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Intergenerational effect of parental incarceration in India: a review from human rights perspective

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Abstract: The influence of parental incarceration on their children is in itself a complex issue to understand pertaining to the multi-dimensional effect that is observed in the development of children. When either or both parents of a child are incarcerated, their fate is determined in two ways, namely, to allow them to live with their parents inside the judicial facilities or to stay outside in the care of their kin or relatives and sometimes even institutional care facilities. However, the most concerning aspect of the impact of parental incarceration on a child is the intergenerational mobility of this impact which follows a cyclic manner and results in the incarceration of the child as they develop into adults. There is a major dearth of studies exclusively focused on the intergenerational aspect of parental incarceration in the Indian context, especially for adolescents left outside by incarcerated parents. This paper thoroughly reviews the previous studies to analyse the situation pertaining to the problem at hand and identify the research gaps to provide scope for exploration by future researchers.

Keywords: parental incarceration; Indian prisons; intergenerational impact; adolescents; behavioural aspects; India.

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1 Introduction

The extent of the impact of parental incarceration on the children that initiates their poor outcomes has been a subject of extensive exploration. In this venture, the instances of paternal incarceration have been observed to have a significantly stronger influence on the externalising behavioural aspects of the child which is reflected in aggressive behaviours and delinquency compared to the influence on internalising behaviour of the child which is reflected in anxiety and depression (Wakefield and Wildeman, 2011). The most concerning aspect of the fate of the child of the incarcerated parent is the exposure of young children to an environment of crimes and criminals. Attempts have been made to ensure less contact of the children with the criminal justice system, however, it is often challenged by the basic need of maintaining parent-child contact. Limiting children's exposure to the criminal justice system by filtering out non-violent offenders could solve this issue to a great extent (Comfort et al., 2011). In most cases of parental incarceration, there has been a similarity in the background of the incarcerated individuals where they had previously experienced adversities such as poverty, unemployment, instability in the family, financial instability, health issues, and even imprisonment in preceding generations. These adversities continue over generations if there are instances of incarceration in the subsequent generations. The enforced separation induced by the incarceration of the parents affects the attachment of the child to their parents and this contributes to the absence of a role model for the child that they generally look up to (Solomon and Zweig, 2006). Such children as well as adolescents are highly susceptible to depressive disorders that further expose them to environmental as well as psychosocial risk factors which in turn affect their social adaptability (Dawson et al., 2012). In recent times criminal justice social work has been a promising practice in achieving the rehabilitative objective of the Indian criminal justice system (Pandya, 2008). In this regard, the attachment theory substantiates the claim that forced separation not only disrupts the bond between the child and the parent but also affects the social and emotional well-being of the child and this effect is significantly more detrimental than that caused by the parent's divorce. In this paper, however, the point of focus would be the intergenerational mobility of the impact of parental incarceration (Miller, 2006) which has been a subject of exploration in studies conducted by previous researchers.

2 Aim of review

The primary objective of the present review paper is to explore the subject of parental incarceration and its impact on the children of incarcerated parents through their various developmental stages. The paper further focuses on reviewing the previous studies that exclusively dealt with the intergenerational impact of parental incarceration.

2.1 *A brief overview of the Indian criminal justice system*

The subject of parental incarceration is considerably different in the Indian context compared to other developing and developed countries. This difference can be largely attributed to the construct of the Indian criminal justice system, which in itself has been strangled by a wide range of challenges. It is considered that at the core of the Indian criminal justice system lies the concept of the victim and the amelioration of the conditions of these victims. Thus the Indian criminal justice system prioritises victim support and assistance which aligns with Article 21 of the Indian constitution which enunciates the right to life and dignity (Dube, 2018). When it comes to the objectives of the Indian criminal justice system there seems to be a significant lack of clarity in terms of whether the convictions are meant to be punitive or rehabilitative. It can primarily be stated that prisons are meant for the confinement of the convicted individual who has been found guilty of violating the law. At the present time, there has been a constant increase in the incarceration of females in India, which has further contributed to the challenges existing in the Indian criminal justice system (Mili et al., 2015). Although the prison system in India has existed for a long time, it is certainly not immune to inadequacies. It was most prominently highlighted in the All India Prison Reforms Committee report of 1980 which was developed under the chairmanship of Justice A.N. Mulla, along with other committee reports chaired by R.K. Kapoor Committee and Justice Krishna Iyer Committee in the year 1986 and 1987 respectively. The suggestion of the committees has been focused on the reforms and upgradation of the condition in prisons across India and the administrative conditions of the Indian criminal justice system as a whole (Nagda, 2016). Healthcare in prisons has been a matter of concern that has even resulted in a number of concerning legislations even though their implementational effectivity remains a matter of thorough investigation. While the compromise on the mental health of incarcerated individuals is commonly observed in Indian judicial facilities, it has been found that incarcerated females are more vulnerable to stress. The judicial facilities in India organise a number of activities inside the prison facilities to help incarcerated individuals maintain their productivity and at the same time prepare and empower themselves well for their reintegration into society post their release (Esposito, 2015). The general perception pertaining to the basic needs of a human being revolved around three theories, namely, emotional needs, sexual needs, and social needs. An empathetic and supportive environment in the prisons can thus establish a healthy rehabilitative condition for the incarcerated individuals in the Indian criminal justice system (Bhutta and Siddiqui, 2020). Further, it is enunciated by the self-determination theory that to achieve peaceful social rehabilitation, the support of the family of the incarcerated individual is extremely important. For incarcerated women, this becomes even more important as they face additional challenges in terms of the high levels of frustration and anxiety of separation from their children to whom they are the primary caregivers (Esposito, 2012). The challenges existing in prison facilities under the Indian criminal justice system are multifaceted. It was observed in a case that there were several instances of overcrowding, unnatural deaths along with insufficiency of basic amenities, inadequate health, and administrative facilities, prison vices, torture, lack of communication, and most importantly delayed trials were the primary challenges encountered by the incarcerated individuals. The prevalence of these issues not only impedes the rehabilitative objectives of the criminal justice system of India but also exposes incarcerated individuals as well as their families to a larger and much darker

world of crime and criminality (Ram Murthy vs. State of Karnataka, 1997). The implications of this exposure are observed to be much worse in the case of incarcerated parents and their children irrespective of whether they are living inside the judicial facilities with their parents or are left outside as a result of the incarceration. The Indian criminal justice system suffers significantly from policy paralysis which enunciates the inadequate implementation of the reformative comments and recommendations of the various committees. There is also a need for effective training for the prison staff to ensure that their behaviours with the incarcerated individuals inside the judicial facilities contribute to their healthy rehabilitation which would further ensure their effective reintegration into mainstream society (Khamari, 2021). To understand the requirements of prison reforms in the Indian criminal justice system, it is important to understand the situation and challenges faced by the inmates, especially the incarcerated parents and their children inside the judicial facilities.

2.2 Parental incarceration – an Indian perspective

The subject of parental incarceration is certainly not new and has been explored extensively in the past years. However, when considered in the Indian context there is a need for deeper exploration of the challenges faced by the incarcerated parents and their children irrespective of whether the younger ones are residing inside the judicial facilities with their mothers or if they are left outside differs significantly from the other developed countries. One common consequence, however, remains the stigmatisation that the child encounters, and owing to this often resort to hiding the information pertaining to their parent's incarceration (Phillips and Gates, 2011). Stigmatisation often leaves a long-lasting impact on the child which further generates emotional and behavioural issues and prevents the child to seek external help in dealing with stressful situations. Additionally, in the Indian criminal justice system, it has been observed that the children of incarcerated parents often have to bear the consequence of incarceration in the form of significant political repression. While the incarcerated parents in the judicial facilities suffer through a whole other set of challenges, their families and especially their children bear the consequences of the sudden familial instability that brings economic instability and put them in a disadvantageous position which affects their psychological and social well-being (Khan et al., 2022). The health conditions in Indian prisons are abysmal and the heterogeneity among the incarcerated individuals in prison. The unsanitary health conditions further add to the deteriorating mental conditions of the inmates along with other factors like prolonged confinement and overcrowded barracks. Even incarcerated parents with their children living inside the judicial facilities pose a major problem as there are no separate living arrangements for them. This is a significant human rights crisis that both the parent and the children face despite health and dignity being fundamental rights they are entitled to. This further highlights the need for prioritising prison health as an integral part of the national healthcare policy to ensure a healthy developmental environment for incarcerated parent and their children in the Indian criminal justice system (Bhaumik and Mathew, 2015). The focus on prison healthcare in the Indian criminal justice system points to yet another crisis that is observed in the unsanitary conditions encountered by an incarcerated mother who gives birth to her child inside the prison facilities. As the rate of incarceration has increased rapidly in recent years, so has the incarceration of expecting mothers. The inadequacy in the Indian prisons, even in the central jail in terms of healthcare facilities not only puts the health of

the incarcerated mother in danger but is also detrimental to the child that is born inside the prison facilities. Incarceration of the parents, especially the mother leaves the child in a much more vulnerable position, and these effects last for as long as a lifetime irrespective of if the child is born inside the prison facilities or brought in as a result of incarceration (Bhandari, 2016). A majority of the incarcerated individuals in the Indian criminal justice system are found to have a lower socio-economic background. Having encountered adversities like poverty and unemployment previously, it barely leaves any scope to prioritise the psychological aspects of incarceration, for the parents as well as their children. This is in turn reflected in the psychological morbidity that is observed to be prevalent more abundantly in incarcerated individuals than in the general population. The burden of psychological morbidity is not only borne by the incarcerated individuals but it is often reflected in the form of various psychological illnesses in their children as well (Goyal et al., 2011). The influence of mental illness can be seen in the psychological, social as well as physical well-being of incarcerated individuals and their children. However, the infrastructure inadequacy in the prison in the Indian criminal justice system which is prominent in terms of physical healthcare, the need for a psychologically conducive environment is often overlooked. Along with the poor sanitary conditions, nutritional inadequacy also serves as a determinant of the impediment to the development of the incarcerated parent and their children. However, on a positive note, a significant level of social support has been reported by the inmates from their families and their friends from inside the prison facilities (Tripathy et al., 2022). However, this still in no way justifies the fact that the incarceration of the parents leaves a prolonged impact on the children exposing them as vulnerable to a world full of adversities where they are deprived of their basic entitlements.

2.3 The legal perspective of parental incarceration

While talking about the basic entitlement to incarceration the primary aspect to be considered is the legal aspect which also involves their basic human rights. The constitution of India, under article 21 guarantees the right to life and dignity. There are also a number of legislations enunciating different legal provisions to protect the rights of prisoners in the Indian criminal justice system. There are also specific legal provisions that are drafted for the women prisoners keeping in line with the observation that even today they remain a more disadvantaged population. However, it is important to ensure the effective implementation of these provisions as the incarcerated women and their children had been reported to be visibly afraid of the prison authority (Kaushik and Sharma, 2009). The right to mental health is an integral component of the right to health which is a fundamental entitlement of an individual irrespective of the status of incarceration. It is also important to note that since most of the incarcerated females in the Indian criminal justice system are in the reproductive age groups, they require special healthcare attention. They are also reported to be suffering from obesity and were diagnosed with significant levels of distress, depression, anxiety, and somatisation. For the children to stay with their mothers inside the prison facilities, their mental health condition further affects their mental health and other developmental aspects (Kaur and Roy, 2022). The rights of the prisoners, especially the incarcerated females have been repeatedly violated and unfortunately, are being continued even today. Starting from the violation of basic entitlements, they are often violated of their dignity while being

subjected to inhumane treatment and torture inside the prison facilities by their fellow inmates or even by the prison authorities. This highlights the need for prison norms that are gender-sensitive so that the legal interest of the incarcerated individuals is well protected (Borah, 2021). It is evident that parental incarceration causes a series of deprivation for the children as they become unable to enjoy their basic right to a healthy developmental environment. The honourable Supreme Court of India has repeatedly enunciated the setting up of child-friendly nurseries for the children of incarcerated parents inside the prison facilities along with the involvement of more teachers to make sure their development is not hindered. However, the implementational status remains unknown, owing to the lack of data and regular monitoring (Gilani, 2021). The sociological consequences of parental incarceration are however much more prominent and widely explored.

2.4 Sociological aspects of parental incarceration on the development of children

Lately, in India and across the world, the concept of Criminal Justice Social work has gained much precedence as it facilitates the rehabilitative objectives of the different criminal justice systems across the world which essentially includes the Indian criminal justice system. This concept includes the involvement of different law enforcement officials in a number of community roles. This in turn generates a significant level of empathy and sensitivity amongst the general public as well as the various stakeholders in the Indian criminal justice system and is beneficial especially to the incarcerated parents and their children living with them inside the judicial facilities or left outside due to their incarceration (Slaght, 2002). However, the primary objectives of social work in criminal justice are often observed to be hindered by the lack of reliable records and a significant incoherence in the operability of the different stakeholders of the Indian criminal justice system. The concept of social work in criminal justice stands on the edifice of a set of ideals pertaining to equality that is based on the basic human rights of incarcerated individuals as well as their facilities and aims at achieving social transformation. Although an isolated approach, however, it is extremely impactful, especially for those children of incarcerated parents who are recurrently exposed to social exclusion and marginalisation (Wallace and Pease, 2011). The sociological impact of parental incarceration has been observed to be consistently disadvantageous for children across countries and cultures. Every child is entitled to a healthy developmental environment where he can grow freely under the care of his parents and realise his potential. An environment of trust and security, which is essential for the social development of the child is significantly threatened by the incarceration of either or both of their parents. According to the general perception, it is the mother of the child who is the primary caregiver, and their incarceration not only leaves the child vulnerable and develops a strained mother-child relationship but also pushes them toward a series of psychosocial challenges (Boudin, 2011). Children whose parents have been incarcerated are frequently observed to have a low level of social and health outcomes. Not only does it expose the child to a wide range of adversities in different spheres of life but the early exposure of these children to a number of inequitable social, economic, and even cultural situations leaves a prolonged impact on their psychosocial development. This effect lasts during the lifetime of the child as he grows and sometimes this impact is even carried forward through generations. A major concern in this aspect has been established previously in

the form of similarities that exist in the antisocial behaviour as well as the mental health issues observed in incarcerated parents and their children (Wakefield and Uggan, 2010). The effects of paternal incarceration can be slightly different as in such cases the child remains with his mother, the primary caregiver and there's a possibility for the mother to limit the contact between the child and the incarcerated father to protect him. Thus, the qualitative, as well as quantitative limitations in interaction with the incarcerated father, result in negative developmental consequences for the child (Tach et al., 2010). According to the general perception while the mother plays the role of the primary caregiver of the child the father remains the primary provider for them. In this context paternal incarceration leads to a significant economic crisis that further adds to adverse conditions like poverty, lack of education, unhealthy environment, and even substance abuse. It creates resource instability which further aggravates the family instability. Interestingly it has been observed that paternal incarceration has a greater influence on the negative behavioural aspects of a male child in comparison to a female child. Along similar lines incarceration of a father primarily responsible for destabilising the family environment through addictions and abuse, exhibits a positive influence on the development of the child (Geller et al., 2012). The incidences of parental incarceration are certainly not uncommon and instead are increasing at an alarming rate, putting more children in socially, economically, and well psychologically disadvantageous positions. Even for the children who are below the age of six years and are allowed to live with their mother, and even father under special circumstances there are a number of challenges that can be attributed to the infrastructural inadequacies and an overall unhealthy environment of the judicial facilities. This calls for urgent and effective implementation of the policies that are drafted in this context to ensure that the incarceration of the parent does not become an impediment to the realisation of the basic entitlements of the child pertaining to a healthy developmental environment (Manning, 2011). Children of incarcerated parents are often referred to as the 'orphans of justice', 'forgotten victims' or the 'unseen victims of the prison boom' and unfortunately while there are still some documented records available for the children living inside the judicial facilities with their incarcerated parents, there is no record available for the children left outside as a result of the incarceration (Bocknek et al., 2009). The incarceration of parents is a prolonged event that begins with the arrest of the parent and continues through their trials, incarceration, and their return home post the sentence period. However, the impact it leaves on the child lasts a lifetime and more often than ever even through generations. Parental incarceration often makes a child perform poorly in academics which further adds to his difficulties pertaining to social adaptability (Geller et al., 2011). It has been established by previous studies that the influence of incarceration of parents although different slightly based on maternal or paternal incarceration, however, exhibits a consistent negative influence on the children reflected in their antisocial behaviour, substance abuse, engagement in illegal activities, poor academic record, and even severe social withdrawal. The antisocial behaviour of the child can be attributed to the stress and the antisocial propensities that were previously existing in the context of parental incarceration. Witnessing their parents dealing with stressful situations by resorting to antisocial behaviour also plays an important role in the child's development of antisocial behaviour (Poehlmann et al., 2010). The number of children who bear the consequence of parental incarceration is undocumented. This serves as an impediment in policy-making as well as their effective implementation. Most children of

incarcerated parents are observed to develop a traumatic separation from their parents and subsequently go through prolonged loneliness and are often subjected to social stigma. The adversities are further added on to by unstable care arrangements and social marginalisation which chaperons them into illegal activities. Even incarcerated parents have their share of problems which are prominently reflected in their parenting stress, separation from their children, and the explanation of the complexity of their incarceration to their children (Murray et al., 2012).

2.5 The intergenerational mobility of the consequences of parental incarceration

Another aspect that significantly reflects the influence of parental incarceration on the outcomes of a child is observed in the form of its intergenerational effect. The consequences of parental incarceration are multifaceted and it has been observed that depression in the incarcerated parent is highly likely to reflect in their children (Comfort, 2011). Moreover, the adults who faced second-generation incarceration, i.e., those whose parents were also previously incarcerated exhibited higher levels of anger. The intergenerational effect has been significantly observed in the instances of paternal as well as maternal incarceration (Foster and Hagan, 2015). Families that experience parental incarceration in successive generations lack stability and are often referred to as fragile families (Tolliver et al., 2022). This fragility has a significant impact on the academic and non-academic outcomes of the children of incarcerated parents. The intergenerational effect of parental incarceration destabilises the family structure and its effects are seen in the prolonged inequality and social stratification (Luk et al., 2022). However, the impact is not as prominently observed in the academic outcomes of the children when compared to the non-academic outcomes, especially those pertaining to the behavioural, interpersonal, and disciplinary aspects of the children (McCauley, 2020). The impact of parental incarceration on a child of majorly negative and these negative effects have been found to be transitioning into successive generations (Feir, 2016). Indulgence of the parents in illegal or criminal activities and their subsequent incarceration essentially expose their children to a wide range of stressful conditions along with a number of issues pertaining to their attitudes, behaviour, and coping mechanisms (Del Toro et al., 2022). This in turn contributes to the child's social withdrawal and impaired social adaptability and is reflected in his interpersonal relationships which are consequently carried forward in the next generation (Giordano et al., 2019). It has been observed that a majority of the incarcerated individuals come from a background where they have witnessed the incarceration of their own parents or close family members and were extensively involved in substance abuse. This provides for a high probability for their incarceration to push their children, especially adolescents, towards criminal activities and substance abuse causing them to be arrested and thus establishing the intergenerational movement of the effects of parental incarceration (Kirk and Wakefield, 2018). In the context of parental incarceration, it is important to consider the emotional and psychological reactions of the children of the incarcerated parents along with the consequence of familial destabilisation. Certain other consequences of parental incarceration, such as the feeling of loss, prolonged parent-child separation, familial stress, labelling, and stigmatisation along with the exposure of the child to the stressful conditions pertaining to the parent's substance abuse prior to their incarceration, serve as determinant factors for the subsequent substance abuse by the young adult (Noel

and Hoeben, 2022). This signifies that the background of the incarcerated parent often determines the intergenerational cycle of the effects of incarceration (Smith et al., 2016). The impact of parental incarceration can also be observed in the indulgence of adolescent children in teen pregnancy and early-life employment. However, the intergenerational effect is most commonly visible in the criminal behaviour and poverty that persists through successive generations. In this context, education plays a major role in breaking the intergenerational incarceration cycle which ironically is often impeded as a result of the incarceration of the parent. Although the effect of parental incarceration on academic grades is not a significant determinant, however, the education of the child plays a major determinant in the intergenerational mobility of the effects of incarceration (Shaw, 2016). As a child grows and transitions into adulthood he usually looks up to his parents as role models and flourishes his best under their care and support. However, when either or both of his parents are incarcerated, the child not only faces a crisis pertaining to material support but also one pertaining to emotional support. It was observed in the study that a previously incarcerated mother is less likely to extend material support in terms of housing and money than a previously incarcerated father. This denial can be triggering for adolescents, who had previously been the disadvantaged children of incarcerated parents and through their behavioural outcomes, the intergenerational mobility of the effect of parental incarceration can be established (Siennick, 2016). It has been previously established that there is a significant intergenerational link between the incarceration of the parents and the risk-taking behaviour pertaining to the sexual behaviours of the adolescents of incarcerated parents. Interestingly, the incarceration of the mother has a more prominent impact on risky sexual endeavours which often lead to Sexually transmitted diseases, and the interventions during this period contribute to the amelioration of their sexually risky behaviour along with other health outcomes (Le et al., 2019). Most of the studies that have been conducted on the intergenerational impact of parental incarceration have focused on the transmissibility of the effect from an incarcerated father to their sons which is reflected in their behavioural aspects (Craigie, 2011). This perspective can be backed by the fact that the rate of incarceration of females remains significantly lower compared to men and the impact of paternal incarceration which is more prominent on a male child than a female child. The intergeneration effect of parental incarceration is often regarded as an important criterion in mate selection as it determines the probability of incarceration of the children of the couple, which is observed to be higher in cases of paternal incarceration (Andersen, 2018).

2.6 Limitations and future scope for study

The subject of parental incarceration has a number of dimensions and has been explored extensively over the years. It is a complex subject and its complexity is attributed to the sensitive nature of the subject which comes with the involvement of children as young as infants. For the present paper, a number of studies that were previously conducted in the same domain have been extensively studied and reviewed to derive a comprehensive understanding of the subject of parental incarceration and to explore how it impacts the development of the child irrespective of whether he is born in the custody, brought along with the incarcerated parent inside the judicial facility or left outside as a consequence of the incarceration of either or both parents. From a critical analysis of these studies, a number of gaps and limitations have been derived in the context of the present topic of

study. Considering the Indian criminal justice system the most significant and major gap that persists is in determining the actual number of children who have faced parental incarceration and have been left outside in disadvantaged conditions. This is important because without identifying the actual number no volume of the legislative measures would be enough to rehabilitate these children for their healthy development and effective reintegration into mainstream society, away from any social marginalisation. There has been a dearth of studies exclusively based on the children who are left behind as a consequence of the incarceration of their parents which makes the understanding of the challenges especially pertaining to their psychological and behavioural needs. The Indian criminal justice system aims at rehabilitating the offenders and in instances of parental incarceration, this can only be achieved when there is a proper developmental and rehabilitative environment present inside the judicial facilities. Moreover, there is also a significant gap pertaining to the studies that are focused on the individual effects of paternal and maternal incarcerations on children in the Indian context. The challenge faced by incarcerated parents and their children in India differs considerably from those in other developed countries. Hence there is a need to exclusively assess this impact. Another major gap is that most of the studies are focused on assessing the impact and consequence of parental incarceration on their children while there remains a dearth of studies that analyse the outcomes of the children post the implementation of the respective legislative measures. However, the most prominent gap remains in the dearth of studies that evaluate the intergenerational mobility of the impact of parental incarceration of children in the Indian context. There is a dire need to assess the intergenerational effect, especially on adolescents to help them fight the adversities and break the intergenerational cycle to ensure the healthy development of their successive generations.

3 Conclusions

It is said that the environment plays an important role in the holistic development of a child. This establishes the responsibilities of society to ensure that a child is provided with a conducive, inclusive, and nurturing environment to grow in irrespective of their background. It is also the responsibility of the parents to ensure that they set examples for their children to follow who often look up to them as inspirations. Indulgence of parents in criminal activities is bound to have a long-lasting impact on their children and unfortunately, they have to bear the consequence of the incarceration of their parents in forms of social exclusion and marginalisation (Wallace and Pease, 2011; Boudin, 2011). The situation gets even worse for adolescents who often take after their incarcerated parents to indulge in deteriorating activities like substance abuse and criminal activities. This further affects their interpersonal and social relationship and produces a negative impact that is carried forward to successive generations (Foster and Hagan, 2015; McCauley, 2020). This intergenerational mobility of the impact of parental incarceration acts like a cycle where the children of the incarcerated parents in each generation have a high probability of being incarcerated themselves. Right now, India enjoys a demographic advantage on one hand, and on the other is witnessing an increased rate of incarceration. There is a need to ensure that the children of the incarcerated parents who are left outside are given proper care and treated with sensitivity along with carrying out a much broader social sensitisation. This will ensure the rehabilitative objective of the

Indian criminal justice system, but most importantly ensure that the negative effects of parental incarceration are not carried forward intergenerationally and that the child of the incarcerated parent enjoys his entitlement to a healthy development at various stages of his life.

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