

The Construction of Motherhood Among Convict Female in Bandung, Indonesia

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Abstract— This study aims to explore the construct of a mother who is a convict. Imprisoned mothers have challenges that are different from mothers in general, such as limited carrying out of their motherly role in raising children, unclear mother's status both for herself and for her children, and agreed parenting identities. The number of female prisoners is increasing, but studies that focus on female prisoners in negotiating their maternal identity are very limited. In Indonesia, very few studies have been conducted on the upbringing of convict mothers, in contrast to western countries, where much research has been carried out on imprisoned mothers. This article uses post-structuralist feminist theory, it is hoped that problems will be more open by understanding this theory. The case study approach was the method used in this study, with the subject of two convict mothers who were in class 2A Women's Prison in Bandung. The research subjects were mothers who were separated from their children and mothers who brought their children to prison. Data collection was conducted through interviews. The results of this analysis found that the mother who is a convict tries to be the main caregiver for her child by negotiating her role through nurturing, caring, fulfilling needs and delaying her physical presence.

Keywords: *Convict mother, mother construction, post-structuralist feminist*

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to explore the construct of mother according to a woman who is a convict. So far, articles about parenting have always been written within an ideal framework (Baumrind, 1991; Joseph & John, 2008; Madigan, Prime, Graham, Rodrigues, Anderson, Khoury, Jenkins, 2017; September. Rich, Roman, 2016; Ward. Wessels, Lachman, Hutchings, Cluver, Kassanjee, Nhapi, Little, Gardne, 2020). There are still rare studies that discuss parenting in unusual conditions, such as the condition of mothers in correctional institutions. In the western context, such as the USA, research on female prisoners discusses the psychological condition of mothers in prisons (Clement, 1993; Carlo & Mullins, 2008; Green Miranda, Daroowalla, Siddique, 2005) and how to improve the mental health of mothers in prisons (Green, et al., 2005) and the impact on children left behind (J. Murray & Farrington, 2005).

Other research conducted in England discussed the experiences of mothers in prison (Casey-Acevedo, Bakken, Karle., 2004), and the experiences of female prison inspectors (Cheney, 2010). Women who are mothers are rarely studied. Existing research generally discusses the meaning of life and family social support on the mental health of female convicts and how the social skills of children whose mothers are in prison (Marzuki, 2016). In discussing parenting, two studies were found that discussed the role of the mother when in prison, namely research conducted by (Hani, 2017) at the Jakarta Detention Center and research (Sitorus, 2016) at the Medan Detention Center. In these two studies what was revealed was the perception of female convicts about their role as mothers, while in this article it is discussed about how mothers who are in prison construct their identities as mothers.

Parenting research in Indonesia is still dominated by a pathological perspective (Zulhammi, 2016) which considers parenting in unusual conditions to be wrong or not good. Such as studies that use the Baumrind theory in analyzing parenting patterns (Ayun, 2017; Fitriyani, 2015; Rahman & Yusuf, 2012) by placing one parenting pattern as superior to the other. The purpose of this paper is to explore the construct of mother according to a woman who is a convict. So far, articles about parenting have always been written within an ideal framework (Baumrind, 1991; Joseph & John, 2008; Madigan. Prime, Graham, Rodrigues, Anderson, Khoury, Jenkins, 2017; September. Rich, Roman, 2016; Ward. Wessels, Lachman, Hutchings, Cluver, Kassanje, Nhapi, Little, Gardne, 2020). There are still rare studies that discuss parenting in unusual conditions, such as the condition of mothers in correctional institutions. In the western context, such as the USA, research on female prisoners discusses the psychological condition of mothers in prisons (Carlo & Mullins, 2008; Green Miranda, Daroowalla, Siddique, 2005) and how to improve the mental health of mothers in prisons (Green, et al., 2005) and the impact on children left behind (J, Murray & Farrington, 2005).

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This article tries to fill the gap in literature by presenting a perspective on parenting with a post-structuralist feminist perspective. This perspective is expected to be able to show the identity of female convicts in negotiating their motherly role.

This article attempts to challenge the dominant discourse about "mothers" through the experiences of mothers who are serving time in prison. The dominant discourse of a mother in Indonesian society is as the main caregiver and educator of children (Pedersen, 2016). This dominant construction requires the mother to take full responsibility for her child, such as fulfilling the child's physical, social, emotional and intellectual needs. Based on this dominant discourse, mothers who are in prison will be considered as mothers who cannot fulfill their duties.

This research tries to investigate how mothers who are in prison perceive and evaluate themselves as mothers. Through narrative analysis, it is known that mothers who are convicts still try to carry out their motherly role optimally even though they are in limited conditions. Thus, this prisoner's mother negotiated her maternal identity as the ideal mother.

It is hoped that this paper will be able to provide an overview of the construction of the ideal mother of a convict who has been hidden all this time and be able to open our eyes about a figure that has been forgotten.

1.1 Post-structuralist feminist perspective

The post-structuralist feminist theory was used in this article which allows the writer to see the diverse identities of mothers. Post-structuralist feminists recognize the historical position of women and their role in the family (Hogan, 2012), thus, the identity of mother or 'motherhood' does not have a single meaning. This perspective is able to observe the identity phenomenon of something from a complex point of view (Ramazanoglu, 2002).

In the process of building individual identity, post-structuralist feminists view individuals as subjects who have the ability to negotiate reality with the dominant discourse that is normalized by society (Osgood et al., 2019). Thus, the identity of the individual is seen as the result of individual negotiations on various factors including the historical, social and cultural experiences of the individual (Gavey, 2013).

In this study, the post-structuralist theory is useful for understanding how female convicts interpret their identity as a mother. What is disclosed is how women convicts negotiate the reality they experience with the construction of an ideal mother that is dominant in society.

Discussions about parenting have so far been dominated by discussions about ideal parenting discourse. For example, effective parenting is defined as care that provides full support and high attention to children, and avoids corporal punishment in the context of an 'ideal' family living together (Amato & Fowler, 2002). The presumption that so far exists that the ideal parenting role is carried out by a mother is very inherent in people's lives. This is a concern from a post-structuralist feminist perspective that parenting does not look at gender (F. Green, 2015), everyone can become a mother, meaning that this perspective understands the role of mothers collectively.

II. METHODS

This article was written based on the results of the Master of Early Childhood Education thesis research which was completed in August 2021 and was mentored by the second author. This research is a case study that was analyzed qualitatively. This case study was used to investigate the complexity of the experiences of two women in prison in the context of their role as mothers of children aged 0-7 years.

One informant has 3 children, 2 are outside and 1 child has been living in prison since the child was still in the womb until the time this research was carried out (approximately 2 years old). Other informants did not bring their children to prison. Her 5 year old son lives with his stepfather who has a new family. The research location is one of the women's prisons in West Java.

The research was carried out intensively for approximately 2 months with virtual in-depth interviews due to the Covid-19 pandemic which limited prison visits. Interviews were conducted 16 times with a duration of between 30 minutes and 1 hour so that researchers would receive information as soon as possible, besides that the procedure for calling resource persons required time and a long process. The prison and the Ministry of Law and Human Rights did not set a time frame for the research. When this research was completed, the prison asked for a research report in the form of a draft to be archived.

This study was carried out by obtaining multiple permits. First was applying for a research permit from the campus, after it was issued then the research permit was submitted to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights online through its official website. After obtaining permission, the permit was submitted to the Class II A Bandung Women's Penitentiary and then the researchers scheduled to meet with participants online. Resource persons adapted to research needs. Access to resource persons was carried out through procedures that were implemented. Before determining the character

of the informant, prison officials must first know the purpose of the research, thus the selected informant was in accordance with the character of the research. The officer selects the suitability of the source, which was then directed to the researcher for an interview. During the interviews, prison officers facilitated and accompanied the sources.

This research was conducted by upholding the principles of research ethics, including maintaining the confidentiality of sources. The first meeting with the sources was to make introductions with the aim of building trust between the researcher and the sources after that asking for a willingness to be involved in research by providing an overview, objectives and related benefits of this research. Consent was obtained orally and recorded on a voice recorder. The interview began when the consent of the informant was obtained. The source stated bluntly that she enjoyed sharing his story with researchers and felt that her experiences were being heard. The researcher explained that the interviewee has the right to refuse the questions asked if they feel uncomfortable. The researcher will ensure the confidentiality of the source's identity upon request, and while collecting data the researcher respected all.

The analysis technique used in this research is grounded theory. This analysis technique is a research method that seeks to develop the hidden theory behind the data where the data is collected and analyzed systematically (Martin & Turner, 1986). Grounded theory was used in this study to systematically search for and organize records of observations, interviews, and others so as to increase the researcher's understanding of the case under study and present it as findings to others.

When doing open coding for the first time, 65 codes were found. The first step in doing open coding is to highlight the interview data and a description of the interview results. After the necessary data has been collected, the next step is the focus coding phase, which is then developed into a theme. This focus coding found 44 data, the data obtained was selected according to the purpose of this study. This focus coding combined research findings with categories needed in research. The next step was to find a theme or selective coding. From this study, three major themes were found, namely "mothers must always be physically present," "fulfilling needs," "giving attention," and "a good image of mothers."

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From a pathological perspective, a convict mother cannot be an ideal mother because of her self-detention (Burgess & Flynn, 2013), this is due to the separation between mother and child. However, this separation did not become a barrier for the two sources to feel as ideal mothers. Based on the analysis, it was found that convict mothers maintain the hegemonic definition of the ideal mother while in certain contexts they carry out negotiations between the hegemonic concept of ideal mothers and their reality. The hegemonic concept of the mother is maintained "that the mother is the main caregiver," "providing attention", "fulfilling needs," and "a good image of the mother." The form of negotiation carried out by the mother is by "deferring physical presence."

III.1 *The Mother is The Main Caregiver*

Convict mothers' understanding of the "mother concept" is no different from the mainstream understanding of mothers. The views of the two convict mothers still follow the dominant discourse, however, they carry out negotiations that adapt to their realities in prison, thus they feel they can maintain their identity as ideal mothers. Mothers are the ideal caregivers for their children (Takseva, 2018), this view is believed by the community, including by the two informants, as seen from the interview excerpts which state the following meaning of parenting:

The meaning of parenting for me is to be there for the children (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).
I have to take care of them, I have to be close... (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

Even though they are in prison, the mothers of the convicts in this study always care for their own children in accordance with applicable regulations and adapted to existing conditions because they believe that mothers are the main caregivers for their children. For the two informants, the figure of a mother is the most important figure in the life of her child. Her role as a babysitter cannot be replaced even if she is hindered by the existing situation and conditions, such as an environment that does not support providing home-based care or circumstances that cannot be together. This reality does not change the views of the informants on ideal parenting and the understanding that mothers are the main caregivers. The source named Ms. Sinta (not her real name), who brought her child to prison, tried to provide care for her child.

III.2 *Nurturing and Caring*

The dominant discourse that mothers are the main caregivers for their children made the two sources try to give their roles. This can be seen from the efforts made by one of the informants who brought children to prison. Even though she is in a limited condition, Mrs. Sinta ensures that she is able to divide her time between prison activities, taking care of her child and additional work. Ms. Sinta has to race against time every day because there are strict rules for inmates, such as the schedule for participating in activities outside the room starting from 07.00 to 10.00 in the morning. This prompted Ms. Sinta to prepare herself early in providing care for her child. To focus more on taking care of her child, the mother must have finished preparing herself before her child wakes up. This can be seen from the following interview excerpts:

...how do I have to chase time, with keys... one room is filled with many people, one bathroom and I have to share and arrange the time when I take a shower, take care of children like bathing children, work must be finished before leaving... (Ms. Sinta, March 4, 2021).

So I wake up at 02.30 after midnight I wash my clothes, take a shower later when I wake up I'm done and I can focus on taking care of my children (Ms. Sinta, March 4, 2021)

Ms. Sinta's condition while inside felt a very different life than before, where all her movements were not as free as when outside plus having to take care of the children. There are favorable and unfavorable conditions. Such pleasant conditions, she can always be together with her child and unpleasant conditions, the mother must adapt to limited circumstances. This condition encourages Sinta's mother to be able to manage time so that she can give her role in caring for children. This is not much different from life outside for working mothers. Working mothers also feel that their time is limited in carrying out their roles. Rizzo, Schiffirin, & Liss, (2013), said that the more time that working mothers have, the less the care they provide. Thus, working mothers also try to manage their time between work, taking care of the house and providing care. Another form of parenting provided by Sinta's mother is to be a direct good example for her child. This appears in the following interview excerpts:

...when he spilled water, spilled rice and messed up the bed, I tried to get him to clean it up again by...let's clean it up again... then I told him not to spill food later the food would run out, so little by little I told him, OK, I'll try to be an example for my child... (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

Yes, even though I am like this, I try to set a good example for my child (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

Sinta's mother's role towards her children is still trying to teach what is right and what is wrong, even though the conditions and situations do not support caring for her child. Like Ms. Sinta, Ms. Tina also believes that a mother is the main caregiver for her child. However, conditions forced Mrs. Tina not to be able to directly care for her child. This condition made Tina's mother feel that she had no role in raising her child, as can be seen from the following expressions:

...I don't play a role, right? I can't do anything... Yes, the one who plays the role of mother and ex-husband... wants to be like other people, it's like my mother pays attention to me but I can't yet, especially now that I'm in this condition. (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

Tina's mother seems to confirm that the mother is the main caregiver for the child and makes peace with the situation by delegating her care to her ex-husband, as can be seen from the following expression:

Dede is now with his stepfather, because Mama has to work. (Ms. Tina March 16, 2021).

Likewise with Mrs. Sinta who negotiated her care for children outside by delegating it to another party, namely her parents, this can be seen as follows:

“raised by my sister, so it's the same as her parents” (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

Her ex-husband and uncle are the ones who get full trust as substitute caregivers from the two sources. The two informants believe that by handing over care to the child's closest family, it is the same as caring for it carried out by the mother herself.

The arguments of the two informants for choosing Uak and her ex-husband as substitute caregivers for her are as follows:

Incidentally, my sister also doesn't have a husband, so she's looser so she can take care of my children. (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

Even though they weren't with me because they had their father, grandparents, grandparents who loved them. (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

before marrying me, my ex-husband already loved my child (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

Then, the informant who brought the child to prison will soon have to give up their child to be handed over to the family who is outside, bearing in mind that their child is about to turn 2 years old. Based on Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 58 of 1999 Article 28 children aged 0-2 years can be cared for by mothers in prisons, meaning that children aged 2 years and over are not allowed to accompany their mothers in prisons. Previously, this source had introduced the family outside through Video Call (VC) to their children. This is done to prepare the child and family for when the time comes for a transfer of care. Preparation that is no less important is mentally preparing himself and his children, this can be seen from the following interview excerpts:

Yes, mental preparation, the important thing is to just surrender, to be introduced to the grandparents, by looking at the photos of the grandparents and their families. I had the photos and I pointed at him. He already understood, VC, VC was already used for his older brother, so he looked at it every day (Ms. Sinta, March 4, 2021).

Judging from this reality, the informants are very aware of the situation and the importance of substitute caregivers for their children. The responsibility for care that was left to other family members had to be carried out by the two sources for the sake of the child, considering the condition of the mother who was unable to provide optimal care. Research from (Easterling Feldmeyer, Presser, (2018), says that parents who are in prison will not be optimal in providing care and even if they force it it will disrupt the rhythm of parenting that is being built.

Between the surrogate caregiver and the mother there must be trust and communication so that the goals of parenting are optimally created. The existence of trust given to substitute caregivers is very important, because even substitute caregivers can experience depression (Clopton & East, 2008). In addition to trust and communication that must be created between the mother and the surrogate caregiver is cooperation. This cooperation is carried out not only with husbands but with other family

members who are involved in raising children. Research conducted by Mumola, (2000) in the USA said that when the father is in prison the child will still be cared for by the mother, but when the mother is in prison the children will be cared for by other family members, such as grandmothers, grandfathers and others.

Another part of the mother as the main caregiver is to provide attention. This attention is given in the form of maintaining communication between mother and child. In contrast to the care given to their children who are outside, the role given is only through daily communication with prison facilities, namely VC done for 15 minutes per day. Mothers and children are separated for a long time because they have to work in a faraway place does not mean that the mother is not good, even though they are separated, there is still communication through technology and fulfilling needs. Millman, (2013), said remote care can be provided by working mothers in the form of physical and emotional care in the form of remittances and emotional assistance through technological media such as the telephone or the internet. Then, communication built through telephone technology can be done once a week (Lutz, 2015).

Likewise with the convict's mother, any condition does not hinder the relationship that is built between mother and child, namely through communication. The communication given by the two informants to their children was in different forms, namely directly or indirectly. Direct communication is provided by mothers who bring their children to prisons, while indirect communication is given to children who are outside prisons. As was done by Mrs. Sinta for her children who went to prison, everything was considered and communicated as stated below:

While I knit the children follow me, sometimes I like someone to babysit them but I still follow them, I look for them, I watch them. (Ms. Sinta March 4, 2021).

I am afraid that my children will see and hear about the situation here, right here there are many people who have tattoos, imprinted rude behavior until they grow up, really scared (Ms. Sinta, March 4, 2021).

Meanwhile, an indirect form of communication is given to children who are outside through the facilities provided by the prison, namely VC. VC is a prison facility for prisoners during the pandemic, it is hoped that it will be able to replace the usual visiting facilities. VC is a communication strategy provided by prisons to residents as a communication solution during a pandemic (Horgan, 2020). The source named Ms. Sinta pays attention to her child who is outside prison by using the VC facility every day, as can be seen from the following expressions:

... thank God, often every day, even if it's only 15 minutes, let me know how the children are doing (Ms. Siti, March 18, 2021).

In maintaining the relationship with her children, Ms. Sinta tries her best to stay in touch to realize the dominant discourse as the main caregiver.

yes, even though we are far away, we can still communicate and actually I play quite a role even though my small child is here with me, living as it is and even though my children are taken care of by my sister and are far away, ... so my family only provides strength for the children. (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

No condition hinders the communication made by the mother to her child. In the case of the 2 informants in this study, such as Ms. Sinta, she did not experience difficulties in communicating with her children, this is different from the experience of Ms. Tina. Ms. Tina does not communicate every day, as seen in the following passage: "I rarely do it" (Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

Ms. Tina's absence from carrying out VC activities was because she thought of the negative impact that would be felt by both her child and herself. This can be seen from the following interview excerpts:

So the mother said, I'll just focus on the case first, don't ask about the child, just calm down, the mother tends to worry that if she asked the grandparent, she would be afraid of their thoughts. The problem is that the mother said that if you have VC with your child, the child tends to be quiet, doesn't want to go anywhere and gets sick with a fever (interview with Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

it's the same if VC children like to tell them to go home quickly... (Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021)

From the excerpt of the interview it is known that the reason Tina did not communicate much was for the benefit of her child so that she would avoid the negative effects of her detention. The form of Ms. Tina's absence from communication is not a form of indifference but a form of concern, affection and attention of a mother for her child.

The form of concern for her child that was carried out by Ms. Tina while in prison was communicating through her mother, as shown below:

yes, just asking about my daughter to mom... Yes, the problem with Dede's development is whether he is sick or not, can he recite the Quran yet, does he like to cry, does he ask about me... that's all (Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

Ms. Tina admits that her attention to children is minimal, as can be seen from the following interview excerpts:

...I don't play a role, right? I can't do anything... Yes, the one who plays the role of mother and ex-husband... wants to be like other people, it's like my mother pays attention to me but I can't yet, especially now that I'm in this condition. (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

This deficiency is a consequence of his actions, because of that Ms. Tina's is aware of it. The separation between mother and child, the loss of freedom in providing care and the loss of communication with outside families and children are the biggest impacts of a mother's detention (Easterling & Johnson, 2015). Termination or interruption of communication between sources and their children does not have a single meaning as child neglect. In the case of Ms. Tina, it turned out that this mother did not communicate with her child because she wanted to protect her child's feelings.

III.3 Fulfilling Needs

As part of the main caregiver role, the mother also has a role in fulfilling the child's needs (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). The discourse was also believed by the two informants that a good mother is a mother who is able to provide all the needs of her child. The two informants tried to provide for their children's needs even with makeshift conditions.

Every child has the same needs such as clothing, food and shelter. Likewise what happened to the children of the two resource persons, they needed this, but the fulfillment was different due to the limited circumstances.

Needs such as food, clothing, play and health were tried to be provided by the two sources. In the case of Ms. Sinta, she decided to bring her child to prison because she wanted to meet the child's need for breast milk. Breastfeeding early in life is one of the rights of children which is the best experience. (Kadir, 2014). This discourse encouraged Ms. Sinta to breastfeed her child. Breastfeeding was understood by the informants as another form of the mother's role as the main caregiver.

Then the role of the mother as the main caregiver is to meet the needs of children such as food needs. Ms. Sinta fulfills this need for food for her children who come with her. Fulfillment of food needs

has actually been prepared by the Lapas, but Ms. Sinta is still trying to cook food for her own children with the aim of knowing the nutritional intake her child is eating as she says below:

...I went into the kitchen to cook my own children's food, I did eat someone who cooked it but I never asked anyone to make my child's food. So that I know what the child's food is like, what the food contains... (Ms. Sinta, March 4, 2021).

In addition, even though there were many regulations that hindered the fulfillment of children's needs, the two informants continued to try to provide the maximum for their children's needs, such as the need to buy diapers, baby food, milk, vitamins, medicines, and children's clothing. In order to be able to meet these needs financial income is needed, to be able to provide for the two sources to work additional while inside. As stated by Sinta's mother: "So while I'm here, I work by washing my friends' clothes" (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

Likewise with Mrs. Tina, she works at one of the work posts in prisons to meet the needs of her children outside prisons. The negotiations that were carried out can be seen from the following excerpt:

"... you get money... it's quite profitable to buy more and more to give children..." (Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

For clothing needs, Ms. Sinta also tries to fulfill them by asking families outside the prison or prison officials to help buy clothes and other needs for her child. Although often the items purchased are not as expected, such as being too big or too small. This can be seen from the following excerpts:

...I want to buy a shirt, right? When it arrives, the size is too small so the clothes can't be worn. I feel really sad. that's enough, sometimes I order to buy powdered soap, the medicine tends to be wrong... really sorry... sad... (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

Similar to Ms. Sinta, Ms. Tina also tries to meet the clothing and other needs for her child even though her position is separate. It can be seen from the following excerpt:

Yes, most send things like that to children like clothes, toys, but not from me but from my father, just saying this to the child is from mom (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

Even though Ms. Tina is physically limited and cannot go directly to buy her child's needs, she still thinks about meeting these needs. In research conducted by Moore, (2014) in South Africa which stated that there was a change in the meaning of good motherhood by the younger generation, initially a good mother was one who provided care, servants for her children developed to be more capable. dividing time between himself, children and family.

III.4 Good Mother Image

Prisoners' mothers are seen by society as bad mothers because of the absence of a mother's role in the family (Baldwin, 2017). This view was agreed upon by the two informants, who considered her to be a bad mother because of the identity of the convicts. Even though they judged themselves negatively, the two sources struggled to keep trying their best, as seen in the following excerpts:

I have to be a good mother first, thank God, here I am more focused on improving myself. (Mrs. Sinta, March 16, 2021)

Feelings of failure, lots of sins but I try to be able to take care of my child (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021)

I'm sorry, I'm desperate to leave my child and it's troubling my parents, I'm really sorry, what else can I do to separate from my child and parents, for me, the most important thing is that I know the child's condition is enough.
(Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

During interviews with the two informants, it was revealed that they were trying to build a positive self-image in front of their children. The efforts made by the two informants in managing their self-image are by committing white lies to children who are considered young, while to children who can already understand their family situation, honesty can also be a form of image management.

III.5 White Lies

The community's negative evaluation of the convict's mother made the two sources keep the true incident a secret. It is feared that this negative assessment will have an impact on children in their social life. Negative views of parents in prison will worsen the child's psychology and emotions (Bartlett, 2000).

The efforts of the two informants in protecting their children were to cover up the true identity of the mother as giving an understanding, as can be seen in the following interview excerpts:

Mom here works while at the boarding school, can't bring children... they don't tell me that I'm inside, I don't understand, I'm sorry. (Ms. Sinta, March 4, 2021).

They were told that I was working far abroad (Ms. Tina March 3, 2021).

When my mother was visiting my child, she was afraid that she would find out that she was hugging her and she said that I worked here, but I didn't know that when I came home my child was already grown up, but I hid her as much as possible. (Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

Even though they are convict mothers, they still want to be considered good mothers in front of their children. Post-structuralist feminists consider normal discourse when building identities in social life (Osgood et al., 2019).

The two informants had concerns about the child's condition if they found out that their mother was in prison. Therefore, the two informants tried to keep their identities secret, it was hoped that the children would avoid acts of bullying from the environment. The first child of one of the sources got bullied from his home environment. Here's the expression:

my big child got bullied a lot from his neighbors and friends and for a time he didn't want to go to school, for a time he didn't want to eat (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

The detention of a mother has an effect on the child both physically and mentally. Bloom & Steinhart (2002), said that children of imprisoned mothers experience bullying, mental disorders, stress, sleep disturbances, memory disorders and even suicidal ideation.

Another reason for keeping the true identity of the mother a secret is to hope that the image of the mother will remain good in the eyes of the child so that it will help the two informants to remain strong in living life while in prison. This can be seen in the following conversation:

I like to get excited when I remember my child'...yes, if I'm not there, I'll already have I don't know what to do, so if I remember Grandpa, I'll be excited again, and I'll be more confident if I can pass everything, it's just my child, my provision in the afterlife (Tina's mother, March 16, 2021).

children for me are everything, giving encouragement, entertainment when I'm sad, like to be confident again when I'm "down" I can take care of my own children here, and children make me brave...when I'm emotional because the environment is like that Just remember my children, and I'm sure that children will be my provision in the afterlife (Mrs. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

For the two informants, children are everything, children are a source of strength, encouragement, giving peace, motivation to become more confident and by remembering that children are able to go through all life in prison. Children are able to give their own meaning to mothers who are struggling in prison life. With children can give birth to a sense of motherhood which is full of meaning of life and hope for their own existence (Lindström, B., & Eriksson, M. 2005).

Then another reason for keeping their true identities secret is because children are considered to not understand anything, they are still small as seen in the following excerpt:

so those who are still small don't tell me that I'm inside, they don't understand, it's a pity. (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

I haven't been told yet, it's a pity that I'm still small later.. what about later, if he finds out from other people he wants to be told but if he doesn't know, I won't be told how to do it, actually living here isn't to be remembered (Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

The child is seen as not understanding anything, prompting the two informants to keep the truth a secret because they are worried that it will have an impact on the growth and development of their children. This is also supported by MacNaughton, (2007) that the child is not ready to think critically, and is not yet able to understand broad communication concepts.

The impact of this assumption causes the two informants to form a good image in the eyes of children through behavior such as lying, such as giving gifts to their children. This is revealed in the following excerpt:

so when my husband buys clothes or toys, they are sent home as if they were from me (Mrs. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

yes, most send something like that to the child, but not from me but from my partner, only said to the child this is from mom
(Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

This convict's mother has the same hope as other mothers, namely that her child has a better future than her mother. The two informants hoped that by having a positive image in front of their children, they wanted their status not to become an obstacle for their children to achieve their goals. Hani et al., (2020) stated that mothers who are in correctional institutions have the same expectations as mothers in general. This can be seen from the following interview results:

I don't want my son to be the same as his parents. The child must be smart, don't be like a stupid mother, so he must go to a high school (Ms. Tina, March 4, 2021).

I want the children to be healthy, smart, Sholeh who loves his grandmother, and is loved by his ex-husband's family. (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

yes, I hope my children will be successful children, to be what I hope for. (Mrs. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

III.6 Honesty and Condition

One of the informants who has raised children told the actual conditions, this can be seen in the following interview excerpts:

Yeah, I'm trying to convince him, Mom is fine here, in fact, you have to be proud, Mom can recite the Quran here. (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

The reason for Mrs. Sinta to tell the child the true situation is because she thinks that this child is big enough and will understand the situation faced by their mother. This was said by the participants during the interview with the researcher, the following is the interview:

...I convinced my older child that the first child was already big and already understood... (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

The resource person believes that his child will understand and understand the condition his mother is going through. The honesty that is carried out by Mrs. Sinta is expected to be able to create trust between the two of them. Noor (2018) revealed that communication will be good if there is trust between the two. The assumption that children understand because they are big makes mothers more open in communicating with their children. This can be seen from the following interview excerpts:

...I've asked my children like this, are you ashamed that you have a mother in prison? My son's answer, why? Because mom is not a theft case, mom is a drug case and you you visit other people's homes and the thing that my child is proud of is his mom can recite the Quran... (Ms. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

From honesty about the actual conditions, this convict mother hopes to encourage her children to be better than their mother. The following are excerpts from the hopes and wishes of the participants:

I want my children to get a good, high education, let alone the problem of religious knowledge... if he already has basic religious knowledge or understands maybe he will carry himself and be better. (Mrs. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

...we were told what was true and what was not.. (Tina's mother, March 16, 2021).

The honesty given by this source gave birth to trust and openness in communication between him and his children. This can be seen from the following excerpts:

...if the personal needs of a big child run out, he will definitely tell me first instead of my brother, why didn't I tell Uwa before that I was afraid I wouldn't have money, so I'll tell my sister later and tell my husband to buy this and it will be sent later to the house." (Mrs. Sinta, March 16, 2021).

The happiness and openness gained by the participants and their children is the result of being honest about the actual conditions, so as to reduce the negative impact of the mother's imprisonment. Sahfitri & Rahardjo (2020) stated that open communication between mothers and children will reduce the impact of mother's detention.

III.7 Deferring Physical Presence

One source who was separated from her child, Ms. Tina, while in prison, did not communicate, let alone meet, even through VC, with her child because she had reasons for the interests of the child. This was done compulsorily with the support of family and substitute caregivers, as seen from the following excerpts:

The problem is that the mother said that if you have VC with your child, the child tends to be quiet, doesn't want to go anywhere and gets sick with a fever (interview with Mrs. Tina, March 3, 2021).

it's the same if VC children like to tell them to come home quickly... (Ms. Tina, March 3, 2021).

replied my ex-husband, don't think about it and "R" I'm healthy, I'm even happy, I'll just trust you, if something happens, I'll let you know. (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021)

In the excerpt, it can be seen that Ms. Tina is trying to negotiate her role with another party, namely her ex-husband. This form of negotiation is one of the sources' efforts to prove that he really loves and cares for her child.

Detention of a mother will give birth to negative risks that will be experienced by children such as depression, anxiety, stress and will experience a change of caregivers which worsens the child's condition (Smyth, 2012).

The absence of Ms. Tina in caring for the child was because the family was worried about the mental health of the source and their child. However, the concern for the parents of Ms. Tina gave rise to new problems that could permanently separate the source from their child. Lack of communication between mother and child will result in poor parenting, because it can disrupt the relationship between mother and child, the child forgets the mother and the mother can even lose custody (Loper & Tuerk, 2010).

However Ms. Tina believes that one day when she is out, she will be able to raise her own child again. This is seen as follows:

The main thing is that you have to come back with me when I leave later, no matter how dear the father is, he must be taken again because that is my right as his mother (Ms. Tina, March 16, 2021).

Judging from the quote above, it can be seen that Ms. Tina really hopes that one day she can become the main caregiver for her child. Her absence does not mean forgetting her child but is a form of making peace with the situation.

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Parenting programs are very prevalent in Indonesia. However, the existing program focuses on "normal" families. The perspective in society states that mothers are the only caregivers for their children, which shapes the culture in Indonesia, as can be seen from the division of duties in a family. The division of roles in the family makes gender equality, where men play roles in the public sphere while women in the domestic sphere (Werdiningsih, 2021). From the point of view of conventional standards, the condition of Mrs. WBP is forced to give up their identity as a mother. However, this does not prevent her from struggling to give her form of responsibility as a mother. Mrs. WBP try to build a strong relationship between themselves and their children. It can be seen from how to keep communication smooth even though it is very limited, maintain a positive image in front of their children, and minimize the negative impact of holding them. Murray (2013), states that parents and children who establish good relationships will encourage both parties to adapt more quickly.

Forming a good relationship with the child and family while in prison has great challenges but does not prevent Mrs. WBP from striving to maintain their identity as ideal mothers through delegation of care. Mothers who are in prison are able to negotiate their maternal roles through delegation of care (Rowe, 2011).

Mrs. WBP try to build and manage their care while in prison, focusing on the dominant parenting discourse. It can be seen from one of the Mrs. WBP, while in trying to maintain her maternal identity as a good mother even in pressure and unsupportive conditions. In line with Enos (2001) who mentioned that even in prison, a mother still struggles to provide her care and make medicine to stay afloat while serving a sentence.

On the other hand, Mrs. WBP have fears of losing the identity of a mother. The inherent negative stigma of an inmate's mother, fearing that it will affect the child's view of her. Mrs. WBP is considered to have violated gender *stereotypes* (Sharp & Eriksen, 2003).

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