if they are awaiting trial (Kelbisow, 2006). It is difficult to put the exact number of children who are separated from their mother due to incarceration in Ethiopia and many African countries (Thompson & Mahtani, 2008).

2.5 Effect of Parental Incarceration on Children

Children of incarcerated mothers face many difficulties, which resulted from the situation they have not caused. Even if many children are being affected by the incarceration of parents, mother's imprisonment has a significant impact on them (Baker & Cunningham, 2003; PimlottKubiak, 2010). In a longitudinal comparative study in the UK found out that maternal incarceration tends to cause more disruption for children than paternal incarceration (Murray & Murray, 2010). The incarceration is a strong risk factor for long-lasting psychopathology, including antisocial and internalizing outcomes. Parental incarceration might threaten children's attachment and security because of parent-child separation, confusing communication about parental absence, limited contact with incarcerated parents, and unstable caregiving arrangements (ibid).

Both children who live inside the prison and children who are left behind by imprisoned parents face various challenges. Parental incarceration is a complex issue that covers

different layers of difficulties which are social, biological and emotional, from individual to familial, community, and societal level (Levy-Pounds, 2006). The extent to which a child will be affected by parental incarceration depends on a large number of variables. That includes the age of the child, the strength of the parent-child relationship, nature of the parent's crime, length of the parent's sentence and the prison environment (Seymour, 1998; The Osborne Association 1993).

Likewise, the emotional and behavioral difficulties have been linked to a variety of factors, including the stress of parent-child separation, the child's identification with the incarcerated parent and social stigma (Gabel 1992). Parental imprisonment predicted boys' mental health problems through the life-course, even up until age 48 (Murray & Farrington, 2005). Other research also shows that children of incarcerated parents are at increased risk for both psychological or emotional problems like depression, anxiety, withdrawal and social or behavioral like delinquency, substance use behavior problems, cognitive delays, and difficulties in school (Shlafer et al., 2013, Simmons, 2000). In a longitudinal study of 15,000 Swedish children, parental imprisonment was also predictive of children's criminal outcomes through the life-course (Murray & Farrington, 2005).

In Africa as well, research conducted in Sierra Leone interviewing prison reported, the actuality of being born in prison can significantly affect a child (Thompson & Mahtani, 2008). The effect is because of poor prison facilities like food, education, medical care and accommodation (Malambo, 2016) and the lifetime stigma that they will have to endure because of incarceration. In Sierra Leone, prison officials have observed that many of the babies who spend substantive amounts of time in the women's section of Pademba Road Prison subsequently exhibit fear and anxiety around men, because of their insufficient contact with them in their lives (Thompson & Mahtani, 2008).

2.5.1 Positive Impact of Keeping the Child with the Mothers in Prison

Children living in prison with their mothers do not have only a negative impact. Even though keeping the child in prison with the mothers has many disadvantages and challenges, there is also a counter-argument that supports the importance of creating interaction and communication between the mother, and the child is significant. There is

an underlying assumption or counter-argument when dealing with incarcerated women and contact with their children. Maternal contact is regarded as a cornerstone of early childhood development. Children require positive and loving interaction with at least one caregiver because this provides a responsive environment that offers opportunities for emotional security and early learning. It is always best this one caretaker will be the biological mother (Linonge-Fontebo & Rabe, 2015). Children who are separated from a parent due to imprisonment are suffering a more significant and multiple problems associated with their loss and separation compare to children who live with their mothers inside the prison. Disruption of the attachment bond between mother and child is particularly harmful between the ages of 6 months and four years (Fuller, 1993).

For the mother also being in contact with the child in prison can be a source of strength and motivation to go forward in the harsh prison environment. For example, a quantitative study conducted in the USA by Mignon & Ransford (2012), showed that contact with family members during a woman's incarceration could make prison time more tolerable. Communication with children can also facilitate positive reentry plans for women and reduce the recidivism rate. On another research in the USA, the researchers evaluated a 15-week parenting program in a women's prison that was designed to enhance mother-child interactions during imprisonment on 104 women. The result showed that mothers with past abuse history and who use drug and alcohol showed a positive change because of the mother-child interaction (Patricia & Nancy, 2000). Therefore, when we talk about mothers' experience in prison it is important to discuss the issues from different angles and perspectives.

2.7 Policy Framework

2.7.1 International Policy Framework

The 2010 UN Rules on the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-Custodial Sanctions for Women Offenders (the 'Bangkok Rules') are international standards, which provide some safeguards for women and children in prison. The Rules specify that:

- Before or on admission, women with caretaking responsibilities for children shall be permitted to make arrangements for those children

- The accommodation of women prisoners shall have facilities and materials required to meet women's specific hygiene needs, including sanitary towels, provided free of charge. A regular supply of water to be made available for the personal care of children and women, in particular, women involved in cooking and those who are pregnant, breastfeeding or menstruating.
- Non-custodial alternatives to custody should be applied wherever possible if someone facing imprisonment has sole caring responsibilities.
- The decision as to whether a child is to be separated from its mother (or father) must be based on individual assessments and the best interests of the child.
- Children in prison with their mother (or father) should never be treated as prisoners.
- Their experience must be as close as possible to live for a child outside.
- Children must be taken into account at all stages of a parent's contact with the criminal justice system.
- Mothers/fathers must be allowed as many opportunities as possible to see the children who are imprisoned with them.

The above international law indicates how mothers and their children who have contact with the legal system should be handled regarding services provision, accommodation and the child's best interest and placement when the mother incarcerated.

2.7.2 The Ethiopian Policy Framework Concerning Mothers in Prison

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, which came into force in 1995, recognizes international human rights standards, including those of the rights of the child and women. It makes all international instruments approved by Ethiopia an integral part of the law of the land through article 9 (4). Such recognition is further extended by international human rights instruments under article 13 (2) making them standards for the interpretation of chapter three of the Constitution dealing with fundamental rights and freedoms. Article 35 (9) states women's right to prevent harm arising from pregnancy and childbirth and on article 36 (1) (e), and (5) of Ethiopian constitution clearly state about children's right for special treatment.

The other Ethiopian law is the Federal Prisoners Enactment of the Council of Ministers, and it addressed the issues of incarcerated mothers with their children under the Federal Negarit Gazeta No.47 which came out on June 2007 Page 3710; the attempt to address the issue stated below:

Pregnant and Female Prisoners with Children

1. Where a female prisoner comes with an infant not more than 18 months old and where his interest so requires, the infant shall stay in prison with his mother.
2. The infant shall, during his stay in prison, be provided with the necessary food, vaccination, medical care as well as other necessary items.
3. If the stay of the child in prison is likely to have an adverse physical or psychological impact on him, he shall be handed over to a close relative; provided, however, that the Administration shall facilitate the possibilities of finding another guardian in the absence of a close relative.
4. A pregnant or a female prisoner with a child shall be provided with additional food upon the recommendation of a medical officer.

The enactment also discussed how the living condition of all prisoners including mothers should be, like food, sanitation, medical services, bedding, clothing and regarding education and training (Negarit Gazeta, 2007). Here under the summary of the law:

- Every prisoner shall be provided with balanced and sufficient diet by the prison
- Every prisoner shall be provided with the necessary bed and bedding.
- Every prisoner shall wear clothes provided by the prison.
- Prisoners shall be regularly provided with enough water and necessary materials for cleanliness and with toilet facilities.
- Prisoners shall be provided with medical treatment free of charge.
- To the extent that circumstances allow, every prison shall have a medical facility, adequate medical equipment, pharmaceuticals and medical officers.
- Prisoners shall be provided with the opportunity to attend academic and different vocational training classes provided, however, that priority should be given to illiterate prisoners.

- Particular attention shall be paid to give educational opportunities to female and juvenile prisoners.

The articles of the Ethiopian constitution and the UN Bangkok Rules can serve as a reference for the protection of rights of the incarcerated mother and their children in prison.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The chapter starts with the overview of the prisons in Ethiopian as well as the prison where the research conducted followed by an introduction of the methodological choice together with the ontological and epistemological orientation that was used and the reason why this approach was chosen for the study. The sample of interview subjects will then be presented followed by the method of data collection. The data analysis process of the gathered material will, therefore, be presented. After that, the issues of trustworthiness will be discussed. Ethical considerations for the study will subsequently follow, and reflection and limitation of the study will be the final section of this chapter.

3.1 Prison Overview in Ethiopia

There are six federal prisons, 120 local prisons and many unofficial detention centers in Ethiopia. According to the US Department of States (2015) report, prison and pretrial detention centers conditions are usually harsh and sometimes life threatening for inmates in Ethiopia. Based on the World Prison Brief (2016) report, in 2013/14 there were 113,727 prisoners in the country and out of the total prison population 4.2% are female prisoners. As the US Department of States (2015) further reported, the prison conditions have been, and there is not enough budget to improve the condition. Medical care is also very poor in federal and regional prisons. In Ethiopia, the daily meal budget for prisoners is very small, and many prisoners supplement this with daily food deliveries from their family or by purchasing food from local vendors. Prisoners often have small space, and it is overcrowded (ibid).

3.1.1 The Prison

The study is conducted in a federal prison in Ethiopia. The prison has 14 quarters holding a large number of men and women individuals convicted of various crimes. Both sexes are placed in separate prisons located next to each other. As of February 2017, there are 826 women prisoners residing inside the prison including both sentenced and those awaiting trial (Tefera, 2017). Women prisoners are held in two quarters in which one is for sentenced prisoners that contain seven houses and the other one with five houses is

for those awaiting trial. Pregnant and those incarcerated mothers with their children have two houses separated from the other women prisoners (Tefera, 2017).

Rehabilitation of prisoners is one of the functions undertaken by the Women's Prison to ensure maximum crime control and prevention. The Treatment of Federal Prisoners Enactment of the Council of Ministers is the official National prisons guide of Ethiopia (Negarit Gazeta, 2007). This federal proclamation rules the prison. Under the basic principles section in this proclamation, it says the treatment of prisoner should be based on the basic principles of ensuring that the executions of penalties are educative and rehabilitative. The Proclamation also provides detailed guidelines on issues regarding accommodation of detainees like clothing, bedding, sanitation, food, medical services and other services should be aimed at making inmates' life easier and rehabilitating (Negarit Gazeta, 2007).

The living conditions for women in prison are less crowded due to the small number of women prisoners. There are separate beds for each prisoner, and they are provided with eating plates, glasses, and blankets. They are also provided with detergents twice a week & body soap two times a month. The highest number of prisoners held in one house is 140. The other houses may hold 60, 70 prisoners (Tefera, 2017). The houses have one shower room with about six compartments. The food department provides meals three times a day in accordance with the meal schedule set up at the beginning of the year. The pregnant and new mothers are given the special privilege of receiving stoves to cook the foods of their liking for themselves and their children. According to the prison guidelines every prisoner's food consumption is 15 birr (0.6 Euro) per day meaning each person is assigned 450 birr (18 Euro) per month. Children less than 18 months are also budgeted 450 birr (18 Euro) per month. The prison also provides adult education, vocational training and recreational activities, small enterprises/businesses for all prisoners under the rehabilitation and development program (ibid).

3.2 Methodological Choices

The study used generic qualitative approach. This approach allowed research findings to emerge from the frequent and important themes from the data without it being restrained.

It mainly aims to build up clear connections between research objectives and research findings. The main feature of a generic inductive approach is methodological flexibility (Liu, 2016). Therefore, a qualitative study has been chosen because of its flexibility and allows the researcher to understand the context and the experience of the mothers' in depth.

Constructivist ontology was taken in this research. The concept of motherhood, as well as the challenges incarcerated mothers and their children face and their experience regarding service provision in prisons, may vary and changes in different contexts and places. In the context of this study, constructivism positions the participants as social actors who contribute to the construction of the social realities contributing to its dynamics and outcomes (Bryman, 2012). Individual mothers experience the prison system differently, and the researcher tried to explore these different interpretations because the researcher believed that reality is socially constructed.

The epistemological orientation of the study is interpretivism to understand the point of view of the participant through direct participation, which is considered to be the ultimate goal of the research (Bryman 2016). The methods of this study will meet the research goal through in-depth interviews with the mothers looking for their points of view about their experience in prison.

3.3 Method of Data Collection

In this study, a qualitative approach is adopted with interviews as its primary source. The interviews are an individual in-depth interview with the participants with the help of interview guide. An in-depth interview is one of the primary methods of data collection used in qualitative research (Bryman, 2016). The in-depth interview is interactive; the material is generated by the interaction between the researcher and interviewee (Dey, 1993; Bryman, 2012). Individual interviews are preferred for the present study is because to get an in-depth understanding of the story and experience of each mother. Furthermore, an individual type of interview method can provide interviewees with a considerably higher extent of anonymity compared to a group or focus group interviews. Another disadvantage of using group interviews for the present study is the potential risk

of a prisoner being exposed by fellow inmates if the information they share would be offensive or otherwise disagreeable with other participants in any way and also give them a chance to share their stories freely. Since incarcerated mothers and their children are the most vulnerable groups deprived of most of their freedom and rights, the issue of confidentiality is very crucial.

Due to the prison regulation and for the security reason the interviews took place in one-prison offices where the participants came and were interviewed individually. The interviews were conducted based on interview guide, which derived from the research question and the aim of the research. All the research questions were asked of the mothers directly means the research questions and the interview questions were all most the same like how motherhood looks like in prison? What are the challenges you face as a mother in prison? What are the challenges your child is facing in prison? Are there any services for single mothers and their children inside the prison? If there is, what are they? In addition, further probing questions were also asked based on the mothers' answer after the above questions forwarded. See the interview guide in appendix 1.

The interviews lasted approximately 1 hour for each participant in their native language as the researcher also speaks the same language, which was "Amharic" one of the Ethiopian languages. Quotations were translated into English for reporting. Since the prison prohibited any recording devices inside the prison, manual notes had to be taken during the interviews as an alternative. Although this limited the recording of a complete interview transcript, however, many quotes were documented. The researcher conducted the note taking process and prepared one separate notebook for the interview purpose. During the interview by giving a separate section for each participant on the notebook, the researcher was able to write what the participants were saying as much as possible. The researcher was also tried not to only focus on the note-taking process by giving enough attention and eye contact to the interviewees when they answer the questions.

3.4 Selection of Interview Sample

The population being sampled for the study was mothers incarcerated together with a young child of whom they were the primary caregivers. The sample was drawn from one

maximum-security women prison in Ethiopia selected since it was convenient for the researcher to get access to the participants.

The participants selected through purposive sampling. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study (Etikan, 2016). In purposive sampling, homogenous purposive sampling has been employed to select the participants. This sampling technique focuses on candidates who share similar traits or specific characteristics (ibid). As the present study emphasized individual stories and the experiences of the mothers together with the limited timeframe a large number of interviews were not possible to conduct. A total number of 10 interviewees or mothers were included in the study to explore their experience in-depth with fewer people. The ten mothers were selected based on their full consent with no pressure from the officials or the researcher. Some mothers were not willing to participate due to various reasons like the language barrier, fear of telling their stories for the outsider and other reasons they did not want to tell the researcher.

Initially, an application to research the prison was submitted to the Ethiopian Federal Correctional Administration office. Approval to conduct interviews was also sought and approved by the leadership of prison itself. The initial contact was made with the participants through the prison guard as a gatekeeper to explain the research and to ask the women's consent to be part of the study. How the consent was obtained from the mothers is discussed in the ethical consideration section of this chapter. Three times a week for a month was the time frame that the research was given at the prison.

The participant's age ranged between 21 to 42 years old with an average age of 27 years old. Seven of the interviewees were divorced or separated from their husbands, and the rest three of the mothers were married. The majority of the mothers interviewed were sentenced from 2 up to 8 years, and one mother was in custody. The time the interviewees had already served on their sentence ranged from three months to over two years. The offenses that they were convicted were theft, physical abuse, child neglect, assault and attempted murder. Majority of interviewees had a low educational background high school and below. Three mothers did not get any formal education. The majority of the interview subjects had attended primary school. Five educated to primary

school and 2 with high school. All mothers interviewed had their children with them in prison each of them with one child. Two mothers also had children outside of the prison. The socioeconomic status of the mothers' before imprisonment was poor. They were engaged in minor retail trade; one was a housemaid, a waitress, and a housewife. The children with the mothers in prison ranged from 2 months up to 11 years with the average age of 3. The interviewed mothers were the primary caregivers of the children in all of the cases. Eight of the children's fathers were not involved in both the child and the mothers' life except for two mothers whose husbands were also imprisoned and visited and supported the child and mother every month from the prison. Here under the table with the full demographic background of the participants.

Table 1. Demographic background of the mothers and their children in the prison

Participants	Age (years)	Marital status	Education al level	Work engaged in before	Number of children / Age	Charge	Current status of mothers
Participant 1	24	Divorced	No formal education	Housewife	1 age 3 years old	Child Neglect	Sentenced for 3 years
Participant 2	25	Separated	Elementary	Minor retail trade	1 age 2 years old	Theft	Sentenced for 4 years
Participant 3	26	Divorced	High school	Minor retail trade	1 age 5 years old	Theft	Sentenced for 2 years
Participant 4	34	Divorced	Elementary	Merchant	1 age 11 years old	Assault	Sentenced for 2 years
Participant 5	25	Married	Elementary	Merchant	2 age 3 and 5 years old	Theft	Sentenced for 8 years

Participant 6	42	Married	No formal education	Housewife	5 children age 3, 8,10, 15 & 17 years old	Murder attempt	Sentenced for 9 years
Participant 7	25	Separated	No formal education	Merchant	1 age 3 years old	Physical abuse	Sentenced for 3 years
Participant 8	21	Separated	High school	Waiter at café	1 age 2 years old	Theft	Sentenced for 4 years
Participant 9	28	Married	Elementary	Minor retail trade	1 age 1 year old	Physical abuse	Sentenced for 8 years
Participant 10	21	Separated	Elementary	Housemaid	1 age 2 months	Murder attempt	Untried

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The analysis process used thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is selected as the data analysis method because, according to Bryman (2016), thematic analysis is one of qualitative data analysis approach involving the use of themes (categories identified). The researcher motivated this choice of the analytic method because of its flexibility and simplicity (Bryman, 2012). It is easy to identify and validate themes from the transcript by just reading through and providing a quotation from the data set.

Thematic analysis is more extensive and pursues issues in greater depth. Also, the researcher sees the critical elements of the subject's experiences (Rubin & Babbie, 2011) meaning interpretation. Here the meaning of the thematic areas that are explained in the cross-case analysis interpreted, and attempts have been made to answer the research questions through the interpretations (ibid). Given the small sample size, the researcher could not generalize beyond this context.

Nvivo software was used to assist analysis and code the collected data. The interviews were read through several times to obtain a sense of the whole. Then the texts about the experience of the mothers' in prison extracted and coded. The coding process was made in a table by dividing it into three parts that are meaning unit which is the original text from the interview and next condensed meaning unit and finally codes emerged from the condensed meaning unit. The various codes were compared based on differences and similarities and sorted into different categories and brought together into 18 categories and 8 sub-themes and four themes (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The emerged themes were Inclusiveness of services, The challenges of the family unit, Mothers' relationship with the justices system and the society and Mother being a survivor. Hereunder an example of how the analysis process was conducted.

Table 2. Example of the analysis process

<i>Meaning unit</i>	<i>Condensed meaning unit</i>	<i>Condensed meaning unit</i>	<i>Categories</i>	<i>Sub-theme</i>	<i>Theme</i>
	<i>Description close to the text</i>	<i>Interpretation of the Underlying meaning</i>			
There are different micro enterprises where all prisoners can be part of it including us and most of the mothers participate in this association.	There are micro enterprises in the prison and the mothers are part of it.	Availability of income generating activities and active participation of the mothers.	Accessibility and convenience of micro enterprises	Mothers' participation in small enterprises	Inclusiveness of services in the prison.
We usually engage in income generating activities according to our skills since we can do the work while we are with our	Mothers work based on their skills and able to do the work while having a child.	The micro enterprises are convenient for the mothers.			

children.

It helped me to get some money to support my kid and save some for the future. Helped the mothers to support their children future. The mothers benefiting from the micro enterprises. Micro enterprises the mothers and the prison

The micro enterprises provide many kinds of services for other inmates as well as for the prison guards and other staffs. Inmates, guards and others staffs get services from the micro enterprises. The prison benefiting from the micro enterprises. **Therefore, whenever we need something we buy from them.**

3.6 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in qualitative research method is equivalent to the terms of validity and reliability in quantitative research (Morrow, 2005). Qualitative researchers do not use instruments with established metrics about validity and reliability; it is relevant for qualitative researchers to address how the research findings are credible, transferable, confirmable, and dependable. In short, trustworthiness is all about establishing these four things in the research project (ibid).

Credibility is how confident the researcher in the truth. The researcher addressed this issue by adopting an appropriate and well-recognized research method and by conducting the study in the researcher's home country to use the advantage of familiarity with the

culture of the participants' and also to minimize the language barrier. Regarding subjectivity, the researcher empathized with the respondents when they shared the painful and harsh experience of their past as well their current condition in prison. However, the researcher maintained objectivity by staying neutral and, for example, giving no hint to the respondents of what the researcher wanted to hear.

The note-taking process was also focused on recording the whole statements of the mothers as they were responding. This helped the researcher to focus on the facts and the statement of the mothers rather than personal assumptions and biases. Even though the participants selected through purposive sampling but the researcher gave equal opportunity for the 37 mothers, who were inside the prison at the time of the study and those who were willing to be part of the study interviewed. Further, the mothers were sharing similar stories but not identical which validates the reliability of the sources (Pierre, 2016). Crosschecking the interview of the mothers was also applied. Additionally, there was no monetary or immediate gain for the mothers' to share their stories and experiences or by being part of the study. Therefore the issue with them in sharing incorrect and invalid information to gain money or support decreases.

Nevertheless, there were some issues that can question the credibility of the information in the study. The first issue could be, the interview materials collected during the research can be argued as a result of being gathered from mothers in a vulnerable situation that is being incarcerated. Since the prison administration and guards initiated the first contact with the mothers' it can be imagined that the inmates are keen to please them by participating. So this could be the potential bias in the sampling process. Additionally, the same bias can apply to the interviewer where the mothers are saying what they believe the researcher wishes to hear. Considering that more than five mothers refused to be part of the study after the initial introduction of the study and ethical issues for personal reasons they did not want to tell the researcher. This indicates that the influence of the guards and the prison administration or the researcher on the decision of the participants to be part of the study was minimal.

The second element is Transferability, which addresses the question of how the research findings apply to other contexts. The other contexts mean similar situations, similar

populations, and similar phenomena. Therefore, in the study, the researcher tried to achieve transferability through a detailed description of the context, which is the prison in Ethiopia.

The third element is Conformability, that the degree of neutrality in the study findings and it makes sure the findings are free from biases or personal motivation of the researcher. To address the issues of conformability, the researcher tried to discuss with the supervisor throughout the analysis and theme creation process to avoid individual biases.

Lastly, Dependability is the extent to which other researchers could repeat the study and find a similar and consistent result (Shenton, 2004). The researcher addressed these critical elements of trustworthiness through in-depth and detailed methodological description and by providing background data and information in the literature review and introduction. Recognition of potential shortcomings of methods and the data collection process is also another strategy that is employed in the study (Morrow, 2005).

The general reliability of the sources used in the study can be considered to be relatively high reliability overall. As the sources do not attempt to hide their originators the openness is an indicator of the general reliability of the sources. Therefore, the websites in the paper are reviewed with the purpose of finding the author or responsible originator to evaluate the general honesty of the sources. The connection of the sources with the recognized research institute or University is also another indication. Regarding the international and regional laws cited in the paper, the sources originated directly from the primary sources as for the United Nations website and the Ethiopian Federal Government original documents which reduces the risk of distorted information and strengthen genuineness. The time frame is further taken into consideration since the sources used are reviewed by the date they are updated as well as cross-checked against other sources to review the dependency of the sources.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Incarcerated mothers are in a vulnerable position that requires special ethical consideration. Therefore, the introduction was especially thorough, and the researcher was careful throughout the interviews. This was because to make sure that the participants are not deceived and influenced by participation. First, the mothers were informed (Bryman, 2016) in their native language about the objective of the overall study. This included how the study would affect them as well as the interviews structure and content. The mothers were further informed about confidentiality (NASW, 1999) their absolute anonymity in the final dissertation and their right to refuse to answer any question as well as to terminate their participation at any time. They were additionally informed of how the data material would solely be used for research purposes and that it was not intended for any other purposes. Moreover, the researcher asked for any potential questions the mothers might have had before their consent finally obtained and the interview processed. The consent obtained verbally because some of the mothers were illiterate and some of them did not want to sign in any paper. Therefore, to make it uniform for all participant verbal consent were preferred. See the consent and information form in appendix 2.

The researcher and the interview subjects were not equal during the interview, and a power difference, therefore, existed since the researcher outlined and regulated the situation (Karnieli-Mille et al., 2009). In the study, the interview subjects were in a specially vulnerable situation beforehand, and therefore the inequality in the interview situation was most likely even higher. Reducing the power difference was a difficult process; however, the researcher attempted with this in mind to create a safe and relaxed environment during the interviews for the mother to feel safe enough to be able to share their feelings, opinion, and experiences as freely as possible. Further, the researcher also informed the mothers that the information they provided is anonymized in reporting the final paper and also to the prison authorities.

The names of the participants were altered to preserve their anonymity; they were referred to in the result presentation as respondent 1, 2 and 3 etcetera. All the raw data

stored in a secure and password protected laptop. Only the researcher and the supervisor had access to the raw data. The researcher had only access to the names of the participants since their names were anonymous before presenting the raw data to the supervisor. Likewise, anything that was possible lead to the mothers' identity from their statements, as well as any delicate personal information that was not relevant for the study itself was excluded from the presentation of the results. Quotes that do not expose the mothers' identity were documented in the result and analysis part since the women's own words and stories were in focus.

Generally, the social research ethical principles in general and the qualitative research ethical considerations, in particular, have been employed. Moreover, since the data collection process undertook inside the prison, regulations, and rules of the prison were respected and the researcher complied with the expected dogmas. Moreover, this study has been notified and got approval from the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data in Norway, see the approval letter on appendix 3.

3.8 Reflections and Limitations of the Study

The initial intention was to conduct a case study by using multiple data collection methods. However, due to the prison regulation, it was not allowed for an outsider to visit and observe where the inmates live or to apply any other data collection methods. The only way to collect the data was an interview. Therefore, not applying different methods of data collection and only depended on the interview may question the credibility of the information. Further, the required presence of one police officer during the interviews was also one limitation that could affect the quality of the data as well as the result since participants could be uncomfortable to express and tell their stories freely. However, the researcher tried to make the participants at ease to be free to answer the questions they want to answer.

The other challenge was limited time frame to access the prison as well as the participants. This limitation put pressure on the researcher to gather lots of information within a short and specific time. Another obstacle regarding the data collection was the prohibition of recording the interviews due to the prison regulation. Any recording and

electronics device was not allowed. Because of this, an exact transcription was not possible, and as a result, some of the interviewees' statements were inevitably lost which can have a negative effect on the credibility of the information. Despite this, large parts of the interviewees' literal statements were possible to capture by hand. To overcome these challenges and limitations, the researcher collected lots of information within the time period through active note taking, bulleting the key points and memo writing right after the interview. There was also a time gap between each interview and only two participants interviewed per one day to have enough time for writing. Furthermore, respecting the rules and regulations of the prison as well as the interest of the participants is also one research ethics. Taping interviews does not absolutely guarantee excellent analysis and research quality, for example, many generations of qualitative researchers and ethnographers relied on their notes.

Other than the above challenges and limitations, conducting the research in the native country of the researcher was one significant advantage to get approval from the prison administration in a short time as well as in building trust with the participant to share their stories. It was also easy for the researcher to understand what the participants were saying in the interview because of the familiarity of the culture, the family, the social and the political system. In short, coming from the similar culture, country, speaking the same language and being a woman also helped the researcher to create rapport and build trust with the participants easily.

In conclusion, this study is a qualitative study with constructivism and interpretivism orientation through the in-depth interview as the primary method of data collection procedure. The participant selected by using purposive sampling technique based on their shared characteristics which are being incarcerated mothers living with a child in Ethiopia prison. Therefore, ten mothers were selected for the study based on their full consent. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the collected data. The issue of trustworthiness got a focus on the study to ensure the credibility, transferability, conformability, and dependability of the collected data. The researcher also discussed personal reflections and the study limitations by the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This chapter talks about the results of the study, and it is divided into four main themes, which emerged from the gathered material of the study. To begin with, the theme inclusiveness of services in prison will be introduced followed by the theme challenges of the family unit in prison. Thereafter, mothers' relationship with the society and the justice system will be presented and mothers being a survivor will be the final theme in this chapter. Summaries, as well as quotes from the interviewees' statements, will be included. The summaries are intended to complement the quotes at times when the literal quotes have not been able to be documented.

Table 3. Summary of the emerged categories, sub-themes and themes

No	Categories	Sub-themes	Themes
1	Accessibility and convenience of micro enterprises	Mothers' participation on small enterprises	Inclusiveness of Services in the Prison
	Micro enterprises benefiting the mothers and the prison		
	Limited access to services		
	Law limits the mothers 'participation in services	The availability of limited special services	
	The availability of special services for the mothers.		
	Limitations of special services		
2	Prison is a challenging place for mothers	Motherhood difficulties	The Challenges of the Family Unit
	Limitation in fulfilling maternal responsibilities		
	Emotional issues of the mothers		
	Physical problems of child because of		

	poor prison facilities	Children difficulties in Prison	
	Mental health and behavioral problems of the children	from the mothers' perspective	
3	Mothers courage to face the challenges	Resilience of the mothers	Mothers' Being a Survivor
	Poor economy of self and family		
	Lack of choice/ No outside support that can take care the children outside of the prison	Mothers as a sole caretaker for their children	
	Poor marriage and family relationship		
4	Mothers as a victim of abuse and injustice inside and outside of home	Justice Problems/issues	Mothers' Relationship with Society and the Justice System
	Mother's good relationship with other inmates		
	Mother's bad relationship with the community where they come from	Societal view towards the mothers	

4.1 Inclusiveness of Services in the Prison

The theme of inclusiveness of services in prison is about the availability of different services in prison and which of the services are inclusive and encourage participation by incarcerated mothers. This theme is divided into two sub-themes.

4.1.1 The Availability of Limited Special Services for Mothers

Women described that different services for all prisoners like education, vocational training and small enterprise for all women prisoner including the mothers. They mention that the prison also provides additional support for the mothers with infant child or under the age of 18 months as stated by most of the participants.

"Overall, the prison administration tries to support us with clothes, child allowance until 18 months, food and stove to cook our meal especially for the mothers who have children" (Mother age 21).

"There is special support for children under 18 months and for prisoners who do not have outside family support. They give us soap, oil for our hair, cloth and small money" (Mother age 28).

Even though the prison has been trying to support the mothers with additional provisions as stated above, the mothers think this particular provision is not sufficient to support their young children. There is a limitation in the provision of the specific support for mothers and their children from the side of the prison. Additionally, if the child is above 18 months, the mothers reported that the prison stops all the monthly allowance and other special support that has been given to the child. After that, the mothers are expected to take care of all the needs of their children by themselves. Most of the mothers expressed their concern regarding this:

"Not that much! We can only cook for our children if the children are below 18 months" (Mothers age 24).

"They provide the same thing for all the mothers" (Mother age 42).

"After 18 months the children eat the same food we eat. With the money they give us we can cook different foods for the infant, but still, it is not enough" (Mothers age 34).

Regarding access to services, in general, most of the programs are not convenient and accessible for a mother with a child. There is limited consideration of the situation of the mothers to involve them in the different services that exist in prison, for example, education and vocational training.

"There are primary education and vocational training for all prisoners, but it is not convenient for a mother" (Mother age 21).

The main reason mothers give for not being able to participate, relates to regulations within the prison that prohibits the children from going with their mothers to classes or

training places. This means the mother cannot attend the training, as she has no childcare alternatives.

"The children should not move from the place they assigned, and we cannot leave our children alone... this is the regulation of the prison... children cannot go to the class or the training place, and we have to be with them all the time. It is like choosing between your child and education" (Mother age 25).

This regulation of the prison limits the mothers from involving in education and training since they have to be with their children all the time.

"There are many programs aimed at all prisoners including us, but practically they do not involve us in a way, because we are supposed to be with our children all the time."

(Mother age 24).

"For example me, I finished 10th grade and wanted to learn some other vocational skills, but I could not do it because I am a mother" (Mother age 26).

4.1.2 Mothers' Participation in Small Enterprises

Mothers reported small enterprises as other programs the prison provides in addition to education and vocational training. In contrast to the latter, mothers report being well included in the small enterprises businesses. The prison administration organizes these small businesses to support inmates financially and also to rehabilitate them. The small enterprises are income-generating activities launched by the rehabilitation and development program to encourage inmates to be self-sufficient and not look to crime to provide for themselves and their family. Inmates are made to form associations based on their interest and job training and work in collaboration to facilitate their work. There are the 7 Associations in which women prisoners work in collaboration with each other like restaurants, handmade clothing, embroidery, small agricultural works, beauty salon and preparing fresh fruit smoothies for sale. Women participants reported that these enterprises are more inclusive of the mothers since they can work based on their skills and while having their children with them.

"I think from the other programs here these small enterprises are more inclusive of us"
(Mother age 26).

"There are different micro-enterprises where all prisoners can be part of it including most of the mothers and me participate in this enterprises" (A mother of two and age 25).

"We usually engage in income generating activities according to our skills since we can do the work while we are with our children" (Mother age 28).

These micro-enterprises as described by the mothers are beneficial, and the mothers are able to provide some of the needs of their children. This is one of the biggest worries of almost all the mothers that are interviewed. Their involvement helps them save some money for the future. As stated in the first sub-theme, as the special support the mothers gets from the prison stops when the baby reaches 18 months, the involvement of mothers in the enterprises is key if they are to take care of their children's needs.

"Yes, we are part of the small enterprises! That how we support our children and us financially" (Mother age 25)

"It helped me to get some money to support my kids and save some for the future" (A mother of 5 inside and outside prison and age 45).

The profit of these enterprises are saved up in their respective bank accounts, but the prisoners are not allowed to have their bank books with them nor can they have access to their own money whenever they want. However, once a week representatives of the Ethiopian Commercial Bank come to the prison in which case the bankbooks will be distributed, and prisoners can access their money with constant monitoring and a limit to the amount of money they can withdraw.

The prison community in general and mothers who are not part of these small enterprises also benefit from the micro-enterprises. For example, one participant who was not part of the small businesses stated how many people in prison including her access services from the enterprises like this:

"The micro-enterprises provide many kinds of services for other inmates as well as for the prison guards and other staffs. Therefore, whenever we need something, we buy from them" (Mother age 21).

4.2. The Challenges of the Family Unit in Prison

This theme describes the challenges of the family unit in prison and the adversities the mothers and their children in the prison face. The family unit here is the incarcerated mothers and their children who live with them in prison. Under this theme, there are two sub-themes, which are mothers' difficulties and children's difficulties from the perspective of the mothers.

4.2.1 Motherhood Difficulties

Mothers reported that incarceration has an effect on a mother and makes motherhood difficult.

"Being a mother is always difficult all the time, and the challenge gets worse when you get imprisoned" (Mother age 34).

"Life is very difficult in prison especially for women who have children."

(Mother age 25).

Incarceration changes a women life and limits the capacity to fulfill responsibilities regarding their children. The participants reported that their imprisonment limits their capacity to meet the needs of their children and they think the prison changes their way of life even after finishing the sentence. They also believe being in prison creates a distance between a mother and any children she may have left outside of the prison.

"Yes, there is a difference.... before I came here, I had the freedom to do anything I want for my child but now I cannot" (Mother age 28).

"Of course life will not be the same when I go out! I have to start all over again when I go out..." (Mother age 28).

"The other thing is there will be many changes in my children's life, good or bad...this worries me a lot!" (A mother of two age 42).

The other challenge the mothers mentioned was the difficult time they had been through during pregnancy and childbirth in prison. This is because the facilities like water, medical care, and food provision in prison are insufficient and poor. Four mothers who had their children in prison reported the difficult time they had gone through during childbirth in the prison-like:

"Having a child is a big phenomenon in woman's life and experience this big thing in this harsh environment with no one to take care of you is so painful!" (Mother age 25).

"I had my daughter here, and I had a tough time at the moment" (Mother age 28).

"When I had my daughter it was difficult" (Mother age 21).

"For example, I gave birth here in prison 2 years ago, and I had a tough time... after we give birth we usually just come and continue our life like nothing happened" (Mother age 25).

Lastly, the mothers mentioned the emotional issues and challenges they face in prison as mothers. The first emotional issue they reported is shame in front of the family. Some of the mother interviewed reported that they do not want their family to know about their incarceration. One mother said it like this:

"I bring my child with me because I do not have anyone who can take care of her. I do not want my family to know about my situation" (Mother age 21).

The second emotional issue they reported is self-blame/guilt for their children suffering. Most of the mothers think they are the reason for their children's suffering because they committed a crime and are imprisoned. This feeling of self-blame and guilt reported by one participant as follow:

"Looking all this problems and hardships in your child's life, it is so painful especially when I am the reason for all of these" (Mother age 26).

Most of the mothers expressed the pain they feel because they are not able to provide the needs of their children who live inside and outside of the prison. Their imprisonment hindered them from fulfilling their maternal responsibilities and further resulted shame and disappointment on them. Here are some of the quotes from the interview:

"It is hard to provide the needs of our children... Being unable to do this is painful for a mother!" (Mother age 28)

"Above all, the most difficult thing for me is not able to give the love and affection I have to give to my children!" (A mother of two age 25, one of her daughter lives outside the prison)

"Not being able to be with them all the time and guide them in their life, as a mother it is the biggest scar in my life!" (A mother of 5 age 42, only the youngest son is with her in prison)

The third emotional issue is mixed feeling because of the children's different and challenging living conditions. One mother reported her mixed feeling because of her two children's different situation. One of her daughters is living with her inside the prison, and her other daughter lives outside with family since the prison only allows the mothers to bring one child with them. As she stated, she is happy that her younger child is with her in prison, but at the same time, she feels sad when she thinks about her other daughter who lives with relatives far from her.

"For me, I am happy that I have my daughter here with me... at the same time, I feel very sad when I think about my other daughter whom I left with my family cause it is not allowed to bring two children to the prison" (Mother of two age 25).

She also continued about the distress or grief due to the separation as follow:

"As a mother, my heart is torn into pieces when I think about my other child. Separating with your children is very difficult!".

4.2.2. Children Difficulties in the Prison from the Perspective of Mother

Participants reported that the children are the victims of their incarceration. The children who live in prison with their incarcerated mothers are subjected to physical problems because of the poor prison facilities. All the children do not have access to education, proper medical care, nutritional food and lack of enough space to play. Here under few quotes about the physical problems of their children from the interviewed mothers:

"Even with our children, they do not get special treatment... if they get sick, they usually treated like adults unless the sickness is severe. For example, my child she is two years old, and she usually gets sick since she was born, but there is no improvement in her health condition as she has not been getting enough/regular check-up" (Mother age 25 with a two years old child).

"The place where the mothers stay is separated, but during the day our children spend their time with other inmates because there is not enough space" (Mother age 28).

"There is no special food for our children" (Mother age 25 with a three years old child).

Mothers express this opinion that the educational rights of their children were being violated. The children who have reached the age for education are then being violated their rights and being forced to learn from adult women offenders or their mothers informally not that much more literate than themselves. Most of the mothers in the interview finished primary school, and only two of them finish high school. The rest do not have any formal education. In short, the children do not get any formal education in prison.

"Here the children do not get an education" (Mother age 26 with a five years old child)

"He has a brilliant mind but what is the use he is not getting the education here! It is very sad...he is at a good age to start education" (Mother age 42, her son is three years old)

"My daughter is 11 years old now, and she was in 5th grade when I got imprisoned. Since last year after I became a prisoner, she stopped her education and came with me" (Mother age 34).

According to the mothers their children have some mental health and behavioral problems. According to the mothers interviewed, some of their children exhibit behavioral change like aggressiveness after being brought their children to the prison. One mother explained her child's condition like this:

"My child after he came here he becomes so aggressive, and he fights with other children all the time. I can see the changes in his behavior" (Mother age 42, her son is three years old).

The mothers also expressed their concern regarding their children's developing criminal behavior because the children spend most of their time with other inmates.

"They also learn criminal behavior since they spend most of their times with other inmates" (Mother age 21 with a two years old child).

4.3 Mothers' Relationship with the Society and the Justice System

This theme talks about the mothers' relationship with the macro system that is the justices system, the other inmates and the community they came from. This theme is divided into two sup-themes that are Mother Relationship with the Justice System and the second sub-theme is Mothers' Relationship with the Society and other Inmates.

4.3.1 Justice Problems/Issues

Under this sub-theme, the incarcerated mother reported a lack of legal knowledge about the rights of women in prison. Most of the mothers in the sample, except 2 participants, are divorced or separated, and they do not get any support from their partners regarding the child's needs. For example, one mother stated that she does not have the confidence to claim her right to get support from the child's father because of the lack of her marriage registration.

"Because we did not register our marriage in the first place I do not have any right to claim his support legally plus I am here now" (Mother age 26).

The second issue is mothers' being a victim of domestic abuse. One participant reported that she used to be physically abused by her husband before incarceration. This is the

story of one interviewed mother who was physically abused by her husband while she was pregnant right before her incarceration:

"I also had some other complication because my husband physically abused me before I came here... after I came here, they sent me to a big hospital since the problem was life threatening! God bless them! After I got the treatment, I was able to deliver my baby safely" (Mother age 28).

The last issue regarding the justice problem the mothers raised was mothers' as victims of structural injustices and societal discrimination just because they are women with a child. One mother in the interview reported that one man raped her only daughter, but she could not get proper investigation or answer from the police or the court.

"The reason I got imprisoned is that of my child. A young man raped my daughter last year, and I reported the case to the police but didn't get a proper investigation. At that time I was so hurt that I was about to lose my mind because she is my only child that I raised her by myself" (Mother age 34 her daughter is 11 years old).

This injustice and discrimination led this mother to criminality and made her end up in prison. She continued like this:

"After I heard this answer from the police and when my neighbors side with the criminal, one day I attacked the guy who raped my child physically, and I got arrested for assault."

4.3.2 Mother's Relationship with the Society and other Inmates

The mothers' relationship with their home community is broken through incarceration. As most mothers stated when they became imprisoned their neighbors stopped contacting them and very few of them get a regular visit from the family or relatives. Incarceration results in discrimination and judgments of the mothers by their home community. As the mothers reported, the discrimination also affects them after finishing their sentence when they try to get job or integration process with the society.

"After I got imprisoned my relationship became loath with my neighbors... you know people discriminate and judge you when you commit a crime" (Mother age 42).

"The discrimination I will have to face when I go out for having a criminal record is also hard. The other thing is I am a single mother after all. As you know, it is hard to get a job when you have a child. People do not trust you and even if they do they do not want to accept the inconvenience that comes with the child" (Mother age 25).

"It is very hard for me to go back to the same neighborhood and continue living... I know they will not treat me like they used to do" (Mother age 34).

In contrast, the participants reported that they have a good relationship with the other inmates. This is because; as the mothers reported the other inmates are women and understand the challenges and trials of the mothers' life as women. They support the mothers during childbirth and child-rearing in prison however they can.

"As far as I know I have a good relationship with them. Sometimes they support us by making food, especially during childbirth and sickness. In general, they sympathize and understand us, as they are also women" (Mother age 25).

"I have a good relationship with them. Whenever the mothers have a problem with our kids or during childbirth, they support us by washing our clothes, by preparing food, and sometimes by holding our kids if we have something to do" (Mother age 21).

However, one mother mentioned the opposite that the relationship with the other inmate is not always entirely healthy and there are times where some arguments and bad issues arise. However, she said that the overall relationship is good and smooth.

"Of course there are also problems like hitting our children when they do something wrong, tell the children something they should not know and so on. However, in general, we have good relations with the other inmates" (Mother age 28).

4.4 Mothers Being a Survivor

The theme of "Being a Survivor" is connected with the notion of energy, strength, and enthusiasm of the mother despite the many challenges they face with no one to support them. It stands in opposition to the binding power of imprisonment and the different challenges associated with this. This theme is divided into two sub-themes: being the sole

caretaker for their children and resilience. The first sub-theme shows that how the mothers are the primary caretaker of their children in the midst of no support from the family or partner. The second sub-theme followed the present how the mothers show resilience and determination to raise their children in the absence of close family or partner support. It also indicates how the children can be a source of strength and power for the mothers.

4.4.1 Mothers as a Sole Caretaker for their Children

Having no choice and support from anyone made the incarcerated mothers the sole caretaker for their children. From the interviewed mothers, only two of were married and got support from their husbands. The two mothers further reported that their husbands were also incarcerated together with them, but they visit them and their children once a month.

"We had a wonderful relationship during our six years marriage. He is a very loving and caring person, and he also devoted to our children. Has he is not imprisoned; he could have raised the children without a problem even if I am here...he also visit us once a month" (Mother age 25, married).

Other than these two mothers, the other participants were divorced or separated from their partners, and they did not get any support or visits.

"I am separated with my husband before I have got imprisoned, and I do not have any contact with him.... he does not support the child or me. I do not know where he is" (Mother age 24).

"I met my husband when I was 17 years old while working as a waitress in a cafeteria. After three years I moved with him, and we lived for one year together. We separated after I got imprisoned, He did not want to suffer with me. Now he is not helping us, and I do not know where he is. When I go out, I may search him for my child's sake since she has to know her father, but I do not have any desire to live with him again" (Mother age 21).

The mother also reported the background of their family as poor not enough to support themselves or their children. Except for the two mothers who were a housewife, the rest of the participant engaged in low-income jobs before incarceration and 5 of the mothers identified themselves as financially poor and who comes from a low-income family background. Hereunder some of the quotes from the interview:

"My families are in another part of the country, and I came here (Addis Ababa) to get a job and support my family" (Mother age 21)

"I am poor, and I cannot afford to fulfill all my child's need, and I feel horrible... I do not have a rich family to support me" (Mother age 25).

"We are financially poor, and after we got imprisoned, our children are having problems" (Mother of 5 age 42).

As the mothers reported coming from the poor background and broken marriage relationship left the mother with no choices but to bring their young children with them to the prison as well as made them be the only caretaker to shoulder all the burdens. Five of the mothers interviewed expressed their lack of choice made them bring their children into the prison. One mother expressed this situation like this:

"This is why I am keeping my child with me; my families are poor, and I do not want to be a burden again, and my husband is not a reliable person who can be responsible until the end" (A mother age 21 with a two-month-old baby).

4.4.2 Resilience of the Mothers

This sub-theme presents the mothers' courage to face the different adversities they face because they are mothers who have responsibilities to care for their children. During the interview, the mothers expressed that they do not get support from family or partner as mentioned above. However, at the same time, they showed the spirit of a survivor, resilience, and strength to go forward and overcome the adversities because they believed they have a big responsibility as a mother.

"I know I will face judgment and discrimination by the society and family, but I think that is something I have to overcome for my children's sake. I am a mother after all. Children also give you courage and energy in life" (A mother of two, age 25)

"Yes! I have to face it! I am not a single person anymore; I have a child who needs me more than anyone. Of course, people may discriminate or isolate me just because I committed a crime but even if I have to change a place, I will survive!" (A mother of one, age 25)

One mother also reported that she could impact her child positively like any mother out there. She said it like this:

"One thing I believe even if I am here I can impact my child positively as I am the one who stays with her all the time while she is here... For example, me, even if there is no education for our children, I teach her the spellings, how to speak and other moral values and norms as much as I can. Whenever she does something unacceptable, I correct her and teach her what is right and wrong" (Mother age 25 her child is three years old).

She added that even if there is an extra challenge for incarcerated mothers compared to people who live outside if the mother is strong enough, she can make a positive impact on her children.

"Therefore, if you are a strong mother even if it is here, you can raise your child properly, but we should not still forget the extra challenges here compare to people who live outside" (Mother age 25 her child is three years old).

In the interviews, the mothers were also trying to see the prison from a positive angle. For example, one mother reported the positive said of being a mother in prison by linking it with giving enough time for children. As she said in the interview, she had her child after incarceration, and she was able to spend enough time with her baby girl:

"Here, I am able to give my full time for my child. As there is nowhere we can go, all the mothers spend our full time with our children. I am happy about that... before I came here, I was busy with work and other social life. I had my child after I came here and I can take care of her as much as I can. If I were not imprisoned, I would not be able to

give this much time for my child...as you know life is so hard in this country unless you work hard it is difficult to continue with life. Being here helped me to give all the motherly love and time for my child" (Mother age 21 with a two years old child).

In summary, this chapter presented four themes that emerged from the collected data. The first theme is inclusiveness of services, and the findings showed that there are different services available for all prisoners including mothers but these services are limited and fail to include the mothers who have children with them actively. Small enterprises are more inclusive and considerate of the mothers' situation and challenges. These small enterprises provide services and financial support for the mothers as well as for the general prison community. The second theme is challenges of the family unit, and the challenges are in sum the emotional challenges of the mother related to guilt and feelings of separation from children outside of the prison and failure to provide the physical, emotional and educational need of their children.

The third theme focuses on mothers' relationship with the justice system and the society. The interviewed mothers relationship with the macro system can be divided as good and bad. Their relationship with the justice system and the community they came from is bad, and they are a victim of the structural injustice and discrimination. On the other hand, the mothers' relationship with the other inmates is overall good as reported by the participants. The final theme is mothers being a survivor that focuses on the resilience and strength of the mothers despite the many challenges they face. The interviewed mothers showed the spirit of a survivor, strength, and resilience even though they do not have enough help and support from their loved ones or family members because of the broken marriage relationship, low-income family background, and poverty in general.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will commence with a brief outline of results as related to the original research questions, and the major results will be presented. The study's results in comparison with the previous research and theory will be then presented. In the discussion chapter implications to practice, to research, to the judicial system, to social work, and to policy will also be presented. Finally, a summary of the chapter will follow.

The purpose of the study was to explore the experience of incarcerated mothers living with their children in Ethiopia prison. The mothers' own stories and experiences were the interest of the study. This is regard to what kinds of experience do mothers go through when serving the prison time and the impact of incarceration on motherhood. Firstly, the main research questions of the study will be answered one by one followed by the discussion with previous literature, theory, and implications. The key themes that arose from the study were, Inclusiveness of services for the mothers, The challenges of the family unit that are the mothers and their children in prison, Mothers relationship with the justice system and the society and the final theme was Mothers being a survivor.

How does motherhood look like in prison?

Most of the mothers interviewed stated motherhood in prison as difficult and challenging. This is because being in prison by itself is a challenging place that limits their freedom to fulfill the maternal responsibility they have to provide for their children. The mothers also mentioned incarceration tarnish the good mother identity in the society. However, in the interviews, the mothers showed courage and resilience to go forward by mentioning children as a source of courage and strength in life. They show the same love and care as well as believing in bringing a positive impact on their children like any mother. Some mothers also stated the positive side of being in prison with their children in terms of giving full time for their children, as they do not have other things that keep them busy like people outside.

What challenges incarcerated mothers face in prison?

The main challenges incarcerated mothers face according to the participants are related to caring for the physical, mental, behavioral and educational needs of their children. Most of the participants are sole caretakers for their children, coming from a poor family background as well as broken marriage relationships. This left the mothers to shoulder the entire burden regarding the child's needs. This situation left them with no choice but to bring their children inside the prison, and some still had children outside however as well. The mother faces emotional issues due to separation and guilt feeling because of their children outside of the prison. They blame themselves for their children's suffering both inside and outside the prison. The other challenge the mothers mentioned was discrimination and neglect by the society after their imprisonment. They were the victims of abuse, structural injustice, for example, being denied fair and equal treatment by the police. They lacked knowledge regarding the right of women prisoners.

What are the challenges their children face inside the prison?

As the mothers reported because of the poor prison facility their children who come together with their mothers to the prison face many challenges: the children have no education, limited medical care, no nutrition food and limited space to play. The mothers also reported their children show some behavioral changes like increased aggressiveness after they came to prison.

What is mothers' experience of services in prison?

The interviewed mothers mentioned the availability of different service for all prisoners including the mothers. Services like education and vocational training are inadequate and failed to actively include incarcerated mothers who have children in prison due to prison regulation. Small enterprises services are more inclusive and beneficial to the mothers as well as the general prison community.

For a mother being a mother in prison by itself is challenging since most of the prison facilities are not primary made considering the mothers. Like the participants mentioned in the interview, the poor prison facility makes the mothers' and their children's life in

prison difficult. There is a similar finding in a study conducted in UK and Wales all the interviewed mothers stated that merely being in the physical space of prison magnified the challenges to motherhood, and many of those challenges and emotional consequences followed the mothers post-release (Baldwin, 2018).

In the current study, mothers reported their worry about the discrimination they are facing and will face after they release by the society. This is because of their criminal record, and they are subject to discrimination and judgment. The implication here that incarceration made the mothers' relationship with their community to be damaged and this can make the mothers' reintegration process with their community difficult. This could also be related to the society's view and value about motherhood and how a mother should act like. Because many people commit a crime, but when a mother engages herself with criminality, the discrimination and judgment will be doubled and makes her be a bad person as well as a bad mother especially in a patriarchal and traditional society like Ethiopia. In the above study in UK and Wales, the released mothers also reported that their 'good mother' identity was forever damaged, and they struggled with similar emotions to those experienced while still in prison, even after being reunited with their children (Baldwin, 2018).

Therefore, addressing the patriarchal attitude of the society through awareness raising and by providing strong legal protection for women can help many women to integrate with the society easily as well as help them to be a law abiding and fruitful citizen for their countries. Professionals like social workers and psychologist should also help the mothers to adapt with the prison system through life skill training and counseling on how to cope up with the prison life and integrate with the society after release.

The other issue the mothers mentioned is being a victim of domestic abuse and structural injustice before incarceration. For example, one participant in the present study reported that when her 11 years daughter got raped by her neighbor but could not get a proper investigation from the police, she attacked the man to get revenge and got arrested for assault. Another mother also reported that she used to be abused by her husband before her incarceration. This implies that how the structural injustice and abuses women go through at home and in the society can lead them to criminality. A similar study in

Europe found out that practitioners interviewed concerned that large numbers of women prisoners have experienced abuse and that such abuses are one reason behind women's offending behavior (MacDonald, 2013). A study in Denmark also found similar result stating that trauma is intricately linked both directly and indirectly to the female criminal pathway (Moloney et al., 2009).

To address this structures injustice and abuse a macro level intervention is essential, which can be advocating for policy change as well as developing an alternative and inclusive policy interventions by social workers can be a solution. Enabling and empowering women economically, socially, politically through providing equal access to education in the society from the start can prevent or decrease women' criminality and vulnerability to abuse and injustice.

Mothers' lack of knowledge about their right was another finding in the study. For example, one mother stated that she could not claim child support from the father of the child because they did not register their marriage legally. However, in the Ethiopia Family Law (2000) under the Irregular Union section on article 102 (3) stated: "The man and the woman engaged in an irregular union shall be jointly and severally liable for all debts incurred for their maintenance, or for the maintenance of their children born of such union."

This lack of knowledge on the mothers' side may be related with the educational background of the mothers (only two of them finished high school, and three of them were illiterate, and the rest five participants only attend primary school). The low educational background can lead to poor economic status since most of the high paid jobs require a certain level of educational achievement. This could be one reason why most of the participants in the study were engaged in low paid jobs like waitress, housemaid and miner retail trades. Most of the participant also came from the low-income family background. This implies that the poor economic status of themselves as well as their families in addition to low educational achievement and further being criminal can make this mother to be vulnerable and defenseless to claim and uphold their rights. A similar result found in a study conducted in Romania where the majority of the women deprived of freedom were convicted of nonviolent offenses with very low educational level. The

life histories of these women offenders are characterized by social and economic disadvantage (Müller-Fabian, 2015). Therefore, it is recommended that the prison should organize free legal aid and guidance to help the mothers who have issues with their partners to get a child and another kind of support. The prison administration should organize workshops or training for all inmates including mothers to teach them about the laws and their rights by collaborating with legal professionals.

The other finding the interviewed mothers mentioned is being a sole caretaker for their children because of lack of family and partner support. Stanley & Byrne, (2000) found a similar result that most incarcerated mothers being a sole caretaker for their children. Being the sole caretaker without other family helping together with imprisonment makes the mothers not to be able to fulfill the maternal responsibilities like the physical and emotional needs of their children. As a result of this, they feel guilt, pain, and shame as a mother when they see their children having a hard time because of their incarceration. The implication here is that the impact of poverty in the mothers' life. Had this mothers have some families or relatives who can be able to support them with the childcare, or if they were economically well enough to provide for their children's needs the burden and the emotional issues they are shouldering would not be as heavy as it is now; because most of the emotional issues are related with being unable to fulfill the needs of their children. In the Romania study from the mothers who participated majority of the participant's' emotional experiences are characterized by frustration, conflict, and guilt similar to the above reasons (Müller-Fabian, 2015).

Therefore, the prison should help mothers who do not have contact with their families with extra financial support to help their children. Social workers should search for their families and partners to reunite them can be a great help for the mothers. In the country, there are many non-governmental and governmental organizations that can support the mothers and their children at a different level. Social workers who work in prison can facilitate and link the mothers with the available resource inside and outside the prison to lessen the mothers' burden. The psychologist in collaboration with the other professionals should help the mothers with emotional issues. For example, by providing preventive counseling upon their admission; the purpose is a form of orientation in helping to

overcome emotional instability and to help them adapt the environment during their serve time in prison. The prison should develop family support programs in prison that include a range of programs that offer one-to-one support, advocacy, and referral for prisoners and their families, with the goal to maintain and strengthen family ties and promote reintegration.

Regarding the result mothers' access to services in prison, the Bangkok Rules (2010) provide some safeguards for women offender. For example, it says how the accommodation of women prisoners should have facilities and materials required to meet women's specific hygiene needs, including sanitary towels, provided free of charge and a regular supply of water to be made available for the personal care of children and women, in particular, women involved in cooking and those who are pregnant, breastfeeding or menstruating. However, in the Ethiopia prison, women offenders including mothers do not get support at this level. As the mothers reported, the only support they get is child allowance until the child reaches 18 months and some other support like soap, hair oil, and a stove to cook food for their infant child. This is why most of the mothers interviewed said that the services are limited and inadequate. It implies that there is a gap in practice in the prison because most of the facilities stated by the international law are not provided by the prison to benefit the mothers.

Further, the mothers described education and vocational training as not inclusive related to the finding access to services. Most mothers do not participate in these programs because they have to be with their children all the time and the children are not allowed to go to these places. Nevertheless, The Ethiopian Federal Prisoners Enactment of the Council of Ministers (2007) addressed the issues of incarcerated mothers with their children by stating that prisoners should be provided with the opportunity to attend academic and different vocational training classes; provided, however, that priority shall be given to illiterate prisoners. It also added special educational opportunities and attention to be given to female and juvenile prisoners. The implication here is that the Ethiopian law and the international standard spell out a number of rights for the female and mother prisoners including educational opportunities as well as accommodation issues however imprisoned mothers are not benefiting from this laws properly due to the

inadequate implementation process. Basically, the law is in place, but the implementation is not effective because of childcare issues. This also questions the implementation process of the rehabilitation goal of the prison.

Rehabilitation is the goal of prison programs to help the person to return to a previous state. Theoretically, rehabilitation is a special program that focuses on the needs of offenders to reunite with society after finishing their sentence. In definition, rehabilitation refers to efforts aimed towards enabling a person to successfully reintegrate with the society (Debbie, 2012). Its purpose is to reshape individuals and prepare them to enter into the society with a different state of mind and begin new lifestyle after post-release. In contemporary penology, the actual purpose of sending criminals to prison is to reform them from dishonest into honest and law-abiding citizens free from criminality (Miriti & Kimani, 2017).

Rehabilitation programs are necessary and assist in avoiding recidivism, it reinforcing positive behavior it builds self-esteem and looks for the roots of offender's choices to commit crimes. Programs like prison education are the key to making sure job opportunities and also to develop the skills that may enable offenders to follow a life in employment. One approach to rehabilitation is 'The Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model.' This model used in criminology to improve recommendations for a way prisoners should be assessed based on the risk they present and what they need and what kinds of environments they should be placed to reduce recidivism (Andrews, Bonta & Wormith, 2011). The model includes three principles that should guide intervention with offenders.

In brief, the risk principle indicates that criminals at higher risk for reoffending will benefit most from higher levels of intervention, including high-intensity treatment, and that lower risk offenders should receive minimal, routine, or no intervention (Andrews et al., 2011). The need principle suggests that only those factors associated with reductions in recidivism (i.e., criminogenic needs) should be targeted in the intervention. The RNR model is based on addressing the criminogenic needs of the individual and education, and training is a typical intervention to address one of the significant eight risk factors related to recidivism that is low educational attainment. The responsivity principle states that correctional programs should be following the offender's characteristics such as learning

style, level of motivation, and the individual's personal and interpersonal circumstances (Ward, Melser & Yates, 2007). Personal circumstance here is motherhood, and the educational programs in the prison are not harmonized with the mothers' condition and circumstances as the RNR model suggests. A Research conducted in the USA by MacKenzie (2006) found that rehabilitation programs that have shown to be effective in reducing reoffending include the academic and vocational education. Therefore, the prison administration should give more attention to these services to include all prisoners by revising and harmonizing the regulations that limit the mothers' participation in the services. It could be allowing the mothers to take their children to classes by preparing a separate space/room where the children can play when the mothers take classes. Facilitating alternative childcare conditions with professional personnel looking over the children and where the mothers are certain of their safety can be another option for the mothers to leave their children there to go to classes and get an education.

Again on the topic of mother's access to services, the micro enterprises are another service organized by the prison to support inmates financially under the rehabilitation program of the prison. The participants describe these small enterprises as inclusive and participatory unlike education and vocational training as they can work while having or take caring of their children. These micro-enterprises can be stated as one good practice that the prison uses to attain its rehabilitation goal. These also support inmate's integration process with the community when they release as well as the money they saved by working in these enterprises can be a deposit to start a new life when they go out. For example, In the United Kingdom, a study shows vocational interventions can result in savings of up to £97,000 per offender (Bracken 2011). In addition, it creates socialization and smooth relationship between inmates and other prison community like guards, other professionals and the administration since the micro enterprises mainly provide services for all people in prison.

These enterprises are focused on the strength and capacity of the inmates, which goes in line with the strength perspective of social worker. This perspective strives to promote individual well-being and reduce social problems by building upon the strengths possessed by individuals (i.e., capabilities, skills) and by the individual's systems in

which they interact (i.e., assets, resources) (Simmons et al., 2016). In the case of the incarcerated mothers, their different abilities like cooking, embroidery, serving others and hairdressing are their capabilities and skills, and in the system they interact with, the micro-enterprises, the prison community and the money they earn are the assets and resources.

A Strength perspective emphasizes a person's resources, capabilities, support systems, and motivations to meet challenges and overcome adversity (Simmons, Shapiro, Accomazzo & Manthey, 2016). It is important to note that focusing on a person's strengths is not about ignoring the existence of authentic problems, for example, being a criminal or poverty in the case of the imprisoned mothers (Gray, 2011). However, it emphasizes the role of strengths, abilities, social networks, positive attributes, knowledge, skills, talents, hopes, and resources to both realize life goals and reduce problems like recidivism and ultimately helping to improve individual and social well being.

Engaging these mothers in different activities give them hope and confidence to be a better person that can contribute to surrounding environment, as these mothers in the micro enterprises provide services for the people around them. This perspective also goes well with the idea of rehabilitation since it focuses on the strength of the inmates. To further develop the micro-enterprises, the prison should incorporate professional help like marketing to link the mothers with the outside market, especially those mothers who engage in embroidery so that they can sell their products to many people to benefit more. Further research can also be done on this area to identify the different skills inmates possess and about the benefit and significance of this kind of programs in rehabilitating offenders in the long run as well as to effectively implement the RNR model in Ethiopian prisons. Over all, there should be comprehensive and regular assessments of the effectiveness of services and programs available to incarcerated women and their children in the prisons.

The other finding is the physical and mental health and behavioral problems of the children of the incarcerated mothers in prison. When a mother is incarcerated, the children are usually the primary victims. This can be related to mothers being the sole

caretaker because when a mother incarcerated if she does not have anyone who can care for her child, the only choice she has is to bring the child with her to the prison. This is the case for most mothers. After the children come to the prison, they face many challenges because of the poor prison facilities especially in developing countries like Ethiopia. In the current study also the mothers reported poor prison facility as the reason behind the challenges and difficulties their children go through.

The 2010 UN Rules on the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-Custodial Sanctions for Women Offenders (the 'Bangkok Rules') clearly state children in prison with their mother (or father) should never be treated as prisoners. This means these children should treat like children who live outside and all their needs as a child should also be fulfilled. However, in Ethiopia prison, children who are above 18 months do not get any support from the prison. They must share the mothers' food ration; they do not get additional education or special medical care. This international standard further states that the children's experience must be as closely as possible to a life of a child outside but in the Ethiopian prison, the situation is the opposite. A similar study conducted in Zambia prison found out that children who live with their incarcerated mothers have problems related with medical care, food, access for education, and accommodation issues (Malambo, 2016).

To address the physical need of the children the prison should allocate more budget so that the children can receive a proper diet instead of sharing their mother's food. Food supplements should also be provided since the food the prison offers is not rich in nutrition. The children who are of age should be provided with a proper education given by professional personnel, and the prison should open kindergarten or a school for the children inside the prison. There needs to be a pediatrics department that is capable of providing specialized healthcare, vaccinations and periodic examinations for the children. The Ethiopia prison should also consider building a prison nursery that is a particular mother-and-baby unit to make the mothers and their children a separate space.

Related to the physical and behavioral issues of the children, the mothers stated their concern regarding their children learning criminal behavior and emotional issues. According to the mothers, since the children spend most of their time with other inmates

because of the limited space in prison, they fear that their children learn bad behaviors from other inmates. One mother also reported that the behavioral change, which is aggressiveness she witnessed on her child after she brought him to the prison. In general, children of incarcerated parents inside and outside of prison exhibit emotional issues and behavioral changes throughout their life. For example, in a longitudinal study in UK children of incarcerated parents exhibit delinquent outcomes, psychopathology, and antisocial behavior mainly because of separation due to parental incarceration and lifetime stigma associated to their parents' imprisonment (Murray & Murray, 2010).

However, not many literatures are found regarding the behavioral, emotional, social and physical impact of incarceration on children who live with their mothers in prison. Therefore, there is still a need to conduct more researches on children who live inside the prison with their mothers to understand their conditions and experience in more depth and also to suggest possible recommendations to make their life better. For example, conducting a longitudinal study to see the criminal outcome and antisocial behavior of children who spend their early age in prison is one area that can be studied further.

In general, The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, which came into force in 1995, recognizes international human rights standards, including those of the rights of the child and women. It makes all international instruments approved by Ethiopia an integral part of the law of the land through article 9 (4). It also recognizes the right of children for special treatment under article 36 (1) (e), and (5). Unfortunately, what the law says and the situation in the ground is different. Again this shows the problem in the implementation of policies, international standards and different law concerning the issue. For example, the law only acknowledges infants or children less than 18 months (Tefera, 2017) but there are many children above that age limit residing in Ethiopian prisons. Even at the time of the current study the age of the children ranged from 2 months up to 11 years. Therefore, since the Ethiopian law only acknowledges infants (ibid) the prison together with the social workers should find a way to hand over the children who are older and above 18 months to either family members or institutions as they do not get any special support from the prison. However, until the children find a place to live outside the prison, the prison and other responsible bodies should include

these children in the legal framework and give them legal protection; providing all of the facilitation and services deemed necessary and allocating funds enough to sustain them. To solve the issues permanently, a policy change is mandatory, and social workers should contribute and participate in developing better policy ideas by collaborating with all the responsible bodies.

Regarding the mothers' sentence and charges, most of the participants in the current study were charged with theft and physical abuse except the two participants who charged with attempted murder. Here, it raised a question of should mothers locked up for theft? Given their condition being a mother and a sole caretaker for the child. In addition, these mothers are disadvantaged and victim of abuse and injustice before incarceration even some of them are a victim of another crime but did not get a proper investigation and legal protection. So there is an implication for the judicial system or the legal system in general about appropriate management when punishing the mothers.

As Daly (1987) theorizes that the treatment of offenders depends on two factors: (1) informal social controls that work in place of formal incarceration, and (2) the social costs created by incarceration. In the USA for example, courts, therefore, treat mothers more leniently than fathers because judges consider caretaking to be more crucial than economic support to children's well-being. Although the law treats mothers who commit general crimes relatively leniently so that they may fulfill their traditional role, it also treats women who commit crimes as mothers the harshest for violating the traditional role. This is because these women not only break the law but by breaking the law they transgress their female nature and their primary social identity as a mother or potential mother (Roberts, 1993). Therefore, the punishment process of women especially mothers should be based on a proper and thorough investigation by the judicial and the legal system in general.

According to the UN (2014) report, the faster increase in the rate of women's incarceration in some countries comparing to men, may be accounted for by the higher proportion of non-violent crimes among women prisoners offenses for which they would not have been imprisoned in the past together with their economic and social vulnerability in most societies. Women are generally less likely than men to afford fines

because of their economic, social and mental vulnerability. Account should also be taken of the fact that a significant proportion of women who commit violent offenses commit them against their husbands or partners in response to systematic abuse. As the above UN (2014) report stated a large number of women offenders worldwide are imprisoned for minor drug-related offenses, often as a result of manipulation, theft, coercion, and poverty.

Therefore, the judicial system should make sure that a range of non-custodial measures and sanctions are available in legislation as alternatives to imprisonment, together with ones, that take into consideration the gender-specific needs of women. Judicial authorities should be encouraged to impose alternatives to imprisonment within the case of female offenders who do not cause a risk to the general public, taking into consideration their caring responsibilities, rehabilitative needs and also the significantly harmful impact of imprisonment on women. Investment should be made in making suitable alternatives for female offenders, by social workers, psychologist and other professional in order to combine the above measures with interventions to address the most common issues underlying offending behavior in women, like therapeutic courses and counseling for victims of domestic violence and sexually abuse, suitable treatments for those with mental disabilities, among others. For strategies and policies to be implemented, the actors who are central to their implementation like criminal justice officials needed to be trained on the provisions of the international laws like Bangkok Rules and informed to the situation and needs of women in the criminal justice system. In additional training, conferences and seminars organized for the police, prosecutors, judges and prison staff should be given. Lastly, criminal justice officials should be regularly informed of the outcomes of new research to keep them updated with new findings and developments so that they can make informed decisions in their dealings with women offenders.

Another unexpected result of the study is mothers' being a survivor which shows their strength and resilience. It can be seen from strength-based social work perspective, which focuses on optimism and hope (Healy, 2014) and it emphasizes the social work values of empowerment and resilience (Pulla, 2012). In the latter study, mothers expressed their capacity to withstand imprisonment and the after effects by identifying as a survivor

despite all the challenges they face. It implies the mothers' strength and positive attributes of being human and not just a criminal. Strengths-based approach acknowledges the mothers' value and their positive contribution to their children and the larger society. Because these mothers are not giving up on their children, they are still striving to raise their children, so that their children do not end up in the street or be a burden to the society. In brief, this perspective posits that incarcerated mothers' strive to lead 'good lives' and need to be supported in their efforts to do so.

The mothers also identified how much the children could be a motivation for them to go forward and their willingness to sacrifice to raise their children. A child being motivation and strength for the mothers is one crucial point that needs to be discussed as it indicates the importance of communication and family contact with incarcerated mothers or women prison life in general. A quantitative study in the USA also found a similar result, and it says contact with family members during a woman's incarceration can make prison time more tolerable. Communication with children can also facilitate positive re-entry plans for women and reduce the recidivism rate (Mignon & Ransford, 2012). So resilience brought on by their motivation to care for their children.

The mothers interviewed showed the same motivation and a sign of responsibility like any mother outside of the prison. A similar finding has been found in a research conducted in Israel, and the interviewed mothers indicate that despite the difficult experiences during imprisonment, the participants in the study perceived prison as a starting point for significant changes in their motherhood identity and functioning (Shamai & Kochal, 2008). In a different study in the USA also mothers' overwhelmingly expressed their love for their children (Gilham, 2012). This implies that just because these mothers commit a crime does not mean that their motherhood identity has disappeared. Surviving motherhood requires strength, surviving prison additional strength and surviving both requires even more resilience, and determination and these incarcerated mothers are a testament to that strength.

The prison authority should support the resilience and strength of the mothers through capacity building programs and by facilitating the existing services more suitable for the mothers. Social workers should support and empower the mothers by identifying their

capacity and asset. Parenting programs can be one way as a means for improving the mothers' knowledge and skills in parenting, communication and child development to support the mother-child relationship, which is the main reason behind their strength and resilience.

The mothers' relationship with the other female inmates was one of the findings, and the majority of the participant reported healthy and good relationships in contrast to those described with the community they came from. This is because; the other inmates are women and understand the challenges and trials of the mothers' life as women. They support the mothers during childbirth and child-rearing in prison however they can. This could be one another source of support and asset for the incarcerated mothers to endure and overcome the challenges they face in prison. This peer relationship should be supported and encouraged by the prison authorities and social service professionals through group discussion and prison community dialogue to enhance healthy inmates relationship in the prison.

In general, the incarcerated mothers' experience can be seen in system theory. According to Healy (2014) system theories emphasize the role and contribution of different systems on individual or community wellbeing. It also provides different points and views for social work intervention and practice to improve the fit between the individual and their environment (ibid). Generally, systems theory is concerned with the structure of complex systems, with a particular emphasis about how parts relate to each other and the whole system (Hutchinson & Oltedal, 2014; Healy, 2014). It means understanding how individuals relate to each other and to their society as a whole, and the effect that social pressures have on individuals.

In summary, from the findings of the study, it is possible to see mothers' relationship with different systems in their environment. These systems contributed in one or another way to the experience of the mothers. For example, the family system, which is their broken marriage life as well as their poor relationship with their relatives or family members made them be the sole caretaker to their children. The educational system also contributed to their experience by denying them the opportunity to learn and excel in their life before and after incarceration. The economic system, which is the poverty of the

country, makes their life harder. Just because by being born in a developing country makes someone vulnerable subjected to many adversities and difficulties that may force individuals to commit crimes in order to survive or have a better life. The legal system, in addition, made these mothers be prisoners without preparing and fulfilling the necessities of the mothers and their children after imprisonment. This implies the importance of looking the whole picture to address an issue and how much their experiences are complex and interrelated within different systems.

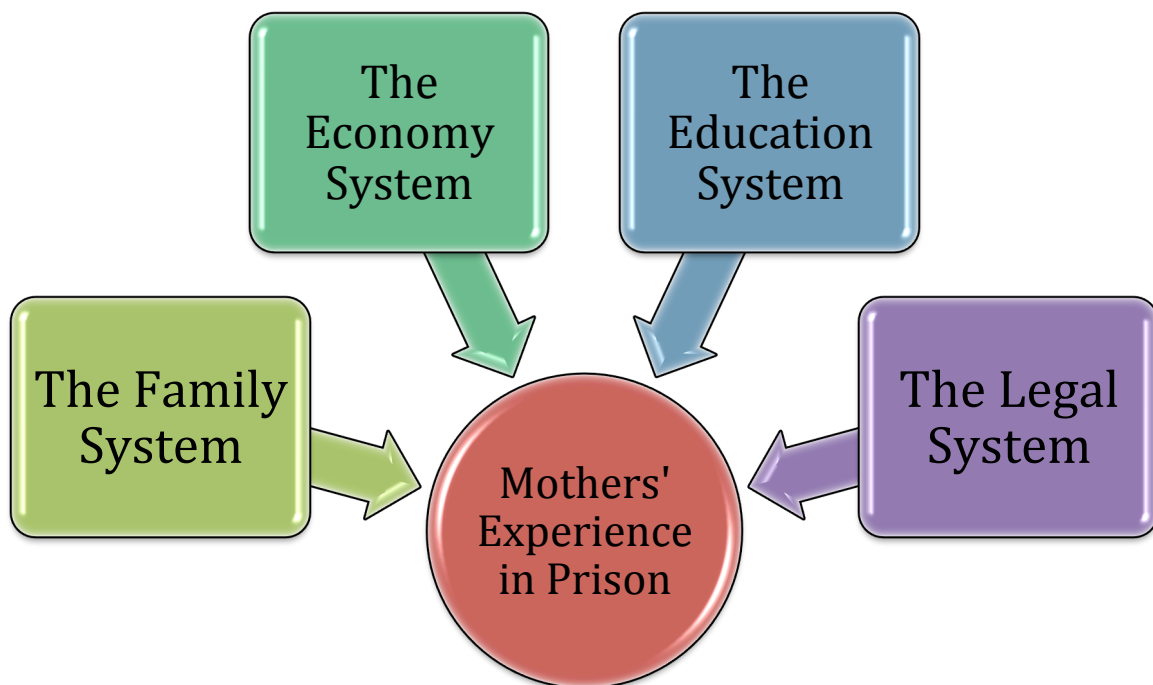


Figure 1. Mothers' relationship with different systems in their environment

Profession like social work is essential to address issues at different levels. In prison, there are psychologist, sociologist and social workers employed by the prison with their offices to provide service for all inmates. However, the mothers did not talk much about their service when they report about the different services they get in the prison. The fact that mothers are not talking about their interactions with professionals suggests something is lacking in the provision of social care services in prison and this is one area that should be explored in greater detail in future research. Social workers should fill in

their different roles at macro, mezzo and micro level. At the macro level, which is at the state and government level, call for social workers to intervene as an advocate, educator and resource mobilizer. At mezzo level, social workers should fill in the roles of planner, data manager, broker, 'consultant, and educator to bring about changes in prisons, social agencies, and law enforcement agencies to prevent or better the problems in social functioning created for the mothers and their children. Lastly, at micro level, with the mothers, their children, extended families, or other substitute childcare providers if any, there should be an intervention by social workers as educator, consultant, clinical behavior-changer or counselor, data manager, and liaison person with an objective to reduce the dysfunction in the personality system of incarcerated mothers, their children and other family members.

This chapter started with a short answer to the research questions. It discussed nine significant findings that were stated under four themes in the result chapter, which are the prison as a challenging place for the mothers by mentioning prison by itself makes the mothers' life challenging. The second one was mothers' victim of discrimination by the society due to their imprisonment. Third, mothers being a victim of abuse and structural injustice before their incarceration. Fourth, mothers' lack of knowledge about their rights and this finding discussed by relating to their educational background and poor economy of their families and themselves. Mothers being a sole caretaker for their children was the fifth finding that discussed by pointing out that most mothers do not have support from their families, and this leads them to further emotional issues. The six one was mothers' access to services. This discussion looked at the inclusiveness and accessibility of services for the mothers. Education and vocational training are not inclusive whereas small enterprises are more inclusive for the mother. The seventh one was children's difficulties in prison from the mothers' perspective and the physical and behavioral/emotional needs, and challenges were discussed. The appropriate management when sentencing the mothers was the eighth finding that was discussed by relating to the judicial system by suggesting that the judicial systems should be more careful when dealing with women offenders. Lastly, mothers being a survivor were discussed by focusing on the strength and resilience quality of the mothers and by linking with the strength perspective of social work. Finally, the general incarcerated mothers' experience

in prison and their interaction with the other systems argued by using system theory but only in a limited field. Implications for social work, research, policy and judicial system are included to discuss the main findings, and possible recommendations are also forwarded under each finding. The following chapter presents the conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

This study is a qualitative study, which explored the experience of incarcerated mothers living in prison with their children in selected prison in Ethiopia. The study aimed and focused on motherhood experience in prison, the challenges these mothers and their children undergo and their experience with the services that are provided in prison. The mothers' perspective was at the center of the study.

The result showed that imprisoned mothers require particular attention since they are one of the most vulnerable groups in the society deprived of their rights and needs. Most of the imprisoned mothers do not have family and social support; good educational background or economic status and they are lone mothers. As a result, they are victims of discrimination, abuse, and injustice in the society before and after incarceration. The management of mothers in prisons is inadequate in terms of prison activities and programs, on access to legal assistance and preparation for release and post-release. Given the large percentage of women in prison are mothers the consequences of their imprisonment stretch well beyond the harmful effects on themselves but includes their children as well. The children of incarcerated mothers both who live with them in prison and left behind children, often traumatized and are likely to suffer from emotional, behavioral and developmental problems because of separation as well as the poor prison facilities for those children who accompany their mothers to prisons. The prison in Ethiopia does not provide an appropriate environment for children to grow up in, regarding health services, food, formal education and proper accommodation to adequately fulfill the needs of both the mother and the child. This is because of the inadequate implementation process of the laws and policies by the side of the management and the service providers in prison. In short, the challenges experienced by incarcerated mothers and their children were the result of a prison system dysfunctioning at the macro, meso, and micro systems level.

The process of planning or developing a policy should stress on the practical and equitable system for the delivery of necessary services in prisons and in the community to all women offenders on a particular focus for mothers with children. The RNR (Risk-

need-responsivity) model can serve as one approach or framework for active correction and rehabilitation intervention. The treatment offered by the prisons is to be matched not only to criminogenic need but also the different attributes and circumstances of women offenders. Motherhood is one big element of responsivity that needs to be focused and addressed in future studies as well as in the rehabilitation programs of the prison.

The limited nature of public awareness about the background and characteristics of women offenders and the impact of imprisonment on their children can have a negative impact on the effectiveness of policies and programs that aim to reduce the imprisonment of women and to improve their social reintegration it can be in the community or in prisons. The support of the public is critical in the successful implementation of prison reform strategies. Conducting and sharing on research outcomes and good practices on the effective delivery of justice and proper treatment of women offenders' plays an important role in raising public awareness. Prisons need to be managed within an ethical framework, guided by international standards developed to protect the human rights of prisoners and to ensure that prisoners' treatment aims to facilitate their rights and social reintegration as a priority.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview guide/sample questionnaires

I. Demographic Information

A. Mother Information

1. Name: _____ (will be kept in secret using pseudonym)

2. Marital status:

Single ☐ Married ☐ Separated or divorced ☐

Widowed ☐

3. Educational level:

No Formal Education ☐

Attended/completed Elementary School ☐

Attended/completed High School ☐

Attended/completed Vocational Training ☐

Attended/completed College ☐

Attended/completed University ☐

4. Number of children with the mother inside the prison

1- 2 ☐

3 -5 ☐

6 and more ☐

5. Charge

Drug ☐ Property ☐ Assaultive ☐ Probation/parole

violation ☐

Murder/ homicide ☐ Missing/ unknown ☐

Other _____

B. Child Information

6. Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

7. Age (years) _____

8. Educational level: Kindergarten ☐
Elementary grade _____

C. Open-ended Questions

9. How long have you and your child been staying here?

10. How is motherhood look like in prison?

11. How is your relationship with family? Relatives? Partner?

12. What are the challenges you face as a mother in prison?

13. What are the challenges your child is facing for being here with you?

14. As a mother do you think living in prison with your child have positive
or negative effect on yourself or the child? How?

15. What is your experience about the services and facilities in the prison
as a mother with a child?

Appendix 2: Information and Consent Form

Project Title: The Experience of Incarcerated Mothers Living with their Children in Addis Ababa Prison, Ethiopia

Background and Purpose

The aim of this research is to study the experience of incarcerated mothers and their children in Addis Ababa Prison, Ethiopia. The study specifically focuses on how motherhood look like in prison, the challenges imprisoned mothers and their children face and their experience toward the services and programs that are available? This project is in partial fulfillment of my master program in order to successfully complete the course. All participants are chosen because they are imprisoned mothers with children inside the prison.

What does participation in the project imply?

In the research in-depth interview will be used as data collection tools with the mothers. The interview will be in the native language of the participant. The in-depth interview will be mainly with the mothers as the children are young to have a long dialog. Although voice recorder cannot be used since it is not allowed in the prison, the researcher will take notes to gather the information. An interview guide that will help the researcher to focus on the research question and purpose will also be used. Interview will be scheduled according to availability and it last approximately one hour with each participant. Participants will share their experience about motherhood in prison, the challenges their children and themselves face, and their experience with the available services.

What will happen to the information about you?

All personal information and data the participants provide will be transcribed and stored in a secured/ password protected laptop. The only people who have access for the raw data are the researcher and supervisor. All the names will be changed in to Pseudonyms therefore; participants would not be directly recognized in the publication. The research project planned to be completed by the 30th of June 2018. Recordings and transcripts would then be kept until end of June 2018 and then deleted.

Voluntary participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are free to stop participating at any time without any negative consequences. Your name or personal address will not appear on the research paper and will be removed from interview transcript.

This information letter will be translated to a local language before presenting to the participants. The consent will be read to the participants since some of them are not literate. This study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

If you give your consent to participate in this project or if you have any questions regarding this project please do not hesitate to contact:

- **Researcher:** Eden Begna, eden.begna@yahoo.com. University of Stavanger
- **Supervisor:** Sarah Hean, sarah.c.hean@uis.no. University of Stavanger

Appendix 3: Ethical Approval from NSD



Sarah Hean
Kjell Arholms hus
4036 STAVANGER

Vår dato: 08.03.2018

Vår ref: 59077 / 3 / LAR

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

Tilrådning fra NSD Personvernombudet for forskning § 7-27

Personvernombudet for forskning viser til meldeskjema mottatt 08.02.2018 for prosjektet:

59077	<i>The experience of incarcerated mothers living with their children in Ethiopia.</i>
Behandlingsansvarlig	Universitetet i Stavanger, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Sarah Hean
Student	Eden Begna

Vurdering

Etter gjennomgang av opplysningene i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon finner vi at prosjektet er unntatt konsesjonsplikt og at personopplysningene som blir samlet inn i dette prosjektet er regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. På den neste siden er vår vurdering av prosjektopplegget slik det er meldt til oss. Du kan nå gå i gang med å behandle personopplysninger.

Vilkår for vår anbefaling

Vår anbefaling forutsetter at du gjennomfører prosjektet i tråd med:

- opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon
- vår prosjektvurdering, se side 2
- eventuell korrespondanse med oss

Meld fra hvis du gjør vesentlige endringer i prosjektet

Dersom prosjektet endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å sende inn endringsmelding. På våre nettsider finner du svar på hvilke [endringer](#) du må melde, samt endringskjema.

Opplysninger om prosjektet blir lagt ut på våre nettsider og i Meldingsarkivet

Vi har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet på nettsidene våre. Alle våre institusjoner har også tilgang til egne prosjekter i [Meldingsarkivet](#).

Vi tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger ved prosjektslutt

Ved prosjektslutt 31.07.2018 vil vi ta kontakt for å avklare status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Se våre nettsider eller ta kontakt dersom du har spørsmål. Vi ønsker lykke til med prosjektet!

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

Lasse André Raa

Kontaktperson: Lasse André Raa tlf: 55 58 20 59 / Lasse.Raa@nsd.no

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Eden Begna, eden.begna@yahoo.com

Personvernombudet for forskning



Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 59077

PURPOSE

The study aims to investigate the experience of imprisoned mothers living in prison with their children.

INFORMATION AND CONSENT

According to your notification form the sample will receive oral information about the project and will give their consent to participate. Information for the sample must at the very least include:

- the name of the institution that is the data controller
- contact information for the project leader (or both student and supervisor)
- the project's objective and what the personal data will be used for
- that participation is voluntary and participants can withdraw at any time without giving a reason, so long as the study is ongoing
- that information will be treated confidentially and who will have access to it
- when the project will be completed and what will happen to the personal data at this stage; whether personal data will be deleted, anonymised or stored for a set amount of time

SENSITIVE INFORMATION

It is indicated that you intend to process sensitive personal data about criminal offences. This means that the researcher must be even more careful with regards to use of the data, both when it comes to ethical issues, data collection and information security during the project.

DATA SECURITY

The Data Protection Official presupposes that you will process all data according to the University of Stavanger internal guidelines/routines for information security. We presuppose that the use of a personal computer is in accordance with these guidelines.

PROJECT END

The estimated end date of the project is 31.07.2018. According to your notification form you intend to anonymise the collected data by this date. Making the data anonymous entails processing it in such a way that no individuals can be identified. This is done by:

- deleting all direct personal data (such as names/lists of reference numbers)
- deleting/rewriting indirectly identifiable personal data (i.e. an identifying combination of background variables, such as residence/work place, age and gender)

Appendix 4: Non- Plagiarism Declaration


I hereby declare that the Dissertation titled "The Experience of Incarcerated Mother Living in Prison in Ethiopia" submitted to the Erasmus Mundus Master's Program in Social Work with Families and Children.

- Has not been submitted to any other Institute/University/College
- Contains proper references and citations for other scholarly work
- Contains proper citation and references from my own prior scholarly work
- Has listed all citations in a list of references.

I am aware that violation of this code of conduct is regarded as an attempt to plagiarize, and will result in a failing grade (F) in the program.

Date:.....01/06/2018

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'EDEN BEGNA GOBENA', written over a set of horizontal lines.

Name:.....EDEN BEGNA GOBENA