Impact study of
‘Children of Vulnerable Families’ project
of the
India Vision Foundation
Preface

The inception of the present study dates back to the Social Priority Colloquium, which took place in Delhi in early 2016. The Social Priority Colloquium is a platform for capacity building of the small, medium size NGOs and for fostering collaborations between their project ideas and the available resources of the CSR initiatives of various companies in India. Monica Dhawan and Pearly Sanil attended the Colloquium in Delhi on behalf of India Vision Foundation (IVF) and presented a project idea that was essentially an extension of their existing initiative “Children of Vulnerable Families (CVF)”. Mr. Sujoy Chatterjee represented SOCEO, one of the organisers of Social Priority Colloquium and Dr. Jayanta Dwibedi was present as a subject expert. During the Colloquium, which led through several project ideas and plans from many NGOs, the CVF project stood out as a revelation for many of us, because it opened up a view of a corner of society hitherto hidden from many of us: children as collateral victims of their parents’ incarceration for varying periods. In one of the sessions of the Colloquium, Dr. Jayanta Dwibedi presented an overview of the various socio-economic studies SOCEO had been conducting at that point in time reflecting upon our approach of using research to improve the outcomes of the application of ideas instead of forming only retrospective judgements.

Indeed, not all social research can be immediately useful or even useful at all in the usual pragmatic sense. However, in order to be useful in the sense of being able to determine what activities are likely to deliver and what aren’t, social research must be scientific, i.e. it must have a deep regard for facts and, wherever possible, their quantitative representation. However, scientificity in the social sphere is not about subsuming the human reality of the object of inquiry to mere abstraction and numbers. Rather, in our view, genuine social research must try to capture the human reality, by using techniques, numeration, and analysis as aids rather than fetishes. Moreover, such research ought to be applied to social development initiatives with the object of further improvement.

During further conversations in Delhi, Ms. Monica Dhawan of the IVF suggested a visit to their organisation and to one of the prisons where India Vision Foundation is offering services to the inmates and to some of their children as well. (Note: In addition to the
CVF project, the India Vision Foundation has other significant projects involving the inmates of prisons.) The visit to the Delhi office of Indian Vision Foundation brought the special opportunity of meeting Dr. Kiran Bedi, the founding and guiding spirit of the IVF. It was a truly inspiring moment to learn from her the various aspects of the service the IVF offers and the crying need to improve the lives of the prison inmates in our country. The prison-visit was a very unique experience, which possibly shaped our decision to a great extent in getting involved in the study. During subsequent discussions and email exchanges it was agreed that the IVF will assign to SOCEO the responsibility of undertaking a study to evaluate one of its most significant projects—the Children of Vulnerable Families (CVF).

So far, this was two organizations which understood each other aspiring to a fulfilling and complementary collaboration. Yet, when it was a question of evaluation, one had to proceed with as much rigour and objectivity as one could muster. To be initially impressed by achievements was one thing, to try and gauge whether the claims and initial impressions stood up to critical inquiry was something else. And, where critical inquiry was concerned, the question of procedure and methodology loomed large. We discuss these aspects in detail in Chapter 1. Here, we will give a hint of the problems that tormented our investigators in the beginning.

Often, a key challenge in any impact evaluation exercise is to be able to answer the question: What, in all likelihood, would have happened to the beneficiaries of a project had the project not intervened in their lives? The answer to this “what if” question would be an alternative reality, called a counterfactual—“something that would have happened if”. As has been detailed in Chapter 1, a standard way of going about answering the “what if” question is to try and peek into the hypothetical and counterfactual reality through the window of “control groups” and use it as a base against which to measure the efficacy of the intervention being studied. Unfortunately, undertaking such a procedure was not possible in the case of the present study. Therefore, the study would have to be designed so as to be able to evaluate the achievements of otherwise of the project without recourse to one of the standard methods employed in evaluating impact.

Moreover, during the discussions it was made very clear by the India Vision Foundation that the study had to be conducted mostly with the quantitative information available
with them and collected further from the children and the families supported by them, the fact which was further captured in the *concept note* of the study. This meant that the study team would have to mostly rely on the information available from the intervention group. This is not unheard of and often happens in cases where independent procurement of the data is a problem.” Notwithstanding the inherent limitations, the study team tried to plan a combination of innovative but effective routes to arrive at the objective of the study. These have been detailed in Chapter 1. The subsequent chapters go ahead with a more detailed statement of procedures, findings, and analysis.

The last chapter provides a few recommendations that IVF and its sponsors might find useful.

This would be as good a place as any to mention some of the limitations of the study that are not mentioned in the main body of the text.

Employing a research group from a different state and background has certain advantages—mainly that of *distance lending perspective*. However, there are also problems. Given the very definite resource limitations, investigation from a distance was a problem. The study team was unable to give as much time, and conduct as many on-site enquiries, as it would have liked and as the subject deserved. This explains the overly tentative character of some statements. But then, one can, at best, do one’s best, under circumstances that, often, are not the best.

We will be happy if our efforts lead to useful results.

Rashmi Jha                                           Jayanta Dwibedi
Santanu Chacraverti                                Sujoy Chatterjee

Kolkata: 12.09.2017

*To provide an example from a different investigative terrain: The United States FDA forms its conclusions about the safety and efficacy of drugs not by conducting field trials of its own but by examining the reports of methodologies and findings from drug companies—the assumption is that the companies would not fudge their data.*
Acknowledgement

In line with the methodological demands of the study, the study team evolved over time. Dr. Jayanta Dwibedi has been one of the very early enthusiasts of the study and like in any other SOECO study he has been the source of ideas and analytical methods for most of the quantitative parts of this study.

Rashmi Jha also joined the study team early and has undertaken a sizable burden of the work always with a smile. She has conducted almost the whole field work and has been helped time to time by Shilpa Lahiri and Prasenjit Tribhuvan in Delhi and around. In the analysis phase, she has contributed a considerable body of texts.

Dr. Santanu Chacraverti joined the study team a little later, when certain methodological questions grew more haunting. As in most other SOECO studies, he has been the guiding force for the latter half of the study and has played the key role in planning and preparing the study report.

For the IQ/EQ section of the study, the team has drawn largely on the competence of Richi Parasrampuria in conducting, analysing, and interpreting the results.

We acknowledge the enthusiasm and support of the India Vision Foundation team throughout the process of the study. Their sincerity and dedication to service are truly praiseworthy. From the early prison visits till the last weeks of information collection and verification, they have tried their best to help the study team and have provided invaluable support. Moreover, they have taken active interest in all phases of the study including the development of the methodology and other necessary steps. We would like to mention the names of Monica Dhawan and Pearly Sanil, but our heartfelt gratitude extends to all who have helped directly and indirectly.

We are indebted to Ms. Alokananda Roy, an amazing social worker and wonderful classical dancer, for sharing her experiences of the Presidency and Alipore Women’s Correctional Homes in Kolkata, the condition of the women prisoners and their children, and why attending to the children’s welfare needs was a vital human concern.

We are grateful to Prasanta Roy and Doyel Ghosh, for kindly advising us on the course to adopt with respect to psychometric evaluation.

We are indebted to the children who have helped us to collect necessary information for the study by taking the tests, appearing in interviews, and by sharing with us their hopes and
dreams for the future. We are also indebted to the children who have not interacted with us directly but are present in the study through the information obtained indirectly. We pray for their happy, healthy, and prosperous future. We also appreciate the courage of the mothers and family members for offering us insight into the subject of the study and for occasionally sharing with us poignant experiences of their lives. We are thankful to the prison officials, who kindly agreed to speak to us and provided such crucial information.

Last, but not least, undertaking the study was an important opportunity for the study team to learn about a somewhat hidden and neglected side of our society. We are thankful to Dr. Kiran Bedi and Ms. Monica Dhawan for bestowing this responsibility on us. We sincerely hope that this report will contribute to the initiatives of India Vision Foundation to positively influence the lives of the hapless children of incarcerated parents.

Sujoy Chatterjee
SOCEO Consulting Services Pvt. Ltd

Kolkata: 12.09.2017
## Glossary of Abbreviations

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<th>Abb.</th>
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<td>CVF</td>
<td>Children of Vulnerable Families</td>
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<td>IVF</td>
<td>India Vision Foundation</td>
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<td>MISIC</td>
<td>Malin’s Intelligence Scale for Indian Children</td>
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<td>NCR</td>
<td>National Capital Region</td>
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<td>NCT</td>
<td>National Capital Territory</td>
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<td>SFBT</td>
<td>Seguin Form Board Test</td>
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## The Plot

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Chapter 1
Designing the Study

Preamble

The methodology of studying the impact of a project depends on three things:

1. The nature of the project whose impact is being studied
2. The analytical tools available
3. The actual resources that can be employed in undertaking the study

While the first two are obvious, the third might be less so—though its importance can hardly be overrated. For example, when there is a severe shortage of time, the best way to conduct an impact study can simply be good reporting of the journalistic kind—based on quick visits, interviews, common-sense evaluation of data, and speedy impression-forming. Done well, such studies can be vastly better than nothing and can pave the way for better investigations in future. Similarly, if there is a shortage of monetary resources, one might have to make do with less manpower, smaller number of visits, fewer surveys, and so on. For one conducts investigations, not in an idealized spaced of abstract procedures but in the actual terrain of possibilities, constraints, unanticipated occurrences, and so on, and must fashion and modify one’s plans and actions accordingly.

The above truism found application in the present study in the following manner.

FASHIONING THE STUDY

What needed to be studied?

This could be formulated into the following simple question:

Was the CVF project of the IVF making a desirable difference in the lives of the children who the organization was purportedly trying to help, at least in the case of the majority? If it was, how much was the difference (not necessarily as a quantified reading but at least in such relative terms as negligible, modest, considerable, and huge).
The three possible ways of trying to answer the question

i. The short and swift

This consists of proceeding as a journalist would proceed—combining an intuitive approach with common sense understanding, observations, and speaking to beneficiaries and other stakeholders. The basic premise was simple enough and consisted of the following information, most of it available in the public domain:

1. The overwhelming majority of prisoners, convicted or under trial, belonged to the poor and relatively disadvantaged sections of the population
2. This applied to the women prisoners as well
3. As per Indian law (Supreme Court direction) infants could accompany their mothers in prison and stay on until they were 6 years of age; many families opted for this solution, particularly when there was little possibility of care at home
4. The infants who grow up in prison are handicapped in a number of ways: (a) they usually belong to poor families; (b) during their earliest years they grow up in a particularly difficult and oppressive environment that tends to provide them with poor preparation for the life outside prison; (c) on their getting out of prison on attaining the age of 6, they often return to motherless families—ill-equipped to provide them with adequate psychological support and other nourishment important for growing up into enabled citizens; (d) all other attendant problems.

Now, the IVF’s CVF project and its outcome had to be evaluated in the light of the above information. In undertaking the evaluation, one simply had to notice what the IVF was doing with these children. One had only to speak to a certain number of beneficiaries, the families and the children who had matured under IVF care to get an idea of the success. Any keen-eyed journalist would be able to get a sense of whether the IVF’s claims to be making a difference were holding water. No, it would not be a sufficiently rigorous investigation. But, it would be enough for good prima facie findings. The only problem with this approach is that it largely depends on the faculties of the journalist, for she would need to have to depend on her instincts for homing in to strengths and weaknesses rather than on systematic processing of adequate data.
ii. The rigorous route

Alternatively, one might think of taking the strenuous route of thoroughgoing critical evaluation.

Now, in such a scenario, in trying to decisively gauge the impact of a project on a beneficiary population, one must try to answer the following question:

What would have happened to this group of beneficiaries had they been denied the benefits of the project?

The answer to this “what if” question is an imagined scenario, an alternative reality so to say, called a counterfactual—“something that would have happened if that particular thing had not occurred”.

A certain and unassailable answer to a “what if” question can never be given. For, we can never know. We can never know because we cannot repeat the historical process (let alone doing so while keeping the particular factor in abeyance).

In an experimental situation, the imagined scenario (counterfactual) can be actualized by setting up groups insulated from the intervention in question. Such groups (called ‘control groups’) have to be similar1 to the experimental group (that is the one being studied) in all aspects except not enjoying the intervention in question. The idea of setting up controls emerged in the physical and natural sciences and was theorized into a generalized system of experimental inquiry in the writings of nineteenth century thinkers. The idea was later imported into the social sciences. However, in a real-life situation where an ongoing project must be evaluated in terms of past achievements, a control group cannot be ‘set up’ but, rather, groups that might be deemed sufficiently similar to the studied group but not having enjoyed the intervention under consideration can be treated as ‘controls’ and compared to the studied group to assess the impact of the intervention on the latter.

Can one conduct such an experiment with regard to projects like the one we are considering? Yes, one can. However, there would be obvious limitations. The reasons are obvious. If we must decide the exact role or impact of a factor or agent in a process, we

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1 Epistemologically speaking, ‘similarity’ here can be tricky to define. However, investigators usually know what they mean by ‘similar’. See subsequent note.
must compare two situations. One, where the factor or agent is present, and another situation, where every other relevant condition is present—except the condition whose role is being studied. The creation of complete situational similarity\(^2\) (except for the factor in question) *can only be effected inside institutions such as laboratories or hospitals and cannot be ensured in the larger society*. Here, one would need to compare groups that are deemed similar in some of the more relevant aspects and, therefore, the evaluation of the role played or impact generated by the factor under consideration would be only incomplete and methodologically imperfect. This is what common sense suggests and the literature on experimental enquiry in social situations reiterates. Moreover, in the case of evaluating the impact of a project on a social group, the result of the study can only be in the somewhat distant future, after the impact of the project on a group is studied against selected comparable groups who are selected beforehand (who constitute the control) as not likely to receive the benefits of similar projects. Once the results from the control groups are in, one can try to formulate the counterfactual regarding the experimental group: “What is likely to have happened to most of the beneficiaries had the project being studied not been undertaken?”

However, in the case of our study of the impact of CVF on children of incarcerated mothers, we are not trying to design one that yields outcomes in the future. Hence, it is not an experimental study but an attempted evaluation of impact of a project that has been going on and evolving since 1995. How does one design such an inquiry, if one must do it in the most thoroughgoing manner possible?

The answer, in its barest outlines, would be as follows:

1. One would need to identify several prisoner populations with backgrounds roughly similar to those targeted by the CVF project. These would serve as control groups. We would need several control groups across prisons in various locations

\(^2\) As hinted in an earlier note, it goes without saying that ‘situational similarity’ is a relative term. For, say, when two human groups are being compared, one cannot be a perfect clone of another. One tries to compare two sets of humans who are similar to one another in the relevant respects. Here, what characteristics are deemed relevant is a matter of understanding, knowledge, and paradigm and may undergo change as the latter change.
in order to ensure that outcomes were not being affected by any particular local factor.

2. Next, one would need to track the conditions and fates of children of female prisoners.

3. Lastly, one would need to compare the information in 2 with similar information regarding the children in the CVF project.

4. Of course, in all the above, the usual procedural and statistical precautions would need to be taken.

5. Based on the above, one would try to answer the counterfactual question: “What is likely to have happened to many of the children had the IVF not undertaken the project?”

Unfortunately, neither the IVF (nor the investigators on their own) had the requisite resources to undertake an investigation on the scale suggested in the above. Therefore, the rigorous route to truth was out of reckoning.

*iii. The middle path*

The investigators decided to adopt a procedure that would be somewhere between the first and second avenues of investigation. Since it was clear that one could not try to answer the counterfactual by studying control groups, one would have to try to seek the answer more indirectly but convincingly.

This would seem to be legitimate procedure with respect to the demographic group in question. For, the most predominant characteristic that defines most prisoners in India is poverty. Most jail inmates are poor. For, in most cases, had they not been poor they would not have been in jail. We shall dwell on this in detail in the report. Here, we shall give only one example. Most prisoners are undertrials and most of them continue to languish in prison only because they are unable to offer bail and surety. This is due to their economic poverty and the poverty of their social connections (discussed later). And, leaving everything else aside, this is one vital reason why the children of most prisoners would, other things remaining the same, benefit from economic support, which the CVF project purportedly provides to children of inmates. This would be true for most of the children, for most of the households in India are non-extended ones—lacking the economic and
human resources that can help the child tide over the material and emotional consequences of a parental incarceration.

Therefore, if the project simply lives up to its narrow claim, it is likely to make some difference. If, in addition, it takes care of providing the children with guidance, emotional support, the benefit of its social connections, and so on, it is likely to make further positive difference to the lives of its beneficiaries. This can be taken as almost axiomatic. Therefore, if beneficiaries and other stakeholders corroborated the claims of the CVF project personnel, one could infer that the project was making a positive impact. So, the issue was to check whether the organization was offering the support it claimed to be offering and that those who were receiving the support were feeling that the support was making a difference and that there appeared to be some visible outcomes that the investigator could identify as attesting to this difference. It would be better if one could also get some inputs from families who did not have IVF support so as to try and gauge the difference the CVF was making. All this, procedurally, was closer to the journalistic mode of inquiry, with the difference that the signs, symptoms, information, etc. were more thoroughly examined and the quantitative data more critically analysed.

It is with this approach that the investigators developed a procedure, which consisted of the following:

1. Reviewing available documents and literature on Indian prison system, prisoners (women prisoners in particular), children in prison accompanying their mothers, and so on, in order to get a sense of the inmates’ demographics and economic conditions, and the vulnerability of the families to the incarceration of one of its key adult members and the vulnerability of the children to maternal incarceration. The point of this exercise is to acquire a sense of how important it would be to set up a system of helping the children of incarcerated women to better inform investigations on the field.

2. Examining the data and documents provided by the IVF and interviewing IVF personnel associated with the CVF project in order to get information about the project deliverables, achievements, constraints, and so on.
3. Evaluating the academic performance of the students through their scores. Given time and other resource constraints, it was decided not to seek to process the data of all the supported children (close to 200 at that time but of which the study team had received information on 175), but to examine the scores of a sizeable sample, large enough to be considered representative. The point of this was to assess how far the support provided by the IVF, conjoined to the specificities of the students' own circumstances and native capabilities, translated into academic performance.

4. Evaluating the overall IQ and EQ of the students (of a sizeable sample mentioned above) to get a sense of their state of mental application and well-being—which are often (though not always) directly related. Once again, not all students, but a sizeable sample that could be taken as easily representative of the concerned population, were to be taken for the evaluation. This, in a crucial sense, would be considered complementary to the academic performance findings in evaluating the faculties and attainments of the CVF beneficiaries.

5. Recording the impressions that the researchers had of students they met and interacted with.

6. Visiting 10 families of CVF beneficiaries and interviewing them to get a sense of the exact nature of benefits and the perception of the beneficiaries regarding the nature and quality of the benefits.

7. Interviewing the prison officials on the overall welfare scenario inside the prison and the importance of the work done by the IVF with respect to the children of the prisoners.

8. Interviewing some 50 mothers in prison who are not under IVF care regarding the overall condition of their families and, particularly, about their children—their conditions (reported by the mothers on a recall basis) when their mothers were incarcerated, whether and how many of the mothers continued to have information on their families, and the condition of the children at the time of the interview (e.g. how many of them were continuing their schooling). The point of this, of course, was to get a feel of what the reality could be for those who do not get CVF-like
support. This is the nearest thing to some kind of control data (though very small in number) that the investigators could aspire to in this investigation.

9. Talking to some of the products of the CVF system—those who had exited the system and were economically independent, though by no means arrived at their aspired or expected destinations.

10. Interviewing preferably several (and at least one) sources with direct experience of prisons outside the IVF purview, specifically about mothers and children in prisons.

**A procedural quirk and limitation**

Each of the above modes had its specificities and occasionally faced problems in implementation. We shall describe those and fate of each of these procedures in detail in Chapter 2. However, here, in the context of mentioning the procedures, we mention a vital feature of investigation, something that would be legitimately deemed a limitation.

As has already been mentioned in the Preface, the study had to be conducted mostly with the quantitative information available with the IVF and, further, which was collected from the children and their families which were marked out and provided access to by the IVF. This meant that the study team would have to mostly rely on the information provided by the group being studied. This is not entirely unheard of, and happens in situations where there are serious problems for the investigators in gaining access to the data on their own, which was certainly true in this case. For example, the list of 10 families for family visits was prepared by the IVF. When our investigator tried to meet a few families outside the list, they did not find respondents (for they had gone out on jobs). And, in any case, families with history of incarceration and attendant troubles were less likely to share their experiences and private information with unknown investigators. Further, the list of some 50 mothers across 3 prisons who were outside IVF intervention were prepared by the IVF and, as goes without saying, the access to the mothers inside the prison, was arranged by the IVF, for the investigators could hardly hope to access prison inmates. Similarly, for the student data, the investigators were compelled to rely on the IVF for contacting the schools (for the academic data) and the students (for undergoing psychometric tests). This
is hardly ideal as a surveying strategy, but was forced on the investigators by the nature of the situation.
Chapter 2
The investigations:
A brief statement of procedures undertaken

The following are a brief statement of the procedures undertaken in this study:

A. Review of Published information and Analysis

The initial task was to determine what published information and analyses was pertinent to the study and examine at least a broad cross-section of this corpus so as to ascertain the nature and magnitude of the issues under consideration.

The study team identified the following categories of published material:

a. Indian prison statistics—the data on prisoners with particular attention to data on women prisoners and their children
b. Reports of detailed studies on conditions of prison and prisoners in India
c. Media reports on conditions of prisoners in India, especially on women prisoners and the children staying with them
d. Reports from other countries on the social costs and social impact of incarceration, with specific focus on the social impact of putting mothers in gaol (the effects on the family, children’s mental and physical well-being, impact on education and performance, overall life and livelihood outcomes, etc.)
e. Comparative international studies on the issue of parental incarceration
f. Similar reports from India on the social costs and social impact of parental incarceration are unavailable. However, reports and commentaries touching on the edges of these issues are available

A representative cross-section of such reports was studied.

B. Talking to the IVF personnel

Talking to the IVF personnel, and more often the CVF project personnel was, of course, a vital means of procuring information about the project and clarifying confusions. This talking, of course, continued during the entire period of study.
C. Documents provided by the IVF or available on their website
The other obvious step was to procure documents from the IVF, either from the website of from the IVF personnel, and examine them to seek information on the project deliverables, achievements, constraints, and so on.

D. Evaluating the academic performance of the students through their scores—a procedure we failed to undertake

A major component of the evaluation strategy as initially conceived was based on a comparative analysis of academic performance of the children under CVF programme vis-à-vis their non-beneficiary classmates. Relevant methodologies were developed to assess the effectiveness of CVF intervention on academic performance. Data formats were designed to collect data on the relative rankings of students under intervention in their respective classes (over the last three years, to check consistency). This would have yielded information like percentages of children (under intervention) above the median position in terms of their examination results and the consistency (or otherwise) of their performance over the years. One could also consider employing other types of distributional analysis like quintile distribution to understand how these children under CVF intervention were doing vis-à-vis their classmates. To find out whether there was any subject-specific pattern in the academic performance of these children, the study team had decided to collect and compare the scores for each subject for each student in the particular class.

Keeping the overall objective and logistical convenience in mind, it was decided that the sample size would be around 60 children, which, at that point of time and based on the data in our disposal, was about 50 % of all school going children under intervention. The study adopted a multistage stratified sampling strategy; where in the first stage nine schools were selected (both residential and non-residential), and then, from the selected schools, children of different ages (different classes) were selected. Unfortunately, the IVF team, presumably despite their best efforts, failed to procure for the study team the relevant information for more than one school (making a total of 13 children). Analysis based on such a small sample is inadvisable. Since no further information in this field appeared to be forthcoming in the foreseeable future and
indefinite wait was not an option, the study team decided to try and develop the analysis without this input. However, the absence of this element remains a crucial lacuna.

E. Psychometric evaluation

The psychometric evaluation of the children in the sample set was seen as complementing the planned evaluation of academic performance. To conduct this evaluation of the CVF beneficiaries, the following steps were taken.

Two clinical psychologists based in Kolkata, Prasanta Roy and Doyel Ghosh, were consulted on what test could be used for the targeted children. It was explained to them that the test would be conducted not by qualified psychologists but personnel from a social science background. Based on this input, they suggested using Seguin Form Board Test (SFBT) for evaluating intelligence and Dr. Ekta Sharma’s Emotional Intelligence Test for assessing emotional intelligence. Their suggestions were followed. Rashmi Jha took hands-on training on how to conduct these tests. She in turn trained 2 volunteers to help with the tests. The tests were conducted on the CVF beneficiary students as follows: on 5 May 2017 at the Ashadeep Foundation, on 6 May at Sanjoepuram, on 7 May at the Bawana community centre, on 8 May at the Assisi Convent, on 9-10 May in the homes of children enrolled under Home support. The two volunteers, Shilpa Lahiri and Prasenjit Tribhuvan, helped with conducting the tests in the schools. This data was given to Richi Parasrampuriya (clinical psychologist) for analysis.

The EIT is meant for the age range of 10-17 years and the SFBT is meant for the age-range of 3-15 years. As per the list provided by the IVF, there were 58 children within the age group of 17 years. But, while conducting the tests, we found that 5 children among the 58 were of 18 years. So, we conducted the test on 53 children. Now, of these children, 4 were less than 10 years of age. Therefore, they could not sit for the EQ test. Hence, their Intelligence scores also were not taken into consideration. Hence, in the final analysis, the test outcome of 49 children has been considered.

Intelligence testing, a special note: The SFBT is a popular test. The simplicity of the test, quickness or ease of administration, portability, facility to arouse/sustain spontaneous interest, and temporal brevity are some reasons for its continued popularity.
As mentioned where appropriate in the next chapter, the SFBT is not perhaps the best tool to measure intelligence comprehensively. However, the test not meant to be used as a standalone measurement of cognitive ability but in combination with two other means of psychometric evaluation—the EIT and academic performance. Unfortunately, for reasons described above, we could not access/utilize the academic performance data. Hence, the intrinsic shortcomings of SFBT have affected our evaluation more than they otherwise would have done. By the time we realized that the evaluation of academic performance was not going to happen, it was too late to plan some other kind of intelligence/ability testing that could in a way act as a substitute for academic performance.

F. Impression of the Children

In the course of the study, members/volunteers of the study team got to meet the children. The resulting interactions were unstructured. Nevertheless, and precisely because of this, they were useful in forming impressions.

G. Interviewing the prison officials

Prison Officials across three prisons where the CVF project was underway were interviewed on the overall welfare scenario inside the prison and the importance of the work done by the IVF with respect to the children of the prisoners. Rashmi Jha took the interviews between 16 May and 19 May.

H. Interviewing someone knowledgeable regarding conditions in a different prison

Since all prison officials interviewed were from either the NCT or the NCR area, and, moreover, the contacts were through the IVF, it was considered important to take the views of either a prison official from another prison anywhere in India knowledgeable in the subject or of someone else with considerable experience of conditions inside at least one prison and, more importantly, of the subject at hand—the condition of incarcerated women and the children often staying with them. While resources did not permit the study team to conduct explorations in this regard outside their home state, West Bengal, the study team was fortunate to be able to speak to Alokananda Roy, a wonderful social worker and reputed dancer who had done splendid work with prisoners and their children inside Presidency Correctional Home and the Alipore...

I. Interviewing mothers in Prison

The study team, with the help of IVF personnel, selected 50 mothers who were not under IVF care across 3 prisons—Tihar, Gurugram (Bhondsi), and Dasna—and interviewed them. The idea was to ask them about the overall condition of their families and, particularly, about their children—i.e. their conditions when their mothers were incarcerated (which the mothers were expected to report on a recall basis), whether and how many of the mothers continued to have information on their families, and the condition of the children at the time of the interview (e.g. how many of them were continuing their schooling). The point of this, of course, was to get a feel of what the reality could be for those who do not get CVF-like support. This is the nearest thing to some kind of control data (though very small in number) that the investigators could aspire to in this investigation. Rashmi Jha took these interviews, from 16 May to 19 May.

J. Visiting and interviewing families

Visits to and interviews of 10 beneficiary families were undertaken to get a sense of the exact nature of benefits and the perception of the beneficiaries regarding the nature and quality of the benefits. Rashmi Jha undertook the visits between 18 June and 22 June 2017.

K. Listening to success stories

Talking to some of the products of the CVF system—those who had exited the system and could be considered as economically independent and confidently looking forward to further advancements in their careers. Rashmi Jha took the interviews on 17 June. (The relevant crux of 5 of these interviews has been compiled in Appendix 1—without using the actual names of the interviewees.)
Chapter 3
Findings
Section A

Incarcerated Mothers and their Children
What we learned from published information and analysis

Introductory note

Our objective in this section is to report our examination of some published information and analyses pertaining to imprisoned mothers and the effects of maternal / parental incarceration on the children and indicate what we learned from them.

While incarceration of any family member is understood to have serious bearing on the immediate family—particularly on dependants and more particularly on juvenile dependants—parental incarceration, and particularly a mother’s incarceration, is full-fledged disaster for the child. The reasons are obvious. Therefore, the effects of parental, and particularly maternal, incarceration on children (including its subset—the effect of mother’s incarceration on a child who accompanies the mother into prison and who might later leave behind her mother in the prison) have received attention the world over. A simple Google Search will yield reports and analyses mostly on the situation in the United States (provoking the view that only Americans have attended to it in any depth); however, a more qualified search produces material from many countries around the world and comparative international analyses. Some of the crucial concerns that come up in the analyses are as follows:

1. What happens to the child when her/his mother is incarcerated when s/he gets to accompany her/his mother to prison³—i.e. what kind of environment does she get in prison and what bearing does it have on her/his physical and mental development?

2. What happens to a child when her/his mother is incarcerated (perhaps with the child’s sibling accompanying her) but the child stays outside (with some “caregiver” or effectively on her own)—i.e. to what kind of life is she exposed in the

³In case that is allowed under the laws of the country (such laws usually specify the age up to which a child may stay with her/his mother in prison)
world outside with her mother in prison and what bearing does it have on her/his physical and mental development?

3. What happens to a child who has been born in prison or who, in her infancy, has accompanied her mother in prison, but has had to leave her mother behind on attaining the maximum age up to which a child can stay with her imprisoned mother—i.e. what kind of a home or support she can get in the outside world and whether she can cope with it?

We shall have occasion to attend to some analyses on parental and particularly maternal incarceration from India and abroad. However, before that, and since our main concern is with India, it might be useful to begin with the overall numbers of women prisoners and children in India and the general implications.

**Prisoner statistics, India: the basics, and that of women and children**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The total Number of Jail Inmates as on 31.12.2015</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>401,789 (95.7%)</td>
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Much of the Indian prison population is male. Nevertheless, there is a sizeable female prisoner population of 17,834 (as of late 2015). This is the population of prisoners who are Indian citizens. There is also a small population of prisoners who are foreigners. (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, p. i). However, our concern is with Indian prisoners. Now, let us look at the other kinds of divisions among the prison population (Indian).

<table>
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<th>Jail Inmates as on 31.12.2015</th>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convict</td>
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<td>Detenue</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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Our main concern here are convicts and under trials. A quick look shows that undertrials heavily outnumber the convicts. Undertrial prisoners constitute 67.22% of the total prison
population while convicts constitute 31.97% of the total prison population. The remaining 0.8% of the whole is made up by the two other categories of prisoners.

Now, what is the situation regarding women prisoners?

The proportions are similar. Undertrial women prisoners constitute 66.82% of the total women prison population while convicts constitute 32.19% of the total prison population. The remaining 0.99% of the whole is made up by the two other categories of prisoners. (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, p. i).

The vast predominance of undertrials bespeaks of a serious problem: of huge numbers continuing to languish in prison because of two things—judicial tardiness and poverty. As commentators point out, trials proceed with inordinate slowness and the accused does not get justice, s/he only gets to know the next date (tarikh) of hearing. The undertrials continue to rot in jail, waiting for dates. The plight of the undertrials is due largely to their economic poverty and the poverty of their social connections—the people they are close to are also poor, or otherwise many of them would have been able to procure the bail by borrowing and getting the support of someone solvent, who would stand surety for them.

It must be borne in mind that the amended Section 436 of the CrPC, which allows the accused to be her own surety, is applicable only to bailable charges. (Dhanuka, 2010); (Fox News, 2015); (Sen, 2015). And, it is not only a matter of not having sufficient money for bail or getting someone to stand as surety. A (related) issue, and one that is less spoken of, is not being able to afford a competent lawyer who can ensure speedy and effective utilization of available legal provisions. Conviction is largely a function of the income status of the accused. The rich and even the upper middle-class accused can manage to garner funds required to employ highly skilled legal counsel, to say nothing of greasing itchy and efficacious palms in the police and courts. In a system where the prosecution must prove guilt beyond doubt (until which the accused is assumed to be innocent), money and right connections go a long way towards ensuring acquittal. Hence the overwhelming majority of both undertrials and convicted are poor—something in favour of which there is little hard statistics but is well-known to anyone acquainted with the penal system.

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4The dreadful situation immortalized in the lines in the movie Damini “tarikh, tarikh, tarikh...insafnahin, milti hay sifarikh.”
The plight of the undertrials is a matter of greater concern. For, on the one hand, they are forced to undergo jail time although legally presumed innocent. Secondly, and what is of more practical significance, a convict knows his period of confinement (and of the reasonable opportunities of reduction), but an undertrial is confronted with uncertainty. Although most stay not more than 2 years, an undertrial simply cannot be sure when s/he be getting out. A total of 3,599 undertrials were detained in jails for more than 5 years at the end of the year 2015. Uttar Pradesh had the highest number of such undertrials (1,364) followed by West Bengal (294). Of these 3,599 undertrials, 95 were women. A total of 17,890 undertrials were detained for 3 to 5 years and 668 of them were women (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, pp. 111-16).

It seems very relevant to mention in this connection that most of the prison population have low levels of literacy and the majority belong to the SC, ST, and OBC. The latest official statistics (from late 2015) is as follows:

A total of 36,406 out of 134,168 convicts in various jails of the country were reported as illiterate and 57,610 convicts had education below Class 10. These two categories accounted for 27.1% and 42.9% of total convicts respectively, which taken together constitute 70% of all convicts. Caste-wise analysis of convicts shows that 31.2% (41,931) of convicts belonged to the OBC category, 20.9% (28,033) convicts belonged to Scheduled Castes, and 13.7% (18,403) belonged to the Scheduled Tribes. About 34.1% (45,801) of convicts were from the General category (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, pp. 95-96).

Out of 282,076 undertrials in various jails in the country, a total of 80,528 were illiterate and 119,082 were had education below Class 10. These two categories accounted for 28.5% and 42.2% of total undertrials prisoners respectively, which taken together constitute 70.8% (1,99,610 out of 2,82,076) of all undertrial inmates...A caste-based analysis of undertrial prisoners reveals that 31.5% (88,809), 21.6% (61,139), and 12.4% (34,999) of all undertrial prisoners belonged to the OBC, Scheduled Caste, and Scheduled Tribe categories respectively, while 34.4% (97,129) belonged to the General category (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, 95-96).
All this discussion boils down to the socially disadvantageous position and extreme vulnerability of the population with which we are concerned. Add to this the fact that once released, prisoners find it difficult to get back to normal life (particularly when it is a matter of getting jobs), we are at once confronted by a huge social problem—a significant portion of the population having a serious provocation to seek livelihood alternatives at the margins or in grey sectors. We are also confronted with the problem of the high vulnerability of the children in such a population. But, we are jumping ahead of the story. Let us first look at the statistics of that with which we are more narrowly concerned—mothers and their children in prison.

Of imprisoned mothers and their children

We do not have any direct data on how many women in Indian jails are mothers. Similarly, we do not have any direct data on how many men in Indian jails are fathers. This is a severe handicap when trying to estimate the magnitude of impact of parental incarceration in India. The prison authorities and the Indian Crime Research Bureau also do not appear to have data on how many women have their spouses in jails—something that bears vitally on the condition of children in prisoners’ families.

We do have age-range data for prisoners, disaggregated by gender, State, and UT. We know that 1209 women, 3174 women, and 1357 women, in the age-ranges 18–30, 30–50, and >50 respectively, reside in Indian jails as convicts. The corresponding data for the undertrial women prisoners are 4307, 5727, and 1882 respectively. We have similar data broken across state and union territories (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, 55-59). The age-groups 18–30 and 30–50 are most relevant to motherhood that is pertinent to the concerns of this study and the total number of women in these categories is 14,417. We can try to estimate the proportion and number of mothers in these populations. Based on the census data on the marital status of women and demographic rates of fertility (Source NFHS 3), one can readily say that around 80-88% of the women prisoners in India are likely to be mothers, with most of them having around three offspring [as per Census 2011, average number of children per women is 3.3 and in our sample of 50 mothers (see later) the corresponding figure is 2.96 offspring]. A more educated estimate would need bringing the caste, geographical, and economic demography of the women into
consideration and conjoin it with corresponding fields in the census data. But, we shall not go there in this study. It is enough to appreciate that in our country thousands and perhaps tens of thousands of children belonging largely to the disadvantaged sections of the population have their mothers in prison, adding considerably to the vulnerability.

What we can safely say is thousands of women in the prisons of India are mothers and categorically, 374 convicted and 1149 undertrial women across India had children staying with them in prison at the end of 2015 and the total number of children staying in prison with the convict and undertrial mothers was 1760. Bringing in children of detenues and other prisoners into consideration, the number of children staying with their mothers in prison was 1866 (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, 71). This captures only a section of up to 6 years old children. In cases where some form of family support is available, children under-six tend to stay with their family.

Prison authorities, given the scope of their official concerns, are usually inert to problems posed by the children of imprisoned mothers outside prison. But, they have increasingly learned to recognize the huge human problem within the prison, of legally and obviously innocent children being forced by circumstances to stay within a penal confinement, deprived of the facilities and opportunities that would have been available to them had they resided in their normal habitats. This has resulted in measures being taken by prison authorities in many States and UTs, specifically directed to the welfare of the children staying with their mothers. We read

Some prison departments are providing fortified food to the children staying with their mother under Child Development Scheme of concerned State Government.

In some States/UTs, Aganwadies have been started for the innocent children living with their others with the help of reputed NGO. Primary School and Crèche have also been started in some jails. Some States are offering ‘Bal Kalyan Scholarship’ to children staying with convicts in which scholarship is provided for all those children who secure good percentage. (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, p. 169).

However, as media reports reveal, all these measures fall short. But, this is not unique to India. But, before we come back to India, it would be worth our while to look at the reports and analyses pertaining to realities outside India.

**International Reports and Analyses**
Effects of parental incarceration on the offspring have received a great deal of attention in the USA and information and analysis abound. This is not unexpected. For, on the one hand, the USA not only has the most powerful economic, institutional, and research resources in the world, it is also the country with the world’s largest prison population (2,145,100, on 31.12.2015) and the world’s second highest rate of incarceration (as of 31.12.2015; 666 per 100,000 population) (WPB, 2017). Abundance of information does not imply the availability of all necessary information (for example, one doesn’t get hard data on how many prisoners are fathers or mothers). Anna Robosson in her sociological study on intergenerational crime in the USA finds that relatively little information is collected about the children of an individual upon arrest. (Robosson, 2011, p. 12) Nevertheless, the US system seems to have much more information than is to be found in other countries. Moreover, the academia seems to be sensitized to the subject; what practical impact this has had on actual policymaking and the condition of the affected population, however, is a question of a different order and difficult to answer.

A serious problem in the USA is that many prisons do not have provisions for infant care. Thus, only prisons in 10 out of 50 states in the US have some kind of prison nursery (Pishko, 2015). Another report says, “There is no national policy that dictates what happens to children born to mothers who are under correctional supervision. The overwhelming majority of children born to incarcerated mothers are separated from their mothers immediately after birth and placed with relatives or into foster care. In a handful of states, women have other options: prison nurseries and community-based residential parenting programs.” (Villanueva, From, & Lerner, 2009, p. 4)

A relatively recent study report provides the following information: More than 5 million children in the US had a parent who had been to prison and this proportion was higher among black, poor, and rural children. Parental incarceration can lead to childhood health problems, behaviour problems, and grade retention. This also leads to poor mental and physical health in adulthood. This report indicates that parental incarceration is associated with more emotional difficulties, low school management, more problems in school among children of 6-11 years. Research on interventions for children with incarcerated parents is limited, but work so far suggests that reducing the trauma and stigma these
children experience, improving communications between the child and the incarcerated parent, and making visits with the incarcerated parent more child-friendly may alleviate some of the negative effects of this separation (Cooper, 2015).

In addition to the above, there is a considerable number of books and journal articles containing detailed information gleaned from official statistics and researches conducted by universities, and those conducted by foundations and other non-government institutions and, further, elaborate analyses of data and of previous studies and reports. Some of the more prominent ones are (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2001), (Davies, Brazzell, La Vigne, & Shollenberger, 2008), (Christian, 2009), (Cho, 2009a), (Cho, 2009b), (Cho, 2010), (Dallaire, Ciccone, & Wilson, 2010), (Robosson, 2011), (Ferguson, 2015), (Huynh-Hohnbaum, Bussell, & Lee, 2015).

Some of the prominent findings are as follows:

1. Parental incarceration has significant negative effects on children and adolescents.
2. The negative effects vary across situations and individuals but include higher incidences of inadequate care (from single parent or non-parental source), physical abuse, anxiety and anxiety-related depression, addiction to drugs, poorer academic outcomes, grade retention and dropping out of school.
3. Reports of higher incidences of criminality (intergenerational crime) among children of incarcerated parents. However, this finding, though plausible and widely mentioned, has been questioned at least in one study, as being based on uncertain statistical foundation Invalid source specified.
4. As compared to the father's incarceration, the incarceration of the mother tends to be associated more frequently with phenomena mentioned above. Which is why it, very often, gets far more attention from policymakers, researchers, and analysts.

While we have discussed with some attention reports and analyses from the US, this is not to say that there is an absence of reports from other countries. For example, a cursory search yielded a report bearing this very significant piece of information about the UK: “Sixty-six per cent of women prisoners are mothers of children under the age of 18, and each year it is estimated that more than 17,700 children are separated from their mothers
by imprisonment. Only 5 per cent of children remain in their own home once their mother has been sentenced. At least a third of mothers in prison are single parents at the time of imprisonment. A Home Office study found that, for 85 per cent of mothers, prison was the first time they had been separated from their children for any significant length of time” (Epstein, 2014, p. 3).

One significant report from the UK describes a study of 411 boys. The study found that those who experienced parental incarceration in their first 10 years of life had about double the risk for antisocial behaviour, the internalizing of problems, and other adverse outcomes up to age 48 years, compared with boys without incarcerated parents (Murray & Farrington, 2008).

Similar findings are reported from other countries. Either careful research on the effects of parental incarceration or media reports at various depths of engagement are found from many countries—Australia, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Pakistan, and so on. In-depth studies, however, are relatively few outside the USA and Western Europe, at least not much seems available in the English language. However, almost all reports tend to mention or be concerned with the ill-effects of parental, particularly maternal, incarceration on children and the neglect and trauma associated with it.

There are published studies offering multi-country perspectives. Some of the most important of these studies have been supported by the Quaker United Nations Office (Taylor, 2004), (Townhead, 2006), (Robertson, 2007), (Robertson, 2008), (Robertson, 2012). It is revealing that although these studies refer to parental incarceration, they focus on maternal incarceration. Secondly, these studies have tended to concentrate on children who are compelled to accompany their mothers in prison because they are born in prison and/or because the family has inadequate provisions for taking care of these children outside the prison. For such populations, the studies have tended to concentrate on the following aspects: how far the states have specific laws and institutional provisions that ensure proper prenatal care, childbirth, and postnatal care; how well they take care of the child and cater to his emotional and educational needs as long as they are in prison; what provisions are there at the official and societal level to take care of the child when s/he must be released from prison as per the laws of the land while the mother continues to be
inside. The studies, which look at various countries across the continents of the world, find that conditions range from inadequate to appalling in all the above three respects across the world. If anything, the studies indicate that in addition to governmental efforts, serious societal and community-based efforts are necessary to take care of the children of imprisoned mothers. They also make specific recommendations towards ensuring physical, emotional, and developmental well-being of the child within the prison and outside.

**Back to Indian prisons**

Remarkably absent in India is an attempt to gauge the social impact of parental incarceration on a large scale in order to frame and implement policy. Whatever discourse there has been on this subject is overwhelmingly confined to the phenomenon of children staying with their imprisoned mothers. This has drawn media attention in India and there are quite a few good ‘stories’. Nevertheless, even with regard to this, there aren’t good studies. Given this lacuna, we shall mention a few studies that attend to the condition of the children accompanying their imprisoned mothers.

The first serious study in this field in India seems to be the one conducted by B.N. Chattoraj of NICFS and published in 2000. We have not been able to access the study in its original. However, its findings have been reported in other publications—in great detail in the next landmark study in India in this subject (PGBPISRD, 2004), but restricted to jails in Uttar Pradesh. Some of the instructive features of the findings from Chattoraj’s study appear to be as follows (PGBPISRD, 2004, pp. 35-37):

- Of the 885 children living in different prisons in India with their prisoner mothers as on 30 June 1997, most of the children were belonging to U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar and Delhi.
- More than three-fourth of the mothers who had children staying with them were under trials
- Of the total number of children living in jails with their mothers, 58.3 percent were males and 41.8 percent were females.
- In terms of age, all the children were less than 6 years and mostly less than 2 years (50 percent).
- Of total children in jail, 30 percent children were from general castes while rest belonged to backward classes and weaker sections of society.
- Most of the children were belonging to married prisoners while 58.19 percent and 83.38 percent fathers and mothers respectively, were found to be illiterate. Out of total children,
68.11 percent children were from rural background and mostly from joint families. However, these are overall figures. Jails in major urban centres like Agra, Varanasi, or Ghaziabad had majority prison populations from urban areas.

- Most of the children belonged to low-income group families i.e. less than Rs.2000 per month (64.5 percent) only 17.8 percent children were belonging to low middle-income group.
- In most of the jails women prisoners with children were not being provided with extra meals. Mothers’ inmates generally had to share their meals with their children. In some cases, occasionally extra food mostly in forms of a glass of milk was available to some children. In some jails, separate food used to be provided only to growing up children, over the age of five. But the quality of food used to be same as of those, which used to be supplied to adult prisoners.
- No separate medical facilities for the children were found to be prevalence in jails. Children had to share the same medical facility as was available to the adult prisoners.
- Some kind of general education was reported to be provided to the slightly elder children of women inmates.
- Only playground was available to children in most jails. There were no facilities for play or entertainment for very young children. A few jails in some states had crèche to take care of children during day time.

The 2004 Uttar Pradesh study did not yield any data that differed noticeably from the overall picture presented in the all-India study. The vast majority of the women prisoners were undertrials. They were mostly poor (either illiterate or poorly literate and mostly from rural backgrounds) with a small number from the lower middle class. A majority were from the scheduled and backward castes. The condition with respect to facilities meant for welfare and well-being of children were few and far between. Out of 21 jails surveyed in Uttar Pradesh, only 8 jails had recreational facilities and only 5 jails had arrangements for imparting education. No jail except Adarsh Karagar in Lucknow had a crèche (PGBPISRD, 2004, pp.).

The next important study (this time on prisons in eastern UP) is un-dated (!). The field investigations of the study were completed by June 2010 and the textual material suggests that it was published in late 2010 or in 2011 (NCWI, 2011 [?]). Although the study is on eastern UP, it provides basic details of inmates for all jails in UP as of 2008. We find that once again undertrials dominating the women prisoner population. Further, SC, ST, and OBC together account for the vast majority of prisoners.

The field investigations brought forth the following information:
The pregnant inmates received the same food as other fellow inmates. Only in Lucknow and Azamgarh jails did pregnant prisoners receive milk; no other special nutrition was provided. At the time of the survey, only 7 pregnant prisoners (out of total of 29) received immunization within the prison during their pregnancy. Only in Lucknow jail was there a small 20-bed hospital. In the other jails, the condition was deplorable. What was truly shocking was that there was no provision for visits by any gynaecologist or paediatrician.

Neither did immunization seem to be very regular. However, immunization was carried out occasionally and jail employees maintained immunization records of all children.

The investigators did not find any separate ward for mothers and children in any jail they visited. There was no proper system of providing supplementary nutrition to children beyond quarter litre milk a day and, in Lucknow jail, an occasional fruit or an egg. The clothes worn by the children were dirty. There was no provision for new clothes. The investigators did not find recreational facilities for children in any jail surveyed. Only Lucknow jail had facilities for indoor and outdoor games, and children were taken on excursions to parks and picnics and got to watch CableTV. Barring Lucknow jail, no jail had any education facilities for children such as aganwadi, pre-school, nursery, or crèche. However, all these facilities were available in Lucknow jail.

We don’t have any recent study on prisons in general in UP. However, there is a 2014 study on Dasna prison in Ghaziabad. This study found that most of the basic physical facilities and essential infrastructure was adequate. However, there was no separate mother-child unit in the prison. Children lived in common barracks that housed all female prisoners (married/unmarried/with/without children). Each woman prisoner was provided with the living space of a single mattress within the room. The individual child also enjoyed the space of an additional single mattress. Vital elements contributing to emotional welfare and psychological well-being were missing. For example, the recreational and educational facilities for children inside the prison were inadequate. The permitted frequency of visits from family members was too low to encourage the growth of strong relationships. Further, children were highly exposed to criminogenic influences, particularly use of abusive language by and aggressive/violent behaviour of prison inmates. Such conditions were likely to have baneful results on child behaviour,
Another significant report on prison conditions is the 2015 Status Report on the Prisons of Bihar (Chakraburtty, Prisons of Bihar: Status Report 2015, 2015). This is a report of conditions of 58 prisons in Bihar, focused on finding out whether the directions of the Supreme Court on prison reforms have been complied with and with a view to strengthen legal aid in prisons. The report makes some observations of particular importance for our study. For example, it says, “In addition to this it was noticed that woman inmates were silently suffering from medial (sic!) conditions. As there are hardly any female doctors in the prisons of Bihar. The woman inmates shy to speak up to male doctors and thus in most cases suffer from gynaecological problems without being detected by doctor till the condition worsens and turns critical” (Chakraburtty, p. 50). Further, the investigator found that pregnant women did not receive the attention and care they required. Further, neither lactating mothers nor their children received the urgent medical attention they sorely needed. With regard to Araria District Prison and with regard to BuxarWomans Sub Prison, it states there were no crèche (Chakraburtty, pp. 16, 53). With regard to the BuxarWomans Sub Prison it states that there is no facility of prenatal and postnatal care (Chakraburtty, Prisons of Bihar: Status Report 2015, p. 53). However, possibly because the report is focused on legal aid services to prisoners, it does not give due attention to the serious issues thrown up with respect to the children staying with their mothers in prison. There is very little on this urgent theme except mentioning the woman with her child in separate interim reports (on each and every prison). The only useful information here seemed to be was how much milk the child received (Chakraburtty, Interim Reports, 2015).

**Lessons for the present study**

The above discussion seems to yield the following instructions:

1. The social impact of penal measures is a vital concern—specifically the impact on children of the incarceration of their parents;
2. Parental incarceration has significant negative effects on children and adolescents.
3. The negative effects vary across situations and individuals but include higher incidences of inadequate care (from single parent or non-parental source), physical abuse, anxiety and anxiety-related depression, addiction to drugs, poorer academic outcomes, grade retention, and dropping out of school, and even intergenerational crime (though this has been occasionally contested).

4. As compared to the father's incarceration, the incarceration of the mother tends to be associated more frequently with phenomena mentioned above. Which is why it, very often, gets far more attention from policymakers, researchers, and analysts.

5. Parental/maternal incarceration acquires particular significance in view of the socio-economic situation of most prisoners. For, it seems to be true the world over that if you are in jail, the chances are that you are poor or otherwise socially disadvantaged. Even the moderately affluent and those with the right social connections end up in jail far less frequently.

6. Thus, in Indian jails, one finds that not only is the overwhelming majority of the prisoners made up of poor people but that the backward castes are seriously overrepresented.

7. This social backdrop of imprisonment is most tragically manifest in the case of undertrials—when an accused can spend years in jail because s/he cannot afford bail or get someone stand as surety.

8. What is true of prisoners in general, is equally true of women prisoners.

9. Therefore, their incarceration bears more heavily on their families—for the latter tend to have less resource to cope with misfortunes. And the most dependent section of these families, i.e., the children, is rendered most helpless.

10. The overall problem is aggravated by the fact that law and policy has been blind to this aspect of penal incarceration and where policy and law begun growing aware, implementation has grotesquely lagged behind.

11. Often children stay with their mothers in prison—whether because they were born to incarcerated mothers or because they accompanied their mothers in prison because the mother chose to keep the child with her (for she felt the alternative was
worse). All this creates an enormous human concern issue at various levels—beginning with the care of the pregnant mother and continuing through the birth of the child, the issues of proper nursing environment, the issues of caring and providing a salubrious environment for an infant or child within the prison, and, finally, if the child has to leave the mother behind in prison, the question of attendant trauma.

12. However, in addition to and independent of a child’s stay in prison, there looms the larger question of the child of an incarcerated mother, whether within the prison or outside—the vital questions of care, support, and proper environment.

13. This issue of the care for a motherless child, usually belonging to a poor and disadvantaged family and dwelling, mostly, within an emotionally deprived and imbalanced family setting, is a huge human concern issue because of its obvious bearing on the child’s well-being, welfare, and, finally, his or her growing up into an adult member of society with necessary equipment and enablement.

14. All this necessitates informed and dedicated policymaking and implementation—both at the governmental and societal level.
Section B

What the interview of 50 mothers yielded

The concern

Published information indicates the adverse effects of incarcerated motherhood on the child. But, there seem to be no direct studies on this subject in India. Yet, this bears directly on the concern of our study.

As we have discussed in detail earlier, there was no scope of getting a proper counterfactual in this study. Refusing to be thwarted by this problem, the study adopted a number of indirect means of inquiry. One of the most important of such means was collecting information from mothers in prison whose children are not under IVF care. Information was collected regarding the overall condition of their families and, particularly, about their children—their conditions (reported by the mothers on a recall basis) when their mothers were incarcerated, whether and how many of the mothers continued to have information on their families, and the condition of the children at the time of the interview (e.g. how many of them were continuing their schooling). The point of this investigation was to get a sense of what often tends to befall the children of women prisoners in the jails of Tihar, Gurugram, and Dasna (i.e., precisely in those jails where many women prisoners have had their children enrolled in the CVF programme) when their children are denied any special support system like the CVF. Note however, although several studies suggest that the effect of mothers’ incarceration on children is far reaching and long term, in this section of the study we only attempt to get a glimpse of short term impacts of mothers’ incarceration on issues such as schooling, labouring, and relocation of children. The identification strategy was to track children of imprisoned mothers: tracking schooling, labouring and other relevant issues as reported by their mother. For longer term impacts, we can only extrapolate from the short-term tendencies that we seem to be able to identify and combine it with what international studies have indicated.

The sample

As our primary focus is the children, the mothers were selected bearing this focus in mind. To make recall inputs reliable we adopted a strategy of not selecting mothers who were in
the prison for more than six years. 50 of them, having at least one child in the 5–14 age group at the time of her imprisonment, were selected from three prisons where IVF is active. These women are the mothers to 148 children of different ages. 78 were boys and 66 were girls. For 4 children, the age information was not available. Tables 1 and 2 summarise the sample with basic demographic and socio-economic information.

Table B.1: The sample: prison; age; imprisonment-type; educational status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prison Name</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Type of Imprisonment</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Educational Status (mother)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Educational Status (her husband)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhonds</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24-32</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>Convicted</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasna</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>33-40</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>Under trial</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tihar</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>above 40</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B.2: Some important demographic and socio-economic information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary Occupation (prior imprisonment)</th>
<th>Primary Occupation (of husband, at the time of imprisonment)</th>
<th>Demography</th>
<th>Monthly Family Income (at the time of imprisonment) (Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewife 40%</td>
<td>Wage labour 28%</td>
<td>Average family size 4.5</td>
<td>Average monthly income 13155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labour 24%</td>
<td>Small business 18%</td>
<td>Max 10</td>
<td>Max 70000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maid 8%</td>
<td>Driver 12%</td>
<td>Min 1</td>
<td>Min 2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others 28%</td>
<td>Others 26%</td>
<td>Total Number of children 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dead / separated or not known 16%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occupational structure and educational status of the respondents and their husbands indicate that the sample predominantly represents the disadvantaged sections of the population. Barring two families having monthly family income above Rs. 50,000, mothers are from low and low-middle income families. The decisive majority (76 percent) are
undertrials and the rest (24 percent) are convicted. Among convicted mothers, the average imprisonment is for 11.9 years. We should mention that at the time of the interview, the mothers in our sample had been in the prison for an average 2.1 years—with maximum at 5.8 years and minimum at 0.1 years. 31 of them were staying with their husband at the time they were imprisoned. Others were staying with their children and in some cases with their in-laws. 72% reported that they continue to be connected with their families after imprisonment. In a sizeable number of cases (10), the husbands of incarcerated mothers were also imprisoned and were still in the prison at the time of interview. 3 of them were widows at the time of their imprisonment and the number rose to 12 at the time of our interview. Surprisingly, as reported by the respondents, in a substantial number of cases (5 cases reported), the husbands had been murdered.

**Effect of mothers’ imprisonment on their children**

Our sample covered 148 children from different age groups (Table 3). 78 were boys and 66 were girls. For 4 children, the age information was not available. 29% of the children of incarcerated mothers were under 6 years of age and 60% of them were in the age bracket 6 – 14 years, with 9 years being the mean age (at the time of mother’s incarceration). We tracked their schooling behaviour and tried to estimate whether mothers’ imprisonment contributed to their dropping out and whether they had engaged themselves in any form of economic activity.

**Table B.3: Children of incarcerated mothers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Pre-incarceration</th>
<th>Post-incarceration (now)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 6</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yrs-14 yrs.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 14 below 18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 and above</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No data</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Effect on schooling

Our primary objective was to investigate the effect, if any, of maternal incarceration on the child’s schooling, relocation, and incidence of labouring. As our objective was limited in scope, we attempted to capture the effect on incidence of schooling and drop outs. The effects on the quality of educational attainments and difficulties faced by the children of incarcerated mothers at schools and their impact on future mental and psychological developments were outside the scope of this particular inquiry. Figure B1 presents the incidence of schooling and dropouts in the 6-14 age group. It compares the current figures with the pre-incarceration estimates. It can be clearly seen that incidence of schooling was quite low, at 37.1% at the time of the interview, compared to 93.3% prior to mother’s imprisonment. For a sizable 41.9% cases, mothers were not aware whether their children were in school or had dropped out after their imprisonment. Incidence of out of school children increased from 6.7% at the time of imprisonment of mothers to 21% after imprisonment. When we exclude children about whom the information was not available with their mothers, the incidence of non-school-goers shoots up further to 36.1% of the total reported cases. In case of children where the father was in prison or dead, the dropout incidence was higher at 25% of the total children (50%, when we exclude children about whom the mothers did not know). We should keep in mind that this is an alarmingly high level of dropping out and suggests possible short term ill effects of mother’s incarcerations on the schooling attainments of their children.

Figure B1: Schooling incidence of children

![Schooling incidence of children](image)

For estimating incidence of child schooling, the 6-14 years age group has been considered as the relevant age group, following the Compulsory Education Act of 2009.
As depicted in Figure 1.1, out of school incidence is higher for girls than boys, pre-incarceration. Incidence of schooling is lower at 88.9% compared to boys at 97.7%. After the mother’s incarceration, the incidence of schooling for girls declined to 35.4% compared to 38.6% for boys. Importantly, for 45.8% cases mothers are not aware whether their daughters are in the school or have dropped out. This figure is significantly higher than the corresponding figure for boys (38.6%).

**Figure B1.1: Schooling incidence of children (Male Vs Female)**

![Schooling incidence of children (Male Vs Female)](image)

In our sample, there were 89 children in the 6-14 years age group at the time of mothers’ incarceration. We tracked them and found 78 of them still in the said age bracket at the time of interview. Estimation of schooling incidence of these children gives us an opportunity to compare post-incarceration estimates with pre-incarceration estimates directly (Figure B1.2).
Effect on the work status of the child

Studies in this area reported how mother’s incarceration may compel their children to work for their own living. Based on information gathered during this study we found 14 out of 111 (12.6 %) children of 5-17 years age group were reported working prior to mother’s imprisonment. Post incarceration labouring incidence of children rose to 15.3 % of all children. In 29 % of the cases, the mothers in prison are not aware of the work status of their children. When we estimate the incidence of child work excluding cases where information is not available, incidence of child work shoots up to 21.6%.

Effect on relocation of children

For incarcerated fathers, the child’s mother is the usual caregiver as reported in many studies. But when mothers are put in prison, do fathers assume responsibility? What happens to the children in cases where the father is either dead or imprisoned? In our study, we found that in as high as 27.7% cases children are relocated from their home and stayed elsewhere with other family members and other distant relatives. In case of children where the father is in prison or dead, 46.9% relocated from their home. In many cases correct information is not available—which is likely to raise the true estimates of relocation even further. In only 26 % of the instances, children stayed with the father while in 43 % cases they stayed with other family members (Figure 2) after the mother’s incarceration. Consistent with the finding of other studies in this area we also found that in many cases (20 %) grandparents assumed the responsibilities of children after mother’s incarceration.
Incarceration. In 32.8% cases where the father is dead or imprisoned, grandparents assumed the responsibilities of the children.

**Figure B. 2: Children after mother’s incarceration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staying with relatives and others</th>
<th>Maternal and paternal uncle and aunt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staying with father</td>
<td>Staying with other family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Non-stayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staying with other family members</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Additional information – something relevant to the study at hand**

As usual in such surveys, the interviewer was to report anything additional that the respondents might say and which the interviewer deemed significant.

All the mothers, almost without exception, requested the interviewer to ensure that her child be taken into CVF care. The apparent reason for making this request to the interviewer was that somehow, they had got the idea that this interview was some kind of gateway to the CVF programme and that they were being interviewed to explore the possibility of CVF enrolment. We mention this here because this is relevant to evaluating the success of the CVF and will be taken into consideration in the appropriate chapter.
Section C

What we learned from talking to Alokananda Roy

Alokananda Roy needs little introduction. Her collaboration with B.D. Sharma (then IG, Correctional Services, West Bengal) led to men and women convicts in Presidency Jail producing the dance-play Valmiki Pratibha. The play has travelled across the country and earned tremendous acclaim.

What is a little less known is that, thereafter, Alokananda has dedicated a large chunk of her life to working among convicts in Presidency Jail and Alipore Women’s correctional home. The prisoners, and particularly the convicts among whom she works, address her as ‘mother’, while their children address her as “Didun” (grandmother).

We talked to Alokananda Roy on 25 April 2017. Among the vital issues that came up in the interview was the issue of children of incarcerated mothers. Alokananda shared her experiences in this regard. She highlighted two aspects of the matter. First, there was the question of the children within the prison—their environment within the prison, exposure to certain obnoxious influences, and the unfreedom. The second aspect was what happens when they must leave the prison on attaining the age of six. Alokananda says that if leaving the prison is in one sense walking out into freedom, it, on the other hand, means walking out not only into uncertainty, but often into a life that holds little promise for the child. Those who have homes and caring relatives outside the prison, get a chance that can lead to enablement and normalcy. Most do not get such caring relatives or stable homes. And government homes are mostly worthless.

Alokananda has an NGO, that tries to support some of the children by arranging for their education. Some 10 children have been helped in this manner. Alokananda feels that this is a huge area of human concern, calling for serious attention. Unfortunately, she does not know whether her work will be carried forward once she is no longer around.
Section D

What we learned about the CVF Project (structure and functions) and its Project Team

The CVF project

The India Vision Foundation is engaged in improving the lives of the incarcerated individuals inside and outside the prison. The organization’s initiatives embody the spirit of “saving the next victim”. The IVF was established in 1994 by Dr. Kiran Bedi. She has also been the guiding spirit of the organization during its journey of more than two decades. The journey started in the year 1994 with the establishment of a crèche (day-care) facility for the children of the female inmates of the Tihar prison. It was a pioneering effort in the history of Indian prisons. The initiative was followed in 1995 by introduction of a “skill development” programme for the female inmates of the Tihar prison.

In the Indian penal and legal system, children of incarcerated persons are not permitted to stay within the prison premises with their mothers once they attain the age of six.6 Such children are compelled to leave their mother behind in prison. For many of them the support system outside is inadequate. This often leads to the child not receiving even the small degree of supervision that she was getting in prison, thanks to her being near her mother. To address this grave issue and as a logical extension of the original programme of establishing the crèche in the Tihar prison the IVF, in 1996, started the Children of Vulnerable Families project. It was aimed at extending the support to the children of prisoners beyond the age of six. Initially the programme was known as the Crime Home Children Project. The project was again one-of-its-kind in India. Thus, the journey of the Children of Vulnerable Families project (hereafter, the CVF), which has, until now, supported over five hundred children, started in 1996 with twelve children and one institutional partner, the Assisi Convent School, Noida.

In the following years, the project grew in size and in the appreciation it received. The activities of the IVF also expanded in terms of new vocational training programmes for prison inmates supported by new partners, their services were requested by new prison

6This is as per direction of the Supreme Court of India in its judgement dated 13.04.2006 (on WP no. 559 of 1994).
authorities and the activities also extended towards offering trainings to equip prison officials, volunteers, and male and female inmates to make the prison a better place. The CVF also grew bigger and stronger with new partner educational institutions committed to offer the children of incarcerated parents opportunities for primary and secondary education and additional need-based residential boarding facilities. In addition to providing formal education, the CVF focused on physical, cognitive & holistic personality development through various structured activities such as home visits, school visits, and extra-curricular activities such as workshops, camps, alumni meet, birthday and festival celebrations, etc. The activities are aimed at inculcating in the children self-esteem and self-reliance. In addition, regular sessions with the psychologist help the children overcome the trauma and tribulations of parental incarceration at an early age, in order to have a healthy childhood and regular adulthood. Over the next years, new educational institutions like Grace Mission School (Gurugram) and St. Johns Schools (KheraKhurd) started becoming partners in the project, thus helping to bring more children under the programme. Similarly, the children under the project also needed higher and professional education courses to move ahead in life towards successful futures. Further partnerships with institutions like the NIILM University (Kaithal), Institute of Technology & Science (Ghaziabad), Mother Khazani Convent School (Bawana), C. R. Public School, etc., expanded and extended the horizon of educational and professional development of the children under the project.

In their current form, the project activities have been divided into three categories for efficient and effective functioning. The first is the Residential Support programme that, based on need, enrols children in hostels and supports school and boarding. This was the flagship CVF programme, for the latter started with this category of support in 1996 and, till date, continues to provide the most comprehensive support. Since the project focuses on the children of the female prison inmates, the residential support program is a critical need for children, who often have no other family members to look after them. Collaborations with organisations like the Assisi Convent School, St. John Boy’s School, Children’s Village, Grace Mission School, Ingraham Institute, Ashadeep Foundation, etc. have strengthened the capacity of India Vision Foundation to offer residential support to many vulnerable children under the project. 86 children were enrolled in the residential
support division of the project. The data provided by the IVF shows that the average monthly cost per child in a private residential school is Rs. 2,815.

The Community Support Program division of the current project is active in the area of JJ Colony in Bawana. The community support activities started in the early period of the Children of Vulnerable Families project during which some of the children from the community, who were seen as coming from very poor and vulnerable backgrounds, were offered residential support programme though they were not children of prison inmates. In subsequent years, the focus of the project shifted completely towards the children of the prison inmates as the need grew bigger with increased number of applications from more prisons that had started working with the IVF. The Community Support Program is also very important for the children supported through the Residential Support programme, many of whom come back to the community after they finish secondary education. In order to fulfil the needs of various activities of the division, a Community Centre was established in 2014. At present, the centre is attended by 40 children, who are the direct beneficiaries of the Community Support Program. The project supports the children with a view to comprehensive development. Financial support is provided to the families for education and allied necessities. As part of the activities camps, workshops, awareness & counselling sessions, various events take place to engage the beneficiaries in constructive self-development. In the recent years, the centre has also been equipped with E-Learning facilities. The Coordinator for the division conducts regular home visits to keep track of the children under support and to facilitate their holistic development and sustainable social integration, which are expected to keep the perilous propensities of delinquency and intergenerational crimes at bay.

The Home Support Programme that started in 2013 is a relatively new focus of the Children of Vulnerable Families project. It has evolved as a separate division of the project because, first, there were children who could not be accommodated under the Residential Support programme due to scarcity in hostel accommodation and, secondly, due to the fact that families of these children live too scattered over Delhi and the National Capital Region to

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7 The number of children enrolled is as per data received on 10 August 2017
8 See previous note.
be brought under a *Community Support* programme. The project supports the children in due physical and cognitive development while they stay at their homes. Financial support is provided to the families for education and allied necessities. The project staff regularly visits the children at home, at school and undertake structured activities towards the holistic development of the children. The primary geographical scope of the *Children of Vulnerable Families* project being the Delhi and National Capital Region, the project team travels regularly in the area for home visits of the children. Currently there are 71 children under the home support programme.\(^9\)

As per the data provided by the IVF, the average cost per child under the Home Support and Community Support programmes are as follows:

For the children in Hindi Medium (Mostly in Govt.schools)

Class 1 – Class 8: Rs.1000

Class 9th class – Class 12th class - Rs.1500

For the children in English Medium (Mostly in Private School)

Class 1 – Class 8: Rs.1500

Class 9 – Class 12: Rs.2000

It is obvious that the above data is rather generalized. However, the IVF personnel failed to provide more specific data (fee structure across various schools) when that was sought.

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\(^9\) See previous note.
The Project team: organization and functioning

The CVF project has a relatively small team dedicated to it, as seen in the diagram below.

![CVF Project Organisation Structure](image)

The project team as a whole is answerable to the Director of the IVF, who is involved as a mentor and guide for the overall functioning of the project through regular assessments of progress, review of reports, and involvement in the training of the team members, which is particularly useful for having an overview of overall progress or otherwise of the project. Ensuring necessary financial and other resources for the project is also an important area of engagement for the Director. She leaves the day-to-day operational management of the project to the Project Manager.

The Project Manager is understood to be the leader of the project team and is directly responsible for the operational strategy, planning, and implementation of the project activities to achieve the overall objectives. The project manager reports to the Director of the organization. The manager coordinates the activities of the other team members and maintains necessary professional ties especially with the other stakeholders of the project such as schools, hostels, families, etc. Apart from the above, financial planning and monitoring for the project is also included in the role. Regular and careful reporting of
progress is another important part of the project activities, and the project manager is the person responsible for the task. In addition, the project manager usually takes care of the special initiatives related to the project. (For example, the current project manager has been given the responsibility to support this study. She is the contact person to provide the study team with information already with the project team and to organise support systems for further information collection.)

The Project Psychologists play a crucial role in the CVF project in helping the child beneficiaries overcome the trauma and tribulations of parental incarceration at an early age and help them cope with challenges they face in growing up. The activities of the project psychologist are focused mainly on the children who are in the residential schools. The psychologist organizes regular sessions with the children and reports outcomes and recommendations to the project management team. However, the psychologist can also serve the needs of those under home support or community support programmes when such need is identified for any child.

The three Coordinators of the project team are the persons always on the ground, remaining in close touch with the children, families, communities, schools, hostels, etc. The activities of the three coordinators are clearly defined in terms of target beneficiaries, namely, the children group in the residential schools, the children group in the home-based support, and the children group that is community supported. Routine and pre-scheduled visits to hostels, homes and schools are among the responsibilities of the coordinators. They play the role of mediator among the children, families, hostels, and schools on issues related to the development and well-being of the children. The coordinators report to the project manager and undertake their activities through necessary discussions and feedbacks. Besides, the coordinators are also responsible for organizing birthday celebrations of the children, their exposure trips, and other events that are essential to ensuring joyful childhood experiences.

In addition to the above, the CVF project team members, who are mainly involved in line functions to take forward the project’s core activities, receive necessary support from the staff functions of the other departments of the organization such as accounts, administration, logistics, communication, etc.

Our impression of the team and its functioning will be discussed in its proper place in the report.
Section E

The information from the beneficiary families

Visits were undertaken to the homes of 10 beneficiary families. As mentioned earlier, the IVF had selected the families. Nevertheless, surface details seem to indicate that the sample set is, in at least two important senses, representative of the population of women prisoners in India. First, 8 out of 10 of the convicted women were undertrials. This, as the published data on the subject confirms, is comparable to the overall ratio of women undertrials to women convicts in the Indian prison system. Secondly, 8 of the 10 families were very poor. This was obvious from overall impression of their homes and everything else, it addition to what they said during the interview. This, again, is like the overall economic demography of inmates of Indian prisons.
The following is a snapshot of basic information about the families visited and their opinions of the IVF (without mentioning names or any location information).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Whether father or father-like figure around to be of help</th>
<th>About the children</th>
<th>Their opinion of the IVF and the support they provided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 1 Respondent: Mother</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Rather poor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>6 children; 3 from the first husband and 3 from second. The first two children (daughters) graduated under CVF support (residential programme) and presently working. The next three children are in school under CVF home support. The sixth child is supported by her elder working sisters.</td>
<td>The respondent feels that the IVF has supported them to reach the place where they are now. They could have done nothing without them. Whenever needed, the IVF has supported them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2 Respondent: Mother</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4 children; Only the eldest (appeared for Class XII) is under CVF support. One child is special and has never been to school. The youngest is two and half years old and the one elder to him is in Class 6.</td>
<td>The IVF has done a very great deal and has provided whatever was needed for supporting the eldest child’s education. However, it would have been helpful if they had also given some economic support to the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3 Respondent: Stepmother</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Poor but better off than many other families in this sample</td>
<td>Yes; stepfather</td>
<td>6 children; the first received CVF support until she completed Class 12 and got married to become a housewife. The second also received support until she also quit her studies and got married. The third and fourth are in school under CVF support. The youngest 2 are not receiving any CVF support.</td>
<td>Very happy with the support provided by IVF and could not ask for more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4 Respondent: Mother</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Economically tight</td>
<td>Yes; father</td>
<td>4 children; the first and fourth child are not and have never been under CVF support. The second child is doing her graduation with CVF support and the third received CVF support until the completion of her 12th class (after which she married and discontinued her studies).</td>
<td>Very happy with the support provided by IVF. Could never ask for more. If they had not received the support of the IVF the children's life would have been in dark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5 Respondent: Mother (Met her at her workplace)</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Economically tight</td>
<td>Yes; father</td>
<td>2 children; the elder child is doing her graduation and her tuition is supported by the IVF; the younger one no longer gets CVF support as she has stopped studying and is trying to earn.</td>
<td>The IVF has been a messenger of god to help them and her child. But the respondent feels they could have given some more financial help to run her family at the time of crisis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Respondent</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Rather poor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2 children; both children under CVF. One is in Class 12 and in hostel and the younger is in play school and under home support. Happy with the services she has received from IVF or else it would have been difficult to raise a girl child. She wants her younger child to get admitted to a hostel also so she can concentrate on earning more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Rather poor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2 children; the eldest is a son who is in home support under CVF and the other is a daughter in hostel. One is in Class 8 the younger is in Class 6. She had no relative to help her, the IVF came as a help from God and she can ask for nothing else from the IVF.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td><strong>No</strong></td>
<td>2 children; both the children had been under CVF. The elder one (daughter) has graduated and is now with a private company and supports the family. The younger passed Class 12, refused IVF support for further studies, and now works in a shop. Happy with the services she has received from IVF or else it would have been extremely difficult to raise the children. She can think of no one else who would have provided the service that the IVF did. She couldn’t have asked for anything more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Moderately well off now</td>
<td>Father is abroad and supports the family economically.</td>
<td>2 children; younger child (daughter) is under CVF and is in Class 10. She is under residential support, in hostel. The elder one (son) is in Class 12 and is not under CVF. Happy with the services she has received from IVF. Feels that without the services of the IVF it would have been difficult to raise a girl child. She merely observed that small children even at the age of 4-5 have to take care of themselves in the hostels, although senior girls helped but that was not sufficient. She also reported that the son was deprived of getting enrolled into the CVF because he was not in prison with her but was staying with her grandmother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>3 children; all were under CVF and stayed in hostels. The elder child (daughter) was not interested in studies so she left after class 8 and later got married. The second child (daughter) also did not continue her studies after 12 and got married. The third child also did not fare well in his studies and could not clear his class 10 exams so he also quit studies. Very happy with the support provided by IVF. Could never ask for more support.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that the respondents have excellent things to say of the IVF and express deep appreciation/gratitude of what the IVF have done for them and their children. Here,
however, a number of things must be considered before declaring a “verdict”. But, we shall take that up in our next chapter.
Section F
What we learned from the Case Studies

On 17 June 2016, Rashmi Jha from SOCEO met several IVF beneficiaries in what was a sort of IVF alumni meet. Some 70 were expected, but about 30 had arrived.

There were several who were already earning their living. Others were in college and 2 had earned their Bachelor’s degrees and were trying to get admitted in Masters.

Most said they were enjoying the programme.

Rashmi talked to several of the ‘alumni’ and took relatively detailed interviews of eight of those who had found careers for themselves and were looking forward to further improvements in career and earnings.

Out of the eight so interviewed, we have provided 5 Case Studies in Appendix I entitled “Success Stories” — for they are also undoubtedly that. Here, we mention some features that seemed to stand out for us as we sat down to go through the interview notes.

In our collection, all the case studies or success stories are from those who have stayed in residential schools—i.e. in hostels. This is because the CVF’s ‘Home Support Programme’ started only about three years ago and, therefore, there was no question of finding adult success stories from that programme.

The items reported in the case studies that stand out and are relevant to this project evaluation are as follows.

1. The IVF provided not only tuition fees, hostel charges, books and stationery for the students; they catered to their every daily need (all daily personal requirements including clothes, toiletries, sanitary napkins). Several of the respondents referred to this fact.

2. When needed, the IVF took care of medical expenses (As a case study reports, “Tamanna once fell severely ill and was admitted to the hospital for a long time. The IVF took the full responsibility for her treatment.”)\(^\text{10}\)

\(^\text{10}\) As noted both earlier and later, we have desisted from mentioning the real names of the beneficiaries.
3. The IVF offered practical guidance: what higher studies or what career to pursue (this is not to say that the beneficiaries always followed the advice provided by the IVF, as is evident from the case studies and as is to be expected).

4. The IVF provided emotional support. This came out rather strongly in several reports.\(^{11}\)

5. Respondents have expressed their feeling that the IVF has been a blessing.

6. There is a clear recognition of the importance of the good education they have received thanks to the IVF.

7. There is a definite sense of gratitude to the IVF in almost all responses.

8. At least one respondent has described the IVF as a parent (he has also said that he does not want to keep in touch with his own family but wants to help the IVF in their efforts to help other children)

9. More than one respondent indicated the IVF as having provided inspiration for helping needy children (As the report about one respondent reads: “He is happy with the way his life is moving, but he only wants to earn more so as to help other children in need.”)

The interviewer took care to talk to each of the interviewees separately and out of earshot of others. Even after considering the setting in which the interviews took place and the sense of obligation and other possible constraints which might keep the interviewees from expressing their true opinions, the interviewer strongly felt that, at least in general, the respondents were speaking sincerely.

In addition to the eight interviewed at length, the interviewer had a chance to talk to some other alumni as well. Her notes indicate a population of able young men and women, already working or looking forward to jobs and whose life stories indicate that they are where they are because of their enrolment in the CVF programme.

\(^{11}\)Although this has not been mentioned in the brief Success Stories, two names came up repeatedly—to whom the beneficiaries seemed to have strong emotional ties. The first, emphatically, is Chandrasekhar—previously associated with the CVF project but now an Accountant in the IVF. The second is Pearly Sanil. The beneficiaries told the investigator that they felt free to approach these persons in case of any need or problem. Interestingly, the investigator again came across these two names, and in the same vein, during the family visits.
Section G

What we learned from talking to the prison officials

The following prison officials were interviewed (16-21 May 2017):

1. Director General, Tihar Prison Complex
2. Superintendent of Prison No. 6 (Women’s Prison) in Tihar Prison Complex
3. Superintendent, Dasna Prison
4. Superintendent, Bhondsi Prison
5. Jailer, Dasna Prison
6. Female Warder, Bhondsi Prison
7. Female Warden, Dasna Prison

Occasionally, the officers could offer little time to the interviewer, for example, The Director General of the Tihar Prison Complex and the Jailer, Dasna.

The reports of the interviews are anthologized in Appendix.... Since they address various issues other than the programmes run by the IVF, they are best read in their entire texts.

Here, we summarize the main points relevant to the evaluation of the CVF that came up in the interviews.

1. Almost everyone had some idea of the various programmes run by the IVF and spoke well of them. Some were effusive in their praise; others were more restrained.

2. Although they spoke in general terms, most referred to the CVF, either emphatically or less forcefully, and praised it. Two officers (Superintendent, Bhondsi and Female Warden, Bhondsi) made no specific comment that could be related to the CVF and one of them had little to say about the IVF as he was new to his present post that had brought him in touch with the IVF.

3. Many expressed the opinion that there was nothing inevitable about the child of an incarcerated parent becoming a criminal. It all depended on the kind of environment in which the child was reared—which testified to the necessity of making special provisions for these children.
Section H

The results of the psychometric evaluation

In the special context of our failure to procure and utilize the data on comparative academic performance, the results of psychometric evaluation would seem to acquire particular significance. However, this did not turn out to be as much the case as we would have liked. But, it did yield some interesting hints. We shall see what they are.

Introduction

Psychometric evaluation is employed to assess the cognitive and emotional functioning of a person. These are used to assess a variety of mental abilities and attributes—including personality traits, neurological functioning, and the ability to identify patterns and process data. In our study, we have assessed the Emotional Quotient (EQ) and Intelligence Quotient (IQ) of 49 sampled children under the CVF programme. The EQ is a measure of a person’s emotional intelligence and indicates the individual’s self-awareness and his ability to detect, understand, and empathize with the emotions of others. Hence, the EQ is a measure of a person’s emotional resources and, when measured reliably, can gauge how far the person would be able to utilize these resources to maintain a state of well-being and attain higher levels of collaboration and productivity.

The IQ is a measure of what is commonly called “intelligence” and includes various kinds of cognitive ability—including the ability to detect spatial, linguistic, logical, and numerical patterns and solve problems of various kinds.

For this study, the Emotional Intelligence Test designed by Dr. Ekta Sharma (Sharma, 2011) was used to assess the EQ of the child and the Seguin Form Board Test (SFBT) was applied to assess the IQ of the child. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, we used the SFBT to measure IQ because this test could be conducted by persons who were not qualified psychologists, which accorded with our needs.

Test Design and Implementation

For Emotional Intelligence

The EQ kit was meant for the age-range of 10-17 years. As we have explained in some detail in an earlier chapter, the sampling strategy was as follows:
Keeping the overall objective and logistical convenience in mind, it was decided that the sample size would be around 60 children, which, at that point of time and based on the data in our disposal, was about 50% of all school-going children under intervention. The study adopted a multistage sampling strategy; where, in the first stage, eight schools were chosen (mainly keeping logistical convenience in mind), and then, from the selected schools, children of different ages were selected. However, in the end, only 49 children from the initial sample were found to belong to this age-group. They were from 3 private schools (residential) and 5 government schools. Hence, only they were tested and their test outcomes considered.

For Intelligence

On the other hand, the SFBT that we have used is meant for an age-range of 3-15 years (as affirmed in the product description). However, some hold that the SFBT is useful only up to 13 years, but it might be applied to older children as a preliminary screening measure. Therefore, we adopted the following method:

Since we were planning to look at the EQ of 49 children, we decided to get the IQ of the entire sample of 49. However, after finding the IQ, we adopted a two-step strategy. First, we tested for and found the IQ for the whole set. We have reproduced the results here. However, we have also separately considered the IQ of the subset—of the children in the age group 10–13 years.

However, in our view, the very nature of the test (which depends on spatial-geometrical pattern recognition), suggests a high degree of age-independence. Nevertheless, in deference to standard and expert recommendations, we have felt it advisable to identify and report results for below 13 and above 13 age-groups separately.
Taking the Tests
The Emotional Intelligence Test

“Emotional intelligence refers to the capacity of recognizing our own feelings and those of others, for motivating ourselves, and for managing emotions well in ourselves and in our relationships” (Goleman, 1998, p. 317). Latest psychological research shows that an individual’s emotional quotient contributes much more vibrantly to one’s productivity and success in life than the much-researched IQ. Goleman classified emotional intelligence into five domains. In Ekta Sharma’s manual, the domains have been described as follows (Sharma, 2011, pp. 1-3):

1. **Self-Awareness**: knowing what we are feeling at the moment, and using those preferences to guide our decision-making; having a realistic assessment of our own abilities and a well-grounded sense of self confidence.
2. **Managing Emotions**: Handling our emotions so that they facilitate rather than interfere with the task at hand; being conscientious and delaying gratification to pursue goals; recovering well from emotional distress.
3. **Self-Motivation or Motivating Oneself**: Using our deepest preferences to move and guide us towards our goals, to help us take initiative and strive to improve, and to persevere in the face of setbacks and frustrations.
4. **Empathy**: Sensing what people are feeling, being able to see things from their perspective, and cultivating rapport and attunement with a broad diversity of people.
5. **Handling Relationships**: managing emotions in relationships well and accurately reading social situations and networks; interacting smoothly; using these skills to persuade and lead, negotiate and settle disputes, for cooperation and teamwork.

**EQ Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Awareness (SA)</td>
<td>12-28</td>
<td>28-44</td>
<td>44-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Emotions (ME)</td>
<td>7-16</td>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>25-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivating Oneself (MO)</td>
<td>14-33</td>
<td>33-52</td>
<td>52-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathy (E)</td>
<td>9-21</td>
<td>21-35</td>
<td>35-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handling Relationships (HR)</td>
<td>18-46</td>
<td>46-70</td>
<td>70-90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Test results of 49 children in each of the domains of EIT are summarized below (Table 1-5 & Graph 1-5), showing the number of children (frequency) placed in various categories based on their scores.
Table H.1: Performance (Frequency and Percentage) in the **Self Awareness** domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>91.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Average</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chart H.1: Self Awareness**

![Self Awareness Pie Chart]

The chart shows that the vast majority of the children (91.8%) fall in the average category of Self Awareness domain of EIT. Personality traits of these children that may be clubbed under this domain include the following: they can easily impress others at least on occasions, can often handle criticisms regarding their physical appearance, would occasionally get upset on missing opportunities in life and often get irritated and depressed when unable to solve problems.

Table H.2: Performance (Frequency and Percent) in the **Managing Emotions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>87.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Average</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart 2 shows that a large majority of the children (87.8%) fall in the average category of Managing Emotions domain of EIT. Personality traits of these children that may be clubbed under this domain include the following: These children can usually control their temper in interacting with their friends, can often cope with feelings of depression, and often manage to handle difficult situations in their life.

Table H.3: Frequency and Percent of the Motivating Oneself domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Average</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart H.3: Motivating Oneself
The majority of children (65.3%) fall into the average category of the Motivating Oneself domain. Interestingly, a considerably large proportion (34.7%) falls in the high category. These children seem to perceive clear goals in life and are able to accept themselves as they are (with their strengths and weaknesses) on most occasions.

Table H.4: Frequency and Percent of **Empathy** domain of Emotional Intelligence Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>89.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Average</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Chart H.4: Empathy]

The majority (89.8%) of the children fall under the average category of the empathy domain. These children are mostly empathetic in nature. They tend to forgive others and tend to feel guilty if they can’t help others when needed.

Table H.5: Frequency and Percent of **handling relationships** domain of Emotional Intelligence Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Average</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Chart H.5: Handling relationships]
The chart shows that the majority of the children (98%) fall in the average category of the Handling Relationship domain. They are usually confident when talking to a new person. They learn from the mistakes of others, at least sometimes. They tend to apologize for their behaviour if they think they were wrong. They tend to believe that nobody is perfect and everybody has scope for improvement.

**Interrelationship between the domains of EIT**

To understand the relationship between different domains of Emotional Intelligence Test, the Pearson Product Moment Correlation was checked and the results are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>ME</th>
<th>MO</th>
<th>Empathy</th>
<th>HR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-.139</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.282*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.212</td>
<td></td>
<td>.416*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.329*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In normal circumstances, one would expect positive correlation between the various domains of EIT, implying the fact that each domain reinforces another. As can be seen in

*e* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
the above table, all correlations except two (with ‘managing emotions’) are positive. In case of correlation between ‘managing emotions’ and ‘handling relationship’, the correlation is negative and statistically significant. Studies in this area reported that the ability to manage emotions or emotional competences is associated with social adaptation, implying a positive relationship between them (Halberstadt, Denham, & Dunsmore, 2001); (Keltner & Haidt, 2001). An instance of negative association between them implies ability to manage emotions is associated with inability to handle social relationship or vice versa. The cropping-up of negative associations among factors that one expects to be positively correlated is by no means unheard of. However, when that happens, it is reasonable to look for explanations. Since there seemed to be no ready answers in the literature, we offer a suggestion. It is as follows:

Human beings have finite psychological resources that must be employed for different kinds of coping. Children who went through some kind of serious trauma early in their life might, other things being similar, find it relatively more difficult to manage their emotions. Those who need or choose to utilize their psychological resources more for managing emotions might have lesser resources available for handling social relationships. On the other hand, those who need or choose to utilize their psychological resources more for handling social relationships might have relatively fewer resources available for managing their emotions.

All this is tentative and one expects studies among such children and comparable populations might shed further light on the issue.

**Intelligence Quotient Test**

To understand the Intelligence Quotient of the sampled children, the Seguin Form Board Test was used. Based on a single factor theory of intelligence, “form board tests measure speed and accuracy apart from a child's eye-hand co-ordination, visuo-motor skills, shape-concept, visual perception and cognitive ability” (Venkatesan S., 2014, p. 45).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IQ Score</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>130 and above</td>
<td>Very Superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 to 129</td>
<td>Superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 to 119</td>
<td>High Average</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 to 109</td>
<td>Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
80 to 89 | Dull Normal
70 to 79 | Borderline
50 to 69 | Mild Mental Retardation
35 to 49 | Moderate Mental Retardation
20 to 34 | Severe Mental Retardation
Below 20 | Profound Mental Retardation

The test results are summarized in Table H.7 and Chart H.7.

Table H.7: Frequency and Percent of IQ of the children from the sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IQ Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Superior</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Average</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dull Normal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mild Mental Retardation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above chart, it is evident that 38.8 % children are in the average category. The proportions of children in the above-average, superior, and very superior categories respectively add up to 49%, an impressively sizable proportion. A significant number of them (34.7%) fall in the superior or very superior categories! When we consider ‘average or above’ as a category, a sizable 87.8 % of the children are found to fall in that set. Only 12.2% of the children are either at borderline or are dull normal or have mild mental retardation. This test is deemed ideal for children up to 13 years of age and, as per expert opinion, can be used up to 15 years of age in case of any retardation. In our sample, we had a considerable number of children who were above 13 years of age. Therefore, as
explained earlier, it was considered important to examine the results of those in the 10-13 group separately. The number of children in this age-group was 21. Examining the scores of the children in this group we found 81% in the ‘average or above’ category. This is also noteworthy!

**Limitation:** An IQ test like MISIC (Malin's Intelligence Scale for Indian Children) could perhaps have given more reliable result but these tests need to be done in professional settings over a much longer time-frame.

**Mean comparison tests**

To see whether there existed any difference in IQ and EQ scores between different groups of children, mean comparison tests were done using the t-statistic. Different groupings were considered based on sex, age, type of school and duration under CVF intervention. Statistical tools were used to understand whether the difference in the mean of two groups was statistically significant or not. We use p-value to judge to this end and this involves comparing the p-value to the significance level. If the p-value is less than significance level we say that the mean difference is statistically significant at that level of significance. For example, if the computed p-value is less than 0.01 we say that the mean difference is statistically significant at 1 percent level. In non-technical words, this can be interpreted as saying that there is a 99 percent (1-0.01=.99) chance of the difference being true. Or in other words, in can be interpreted as p-value less than 0.01 means the finding has a 1 percent (.01) chance of not being true, which is the converse of a 99 percent chance of being true.

**Comparison based on sex**

Results of mean comparison test based of sex of the sampled children are presented in Table H.8.
Table H.8: Comparison of Means among boys and girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean score (Boys) (N=17)</th>
<th>Mean score (Girls) (N=32)</th>
<th>p-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>106.76</td>
<td>115.13</td>
<td>0.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>37.53</td>
<td>35.90</td>
<td>0.292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>22.12</td>
<td>21.78</td>
<td>0.689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51.19</td>
<td>0.137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>29.94</td>
<td>30.75</td>
<td>0.453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td>61.35</td>
<td>60.75</td>
<td>0.738</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the p-value, there are no significant differences among the means of boys and girls with respect to IQ, Self-Awareness (SA), Managing Emotions (ME), Motivating Oneself (MO), Empathy (E) and Handling Relationships (HR).

Comparison based on age

Children were divided into two groups based on their age. The mean comparison of IQ and EQ scores are presented in Table H.9.

Table H.9: Comparison of Means based on age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean score (10-13 years) (N=21)</th>
<th>Mean score (14-17 years) (N=28)</th>
<th>p-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>106.7</td>
<td>116.4</td>
<td>0.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>0.781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>22.19</td>
<td>21.68</td>
<td>0.514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>49.14</td>
<td>51.39</td>
<td>0.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>31.43</td>
<td>29.75</td>
<td>0.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td>60.52</td>
<td>61.29</td>
<td>0.655</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here in this case we find no significant difference between the children in 10-13 years age group and in the 14-17 age group in their IQ or any of the EQ domain scores.

**Comparison based on school-type**

To understand whether school types have any significant role in the psychological and emotional development of the children, sampled children were divided in children were divided into two groups based on school type. Results are presented in **Table H.10**.

**Table H.10: Comparison of Means based on school type**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean score (Govt. School) (N=15)</th>
<th>Mean score (Private School) (N=34)</th>
<th>p-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>112.47</td>
<td>112.12</td>
<td>0.957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>37.03</td>
<td>0.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>22.67</td>
<td>21.56</td>
<td>0.199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>50.26</td>
<td>0.728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30.68</td>
<td>0.544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>61.29</td>
<td>0.557</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that there are no significant differences due to school type with respect to IQ, Self-Awareness (SA), Managing Emotions (ME), Motivating Oneself (MO), Empathy (E) and Handling Relationships (HR).

**Comparison based on duration of intervention**

We were interested to understand whether children under CVF programme for a longer time period are performing better than those with shorter duration under the programme. Given the sample size, the critical level is chosen at 8 years to make the two groups relatively equal in size. So, we have a group of children with intervention duration at 3-8 years and another group who are under intervention for 9-15 years. Mean comparison results are presented in **Table 13**.
Table H.12: Comparison of Means based on duration of intervention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean score (3-8 years) (N=27)</th>
<th>Mean score (9-15 years) (N=22)</th>
<th>p-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>105.85</td>
<td>120.05</td>
<td>.014*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>36.93</td>
<td>35.91</td>
<td>.492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>21.96</td>
<td>21.82</td>
<td>.857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>49.56</td>
<td>51.50</td>
<td>.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>30.37</td>
<td>30.59</td>
<td>.831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td>61.40</td>
<td>61.41</td>
<td>.563</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table H.12 clearly shows that there are no significant differences due to years of intervention with respect to Self-Awareness (SA), Managing Emotions (ME), Motivating Oneself (MO), Empathy (E) and Handling Relationships (HR). However, the difference is statistically significant (at 5 per cent level) with respect to IQ score; where children under intervention for longer duration scored higher than those under intervention for a shorter period of time. One should, however, interpret these results little carefully. To understand whether duration of intervention plays any important role, the grouping should have been, may be, duration less than 2 years (a relatively small duration) against more than 2 years. However, given the sample it was not possible to make such groupings and this is a limitation of this study.
Section H
Our impressions of the Children

In the course of the study, members/volunteers of the study team got to meet the children. The resulting interactions were unstructured and useful precisely for that reason. Dr. Jayanta Dwibedi met some 15 beneficiary children on his visit to one of the residential schools. All the students were girls. Dr. Dwibedi found the younger ones to be polite, interested in conversation, extrovert, and eminently likable. The older ones (Classes 8-10) tended to be a little less forthcoming. Was it, Dr. Dwibedi wondered, because the older children were more aware of the social implications of their backgrounds and felt somewhat sensitive about inquiries from “curious” visitors? But then, that was only speculation. For, the children, even when slightly aloof, were polite. There was nothing discourteous in their slightly holding back, if it could be called that. Perhaps it was nothing more than older girls simply being shier and more reserved—the study team discussed. After all, if Dr. Dwibedi had not known about their backgrounds, he would have found nothing amiss and accepted them as usual children—which they appeared to be.

Ms. Rashmi Jha had to interact with the children more extensively while conducting the psychometric tests. She stressed that she, in general, enjoyed working with these children, whom she found to be forthcoming and courteous. From all she could tell, this was also the experience of the two other volunteers who assisted her. The children appeared to be forthcoming and seemed to be less socially shy than other children in their age cohorts. Talking to them, she had the impression that they were used to meeting visitors. Perhaps, she speculated, the IVF needed to bring in visitors occasionally to meet the children, which explained their comfort with outsiders. They also seemed to be used to answering questions about themselves, their interests, their studies, etc. Rashmi Jha found nothing in the children that could indicate their special contexts—except perhaps there was something in their appearance that suggested somewhat economically disadvantaged backgrounds. That is only natural. But, even this impression, she said, could be because she knew about them and may have been particularly sensitive about any contextual cues from their appearance and behaviour. But, all said and done, she admitted that had she
known nothing about their special context, she would not have guessed that they were anything other than a set of normal children, behaving as they were expected to behave.
Chapter 4
Analysis: what the findings suggest

The contents of this chapter follow almost inevitably from the discussion already undertaken. Consequently, unlike the contents of the previous chapters, it is going to be brief.

In assessing the difference that a project (dedicated to the uplift of a target population) is making in the life of its intended beneficiaries, it is important to estimate essentially two things:

First, the degree of social disadvantage and vulnerability of the target population;

Second, to what extent the beneficiaries have benefited from receiving the services offered by the project

Our investigations have yielded information (direct or otherwise) under three broad classes:

i. The degree of vulnerability of children of incarcerated mothers on a transnational scale and, on a more urgent note, in this country

ii. Whether the CVF project is providing the services it claims to be providing

iii. How far it is attaining its objective of making a substantial positive difference in the lives of children of incarcerated mothers

Our excursions in the domain of published information and analysis indicated that the social group among which the IVF purports to intervene and among whose children population the CVF project functions is usually drawn from highly disadvantaged sections of the population. Further, there were findings that parental incarceration and particularly maternal incarceration had serious impacts on the lives of children. There were no specific Indian studies on the subject. However, reports tended to indicate that maternal incarceration was likely to have severe consequences for children in India as well.

In absence of specific Indian studies on the subject, we were compelled to rely on an investigation of 50 mothers from prisons where IVF was working but whose children had
not come under the CVF scheme.\textsuperscript{12} We found significant adverse effects on their children in terms of dropping out, falling out of the parental radar, and so on, even in the short-term—reinforcing the idea that maternal incarceration, uncompensated by some external support system, is likely to cause serious disturbances in a child’s life, with worrying consequences for the child’s future. The findings even seemed to indicate that a section of these mothers was coming from families that, in addition to economic poverty and incarceration of the mother, were subject to other vulnerabilities—incidence of crime, father’s incarceration, death of father, and so on, making the child’s helplessness even more urgent.

Alokananda Roy, who has worked among prisoners in the Presidency jail in Kolkata and, among other things, helps the children of women prisoners to find opportunities for quality education, explicitly stressed on the helplessness and injustice facing the children of inmates both within the prison and outside, and emphasized on the urgent need for developing support systems for such children.

All this was evidence enough for the necessity of developing support systems that could help the child look forward to a better future, notwithstanding the serious difficulties and traumas that had befallen her.

The CVF is precisely a project that claims to provide such a support system and, moreover, ostensibly aspires to take the child forward towards a far brighter future than she could aspire to otherwise.

The routes we took to find out whether the IVF was earnestly trying to live up to its claims with respect to the CVF and whether they were actually making a difference have been amply discussed to make reiteration unnecessary.

Following are the various sources and the summarized information they have yielded:

- Interviews of 10 beneficiary families, who gave ample evidence of specific and substantial services provided to children and had excellent things to say of the difference it made to the lives of the children and the families—for example,

\textsuperscript{12} Or any other similar scheme for no other scheme seems to be in operation.
reporting cases where the children had grown up to acquire mainstream jobs and earning to support their families.

- Interviews of some of the more successful beneficiaries (anthologized in the Appendix as “Success Stories”), which eloquently bring out the huge difference that the CVF project has made in the lives of children, who, in their own words, felt that they owed a very great deal, if not everything, to the IVF for taking them in its care. More than one referred to the IVF and the CVF project personnel as their family (It is also important that both the families as well as the beneficiary children named some of the persons in charge of project implementation as individuals with whom they could share their problems and seek guidance).

- The survey of 50 mothers in prison: Interestingly, this was not expected to yield any evidence in favour or against the achievements of the CVF project. However, it did so in an indirect manner. Most of the women surveyed requested their children to be admitted into the CVF programme—definitely some sort of vote in favour of the positive impact of the CVF or at least vote in favour of the rating it enjoyed among those who were likely to be the most interested.

- Psychometric evaluation of 49 children,\textsuperscript{13} the results of which show that the children, on an average, are intelligent and emotionally stable—with an impressive proportion exhibiting higher than average scores for self-awareness and other emotional resources. As we have indicated, it is difficult to make much of the IQ scores for various reasons including the absence of supporting data relating to academic performance. However, the impressive EIT scores, which tend to suggest emotional resources across several domains, should not be ignored. How far all these can be traced to the project is difficult to ascertain. However some salience might be attributed to the following facts: 34 of the 49 children evaluated enjoy the benefits of \textit{residential schooling environment} along with IVF organizational care (including the attention of a trained psychologist), while 15 live in their home environment, with their schooling and attendant costs supported by the IVF—

\textsuperscript{13}Which is about 25% of the total number of children (about 50% of the relevant age group children) beneficiaries—a fair-sized sample.
something that helps to reduce the burden on the family and is likely to be conducive to improving the quality of the home environment.

• General interaction with children at various points and particularly when conducting psychometric evaluation in the three residential schools, at the Bawana Community Centre, and in the homes of children under home support—this interaction was useful precisely because it was not formally structured. The overall impression was that of ‘normal’, ‘well-behaved’ children. Given that 34 of the 49 were from the residential support programme (i.e. children under more direct care of the project personnel) and the rest under relatively distant supervision—this certainly tends to chalk up points for project performance. Since we don’t have other reports on schoolchildren from similar family backgrounds, we have nothing with which to compare these impressions. However, if the literature on children of incarcerated mothers and the apprehensions are to be given any credence—the impressions of the behaviour of the children being studied tend to imply impressive achievement.

• Interviews of prison officials—some of whom were well aware of the CVF project and, based on their experience of the environment to which children staying with their imprisoned mother tend to be exposed in jails, were generous in their praise of the effort and the overall work of the IVF.

The question of the samples provided by the IVF

We have already mentioned that with regard to the beneficiary families and with regard to the case studies we were entirely dependent on the samples provided by the IVF. This raises obvious questions regarding objectivity.

We have seen that the 10 beneficiary families had very nice things to say about IVF support. But, as recipients of CVF support they might feel sort of honour-bound or otherwise constrained to sing the IVF’s praises. One needs to allow for that. However, even after allowing for it, there are two things.

First, the information they provided of the support was so obviously substantial that it is not surprising that the families should be grateful. The investigator who visited them was,
in almost all cases, overwhelmed by the extent of their misfortunes and their evident need of the support they received.

Secondly, she could feel that the respondents were speaking sincerely. In fact, at least on two occasions (for families numbered 2 and 5) the respondents expressed the opinion that it would have been more helpful if the IVF had provided some financial help to the family in addition to supporting the children’s studies. Therefore, it was not as if there was no expression of lack of satisfaction. Moreover, in one instance (respondent no. 9), there was a comment about the problems attendant to keeping a very small girl in a hostel.

Once again, it might be argued that the whole thing was tutored or rehearsed. But, at least, it did not look like that to our investigator who talked to the respondents at length and could feel that she was speaking to real beneficiaries, i.e. persons who felt that they had benefited.

Another interesting thing about the 10-family sample is that it is not a complete bundle of success stories—as might be expected from a favourably loaded sample. Indeed, the performance of the families and of the CVF-supported children varies. In the case of the family no. 10, one might be tempted to call it a case of project failure. None of the children continued their studies and failed to improve their lot. But that is precisely what one can expect in a sizeable sample, unless one decides to keep such instances out.

A similar reasoning applies to the case studies. The results varied and of the eight interviewed, only 5 made it to the success story list. And, as we have already mentioned, the interviewer took care to talk to each of the interviewees separately and out of earshot of others. Even after discounting for the setting in which the interviews took place and the sense of obligation and other possible constraints which might keep the interviewees from expressing their true opinions, the interviewer strongly felt that, at least in general, the respondents were speaking with sincerity.

Regarding the project team

If the project appears to be delivering the services that it is its objective to deliver, one would expect a large amount of credit goes to the project team (obviously in addition to those in charge of the organization that has conceived the project). The sources mentioned
above and our repeated interactions with the project team members lead us to the following observation:

Every work is best executed when performed with the right mix of passion and process. For the CVF project, this right mix is absolutely essential in view of the beneficiaries it intends to serve. Over and above the routine functions—activity scheduling, reporting, assessments and so on—the project team members are required to develop emotional ties with the unfortunate children they serve.

In this regard, the CVF project team brings confidence to an observer. The team is dedicated and attached to their work. Small teams have their own advantages in terms of internal coordination, reporting, and bonding among its members. Moreover, because the team is small, it escapes over-regulation without sacrificing order. The members are relatively young. Nevertheless, there appears sufficient experience at the helm and sufficient capability among the members for the requisite efficiency. The five-member team (including the Project Manager) exhibit gender balance in its constitution—three female members and two male members. They are motivated and the small team size helps them resolve issues and act promptly and decisively. In brief, the present organization and implementation of the CVF project, with its formal and informal elements embracing process and passion, fits the project’s activities and objectives.

Summing up

Based on the above, we can sum up with the following observation:

*What we have found strongly suggests that thanks to the dedication and efficiency of its project team (and possibly because of the overall leadership provided by those at the helm of the IVF) the CVF project is providing services it is meant to provide and is making a positive and welcome difference in the lives of children of incarcerated mothers.*

Nevertheless...yes, there is a significant *nevertheless*. We shall consider it in the last chapter.
Chapter 5
Further Observations and Recommendations

While it became apparent to us that the project was being implemented admirably, we also felt some areas needed attention. They are as follows:

1. Not the best possible efficiency in updating and conserving information

We had innumerable occasions to seek information from the project team—mostly from Pearly Sanil. Our requests were always greeted warmly and we could sense a sincere effort to comply. Mostly, we found what we were seeking. However, there were occasions when the project team seemed to flounder in providing information that, ideally, should have been at its fingertips. Right now, we shall mention only one example. When the complete list of beneficiary students (with relevant details) was first sought, we learned that the list had not been updated for a while and, therefore, a slightly incomplete list of 175 students was provided. It was much later, in fact only recently, that the project team could come up with what it declared to be a completely up-to-date list of 197 student beneficiaries.

2. Cavalier attitude to caste data? – A conundrum

As per the caste-wise data on 175 student beneficiaries sent by the project team, we get the following picture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBC</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh (Muslim)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC/ST</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows that the proportion of SC/ST to the total is equal to 4% and that of the OBC to the total is equal to 2.86%. These proportions are far below the respective proportions of these demographic groups not only in the Indian prison system at the all-India level, but also way below the respective proportions in Delhi, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh. The following table shows this (National Crime Records Bureau, 2015, p. 100).
We asked the CVF project team the reason for this striking under-representation of the backward castes and classes among the CVF project beneficiaries. The answer we got is as follows:

The prisoners were unsure of their caste. Moreover, in most cases, they do not have caste-certificates. Therefore, the caste data of the project beneficiaries is unreliable.

When asked why the data was not collected from the prison authorities—who are supposed to have this data for it is the source of prison statistics on caste (repeatedly cited in this study)—the answer we got was that they were not aware of this fact.

While it is credible that ascertaining the caste of someone, particularly at lower levels of literacy, might be a problem on occasions, it is difficult to accept that, in a north-Indian setting, ascertaining someone’s caste was impossible. While one can understand that caste is a sensitive issue and it might be wise to avoid referring to it unnecessarily, it remains a fact that it is an important social reality tied to both lack of empowerment and possibility of empowerment. This is because knowing one’s caste-tribe status, specifically whether one was SC, ST, and OBC, creates the possibility of availing of opportunities that the government offers in the way of positive discrimination.

Right now, looking at the statistics offered by the project team, one might be provoked to think that a negative discrimination was operating in this project against backward castes and classes! We have no other reasons to think that such has been the case. However, this is certainly an area of information collection and policy consideration that merits serious attention.

3. Selection procedure
The beneficiaries that we met appeared to be truly needy and vulnerable families. But, how are they being selected? The project team said that they tried to ascertain the degree of vulnerability of the family in question and the children. Depending on the context and requirements of the family they selected one or more child—indeed, the propensity and policy seems to be to select several children—those who were in the school-going age. Selections seem to be made based on visits to the families in question and conducting an overall estimation of distress and vulnerability.

But, there were many applications seeking support. And, given the demography of prisoners, which we have discussed in some detail, many would be genuinely needy and vulnerable. However, not everyone can be chosen and it is not entirely clear whether it is always the most needy and vulnerable family that gets chosen and whether it is always possible to decide which family merits the most support. Incidentally, all except one family we visited were chosen because of request from the mother—who got acquainted with the IVF personnel engaged in ‘inside the prison’ programme and possibly whose child was enrolled into the crèche programme. Here, some amount of human arbitrariness is likely to come into play when making hard choices.

Indeed, our impression was that the decision was guided more by personal judgement than by carefully considered and structured criteria. At least, we are not aware of any such structured instructions guiding selection. This is not to say that choices made are arbitrary. No, on the contrary, we have found that the team was able to provide good answers to one test case regarding which we asked probing questions. Nevertheless, we have not seen any clearly articulated selection norm.

We appreciate that there are problems in having a mechanical and bureaucratic set of rules of selection. Judgement based on experience and good instincts might often prove better than selection algorithms. Moreover, often children who are already in IVF-run crèche are selected and, here, personal relationships with the organizational personnel can play a role. Some degree of flexibility and scope for “manual overrides” of mechanical norms might have to be allowed in making selections. Nevertheless, it is important to have a structured set of criteria that guide selection in most cases—one could even think of something that is algorithmic enough to permit software-based decision-making. This is important
to guard against human ignorance, fallibility, and bias. One must bear in mind that one of the major challenges of project implementation is the utilization of scarce resources in a manner that creates the best impact—i.e. the most social benefit.

4. Was the organization making the best use of its human resources?

Beneficiaries tended to speak of Chandrashekhar in one voice. Yet, on inquiring we found that he was no longer in the project team but was serving as an accountant for the IVF. No doubt, there are good grounds for the decision. However, we felt that it was something that needed noting.

Recommendations

Our recommendations are based on the above observations. They are:

1. The organization needs to be more information-smart. It must give priority to collecting, preserving, and updating all relevant information. However, information-smartness must be subservient to smart use of information. The idea is to be fully aware of the actual or potential need of a particular piece of information. This awareness itself would help the organization to treat it with the priority it deserves. This leads us to the second point.

2. Information casualness, even to a certain degree, might be due to lack of clarity regarding priorities—which, in turn, leads to less importance being attached to collecting and updating information that is vital.

3. The organization has already shown itself open to external probing and monitoring. We would advise the organization to open itself to more systematic scrutiny, and monitoring on a slightly more regular basis. As to the modus operandi in this regard and particularly which areas need scrutiny and evaluation—the organization itself is best placed to consider.

4. The present organization shows dynamism and agility. However, and this is a crucial “however”, future expansion of the project’s scope or shift in the focus of the intervention from direct implementation to mentoring other organizations in implementing similar projects is bound to necessitate dynamic and creative
thinking to find the means of preserving quality in a situation of scale-enhancement and heterogeneity of implementation.

5. We hope future studies in this area will capture and assess the effects of CVF intervention on the academic attainments of the programme beneficiaries.
References:


Appendix I

Success Stories

(All names have been changed)
Ananya

Ananya belongs to that special class of children who are born in ‘prison’.

Her mother was jailed with a life in her womb. She gave birth to Ananya, who had the prison as her childhood home. At the age of 3, she started attending the crèche that the IVF was running in the prison. When she outgrew her crèche, the IVF arranged her admission to the Assisi Convent School. She started staying in a hostel, supported by IVF. Indeed, the IVF supported her through her entire academic career—from tuition fees to every daily need. After finishing her school, Ananya wanted to become a fashion designer. However, the cost of the course was too high. Since she scored high marks in business management in 12th standard examinations, both the IVF and her teachers suggested that she join the Bachelor course in Business Administration. Hence, she joined BBA and received a scholarship from the IVF to support her through the course. The family was seriously hard up. Therefore, to support her family, Ananya also took up a part-time job along with her studies. This experience helped her to get a reasonably good job after completing her BBA. Now, she is working with a company in Gurgaon as a sales executive, with a monthly salary of almost Rs. 30,000.

Ananya has a sister who is older to her and four brothers who are younger. Her sister also received IVF’s support and is now a nurse. IVF is also supporting three of her brothers in pursuing their education. Ananya and her sister take care of their youngest brother’s schooling. There is no male elder to support the family. When Ananya’s father died, her mother married someone else. He, however, left them after a few years. Ananya’s mother worked in a factory to support the family. Now, although her daughters have fair incomes, she continues to work. Indeed, she has responsibilities. Although the IVF bore the admission and tuition fees for her elder sister, the other costs had to be borne by the family. Therefore, the mother had to take a loan of about Rs 50,000 from a local moneylender and now the compounded interest plus the principal amounts to Rs. 250,000, which the family must repay. However, Ananya does not want her mother to work anymore. She and her sister want to repay this loan as soon as possible so that her mother can be at home. Ananya also wants to help her brothers to continue their studies.
Ananya feels that the IVF has been a blessing for her. She owes everything in her life to the IVF. Without their support, the family would not have had a real life. As a child of an incarcerated mother, getting along in this world would have been difficult. Now, however, she has a present and future to fight for and wants to work hard to help her family in every possible way.
‘If any time in my life, the IVF tells me to give them the most precious thing in my life, I will not ask why. Without wasting a second, I will give it to them’.

This is how Tamanna voices her gratitude to the IVF. She has been under IVF intervention from Class 3 and even today, when she is economically independent, continues to get emotional support from members of the IVF.

She and her brother, who received IVF care from Class 1, have received all forms of support from the IVF. In addition to tuition fees, they received financial support for stationery and clothes and were also taken on educational tours and other outings. As a child, Tamanna once fell severely ill and was admitted to the hospital for a long time. The IVF took the full responsibility for her treatment. Thanks to IVF support, Tamanna has completed her BBA and is now working with a reputed company in Gurgaon with a monthly salary of Rs 18,000. It was tough getting a job as a fresher but Tamanna was determined and finally procured one. She aspires to complete her MBA from a management institute in London. But she also feels that studying abroad is not easy, so if that does not work she would opt for any Open University in India. She is also preparing for competitive examinations to get a government job, on which her family members are keen. She would work for a few years, save some money, and then get into some tutorial in Kota or Allahabad.

Tamanna’s brother did not complete his graduation. He left after completing Class 12. The IVF asked him to join the ITI after completing Class 12 but he was not interested. Tamanna got him admitted him for the BA course on her own efforts, but he left that after a year. Presently, he is working as a salesman. Tamanna thinks that her brother is not so serious about his work and frequently changes his job. Her father died when she was in class 7, so she has taken full responsibility of looking after her mother. Her mother does not keep well and stays with her maternal aunt. She wants to build a small house for her mother in the land provided by her maternal uncle.

Once she is on a surer economic footing, Tamanna wants to help children who are as underprivileged as she was. Now, she makes regular visits to the orphanage and spends
time with them—telling them stories and helping them with their paintings. To help them better she wants a job with more salary. She says she is a fighter and will keep on fighting until she attains her objectives.
Rajesh

Rajesh is a drummer. His ambition is to be a famous drummer. When in school, Rajesh did not find much interest in his studies. He could not cope with science subjects in particular. Therefore, having failed thrice to clear his Class 10 exams, he quit school.

Rajesh was under IVF-intervention since he was in prison with his mother. Starting with his stay in the crèche, the IVF continued to support his studies and hostel accommodation until, in class 10, he took leave of school. Studying in a missionary school, he got to play drums in the school chapel every Sunday. He says that his talent as a drummer is God’s gift, which is why he has succeeded in this area without any professional training. The IVF wanted him to continue his studies but Rajesh had no interest. Hence, the IVF got him enrolled in computer and baking classes so that he could learn some other marketable skills. Later, through the IVF, Rajesh started giving drum lessons to prisoners in a Gurgaon prison. At present, he offers drum lessons to children at their homes. He looks forward to having his own drum set in future. The IVF has also helped his two sisters, who are now married. His sisters got married soon after completing class 12 because the family feels that, in their community, girls with higher education had poor chance of getting married.

For Rajesh, the IVF is like a parent. He says that when they had parent-teacher meetings in school, representatives from the IVF would attend those meetings as their parents. He feels that in the IVF is his true guardian. All he is today is only because of the support and guidance of IVF. The IVF has helped him and his siblings in every possible way and they continue to receive guidance and emotional support from the IVF.

Rajesh is now married and his wife is studying in college. His mother has not yet been cleared of charges but is out on bail. Rajesh wants to become a strong support for his family and he can achieve that when he will have his own drums and can offer drum lessons on a large-scale.
Vikash

“My strength lies in being able adjust to any situation” — says Vikash, with confidence.

Unwanted by his parents at an early age, Vikash started staying with his aunt (mother’s sister) and her family. But, unfortunately, when he was 6 years old, his aunt was also jailed. Through his aunt he came into contact with the IVF. His uncle enrolled him along with his own children in the IVF project. He was then in Class 2. He stayed in a hostel and completed class 10 with IVF-support. Thereafter, he came back to stay with his uncle, though the IVF support for his studies continued. By then, the aunt had died of cancer. The IVF helped Vikash to complete Class 12 through studying in open school. The IVF also supported his computer classes along with tuition fees for giving exams. Now he is pursuing his BA from an Open University and also working with a bank as account-opening facilitator. He got this job through a friend. He owes his success to IVF who has supported him in every possible way; educational, emotional, and financial. At present, he is earning and can support his own studies. However, he often reaches out to the IVF for emotional support and always receives it. Moreover, the IVF is still supporting his siblings in pursuing their education. He feels the IVF has been a blessing for him. Without them he would have been on the streets. For, since the death of his aunt he has not received any support from his uncle.

Vikash does not want to keep any contact with his parents and uncle as they are too demanding. They want everything he earns. So, he stays alone. Whatever little he earns he spends on his development. It is his dream that in future he would earn sufficient money so that he can help needy children through the IVF. His mantra for success in life is ‘never give-up’ and ‘self-reliance’. He is happy with the way his life is moving, but he only wants to earn more so as to help other children in need.
Prerana

Prerana is a 20 years old.

She is an ambitious girl. She wants to excel in her life as an NRI banker and to achieve this she is doing a diploma course in banking and finance. She gets full scholarship support for the diploma course as she has secured 86% marks in her Class 12 exams. In addition, she is also studying for Bachelor’s degree in Commerce. Further, she wants to acquire an MBA degree from a reputed institute. Both her parents and elder brother were in prison. Her family members were released but the case reopened after 10 years. They were imprisoned but have been released again. Her mother died last year due to depression and other health issues. That was the time when the IVF was with her in providing emotional support and encouraging her to continue with her studies.

Prerana says that she has received all her support—from educational to other economic needs—from the IVF. At the age of 4yr 6 months, when she was with her mother in prison, she was taken out by the IVF and put into hostel. She completed her class 12 from the hostel. Now, she stays with her younger brother and sister in-law. However, she considers the IVF to be her family, the place where she can readily seek support. She gets in touch with the IVF whenever she needs guidance. She wants to be independent and support her father when he comes out of the prison. In the near future, she wants to support needy children in getting good education, as she feels quality education can change one’s life—as it has done for her.
Appendix 2

Interviews of Prison Officials
The Tihar prison has the largest campus in Asia with 9 separate prisons. It includes 1 female prison and one separate prison for adolescents from 18-21 years of age. A factory is situated in prison no 2. The inmates who work in the factory stays in prison no 2. Tihar has its own brand ‘TJ’ for its products.

Mr Sudhir Yadav was posted as DG of Tihar on 6th of May 2016.

Due to his very busy schedule we got to talk to him only for about 10 minutes and had a general discussion on his experience of working in prisons, services provided to the prisoners, and the wellbeing of the inmates and their children.

He was rather dissatisfied with the working attitude of his officials and wanted more things to be done. He felt that to bring maximum changes in the services provided and reformation of the inmates, the attitude of the officials towards the inmates had to change. He is organizing several trainings and refresher courses to bring about these changes. Mr Yadav says that a lot is being done for the prisoners and it will be more effective if the officials have a positive attitude towards the inmates.

There are 9 prisons within the Tihar campus and different activities are undertaken within the prisons. Some programs are run directly by the administration and some are carried out with the help of different non-governmental institutions. These institutions include the IVF, Pratham Foundation, Pearl Foundation, Cambridge School, and Javed Habib Institution. These institutions provide services mostly on skill development, education, counselling, and nutritional support. With Mr Yadav’s initiative, the National Open School has agreed to start all of its courses in Tihar. The engagement of the inmates in different activities has helped in reducing the problems among the inmates, particularly fighting and harming each other.

Mr. Yadav didn’t say much about the services provided by the IVF. He was quite satisfied with the work done by the IVF, especially for mothers and children. However, he didn’t have much idea about the needs of the female inmates and the children.
staying with their mothers in the prison. When asked what happens to a child when s/he leaves the prison at the age of 6, he said they did not have any provision for taking care of or keeping information about those children and other family members of the inmates. And since IVF is working very efficiently with those children, the prison authorities were not too concerned about it.

He believes that a child should not bear the stigma of their parents’ actions. A child gets moulded according to the environment and people he/she grows up with. If a parent is criminal that doesn’t mean that the child will also grow up to be one. But social stigma and discrimination in the society can sometimes push the child towards crime.
Rekha Rani Sharma
Superintendent of Prison no. 6 (Female Prison) in the Tihar Prison Complex

Rekha Rani Sharma joined this post on 18 July 2016. This is her first appointment inside a prison. Earlier she was at the Tihar headquarters, and her job was confined mostly to paperwork. When she received this appointment, she took it as a challenge as she felt that working with the inmates from different backgrounds was a demanding task. In particular, she says, working with female inmates is tougher than working with male inmates. Men are easier to handle, while women quarrel more often. Moreover, women are more attached to their family and frequently ask to see their children.

The prisoners often suffer from depression. Hence, there is a counselling unit inside the prison run by an organization. Vodafone has installed a booth inside the prison, which the inmates can use to talk to any two members of their family. The contact numbers of these selected members are pre-loaded in the system. Often, the inmates created trouble just to get attention. Ms. Sharma feels that the behaviour of the inmates depends mostly on their family background, social environment, and educational status.

As regards the children staying in prison with their incarcerated mothers, the administration provides several facilities for their development. They have collaborated with different organizations for providing preschool education. The IVF is one of the organizations providing excellent support to the children and their mothers. The prison provides children with proper food and nutrition. Efforts are made to provide them with a decent environment and opportunities for creative activities.

For the prisoners themselves, different kinds of skill training are provided by different organizations. The concerned organizations also provide them with certificates, which help them to find work when they are released. The skill trainings include fashion designing, hair cutting, knitting, and beautician training.

The IVF had tried to organize taking the children on outings. This did not work out because the children are not allowed outside the prison for reasons of security. Ms. Sharma feels that the services provided by the IVF are very useful for the children who are staying with their mothers in prisons.
The prison maintains a detailed database, which includes information on each Inmate, including name, father/husband’s name, address, age, sex, education, nationality, type of crime, and contact details of ten persons who can visit her. But there is no information on family members or the children who are not with their mothers in prison.

Most of the inmates belong to poor families, from both rural and urban areas. Women who are incarcerated for long periods tend to lose their family identity. Often, they lose all contact with their family members. Moreover, their families refuse to accept them when they are released. (Such things, in general, do not happen to the men). The prison authorities have no information about what happens to the children of these mothers. Ms. Sharma believes that the future of these children depend on their family background and the environment in which they grow up. She feels that it is not necessarily true that a child of an incarcerated parent will eventually become a criminal.
Shiv Prakash Yadav
Superintendent- Dasna Prison, Ghaziabad

Note- The super did not have much time as he had to leave for a meeting... this is the outcome of a short interview of not more than 10 min.

Shiv Prakash Yadav joined his post in this prison on 25 May 2014. For the last 22 years he has been working as Superintendent in different prisons of UP. But, in none of his previous stints did he have to supervise such a large number of inmates. Although the official capacity of Dhasna prison is 1700, on the day of our visit there were 3649 inmates and 10 children. He feels that this prison overpopulation is his biggest challenge. This is particularly because the prison has only 25 security persons, most of whom are unarmed.

The educational and nutritional needs of all the children are taken care of by the administration with the help of the IVF. According to Mr. Yadav, the IVF is putting in lots of effort in taking care of the children and the female inmates. The IVF also organizes some skill development training and adult education.

Although the IVF wanted to organize outings for the children, security considerations prevented this. The prison has its own database on the inmates but no detailed information is taken from them. They don’t have any information about the inmates’ children who are not in prison but are staying with other family members. Most of the prisoners are from a rural background. However, the Dhasna prison also has many high profile prisoners.

According to Mr. Yadav, the type of intervention done by the IVF is very important for the child. It will help them adjust to the outside environment when they leave the prison. The inmates are involved in some form of work most of the time. This has reduced quarrels and some other problems inside the prison. He is satisfied for what IVF is doing for the inmates and their children.

Mr Yadav says that in his career in the prison he has never heard of any case where the child of any inmate has become a criminal. He feels that it depends on the environment where the child grows up. However, there were some social stigmas associated with
having a parent in prison, which could have adverse implications for the child’s development.
R.S. Yadav  
Jailer, Dasna Prison

Mr. Yadav has been in prison service for more than 22 years. He is very proud of his service. He joined his present post on 09.07.2014. Regarding the Dasna he said that this prison provides many welfare services to the prisoners. Here, they have three counselors, something that no other prison has. The prisoners can also avail of courses from the IGNOU. They also provide dental care services to the prisoners because they are lucky to have 2 dentists as prisoners. He further said that most of the prisoners were quite literate as they were mostly from the National Capital Region (NCR). There were also many prisoners from very rich families. Incidentally, there were also about 20 women who had been charged with husband murdering their husbands.

When a new prisoner comes, s/he undergoes a medical test and the medical findings are recorded. The prisoners are paid around Rs 25-40 per day for the services they provide—like cooking, cleaning, guard service, and official work. He feels that they should get better remuneration for the work they were doing. When a prisoner exhibits good conduct for a long time, he is appointed as *loksevak* inside the prison and acts as a sort of security staff.

The prison does not have any data on the prisoners’ families. He feels that the IVF is doing a fine job and this kind of work should be undertaken in other prisons also. This will help the prisoners’ children get a better upbringing. The IVF has also succeeded in involving their mothers in useful engagements and, therefore, now they are less involved in fights and quarrels that vitiate the prison atmosphere and have negative impact on the children. He also feels that the children should have outings so that they can know the outside world. But, due to security reasons this could not be done. After all, if anything were to happen to the child, this would be the prison’s responsibility and they would have to answer to the authorities.

He says that there might be an increased chance for a prisoner’s child to become a criminal when s/he grew up but it all depended on the environment and the social conditions that
the child ultimately received. The IVF’s work plays a huge role in helping these children to lead a normal life—i.e., like that of any other child whose parent was not incarcerated.
Laxmi

Head Warden, Female Ward, Dasna Prison

On the day of our visit to Dasna, its female ward had 138 women with 10 children. Laxmi is in Dasna for the last 3 years. She worked in prisons for nearly 20 years as warden before being promoted to her present post of Head warden. With so much experience to fall back on, it is now easy for her to manage and take care of the inmates. At the beginning of her career, however, she was hesitant about working with the inmates. Now she is not only used to it but is happy with the kind of work she is doing. Moreover, in Dasna, she can draw upon the benefits of IVF’s work among the inmates. Thanks to their work, most of the time the inmates are engaged in some work, which keeps them from quarreling and fighting among themselves. Being engaged in useful work and the acquisition of skills has increased their confidence.

Laxmi gave some examples. One was of an inmate who had been very hard to manage. She was noted for her quarrelsome nature and filthy language. Now, her temper has improved remarkably. (During my survey of inmates, the lady came to me and showed her mehendi drawings, which she loves doing). Laxmi also mentioned some inmates who, previously, would often cry and lament their future outside the prison. Now they are confident they can earn their living. This has made a huge difference to their morale.

Laxmi was happy with the work done by IVF. She felt that the IVF activist who worked in Dasna had made a huge contribution to bringing the inmates to their present condition. Laxmi feels that the type of work the IVF does should be undertaken in every prison so that the inmates benefit both inside the prison and when they are released. She also pointed out that an environment populated by fights, quarrels, and abundant use of abusive language is hugely detrimental for a child. This situation has improved to a large extent in Dasna.

Laxmi believes that growing in a prison is not good for children as they are separated from family and society, which adversely affects their growth. However, the prison administration and the IVF are trying their best to provide facilities for the better development of the children.
Regarding information about the inmates, she said that basic information on the legal aspects of the inmate’s imprisonment, address, phone number, and identity proof of select family members (who can visit the inmate) are there in the prison database. But the prison does not have any information about children who are not staying in prison with their mother. They also do not keep data on children who go out of the prison at the age of 6. But they get verbal information from the IVF as the organization takes care of these children afterwards.

The children spend a major part of the daylight hours in crèche. They also get a special diet. But the children never get a chance for outings. This is due to security considerations. She says that these children are lucky that they are getting these facilities and so much is being done for them. Children in other prisons are denied even these basic opportunities.

Laxmi says that when a child leaves the prison after attaining six years of age, s/he might face difficulty in adjusting to the world outside. For up to that point their whole world was the prison. But, now they are suddenly exposed to a world that is enormously larger and more complex. The problem is much more for a child who does not have any immediate family members outside. But things are easier for children under IVF intervention as they are often sent to hostels even before the age of six.

Laxmi believes there is nothing inevitable about the child of incarcerated parents becoming a criminal. It is the responsibility of the family and society to bring them up as responsible citizens.
Mr. Singh has been newly posted in this prison. He doesn’t have much idea about IVF’s work and, therefore, hesitated in replying to questions about them. Rather, there was some discussion about his experience in other prisons. It came out in the conversation that his main interest was in increasing the production of the factory inside the prison. He said much had been done for the inmates and this would continue. However, production should increase so that the government could earn more revenue. He mentioned that proper diet was maintained for the prisoners. Women prisoners were allotted 1 litre of milk every day. Children received special care.
Asha Kumari

Female Warder, Gurugram Prison at Bhondsi

For the last 4 years, Asha Kumari is warder at the female ward at the Gurugram Prison, at Bhondsi. She is from the Police Service and was earlier posted in police stations. Initially, she was very reluctant to accept this position. However, once she started working with prisoners she became comfortable in her work. She has only one problem. Prison employees are not allowed to carry their mobile phones when discharging their duties in the female ward. Except for this inconvenience, she is content. She no longer has to move around all the time, which she had to do when she was posted in police stations.

Like the other wardens we interviewed, Asha Kumari is also happy with the support provided by the IVF. The earlier superintendent of Bhondsi had collaborated with the IVF to bring about remarkable improvements in prison conditions and opportunities for inmates. Thanks to the efforts, the prison now has several skill training programmes. There is a crèche for children. There are also proper dietary plans for them. Moreover, there is a separate kitchen where mothers can cook meals for their children. The last outing for children was undertaken in 2012. After that, outings were stopped due to security reasons.

An inmate of Bhondsi who was a software engineer by profession has developed a software application named Phoenix, which is now used in all the prisons of Haryana to maintain the prisoner database. Like other prisons, the Gurugram prison also does not have any detailed information related to the inmates’ children and other family members outside the prison.

The inmates are mostly from poor families and rural background. In the last 4 years, she has not heard of any incident where the child of the inmate has been involved in any form of crime.