

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

FACULTY OF COMMERCE

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCIAL INTELLIGENCE



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**THE IMPACT OF INCARCERATION ON CHILDREN OF CONVICTED
FELONIES: A CASE STUDY OF BINDURA PRISON INMATES MASHONALAND
CENTRAL PROVINCE**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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I, B1851804 solemnly declare that the information of this dissertation, prepared in partial fulfilment of the Bachelor of BBA. Police and Security Studies and submitted to the department of Financial Intelligence, Faculty of Commerce at Bindura University of Science Education has not been presented, submitted or published in this nature or part. Previous works have been duly accredited and acknowledged properly.

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DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this dissertation to my loving family and friends. Special mention goes Matambo Sharon, my dearest wife.

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ABSTRACT

This study, the impact of incarceration on children of convicted felonies: A case study of Bindura prison inmates, Mashonaland central Province. The study was guided by the following objectives, to explore and determine the barriers faced by children of convicted felonies and what support they desire, to investigate the social, economic and demographic challenges that children of the convicted felonies face upon sentencing, release and post release of their parent and to investigate the psychological trauma suffered by children of convicted felonies during sentencing, release and post release of their parents, and sought to answer the following questions, what are the barriers faced by children of convicted felonies?, what social, economic and demographic challenges faced by children of the convicted felonies from sentencing, release and post release of their parents? And what psychological trauma is faced by children of convicted felonies during sentencing, release and post release of their parents? Research instruments used were questionnaires and interviews. The population of the study was 80 incarcerated felonies in-between 2010 to 2021 and the sample was 60 and derived using a combination of purposive and judgmental sampling methods. The findings of the study were that geographical location, restrictions of visitation, corrections policy, child-unfriendly policies, parent caregiver relationships, maintenance of forms of contact, emotional attachment and financial hardships were the barriers faced by children in their day to day after incarceration, segregation, unequal opportunity, name tagging, high cost of living, poor health, low levels of education and declining family support were the among the social, economic, and demographic challenges faced by children of incarcerated felonies and that children experienced heightened stress levels, hopelessness, lethargy, isolation, frustration, debilitating health conditions, and high levels of anxiety were the psychological trauma faced by children of the incarcerated felonies, before, during and after sentencing. From the findings, it was concluded that to eradicate barriers, incarcerated members must be jailed closer to their area of residence such that visitation restrictions would be eradicated and children of the incarcerated member should receive enough financial support from NGOs and the correctional services so as to eradicate the social, economic and demographic challenges facing these children. From the conclusions, it is recommended that, the government through the correctional services provincial office should establish a branch that investigates in the lives of the children after incarceration as to establish barriers to life that would bedeviling these children and correctional services and NGOs must come together to harness resources so as to financial support the children left behind after incarceration of their family member. This is to reduce child headed families.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Family members of the incarcerated felonies from time immemorial have been neglected in the assessment of the life and challenges they face. A lot of studies from America, United Kingdom, Asia, and Australia have indicated a lot of interest in the affairs of the incarcerated felony and not families they would have left behind (Braman, 2004). In a study carried in South Africa at Western Cape correctional center, the focus was on the social relations of the convicted felony and how they could receive help (Penderis, 2010). In this regard, it is noticeable that family members of the convicted felonies are not included in the pipeline when the socio-economic dynamics that involve incarceration are being considered. This chapter will outline the background to the study, statement of the problem, study objectives and study questions. Also study limitations, delimitations, significance and chapter summary will be outlined.

1.2 Background to the Study

A lot of researchers in the 21st century have begun embarking on the exploration of beyond the horizon effects of incarceration beyond prison walls (Clear *et al* 2001). As according to Holzer *et al* (2004), unintended consequences that have been highlighted to date include the social disorganization of communities, reduced job opportunities for ex-prisoners, expulsion from funds from schools and universities for both family members and the incarcerated felonies and lastly psychological and financial burdens on the families. Families members are at the center of events when a member of the family either the father or mother or even guardian are convicted and sentenced. Much of literature evidence indicates that families are very crucial in influencing many aspects of convicted felonies. Studies indicate that inmates suffer more on loss of relationship due to the aspects of confinement encountered in prisons (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

According to Mills and Codd (2008), interest in prisoner families is noticeability growing in the recent years as is influenced by the link between family support and the duty of lowering recidivism. In light of this view by Mills and Codd, very little knowhow exists about the challenges faced by family members who bear the weight of sustaining and maintaining social

links with convicted felonies. Tewksbury and Connor (2012) also asserts that convicted felonies are much dis-liked and they have the ability to evoke emotions of extreme repugnance and disdain. The stand point of society's views protrudes to ripple effect for their beloved relatives who may have to undergo psychological, financial and social consequences of being that relative of the convicted felony (Condry, 2007; Codd, 2011). In light of this plight, it then surfaces the view that relatives of the convicted especially the children are worthy considering as they appear the forgotten victims of the committed crimes (Arditti et al, 2010).

Arditti et al (2010) posits that despite the repercussions for the affected relatives of convicted felonies and the magnitude of the problem, the side effects that relatives and children face and how support is exchanged remains a darker side requiring further investigation. Some studies have indicated that children of the convicted felon, members of the community, and some civic organisations are crucial in dishing out support for the convicted and even after their release (Codd, 2011). In contrast, of support being channeled to the children of the convicted felon, it is being offered to the offender and in some cases, the children would be even forced to deliver some the required items to prisons regardless of even assessing their psychological will in relation to that.

According to Tewksbury and Lees (2006), Africa has seen a sharp increase in the conviction of most breadwinners, thereby making and creating child headed or one parent supported families. And on the contrary, Africa suffers' the effect of polygamy and patriarch which then shapes the creation of so much pressure on the child of the offender in the case the father being the convicted. According to Craun and Theriot (2009) patriarch and polygamy have fostered the burden that is felt by children when say there is a convicted felon in the family. In line with such kind of observations, the connections between convicted felon and family members leaves out a distinct end result for society and future potential victims.

The idea of having correctional institutions collecting information on their inmates such as familial or social associations has emerged recently in Zimbabwe, as institutions used to collect information about the next of keen of the convicted so that only top-down communications can be communicated in the event the convicted felon dies of gets serious ill. Information about the welfare of children and non-marital partnerships are typically not recorded as correctional institutions feel they have no responsibility what so ever on the outside walls of their sphere of influence over convicted felonies (Braman, 2004). Very little literature exists on the representation surveys of respondents on imprisonment experiences of the family and children

of the convicted offender. According to Glaze and Muraschak (2010) it is then very difficult to avail statistical information of the exact number of convicted felonies with children and family members that were affected by their incarceration and demographics of individuals who undergo a loved one's conviction, hence in Zimbabwe it has not yet been published the exact number of children that have been affected and the summary of such effects.

According to Western and Wildeman (2009) having an incarcerated family member affects multiple domains of living and some include family dynamics, economic hardships, and emotional well-being. In this regard when an adult member is from the household is removed, that also speaks to the loss in monetary contributions from such individuals. Also during the serving days of the convicted felon, relatives on him or her suffer increased expenses emanating from travel expenses, calling, and supply of hygiene food and other supplies (Schwartz-Soicher et al, 2011). Researches carried out in America and Europe suggest that effects of parental are associated with economic hardships, residential instability and increased risk of homelessness (Schwartz-Soicher et al, 2011). This contribution by Schwartz-Soicher et al (2011), also supports the African setup of families of the convicted felonies, hence for children who may have a parent incarcerated have higher chances of suffering from diminished earning capacity.

Despite the numerous pathways relating paternal incarceration to diminished family support, the extent of incarceration's causal effect is difficult to determine and depends on the connection that an incarcerated father had with his family before going to jail or prison. Most recent studies on the effects of incarceration on the convicted felon family members have been carried out in developed countries (Glaze and Muraschak, 2010), hence creating a hallow gap that leaves a lot of questions un attended. Developing countries are faced with numerous challenges cascading from economic, social, political, legal, pandemics and disasters, hence with this in mind, how well do children of incarcerated felonies survive? (Wildeman, 2009). Children of incarcerated felonies in developed countries have foster homes, and guardians ready to adopt, and social services that are fully functional, where as compared to the children of incarcerated felonies in developing nations who may not even social services that are functional, the effect of incarceration is then magnified.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The idea of having correctional institutions collecting information on their inmates such as family or social associations has emerged recently in Zimbabwe, as institutions used to collect information about the next of kin of the convicted so that only top-down communications

can be communicated in the event the convicted felon dies or gets serious ill. Information about the welfare of children and non-marital partnerships are typically not recorded as correctional institutions feel they have no responsibility whatsoever on the outside walls of their sphere of influence over convicted felons (Braman, 2004).

Convicted felons in the Zimbabwean setup leaves a lot to be desired when the ripple effects of their conviction is scanned back to their children that they would have left in a volcanic economic environment that even when families are not separated through incarceration lives would still be difficult to sustain. In this view of the ripple effects of incarceration on the children of convicted felons the study is motivated to want to explore into the real challenges that children of convicted felons in a developing country face during the serving of the convicted family member and the after effects of the return of the same. There is a significant impact that is felt by children especially when their parents are convicted and sentenced. This relationship has had effects on the socio-economic affairs of the children and as a result, the study seeks understand and explore the effects brought by incarceration on children.

This research study considering the background expounded, explores into the impact of incarceration on the children of convicted felons, a case study of children of inmates at Chawagona Prison in Mashonaland central province.

1.4 Research objectives

- To explore the barriers faced by children of convicted felons and what support they desire.
- To investigate the social, economic and demographic challenges that children of the convicted felons face upon sentencing, release and post release of their parent
- To investigate the psychological trauma suffered by children of convicted felons during sentencing, release and post release of their parents.
- To provide recommendations to all the relevant role-players and stakeholders in the welfare of children of convicted felons.

1.5 Research questions

- What are the barriers faced by children of convicted felons
- What social, economic and demographic challenges faced by children of the convicted felons from sentencing, release and post release of their parents
- What psychological trauma is faced by children of convicted felons during sentencing, release and post release of their parents?

- What recommendations can be tabled to correctional services sector to uplift the lives of the children of incarcerated felonies.

1.6 Significance of the study

This study is significant to the researcher, correctional services sector and other academia. The study is meant to impart significant knowledge to the researcher on what challenges families of the convicted felonies encounter, this will lay a theoretical foundation for the researcher's future research endeavors and accomplishments

To heads of correctional services and others charged with social services, as it assists in how stakeholders can come together and channel a way forward on the challenges faced by families and children of the convicted.

To conceptualize and operationalize the theories of socialism developed in the study which can be used by academics to assess how applicable are these of applying it to correctional services centers operating specifically in prison services here in Zimbabwe.

To help Senior commanding Officers who are willing to adopt and implement this model as an alternative model to traditional ones for evaluation on how best children of the convicted felonies maybe helped in line with the socio-economic predicament.

1.7 Limitations

There was the challenge of getting the right answers to the objectives of the study, as it appeared to invoke emotions and memories of the actions of incarcerated members of the family. In attending to this challenge, respondents were told clearly that, the questioning is only for academic purposes.

Coordination of the activities was difficulty especially in carrying out of interviews while still needed to attend to lectures at the university. Official study leave days were sought after so as to easy the challenge of travel (see appendix).

Monetary issues were also of concern, as there was need to travel from one village to the other in search of the respondents. In the event where telephonic and zoom meetings were possible, they were employed as a measure to reduce the cost of travel.

1.8 Delimitations

Only family members of the convicted felonies located at Chawagona Prison center located in Mashonaland central were used in the study and the result simulated to all other members of

the families located in Mashonaland province. Also only incarcerated members who have at least 2 years in prison would be considered. The study looked at the period from 2020 going back to 2010

The study would also dwell on the challenges children face after a parent is incarcerated hence the study would be focused on long servicing convicted felonies.

1.9 Chapter summary

The chapter looked at the introduction, background to the study, problem statement outline why this research maybe under taken. It also outlined the study objectives and the research questions, significance of the study, limitations and delimitations are also outlined in the chapter. Concluding the chapter is the chapter summary.

1.10 Definition of key terms

Felonies : A crime regarded in many judicial systems as more serious than a misdemeanor.

Incarceration : The state of a person being confined in prison, imprisonment

Socio-economic challenges: These are problems that results from aspects in society and the economy. They have a negative impact on both communities and businesses

Socio-economic barriers: These are both economic and social pressures preventing children born into lower class from moving the course of their lives or even generations into a more affluent class.

1.11 Abbreviations

ZPCS Zimbabwe Prisons and Correctional Services

MCP Mashonaland Central Province

NGO Non-Governmental Organisations

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The following section provides an overview of the relevant literature on the topic and highlights pertinent concepts, major theoretical debates and perspectives on crime and deviance. This provides a background to the study and a conceptual platform from which the exploratory fieldwork was launched.

Unfortunately, prisoners' families have been little studied in their own right. The effects of imprisonment on families and children of prisoners are almost entirely neglected in academic research, prison statistics, public policy and media coverage. However, we can infer from prisoners' backgrounds that their families are a highly vulnerable group. Limited research to date suggests that imprisonment can have devastating consequences for partners and children. As such, issues of legitimacy and fairness may be as important outside prison as they are inside

2.2 Theoretical perspective

Numerous hypotheses have been proposed regarding the causation of delinquent behaviour. These different approaches emanate from disciplines such as biology/physiology, psychology and sociology. In order to contextualize the study theoretically, physiological or biological theory, psychological theory, and the sociological approach will be discussed with reference to the research literature. Within the sociological approach, the functionalist, interactionist, conflict and control theories will be highlighted as they are of particular significance to this study.

2.2.1 Physiological or biological theory

During the 19th century, scientific explanations of human behaviour became increasingly popular. Haralambos and Holborn (1991:582) note that Cesare Lombroso, an Italian army doctor, was one of the first writers to link crime to human biology. Sheldon and Glueck (in Haralambos and Holborn 1991:583) support the physiological theories of deviance and claim to have found a casual relationship between physical features/build and delinquent activity. According to Schafer and Krudten (1977:57), modern biological-criminological theory has its origins in what is now known as the classical and positivist schools of thought. The heredity based theorists assert that criminal genes are passed on from one generation to the next. However, in the light of new findings, the biological view has been discredited. This theory is worth mentioning although not relevant to the study.

2.2.2 Psychological theory

Hollin defines the psychological approach as “the study of people’s individual qualities, i.e. perceptions, memory, thinking, learning, intelligence, creativity and personality” (1989:2). Haralambos and Holborn (1991:584) argue that psychological theory differs from biological theory in that it views deviance as a sickness and abnormality of the mind or mental processes, rather than as the result of physical or genetic influences. Giddens (2001:206) points out that, while the biological approach focuses on biological characteristics which predispose an individual to crime, psychological views concentrate on the different personality types. Psychological theories thus focus on the individual maturational process. Aspects of this theory are relevant to this study.

2.2.3 The sociological approach

According to Giddens (2001:205), there are four sociological approaches that have been influential in understanding the sociology of deviance. These include functionalist, interactionist, conflict, and control theories, which will be outlined below.

2.2.3.1 The functional perspective

Haralambos and Holborn (1991:585) note that a functionalist analysis of deviance begins with society as a whole, rather than starting with the individual. This view is supported by the biological and psychological approaches. Giddens (2001:207) indicates that functionalist theories see crime and deviance as resulting from structural tensions or a lack of moral regulation within society. Thomson (2004:4) indicates that functionalists believe that societies tend to be stable and orderly. His research focuses on showing how social order is maintained. Thomson further asserts “that shared values and norms in a society form the basis of social order, it’s through the sharing and reinforcement of these values and norms that communities are able to function” (2004:4). Emile Durkheim, according to Giddens (2001:207), introduced the concept of anomie which is said to exist when there are no clear standards to guide behaviour in a given area of social life. This leads to normlessness within society.

According to Thomson (2004:5), one of the most influential functionalist theorists after Durkheim was Robert Merton (1910–2003). Merton’s academic career started in an era when biological and psychological explanations were dominant, but he was critical of these theories and he was one of the first theorists to break away from these traditions. He emphasised social factors as causes of crime and deviance. Merton’s views are of particular relevance to this research as social factors are the focal area of this study. Merton argues that every society

desires the attainment of certain goals, and that such goals are symbols of economic affluence. According to Lauer, society establishes “certain legitimate means of reaching those goals” (1995:19). By contrast, Kratcoski and Kratcoski allude to the marginalised groups or individuals within that society that may experience difficulty in attaining these desired goals if attainment is impossible through legitimate means, “they react by seeking success through illegitimate means” (1990:54). The functionalist approach is a focal point of this study as it seeks to understand the role of social factors as causes of crime and deviance.

2.2.3.2 The interactionist perspective

According to Giddens, “... sociologists studying crime and deviance within the framework of the interactionist approach focus on deviance as a socially constructed phenomenon” (2001:209). This view rejects the idea that there are forms of conduct that are inherently “deviant”. The interactionist is concerned with, “... how behaviours initially come to be defined as deviant and why certain groups and not others are labelled as deviant” (2001:209). Haralambos and Holborn (1991:610) indicate that the focus in this approach is on the interaction between deviants and those who define them as being deviant. They further note that the interactionist perspective examines how and why particular individuals and groups are defined as deviant, and the effects of such labelling and definition on their future actions. This theory informs the empirical fieldwork conducted in this research.

2.2.3.3 The labelling perspective

Giddens claims that labelling theory is one of the most important approaches to the understanding of criminality. As Giddens points out, “...labeling theorists interpret deviance not as a set of characteristics of individuals or a group, but as a process of interaction between deviants and non-deviants” (2001:209). He further posits that one must discover why some people care to be tagged with a “deviant” label to fully understand the nature of deviance itself.

Becker states that the impact of social reaction to certain types of behaviour or particular categories of people is crucial in explaining the criminalization process: “Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as ‘outsiders’” (1963:9). From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an “offender”. Becker further indicates that once people are judged by society, it is very hard to get back to what they once had, and often they experience an identity change. This he regards as a social problem, because labelling these

people ruins their lives to a point where they have no choice but to respond to the label they were given.

Becker (in Thomson 2004:14) notes that the label may become a “master status”. Thomson points out that what Becker means by this is that in their reaction to deviants the public tend to forget about the other statuses that the individual may possess (for example, that of a father, teacher, soccer player) and only concentrate on the deviant (stigmatized) status (for example, that of a drug addict).

2.2.3.4 The conflict perspective

Haralambos and Holborn (1991:623) posit that sociologists such as William Chambliss, Milton Mankoff and Frank Pearce argue that only a Marxist perspective (control of the means of production/power) can deal adequately with the relationship between deviance and power. Power is held by those who own and control the means of production. Horton and Hunt distinguish between cultural and class conflict theory. Cultural conflict, according to them, asserts that “... when there are a number of subcultures (ethnic, religious, national, regional, class) in a society, this reduces the degree of value consensus” (1984:176).

Class-conflict theorists attribute deviation not to different cultural norms, but to their different interests. The clashing norms of different subcultures, Horton and Hunt point out, “...create a condition of anomic normlessness. Deviation will continue as long as class inequalities and class exploitation continue” (1984:176). The notion of culture and class conflict in the study of the challenges that contribute to recidivism is imperative, as many offenders’ behaviour is contrary to the set norms of society.

2.2.3.5 The control perspective

According to Giddens (2001:213), the control theory postulates that crime occurs as a result of an imbalance between impulses towards criminal activity and the social or physical controls that deter it. The theory is less interested in the individual’s motivations for carrying out the crimes. People act rationally, but given the opportunity, everyone would engage in deviant acts. Giddens claims that many types of crimes are a result of “situational decisions”: the person sees an opportunity and is motivated to act or respond to it accordingly. Horton and Hunt note that “...control theorists assume that people conform to the dominant values, because of both inner and outer controls. The inner controls are internalized norms and values one learns and the outer controls are social rewards for conformity and the penalties for deviation, which one receives.” (1984:177). Control theory emphasizes the bond which ties the individual to

conventional society. Hirschi (1969:11) sees four components in this bond, namely belief, attachment, commitment and involvement. Belief refers to the internalized values; the stronger the belief the lower the likelihood of deviation.

Commitment is related to the greatness of the rewards which one gets from conformity. Attachment is the responsiveness to the opinion of others. Involvement refers to one's activities in community institutions such as the church, school and local organisations. Horton and Hunt (1984:177) assert that control theory is supported by studies conducted over many years and which show an association between deviation and the lack of effective bonds to the major institutions (see Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Akers 1973; Conger 1976). Control theorists ask questions such as the following: Are conformists' strong ties to conventional institutions the reason for conformity, or are they only a symptom of conformity? Do conformist bonds to the home, church, school and workplace cause them to be conformist, or are they drawn to these institutions because they are already conformist? The conclusion reached is that there is no certainty. This theory is very applicable to the research as it will enable the researcher to determine whether the lack of bonds is a possible cause of delinquent behaviour leading to recidivism.

Although interest in prisoners' families has grown noticeably in recent years (especially as the connection between family support and their role in reducing recidivism has been increasingly recognised (Mills and Codd, 2008), relatively little is currently understood about the challenges faced by family members who maintain social links with convicted sex-offenders (Tewksbury and Connor, 2012). Jenkins (2004) argues that sex-offenders are reviled by society and evoke feelings of extreme repugnance and disdain. Society's views of sex-offenders then result in a 'ripple effect' for their relatives, who are affected psychologically, socially and financially as a consequence of being related to a sex offender (Condry, 2007; Codd, 2011). This makes these relatives worthy of consideration as they can be viewed as 'forgotten' victims of the crimes committed (Arditti et al, 2010).

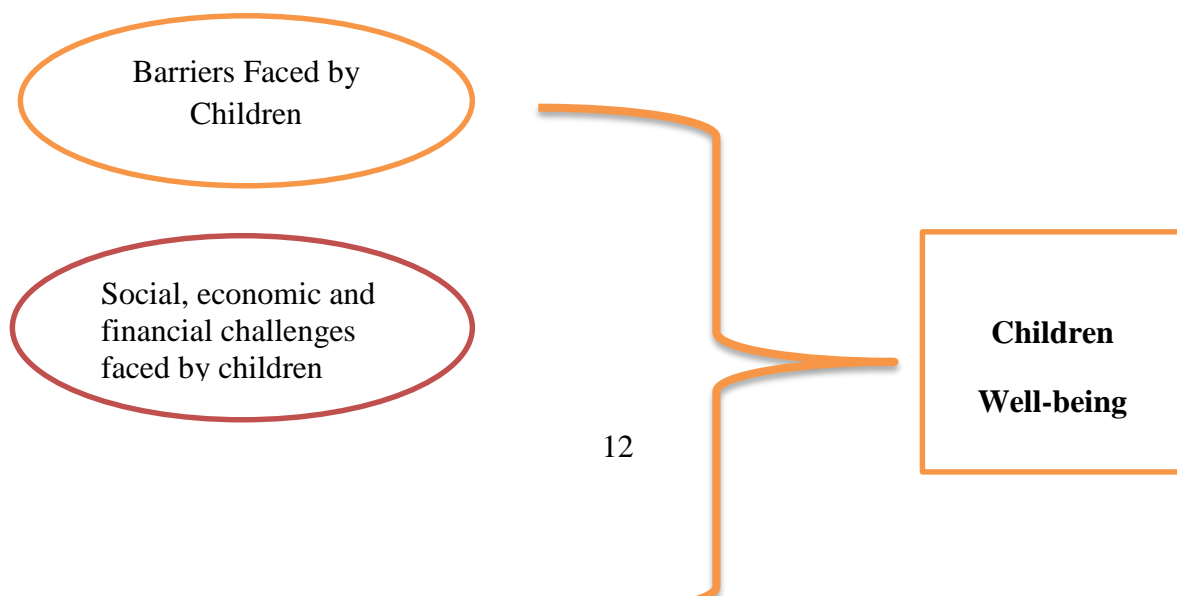
Despite the repercussions for families of convicted offenders and the scale of the problem, the challenges that the families face and how they exchange support (and why) remains largely unknown. Research has shown that family members, community members, and also some organisations can be crucial in supporting prisoners through a prison sentence and after their release (Farmer et al, 2015; Daley, 2008). One implicit consequence of sexual offences is that the people who can often help the offender most are those who have been hurt the most, and

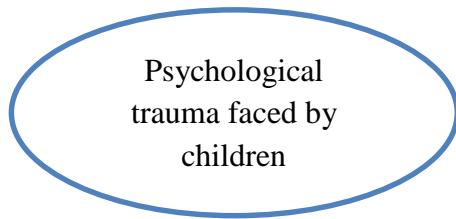
losing these relationships can induce abomination that can further increase the chance of recidivism (Tewksbury and Lees, 2006). Nonetheless, some relatives of convicted sex-offenders do choose to maintain contact with their incarcerated family member. This is a significant observation, as the link between family and offender has a distinct consequence for society and potential future victims (Craun and Theriot, 2009).

2.3 Conceptual framework

A conceptual framework is a synthetization of interrelated components and variables which help in solving a real-world problem. It is the final lens used for viewing the deductive resolution of an identified issue (Imenda, 2014). The development of a conceptual framework begins with a deductive assumption that a problem exists, and the application of processes, procedures, functional approach, models, or theory may be used for problem resolution (Zackoff et al., 2019). The application of theory in traditional theoretical research is to understand, explain, and predict phenomena (Swanson, 2013). A concise way of viewing the conceptual framework is a list of understood fact-based conditions that presents the researcher's prescribed thinking for solving the identified problem. These conditions provide a methodological rationale of interrelated ideas and approaches for beginning, executing, and defining the outcome of problem resolution efforts (Leshem & Trafford, 2007). The conceptual framework shown in figure 2.1 indicates the influence that barriers, challenges and psychological trauma has on the well-being of children of incarcerated family members.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework





Source: Author construction.

2.3 To explore and determine the barriers faced by children of convicted felonies and what support they desire.

There are no accurate, up-to-date estimates of the numbers of imprisoned parents, or children of imprisoned parents in Zimbabwe as we stand. The extent to which children experience parental imprisonment may be hidden because we know less about the incidence of parental imprisonment than we do about its prevalence. The last well-known surveys of the incidence of parental imprisonment in Zimbabwe were conducted in 1984 for fathers (Shaw 1987) and in 1967 for mothers (Gibbs 1971). Despite calls from lobby groups, no one regularly monitors the parental status of prisoners in the Zimbabwe; there may be literally millions of unidentified children experiencing parental imprisonment.

2.3.1 The effects of imprisonment on partners of prisoners

Imprisonment of a partner can be emotionally devastating and practically debilitating. Loss of income, social isolation, difficulties of maintaining contact, deterioration in relationships, and extra burdens of childcare can compound a sense of loss and hopelessness for prisoners' partners.

Unfortunately, prisoners' families have been studied almost entirely with reference to male prisoners' partners and wives. Limited research suggests that the impact on prisoners' spouses is generally more severe than on parents (Ferraro et al and Bolton 1983) although parents and other family members can also suffer practical and psychological difficulties (McDermott and King 1992; Noble 1995).

By far the most comprehensive study of prisoners' wives was conducted by Pauline Morris, who interviewed 825 imprisoned men in England and 469 of their wives (Morris 1965). Morris found that imprisonment of a husband was generally experienced as a crisis of family dismemberment rather than a crisis of demoralization through stigma or shame. Stigma was experienced almost exclusively by wives whose husbands were imprisoned for the first time,

and then only at the initial stages of the separation. Among the most common problems reported, 63 per cent of wives said they experienced deterioration in their financial situation; 81 per cent some deterioration in their work; 46 per cent deterioration in present attitude to marriage and future plans; 63 per cent deterioration in social activity; 60 per cent deterioration in relationships with in-laws; and 57 per cent deterioration in relationships with friends and neighbors.

Sharp and Marcus-Mendoza (2001) found that imprisoning mothers also caused a drastic reduction in family income. Loss of income is compounded by additional expenses of prison visits, mail, telephone calls (especially if prisoners call collect, as in the US) and sending money to imprisoned relatives. Imprisonment of a partner can also cause home moves (Noble 1995), divorce and relationship problems (Anderson 1966; Ferraro et al 1983; McEvoy et al 1999) and medical and health problems (Ferraro et al 1983; McEvoy et al 1999; Noble 1995). Partners with children face single parenthood at a particularly vulnerable time (Peart and Asquith 1992). As well as having to deal with their own problems, partners are expected to support prisoners and to look after children, who are likely to be particularly hard to manage if their parent has been imprisoned.

Partners face other difficulties that are more intrinsic to the facts of imprisonment (see Irwin and Owen, this volume). Prisoners' partners can suffer because of a lack of information about the imprisonment, visiting, and contact procedures (Ferraro et al 1983). Maintaining contact can be fraught with difficulties such as busy booking lines, inconvenient visiting hours, a lack of transport, and the cost and distance of travel (Hounslow et al 1982). Exacerbating these problems, prisons are clearly not family-friendly places to visit. Poor visiting facilities and hostile attitudes of staff can put families off visiting, especially those with children (Peart and Asquith 1992).

Although prisoners' families often experience similar stresses, there is growing appreciation that families and partners of prisoners are not a homogenous group. Even within cultural and penal contexts, prison effects on family members are likely to differ according to prior relationships, offence types, social support systems and other socio-demographic factors. Light (1994) found that black prisoners' families endure additional harassment in the English penal system. Richards and colleagues found that families of foreign nationals in British prisons face particular difficulties (Richards et al 1995). For some, a relative's imprisonment will offer relief from violent or difficult behaviour at home.

We need to identify how prison effects on families vary over time, as well as between individuals. McDermott and King (1992) distinguished between the traumatic experience of arrest, the overriding uncertainty during remand and trial, and the distinct experiences of families coping with different sentence lengths. However, little is known about prison effects on families over time. Particularly little is known about the effects on partners after prisoners are released. Partners often worry about adjusting when prisoners come home (Noble 1995) and studies of prisoners suggest that the reality of reunion can present profound difficulties for prisoners and their families (Jamieson and Grounds, this volume).

2.3.2 The effects of imprisonment on children of prisoners

Prisoners' children have been variously referred to as the 'orphans of justice' (Shaw 1992), the 'forgotten victims' of crime (Matthews 1983) and the 'Cinderella of penology' (Shaw 1987). Children can suffer a range of problems during their parent's imprisonment, such as: depression, hyperactivity, aggressive behaviour, withdrawal, regression, clinging behaviour, sleep problems, eating problems, running away, truancy and poor school grades (Boswell and Wedge 2002; Centre for Social and Educational Research 2002; Johnston 1995; Kampfner 1995; Sack et al 1976; Sharp and Marcus-Mendoza 2001; Shaw 1987; Skinner and Swartz 1989; Stanton 1980). It is commonly cited that up to 30 per cent of prisoners' children suffer mental health problems, compared to 10 per cent of the general population (Philbrick 1996). However, there appears to be no documented evidence to support this claim. In Morris's study 49 per cent of prisoners' wives reported adverse changes in children's behaviour since their husbands' imprisonment (Morris 1965). Friedman found that children of jail inmates were more often rated below average in the school world on social, psychological and academic characteristics compared to controls (although subjects were not well matched on ethnicity) (Friedman and Esselstyn 1965). These studies suggest that parental imprisonment is a risk factor for mental health problems among children. However, to determine the actual increase in risk for mental health problems associated with parental imprisonment we need studies with representative samples, well-validated measures and appropriate comparison data.

An important question for sentencing is whether parental imprisonment causes antisocial behaviour and crime in the next generation. Anecdotal evidence suggests that children are at risk of antisocial reactions to parental imprisonment (Johnston 1995; Sack 1977; Sack and Seidler 1978). One boy in Morris's study was discovered by a policeman tampering with car locks and the boy declared his intention of joining his father in prison (Morris 1965: 91). It is frequently stated that children of prisoners are six times more likely than their peers to be

imprisoned themselves. However, there appears to be no documented evidence to support this claim (see Johnston 1998, cited in Myers et al 1999). Only one study has prospectively examined later-life criminality among children who experienced parental imprisonment. Murray and Farrington (in press) found that, of London-boys who were separated because of parental imprisonment between birth and age 10, 48 per cent were convicted as an adult, compared to 25 per cent of boys who were separated for other reasons. However, these results need replication, especially for girls, and in other social contexts.

The assumption that parental imprisonment causes psychosocial difficulties for children is pervasive in the literature. Although it is a reasonable hypothesis that parental imprisonment causes adverse reactions in children, studies have lacked the methodological sophistication to distinguish the effects of parental imprisonment from the effects of other influences on children. Identifying which factors cause prisoners' children's outcomes is critical to developing the most effective solutions to their problems. A notable absence in the literature is consideration of the effects of parental criminality on prisoners' children. Prisoners, by definition, must have at least one criminal conviction (except those on remand). Parental criminal convictions, regardless of the sentences that follow, are a strong independent predictor of children's own criminal and antisocial behaviour in later life (Farrington et al 1996). It is possible that the association between parental imprisonment and children's own antisocial and delinquent behaviour is largely explained by parental criminal convictions. If this were the case, parental criminal convictions would have a selection effect on the relationship between parental imprisonment and children's adjustment. It has been suggested that prisoners' children are also likely to be at genetic risk for antisocial behaviour and mental disorders, even before their parent is imprisoned. In a retrospective study of prisoners' children, Crowe (1974) found that adopted children whose birth mothers were incarcerated were more likely than other adopted children to have been arrested, incarcerated and have a psychiatric record at the age of 25.

Most research emphasizes the direct effects of parental imprisonment on children. There are three intrinsic features of imprisonment that might directly cause psychosocial difficulties for children. First, there is the experience of separation and enduring loss. Attachment theory predicts that rupturing of parent-child bonds through separation causes psychosocial difficulties for children (Bowlby 1973). Hounslow et al (1982) and Richards (1992) emphasize that parental imprisonment can also be experienced as desertion or abandonment, which can compound distress for children. However, the available evidence on the effects of separation

among prisoners' children, and the effects of other forms of parental absence on children, suggests that the separation itself is not likely to be the most salient characteristic explaining children's outcomes (Gabel 2003).

Second, parental imprisonment might cause antisocial behaviour in children if they identify with their parent's criminality and imitate their parent's behaviour. In Sack's (1977) clinic study of eight boys with fathers in prison, some of the boys mimicked their fathers' crimes. Third, parental imprisonment involves uncertainty about how parents are treated while inside prison: children might suffer from fear about their parent's welfare. Two hypotheses can be drawn from the supposition that imprisonment directly causes difficulties for children. First, one would expect a dose-response effect, with longer sentences and multiple imprisonments being associated with worse outcomes for children. Second, one would expect that positive parent-child contact during the imprisonment would mitigate the effects of separation and uncertainty for children. However, visits also can involve strains of long-distance travel, prison search procedures, a lack of physical contact during visits, and difficulty leaving parents at the end of a visits (Brown et al 2002; McDermott and King 1992; Peart and Asquith 1992). Therefore, it is possible that visits might actually cause further difficulties for children. Given the theoretical and policy importance of contact between prisoners and families, the effects have been discussed earlier in this chapter.

2.3.2.1 Mediated challenges

Mediators represent mechanisms through which parental imprisonment indirectly affects children. Prison effects on prisoner-carer relationships, family income, children's care arrangements, home and school moves, and carers' well-being are also likely to have knock-on effects on children (Centre for Social and Educational Research 2002; Hounslow et al 1982; Sack 1977). In particular, three influences are likely to mediate the effects of parental imprisonment on children. First, children can face multiple care changes during parental imprisonment, and carers themselves are likely to experience emotional distress and practical difficulties (Stanton 1980). Therefore, it is likely that many children will face a decrease in stable, quality parenting following their parent's imprisonment. Lowenstein reports that mothers' personal and familial coping resources actually had a greater impact on children's adjustment following parental imprisonment than the separation itself (Lowenstein 1986).

Two studies report that approximately one-third of children are lied to about the whereabouts of their imprisoned father; one-third are told a fudged truth; and one-third are told the whole

truth (Sack and Seidler 1978; Shaw 1987).⁴ Richards et al (1994) found that in less than half of prisoners' families all the children knew about their mothers' or fathers' imprisonment. Carers often tell children that their parent is in hospital, or in the army, navy, or other work to try to protect them (Centre for Social and Educational Research 2002). However, researchers and prisoners' families' support groups commonly argue that children are better off knowing the truth about their parent's imprisonment, rather than experiencing confusion and deceit.

Third, parental imprisonment can lead children to experience stigma, bullying and teasing, which might mediate prison effects on children (Boswell and Wedge 2002; Sack 1977; Sack and Seidler 1978; Sack et al 1976). A problem for research is that families experiencing stigma are also more likely to practise deceit (Lowenstein 1986). Further, parental imprisonment might have an official labelling effect on children, making them more likely to be prosecuted for their crimes. Indirect prison effects might be as important as direct effects on prisoners' children, and ought to receive considerably more research attention.

2.3.2.2 Moderating Challenges

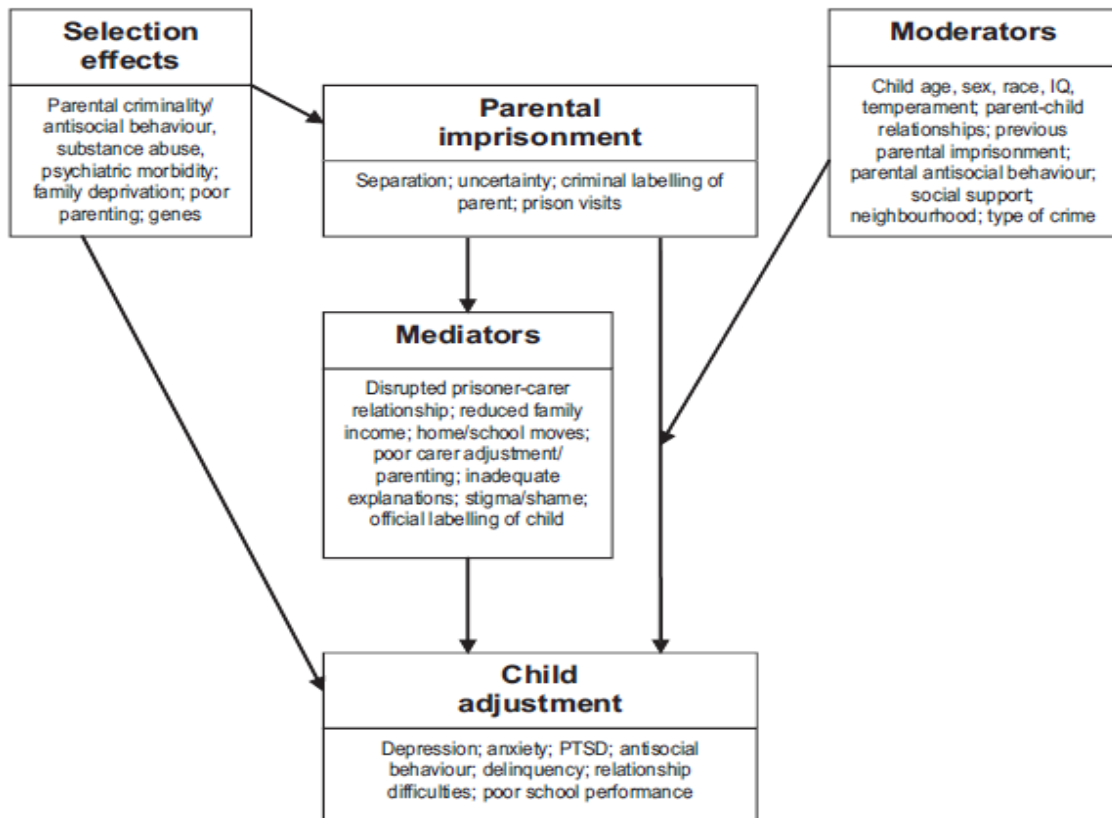
Assuming that parental imprisonment does cause child maladjustment, factors that interact with this effect are called moderators. Moderators can help to understand why some prisoners' children fair better than others. For example, children are likely to react differently to parental imprisonment at different developmental stages (Johnston 1995). Sack (1977) suggested that boys aged six to twelve are the ones most likely to become aggressive in reaction to parental imprisonment. As well as age and sex, individual factors that might moderate children's reactions are: previous experiences of parental imprisonment, race, IQ, temperament and locus of control. However, there is no more than anecdotal evidence on the moderating effects of individual characteristics on children's reactions to parental imprisonment.

Parent-child relationships and parenting practices prior to imprisonment are likely to be important moderating influences on children's reactions. One would expect that if children experienced positive involvement with their parent prior to imprisonment, they would be more adversely affected by the loss. Conversely, children who have experienced abusive relationships might even benefit from parental imprisonment. One study suggests that imprisonment of mothers affects children more acutely than imprisonment of fathers (Richards et al 1994), which is likely to be because fathers are less often primary caregivers to children prior to imprisonment (Healy et al 2000). Before entering prison, 64 per cent of imprisoned

mothers lived with their children, compared to 44 per cent of imprisoned fathers in the US (Mumola 2000).

Children's reactions to parental imprisonment might also vary depending on background levels of social support, parental antisocial behaviour, the type of crime committed by the parent, and possibly by neighborhood context. Schwartz hypothesized that in neighborhoods with high imprisonment rates, children can be more open about their situation, and feel less social stigma (Schwartz and Weintraub 1974). However, stigma might be especially high in neighborhoods with high imprisonment rates because many victims of crime also live in these neighborhoods (Braman 2004). To date, we lack adequate evidence on moderators of prison effects on children, partly because of the difficulties of conducting prospective studies of prisoners' families. In summary, studies have documented a number of possible causes of maladjustment among prisoners' children. However, robust evidence on these effects is slim. Figure 2.1 shows the selection effects, and direct, mediating and moderating effects that are hypothesized to explain the relationship between parental imprisonment and child adjustment.

Figure 2.1 Challenges faced by children due to incarceration



Source: Murry (2015) The effects of imprisonment on families and children of prisoners.

2.3.3 Emotional/Psychological Effects

Family members suffer emotional trauma from the conviction and incarceration. Some have been primary victims, as in the case of incest, whereas others must cope with the psychological impact of the arrest, conviction, and incarceration of their loved ones. During the period of imprisonment, the family has been forced to reorganize and assume different roles with added responsibilities and challenges. The newfound independence of spouses/partners may be threatening to the returning member who expects the same family situation upon release. The offender's release may exacerbate preexisting marital/familial problems, as well as create new tensions in intimate relationships. Some family members spoke of the enhanced communication and deeper bonds that had formed with their incarcerated relations, despite the constraints of visitation, telephone calls, and letter writing. They described high hopes for their relationship upon the member's release from prison. However, as the honeymoon period of family reunification ends and reality sets in, the amount of support and quality of family life may decline. Members must get to know each other in different contexts than the prison visiting room and learn how to live together once again.

2.3.4. Housing and Employment

Most individuals freed from prison may move in with their families or close friends. However, for released offenders, this may not always be an option. Offenders will not be released without a viable and approved housing plan. Placing offenders with a spouse or significant other typically involves approval by a supervising agent. Many families reported that their lives were disrupted by having to move in order to meet the approval of probation/ parole agents. Housing the returning member may also mean notification of neighbors, schools, and day cares in the surrounding area. This notoriety may stymie attempts to locate the offender in the home by galvanizing opposition to the placement. Moreover, residency restrictions in some states also circumscribe the areas in which relatives of offenders may reside. In addition, neighbors may oppose the community placement by harassing the family, local elected officials, correctional authorities, and police officials. Family members who once eagerly awaited the return of their loved ones may now become extremely apprehensive about harassment and vigilantism by neighbors and others. Obtaining employment is another hurdle for families of convicted offenders.

2.3.5 Social Stigma

The offender “label” creates additional obstacles to community reentry for the families of convicted offenders. Many family members reported feeling as though they were convicted of an offense themselves. A “courtesy stigma” is attached to families, which results in their social marginalization, even though they did not commit an offense. For many family members, their identities as spouses, parents, siblings, and children are suspended while they try to negotiate their daily lives. They describe deliberately avoiding conversations or inquiries about their personal lives for fear the subject of their offending relative might arise. Family members report being ostracized and disrespected by neighbors, lifetime acquaintances, and relatives because of their offender connections. They feel constantly watched by neighbors and others in the community.

These families must live, work, and, in the case of children, attend school in the community and are thus exposed to the judgment or perceived judgment of their neighbors, coworkers, employers, classmates, and other groups. Given the revulsion and fear generated by offenders, they must cope with direct and public stigmatization generated by the public notification process, including the offender’s placement on a state and nationwide registry, bulletin postings in government buildings, and media announcements. Moreover, family members admit feeling

anger and resentment toward their offending relations for bringing the unwelcome notoriety and public exposure to the family.

2.4 To investigate the social, economic and demographic challenges that children of the convicted felonies face upon sentencing, release and post release of their parent

2.4. Empirical literature

Dixey and Woodall (2012) conducted research with 30 families in an English category B prison which examined the significance of visits. Their study identified that prisoners' families tend to view visitation as tense, emotional and often fraught with logistical difficulties. However, it remains unclear what percentage of these are relatives of convicted sex-offenders. A number of barriers were identified in relation to visits, including arrangements for child-care or taking children out of school for visits, travelling distance, high costs associated with travel, and negotiating public transport to reach prisons which are often set in rural, hard-to-reach locations (Kalkan and Smith 2014; Murray 2007; Christian 2005; Arditti, 2003).

These difficulties may be felt more acutely by the families of convicted sex-offenders, as sex-offenders are mainly housed in specialist prisons (currently eight in England and Wales) or vulnerable prisoner wings within mainstream prisons that may be further placed from home. In addition, the average sentence for a sex-offender is higher than for any other offence (average 63 months); thus, they generally spend more time in prison than other offenders (MOJ, 2015). These difficulties associated with visiting often result in a complete loss of face-to-face contact that may impose a further strain on families (Codd, 2011; Condry, 2007).

For many female partners prison visits are a confusing mixture of anticipation and happiness, but also stress and sadness (Christian, 2005; Girshick, 1996; Fisherman, 1990). Furthermore, the visits can be fraught and intense, with high levels of anxiety due to their often short duration. Whilst visits are regarded as important for the offenders' well-being, it may not always be particularly beneficial to those on the 'outside' (Codd, 2011), although, Codd argues, 'standing by their man' or 'not giving up on a son' may evoke a sense of pride or satisfaction (2011:26). Chui (2009) also suggests that some prison officers are hostile towards relatives whilst visiting. Although some prisons are working to improve prison visits and make these institutions more 'family friendly', the difficulties of visiting, and the feelings of humiliation, lack of respect and hostility experienced by families, are reported in literature from the UK, the US, and Australia (Loucks, 2004; Arditti, 2003; Healy et al, 2000; Farrell, 1997). Families

report that they are often made to feel like criminals themselves, simply for visiting a prison (Cunningham 2001; Cregan and Aungles 1997).

2.4.1 Visitation and transport costs

Ronay (2011) identified the impact of visits on children by conducting an observational study in a children's play area in an English medium-high security remand prison, where all types of offenders were housed (including sex-offenders). Ronay found recurrent themes of anxiety, anti-social tendencies, confusion and aggression amongst the children observed. However, it is unclear how many times the same children were observed, whether their behaviour changed as they developed over time, and whether their behaviour traits existed prior to coming into the prison environment. Nonetheless, the outcomes for children appear to be generally negative and reinforce Richards and McWilliams' (1996) findings that the stressful emotions surrounding visitation can result in uncharacteristic behaviour before and after their visits.

It is commonly accepted that there are financial consequences for families and children of prisoners (Davis 1992; Smith et al 2007), and that the majority of prisoners' families will endure financial loss and/or incur additional expenses (Hairston, 2003). Bath and Edgar's (2010) study of 29 UK families and children established that 40 per cent of prisoners, and 64 per cent of ex-prisoners believed that their debt had worsened, but perhaps more pertinently over half of their families were forced to borrow extra funds as a result of the incarceration, although the social background of the families in their sample is unclear.

Chui (2009) and Tewksbury and Levenson (2009) suggest that financial hardships experienced by the families and children of incarcerated men is the greatest and most salient issue families have to negotiate. For families already suffering from monetary constraints, their relative's crimes can have a calamitous impact on the family unit, accelerating their descent into genuine poverty (Farkas and Miller, 2007). It could be argued that this impact is even greater for families of sex-offenders due to the fact that custodial sentences are generally long. Imposing financial hardship on family members often causes relatives to disengage with the offender, frequently as a coping mechanism, or to minimise and manage their own experiences (Tewksbury and Levenson, 2009).

2.4.2 Housing

The social shaming, stigmatization and diminished social support that families of convicted sex-offenders can experience may result in a decision to re-locate to an area where they are not known, in an attempt to distance themselves from the offender (Levenson and Tewksbury,

2009; Farkas and Miller, 2007; Condry, 2007). This can fragment families and may result in the breakdown of wider familial relationships (Arditti, 2012). Many individuals released from prison return to their family residence; however for released sex offenders this is not always a viable option since they often have registration and various licence conditions which prevent them from returning to their family or pre-prison residence (Farkas and Miller, 2007).

Housing a returning an offender also requires regular notification of their whereabouts to the authorities as a condition of their placement (Farkas and Miller, 2007). Where the offender has been placed back with their families, the disruptive impacts of housing them can significantly reduce the family members' quality of life, increasing their emotional hardship and sense of isolation (Tewksbury and Levenson, 2009). Often community opposition directly influences where families choose to reside (Zevitz and Farkas, 2000). Family members may experience repercussions such as harassment, vigilantism and the notoriety that offenders bring with them (Levinson and Cotter, 2005, Condry 2007). For example, Tewksbury and Levenson's (2009) online survey of 584 family members in the US found that a quarter of their sample had experienced damage to their property and alienation from their community, and over half of family members feared for their own safety. The opposition, anger and resentment engendered within communities often increase when their housing placement becomes common knowledge (Farkas and Miller, 2007).

2.4.3 Employment

In addition, the restrictions of being placed on the SOR after a prison sentence is completed can result in 'unemployability' (Levenson and Tewksbury, 2009). Obtaining employment for the prisoner upon release is a difficult hurdle for both the prisoner and their families to negotiate (Farkas and Miller, 2007). Many businesses and civil institutions (such as schools and hospitals) are extremely reluctant (or refuse) to employ an offender, often for genuine legal reasons, but also due to their own views and attitudes towards these offenders, and a perceived disruptive impact that their employment may impose upon their workforce (Zevitz and Farkas, 2000). This situation inevitably places a much greater financial burden on other family members, and an economic hardship that was absent before their conviction and often causes resentment, frustration and anger within their families (Harman et al, 2007).

2.4.4 Invasion of privacy

A major problem families and children face is intrusion on their privacy (Farkas and Miller, 2007). Being associated with an offender can raise a family member's profile in the

community, resulting in a closer scrutiny into their lives that can affect the normalcy of their daily existence (Tewksbury and Levenson, 2009). This intensified surveillance can worsen the sense of shame and stigmatisation for families (Condry, 2007). This ‘shaming gaze’ and intrusion into their lives from friends, neighbours and colleagues can induce negative consequences such as social isolation, and changes to both their behavioural patterns and personal relationships within their communities. Comfort (2009) suggests that these families are ‘secondarily prisoned’ whereby the impacts of concentrated community and authoritarian surveillance and corporeal confinement are remarkably similar.

2.4.5 Psychological challenges

The experience of coping with the impact of a family member’s arrest, conviction and imprisonment can cause extreme stress and trauma (Arditti, 2012; Codd, 2011; Condry, 2007). The psychological trauma inflicted on the offender’s family can be further exacerbated by the nature of these crimes, especially if a family member has been a primary victim (Codd, 2011). Some family members describe heightened stress levels and periods of lethargy, hopelessness, isolation and frustration (Farkas and Miller, 2007). The enormity of upheaval and the subsequent realisation by family members that ‘one of their own’ has committed this type of offence can induce initial shock and heightened feelings of anger and frustration, often followed by on-going periods of depression, especially amongst those who choose to assist or remain in touch with their convicted family member (Shapiro and Shwartz, 2001).

Furthermore, there are increased risks of debilitating psychological outcomes, such as depression (Wildeman, Schnittker, and Turney, 2012), developmental and unfavourable behaviours amongst related children (Wakefield and Wildeman, 2014; Geller et. al, 2011) and divorce (Lopoo and Western, 2005). Roberts et al (2012) and Phillips et al (2002) posit that children of offenders are also vulnerable to emotional and behavioural difficulties often due to their own abuse and neglect. Tewksbury and Levenson’s (2009) US study of 584 family members of Registered Sex Offenders (RSOs) further supports this outlook by finding that 58 per cent of children of RSOs were treated differently by other children, and 78 per cent conveyed suffering ridicule, teasing, anxiety, depression, broken friendships and bullying at school.

Some research has found that family members may be unwilling to become involved and are unsympathetic towards the convicted family member, and the deterioration of their pre-conviction relationship can become absolute (Braman, 2002). This can lead to some family

members cutting off all communication (more common amongst extended family members), and reluctance to admit to the wider community their relationship to the wrongdoer (Condry, 2007). However, severing all ties with the offender is often accompanied by feelings of guilt, loss and a sense of stigmatisation (Condry, 2007; Zevitz and Farkas, 2000). Patently, family members suffering adverse outcomes themselves are often called upon to provide support for the offender during and after their incarceration.

Attempting to safeguard or ‘cushion’ the hardships encountered by the offender, whilst suffering from their own marginalisation and disadvantage clearly requires the employment of specific coping strategies (Codd, 2007; Arditti et al 2003). Carlson and Cervera (1992) place great emphasis on the length of the sentence and the effectiveness of their own family members’ support when contextualizing their coping strategies. A more recent study by Johnson and Easterling (2015) chose to focus on the way in which adolescents develop coping mechanisms. Neutralising, or lessening the gravity of the offence, and distancing themselves from their offending parent were common behavioural characteristics. Braman (2004) suggests that limiting contact, whilst avoiding the complete severance of ties, was a perhaps obvious, but effective coping strategy. Paradoxically, Comfort (2009) found that some families focused on the release date, in an attempt to build hope for a successful reconciliation. A renewed positivity for a changed ‘better life’ helped lessen the pain of separation.

2.4.5.1 Stigma

Condry’s (2007) study of thirty-two close relatives of sex-offenders in England found that, given the fear and revulsion sex-offenders engender, the family members are often forced to cope with a secondary stigma or a kind of ‘contamination’, often, in the case of children, purely for sharing a genetic heritage with the offender. Goffman (1963) describes this secondary implication for family members as a ‘courtesy stigma’ attached to family members and can marginalize them socially, and inhibit their behaviours due to this enhanced exposure to observation, and a perceived negative judgment of themselves by the community, especially when they have chosen to support the offender (Condry, 2007; Goffman, 1963). Much of the available literature clearly indicates that stigma has a significant effect on the emotional well-being of prisoners’ families, who are very often seen by much of society as being ‘guilty by association’ (Codd, 1998:152). Condry (2007) goes on to emphasise the significance of stigma on families by indicating that the spectrum of emotions involved include anger, embarrassment, humiliation and sadness, and suggests that shame is the defining experience of being associated with an offender.

Farkas and Miller (2007) argue that sex-offenders' families often suffer challenges to the previous normality of their lives more acutely, shamefully and more publicly (due to the nature of their crimes) than the families of non-sexual offenders. This notion is supported by research which suggests that the collateral consequences of being related to a sex-offender and the effects of stigma are major causes of individual and collective crises for the offenders' family and children, along with shame (Braman, 2007; Hagan and Dinovitzer, 1999). Much of this research indicates that families are aware of a discredited status, and a feeling of being somehow culpable, along with a feeling of discrimination towards them that was not previously there (Hannem and Petrunik, 2007).

In an ethnographic study of the impact of conviction on the families of serious offenders (including sex-offenders) Condry (2007) found that relatives felt 'blamed and shamed' by their relative's offence. While the family members experienced a range of emotions, including anger, embarrassment, humiliation and sadness, the overriding emotion was one of unreserved shame. In a smaller study in the US by Comartin et al (2010) of four sex-offenders' mothers, stigmatisation, negative changes in their personal relationships, and social isolation were prominent outcomes. Although this study is small, the findings nonetheless mirror those of Condry (2007).

2.4.5.2 Family coping mechanism

The experiences of prisoners' families are similar to those at the time of Morris' 1965 study, except they are now set against a backdrop of an ever-rising prison population caused by a socio-political swing towards harsher penal punitiveness (Codd, 2011). Predictably, this means more people are experiencing the undesirable (often unwarranted) impact of a family member's conviction, incarceration and release. Therefore, the ameliorating influences of formal and informal support structures and services are now even more vital (Codd, 2011; Light and Campbell, 2006).

2.4.5.3 Accessing Support

Prisons have an obligation to consider the impacts of imprisonment on families' whilst not compromising prison security. One way they consider this is through facilitating family visits and allowing other types of communication, such as letters and prison email. It is recognised that supporting RSOs is a considerable responsibility which can severely affect the lives of those who choose to support an offender (Arditti, 2012; Condry 2007, Farkas and Miller, 2007). Also, given that familial support for the offender has arguably been successful in reducing

recidivism, sympathetic, helpful family members are an important population to study. Yet despite this, relatively little is known about how these individuals choose to access their own support, be it formal (through the prison, voluntary groups or charitable organisations), or informal (by relying on other supportive community members, or empathetic friends and extended family members).

One major problem that could arise when seeking wider community support is that some families may be reluctant to seek solace from 'official' support groups due to their own fears and feelings of stigmatisation (Light and Campbell, 2006). However, more recently, with the general acknowledgement that 'official' support mechanisms are effective tools against recidivism, there has been an emergence of prison-based initiatives promoting familial ties and relationships, such as purpose-built visits centres, 'family-fun days', play areas for children, and parenting classes.

2.4.5.4 Informal support

Seeking support through social networks involving extended family, friends and neighbours is one way of coping with a stressful situation or family crisis, such as the imprisonment of a family member (Codd, 2011; Moelker, et al, 2006). This may negate the need to seek more formal, professional help. Arditti (2012), Braman (2004), Comfort (2009) and Chui (2009) all found that wives in particular relied on family, friends and neighbours for financial and emotional assistance. Similarly, in Carlsen and Cervera's (1992) study of thirty-nine Canadian wives of offenders, around half emphasised the importance of sympathetic support from neighbours, friends and colleagues, especially with regard to alternative caring duties, such as babysitting, and often financial assistance (although they note this can diminish if the incarceration is perceived to be partially the woman's fault). A number of other studies have reported strikingly similar results about the significance of families' and friends' ability to assist positively with families 'surviving incarceration' (Bartone, et al, 1994).

In many cases immediate and extended family may be able to meet many of the wife's needs for emotional support and can assume some of the roles of an absent parent. However, the extended family can also have limited resources, and often, family relationships are strained due to the incarceration (Carlson and Cervera, 1992). Carlson and Cervera (1992) go on to highlight the possibility that many family members may encourage a partner to divorce or leave the prisoner and actively discourage maintaining contact. It should be noted that these studies did not include sex offenders, which makes it problematic to generalise the findings to their

families, and the nature of the offence may arguably cause greater conflict within the family unit and as such a potential reduction or closing of informal support (Davis, 1992). Nonetheless, this research suggests that, for some people, informal support remains vital, albeit the nature of the crime has a major influence on the type of assistance people are prepared to contribute, and the absence of informal support may embolden families to seek out more formal support.

2.4.5.5 Formal support

(i) Support agencies

Formal support tends to be accessed when family members are unable or unwilling to offer their assistance (Chui, 2009). Most of the help given to the prisoners' families in England and Wales is provided by organisations within the not-for-profit sector under the umbrella of Action for Families (such as Offenders Families Helpline, Ormiston, PACT). These commonly consist of 'self-help support groups' providing a help-line with trained counsellors offering advice and support in conjunction with official agencies and institutions, such as the Prison Service (Codd, 2011). Although different agencies may focus on different types of criminality, these services can provide advice on benefits, relationships, housing, and employment opportunities. In addition, they can impartially address the impacts of drug abuse, the protocol surrounding visiting a prison, provide information on prison regimes and their activities and on training workshops, and can recommend self-help groups as well as provide advice to health professionals, teachers, family service workers, and housing professionals who are administering their own support (Grimshaw and King, 2002).

Although these agencies offer valuable support, no one organisation is directly responsible for the co-ordination, oversight and management of services to prisoners' families in the England and Wales (HMIPP, 2001; Prisoners Families, 2013). The Ministry of Justice (MOJ) has recognised that working with offenders' families has a significant impact on re-offending, family breakdown, debilitating outcomes for children, and inter-generational offending (MOJ; 2010; MOJ, 2009). Despite this, very little funding appears to be allocated to these third-sector organisations and this, coupled with very little sympathy from the general public, means they generally operate with a high degree of uncertainty (Codd, 2011).

(ii) Support and self-help groups

Much qualitative research supports the considerable benefits of accessing support from self-help groups for family members (Codd, 2002; May 2000; Condry, 2007). These studies suggest

that drawing on the experiences of others in similar situations can be useful in providing relevant information with regard to assisted prison visits, emotional support and dealing with stigma. As Condry (2007) notes, their shared experiences shape a collective narrative, which often provides meaning and therefore a ‘way’ of understanding the problems they have been forced to confront. Aftermath was the last national support group that targeted families of serious offenders (see Howarth and Rock, 2000 for more information on Aftermath) but is now defunct, which, according to Condry (2007), is regrettable, as the voluntary sector is often at the vanguard of developing innovative, preventive and coping strategies, which arguably makes the current lack of funding for these agencies a matter of concern.

(iii) Financial Support

The Assisted Prison Visits Scheme (APVS) provides financial support (to encourage socially disadvantaged families to maintain contact) and is managed by the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). This is available only to immediate family members in receipt of benefits or on a low income and excludes extended family members or friends who may be able to provide valuable support. Furthermore, there are no government statistics available to gauge the efficacy of this scheme effectively, or how many people make use of it. Indeed, research by Dixey and Woodall (2012) and Loucks (2004) expressed some concern that many families are unaware of the eligibility criteria for accessing this provision.

(iv) Support for children

Grimshaw and King (2002) comment that effectively communicating sensitive topics, such as a parent’s sexual offending and incarceration, to children is particularly difficult. Much available research suggests that the children of imprisoned parents cope better with the collateral consequences of imprisonment when they know the truth, and have a satisfactory explanation for the crimes committed (Arditti, 2012; Boswell and Wedge, 2002). The research makes little reference to the specific challenges that children and young people face after their parent’s incarceration, although it is evident that a child’s behaviour can be negatively affected. Moreover, in a recent study (North-West England) which examined the perspectives of eight primary school head teachers working with the children of male prisoners, O’Keeffe (2013) identified that the lack of knowledge about good practice, and pastoral care amongst this group of children was a consistent theme, and that schools were often unaware of the situation some children found themselves in. Although this research is a small-scale study, the findings are significant.

(v) Failure to access support

Several factors may prevent some families from accessing support in its various forms. Feelings of shame, shock, and fear of stigmatisation can lead to reluctance to reveal that a close family member is in custody (Codd 2011; Condry 2007). This theme is expanded on by McEvoy et al (1999) who recognised that seeking support increases many families' anxieties with regard to their own identification, along with a heightened sensitivity towards perceived critical or condemnatory attitudes that may be directed toward them. Grimshaw and King (2002) also state that protecting professional and personal confidentiality is the major influence in blocking the path to service provision, and some families even fear their children may be removed if an official service identifies that they are associated with a sex-offender (Condry, 2007; Clayton and Moore, 2003). Equally, schools can unintentionally increase the tensions within families by labelling them as a 'problem' or as 'needing help' that may also create a barrier to accessing further support (Goodman and Adler, 2004).

2.5 Research gap analysis

To date, we lack adequate evidence on moderators of prison effects on children, partly because of the difficulties of conducting prospective studies of prisoners' families. In summary, studies have documented a number of possible causes of maladjustment among prisoners' children. However, robust evidence on these effects is slim. Figure 2.1 shows the selection effects, and direct, mediating and moderating effects that are hypothesized to explain the relationship between parental imprisonment and child adjustment.

We need to identify how prison effects on families vary over time, as well as between individuals. McDermott and King (1992) distinguished between the traumatic experience of arrest, the overriding uncertainty during remand and trial, and the distinct experiences of families coping with different sentence lengths. However, little is known about prison effects on families over time. Particularly little is known about the effects on partners after prisoners are released. This end the study seeks to expounded, explores into the impact of incarceration on the children of convicted felonies, a case study of children of inmates at Chawagona Prison in Mashonaland central province

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter chronicles the methodological views adopted in this research study on the impact of incarceration on the children of the convicted felonies: A case study of Chawagona prison inmates in Mashonaland central Province. A research methodology gives summative steps,

procedures and course of action undertaken by the researcher to demystify the research problem (Zikmund et al., 2013). Saunders et al (2016) gave the research methodology of the study from his research onion framework. The research philosophy, research design, research strategy and research approach are all covered in this chapter. The chapter also dwells on the target population, sampling method and technique, sample size determination, source of data, field work as well as an investigation into the ethical issues adhered to during the carrying out of the research study. This chapter also articulates methods employed to ensure validity and reliability of measurement scales.

The site was selected as it houses a large number of prisoners convicted, providing an exceptional opportunity to reach the desired sample population of family members through the visitors' centre. Access was sought through OIC, the Officer in Charge (OIC) of the prison, and an Inspector within the Correctional department (with whom I had previously worked as a referral). OIC sanctioned the study, although it took several months to negotiate access. However, once this was granted my affinity with the staff and with the environment gave me an advantage in allowing a degree of familiarity that was of great use when I embarked on the process of recruiting participants for this study.

3.2 Research strategy

This research employed a descriptive approach, whereby the primary data collected have been influenced by referencing relevant empirical literature to reflect some of the challenges faced by the research sample group. This iterative process of examining previous evidence and analysing existing theories whilst collecting new data symbiotically can allow for explanations to be satisfactorily reached throughout the research process (Charmaz, 2013). This interactive, collaborative approach, where the participant and researcher cooperate in constructing and understanding meanings, is intended to augment any conclusions and develop an authenticity and reality to the findings (ibid.).

A cross-sectional design using QUAL-QUAN exploratory sequence strategies was adopted to strengthen any findings (Creswell, 2010). I used an inductive approach in the main but included some elements of deductive analysis. I gathered data through open ended interviews that employed 'open' questions, to allow for more flexibility and to glean more extensive, detailed responses (Bryman, 2012). From an explanatory perspective any links or variables between certain behaviours were sought, or whether there were any cause and effect' relationships that emerged from any identified consequences. This descriptive approach is designed to offset any

weakness in each research technique, increasing the validity and reliability of the findings (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010; Bryman, 2012). The cross-sectional element provided a snapshot of the 'here and now' which gave an 'up to date' reflection of the outcomes for families at the time of the research (Bryman, 2012). The qualitative element was based on interviews that provided an understanding of 'what' the impacts of being related to an incarcerated members are, whilst the qualitative element gave a more detailed explanation of 'why' these challenges exist. This triangulation method of collecting data using various techniques and combining them is a recognised process that improves the validity of research (Davis et al, 2011). Overall, the aim was to consider how each individual family member interprets their social environment and constructs their personal 'worldviews' (Charmaz, 2013).

3.3 Population and Sampling

The population of this study was 80 felonies incarcerated in-between 2010 to 2021. Sixty family members of incarcerated offenders were sampled in the research, the sampling strategy was opportunistic, relying entirely on volunteers. This sample was recruited following advertising using posters and leaflets placed around the visitors centre before my arrival, and by staff members making potential participants aware of the impending research within the centre. Consequently, this relied heavily on the willingness and availability of individuals to take part, so the sampling techniques used were purposive and judgemental (non-probability) of individuals who met the eligibility criteria (Bryman, 2012). This recruitment method proved extremely fruitful, and more participants would like to have been involved than I was able to include, given time constraints. A wish to minimise disruption and interference upon families' visiting times were a constant preoccupation. Given these relatively few hindrances, the sample was representative of this population and a diverse sample was attained, with the mean age of the participants being 50. Consistent with previous research (see Codd, 2011), most of the supportive relatives were also female in this study. Furthermore, the sentence lengths involved in the study ranged from 2 to 10 years with four of the offenders on indeterminate sentences (IPPs), where the prisoner and his family would have no idea of the release date. This may mean the challenges for the families involved are even more extensive than for others in terms of maintaining contact.

Table 3.1 Relationship with the prisoner

Family member	Number in the Sample	% in the sample
Sons	24	40
Daughters	18	30
Wives	6	10
Fathers	7	12
Others	5	8

Source: Author construction.

3.4 Data sources and collection

3.4.1 Primary data source

According to Saunders et al (2016) the intention of primary sources of data is to solve research problem at hand. Conventional methods such as questionnaires, focus groups, surveys and face to face interviews are used as the most common primary sources of data in research studies. This study adopted interviews in primary data collection, of which interviews were conducted with members to gather their experience, knowledge, perceptions and the impact of incarceration on the children of the convicted felonies: A case study of Chawagona prison inmates in Mashonaland central Province. Open ended interviews gave leeway to the capture of qualitative data to allow thematic data reduction into statistics which were evaluated and analysed and meaningful conclusions were deduced.

3.4.2 Secondary data source

According to Kilburn et al (2016) secondary sources of data are such information silos which would have been developed for some other prior purpose. In support of this Saunders et al (2016) posits that secondary data sources empowers the researcher to develop a clear understanding the research problem. Auxiliary information has the favorable position that it can be obtained in a moderately brief time and it is in most cases very affordable to gather. The side effects of this type of data source is that information may not be significant to the current problem understudy and in some circumstances it is difficult to survey its precision in line with research problem. The use of secondary data is alluded to by most authors as the exploratory phase in research process. In the preliminary phases of this study, journal articles were downloaded from credible data bases such as Emerald Insight, Jstor, Elsevier, Francis and

Taylor, Wiley, Science Direct and Reserach4Life. Methodological guidelines for this were provided mostly from research methodology textbooks.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

Instruments used to collect data are defined by Osborne (2018) as tools, resources or equipment that helps the researcher to obtain information needed to solve the research problem. With quantitative studies, structured questionnaires are dominant whilst qualitative counterparts embark on the use of focus groups and face to face interviews for data collection (Zikmund, 2013). This study dwelled much on the use of face to face interviews.

3.6 Validity of measurement scales

Measurement scale validity is the extent to which differences found with a measurement tool gives out true differences among respondents being tested (Saunders et al., 2019). Validity can also be defined as the ability of a scale to measure that which it purports to measure (Zikmund et al., 2013). The study examined construct validity using convergent and discriminant validity. Zikmund et al (2013), explained that construct validity is the ability of a scale to reflect hypotheses developed and imaged from theory based on concepts, as a result the author adopted the commonly employed measures of construct validity which are convergent and discriminant validity.

In this study construct validity was carried out through the retest and test criterion and also the use of the same questions from one respondent to the other. Discriminant validity was achieved through the use of sampling method adopted which ensured that respondents would not meet and see each other hence their views and perceptions are completely divergent.

3.7 Reliability of Measurement Scales

According to Osborne (2018), reliability is defined as the extent to which measures on a particular construct generate consistent results. A number of methods have been taking center stage in confirming reliability of measurement scales such as test retest method, parallel forms, spilit half technique and Cronbach Alpha. In this study and due to its qualitative nature, reliability of the measurement scale was instituted following the test and retest method. The study used questionnaires and interviews. The use of both of these tools was also to facilitate the quality of information gathered by each of these two tools. With the use of a questionnaire, respondents would be able to respond in a way that enables them to fully put their emotions unlike when they are faced with interviews. With the use of interviews the researcher wanted to harness the non-verbal communications as interviews were face to face.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

It is a norm in the research fraternity that researchers are obliged to adhere to ethical matters in all stages of the research process (Zikmund et al., 2013). Research Council of Zimbabwe (RCZ) and other internationally accredited codes of ethics provide the major guidelines. The American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) is also another source of code of ethics which should be observed by researchers. Saunders et al (2016) consent that researchers have certain obligations to follow, such as the aim of a research process is to carry out a research. The study followed and adhered the following tenets of ethical research conduct:

3.8.1 Informed Consent

Informed consent entails that the participants understands the purpose of the research and relinquishes their right to privacy by consenting to participate in the research (Zikmund et al., 2013). The researcher embarked on a process of educating the respondents about the goal of the study as well as the merits and demerits to all stakeholders involved during the course of data gathering. The designing of the interview guide was also in a way that ensured respondents fully embraces the objective of the study was to assess the impact of incarceration on the children of the convicted felonies: A case study of Chawagona prison inmates in Mashonaland central Province. As a result the researcher accorded justice to the respondents in fully educating them before they embark on the research study.

3.8.2 Confidentiality.

Saunders et al (2016) opines that it is the rightful duty of the researcher to guarantee and not to divulge the private information such as identity of participants. The researcher made sure that true names and conduct details of the participants were observed in full confidence. This was made possible through the designing process of the instrument of data collection and the use of enclosed interview rooms either at the center or at respondent's homes. The researcher also have to respondents guarantee that private information was to be used only for the purposes of research and was kept confidential.

3.8.3 Privacy

Participants that were sampled in this study, were informed that it is their discretion to participate in the study, hence this made the participation voluntary and that information included was only to the extent to which the respondent would understand. The respondents were also educated of their freedom to withdraw from the research at any point should they wish to do so.

3.8.4 Anonymity

According to Cooper and Schindler (2003) anonymity is the obligation of the researcher to ensure that the research study participants remain unidentified or unlinked to the study or its outcomes in their private lives as individuals. In this study the researcher's duty was to ensure that respondent's personal events or harassment shall not happen to them in the aftermath of their participation. In line with this idea, participants were informed that personalized events that may bring disrepute or tarnish the integrity of the study would not be included as a result of their participation.

3.9 Data collection and Analysis

The research used a qualitative strategy. The processes of data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously and interactively, congruent with the descriptive theory approach (Bryman, 2012). The data collection phase was undertaken over 4 weeks, with a total of 40 hours spent conducting fieldwork. It had qualitative data gathered from 60 open ended interviews. Consistent with descriptive theory were influenced by the literature review (Bachman and Schutt, 2014). Before entering into the fieldwork, pilot interviews took place with other researchers to check that the questions would work well (Glock, 1988).

Initially, I embarked on recruitment by approaching family members in the visits waiting area, the purpose of the research was explained and interested participants were handed an information sheet, consent form (for both see appendix D) and questionnaire. Every effort was made to speak to a diverse range of family members, in terms of gender, age and ethnicity. This method of recruiting was effective. Often the personal dialogue between researcher and visitor established a rapport that, in many cases, encouraged individuals to take part in the research. Given the sensitive and understudied subject matter the techniques were appropriate and the number of participants willing to contribute was both a pleasant surprise, and subsequently effectual in generating rich data. Family members who did take part were asked, firstly, to complete a questionnaire and for those who wanted to speak further there was the option of an interview, which was designed to fit around their waiting time. Some family members were a little concerned that their identity might be compromised; once reassured, however the conversation flowed and the majority expressed their gratitude for having the opportunity to speak to somebody independent.

All the sixty participants had their interviews were conducted face to face in a private room within the visits centre, this was not possible for two of the participants - so a telephone

interview was arranged for one relative and the other family member posted their questionnaire response back to the visits centre. All apart from the postal response were digitally recorded (with consent). The participants were encouraged to speak freely and use their own terminology, whilst discussing their thoughts and beliefs in detail. Semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility, and the exploration of new ideas as they arise in the conversation, which is particularly useful in research dealing with sensitive subjects as it allows the participants to raise issues when they wish (Patton, 2015) and is described by Kahn and Cannell (1957), as a ‘conversation with purpose’. The interview process followed the constructionist tradition, which allowed participants to become active agents in giving substance and meaning to their social worlds (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). From an epistemological standpoint, the researcher and the participant engaged in a collaborative effort to build knowledge and accurately reflect the complexity of the participants’ experiences. The alliances built during this process became a great re-iteration of the necessity to attend to the challenges of this group.

The interview process presented different emotions. Due to the dearth of literature exploring this group, there was no prior insight on how to navigate this process, so I was a little unsure about what to expect. However, my familiarity with some of the family members, having worked as a volunteer at the visits centre, proved to be an advantage in facilitating the interviews, as I had some experience of discussing the problems faced by this group of people. For the most part, many of the participants seemed extremely keen to expound their thoughts on the often life-changing events that had transpired, and I wanted the interviews to flow naturally, although as mentioned, some of the interviews became extremely emotional (perhaps unsurprisingly), and at times the stories were so unfortunate and heart-rending that both the interviewer and the interviewee were reduced to tears. From my perspective the mutual, collaborative effort to gain understanding felt rewarding. In some interviews it felt as if I had acquired the role of a counsellor, although as Liebling (1999) in Mann (2012) states ‘research into any human environment without subjective feelings is almost impossible’. This sentiment resonated with me throughout this part of my research.

3.10 Chapter summary

The chapter fully described the methodological steps followed by the researcher in satisfying the research problem. Interpretivism philosophical views were used stamping the adoption of qualitative methods to data analysis. The chapter also explained the issues surrounding validity and reliability, ethical considerations in the research process and data presentation and analysis. The next chapter will focus on data presentation and analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

While it is perhaps a very obvious conclusion to draw, it is nonetheless an important statement to make: having a parent who is incarcerated can negatively impact all aspects of a child's wellbeing and development, including their emotional, psychological, and educational development and their physical and financial wellbeing. This chapter introduces the data analysis and presentation, beginning by looking at the demographic characteristics of

respondents. Respondent’s age, relationship with incarcerated member and level of education will be included in the graphic data presentation. Following this is thematic data analysis from the interviews held. The data from the interview transcripts will be examined which will involve describing, interpreting and conceptualizing the interactions (Bryman, 2012). Hand coding will be incorporated into the research, and will be useful in allowing the researcher to link data and identify recurrent themes

4.2 Demographic analysis

4.2.1 Response rate

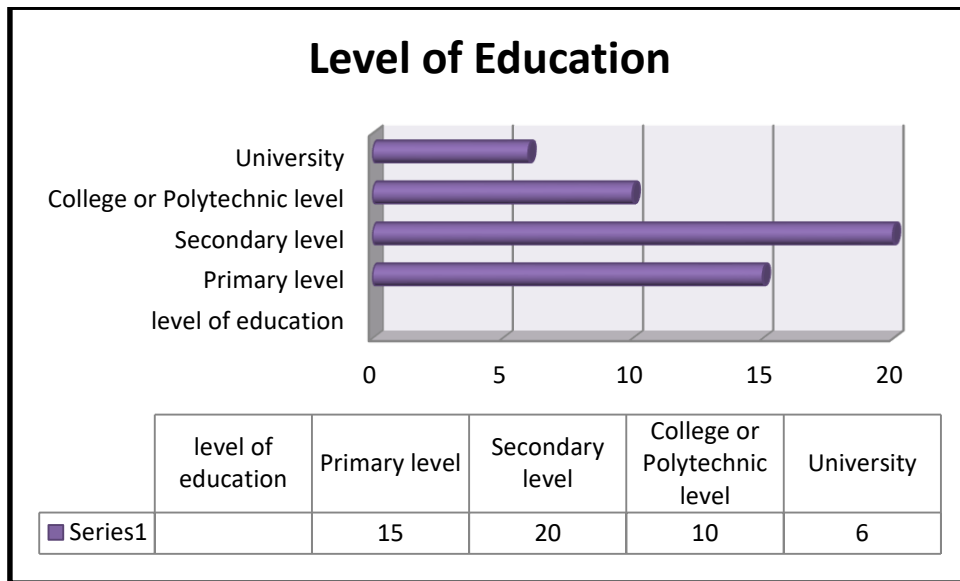
Table 4.1 Response rate of respondents

Family member	Expected number of respondents	Respondents that responded	% of response
Sons	24	20	83
Daughters	18	15	83
Wives	6	4	67
Fathers	7	7	100
Others	5	5	100
Total	60	51	85%

Source: Author construction

In table 4.1 above, overall response rate indicates an 85%, which shows that the researcher made extensive effort to reach out to volunteered respondents. The categories of responses indicates that there are averagely above 50% except for the wives which indicate a 67% of which only 4 wives managed to attend to the schedule interviews. The other 33%, failed to attend as they alluded to issue of privacy and confidentiality.

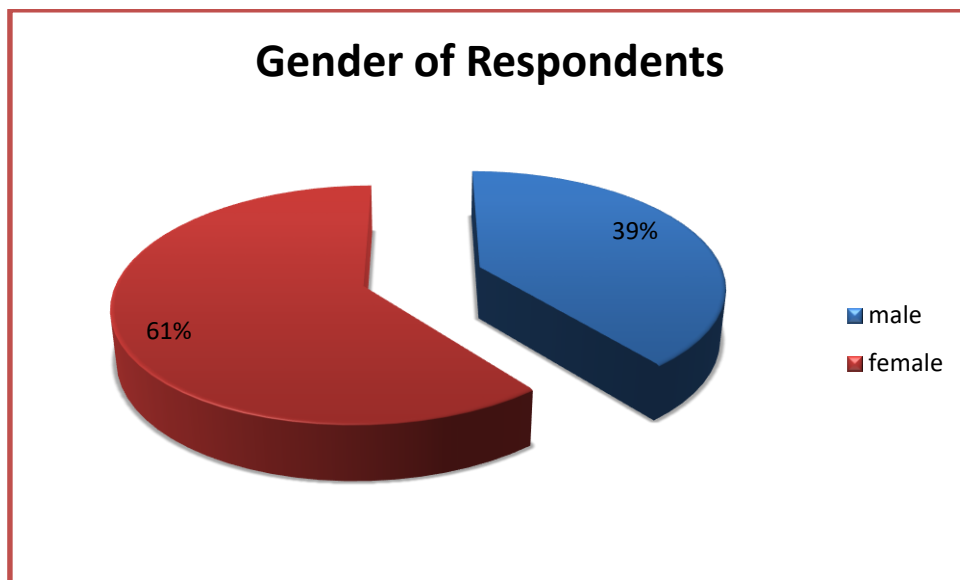
Figure 4.1 level of education of respondents



Source: Author construction

Figure 4.2 shows the level of education of respondents. The highest responders were children in secondary level, who were 20 in number. This was followed by primary levels who contributed 15 in number of respondents. The college and or polytechnic level bot contribute 10 and 6 respectively in number of respondents.

Figure 4.2 Gender of respondents



Source: Author construction

The figure above, 4.3, shows the gender distribution of the respondents of the study. According to Codd (2011), in a social study, results may be balanced when responses are

harnessed from a balance gender lance. In this study female participation was 61% and male participation was 39%.

4.2.2 Relationship of respondent to the Incarcerated felony

Table 4.2 Relationship of respondent to the Incarcerated felony

Family member	Number in the Sample	% in the sample
Sons	24	40
Daughters	18	30
Wives	6	10
Fathers	7	12
Others	5	8

Source: Author construction

Table 4.2 highlights the relationship of the respondent and the incarcerated felony. As alluded, sons make the highest % contributing 24 followed by daughters with 18 respondents which is 30% of the whole sample. The wives, fathers and others were all in the range of 5 to 10 and their % contribution ranged from 8 to 15%. The amassing of sons as the highest contributors entails their sympathy and strong psychological link between them and the incarcerated felony. This is supported by Codd (2011) and Condry (2007) who posits that boys are emotionally stronger than girls and are likely to be frank of their feelings concerning an emotional event in the family.

Table 4.3 Age distribution of the family members

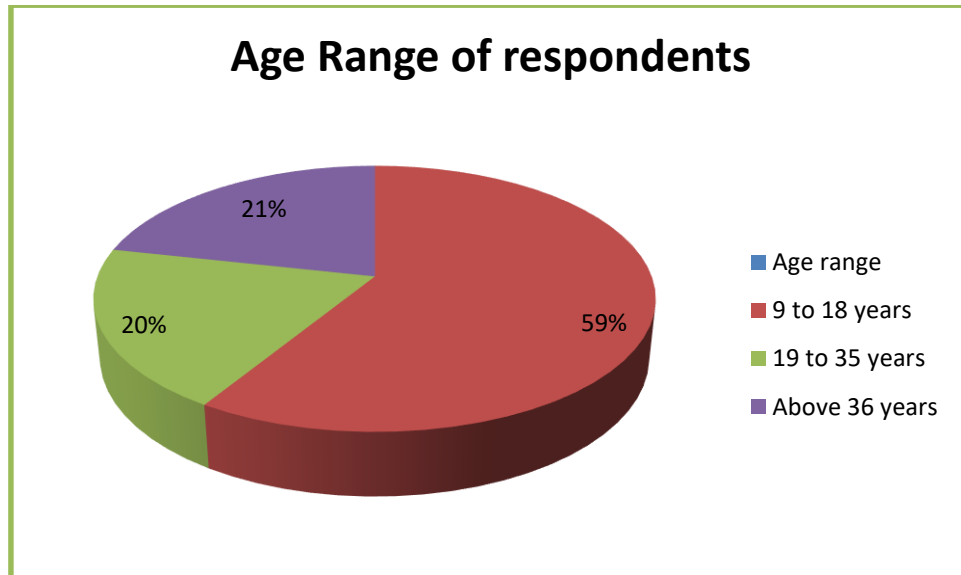
Age range	Number in the Study	%
9 to 18 years	30	50
19 to 35 years	10	17
36 and above	11	18

Source: Author construction

The age distribution above indicates the highest % of 50 falling in the range of 9 to 18 years. This was necessitated by the highest number of boys and girls in the sample. As the study targets the impact of incarceration on children, it is reasonable for the highest number of

respondents to come from this age group. The other age range contributed each 17 and 18 percentile.

Figure 4.3 Ages of Respondents



Source: Author construction

The respondents were distributed in the following age ranges, 9 to 18 years which had 59%, followed by 19 to 35 years which had 20 %, and lastly the oldest age range of above 36 had 21%.

4.3 Data analysis and Presentation

The data from this study found that prisoners’ families commonly experience social and economic difficulties. This mirrors the findings of Arditti (2012), Lösel et al, (2012) and Codd (2011). In particular, the data suggest that these difficulties relate to the maintenance of contact, economic impacts, and challenges related to housing and employment.

4.3.1 What are the barriers faced by children of convicted felonies.

Geographical location

Almost one-third of family members interviewed (17/51) found that the distance to the prison represented a major difficulty due to the long distances travelled, coupled with short visiting times. In this regard geographical location, stood as a major barrier for children to have access to chart with their incarcerated family members. As a result, children failed to have emotionally attaché with their family members.

This dissatisfaction with the amount of face-to-face time during visits (that creates bonding) is also described by Pandukai, Rudo, Kudakwashe and John (sons and daughters) who explains,

“All the time you’re clock-watching, how long you’ve got, and if you’re late and the prison is late ... well that’s less time you’ve got”.

However, not all the participants in the study experienced difficulties with visits. Interestingly, family members who were involved in self-employed or unemployed did not find visits so much of a disruption.

Restrictions of visiting

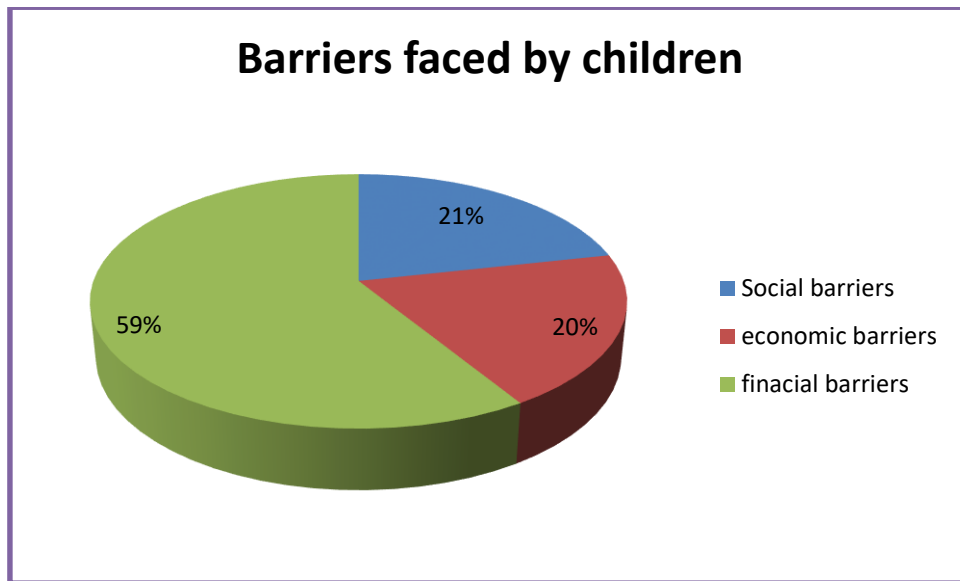
Grimshaw and King’s (2002) study suggests that difficulties with maintaining contact and visits represent some of the most common barriers for families. Whilst these barriers were evident with some of the participants in this study, the findings also show that some participants saw maintaining contact as positive experiences, both for themselves and the offender, and an effective method of mutual support.

A notable example is for Elizabeth and Suzie (mothers) who states respectively:

“He is what keeps me going, there is not much help elsewhere. We give each other strength, visits are so important to me”.

“It sets my mind at ease that he’s OK in a sense, and it’s also giving him that encouragement and the strength to go on, seeing me here to support him”.

Figure 4.4 Socio-economic barriers



Source: Author construction

The figure above showed that much of the respondents face financial barriers either be it during visiting their incarcerated family member or acquiring social life. As agreed by many authors, respondents also faced social and economic barriers such as 21% and 20% respectively. This was an unexpected outcome from the study; whilst much literature looks at visiting from the incarcerated member’s perspective (especially with regard to its effect on possible recidivism (Mills and Codd, 2008; Niven and Stewart; 2005; Shafer, 1994), little is known about the experiences of the families involved (Codd, 2011). This study showed that rather than considering visiting as a moral obligation, there was genuine belief that visits were mutually supportive, as such although visiting is often stressful and difficult these children and relatives felt it benefitted them in some way. Nonetheless, this study reflected the findings of Mills and Codd (2007) regarding the idea that the longer the period of imprisonment the greater the strain in relation to visiting.

Corrections policy

In theory, corrections officials encourage visiting and maintenance of family ties. In practice, however, prison rules to ensure safety and security often impede such visits. As Creasey Finney Hairston notes, “[correctional institutions commonly require children’s custodial parents to escort them on visits, require child visitors to produce birth certificates listing the prisoner as the biological parent, and house prisoners in locations hundreds or thousands of miles from their homes—all policies that create obstacles for healthy parent-child relationships.”¹⁵

Prisons also commonly charge excessive fees for telephone calls to subsidize their operations, so incarcerated parents cannot afford to maintain regular contact with their children.

Child-unfriendly facilities

The prison environment can be frightening and traumatic for children, both in the attitudes and behavior of prison staff and the physical setting. Visits can include long waits; body frisks; rude treatment; and hot, dirty and crowded visiting rooms with no activities for children. These conditions do not encourage frequent visits between incarcerated parents and their children.

Parent-caregiver relationships

One of the most important factors that affect whether and how often a child has contact with an incarcerated parent is the relationship between the parent and the children's current caregiver. For various reasons, a caregiver—be it the other parent or a relative—may have a strained relationship with the incarcerated parent or may have severed all ties with him or her. The caregiver may feel that further contact with the imprisoned parent could harm the child and therefore might prevent or discourage such contact.

Child welfare policy and practice

For reasons that will be discussed more fully in the next section, placement of a child in foster care poses unique barriers to visitation with incarcerated parents. In the context of federal and state policies that discourage reunification when a child has been in foster care for an extended period, caseworkers have little incentive to arrange visits and work to preserve parent-child relationships.

Difficult in maintaining forms of contact

As Mills and Codd (2007) posit, brief visits to a prison, under surveillance, do not present an ideal situation in which to engage in complex familial interactions. Consequently, not every visit goes smoothly, family matters can remain unresolved, and some conversations are left unfinished. Therefore other forms of communication are often fundamental to the prolonged continuation of many family relationships. Mwaimbodei (wife) discusses this issue:

“It’s the phone calls that frustrate me; sometimes I’d almost rather not have them because I don’t choose when that phone call comes, and you feel like you should

always try to be positive, and if that's his only contact with me, then he doesn't want that to be bad."

"It feels a bit false, and it's like we've got two different relationships going on, there's the one in the phone calls and there's the one in the letters, and the one in the letters, you've got time to think what you want to say and to write it down carefully and they've been much more honest on both sides. But it's like two different relationships – and then even a third one because the visits, nearly always either my son or my daughter or both come with me; I've only had one visit on my own, so there's kind of three different relationships going on."

"Having his letters to me where he's saying sorry and that sort of thing – to be able to have those, to re-read those; it has a lot of impact and stays with you much longer than anything else. You know it's been thought out carefully; it's not just saying something on the spur on the moment."

Mwaimbodei, Mwamuka and Joanne, also commented on this restriction of 'waiting for the phone'. The consequences of imprisonment altering a family's domestic, personal, and social worlds (predominantly for the intimate female partners of the prisoner) mirror the concept of 'secondary prisonisation' where the routines, priorities, and social lives of a prisoner's family become disordered as they shape their lives to reflect the procedures within the prison (Comfort, 2008). Participants generally felt that effective, productive communication could be better expressed in letters and emails, and this then had the effect of reducing anxiety during visits.

However, not all the participants found the use of letters a positive experience. Consistent with the findings of Fisherman (2020) these outcomes suggest that the lack of confidentiality (which necessitates guarded comments) coupled with the longer sentences incarcerated members typically receive, can be barriers impacting on partnerships and family relationships.

Financial hardships

Almost 98% of the respondents agreed that the children faced financial turmoil when the family member went to prison. Respondents agreed that food, accommodation for those that were in town, school fees and clothing were the major tributaries of their financial worries. Both primary and secondary students said the following on financial hardships

“It is very difficult to even attend a school even in the rural areas, when the bread winner is thrown into prison, even food and clothes one parent will not be able to face such situations alone”

The wives of the incarcerated members also echoed the same sentiments from the children,

“When he was thrown into prison, I almost committed suicide, as I was nowhere, all we used to do was wait for him to do all things for us, and that he is taken to serve his jail term,,,,, uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuummmmmmm it was really tough for and the children. I had two children attending a boarding school and they had to drop out and come attend the local schools simple because I could not afford the fees letter alone food and accommodation”.

According to Davis (1992), Hairston (2003) and Smith *et al* (2007) agree that financial hardships are the major barriers to family progression after a member is incarcerated, and this has led to family breakdown.

Socialisation and community engagement

Most of the sample either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the questions. This suggests that each different family relationship is affected with varying degrees of gravity. For those family members who live in another area of the country, or not in the same abode, the impact is perhaps far less likely to significantly disrupt their lives. However, the participant’s comments highlight the issues faced by those whose employment prospects or opportunities were affected.

Amy (the mother) commented

“I lost my house and I lost my job in a week”.

Amy was working with children and was no longer able to continue in this field, even though the conviction was not related to her workplace. She explains:

“The children that I was working with were not anything to do with the accusations...I’ve had to change my job. I’m looking at a new career. I moved to an entirely different area of the country.”

Other participants who worked with children reported similar experiences. Mazviita (wife) explained,

“I know I would have [been asked to resign] because the new legislation came out; it’s risk by association, anybody living with somebody that has been incarcerated – I guess it’s because it was connected to children; whilst I’m living with him, I can’t work in the school, and I wouldn’t get a clear DBS”

These findings are consistent with the findings of Levenson and Tewksbury (2009) that suggests disclosure of identity is a barrier to employability experienced by both incarcerated member and their families - ‘by association’. For relatives living in small communities, work with children, or cases exposed to media-coverage the decision about retaining anonymity is taken out of their hands, with a consequent impact on the individual’s employment.

Emotional barrier

Family members suffer emotional trauma following their relatives entering custody, many feel morally obliged to assist the incarcerated member, with the main motivation being decreased recidivism (Farkas and Miller, 2007). John (son) describes how, after his father’s conviction, people in the community treated both his mother and sister differently:

“She was uninvited to weddings, things like that. Certain people were like that, because they’d read the paper, and those people didn’t know my dad years ago. Because this crime happened 32 years ago, before I was born, they were treating mum as if she’d done the crime. My sister lived near my parents, she had to take my nephew out of playgroup (he was four at the time), other parents were whispering in the playground and sort of out casting them, even though it was nothing to do with them. Obviously, we all support my dad, and they don’t like it.”

This can mean that the processes of segregation, classification and exclusion that society imparts upon those surrounding incarcerated members can begin (Thomas, 2008; Levenson and Tewksbury, 2009). It seems that this commitment has a considerably negative impact on the lives of the relative, and this research illustrates how effective support from communities and employers can be in reducing the psychological turmoil for families.

4.3.2 The social, economic and demographic challenges that children of the convicted felonies face upon sentencing, release and post release of their parent.

Social challenges

Social challenges here refer to circumstances or factors that inhibit or interfere with the child connecting to those outside their families, having a sense of belonging to the neighborhood and community, or finding others like themselves. All the children faced social challenges arising from having a parent in prison. However, most also demonstrated their resiliency in navigating the difficult social situations they faced in school and their neighborhoods.

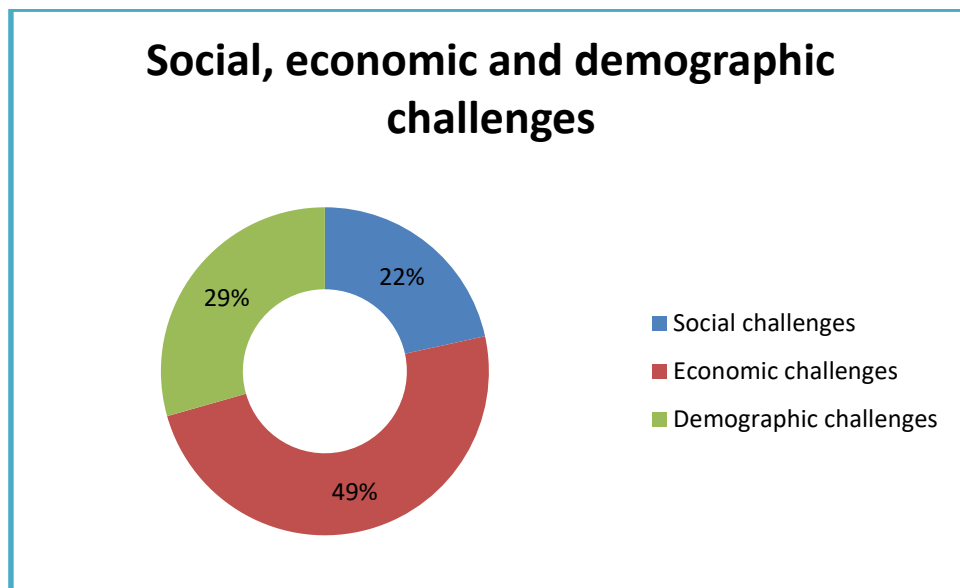
The major social challenges faced by children and family members were poverty, unemployment, unequal opportunity, racism, and malnutrition. Almost 75% of the respondents agreed that poverty was their major social dilemma as they were left baseless as most of the savings were channelled towards court fees and bail leaving the children facing poverty.

About 80% of children commented that:

“When our family went to prison, was the last day we had a proper meal, as from there we, were transferred and shared amongst relatives for our wellbeing. Life changed for the worse, we had to start hustling to meet ends meet at very tender age.”

These results are consistent with the findings by Tewksbury (2009) that children suffer extreme poverty, especially when the family are child headed soon after the incarceration. Also as supported by Farkas and Miller (2007), who posits that children of the incarcerated member suffer racism and face unequal opportunity as they are treated with resentment by the community.

Figure 4.5 Social, economic and demographic challenges faced by children



Source: Author construction

Figure 4.5 above indicates that economic challenges topped the list of the challenges that were faced by children when their family member was incarcerated with 49%. This was followed by demographic challenges, that showed 29% and the least of the challenges was the social challenge with 22%. The children in this study seemed keenly aware of negative assumptions that might be made about them because they had a parent in prison. Far from feeling normal, several children described facing the crossroads of deciding whether to reveal their situation or keep it private. One nine year old took the risk of being open about his dad:

“Well, because you know how kids are? They like, oh where's your dad? We don't hardly see him as often. It's always mom picking you up. And then it starts...then I tell them well, he's in prison. And then they start being smarty pants, and then it turns into a whole conversation, and like, it takes me awhile to get the darn thing out of my head.”

It is not uncommon for children whose parents are incarcerated to demonstrate a strong desire for privacy. In one study, professionals leading a support group for children of incarcerated parents noted that confidentiality was a central desire of the participants and that in casual conversation these children would go out of their way to avoid revealing the nature of their participation in the support group (Weissman & LaRue, 1998). Many of the children in the study indicated that it was important to keep one's family business private. This was a value that was strongly expressed by several of the caregivers and reflected in the children they cared for as well.

Economic challenges

Most members agree that, in a volatile country such as Zimbabwe, it is very difficult to make ends meet in the presents of the two lead family members and then what if the other member is incarcerated?

The wives agreed and commented that:

“Life became very difficult, especially with rise of the cost of living, inflation eroded almost everything I was saving, hence the incarceration of my husband became a block of mountains hipped on me.”

These conclusions by family members and children are consistent with the findings of Hairston (2003) that lives of one headed family are very porous as the incarcerated member would be no longer contributing and when carpooled with turbulent economy, families face unwarranted economic challenges.

Demographic challenges

The principal demographic factors that increase vulnerability to children and family members were poverty, poor health, low levels of education, gender inequality, declining family support, and unfavourable geographic location. Populations with these characteristics also often lack a political voice, putting them at even greater risk.

4.3.3 Psychological trauma suffered by children of convicted felonies during sentencing, release and post release of their parents

Family bonds can be irretrievably damaged by the experience of coping with the impact of the arrest and conviction of a relative, and psychological distress is common, especially given the revulsion that surrounds sexual crime (Arditti, 2012; Codd, 2011; Condry, 2007). This section will examine trauma and stress, the effects of stigma, the impacts of managing resettlement and the stresses that arise from coping and building resilience.

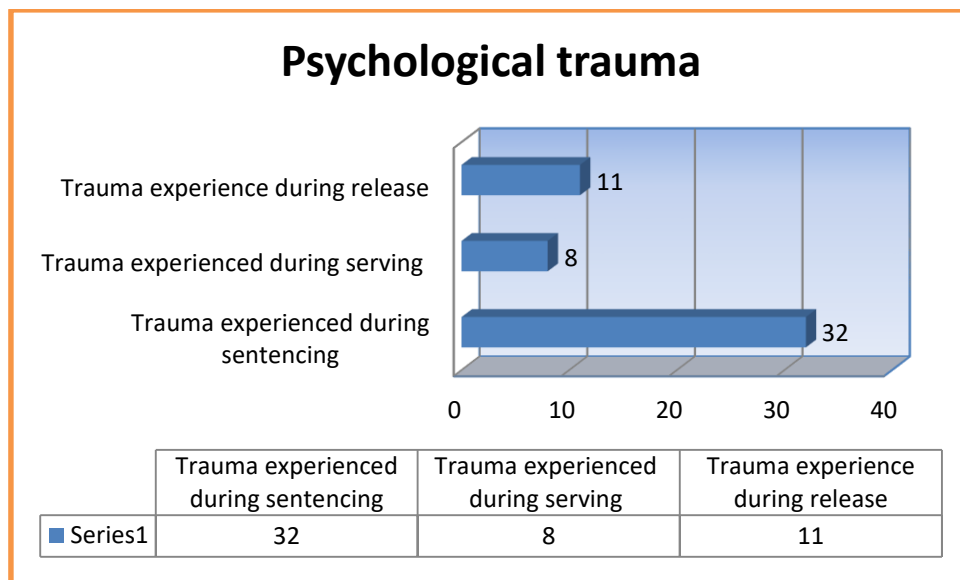
Trauma and stress

Farkas and Miller (2007) identified that it is not uncommon for families of incarcerated felonies to experience heightened stress levels, hopelessness, lethargy, isolation, frustration, and hopelessness. The qualitative data suggest that over half the participants (35/51) agree or strongly agree that their health has been negatively affected. These findings reflect the

outcomes of studies by Shapiro and Shwartz (2001) and Wilderman, et al (2012), which identify an increased risk of debilitating health conditions for prisoners’ families. Almost one-third (17/51) of the participants, however, do not consider that their psychological or physical health has been affected. The length of sentence and nature of the relationship may explain this with the family member (i.e. whether this was a partner, sibling or parent).

A study by Carlson and Cervera (1992) suggests that a shorter sentence length and family members who are less emotionally involved report reduced risk of trauma and stress, with these relatives having a greater ability to cope in these circumstances. Shapiro and Shwartz’s (2001) study suggests that those who choose to remain in touch with their convicted family member can experience initial shock and heightened feelings of anger, frustration that can lead to the onset of depression. This is reflected in the findings from the present study where eighteen (18/51) participants described how they have also struggled with stress, anxiety, depression, worry and sleepless nights as a result of the impacts of the sentence and coming to the prison. Mwaimbodei (partner) and children explains how her partner’s conviction resulted in her suffering from depression, the pressure around court resulted in her not been able to ‘handle life’, and, as a consequence, she attempted suicide

Figure 4.6 Psychological trauma is faced by children



Source: Author construction

Figure 4.6 shows that the highest trauma was experienced during sentencing by children of their family member by giving 32 respondents. The least was during serving with 8 responses

whereas the mean was psychological trauma was experienced during release time. This clearly shows the effect that trauma and stress can have on an individual's well-being. Psychological problems, however, represent only part of the impact on health. Seven (7/51) of the participants described how the sentence has also affected their physical health. Most of the grown up children in the study eluded that:

“Health has deteriorated. I mean I’ve had three heart attacks; I’ve got angina and a leaking valve in my heart. I think these health conditions are the result of stress.”

These statements clearly show how the relatives' health is affected, and reflect the theory of 'ambiguous loss' described by Boss (1999), where feelings of uncertainty and trepidation arise.

As Christian (2005) and Loucks (2004) suggest, the sudden change in a family's situation is a major source of anxiety. The majority of the participants (45/51) expressed these sentiments as being a particularly traumatic, emotional and stressful period for them. Similar themes were described as being feelings of loss and bereavement, shock and a sense of frustration and displeasure with the criminal justice system. Clearly then, the passing down of a sentence is often a highly distressing life-event. Mwakura (wife) explains how the initial separation affected her and the children:

“I have been married for 50 years, it’s an extreme sense of loss and I am constantly worried sick about him, you’re on your own; you’re upset all the time, and you can’t just ring in and ask how he is or anything, just awful”

“...the fact that he was sentenced was a complete and utter shock, I had no family or friends supporting me, no concept of the process or where my husband would be taken and was simply left to go home. It felt like my world had ended, I was subsequently informed that he attempted suicide whilst in the court cells.”

Sudnow (1967) and Condry (2007) both compare incarceration to bereavement (due to the sense of loss at this point) and posit that these feelings are particularly acute at the point at which their family member was sentenced. Penny (2002) acknowledged that, for those unaccustomed to the procedures of the criminal justice system, concise information is vital (especially concerning the whereabouts of the prison) and was clearly a major concern for family and children members. Moreover, the interviews suggest that conviction is a difficult period and practical problems are evident. The lack of information and support available to family members at this time is a key issue for many families and increases the intensity of their

trauma substantially. This study has identified that nothing has really changed in the ensuing years.

“The trauma that caused my children is not quantifiable and I just think it’s indicative of how the prison views visitors and how they view people coming into the prison.”

“This has affected all of my children. I would say they’ve all been traumatised in one way or another by what’s happened. The middle one was just in pieces from when my husband went away. The middle one is withdrawn and does not say much, where the little one – I mean it’s really sad, I don’t think she remembers my husband being at home and the relationship that she has with him has been damaged.”

“My son went to counselling, and I think that did him good; the case is complicated because the conviction is partly to do with my husband looking for young men online, and my son is gay, and so there was all sorts of feelings and complications around that, but you don’t know what permanent damage has been done.”

Roberts et al (2012); Comfort (2009); Braman (2007) and Christian (2005) all identified that troubling psychological and developmental problems amongst children are common when a parent is incarcerated, whilst Shaw (1987) and Christensen (2005) recognised that for children and adolescents the first days and weeks after arrest are the worst. Some general themes emerged throughout this research. Wolleswinkel (2002) and Roberts et al (2012) stress that specialist support is essential for children from the point of arrest. This research mirrors these opinions.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter look at the demographics of the respondents as well as the data analysis and data presentation. Discussion of findings was also included together in the data presentation with chapter literature supporting the finds thereon.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the summary, findings to the three major research objectives of the study concerning the challenges faced by children of incarcerated felonies in Mashonaland central, Zimbabwe. The chapter also looks at the conclusions reached and the recommendations proposed after the analysis of the data gathered.

5.2 Summary

This study was sort to the impact of incarceration on the children of the convicted felonies: A case study of Chawagona prison inmates in Mashonaland central Province. To fully understand and explore this topic under study, three major objectives were established which are: To explore and determine the barriers faced by children of convicted felonies and what support they desire; To investigate the social, economic and demographic challenges that children of the convicted felonies face upon sentencing, release and post release of their parent; To investigate the psychological trauma suffered by children of convicted felonies during sentencing, release and post release of their parents.

In understanding the these objectives, literature review was conducted under guiding theoretical views such as biological, psychological, and sociological to bring into perspectives the understanding of the objectives of the study. Empirical literature was also sort of to understand the existing literature in order to understand the gap in literature under which this study is to contribute to the same. Methodology was carried out using the descriptive research design under the qualitative approach. This gave rise to the purposive and judgemental sampling method. Data analysis was carried out using thematic presentation.

In presenting the data gathered through face to face interviews, thematic presentation was used under which direct quotations were included so as to capture the theme being contributed by the respondents. The last chapter looked at the findings from the study, conclusions and recommendations.

5.3 Findings

These represent that which was established while this study was being analysed and presented.

5.3.1 Objective 1: It was found out that geographical location, restrictions of visitation, corrections policy, child-unfriendly policies, parent caregiver relationships, maintenance of forms of contact, emotional attachment and financial hardships were the barriers faced by children in their day to day after incarceration.

5.3.2 Objective 2: It was found out that segregation, unequal opportunity, name tagging, high cost of living, poor health, low levels of education and declining family support were the among the social, economic, and demographic challenges faced by children of incarcerated felonies.

5.3.3 Objective 3: It was found out that children experienced heightened stress levels, hopelessness, lethargy, isolation, frustration, debilitating health conditions, and high levels of anxiety were the psychological trauma faced by children of the incarcerated felonies, before, during and after sentencing.

5.4 Conclusions

The conclusions reached after the analysis of the obtained data wer as follows:

5.4.1 It was concluded that to help children of the incarcerated member, to eradicated barriers, incarcerated members must be jailed closer to their area of residence such that visitation restrictions would be eradicated.

5.4.2 It was also concluded that, children of the incarcerated member should receive enough financial support from NGOs and the correctional services so as to eradicate the social, economic and demographic challenges facing these children.

5.4.3 It is concluded that counselling facilities need to be ushered to children of the convicted felonies. This would help the children to cope up events before, during and after sentencing of their family member.

5.5 Recommendations

5.5.1 The government through the correctional services provincial office should establish a branch that investigates in the lives of the children after incarceration as to establish barriers to life that would bedevilling these children.

5.5.2 Both the correctional services and NGOs must come together to harness resources so as to financial support the children left behind after incarceration of their family member. This is to reduce child headed families.

5.5.3 Caregiver and foster homes together with counselling facilities should also be set up in areas closer to where the family member would have been jailed so as to facilitate counselling services to children in front of their incarcerated family members. This process would develop reconciliation and psychological healing process between the child and the family member. The correctional services of Zimbabwe should continuously develop child-friendly policies that allow children to free visit and be given full access to their incarcerated family members.

5.6 Chapter summary

The chapter looked at summary of the study, the conclusions, recommendations and findings. Of major importance was the recommendation to the correctional services to continuously review policies related to children and family members of incarcerated members.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide Research Instrument: B1851804

Interview guide

Questions asked to Interviewees

1. What are the barriers faced by children of convicted felonies

- a. Psychological barriers
 - b. Emotional barriers
 - c. Economic barriers
2. What social, economic and demographic challenges faced by children of the convicted felonies from sentencing, release and post release of their parents
 - a. During sentencing, what do children face?
 - b. During serving, what do children face?
 - c. During release, what do children face?
 - d. During post release, what do children face?
3. What psychological trauma is faced by children of convicted felonies during sentencing, release and post release of their parents?
 - a. Trauma faced by children during sentencing
 - b. Trauma faced by children during serving
 - c. Trauma faced by children during post release

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire for Mashonaland Central Province ZPCS incarcerated felonies' children

Dear Respondent

May you kindly assist by responding to the best of your knowledge to the questions attached here-under? The information will be treated as confidential and will be used for academic purposes only.

Instructions

1. Please do not write your name on the questionnaire.
2. Please show response by ticking the respective answer box.

Questions

Personal questions

1. Age of respondent

Age range	
9 to 18 years	
18 to 25 years	
Above 25 years	

2. Level of education of respondent

Level of education	
Primary	
Secondary	
College or polytechnic	
University	

3. Gender of respondent

Male	
Female	

4. What are the barriers faced by children of convicted felonies

Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

i) As children do you face social barriers when a family member is incarcerated.					
ii) When a family member is incarcerated do you face financial barriers					
iii) The incarceration process in Zimbabwe does not allow felonies to work for their children					

5. What social, economic and demographic challenges faced by children of the convicted felonies from sentencing, release and post release of their parents

Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
i) The society after a family member is incarcerated often side-lines the children					
ii) Schools even grocery vendors would not open their doors to give help to children of incarcerated member					
iii) Establishing relationships becomes difficult especially for children of incarcerated members of the society.					

6. What psychological trauma is faced by children of convicted felonies during sentencing, release and post release of their parents?

Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
i)When a family member is incarcerated, even during sentencing, children experience depression					
ii)During serving by an incarcerated member, children experience emotional stress					
iii)During release of their family member from prison, children experience outcast by their fellows					