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**SYTUACJA OSADZONYCH KOBIET
PRZEBYWAJĄCYCH NA ODDZIALE DLA MATEK I
DZIECI A EFEKTYWNOŚĆ ODDZIAŁYWAŃ
RESOCJALIZACYJNYCH**

**MOTHERHOOD OF FEMALE PRISONERS AND THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIAL REHABILITATION
INTERACTIONS**

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Summary

Introduction

The penalty of imprisonment against women who commit crimes is often discussed in the in the rehabilitation literature. Many researchers are wondering about the social rehabilitation function, because women in isolation are exposed to the phenomenon of “prizonization”. The issue of bringing up a child while their mothers were imprisoned appeared relatively recently, at the end of the 20th century. It was significantly influenced by the pedagogy of Maria Łopatkowa (mother and child in prison).

Purpose of research

The research carried out at the Mother and Child Home was aimed at

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finding out the characteristics of the social situation of female prisoners, their opinions on the penitentiary institution, the characteristics of the punishment being served and the rehabilitation process.

Methodology

The use of qualitative research, precisely describing the biographies method of Fritz Schutze talks about the biographies of women. This research allowed for detailed interpretation of the social situation of women in isolation.

Findings

The statements given by the women inmates indicate that most of them have a positive opinion about the conditions in the Mother and Child Home. Surprisingly, many of them consider their punishment as fair, although many more consider the process of social rehabilitation as an illusion, and consider the best interest of the child as the most important value.

Conclusions

Research shows that motherhood under conditions of imprisonment makes women much less prone to fights, arguments and joining the prison subculture. They consider the received punishment to be right, and they focus on raising the child and providing him / her with care and stability. The rehabilitation process in their case is much more effective than that of women serving prison sentences, but not raising children. Despite the fact that the inmates themselves speak negatively about social rehabilitation, all the premises and research results indicate that social rehabilitation has a positive effect in their case.

Keywords: Rehabilitation, prison, Motherhood, Women, biographies method, education.

Abstract

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The research carried out at the Mother and Child Home was aimed at finding out the characteristics of the social situation of female prisoners, their opinions on the penitentiary institution, the characteristics of the punishment being served and the rehabilitation process. In this way, you can assess the effectiveness of the rehabilitation process that is carried out in the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec.

Method

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Maternity of female prisoners and the efficiency of social rehabilitation impacts

The penalty of imprisonment, in addition to its deterring, isolation or preventive function, also plays an educational role, which is to a large extent linked to the fact that in many cases the socialization of persons staying in prisons does not proceed correctly. In many cases, a stay in a penitentiary institution offers an opportunity to learn another model of life². This assumption creates a need to ask a basic question: what exactly is ‘social rehabilitation’? Unfortunately, the answer is ambiguous, which results from the fact there the source literature presents many definitions of this concept. The majority of them indicate that the process of social rehabilitation consists in modifying one’s personality, eliminating unwanted behaviour, which makes it possible for these people to function within a society, in accordance with the adopted axionormative system³. Theoretical considerations of the term of social rehabilitation are possible on one of the following levels:

- psychodynamic,
- behavioural,
- humanistic psychology,
- cognitive psychology,
- symbolic interaction,
- concept of social non-adaptation⁴.

It is worth noting the classical understanding of social rehabilitation presented by Maria Grzegorzewska. She considered that social rehabilitation was the ultimate goal of a special education, which was to restore the ability of a socially nonadaptable person to live in terms of family, professional interactions, etc.⁵. In contrast, according to Marek Konopczyński, social rehabilitation should be understood as a system of activities whose tasks are aimed at providing care to people who are unable to properly function within a society. This was caused by disadvantages in the cultural, social, family, professional environment (or even a lack of it) and by bad biological

² A. Machel, *Wieżenie jako instytucja karna i resocjalizacyjna*, Gdańsk 2003, p. 67.

³ S. Sobczak, *Koncepcja inkluzyj w teoriach resocjalizacji jako przeciwdziałanie ekskluzji społecznej*, „Student Niepełnosprawny. Szkice i Rozprawy” 2009, No. 9(2), pp. 34-35.

⁴ M. Konopczyński, *Pedagogika resocjalizacyjna — w kierunku twórczej resocjalizacji*, „Nauki o Wychowaniu. Studia Interdyscyplinarne” 2018, No. 1(6), p. 65.

⁵ M. Kalinowski, *Struktura procesu resocjalizacji*, in: ed. B. Urban, J. M. Stanik, *Resocjalizacja*, Warszawa 2008, p. 51.

and psychological health factors⁶. Such a definition indicates that many people who found themselves in conflict with the law should be provided with help. For this reason, social rehabilitation measures in penitentiary institutions are the meaning of their existence. In addition, the Executive Penal Code specifies that the purpose of imprisonment is to create a sense of responsibility for the decisions taken, to function properly in society, including being compliant with the legal order: “Encouraging a prisoner to cooperate in shaping its socially desirable attitudes, in particular a sense of responsibility and the need to respect the legal order and thus refrain from returning to crime”⁷. In practice, rehabilitation measures take the form of programs which emphasize the activities of persons serving a penalty of imprisonment⁸. They contribute to the development of creative potential, to building new personality parameters and to acclimatize in social roles⁹.

The occurrence of the phenomenon of prisonization constitutes a major obstacle to the social rehabilitation process, which takes place under conditions of penitentiary isolation. It was noticed and named by Donald Clemmer, an American prison guard. He observed that individuals who are in prison for a long time acquire experience and knowledge of how they must function among other prisoners¹⁰. This phenomenon is a side effect of the application of imprisonment which results in the creation of a specific culture, a hierarchy of social structures, manners of behaviour in the community of the imprisoned¹¹. For that matter, this process is about deprivation of needs of those who serve a penalty of imprisonment. The result of it is a creation of the so-called ‘second-life’, which is to a large extent manifested by the existence of various types of groups – prison subcultures, the use of specific information codes, such as kites or wearing tattoos¹².

Polish legislation provides for a segregation of women and men who are

⁶ M. Konopczyński, *Twórcza resocjalizacja. Zarys koncepcji rozwijania potencjałów*, „Resocjalizacja Polska” 2014, No. 7, p. 13-28.

⁷ Polish Executive Penal Code of 6 June 1997 (Journal of Laws of 2021, item 53, as amended; hereinafter: EPC).

⁸ A. Augustyński, *Przestrzeń zaufania i nadziei*, „Świat Problemów” 2011, No. 4, p. 13-16.

⁹ P. Krakowiak, A. Paczkowska, *Włączanie skazanych do wolontariatu opieki paliatywno- hospicyjnej na świecie i w Polsce. Dobre praktyki współpracy systemu penitencjarnego ze środowiskiem opieki paliatywno- hospicyjnej w Polsce*, Warszawa 2014.

¹⁰ D. Clemmer, *The prison community*, New York 1958.

¹¹ P. Moczydłowski, *Więziennictwo w okresie transformacji ustrojowej w Polsce 1989-2003*, in: *System penitencjarny w Polsce*, ed. T. Bulenda, R. Musidlowski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 77-127.

¹² P. Moczydłowski, *Drugie życie w instytucji totalnej*, Warszawa 1988.

serving a prison penalty. According to information provided by the prison service, women, much more often than men, serve their penalty in half-open penal institutions¹³. If the degree of demoralization is significant enough or for safety reasons, the court may decide to place women in closed penal institutions (Article 87(1)-(2) of the EPC). The essence of the problem lies in the fact that it is the only legal regulation that defines how women can serve a sentence of imprisonment. According to Agnieszka Nadzieja-Maziarz, this is because the entire penitentiary system is based on the imprisonment of the male population, which is the one committing the vast majority of crimes. The Polish penitentiary system has so far not developed a separate type of institutions especially for women. What is more, there are only six penitentiary institutions in the whole country adapted to accommodate women¹⁴:

- 1) Prison in Czesko External Department in Chojnice;
- 2) Prison No. 1 in Grudziądz;
- 3) Prison Kraków-Nowa Huta;
- 4) Prison in Krzywaniec;
- 5) Prison in Lubliniec;
- 6) Prison No. 1 in Wrocław.

In addition, there are thirteen detention centres, which have been adapted to accommodate women. This number is not enough, given the ever-increasing crime rate among women¹⁵.

In the case of mothers who are serving a penalty of imprisonment and who are imprisoned together with their children, the phenomenon of prisonization does not have as much influence as in relation to other groups of prisoners. According to psychologists, the contact between the mother with the child has many positive effects. Polish legal regulations, based on the legislation of the European Union, provide the opportunity for mothers to serve their sentence with their children¹⁶. The joint serving of imprisonment of the mother and her child is set out in the Executive Penal Code. However, the sentence must take place in the specially designated Mother and Child Home (Article 87(3) to (4) of the EPC). In the territory

¹³ <https://www.sw.gov.pl/aktualnosc/zaklad-karny-w-krzywancu-kobiety-w-warunkach-izolacji-penitencjarnej>.

¹⁴ A. Nadzieja-Maziarz, *Kobieta odbywająca karę w warunkach izolacji więziennej — problem marginalny?*, „Resocjalizacja Polska” 2013, No. 5, p. 72.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

¹⁶ A. Matysiak-Błaszczak, E. Włodarczyk, *Macierzyństwo za kratami*, „Pedagogika Społeczna” 2004, No. 2-4, p. 55.

of Poland there are two centres of this type - the Mother and Child Home in Grudziądz and Krzywaniec.

This type of house in Grudziądz Prison was built at the location of a nursery and the Home of Young Children in Prison No. 1 in Grudziądz, which has been in operation since 1949. In 1989, the tasks and nature of the two institutions were transformed. Since then, they have been operating as the Mother and Child Home. The conditions for serving imprisonment at this centre vary considerably from typical correction facilities. In Grudziądz, it is a four-storey building (currently in the development) in which triple rooms are located. Each room is clear, cosy and equipped in a way to facilitate taking care of children. Once a quarter, the head of the institution, together with the educator and the psychologist, assesses the mother's attitudes. Until recently, this penitentiary institution was the only one in Poland with a maternity ward and an obstetrics department¹⁷, which is currently located in the Gynaecological and Obstetric Department of the Hospital of the Detention Centre in Bydgoszcz by the Prison.

The Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec was established in 1979. The penitentiary institution also houses award for women who are in custody and women addicted to alcohol. There are 26 places in the Home, and the equipment is very similar to the one in Grudziądz¹⁸. In addition to the rooms for mothers, this institution has a playground, care centre and a kitchen with all the equipment. In addition, there are two kindergartens in which educational functions are performed by the prisoners. One kindergarten is intended for children up to 2 years of age, and the other for two-year olds and more. In general, women with an accompanying child up to three years of age may stay in this Home, although there are exceptions when a child may stay with the mother until it turns 4 years old¹⁹. The main purpose of the presence of the Mother and Child Home in the penal institution is to raise children, which results from psychological and biological aspects of the proper upbringing of children. The process of social rehabilitation for sentenced mothers takes place in the background of fulfilling their educational responsibilities. For this reason, the responsibilities of the penitentiary staff of these Homes are aimed at teaching women how to properly raise their children. In many cases, it is the first professional aid

¹⁷ N. Gniadek, *Matka i dziecko w zakładzie karnym (doniesienie z badań)*, „Studia Gdańskie” 2011, No. 28, p. 144.

¹⁸ Information from the official website of the Prison Service: <https://www.sw.gov.pl/strona/opis-zaklad-karny-w-krzywancu> (access on 21.04.2021).

¹⁹ M. Teleszewska, *Wykonywanie kary pozbawienia wolności wobec kobiet*, Białystok 2018.

they receive in the educational process. They obtain nutrition information from a dietician, information on how to properly act with children from a psychologist and a paediatrician²⁰. Of course, the educators undertake extensive rehabilitation activities aimed at finding one's way of living in different situations in life outside prison, solving problems with alcohol or coping with stress²¹.

The creation of conditions enabling raising a child in the Mother and Child Home within a prison is linked to the specific requirements that arise during the period of maternity. An emotional bond of the mother and child is created during the first stage of the child's life, that is why it is so important for the child to keep contact with the person being the closest in emotional terms - his mother. This makes the baby develop much more efficiently than if there was no relationships with the mother. Before the creation of a system in which children can stay in isolation with their mothers, children used to be taken away from them. The closest family, usually grandparents, were involved in their upbringing only if they had adequate social conditions and a positive opinion obtained through an environmental interview. The isolation of the child from her mother was causing numerous problems with the physical development of the child, such as weight loss or growth disturbances. In addition, children deprived of emotional contacts with the mother show a lack of interest in the outside world and their reactions are inadequate to their age and psychosocial development²². These and other disorders related to the lack of appropriate conditions for raising children were noticed by Maria Łopatkowa, educator and philosopher, who developed a new system of theoretical education – the pedagogy of the heart.

M. Łopatkowa was the first educator to explain the role of love in human life. Given the importance of practical application of the concept of M. Łopatkowa, it is worth to introduce her ideas. The holistic approach of a human being claimed by Boecjusz should be considered as the starting point for her pedagogical theory. As an early Christian philosopher, in a treaty entitled *Divine and human natures in Christ* he created a rule *persona est naturae*

²⁰ E. Adamska, *Skażana matka w warunkach izolacji*, Krzywaniec: Internal document. Accessible in the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec Prison.

²¹ E. Adamska, M. Wawrzyk, *Dom Matki i Dziecka przy Zakładzie Karnym w Krzywanicu. Rys historyczny i specyfika działalności*, Krzywaniec: Internal document. Accessible in the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec Prison.

²² A. Matysiak-Błaszczyk, E. Włodarczyk, *Macierzyństwo za kratami*, „Pedagogika Społeczna” 2004, No. 2-4, p. 55.

rationabilis individua substantia,²³. This concept was creatively developed by M. Łopatkowa, by adding elements that characterize the role of a human in the early 20th and 21st century. For this reason, the ideas of Erich Fromm are in the centre of her theoretical deliberations, whose philosophical thought concerned the role of a human in contemporary times, his reaction to loneliness and the emptiness of existence. In addition, there are many influences from the philosophy of selfishness of Shimit, and indirectly of Hobbes, who is its creator. She also uses the concepts of Jan Szczepański for whom the surrounding world was nothing else than a construction resulting from the existence of conflicts²⁴. The fact that she did not accept many attitudes of the modern world may be due to the fact that she was influenced by the philosophy of Zygmunt Bauman. The basic idea of the philosophy and pedagogy of love is the statement that love has a causative power and therefore it should be considered as the basis for the correctness of emotional life. Based on Descartes, her motto should be considered as *Amo ergo sum*²⁵. Therefore, the role of the pedagogy of the heart is limited to the following assumptions:

- the nature of a child, like the nature of every human being, consists of elements of evil and good,
- upbringing in the atmosphere of love makes the elements of good gain an advantage,
- love is and should be the centre of the human axiological system,
- the feeling of love should accompany parents and their children throughout their life,
- a child who is born, in addition to milk and other food, must receive love so that he develops properly. acts of love such as hugging are normal,
- a child must have one close person to develop properly,
- relying on the principles of love in the process of upbringing should become a fundamental element of the relationship between parents and child²⁶.

The assumptions of the pedagogy of the heart, as shown in the above points, are aimed at building emotional relationships between parents and

²³ S. Swierzawski, *Osoba ludzka — jej natura i żądania*, „Znak” 1950, No. 26, p. 362.

²⁴ J.P. Giler, *Podstawy filozoficzne pedagogiki serca oraz psychologiczna koncepcja człowieka Marii Łopatkowej*, „Przegląd Pedagogiczny” 2015, No. 2, p. 39.

²⁵ M. Łopatkowa, *Pedagogika serca*, Warszawa 1994.

²⁶ B. Sieradzka-Bazur, *Wychowanie emocjonalne w XXI wieku według pedagogiki serca Marii Łopatkowej*, „Studia Pedagogica Ignatiana” 2017, No. 2, p. 256.

child. M. Łopatkowa criticized upbringing situations in which parents were treating children as private property²⁷. It is therefore necessary to ask a question about the practical application of the views expressed. It is worth to start with the fact that M. Łopatkowa was a social activist and a politically involved person. The aim of her activity was to organize a system of education, regardless of party affiliation. During the period of the Polish People's Republic, she was a member of the Patriotic National Rebirth Movement, but at the same time worked with the "NSZZ" Solidarity Committee as an education expert. In 1993, she was one of the creators of the Child Party who in parliament was supposed to fight for the rights of children. She also held a senator's mandate for the Polish People's Party (PSL)²⁸. The activities in the world of politics allowed her to influence the members of the government in order to introduce its pedagogical concepts. It was thanks to her that in 1979 it was decided to create the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec. In addition, her activities led to changes in the field of education at the nursery and preschool stages. She believed that they could not become a place for the children to stay for the duration of their parents' work. Their primary task must be the emotional development of the child, where the emotional contact of the parent and child is only to be complemented by educational establishments. She also criticized the existing teaching methods by promoting a personalized approach to a student²⁹.

The activity of the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec Prison aims at the execution of tasks designated by the pedagogy of the heart of Maria Łopatkowa. At the same time, enabling the creation of a bond between a mother and her child constitutes a good social rehabilitation program. The purpose of the research was to examine the social situation of women serving a penalty of imprisonment at the Mother and Child Home who had their children with them. This question is sufficiently justified as it gives an idea about the effectiveness of social rehabilitation programs in place for women who remain active as mothers.

The research was carried out on the basis of a qualitative method. Among the qualitative methods that could have been applied during the research, the best were those based on biography. The narrative interviews technique

²⁷ Łopatkowa M., *We władzy ojca i matki*, „Prawo i Życie” 1995, No. 4.

²⁸ <http://encyklopediadziecinstwa.pl>.

²⁹ J.P. Giler, *Postulaty Marii Łopatkowej w zakresie zmian w oświacie... oraz prawie rodzinnym i opiekuńczym*, „Studia z Teorii Wychowania” 2013, No. 4(2), pp. 48-49.

as well as the concept of suffering trajectory of Fritz Schütze was applied during the research. The interview consisted of three phases of research:

- 1) main narration phase – the person freely speaks about the subject provided by the researcher;
- 2) supplementary questions phase – the researcher explains any doubts which emerged from the narration;
- 3) problem questions phase – the researcher extracts information, which are interesting due to the purpose and subject of the research³⁰.

In addition, the research was directed at a deeper understanding of biographies of the women who serve a penalty of imprisonment at the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec Prison. This type of research was created already at the end of the 19th century, but after the Second World War it was greatly improved by Norman K. Denzin. He developed a method of conducting research based on individual human biographies. In the present research chronology of sequences from the life of the subjects is of great importance. This leads to the researcher being immersed in the problems of those who present their lives. The analyses of biographies of individual people can take one of three forms:

- 1) studies on the narrative of one history of life;
- 2) collecting histories of life grouped according to common themes;
- 3) comparative analysis of people's histories of life, carried out in order to elaborate a theory³¹.

In the case of research conducted among women at the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec Prison, the stages resulting from the use of the method of biographical studies and Fritz Schütze's narrative interview were as follows:

- free narration of a prisoner – presentation of her life,
- phase supplementing the report – usually concerned the clarification of emerging doubts, it was usually the emphasis of relations between the female prisoners and her parents,
- problem question phase – questions about staying at the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec, reference to the social rehabilitation process and the relationships with the child.

The research covered 20 women (2 of whom asked to withdraw their

³⁰ A. Krawczyk-Bocian, *Przebieg procesów trajektoryjnych Fritza Schütze i jego zastosowanie w badaniach empirycznych*, „Edukacja Dorosłych” 2021, No. 2, p. 130.

³¹ M. Czyżewski, M. *Socjologia interpretatywna i metoda biograficzna. Przemiana funkcji, antysencjonalistyczne wątpliwości oraz sprawa krytyki*, in: *Metoda biograficzna w naukach społecznych*, ed. K. Kaźmierska, Łódź 2013, pp. 14-28.

biographies from the research) who serve a penalty of imprisonment in the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec. Women usually had professional education, they came from the city, and the majority of them was unmarried, the majority of them also did not have a learned occupation, their age was between 33-40 year old³².

The statements of the surveyed women will best reflect their opinions on the perception of the penitentiary institution, the punishment imposed and the social rehabilitation process. Below are a few exemplary statements:

According to surveyed no. 1: *At the beginning it was hard because everyone is talking behind your back. You know, unknown women in one building, each one with a child, the educator is observing, the head nurse intervenes as soon as she hears something, and you also find the ones, who just go and tell on you. I don't care about it that much, I avoid arguments with others because they are forced in order to spite someone. For example, when they know that one of us is supposed to have a break in her sentence, they tease her on purpose so that she insults someone and gets a punishment and is not able to leave the prison. Or when a kid is crying, and one of us does not calm him for a long time, they are going to the main nurse and say that she doesn't care for the child. Some of them will get out soon, in about 3-4 months. I envy them.* [smiles and ponders]

It should be concluded from the above statement that women cannot count on themselves, on their support and help. Although they do not display signs of prison subculture, the ones having money are higher in the hierarchy, are more respected and are considered as leaders. Women in this Home live in an atmosphere of mutual disbelief. The table below presents a type of statement made by the surveyed women about the Mother and Child Home.

³² *Ibidem.*

Table 1. Women's opinion about the place of imprisonment

Surveyed	Type of opinion about the Mother and Child Home	Comments
1.	positive	Common snitching on fellow prisoners, remarks on bad parenting of a child
2.	positive	The need to avoid conflicts with others who are higher in the hierarchy
3.	positive	She appreciates the conditions in which she raises her child, can count on the help of educators. Gets money from her boyfriend, which makes her situation better than the one of other prisoners.
4.	negative	Behaviours of other women are aggressive, they pretend they want to take care of children. A position matters among the prisoners, and it depends on how much money you have
5.	negative	She appreciates that the Mother and Child Home is a good place to bring up a child and that it is safer than a normal female ward. However, she thinks that women are aggressive, prison hierarchy is all that matters, which depends on how much money you have
6.	negative	She appreciates that her child has good living conditions and that she can taken care of him. Draws attention to the tense situation among the prisoners. Believes that it is best not to be in contact with other women
7.	positive	She points out that she can take care of the baby. She appreciates the help that she can get from the personnel of the Mother and Child Home
8.	positive	She appreciates the fact that she can take care of the baby and the conditions provided for this purpose. In addition, she tries to use her free time to learn and self-develop.
9.	positive	In her opinion, it is the first time in her life that she gets the support. She appreciates the fact that she can learn how to properly take care of her baby.
10.	positive	The child has appropriate conditions to develop. She considers the atmosphere of jealousy and mistrust among women as negative
11.	positive	She believes that the child has better conditions than at home
12.	negative	She doesn't receive additional money or packages, which makes other women treat her badly. She appreciates the conditions under which she takes care of her baby

Surveyed	Type of opinion about the Mother and Child Home	Comments
13.	positive	She is a hairdresser, which makes her necessary for other women. The child has very good conditions for development
14.	negative	She admits that she has a bad temper and provokes conflicts
15.	positive	She points out that she is one of the youngest women and spends all the time on caring for the child
16.	negative	She believes that the possibility to raise children is only a pretext to serve a sentence in better conditions than on a female ward
17.	positive	She believes that the child gets better care than in her family home
18.	positive	She receives gifts from her husband, which makes her life relatively good. She feels safe and believes that the childcare is very good

Source: Own research conducted in December 2018.

The statements about the place of imprisonment are ambiguous. It should be noted that they depend on what an imprisoned women attach importance to – whether it is about bringing up a child or the prevailing atmosphere.

The next step of the research concerned the perception of a penalty. As an example, it is worth mentioning the statement concerning the perception of a penalty by one of the imprisoned women. According to Woman no. 4: *I attend all additional activities. I don't go to work, so I sign up for everything. I even ask when something new is going to be organized. It is not about the fact that I believe in the power of social rehabilitation. I don't think it exists. Now it's my child that's stopping me, before I had children just for a moment, now I have them all the time. I feel that my child trusts me. I want to make an effort for him. A man, it's obvious, can leave, but this child? I should keep it and be responsible.* However, according to surveyed no. 7: *I did what I did and I have to do serve a sentence. It also depends on me whether I'll be a bitter, evil prisoner, or whether this will be a possibility for me to change.* Individual options are summarized in the table below.

Table 2. Women's statements about their perception on the imposed sentence

Surveyed	Type of opinion about the imposed sentence	Comments
1.	positive	My punishment allowed me to understand that I did wrong
2.	positive	I admit that I deserved to be punished
3.	positive	Punishment resulting from the lack of care over a girl in her adolescence
4.	positive	Punishment as a result of lack of love from my parents
5.	positive	Punishment was the result of inappropriate behaviour due to the lack of love in the family house
6.	positive	She believes that she could have ended up a lot worse. The punishment made her realize that she's loved by the family.
7.	positive	She realizes that the punishment is fair for what she did
8.	negative	She believes that this punishment is inappropriate for her
9.	positive	She believes that prison is her therapy
10.	negative	The only thing she regrets is that her child has to stay with her in prison
11.	positive	Punishment allowed her to open her eyes to many aspects, which she did not previously notice
12.	positive	Punishment allowed her to understand mistakes she's committed in her life and take an attempt to fix relations with her parents.
13.	positive	Punishment allowed her to understand that she did wrong. She wonders what made her commit crimes
14.	negative	She does not regret what she did. She wants to come back to her previous life
15.	positive	She feels regret for what she did
16.	negative	She thinks that she wasn't lucky, that's why she was caught and needs to stay in prison.
17.	positive	I regret what I did
18.	negative	I regret that I got caught

Source: Own research conducted in December 2018.

Information obtained from the interviews which were helpful in analysing biographies (they systematized the stories told) indicates that most of the women have a positive attitude toward the punishment. It is interesting that a large part of the surveyed perceive it in the context of their own family experiences. This is so important because this perspective gives a completely different impression than just from the point of view of effectiveness of the criminal activity. In this way, it is possible to think about how women see the issue of social rehabilitation.

Table 3. Women's opinion about the perception of social rehabilitation

Surveyed	Type of opinion about the imposed sentence	Comments
1.	positive	The statement indicates that social rehabilitation is possible. Sessions with a psychologist give a possibility to understand one's behaviour
2.	negative	She does not believe in social rehabilitation. She attends classes only to kill time.
3.	negative	The surveyed does not have faith in social rehabilitation. This term is for her just an empty word.
4.	positive	At the beginning the surveyed believed that she's innocent and so she doesn't need social rehabilitation. However, with time she started to appreciate the possibilities that additional classes give her. She now believes that her stay in prison saved her life. It can therefore be concluded that her social rehabilitation is possible
5.	positive	Her statements indicate that she is sorry for her acts. In addition, she is very meticulous in taking part in classes and writes a diary that allows her to get rid of negative emotions. It can therefore be assumed that she will change her life under the influence of the rehabilitation efforts undertaken by the Home staff
6.	negative	The woman says that the only purpose of the social rehabilitation process is to occupy the people who serve a penalty of imprisonment. She declares that she doesn't believe in rehabilitation classes

Surveyed	Type of opinion about the imposed sentence	Comments
7.	positive	The surveyed believes that her stay in prison saved her life. She understood that she must live differently in order to be able to raise a child, which is the most important thing in her life. It can therefore be argued that the rehabilitation process will be successful
8.	negative	On the one hand, the woman believes that she does not need social rehabilitation. On the other hand, she selectively uses the classes provided by the Home staff. During the entire interview there are no words of remorse. It is not clear whether the woman will submit to the social rehabilitation process. Chances are medium
9.	positive	In this interview, the surveyed expressed regret for the acts committed. Initially, the woman was sceptical about the issue of social rehabilitation. As a result, however, she changed her mind. She believes that prison is one great social rehabilitation. It is justified to assume that rehabilitation measures can be successful
10.	negative	The surveyed believes that rehabilitation activities are necessary for other women from the Home, but not for her. It is difficult to find a statement of the surveyed which would indicate remorse for her own conduct. However, it cannot be ruled out that the rehabilitation measures will succeed, although it should be rather considered that the action of the staff will end up in failure
11.	negative	It is difficult to make clear whether or not the rehabilitation will succeed The statement does not suggest it
12.	positive	The woman wishes to take an active part in all the activities. Although she argues that the rehabilitation is not for her, she feels that the responsibility for her acts must be assumed. This is a good starting point for rehabilitation measures that can be successful
13.	positive	The rehabilitation measures provide an opportunity to consider the reasons for the conduct that led the surveyed to commit offences. This is a good starting point for social rehabilitation. It should be noted that such actions can be successful in the future

Surveyed	Type of opinion about the imposed sentence	Comments
14.	negative	It should be concluded from the statement that the rehabilitation measures do not have the slightest chance of success. In addition, the surveyed seems aggressive, which may also affect the absence of effects of social rehabilitation.
15.	negative	There is no clear opinion about the rehabilitation measures. It can be assumed that the chances of their success are medium.
16.	negative	The statement indicates an unwillingness to change life. The woman believes that social rehabilitation is only a façade. Everyone is stealing and is "up to something".
17.	positive	It is very likely that the rehabilitation measures will have an effect. The woman is actively involved. She wants to go back home because she began her steps into adulthood in prison.
18.	negative	All the statements indicate that the rehabilitation measures will fail completely. The surveyed attends classes only for formalities. She wants to go back to her former luxurious life as soon as possible. Given that this kind of life is possible thanks to criminal activity, it can be assumed that she will continue to choose a criminal route.

Source: Own research conducted in December 2018.

It can be noted that there is no close link between the results presented, i.e. there are much more negative opinions about social rehabilitation than about the justification of the sentence imposed. This discrepancy may be due to two reasons. The first one can be due to a misunderstanding of the term social rehabilitation, which results in the difficulty for the surveyed to admit that they can be rehabilitated. The second is that the admitting guilt and recognizing the legitimacy of the sentence does not always mean that the person renounces the conduct leading to the path of crime.

It is worth noting that the reported research results do not have an equivalent in the source literature. Taking as a starting point the pedagogy of love of M. Łopatkowa, it was pointed out that a child needed contacts with the mother even when staying in prison. The research conducted in December 2018 in the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec adopted a

completely different concept. The subject of the research was the social situation of women, also their approach and their views on the penitentiary institution, the relevance of the sentence being served and the rehabilitation process. The feedback on social rehabilitation was drawn up on the basis of statements from the surveyed who were supposed to tell how they perceive the process of social rehabilitation. So far, none of the researchers has undertaken to verify how this process is perceived by women, who are imprisoned with children. It should be assumed that the research carried out have met serious constraints which should be reduced to the following aspects:

- 1) the opinions presented may have been dictated by the current emotional state of women;
- 2) difficulties in presenting the results of interviews in the short article.

The presented opinions on social rehabilitation are inconclusive. Many women consider the punishment imposed as necessary, but they do not necessarily feel the desire to fix their lives. However, it is worth noting that in the majority of penitentiary institutions there is a serious inertia problem leading to a creation of the so-called 'second life'. In the case of women caring for children, such phenomena do not occur at all. There is a hierarchical system based on the level of wealth of imprisoned women, but it is difficult to talk about major conflicts or conflict situations. The women surveyed note that they are doing everything to avoid conflicts, guided by what is good for the child. Only one person among all the surveyed admitted to be confrontational. The statements obtained also indicate that there is no problem of depression, which often occurs in other prisoners (they have a comparison with the times when they were imprisoned in the female ward without having children yet). In addition, they try to analyse their biographies, to reflect on the mistakes they made in their life on freedom. In the opinion of the imprisoned women, maternity in prison conditions makes the rehabilitation process more assimilable. It can be assumed that this is largely due to the principle mentioned by the pedagogy of love, i.e. building an emotional relationship between the mother and the child. The purpose of activities undertaken by the staff of the Mother and Child Home in Krzywaniec Prison is primarily to create such relationships, which in turn facilitates the rehabilitation process.

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