



WHY CHILDREN ACCOMPANY MOTHERS INTO PRISON

An insight into factors influencing this decision in Cambodia

MARCH 2019

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ACRONYMS

JJLSOP	Juvenile Justic Law Strategic and Operational Plan
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoSVY	Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
TLC	This Life Cambodia

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



BACKGROUND

This research aims to provide insight into the causes underlying a mother's decision to have her child/ren accompany her to prison. In Cambodia, children can accompany their mother to prison up until the age of three, but decisions on whether they do so are often made in an ad hoc manner with little regard to the developmental needs of the child. Often, women do not receive adequate advice about the options they have for their child's care, or there are other external or personal factors influencing their decision. By uncovering some of these factors and considering alternative options for care or sentencing, women in conflict with the law can be better supported to make informed decisions that are in the best interests of their child.

METHODOLOGY

36 women at Siem Reap prison were involved in this research – 19 had children living outside of prison and 17 had children in prison with them. For this research we chose females incarcerated in Siem Reap prison who:

- were 18 years of age or older;
- had children (either in prison or outside prison);
- were in pre-trial detention or serving a sentence; and
- were willing to participate in the research.

Data was collected through two quantitative surveys for each group (Group A: women with her child/ren in prison and Group B: women without her child/ren in prison). Qualitative interviews were conducted with four women in this group to complement the core data. The interviews aimed to provide a deeper insight into women's family circumstances and experiences.

KEY FINDINGS

- **Community/external factors** that can influence women's decision-making around whether their child should accompany them to prison or not include:
 - access to legal advice;
 - social norms, including community perceptions around imprisonment;
 - access to a trusted support network that can provide alternative care options; and
 - the belief that a child may have more opportunities if they do not stay in prison, an example being access to education.
- **Personal/family factors** that can influence women's decision-making around whether their child should accompany them to prison or not include:
 - whether a woman was pregnant at the time;
 - the age of the child;
 - the presence or absence of family or other support structures to assist with looking after the child;
 - a lack of financial resources; and
 - the belief that the mother could provide better care for their child even if they were in prison.



KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Non-custodial sentencing options should be pursued where possible, particularly if the offence committed is not of a violent or otherwise serious nature. By providing alternatives to custodial sentencing, the best interests of the child can be met. The Tokyo Rules and the JJLSOP provide examples of diversionary measures that could be adapted to this context.
- Where a custodial sentence is needed, women should receive accurate and timely information about childcare options and the opportunity to discuss these options with trusted support networks. An in-depth assessment should be undertaken to determine the benefits of a child accompanying their mother to prison. Where it is appropriate for them to do so, tailored support needs to be provided to ensure the developmental needs of the child are being met in the prison environment.
- Community outreach programs may assist to reduce the stigma of imprisonment, increase community understanding of the underlying factors that lead to imprisonment, and create a support network outside of prison that can assist during the sentence as well as after.
- Law enforcement staff need further training to understand the specific needs of children accompanying their mothers to prison. In the sentencing phase, judges need to actively consider a woman's family circumstances and the benefits of a non-custodial sentence as a result.
- Advocacy initiatives for women with children both in and outside of prison remain important to their potential release and in improving standards and norms. The latter is especially the case around adequate in-house facilities, visitation rights, and authorities' understanding of what is in the best interests of the child.
- There is room for increased NGO support in this space. While a number of women did receive some support from an NGO, there has been a reduction in this support at the time of publishing this report. Increased partnerships and further collaboration could provide more consistent, targeted and effective outreach to those who most need it. This could be in the form of advice at the time of arrest; case management, including maintaining the mother-child relationship and broader family contact through regular visits; the provision of child-friendly spaces in prison; and post release support including income generation support and supporting children to access and stay in education (providing books, bicycles, uniforms, and school fees).

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

In Cambodia, children can accompany their mother in prison until the age of three. Processes for this to occur vary across the nation's correctional system and are often reliant upon the discretion of the Prison Director. Conditions for children within the prison are poor, with a lack of appropriate nutrition, health care and stimulation. Often, children will stay beyond the age of three due to a lack of planning and options for the child's care while the mother is in prison. According to government regulations, imprisonment of a parent is an allowable reason for placing children into institutional care (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child 2010). They state that the provincial department of Social Affairs should be in direct contact with the prison authorities in order to withdraw any baby over six months of age.

During sentencing, judges are required to consider the personal circumstances of a suspect before ordering pre-trial detention. This includes if the suspect is pregnant or has young children. The pervasive use of pre-trial detention means that when mothers are unable or unwilling to have their children accompany them in prison, thousands of children are unnecessarily removed from their mothers. Cambodia's Code of Criminal Procedure states that pretrial detention should only be ordered exceptionally and only in cases of a felony or a misdemeanour involving punishment of one year or more¹. Ministry of Justice guidelines categorically state that investigating judges should always ask for all the relevant information about the charged person before deciding whether or not to order pre-trial detention. The guidelines are also clear that if a woman is pregnant, or if she has children and there are no suitable alternative care arrangements, pretrial detention should not be imposed unless absolutely necessary.

At a meeting of the National Council of Cambodia for Women on 18 February 2019, Prime Minister Hun Sen noted the need to speed up trial procedures, reduce sentences, and consider suspended sentencing for female prisoners who are single mothers. According to a Ministry of Interior spokesperson for the General Prison Department, there are currently around 170 mothers with children and 51 who are pregnant in Cambodia's prisons (Savi 2019). Prime Minister Hun Sen also announced the establishment of a legal aid team comprised of voluntary lawyers who would help to defend women who could not afford legal representation (Kimmarita 2019).

According to a Ministry of Interior spokesperson for the General Prison Department, there are currently around **170 mothers with children** and **51 who are pregnant in Cambodia's prisons** (Savi 2019).

¹ According to article 205 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, pre-trial detention should only be ordered when necessary to stop the offense or prevent the offense from happening again; prevent any harassment of witnesses or victims or prevent any collusion between the charged person and accomplices; preserve evidence or exhibits; guarantee the presence of the charged person during the proceedings against him; protect the security of the charged person, or to preserve public order from any trouble caused by the offense.



THIS LIFE IN FAMILY (TLIF)

TLIF is a program run by This Life Cambodia (TLC) and it is dedicated to supporting vulnerable families at risk of separation due to a parent or primary caregiver coming into conflict with the law. The program supports families from the Siem Reap province and currently operates in the Siem Reap Provincial Prison. In Cambodia, social protection measures for children with a parent in prison are limited. The resulting family instability can lead to children dropping out of school due to financial pressures, the separation of siblings, and children being placed in institutional care. TLC aims to work collaboratively with the Cambodian government to fill these gaps.

TLIF has two projects:

- **Family Support:** provides tangible assistance to families with a parent or other primary caregiver in prison. The goal is to reduce emotional and financial stress and ensure that families stay connected. Taking a case management approach, the Family Support officer assesses the family's immediate needs and based on that can offer a range of services and solutions. The criteria for the Family Support project includes that the family must have children who are of school age (up to grade 12), have a minimum prison sentence of one year up to a maximum of 3 years, and that they live in the target communities in Siem Reap.

- **Family Preservation:** aims to intervene at the moment a family member comes into conflict with the law. This ensures that rights are upheld and respected, referrals are provided for legal representation and extended family members or community based care options are identified for minor children. As with the Family Support project, the goal is to assist vulnerable families through a very stressful time. The aim is to keep families together and keep children out of institutional care wherever possible. The selection criteria focuses on a parent or juvenile coming into conflict with the law (priority is given for mothers and juveniles) who are from poor and vulnerable families living within the target areas in Siem Reap Province.

Inconsistencies and a lack of application of available sentencing options and support at arrest for families in conflict with the law means that children often suffer significantly when their mother is imprisoned – whether they accompany them or not. This report aims to better understand the factors which impact upon child care decisions when mothers are arrested. While TLIF addresses a number of recommendations made in this report, gaps in other areas outside of the program continue to exist. Coverage that is targeted specifically to women with children living inside and outside of prison also needs to be increased. This will improve support systems and processes in place across the judicial and correctional systems in Cambodia, and will better support mothers in conflict with the law and their children.

OBJECTIVES

This research aims to provide insight into the underlying causes which impact a mother's decision to have her child/ren accompany her to prison.

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORKS

In Cambodia, the 2011 Prison law reduced the maximum age of a child allowed to accompany their mother to prison from the age of six to three years old. Article 41 notes that "children accompanying their mother shall be authorised to stay with their mother in prison until the age of three years and shall be provided with food, clothing and health care" (2011: 8). Similarly, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) states that children have the right to know their parents and where possible, to be cared for by them.

The United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Women Prisoners and Non-custodial Measures for Women Offenders (the Bangkok Rules) provides international standards that address the specific needs of women in prison and their children where relevant. For example, the rules state that the prison regime needs to be flexible to the needs of pregnant women, nursing women and women with children in prison. Childcare facilities or other arrangements need to be provided so that women can fully participate in activities (UN General Assembly 2010). These facilities should include access to adequate health and educational facilities (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child 2011). Where a child cannot accompany their mother to prison, special provisions should exist in the pre-admission stage for alternative childcare to be organised (Penal Reform International 2013).

However, the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO) argues that "the Cambodian prison system is simply incapable of providing for most of a child's basic needs, including education, family life, proper nutrition and medical care" (2013: 2). In September 2013, LICADHO identified four Cambodian prisons that provided basic on-site facilities for children and all were run by NGOs. At the time this report was written, LICADHO was monitoring 18 out of 28 prisons in Cambodia. Of these, CC2 in Phnom Penh has a daycare, Siem Reap prison has a playroom with toys for children, and Battambang prison has a small space separate to the cells for children and their mothers to sit in together.

The Bangkok Rules also require the basic data of children both accompanying and not accompanying their mothers into prison to be recorded. This ensures that families are kept up to date with any important developments in sentencing and assists with preparations for a mother's return to home after

she is released. However in practice, many prison procedures do not require the recording of such data, which means that basic information is lacking (LICADHO 2015b).

Similarly, there is no standard policy for when and how a child will accompany their mother into prison. Decisions made are ad hoc and influenced by a range of factors including location, other adults present at the time of arrest, the identity of arresting authorities and the policy of individual prisons. These factors can override the mother's decision and the best interests of the child. Many women are not asked about their family situation when pretrial detention is ordered, or during their trial and sentencing. Children are sometimes left by themselves, with strangers or adults they don't know well, or there is an assumption that older siblings will care for them (LICADHO 2015b). There have also been cases of children staying in prison after they have turned three, although they have been removed eventually (LICADHO 2015a and 2015b).

THE IMPACTS OF A MOTHER'S IMPRISONMENT ON CHILDREN

"Whilst there have been few detailed studies assessing the long-term impact of prison life on a child's development, it is clear that for some children early life behind bars can have devastating physical and psychological consequences and life in Cambodian prisons is no exception" (LICADHO (2015a: 1).

In a study of the Pakistani context, Javeed (2011) noted the specific needs of children in the various developmental stages and the importance of meeting these needs if they are to develop healthy behaviours, attitudes and values as adults. To meet these developmental needs, Javeed identified better basic services, child friendly spaces where children could play away from other inmates, the training of staff members to be sensitive to the needs of children in prison with their mothers, and an increase in NGO support. She also noted the importance of reintegrating children into society as many would be unable to readjust to regular life post-release. LICADHO (2013) also argues that severe isolation from the rest of the world and inadequate facilities lead to developmental problems in many children who do accompany their mothers to prison. As a result, post-release integration into society is a major challenge.



Similarly, Beresford (2018) identified five emerging themes from her research into children with mothers in prison in the UK that are applicable in a broader context:

1. children are often invisible within a system that should support and protect them;
2. all aspects of their life are disrupted;
3. they feel stigmatised as a result;
4. they face numerous barriers to support; but
5. with the right support, they can develop resilience.

In the Cambodian context, LICADHO's (2015b) research found the following negative impacts faced by children with a mother in prison:

- loss of the mother-child relationship due to the prohibitive costs of visiting prison and the lack of communication between them as a result;
- the disruption of the child's day to day life since the mother is usually the primary caregiver;
- the child's education suffering because they may have to work to support the family;
- the separation of siblings because one child may be in prison, or they may be placed with different primary caregivers; and
- children experiencing shame and stigma because their mother is in prison.

LICADHO conducted an in-depth case study about a boy named Dara who accompanied his mother to prison a few days after his birth. Dara's experience in prison, coupled with physical abuse by his mother and drug use during her pregnancy, led to potential impacts on his "emotional memory, development and levels of excitement and fear" (LICADHO 2015a: 11). Furthermore, authorities did not intervene when he was being physically abused by his mother. The study also found that a lack of contact with the outside world, including the opportunity to form meaningful and secure bonds with family members and other children, may have led to his developing a general mistrust of those around him.

Another case study by LICADHO (2013) examined the experience of Sokun, who also accompanied his mother to prison shortly after his birth. 10 months after turning three, Sokun was eventually moved to a children's home. He displayed aggressive behaviours, including fighting, stealing and sexualised behaviour, and referred to prison as "the cage". He was also found to have nightmares and flashbacks about a traumatic experience in which he saw the aftermath of a prisoner's suicide. However, Sokun was able to develop and maintain a positive bond with his mother due to his remaining with her in the early years of his life, but it is unclear what the long-term psychological effects of prison on his wellbeing will ultimately be. With support from the children's home, LICADHO notes that Sokun may be able to overcome many of the challenges he has faced.

ALTERNATIVE SENTENCING: NON-CUSTODIAL APPROACHES

The Bangkok Rules note the following:

“When sentencing or deciding on pre-trial measures for a pregnant woman or a child’s sole or primary caretaker, non-custodial measures should be preferred where possible and appropriate with custodial sentences being considered when the offence is serious or violent” (2010: 4).

“By keeping women out of prison, where imprisonment is not necessary or justified, their children may be saved from the enduring adverse effects of their mothers’ imprisonment, including their possible institutionalization and own future incarceration” (Commentary to Rules 2010: 43).

LICADHO (2015b) argues that alternative sentencing options can significantly improve the lives of children who would otherwise accompany their mother to prison and where possible, non-custodial sentencing should be encouraged. Cambodian law allows for non-custodial sentencing measures (Legal Aid of Cambodia n.d.) however, while significant efforts have been put into developing guidelines for implementing these, they are rarely used in practice (LICADHO 2015b).

Judges are also meant to consider the personal circumstances of a suspect, including whether a woman is pregnant or has a child, before deciding on a pre-trial sentence. Despite this, the system has tended to focus on pre and post-trial incarceration (LICADHO 2015b). The UN Special Rapporteur recommended the need to increase non-custodial sentencing options where appropriate including the use of pretrial detention forms by judges to help them determine whether detention was an appropriate option (UN Human Rights Council 2019).

The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures (the Tokyo Rules), provides a framework for non-custodial sentencing options (see Figure 1).

- Verbal sanctions - including reprimands and warnings;
- Conditional discharge;
- Status penalties;
- Economic sanctions and monetary penalties;
- Confiscation or an expropriation order;
- Restitution to the victim or a compensation order;
- Suspended or deferred sentence;
- Probation and judicial supervision;
- Community service order;
- Referral to an attendance centre;
- House arrest;
- Other kinds of non-institutional treatment; and
- A combination of the above measures.

Figure 1. Non-custodial sentencing options
(adapted from the Tokyo Rules 1990: 3-4).

However, special consideration needs to be given to the position of women in their community to ensure the non-custodial sentence is appropriate to their circumstance. For example, women with children have child-rearing responsibilities that need to be taken into account. Similarly, women tend to be poorer than men, so monetary sanctions need to take into account their ability to pay, and where they can’t, that they are not inadvertently sent to prison as a result (UNODC 2007).

In addition to the Tokyo Rules, in December 2018, the Juvenile Justice Law Strategic and Operational Plan (JJLSOP) was launched within the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation (MoSVY) with the support of UNICEF. The JJLSOP is a three year plan that aims to develop a sustainable modern juvenile justice system that focuses on diversionary measures rather than punitive ones (MoJ and MoSVY 2018). As such, a precedent exists in the Cambodian system that could be expanded to women with children.

Where a custodial sentence is required, a holistic and ongoing assessment is needed to determine whether it is beneficial for the child to accompany their mother to prison (LICADHO 2015b). There may be benefits for the child to remain with their mother in prison but these need to be assessed in light of a number of factors including the “child’s age, sex, maturity, health, relationship with the mother and the existence of appropriate alternatives outside prison as well as the likely impact of prison life on the child’s health and development” (LICADHO 2015a: 2). Women who are pregnant at the time of arrest often have no alternative.

METHODOLOGY



RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions to be answered by this report are:

1. What community/external factors led to the mother's decision for her child/ren to accompany or not accompany her to prison?
2. What family/personal factors led to the mother's decision for her child/ren to accompany or not accompany her to prison?
3. Is there a preferred alternative care option for mothers in prison that could be supported?

RESEARCH DESIGN

This report used mixed methods to answer the research questions. The core data was collected through two quantitative surveys that incorporated some additional free text sections. Data around the women's age, offence committed, time spent in prison and sentence duration were provided by prison officials. Additionally, qualitative interviews were conducted with four women to complement this core data by providing a deeper insight into women's family circumstances, experiences in prison, and plans for the future. The case studies cover two examples from each situation and pseudonyms have been used to protect participant identities and confidentiality.

Both instruments were developed by TLC program staff and TLC's Executive Director. See Appendices 1 and 2 for the survey template and Appendix 3 for the interview questions. Data on women's age, nationality, offence committed, sentence duration, and time spent in prison were provided by prison officials (see Appendix 4).

SAMPLE

Women at the Siem Reap prison were identified to participate in this research. Siem Reap prison was chosen because of its existing relationship with TLC and the knowledge that children were living there with their mothers. At the time this research was conducted, Siem Reap prison held approximately 180 women prisoners over the age of 18.

To ensure a representative sample size, TLC aimed to survey between 40 and 80 women who met certain criteria. However, final survey size was dependent upon the number of female prisoners who met the criteria and were willing to participate in the study. The prison identified potential participants for the research and provided basic data on each to streamline the data collection process.

Participation criteria included females incarcerated in Siem Reap prison who:

- were 18 years of age or older;
- had children (either in prison or outside prison);
- were in pre-trial detention or serving a sentence; and
- were willing to participate in the research.

36 women were surveyed in total, of which 19 had children living outside of prison and 17 had children living with them in prison; these are referred to as Group A and Group B respectively. The nationality of all women in Group A was Cambodian and the nationality of the 17 women in Group B was 12 Cambodian, four Vietnamese and one Thai. The age range of women who participated was 19-59 years old.

DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected by TLC program staff at the Siem Reap prison with all materials translated into Khmer. The Vietnamese women in prison could speak Khmer while the Thai woman could speak a combination of Khmer and English. As such, Khmer was used for the Vietnamese women while both English and Khmer were used for the Thai woman when conducting the survey.

Participants were split into two groups - women with children living in prison and women with children living outside prison. Surveys were given to both groups to complete with program staff reading out each of the questions to ensure all participants understood what was being asked of them. Additional assistance was also provided for those participants who could not read and write. Free, prior and informed consent was obtained prior to any data being collected.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data collected was translated into English and input into an Excel database. The data was reviewed against the original handwritten notes to ensure accuracy of translation and data inputting. The two groups of data from the 19 women with their children living outside prison (Group A) and the 17 women with their children living inside prison (Group B) were initially compared to look for commonalities and differences. The data was then extracted from the Excel database and each data set reviewed and compared question by question. The data from questions was grouped into subsections to provide a comparative analysis of findings where possible.

LIMITATIONS

The sample size of 36 women was slightly below the initial minimum target of 40. This was because participants were identified by the prison authorities and only those that met the criteria and were willing to participate were interviewed. Prison guards were requested to wait outside the meeting hall during the surveys and interviews. This was to ensure that they did not inadvertently influence participant responses. However, they did occasionally have to enter the room for operational requirements, such as fixing equipment.

Finally, due to the study being limited to women in Siem Reap prison, women with children outside of prison had children that were not under the age of three at the time of arrest. This meant their children were ineligible to accompany them to prison. As such, the factors identified by this group are meant to provide a broad indication of what women in this situation may perceive to be key influencers in the decision-making process. Further research using a sample of women with children under the age of three living outside of prison would be needed to fully capture the reasons a woman with the option to have her child/ren accompany her to prison would choose to do otherwise. However, this research provides a good starting point and strong foundation for further complementary work.

RESULTS

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Of the 36 women surveyed in Siem Reap prison, the majority reported:

- Low levels of education, with the majority having either received no education or not completing primary school (Figure 2);
- Being separated from their partners;
- Being employed for wages and earning less than \$30 USD a week (Table 1 provides a breakdown);
- Living in rented accommodation prior to their arrest (Figure 3); and
- That their total earnings were not enough to support their family.

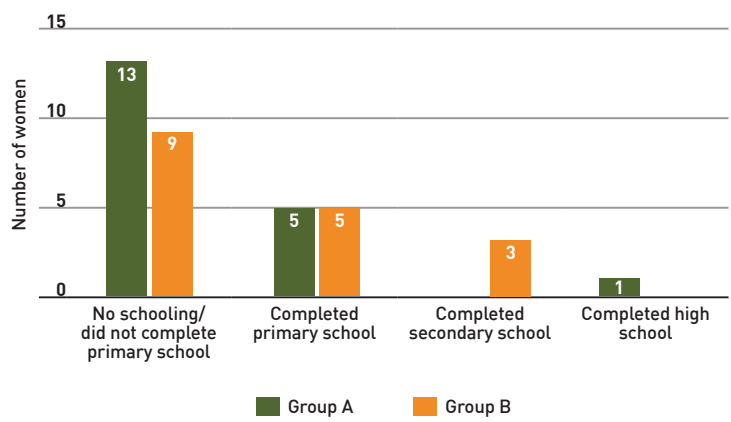


Figure 2. Level of education

Average weekly income (USD)	Group A (children living outside prison)	Group B (children living inside prison)
\$10	7	2
\$10 - \$30	6	12
\$30 - \$50	1	1
\$50 - \$70	1	0
\$70 - \$90	1	0
→\$100	3	2
TOTAL	19	17

Table 1: Average weekly income reported

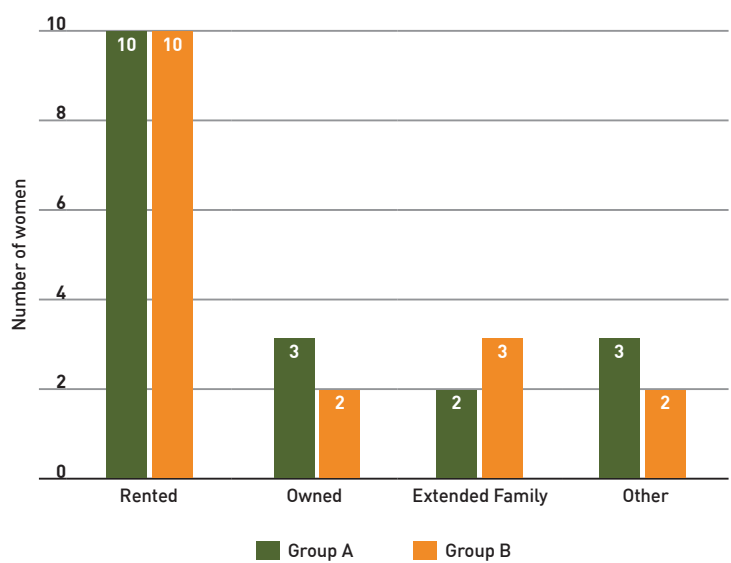


Figure 3. Accommodation before prison

DETAILS OF THEIR ARREST

Most of the women were arrested for drug related offences with the remainder arrested for theft or murder (Figure 4). For the majority of women, this was their first time in prison; four had been to prison once before and one had been to prison twice before.

Figure 5 shows the time spent in prison by women at the time of the survey and Figure 6 shows the sentence length they received. A number of women had yet to receive a sentence, but had still spent time in prison.

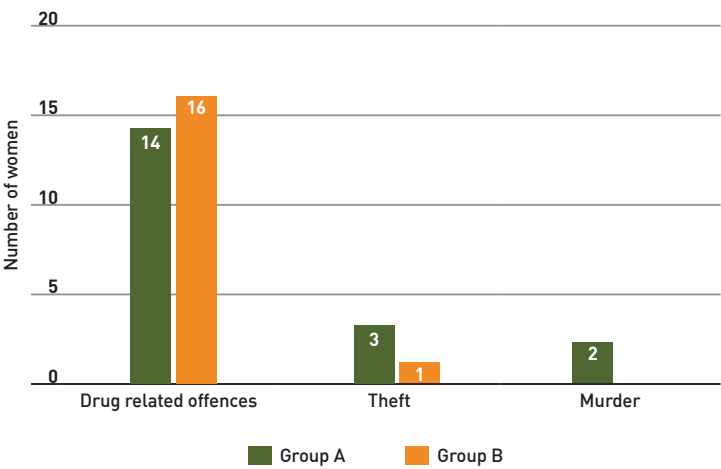


Figure 4. Current offence

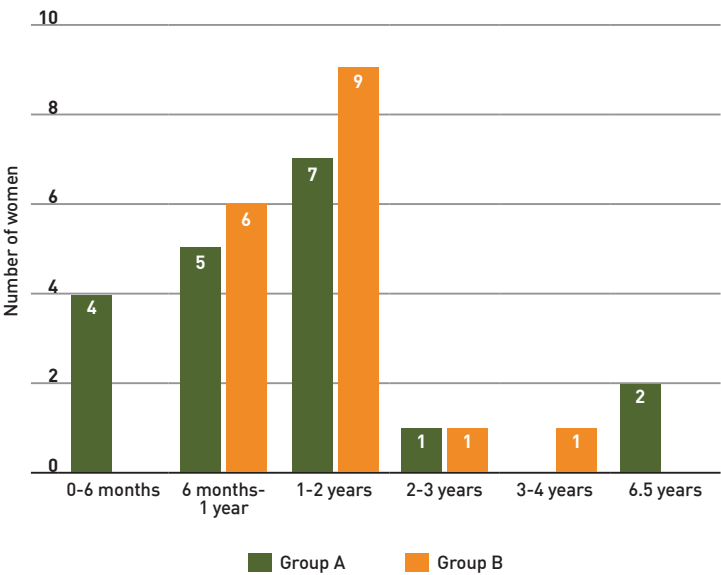


Figure 5. Duration in prison

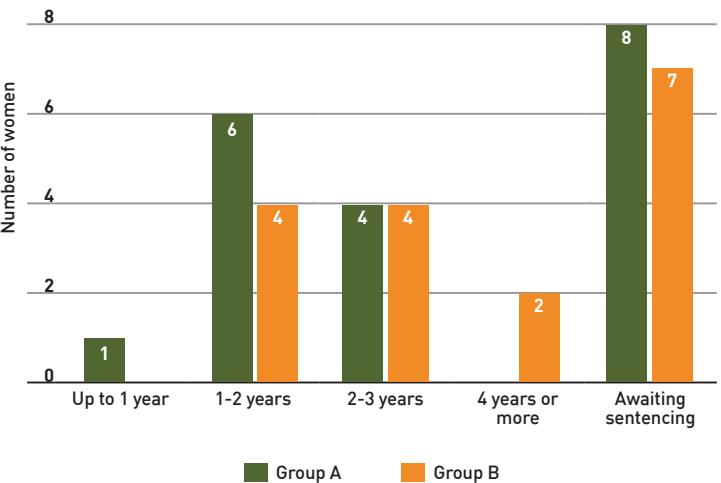


Figure 6. Period sentenced

CHILDREN

The women surveyed had between one and six children in their family (Table 2 provides a full breakdown). Children's ages varied vastly: women in Group A had children ranging from 1-34 years of age, while women in Group B had children up to the age of 18 years and included those that were pregnant.

Almost half of Group A's children were living with them at the time of arrest. For Group B, the majority had their children living with them. Some women in Group B had multiple children and reported that some were living with them while others were not.

At the time of their arrest, most women in Group A reported that their children were not with them, while most women in Group B noted that their child was with them (see Figure 7.) When asked what had happened to their children immediately after they were arrested, most of the women in Group A noted that their children were initially cared for by their families. Other situations included children also being arrested with their mothers, being left with neighbours, strangers, or by themselves. For Group B, most of the women had their children accompany them immediately after their arrest. Where they had multiple children, older children were sent to stay with family.

At the time of arrest, women reported that either family, friends, colleagues, neighbours, local authority personnel, other adults, children or a combination of these people were present (see Figure 8).

No. of children	Group A (children living outside prison)	Group B (children living inside prison)
1	6	9
2	6	2
3	6	2
4	1	1
5	0	2
6	0	1

Table 2. Number of children reported

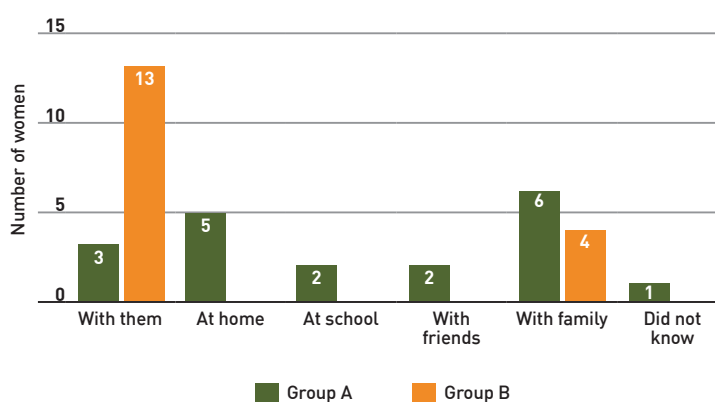


Figure 7. Status of children at time of arrest

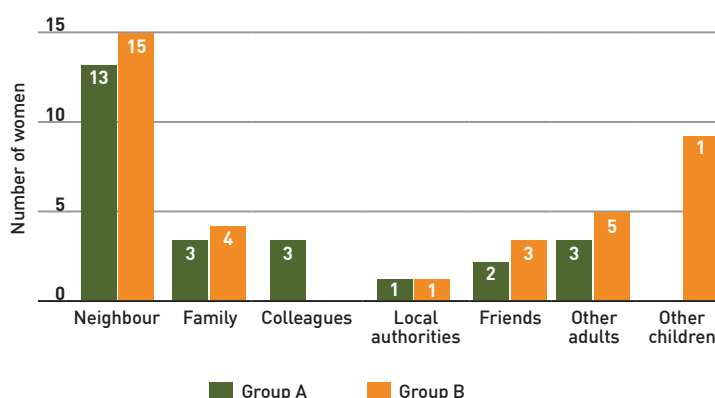


Figure 8. Witness to arrest

PREFERRED CARE OPTION

All women preferred for their children to be cared for by immediate family members, post-arrest. Where this was not possible, extended family was the next preferred choice. Leaving their children with friends or in residential care were not highly rated options and no additional options for child care outside of the options presented in the survey were identified by the women (Figure 9 provides more detail).

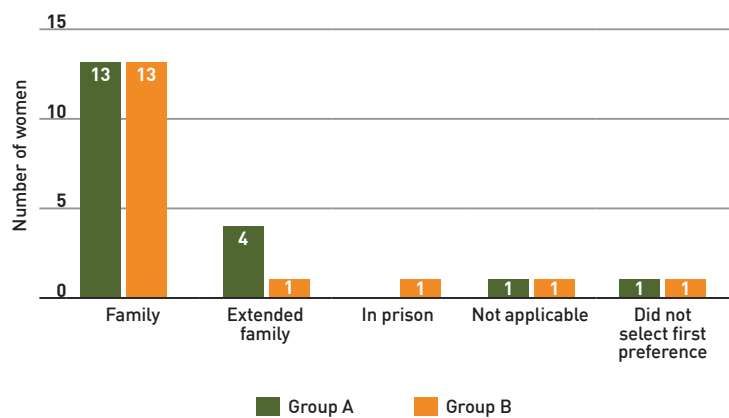


Figure 9. No.1 preference rated for care of children

DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

When it came to their child/ren’s care during imprisonment, most of the women reported that they made this decision on their own. For some, there was no choice as they were pregnant at the time. Other people involved in the decision-making process were mothers, parents, and husbands.

- Women in Group B noted that various people had advised them of the option to have their child/ren accompany them to prison including prison officers, police and a lawyer. Three were pregnant and some did not know who had advised them.
- When asked who they discussed their child’s care with post-arrest, most women in Group A discussed with their family while most women in Group B discussed with no-one (Figure 10). In Group B, three women were pregnant. Two of these women noted that they did not speak to anyone, while the third simply responded saying they were pregnant.

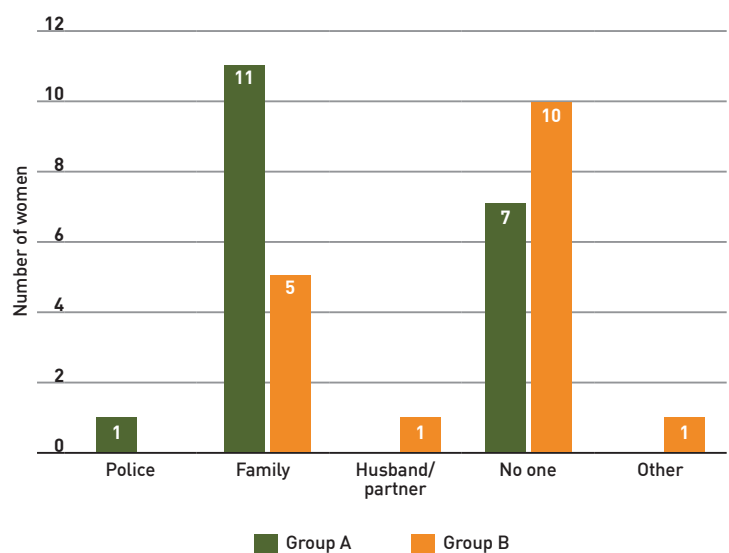


Figure 10. Who the child’s care was discussed with post-arrest

INFLUENCING FACTORS

Both groups were asked what influenced their decisions around current care arrangements of their children:²

- Most of the women in Group A noted that their child/ren would have a better future with current arrangements, that they had been living with extended family since they were young, or that they did not want their child/ren to face the hardships that come with being raised in a prison.
- Other factors included having no one to look after the child/ren, poverty, the burden of additional childcare duties for their family, the age of the women's parents, and pregnancy at the time of arrest.
- Women in Group B also noted that bringing their child to prison with them was the best option because they could take care of them, especially when they were quite young.

CURRENT ARRANGEMENTS

When asked about where their children were currently living, most women in Group A reported that their children were staying with their family. "Other" arrangements included children living in a pagoda, working in Phnom Penh, or that they were adults and living on their own. Two women in Group A reported that their children were also in prison, but this was because they were arrested for their involvement in the same crime. In Group B, all 17 women reported having their child living with them in prison. For those with multiple children, they noted family members as the next source of care with one woman noting that she had three children in a non-government operated or private residential care facility.

CONTACT WITH CHILDREN OUTSIDE OF PRISON

Seven women in Group A reported having contact with their children outside of prison. When asked how often their children visit, two women noted that their children visited once a month, four women reported that their children had visited sporadically, and one had not received any visits in person. When asked why they thought their children did not visit them in prison, most of the respondents noted that it was because their children were too young or they did not have the financial means to visit them. Other reasons included the prison being too far away, and fear of visiting by the person taking care of the child.

POST-RELEASE PLANS

Women in Group B were asked about whether they had made any plans for the care of their children post-release or when their children reach the age of three and have to leave. 11 women noted that they would be released before their child turned three, five noted that they would not be released and one didn't know as she hadn't received her sentence yet.

None of the women had spoken to prison authorities about what would happen when their child turned three. When asked if they had made any plans for when their child/ren needed to leave prison, two responded "yes" and three responded "no". Women were asked who they thought would care for their children when they left prison. Most expected their family to care for the children, four women noted that it would be the partner/husband and two did not know.

² A number of women in Group A did not have children aged under three years at the time of arrest, which meant that they were ineligible to accompany their mother to prison. However, they still provided valuable insight into the factors that would influence their decision-making processes.

ACCESS TO LEGAL ADVICE

Access to legal advice varied at different stages of the sentencing process:

- At the time of arrest, most women in Group A did not have access to legal advice whereas most in Group B did (Figure 11).
- Prior to attending court, most women in Group A again did not have access to a lawyer. This was more evenly split between women in Group B (Figure 12).
- Most women had attended court, but had not spoken to a lawyer during proceedings (Figure 13).
- Most women did not know who paid for their lawyer, with others identifying the government/legal aid, an NGO, or that they'd privately hired a lawyer.

It was unclear whether the judge was aware of women's family circumstances at the time of arrest. Women in Group A gave varied responses, while most of the women in Group B noted that the judge had been told that they had children (Figure 14).

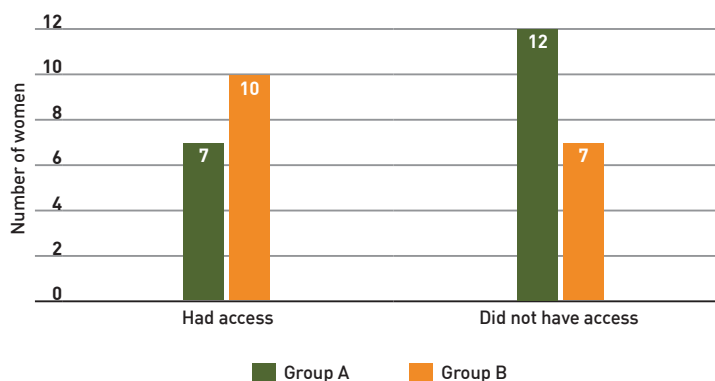


Figure 11. Access to legal advice when arrested

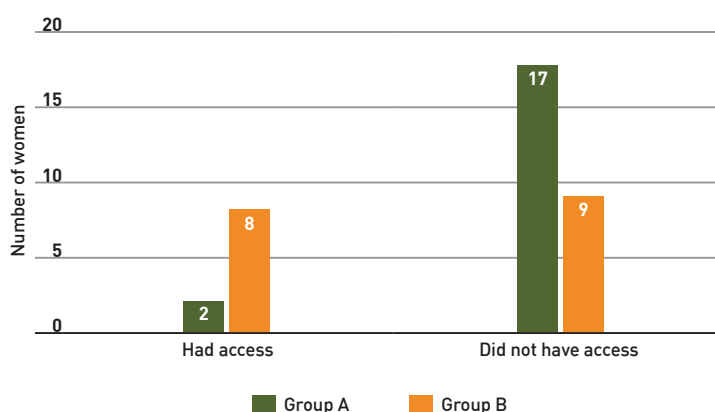


Figure 12. Access to legal advice before court

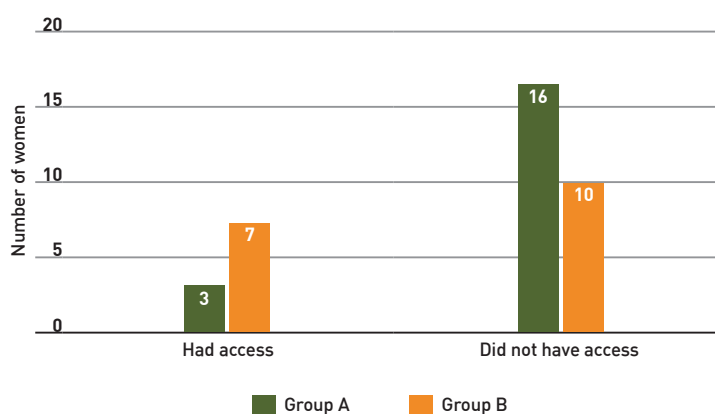


Figure 13. Access to legal advice in court

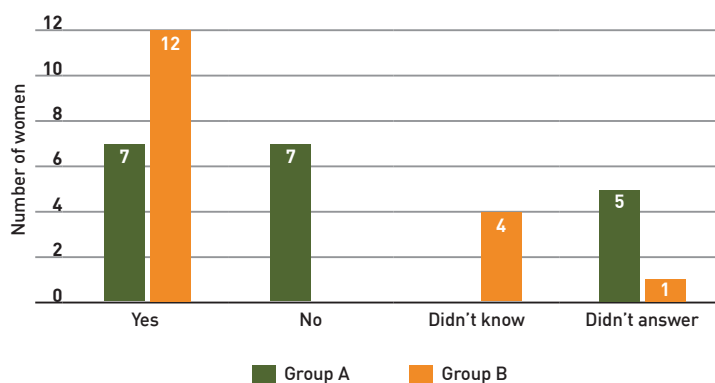


Figure 14. Judge informed that women had children

NGO SUPPORT

Contrastingly, most women in Group A were not receiving any form of NGO support, while most women in Group B were receiving some form of support. Two women in Group A received clothing, while 11 women in Group B received food and hygiene items, and two received food.



CASE STUDIES

In addition to the survey, four women were interviewed about their experiences with their children living or not living with them in prison. Two were selected for each category. Pseudonyms have been used to protect participant identity and confidentiality.

WOMEN WITH CHILDREN LIVING IN PRISON

CASE STUDY NO. 1

Bopha came from a supportive and relatively well off family. She was arrested at home in the vicinity of her neighbours and family members. No one tried to help her as she accepted her arrest and did not argue otherwise.

She did not want to burden her parents too much as they already had to look after her other children while she was in prison. Her youngest was under the age of three and was still breastfeeding. As a result, Bopha decided to take her youngest child with her to prison. She felt she could devote a lot of time and attention to her child as she didn't have much other work to do in prison.

However, Bopha noted a number of potential negative impacts from having her child in prison, including the child thinking that being in prison is not bad and that people in the prison are good. They may start to model the behaviours of people in prison because they think that's the norm.

Bopha's child will still be under the age of three when she is released, which means they will undertake the duration of the sentence with her. Post-release, she will return to live with her parents, have a self-employed job, and look after her children.

During her stay in prison, an NGO provided her with food and hygiene products. Her parents have been supportive during her time in prison e.g. providing milk powder to the children. She believes they will continue to support her when her sentence ends.

CASE STUDY NO. 2

Kunthea was arrested away from home. Her family and co-workers were present, but did not intervene. She decided to bring her child with her to prison because she had no choice. She didn't want to place the child in residential care because they might not receive adequate care and she didn't have enough money to buy food and other supplies for her children.

Kunthea likes that an NGO can help them in prison. The prison director helps her when the child gets sick by taking them to hospital. She doesn't have to worry about her child's well-being when they are in prison with her because she can directly keep an eye on them.

Things she doesn't like about her child being in prison include: a lack of access to education; the modelling of adult behaviours in prison; and the negative impacts on their health due to a lack of food and sanitation.

Kunthea has less than a year left on her sentence. She doesn't know who to contact - her parents have passed away and her siblings are no longer in contact with her because of her involvement with drugs. She does not have much money. Once she leaves the prison, Kunthea wants to leave Cambodia to earn money for about two years. Once she has enough money, she will come back and start a small business. She's eager to receive support and help to achieve this, but does not believe she will receive any support from an NGO upon her release.

WOMEN WITH CHILDREN LIVING OUTSIDE OF PRISON

CASE STUDY NO. 3

Nary comes from a poor family and she doesn't have any relatives or friends that she can ask for help. She is divorced from her husband.

Nary was arrested at her workplace. No one tried to help or negotiate on her behalf. The police took her to prison after sending word to her family. However, they have no money to come and visit. She chose for her children to stay with her mother so that they could continue going to school.

When she leaves prison, her plan will be to go back and see her children and mother in her hometown. She doesn't have a clear plan or goal yet, but plans to work for a wage, potentially in a farm. No community members or NGOs have offered any assistance and she believes that no one will help her when she leaves prison.

CASE STUDY NO. 4

Malika lived with her husband prior to her arrest. Her family is very poor and does not have enough money for food or education for her child. Her parents live separately from her and she has never received any support from an NGO.

Malika was arrested at her rental house in the presence of the landlord and her neighbour. No one tried to help her and her family provides her with little money in prison. Her child is staying with family members.

After her time in prison, she plans to go back and live with her parents while working in the hospitality industry. Malika plans on her child living with her, but she has separated from her husband since her arrest. She hasn't received any support from the community or NGOs in terms of planning her future.

DISCUSSION



The research found that a range of factors can influence whether or not a child accompanies their mother into prison. These factors have been broken down into the two main categories identified by the research questions: community/external factors and personal/family factors. This is followed by a discussion on alternative options for care.

COMMUNITY/EXTERNAL FACTORS

As noted in the limitations section, many of the children of women in Group A (children living outside of prison) did not meet the age criteria at the time of arrest, thus the factors outlined here are indicative of broader perceptions with follow up research needed in which age at the time of arrest is a key factor in sample selection.

LEGAL FACTORS

The Prison Law sets the legal basis for children up to the age of three accompanying their mothers into prison. The research found that of the women in Group B who were informed upon their arrest that their child could accompany them to prison, information came from a number of different sources including police officers, prison officers and lawyers. Some were pregnant and had no choice in the matter.

The majority of women in Group A discussed their child's care post-arrest with their family while the majority of women in Group B did not discuss this with anyone. This implies that women in Group B came to a decision on their own with regards to their child accompanying them to prison. Furthermore, three women were pregnant and had no choice in the matter. A number of women in Group A also did not discuss their child's care with anyone post-arrest, reflecting a lack of assistance available to women in the early stages of their incarceration. Follow up research into the kinds of support available to assist with decision-making processes for women in conflict with the law is needed if they are to be adequately supported and empowered when making decisions that will have long-term impacts on their family's wellbeing.

Access to legal advice at different stages of the sentencing process was varied for both groups, although women in Group B seemed to receive more, particularly in the period they were arrested. Further research into the types of legal advice given to women from their arrest through to sentencing would contribute to evidence around external factors that may influence decision-making. Any additional research will need to take into account the Government's newly established legal aid team for women who are unable to afford legal representation in Cambodia.

Finally, there were mixed responses around whether the judge was aware that the women had children at the time of sentencing. The majority of women in Group B noted that the judge was aware, while this was more evenly split between the judge knowing and not knowing in Group A. Considering all the women involved in the study were in prison, further training around the importance of family circumstances could fill a gap in judicial knowledge and practice, particularly the benefits of pursuing non-custodial sentencing in these situations.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Other community/external factors identified as potentially contributing to a woman not choosing to have her child in prison with her included:

- a strong preference to leave children in the safety of immediate or extended family;
- the stigma of being raised in a prison, which could lead to negative impacts on the child later in life; and
- the belief that they would have a better future outside of prison e.g. they would receive an education, be exposed to other children etc. which would not necessarily be possible in the prison environment.

These factors are strongly embedded in social norms and beliefs around community perceptions of imprisonment. For example, most women reported having a neighbour, family, friend, or combination of people present at the time of their arrest. However, the case studies demonstrated that no one helped the women or advocated for them during their arrest by the police. Community perceptions and broader attitudes around law enforcement may influence a woman's decision to keep her child with her in prison if they feel that there is no reliable external support available. Alternatively, it may make a woman more likely to not have their child accompany them if they believe the child will face more hardships in the community as a result. A further in-depth study on the impacts of community perceptions around imprisonment on women's decision-making processes would assist in shedding light on this factor.

FAMILY/PERSONAL FACTORS

The majority of women had received no education, did not have a husband at the time, lived in a rental property prior to their arrest, earned an average of \$30 USD or less per week, and had between 1-6 children of varying ages. Most felt that their income was not enough to support their family. Most were in prison for drug related offences with a smaller number charged with theft and murder.

Personal/ family factors that influenced a woman's decision to have her child accompany her to prison included:

- the perceived burden on family members, especially where there were other children that needed to be taken care of;
- a lack of personal networks i.e. relatives or friends, to ask for help;
- a lack of financial resources to support their children;
- a strong preference to not leave their child with friends or in residential care;
- the view that they could look after their child better in prison; and
- some were pregnant at the time or had a child that was still breastfeeding and needed additional care.

However, some women did raise concerns about their child being brought up in a prison environment. These concerns included their child potentially modelling prison behaviour or thinking it was the norm, and the lack of adequate access to food and sanitation.

Most of the children in Group B were living with their mother prior to her arrest compared to those in Group A. This could reflect the difficulty of parting with a young child who has developed close relational bonds with their mother as the predominant caregiver, especially where there was no other immediate or extended family member to assist with the child's upbringing. As outlined in a case study, one woman felt that she could provide better care for her child in prison and another felt that she didn't have to worry because she could directly keep an eye on them. This would particularly be the case for women who didn't have family members available to care for the child in their absence. As such, there was a belief among some women that the safety and wellbeing of their child was better in prison, especially when they received external support from an NGO. However, this support was not consistently available to all eligible women in prison, reflecting a potential gap in service provision.

It is important to note that many of these factors are interlinked and context specific. External factors may be influenced by personal ones and vice versa, an example being whether a woman has strong networks in the community that she can draw upon during the time of her arrest, particularly if she has no immediate family or access to other resources. Further in-depth case studies with a larger sample of women would help to shed light on the weight of some factors over others in the decision-making process.



IS THERE AN ALTERNATIVE PREFERRED CARE OPTION?

As the literature shows, non-custodial sentencing options are strongly advocated for women with children who are at risk of imprisonment. Alternative options to imprisonment can take into account the best interests of the child and acknowledge the broader social, economic and cultural pressures that can influence offending. The demographic data from the sample showed that most women do not feel that they can adequately provide for their families and many hope to pursue stable, income generating opportunities post-release. However, they may be subjected to further barriers post-release which continues the cycle of impoverishment (UNODC 2019). These broader, underlying pressures need to be considered when sentencing occurs, with alternative options or targeted social assistance that aims to address the root causes behind offending. Decriminalization of non violent offending could also be a potential solution for many of these crimes (UNODC 2007).

This is particularly relevant for women with children up to the age of three who must make a decision as to whether their child accompanies them to prison or is placed in alternative care. For some, there is no option since they are pregnant at the time of arrest, or their child is too young to be separated from them. In these circumstances, the Bangkok Rules state that women should be provided with adequate childcare facilities or other arrangements that enable them to participate in prison activities, but also keep in mind the best interest of the child. As such, further research into creating child appropriate spaces in prison is needed. These could include looking at practices in other countries that utilise prison nursery programs, case management approaches, or residential care facilities specifically for women and their children (Prison Reform Trust 2013).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research findings and broader literature review, including best practice approaches, the following recommendations are made:

- Non-custodial sentencing options for women with children should be pursued where possible. The negative impacts of prison on a child who accompanies their mother is yet to be fully understood in the Cambodian context, but existing research highlights the feelings of trauma and stigmatisation they face as a result and the potential problems they may face reintegrating into society at a later date. Non-custodial sentencing options should aim to address the root causes of offending through a rehabilitative rather than punitive approach. Further research into appropriate alternatives is needed if non-custodial sentencing is to be put into practice. The Tokyo Rules provide a good starting point for further analysis and discussion. Similarly, the JJLSOP focuses on implementing diversionary measures in the juvenile justice system and could provide the framework for a similar approach to women with children living inside and outside of prison.
- Where a custodial sentence is needed:
 - women need to be given accurate and timely information about their child's rights, particularly in relation to childcare arrangements, so that they can make informed decisions about whether their child should accompany them to prison;
 - in line with the above, there needs to be an overarching and continuous assessment of the benefits of whether a child should accompany their mother to prison. Options should be discussed in-depth with the mother, and other family members where appropriate, to ensure the best interests of the child are maintained; and
 - if it is deemed appropriate for the child to accompany their mother into prison, tailored support should be provided to ensure the developmental needs of the child are being met. This could include access to adequate food and sanitation and child-friendly spaces in the prison.
- Community outreach may assist family members, friends and broader community members to understand the underlying factors that lead to offending and imprisonment. This can reduce the stigma of imprisonment and the consequent effects to children because of an imprisoned parent. Improving community support structures can also help to provide a support network outside of prison that can assist with children who both accompany and do not accompany their mothers to prison and can also help with post-release re-integration into the community.
- Law enforcement staff should be trained to understand the needs of children accompanying their mothers to prison so that they can ensure these children are given a safe and secure space and are not treated as prisoners. This includes the judiciary being aware of a woman's family circumstances and the benefits of non-custodial sentencing being pursued as a result.
- Advocacy for women with children in prison remains highly important. Initiatives should educate and advocate for the release of women with children in prisons, improve standards and norms around in-house facilities and visitation rights, and increase authorities' understanding of the rights of the child.
- Similarly, there is room for increased NGO support in this space. At the time of publishing this report, there was a reduction in NGO support for women with children in prison. Partnerships and collaborations could scale up support for women with children both inside and outside of prison. This could include:
 - providing support and advice at the time of arrest around childcare options for women with children;
 - case management, including maintaining the mother-child relationship and broader family contact during imprisonment;
 - the development of specific prison spaces for women with children in prison; and
 - post-release support including income generation support and supporting children to access and stay in education (providing books, bicycles, uniforms, and school fees).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONS - WOMEN WITH CHILDREN INSIDE PRISON³

1. Name of participant: _____

2. Education achieved:

- ☐ No schooling ☐ Completed primary school ☐ Completed lower secondary school
☐ Completed high school ☐ Completed university

3. Current Marital Status:

- ☐ Single, never married ☐ Married / domestic partnership ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ Separated

4. What village or town were you living in prior to prison? _____

5. Where were you living before prison ?

- ☐ Home I owned ☐ Home I rented ☐ With extended family ☐ With friends or others ☐ Homeless
☐ Other _____

6. Employment before prison:

- ☐ Employed for wages ☐ Self-employed / farmer ☐ Unemployed/no formal job ☐ Homemaker
☐ Unable to work / illness / disability ☐ Other _____

7. On average how much money were you earning in a week?

- ☐ ← \$10 ☐ \$10 - \$30 ☐ \$30 - \$50 ☐ \$50 - \$70 ☐ \$70 - \$90 ☐ →\$100

8. Do you feel that this was enough money to support your family? ☐ Yes ☐ No

9. How many children do you have? _____

10. What are your children's ages (select all that apply): _____

11. Were your children living with you before you were arrested? ☐ Yes ☐ No

12. Where are these children currently living ?

- ☐ With me in prison ____ no. of children ☐ With their father ____ no. of children
☐ With family members ____ no. of children ☐ Residential care facility/NGO ____ no. of children
☐ I don't know ____ no. of children ☐ On the street ____ no. of children
☐ Other _____

13. Who decided that your children would live there? List all the people involved.

³ Data around the offence committed, sentence duration, and time spent in prison were obtained from prison records (see Appendix IV).

14. Is this living arrangement supported by an NGO? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

- If supported by an NGO, what NGO? What did they support?

15. What happened to your children immediately after you were arrested?

- ☐ They came with me ☐ Family cared for them ☐ Neighbour cared for them ☐ Strangers cared for them
☐ Authorities cared for them ☐ They were left by themselves ☐ I don't know what happened

16. Where were your children at the time you were arrested?

- ☐ With me ☐ At home ☐ At school ☐ With neighbours ☐ With friends ☐ With family ☐ I don't know

17. Who witnessed your arrest? Select all that apply

- ☐ Family ☐ Friends ☐ Neighbours ☐ Local authorities ☐ Work colleagues ☐ Other adults
☐ Other children ☐ No one

18. After your arrest, who did you discuss your children's care with? Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Husband /partner ☐ Family ☐ Police ☐ Lawyer ☐ Nobody
☐ Other (list all that apply) _____

19. If your children are with you in prison, who told you that your children could come with you?

- ☐ Police ☐ Lawyer ☐ Prison officer ☐ Family / friends ☐ I don't know
☐ Other, please state _____

20. When you were arrested, what was your preference for your children's care (number 1 to 5, where 1 is your first choice and 5 is your last choice)

- ☐ Family
☐ Friends or extended family
☐ Residential care
☐ Coming into prison with you
☐ Other, list any other options you considered _____

21. Why did you decide to have your children cared for where they are now?

22. Did you have access to legal advice when you were arrested? ☐ Yes ☐ No

23. Did you meet your lawyer before court and discuss your case? ☐ Yes ☐ No

24. Did you attend court when you were sentenced or detained? ☐ Yes ☐ No

25. Did you speak to your lawyer in the courtroom? ☐ Yes ☐ No

26. Who paid for your lawyer? ☐ Government / Legal Aid ☐ NGO ☐ Hired privately ☐ I don't know
27. Do you know if the judge was informed that you have children? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know
28. How many times have you been sent to prison? ☐ Never ☐ 1 time ☐ 2 times ☐ 3 times ☐ 4 or more times
29. Will you be released before your child/ren are 3 years of age? ☐ Yes ☐ No
30. If no, have you made plans for when your child/ren will need to leave prison? ☐ Yes ☐ No
31. Who do you think will care for your children when they leave prison?
☐ Partner/husband ☐ Family ☐ Friends ☐ Residential care institution ☐ Unknown
32. Have you spoke to prison authorities about what will happen when your child turns 3? ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPENDIX 2: SURVEY QUESTIONS - WOMEN WITH CHILDREN OUTSIDE OF PRISON⁴

1. Name of participant: _____

2. Education achieved:

- ☐ No schooling ☐ Completed primary school ☐ Completed lower secondary school
☐ Completed high school ☐ Completed university

3. Current Marital Status:

- ☐ Single, never married ☐ Married / domestic partnership ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ Separated

4. What village or town were you living in prior to prison? _____

5. Where were you living before prison ?

- ☐ Home I owned ☐ Home I rented ☐ With extended family ☐ With friends or others ☐ Homeless
☐ Other _____

6. Employment before prison:

- ☐ Employed for wages ☐ Self-employed / farmer ☐ Unemployed/no formal job ☐ Homemaker
☐ Unable to work / illness / disability ☐ Other _____

7. On average how much money were you earning in a week?

- ☐ ← \$10 ☐ \$10 - \$30 ☐ \$30 - \$50 ☐ \$50 - \$70 ☐ \$70 - \$90 ☐ →\$100

8. Do you feel that this was enough money to support your family? ☐ Yes ☐ No

9. How many children do you have? _____

10. What are your children's ages (select all that apply): _____

11. Were your children living with you before you were arrested? ☐ Yes ☐ No

12. Where are these children currently living ?

- ☐ With me in prison ____ no. of children ☐ With their father ____ no. of children
☐ With family members ____ no. of children ☐ Residential care facility/NGO ____ no. of children
☐ I don't know ____ no. of children ☐ On the street ____ no. of children
☐ Other _____

13. Who decided that your children would live there? List all the people involved.

⁴ Data around the offence committed, sentence duration, and time spent in prison were obtained from prison records.

14. Is this living arrangement supported by an NGO? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

- If supported by an NGO, what NGO? What did they support?

15. If you have children outside of prison do you have any contact with your children? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- If yes, how often do your children visit?

- If no, why do your children not visit?

16. If the children are living outside of the prison; did they ever stay in prison with you? ☐ Yes ☐ No

- If yes, how long did they stay with you? _____

17. What happened to your children immediately after you were arrested?

- ☐ They came with me ☐ Family cared for them ☐ Neighbour cared for them ☐ Strangers cared for them
☐ Authorities cared for them ☐ They were left by themselves ☐ I don't know what happened

18. Where were your children at the time you were arrested?

- ☐ With me ☐ At home ☐ At school ☐ With neighbours ☐ With friends ☐ With family ☐ I don't know

19. Who witnessed your arrest? Select all that apply

- ☐ Family ☐ Friends ☐ Neighbours ☐ Local authorities ☐ Work colleagues ☐ Other adults
☐ Other children ☐ No one

20. After your arrest, who did you discuss your children's care with? Tick all that apply

- ☐ Husband /partner ☐ Family ☐ Police ☐ Lawyer ☐ Nobody
☐ Other (list all that apply) _____

21. When you were arrested, what was your preference for your children's care (number 1 to 5, where 1 is your first choice and 5 is your last choice)

- ☐ Family
☐ Friends or extended family
☐ Residential care
☐ Coming into prison with you
☐ Other, list any other options you considered _____

22. Why did you decide to have your children cared for where they are now?

23. Did you have access to legal advice when you were arrested? ☐ Yes ☐ No

24. Did you meet your lawyer before court and discuss your case? ☐ Yes ☐ No

25. Did you attend court when you were sentenced or detained? ☐ Yes ☐ No

26. Did you speak to your lawyer in the courtroom? ☐ Yes ☐ No

27. Who paid for your lawyer? ☐ Government / Legal Aid ☐ NGO ☐ Hired privately ☐ I don't know

28. Do you know if the judge was informed that you have children? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

29. How many times have you been sent to prison? ☐ Never ☐ 1 time ☐ 2 times ☐ 3 times ☐ 4 or more times

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS⁵

1. Can you tell me about your family before you came to prison?
 - a. What were your living conditions like?
 - b. What was your relationship like?
 - c. What support did your family have: friends, family, community?
 - d. What was it like on your family?
 - e. What did you do for work and fund?
2. What happened when you were arrested?
 - a. Where were you?
 - b. Who saw you being arrested?
 - c. Did anyone try and help you?
 - d. What did the police do?
 - e. What did your family do?
3. What made you decide to bring your child/ren with you?
 - a. Did you have other options?
 - b. What did you think would happen if you brought your child/ren with you?
 - c. Has it been positive or negative for you and for your child?
4. What do you like about your child/children being here with you?
5. What do you dislike about your child/children being here with you?
6. Will your child turn 3 before you leave prison?
 - a. Do you know that when your child turns 3 they can no longer stay in prison?
 - b. What options are you considering for your child's care?
 - c. How do you feel when you think about your child leaving?
7. What are your plans for you and your family after you leave prison?
 - a. Where will you live?
 - b. What will you do for work?
 - c. Will the children live with you?
8. Is anyone helping you or your family now or to work towards your plans for the future?
 - a. Programs or NGOs in prison?
 - b. NGOs or community support for family?

⁵ Women who did not have children in prison were not asked questions 3-6.

APPENDIX 4: DATA PROVIDED BY PRISON OFFICIALS

Women with Children Living Outside of Prison⁶

No.	Name	Age	Date of Birth	Offence	Prison Sentence	Date in Prison	Length of Time in Prison

Women with Children in Prison

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Nationality	Offence	Prison Sentence	Date in Prison	Length of Time in Prison

⁶ Two forms were used to collect this data due to there being two different departments in Siem Reap prison.

