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**‘Cultural Consequences – the lived experiences and
support needs of British Pakistanis with a family
member in prison’**

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield
in partial fulfilment of its requirements**

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Abstract

Although there is a considerable amount of research exploring the impact of imprisonment on prisoners' families, there appears to be an absence of literature investigating the consequences of family imprisonment on Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) families. This is surprising considering 26% of the prison population represented BME groups as of March 2014 (Prison Reform Trust, 2014). Therefore the purpose of this thesis was to explore the impact of imprisonment on a BME group, British Pakistanis specifically. This research found there were similarities between the experiences of British Pakistani prisoner's families and those of the wider community however the implications of these experiences can be severe and multiply existing disadvantages where British Pakistani families are concerned. British Pakistani families faced additional cultural consequences as a result of the imprisonment of a family member. In relation to the similarities between the experiences of British Pakistani families of prisoners and prisoners' families amongst the wider population, there are commonalities in their support needs. British Pakistanis however require further support to contend with the multiple and cultural disadvantages they face.

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1 Introduction

Author reflexivity

The inspiration for this thesis stems from my personal experiences. I am a second generation British Pakistani. I received a two year prison sentence in November 2008. The events surrounding my imprisonment had a profound impact on me; it was a difficult time for both me and my family. I was aware that my imprisonment had an impact on my family but as I was heavily involved in the events which were occurring, I did not appreciate the true nature of their experiences until a couple of years later. I was released from prison in June 2009. In September 2009 I began a BSc (Hons) Sociology and Criminology degree at The University of Huddersfield. During my second year at university, I became involved in a work placement with the COPING project (Children of Prisoners, Interventions and Mitigations to Strengthen Mental Health). The COPING project was a child-centred research project which aimed to investigate the characteristics of children with imprisoned parents, their resilience, and their vulnerability to mental health problems.

My imprisonment in 2008, was the first involvement anyone from my family had with the Criminal Justice System and I was fully aware that it had affected us all deeply. However my involvement in the COPING project caused me to reflect and enabled me to develop alternative perspectives and a deeper understanding of issues children and families of prisoners face. Upon writing a report towards the end of my work placement, it occurred to me that there appeared to be an absence of literature exploring the impact of imprisonment on British Pakistani families, or even wider BME communities. This was the foundation of my interest in this research area.

I graduated in 2012, and in early 2013 I began a work placement at the WYCCP (West Yorkshire Community Chaplaincy Project). I worked as a Link Worker and my role involved supporting the reintegration and rehabilitation of offenders leaving HMP Leeds. Although the role primarily involved working with offenders, there were occasions where Link Workers would meet family members or service users would describe how their imprisonment had affected their family. During my time at WYCCP there was very little

involvement from British Pakistani service users, however from my own experience of imprisonment I was aware there was a significant population of British Pakistani prisoners.

It was as a consequence of the combination of my experiences within the Criminal Justice System, the COPING project and WYCCP that really caused me to consider to what extent imprisonment affects families from a British Pakistani background and what support they needed. Therefore when I was offered a Vice Chancellors Scholarship at the University of Huddersfield, I decided this was an area which needs exploring, and so began this research project.

1.1 The nature of the research

Families of prisoners have gained considerable attention within academia, research and policy (Christian 2005, Clewitt & Glover 2009, Department of Children, School and Families 2007, Gan-Rankin, Deverell & Loughrey 2010, Every Child Matters 2003, Jones et al., 2013, Murray 2007, Raikes 2014, Social Exclusion Task Force 2008). It has long been recognised that positive family relationships can support the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners (Ministry of Justice 2013, Social Exclusion Unit 2002). However, Codd (2007) argues that where supporting families of prisoners is fundamentally considered a process in which to support the rehabilitation of prisoners and reduce re-offending, the focus is shifted from the families themselves who experience a number of disadvantages, which will be discussed in the literature review.

Upon reviewing existing literature on families of prisoners, there appears to be a lack of literature exploring the impact of imprisonment on BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) families. Light (1995) conducted some qualitative research on Black and Asian families of prisoners, but this is problematic due to a small sample size amongst a heterogeneous data sample which does not focus on specific ethnic minority groups. The experiences and implications of imprisonment are likely to vary amongst families from different faiths and cultural backgrounds. More recently, Jones et al. (2013) recognised the lack of participants from the BME community as a limitation on a study exploring the impact of imprisonment on children of prisoners. Furthermore, Gan-Rankin et al. (2010) explored the impact of imprisonment on families, on behalf of POPS (Partners of Prisoners Support Service- a

charity who support prisoners families), and described how BME families of prisoners are less likely to access mainstream services and are described to be hard-to-reach. The absence of research on BME families is an interesting observation, as according to the Prison Reform Trust (2014), in March 2014, 26% of the prison population were from BME groups. BME groups are significantly over-represented in the prison population as according to the Office for National Statistics (2011), BME groups represented just 14% on the general population.

The purpose of this thesis is to focus on one BME group specifically, British Pakistanis. Considering a specific ethnic minority group will allow for the development of specific knowledge of the impact of imprisonment, whereas focusing on BME groups as a whole would be problematic due to the diversity of the research subjects. According to the Office for National Statistics (2011), British Pakistanis made up 2% of the wider population. The Prison Reform Trust (2014) demonstrated how 6% of the prison population were of Asian ethnicity, there were no specific statistics for British Pakistanis. This implies there is no accurate way of recording over or under-representation of the British Pakistani population in prison. It also demonstrates how upon recording data, the prison system will classify Asians as a homogeneous group. The aim of this thesis is to explore the experiences of British Pakistani families while they have a family member in prison. The following chapter will begin by considering existing literature which is relevant in relation to the aim of this thesis. Research objectives will be discussed towards the end of the following chapter. Chapter three will describe the methodological approaches applied for the purposes of this thesis and the analysis of the data. The findings of the thesis will be discussed in chapter four, which will be followed by researcher reflections in chapter five. Finally, chapter six will conclude the thesis.

2 Literature Review

In order to contextualise the aim of this thesis, it is necessary to explore existing literature around this topic area. Therefore this section will begin by reviewing existing literature which explores the experiences of prisoners' families. The following section will consider existing literature on stigma and discuss this in relation to shame and the British Pakistani community. The third section will review existing literature on the British Pakistani

community, in relation to the focus of this thesis. A significant amount of existing literature does not distinguish British Pakistanis from other ethnic groups from the Indian sub-continent, but rather incorporates British Pakistanis within the broader category of 'Asians'. It has been necessary to explore some of this literature to develop a clearer understanding of the Pakistani community in the UK. In order to develop an understanding of how imprisonment affects British Pakistani families, it is necessary to reflect on what support services are available for prisoners' families. This will be considered in relation to the wider population and it will also be discussed in relation to British Pakistanis in the fourth section. The final section of this chapter will explore institutional racism.

2.1 Impact on families of prisoners

Research investigating the impact of imprisonment on families can be traced back to Morris (1965), who explored the experiences of prisoners' wives. Morris (1965) found the imprisonment of a spouse had a negative impact on partners who were described to have concerns around financial income, stigma and the lack of support and assistance available while a family member was in prison. This section of the literature review will begin by exploring whether these themes remain consistent in literature around families of prisoners.

A study carried out by the Partners of Prisoners and Families Support Group (POPs) in 2010 explored the impact of imprisonment on families of prisoners in the Bolton area of Greater Manchester. The study illustrated how the imprisonment of a family member can be detrimental to the financial status of the remaining family, particularly where the imprisoned is a parent or the main or sole source of income (Gan-Rankin, Deverell & Loughrey 2010). According to Government publications (Department of Children, School and Families, 2007), families of prisoners are generally from low income households and often face deprivation prior to the imprisonment of a parent. Therefore the imprisonment of a family member would involve families facing multiple disadvantages especially where the imprisoned is a significant contributor towards the household income. Raikes (2014) stated that the implications of a loss of income can cause disruption to housing arrangements; this is common in cases where children are faced with the imprisonment of their mothers. The loss of income combined with the additional costs associated with visiting the imprisoned

family member and providing basic clothing and provisions for the imprisoned can add strain on families, who often will deprive themselves of basic needs or turn to loans to meet costs. (Christian 2005, Codd 2007, Gan-Rankin et al., 2010, Glover 2009).

In addition to the economic consequences of familial imprisonment, families may face social exclusion and disadvantage (Gan-Rankin et al., 2010). Families of prisoners are reported to be more likely to have lower levels of education and employment, be involved in substance misuse and alcohol abuse, have lower confidence and self-esteem and are more likely to be involved in anti-social behaviour and crime (Families do matter, 2007). Families, particularly partners, may often feel strain as a result of family imprisonment, for example older women who face the imprisonment of their partner will often take on new roles, such as being the main source of income and providing for children and imprisoned partners (Codd, 2000). Imprisonment may also increase decision making responsibilities and although not always welcomed, can shift the balance of power towards women while their partners are imprisoned (Codd, 2000). Codd (2000) recommended further research into the experiences of both older and younger women partners of prisoners, and suggested considering intergenerational dimensions and gender roles amongst other concerns. Family members will often not disclose information to each other in cases where they feel this may add distress to other family members (Jones et al., 2013)

Literature on families of prisoners has also highlighted mental health problems and stigma as a common theme (Clewitt & Glover 2009, Every Child Matters 2003, Gan-Rankin et al., 2010). The financial problems alongside the social exclusion and disadvantage which are associated with having a family member in prison can contribute to mental health issues amongst families (Gan-Rankin et al., 2010). Family members were reported to have felt stress and anxiety as a result of the imprisonment of a loved one (Gan-Rankin et al., 2010), and children were considered to be at substantially higher risk of suffering from mental health issues compared to children of non-offending parents (Clewitt & Glover 2009, Every Child Matters 2003). Research has illustrated how many families will be stigmatised and excluded (Codd 2007, Murray 2007, Social Exclusion Task Force 2008) and in some cases can be deemed to be guilty by association to the imprisoned (Codd 2000, 2007). The stigmatisation of families is often intensified for more serious crimes (Jones et al., 2013).

Some families were found to withhold their experiences from family and friends, colleagues and schools in fear of being stigmatised and mistreated on the basis that they are guilty by association (Gan-Rankin et al., 2010, Raikes, 2014). Codd (2007) observed how these fears of a backlash were largely inaccurate, 'For a far greater number of family members the fear of societal negative reaction is greater than the reality' (p256).

The imprisonment of a family member or parent has been recognised to significantly increase the likelihood of self-blame and anti-social behaviour amongst children (Clewitt & Glover 2009, Codd 2007). Behavioural problems are apparent in schools, children will often be stigmatised and suffer from bullying resulting in truancy and lower educational achievement (Clewitt & Glover 2009, Gan-Rankin et al., 2010, Jones et al., 2013). Murray and Farrington (2005) explained how 48% of children who have suffered separation from fathers as a result of imprisonment before the age of eight will go on to offend as an adult, Clewitt and Glover (2009) stated this figure was 65%. It is necessary to point out that the causal factors related to these findings are contentious. In some cases, families were described as being dishonest when explaining the absence of the loved one to younger family members; Gan-Rankin et al. (2010) suggested this can cause distress to younger family members particularly during occasions such as birthdays and Christmas. Children in particular were described to be affected by feelings of confusion and self-blame (Daniel & Taylor 2001, Gan-Rankin et al., 2010). Jones et al. (2013) and Raikes (2014) stressed the importance of consistent and regular visits to be arranged as earliest as possible as children often imagined the conditions in which their parents were kept to be far worse than the reality. Raikes (2014) illustrates how feelings of 'ambiguous loss' are common amongst children of prisoners and although parental imprisonment may benefit a small number of children, the majority are deeply affected by the separation which is described as an experience 'akin to a bereavement' (p21).

In relation to British Pakistani families there is an absence of literature exploring the impact of imprisonment. Therefore the following sub-section section of the literature review will consider wider literature on BME families in order to develop an understanding of groups who are over represented in the criminal justice system yet under researched within academia and policy.

2.1.1 BME families of prisoners

A small scale qualitative study by Light (1995) explored the experiences of seven black and Asian families of prisoners. Light's (1995) study found some of the experiences of black and Asian families mirrored those of the wider white population such as stigmatisation, anxiety, and financial difficulties which included visiting the imprisoned family member and childcare issues. Light (1995) however described additional experiences which affected the families involved in the study, such as language barriers, a lack of sensitivity displayed by the police at the point of arrest, a sense of exclusion and a lack of information with regards to the events surrounding the arrest. In extreme cases there was evidence of mistreatment by the police and both actual and perceived racism were reported by some families (Light, 1995). Light (1995) also highlighted the disapproval of families towards prison conditions, 'conditions in prisons were seen to discriminate against Asian prisoners in particular, with regard to their dietary needs and religious customs' (p217). Light (1995) expressed the importance of further exploration on BME prisoners' families. These findings are significant as they may apply to British Pakistanis, particularly with regards to dietary needs and religious customs. In relation to British Pakistani families of prisoners however there are limitations to this study due to the size and heterogeneity of the data sample. The implications of the diverse ethnicities visible in the data sample would fail to address issues relating to British Pakistani families of prisoners' specifically

2.2 Stigma and Shame

The previous sub-section (Chapter 2.1) described how families of prisoners face being stigmatised as a result of the criminality of their family member, and how this can lead to mental health issues, stress and anxiety. It is important to address the stigma families of prisoners may face, particularly families from an ethnic minority who may be at further risk due to cultural issues. In order to contextualise literature on stigma in relation to families of prisoners from the British Pakistani community it is necessary to explore the concepts of shame and how it can impact people from within this ethnic group. This section will explore literature around the concepts of stigma and shame in Asian culture and discuss these specifically in relation to British Pakistani families of prisoners.

Goffman (1963) defined stigma as ‘an attribute that is deeply discrediting within a particular social interaction’ (p3). Goffman (1963) described how stigmas could be divided and described as either personal deviations, overt deformations and tribal stigmas. Personal deviations were associated with behaviours such as substance or alcohol abuse and criminality, overt deformations were linked to physical disabilities and abnormalities and tribal stigmas were associated with race, national or religious identities (Goffman, 1963). Goffman’s (1963) model implies British Pakistani families of prisoners’ may face multiple stigmas and therefore be at further risk as they would have to contend with the criminality of their family member in relation to both their British and Pakistani identities.

A qualitative study by Toor (2009) on British Asian girls within the criminal justice system, described the notion of honour and shame to be ‘deeply embedded’ (p242) and imposing within Asian communities. ‘The eloquence of Asian language conveys the importance of honour, as the very terms ‘*izzat*’ (family honour, respect and pride), ‘*sharam*’ (bringing shame upon oneself or family) and ‘*bizati*’ (dishonour) evoke the quintessence of obligation and responsibility for many Asians’ (Toor 2009, 242). Werbner (2005) argued *izzat* was a very broad concept but in relation to British migrants it denotes reputation and honour. Shaw (2000) describes how control is exercised through these notions of *izzat* and *sharam* in British Pakistani communities, particularly in concentrated communities where gossip can bring into disrepute and compromise family prestige. Women in particular are perceived to be upholders of *izzat* or honour (Toor, 2009). Studies around relationships and marriages within British Pakistani communities have demonstrated male dominance in which behaviour, particularly of women, is regulated by the ideas of *izzat* and *sharam* (Charsley 2006, 2007, Charsley & Shaw 2012, Enright 2009, Gill 2005, Macey 1999, Phillips and Dustin 2004, Qureshi, Shaw 2006). In relation to researching families of prisoners amongst British Pakistanis this is an important observation. In cases where the imprisoned family member is the husband, it leads to the question of whether this male dominance is asserted by husbands while they are in prison or whether this is exerted by other family members during the husbands’ absence.

Literature on mental health and family stigma is significant to this research as it describes the perceptions and impact of stigmatisation on families who have a member who,

according to Goffman's (1963) definition, possesses an attribute discredited within a particular social interaction. Wahl and Harman (1989) described feelings of guilt and shame experienced by parents of mentally ill patients, this was often linked to perceptions of parental contribution or involvement towards the development of the disorder. This may be reflective of attitudes towards parents of prisoners who may be perceived to be partially responsible for their child's criminality. Similarly, Gilbert, Gilbert and Sanghera (2006) describe an aspect of the concept of *izzat* as reflected shame, whereby an individual's actions can bring shame on themselves and also upon those who are closely associated with the individual. The idea of reflected shame or 'stigmatised by association' is demonstrated by Toor (2009) who describes how one family were ostracised by the local Asian community as a consequence of the criminal status of one of the family members. The implications of reflected shame in a patriarchal environment can be severe for British Pakistani women who have a family member in prison, particularly for mothers, who Toor (2009) described to have been perceived to have failed their motherly duty. Alternatively, Lefley (1992) explored the impact of stigma on children of mentally ill parents who were described to be 'teased, maligned and rejected by their peers' (p128). As a consequence of their parents' illness, children were reluctant to get involved in normal activities such as inviting friends to their houses.

Phelan, Bromet and Link (1998) also explored perceptions of stigma amongst parents and spouses of mentally ill people, and found that of 156 participants approximately half described that they had withheld information regarding hospitalisation from family and friends. Participants also described how they would avoid telling particular individuals from who they expected more severe reactions (Phelan et al., 1998). This is consistent with Gan-Rankin et al. (2010) and Raikes (2014) who highlighted families of prisoners often withhold information regarding the imprisonment of family members for similar reasons, as discussed previously in this literature review (see Chapter 2.1). For groups facing multiple stigmas, such as British Pakistani families of prisoners, the implications of withholding information can be isolating and severe as it would not only involve a lack of support from wider support services but also from the cultural community.

2.3 British Pakistani identity and cultural integration

As this research is focusing on families of prisoners from a Pakistani ethnic background, it is important to gain an understanding of the British Pakistani community. Developing an understanding of attitudes and values held by the Pakistani community and exploring these contextually will support the research aims and objectives. Therefore it is necessary to consider the social, political and cultural framework which has developed during and since migration in the late 1950's. This section of the literature review will explore research on the identity and integration of British Pakistani communities and discuss how this is significant in relation to families of prisoners. This section will also consider structural issues faced by the British Pakistani community.

The development of British Pakistani communities has led to extensive research focusing on identity and integration within the UK, particularly over the last two decades (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1993, Ghuman 2012, Hussain & Bagguley 2005, Jacobson 1997, Khan 2010, Lewis 1994, Modood 1994, Mythen 2012, Saeed, Blain & Douglas 2010, The Change Institute 2009, Vadhwa & Barrett 2009). Towards the end of the 1950's post war Britain saw a rise in the demand for low skilled workers in developing cotton and wool industries (Peach 2006, Small 2012). Subsequently, due to close colonial ties with the Indian subcontinent, the UK saw an influx of immigrants arrive from Pakistan (Small 2012, The Change Institute 2009), largely from the Mirpur district in Azad Kashmir, who had been facing corresponding issues of dispossession of hereditary land due to the development of Mangla Dam (Small, 2012). The initial group of Pakistani migrants (who were predominantly Muslim), were distinctive in comparison to their Indian neighbours in that the early settlers consisted mainly of men, the intention of whom had been to remain briefly in the UK to work and then return to Pakistan in a position to provide economic stability for their families (Peach, 2006). However Shaw (2006) illustrates how migration patterns changed after the introduction of The 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, which prevented immigration to the UK for the purposes of labour however allowed migration for the purposes of family reunion. The following two decades saw the arrival of immediate family members joining those who had already settled in their new surroundings (Peach 2006, Small 2012). Consequently Pakistani immigrants began developing from migrant workers into ethnic

communities (Spencer, 2010). The following decades saw the British Pakistani population increase into what we see today which Kalra (2000) and Small (2012) have described as a three-generational community.

In relation to identity, the first generation of immigrants from Pakistan were perceived to hold strong attachments to the country of their birth, however assimilation since the 1950's and 1960's saw second generation and younger Pakistanis develop a stronger connection to a British identity (The Change Institute, 2009). Modood (1994) explored identities within the British Pakistani community and described how some second generation Pakistanis had adopted bi-cultural identities. British Pakistanis acknowledged the need to moderate their ethnic identity at times in order to be accepted within British society and culture (Modood, 1994), this was perceived to be unreasonable by some of the Pakistani population (Jacobson, 1997). This demonstrates the need to explore whether British Pakistanis feel the need to moderate their ethnic identity in British institutions in which they are particularly vulnerable, and what this may involve.

The perception of 'Britishness' amongst the Pakistani population involved the amalgamation of civic, racial and cultural boundaries rather than a fixed identity (Jacobson, 1997). Civic identities were described as a political identity and were related to nationality/residency, a racial identity was relative to familial roots and ethnicity and cultural identities involved attitudes, behaviours and values which were perceived to be typically British (Jacobson, 1997). British Pakistanis were found to associate strongly with a religious identity rather than a national British identity, and in cases where Britishness was accepted as part of an identity it was described as one which ran parallel to cultural values and religious beliefs which remained a fundamental aspect of British Pakistani identity (Jacobson, 1997). Vadher and Barrett (2009) expanded on these boundaries of Britishness, and argued that national 'culture' and 'community' cannot be conceptualised in a simplistic manner, but rather are fluid and dependent upon context, and therefore there will be variation amongst how ethnic minority groups choose to adopt national identity. In relation to prisoners families from the British Pakistani community this denotes the importance of establishing whether existing support services are appropriate or whether there is a requirement for more culturally specific services which are more accessible and identifiable to the British Pakistani

community. Furthermore, in relation to families of prisoners, the three-generational community described by Kalra (2000) and Small (2012) is a significant observation as it implies there may be differences between generations depending on the extent to which each generation has integrated. For example language barriers may be more apparent in earlier generations compared to more recent generations who have been born and educated in the UK. For the same reason, second and third generation British Pakistanis may have a greater understanding of British culture and practices compared to earlier generations. Therefore the British Pakistani community are heterogeneous group in which needs may differ.

Alienation and isolation are themes which consistently reoccur in literature on the identity and integration of British Pakistanis (Abbas 2005, Hussain & Bagguley 2005, 2012, The Change Institute 2009). The role of Islam or a religious identity has been central in research around the identity and integration of Pakistani communities (The Change Institute, 2009). The displays of disapproval by the Pakistani population towards the publication of Salman Rushdie's 'The Satanic Verses' in the late 1980's and the reaction to Gulf War in the early 1990's demonstrated the alienation of Pakistani communities in the UK (Alexander 2008, Khan 2000). The term 'Muslim' became polarised as a political category as a consequence of the reaction to such incidents (Modood & Ahmed, 2007). This is relevant in relation to families of prisoners who have already been described in this literature review as facing issues such as social exclusion and stigma (see Chapter 2.1). As members of the British Pakistani community, the implications of social exclusion and stigmatisation as a consequence of family imprisonment may amplify existing feelings of alienation and isolation.

Khan (2000) argued that incidents such as the backlash to the publication of 'The Satanic Verses' prompted academics and public figures to criticise values held by the Muslim population in Britain which were seen to be contradictory to Western values and preventing integration. These controversies have stimulated further debate around identity; integration and multiculturalism and are also described as central in the emergence of the concept of Islamophobia (Hellyer, 2007). The term "Islamophobia" was introduced as a concept in a report by the Runnymede Trust in the 1990's and was defined as an 'unfounded hostility

towards Muslims, and therefore fear or dislike of all or most Muslims' (Runnymede Trust, 1997). Mirza et al (2007) found that 86% percent of young Muslims recognised their faith as the most important aspect of their identity in comparison to 11% of the wider British population. In relation to families of prisoners, the emphasis placed on a religious identity within British Pakistani communities and perceptions of biased attitudes towards Muslims draws parallels with Light's (1995) study. Light (1995) described the disapproval of Asian families towards the discriminatory treatment of their imprisoned family member, who emphasised prejudice based on religious customs. This highlights the importance of further exploration around this topic area to discover whether perceptions of discriminatory behaviour remain two decades after Light (1995) carried out his research.

Rioting in Bradford in 1995 and further disruptions in northern towns in 2001, along with the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7, caused further segregation of British Pakistani communities who were beginning to be perceived as the new *enemy within* (Alexander, 2008) or what Goodey (2001) and Toor (2009) describe as a *new urban folk devil*. The disturbances in northern towns in the UK in the summer of 2001 were a consequence of deprivation, segregation and the failure of multiculturalism (Amin, 2002); however Kalra (2002, 2003) argues that the rioting was caused due to a build-up of racism and ill-relationships with the police. A qualitative study by Hussain and Bagguley (2005) carried out in Bradford in the aftermath of the riots found that although the majority of second generation Pakistanis felt that *Britishness* was an integral part on their identity, there was a collective perception of alienation and feelings of a lack of acceptance by the dominant white population. This was reinforced by Hussain and Bagguley (2012) whose qualitative research on the experiences of Muslims in the Leeds area of the UK, found that Muslims took pride in their British identity but concerns around an anti-Muslim backlash and government strategies around integration and terrorism were common. The participation of British military forces in the Afghanistan and Iraq war compromised the loyalty and association of a large number of young Muslims who now felt alienated and under scrutiny (Abbas, 2005). The impact on families of prisoners from within the British Pakistani community following the further segregation which resulted after rioting in 2001 and terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 has not been addressed. The Change Institute (2009)

illustrate how the aftermath of 9/11 and 7/7 contributed towards feelings of displacement in the minds of younger British Pakistanis. The likelihood is that feelings of discriminatory attitudes are more visible among British Pakistani families of prisoners now as opposed to Light's (1995) study which was carried out shortly after the publication of 'The Satanic Verses' and the Gulf war. This is supported by Quraishi (2006), who explained how feelings of discriminatory policing, sentencing and media representations were present amongst sections of the Muslim population. The implications of an ethnic minority group having to face the imprisonment of a family member during a period of intense scrutiny can be severe in comparison to not only the wider population, but also other ethnic minorities who are not facing similar issues.

These observations are relevant as they inform the sociological, political and racial context of British Pakistani's association with Britain and Britishness as part of their identity particularly over the last decade. As this literature review has pointed out in chapter 2.1, feelings of social exclusion are not uncommon amongst families of prisoners from wider sections of the population. However literature around identity and integration suggests these feelings are amplified amongst British Pakistanis as there is evidence to suggest they are often stigmatised on the basis of their faith and events which have occurred over the last fifteen years such as 9/11 and 7/7. The lack of research exploring the issues faced by British Pakistanis who have a family member in prison implies there is a failure to acknowledge the issues surrounding alienation and discrimination specific to this group.

2.3.1 Challenges faced by the British Pakistani community

This literature review has explored existing literature on families of prisoners which described how they are likely to be socially excluded and face disadvantage (see chapter 2.1). Families of prisoners often face deprivation prior to imprisonment and therefore this is amplified where the imprisoned family member is the sole earner in the household (Department of Children, School and Families, 2007). In order to develop an understanding of how imprisonment affects British Pakistani families specifically it is necessary to consider existing research on structural issues within this ethnic group.

The decline of the textiles and manufacturing industries and the difficult housing market in the 1980's had a severe impact on some Pakistani communities (The Change Institute, 2009). This influenced the current socio-economic position of the Pakistani population in the UK who are now described as amongst the most disadvantaged social groups (Alam & Husband, 2006). Hellyer (2007) underpins these claims and demonstrates how Pakistanis (alongside the Bangladeshi community) represented the most socially deprived group in the UK. Pakistanis in the UK were described as being two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than the white population, in cases of employment Pakistanis were more likely to be on significantly lower pay and over two-thirds of Pakistanis households were found to be living below the poverty line (Hellyer, (2007). Irrespective of having a family member in prison, the Pakistani population in the UK are largely affected by poverty, deprivation and social exclusion. The imprisonment of a family member therefore would create multiple forms of disadvantage.

Dale et al. (2010) conducted research in the Oldham area of Greater Manchester and found British Pakistani women were amongst those most prevalent in statistics representing low economic activity, this was more common in cases where women were married or had dependent children. According to Palmer and Kenway (2007), 80% of British Pakistani women were not in paid employment, in comparison to 30% of white British women. The lack of participation of Pakistani women in economic activity in comparison to the wider population would mean the implications of imprisonment may be more severe on British Pakistani families where the imprisoned family member is the main or sole source of income. Yet the absence of literature exploring the experiences of British Pakistani families who suffer from familial imprisonment suggests these issues are failing to be recognised and therefore are invisible in debates surrounding the wellbeing of groups affected by imprisonment.

Experiences of poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and poor housing do not account for all members of the British Pakistani community. As the British Pakistani population has become more established in the UK, there is evidence of some members of this group achieving a sustained amount of success. Change Institute (2009) and Alam and Husband (2006) illustrated how there are a growing number of British Pakistanis moving away from the

inner city into more affluent neighbourhoods. In terms of education, British Pakistani pupils have demonstrated continuous improvement, the number of pupils achieving A*-C grades at GCSE increased by 11% between 2004 and 2007 and educational attainment continues to improve with more parents choosing private education for their children (The Change Institute, 2009).

2.4 Services for Families of Prisoners

Due to the absence of research on services and provisions in place to support British Pakistani families of prisoners specifically this section of the literature review will begin by considering wider literature on support services and provisions in relation to families of prisoners. This section will move on to consider research on support services and provisions for BME communities who suffer from the imprisonment of a family member. However as this literature review has previously pointed out BME families of prisoners are also an under-researched subject area. Therefore the final section will consider issues around access and barriers to support services available to British Pakistani's in alternative sectors, as this may illustrate issues to consider for families of prisoners within this group.

There are a number of services and provisions that have been recognised by Raikes (2014) which support families of prisoners. Non-government organisations (NGOs) such as Action for Prisoners Families and Families Outside offer information, guidance and support. Alternatively there are websites and helplines offering alternative channels to access information and support such as The Barnardo's iHop website and the National Offenders' Families' Helpline (Raikes, 2014). A publication by Barnardo's on supporting prisoners families also illustrated how statutory organisations such as the National Offenders Management Service have established initiatives such as the Children and Families Pathway which primarily focuses on children who have a parent in prison (Clewitt and Glover, 2009).

Despite the establishment of provisions targeted at families of prisoners, there are often barriers around accessibility and awareness which influences the extent to which families will become involved in support services. Gan-Rankin et al., (2010) found that other than support services associated with the actual prison, many families remained unaware of other family support groups in the area. Families expressed a lack of knowledge and

understanding of both the criminal justice system and the services which were available for the imprisoned family member post-release, particularly where alcohol and substance abuse was concerned (Gan-Rankin et al. 2010). Families demonstrated a lack of awareness of Assisted Prison Visit Schemes, which aim to support families of prisoners in making travel arrangements to visit the imprisoned family member (Gan-Rankin et al. 2010). Codd (2007) also observed how Assisted Prison Visit Schemes failed to cover costs for refreshments en route to, and while at the prison suggesting where benefits are available they often fail to meet the entirety of costs.

Children of prisoners are particularly vulnerable as there is no obligation for prisons in the UK to record the number of children affected by imprisonment; therefore they often remain invisible amongst support services, practitioners and policymakers (Raikes 2014, Clewett and Glover 2009). A publication by Barnardo's describes how less than 10% of local authorities and health boards in the UK in 2009 made reference to children of prisoners in their policies (Clewett & Glover, 2009). Non-disclosure of familial imprisonment by families who fear stigma has been described as a barrier for the relevant support agencies to reach families of prisoners (Raikes, 2014). Gan-Rankin et al. (2010) state 75% of families 'did not currently access any child and family services for fear of 'social services' involvement' (p18). The combination of the lack of understanding of the criminal justice system, the fear of stigma and the fear of involvement of social services in family affairs deters families from accessing services and provisions designed to support families of prisoners. Therefore the impact of imprisonment can be more severe on this group in comparison to other vulnerable groups where fear of stigma and the involvement of social services is not a concern. Another interesting observation by Gan-Rankin et al. (2010) highlighted how families of prisoners demonstrated feelings of isolation amongst social networks they came into contact with; families expressed a desire to participate in peer support and speak with other families who had similar experiences to theirs.

2.4.1 Supporting British Pakistani families of prisoners

Although there is an absence of research considering the support needs of British Pakistani prisoners' families, Light's (1995) pilot study into the experiences of black and Asian families of prisoners explored the support structure and services which were in place to support

black and Asian families while a family member was imprisoned. The study found that of the twenty six support groups surveyed, 73% stated that black and Asian families had used their services (Light, 1995), although the article does not describe to what extent services were used. Other than the provision of support in terms of language barriers, Light (1995) argues the ratio of black and Asian staff and the promotional material and literature produced by services did not reflect the involvement black and Asian families had with the service providers. Of the service providers who were involved in the study, 45% felt that the needs of black and Asian ethnic groups differed to those of white users and 32% were unable to answer this question (Light, 1995). Gan-Rankin et al. (2010) state how services in place to specifically support BME groups are not reflective of their over representation in the Criminal Justice System, and 'it is commonly accepted that members of the BME community are often less likely to access mainstream services and are often classed as 'hard to reach'' (p12).

2.4.2 Services and support structure for British Pakistanis in other sectors

As there is an absence of research on the experiences of British Pakistani families of prisoners', it will be useful to explore existing research on British Pakistanis and services in alternative sectors, as there may be an indication of concerns in service provision and support to British Pakistani families of prisoners. The housing conditions of Pakistani communities reflect structural issues such as social deprivation and poverty. However research has found policies and service provisions aimed at addressing housing issues differ in relation to the wider disadvantaged population (Bowes et al., 2002). Where the British Pakistani community is concerned there has been a larger emphasis on cultural barriers;

By contrast, policy aimed at improving Pakistani and other minority ethnic housing has developed along a narrow front, concentrating on policies which emphasise aspects of ethnicity, such as translating information, or increasing levels of minority staffing in housing associations...policy has tended to adopt a narrow focus, and to reflect a limited, albeit important, set of concerns. (Bowes et al., 2002, p382)

This is problematic as the risk factors associated with the wider disadvantaged community will be prevalent amongst disadvantaged British Pakistani communities. British Pakistani

communities however will face additional barriers in relation to their cultural identity. Therefore, the service provisions and support they require would be reflective of the wider disadvantaged population, however British Pakistani's would need additional support tailored to their cultural identity and needs. Adopting a narrow focus on cultural barriers would be disadvantageous to the British Pakistani community, and the same principles would apply in relation to prisoners' families from the British Pakistani community.

Literature around mental health and wellbeing has highlighted concerns such as access to services and the appropriateness of services, which can be significant when considering British Pakistani families of prisoners. A study by Sheikh and Furnham (2000) which compared Pakistanis, British Pakistanis and western European participants attitudes towards seeking professional support, found Muslims in particular were seen to be the least likely to seek professional support for mental health problems, as were Pakistani men and those with low levels of education. In relation to the British Pakistani cohort, the lack of engagement with professional support services was attributed to the influence of values and beliefs held by the culture in which British Pakistani's reside, supernatural beliefs and a preference to speak to elders within the community or Imam's (Sheikh & Furnham, 2000). These findings are significant in relation to families of prisoners as mental health issues are common amongst families of prisoners as mentioned previously in this literature review. The reluctance of British Pakistani communities to seek professional help for mental health issues may be reflective of the appropriateness of the services provided.

In relation to public, medical and social care, Small (2012) suggests that service providers must adopt cultural sensitivity when working with minority groups. Small (2012) argues service providers in the health sector must 'offer services that are sensitive to the practices, priorities and needs of different communities' (p.561). A more recent study focussing on experiences of Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents of disabled children found, that not all families were aware of services available that could provide specific financial and practical support (Fazil, Bywaters, Ali, Wallace & Singh, 2010). Perceptions, attitudes and awareness of mental health and disability services may be a reflection of perceptions, attitudes and awareness of service provisions for prisoners' families. If there is evidence of similar perceptions and attitudes and/or lack of awareness towards services and provisions

available to the family of a prisoner, as there is to mental health and disability services, families of prisoners from a Pakistani background may be at further risk in comparison to other ethnic groups.

Macey (1999) explored issues surrounding male dominance in Pakistani culture and domestic abuse in relation to British Pakistani women. Macey (1999) discovered there were feelings of discontentment amongst Pakistani women, who felt social service providers and key stakeholders adopted a racially sensitive approach to issues such as domestic violence rather than addressing the needs of women. Sheikh and Furnham (2000) argue the unwillingness of Pakistani women to seek support despite high rates of suicide amongst British Asian women demonstrates gaps in provisions within the UK's mental health services. This literature review has already discussed the male dominated culture in Pakistani communities (see chapter 2.2) and the low economic activity of Pakistani women (see chapter 2.3.1). This implies British Pakistani women who have a family member in prison face multiple disadvantages as services in place to support them are either inadequate or non-existent. The reasons for the lack of involvement of British Pakistani families who have a family member in prison have failed to be addressed by research and policy. A failure to reach families suffering from mental health issues can be detrimental to their wellbeing and therefore illustrates the importance of further investigation around this topic.

2.5 Institutional racism

This literature review has explored existing themes in relation to families of prisoners. However the lack of British Pakistani families in such literature means there may be issues specific to this group or other BME groups which have not been explored. For example academics and scholars have argued that the criminal justice system is institutionally racist (Bridges 1999, Dummett 1973, John & Humphrey 1971, MacPherson 1999, Mason 1982, Moss 2006, Sveinsson 2012). Experiences of institutional racism are unlikely to emerge in research on predominantly white families of prisoners, but may be an issue which affects BME families. The experiences of British Pakistani prisoners could shape the fears and perceptions of their families. British Pakistani families of prisoners may experience or observe discrimination themselves prior to, during and post sentencing. A report by

Jacobson, Phillips and Edgar (2010) argued that discrimination towards BME communities was not only disproportionate within the criminal justice system but also visible in education, employment, housing and health services. For the purposes of this research this section of the literature review will begin by exploring existing literature on institutional racism in relation to the criminal justice system and then go on to discuss this in relation to imprisonment and British Pakistani families.

Racism is defined as prejudice, discrimination or ill treatment towards an individual or group on the basis of their race, whereas indirect racism is where an individual or group are treated unfavourably, not specifically on the grounds of discrimination, but because provisions, practices or requirements are difficult to provide or accommodate (Garner, 2010). The concept of institutional racism was introduced by Carmichael and Hamilton (1968) and was described as discrimination embedded within the structures of society which resulted in disadvantages for the black community in the United States. In a British context the concept of institutional racism gained popularity in the 1970's and 1980's, as academics argued that racism was prevalent and BME groups faced discrimination in British institutions (Dummett 1973, John & Humphrey 1971, Mason 1982). The term gained prominence in political discourse after the race riots in Brixton in 1981 which prompted an inquiry led by Lord Scarman to investigate the causes of the disruption. Scarman (1986) argued that the Metropolitan Police were not a racist institution although racism was prevalent in the attitudes of a small number of police officers. It wasn't until the publication of the MacPherson report into the handling of the Stephen Lawrence case that the status quo was challenged. MacPherson (1999) defined institutional racism as;

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen and directed in processes, attitudes and behaviours which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (p49)

Bourne (2001) described how the Macpherson report 'brought home to those who had not known it before the extent of racist violence in Britain, the way miscarriages of justice could take place and the incompetence and racism of the police force' (p13).

In relation to British Pakistani families of prisoners, institutional racism is of particular importance due to two high profile cases which involved British Pakistani prisoners being killed in racially motivated attacks while serving a prison sentence. Zahid Mubarek and Shahed Aziz, both British Pakistanis, were killed by racist cellmates while serving sentences in British prisons in March 2000 and April 2004 respectively (Moss, 2006). The public inquiry which was held as a result of the death of Zahid Mubarek predominantly highlighted procedural failings by the prison as factors which led to the incident (Keith, 2006). The report into the inquest highlighted religious intolerance towards Muslims prisoners as an issue to be challenged (Keith, 2006). Moss (2006) was critical of the inquiry into the death of Zahid Mubarek and stated 'the death of Zahid Mubarek, and the April 2004 murder of Shahed Aziz at HMP Armley in similar circumstances, are a consequence of the brutalization of black and Asian prisoners at the hands of prison staff' (p148). There is also reference made to 'Gladiator Games' by Moss (2006), in the case of Zahid Mubarek at HMP Feltham, involving allegations which suggested prison staff intentionally incited violence between prisoners by arranging for cells to be shared by white and non-white prisoners. Incidents such as these can cause stress, anxiety and fear amongst the families of British Pakistani prisoners and can subsequently be detrimental to their health and wellbeing. Existing research which has explored the experiences of predominantly white families of prisoners will fail to recognise these concerns. Consequently policy and service providers who are influenced by research focusing on families of prisoners will fail to acknowledge the needs of British Pakistani families causing them to be severely disadvantaged.

A qualitative study by Spalek and Wilson (2002) explored the experiences of imams who worked in prison chaplaincies. Spalek and Wilson (2002) explained how Imams described the presence of religious hegemony in favour of Christian religions often jeopardised the opportunity to adequately support Muslim prisoners. There was also evidence of perceived and actual racism targeted towards the imams by both prison officers and prisoners (Spalek & Wilson, 2002). This highlights how racist attitudes have been described to extend beyond prisoners and therefore may impact on families of prisoners who come into contact with prison officers during visits. If experiences of racism are a part of the prisoner family journey

in British Pakistani communities then this adds to the disadvantages faced by this specific ethnic minority group.

Sviensson (2012) made an interesting observation and stated that Asian people were twice as likely to be stopped and searched by the police when compared to the white British population in the UK. The disproportionate stop and searches carried out by the police was described to have contributed towards their ill-relationship with the black community, which was reported to have led to the riots in Brixton in the 1980s and in Tottenham in 2011 (Benyon 2012, Lea & Young 1982). Svienssons' (2012) observation therefore implies that there will be similar feelings of mistrust, discontentment and ill-treatment amongst the Asian community. Feelings of prejudiced treatment by the police where families of prisoners are concerned are likely to develop a negative attitude towards the criminal justice system.

Summary

As discussed in chapter 1, the research aim for this thesis is;

- What are the experiences of British Pakistani families while they have a family member in prison?

Upon reviewing existing literature on families of prisoners and literature on the British Pakistani community in relation to the research aim, the following objectives have emerged.

- What are the perceptions' and attitudes of families of British Pakistani prisoners towards the CJS journey?
- What are the perceptions of families of British Pakistani prisoners towards the services and support structure currently in place for prisoners' families- and are these adequate?
- Do the families of British Pakistani prisoners have particular requirements in terms of the support structure and interventions?

The following chapter will outline the methodological approaches adopted in order to achieve the research aims and objectives.

3. Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methodological approaches undertaken for the purposes of this thesis. The first section will discuss the overall methodological approach adopted for this project and the following section will explain the research methods utilised, each section will explore why these methods are appropriate in relation to investigating the aims and objectives of the thesis. The third section will detail the research design and explain how the research was carried out. Ethical considerations will be discussed following this, before finally explaining and demonstrating the analysis of the data.

3.1 Methodological approach

In order to achieve the research aims and objectives of this thesis, a qualitative research approach was adopted in favour of a quantitative approach. Quantitative research has been described as a method which allows measurability and quantification of data as a means to test theory and encompasses an external and objective view of social reality (Bryman, 2012). Adopting this method would not support the objectives of this thesis as there is an absence of existing literature exploring the impact of imprisonment on British Pakistani families, and therefore an absence of a theoretical framework to apply to the data. The objectives of this thesis involve capturing the subjective perceptions, attitudes and experiences of British Pakistani families. Therefore quantitative methods, which involve exploring 'social facts' and external realities, would not support the aims of this thesis, which are concerned with the internal realities of these families. Although there may be advantages to quantitative research, they would not apply to this thesis as an external and objective approach would fail to recognise emotions, insights, values and opinions. The appropriateness of quantitative research methods for this thesis are also questionable when considering research participants are under-researched, and therefore a small sample size was anticipated.

A qualitative approach is more consistent with the research aims and objectives of this thesis. There is an element of ambiguity in characterising qualitative research and what it entails (Bryman 2012, Bryman & Burgess 1999, Denzin & Lincoln 2011, Ormston, Spencer, Barnard & Snape 2014), as it does not 'have a distinct set of methods or practises that are

entirely its own' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.6). However Bryman (2012) describes qualitative research as a method which captures perceptions and accounts of research participants rather than measuring data or adopting numerical approaches which are usually associated with quantitative research. Ormston et al. (2014) define qualitative data as an in-depth and interpretive approach which examines phenomena from an internal perspective and involves exploring how research participants perceive the social world. In relation to this thesis, exploring the research participants narratives will enable the researcher to develop an understanding of their social world and upon analysis of this data enable the researcher to determine how imprisonment affects British Pakistani families and what their support needs are. Denzil and Lincoln (2011) describe how qualitative researchers 'study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (p.3). This demonstrates the appropriateness of a qualitative approach in order to achieve the aims and objectives of this research.

3.2 Research Method

There were two critical points to consider when selecting a research method, firstly the sensitivity of the topic area and confidentiality issues surrounding this, and secondly as discussed previously the anticipation of a small sample size. Participant observation or ethnography involves the researcher immersing themselves into the group or community they wish to study for a period of time in order to develop an understanding of the norms, attitudes, values and behaviours that become apparent (May, 2011). The data gathered from the observations alongside interviews and other sources is then compiled to produce the findings of the study (Bryman, 2012). Focus groups involve interviewing participants in groups and allowing them to engage with each other and prompt each other to discuss in some depth, the area or topic of the research (Finch, Lewis & Turley, 2014). This method was not considered for the purposes of this thesis, as the researcher felt it was important to obtain an in-depth and individual account of the experiences of family members, particularly for such a specific issue which has not yet been addressed by research or policy. Consequently, both participant observation or ethnography and focus groups were not realistic or appropriate methods to adopt for the purposes of this thesis due to practicality and the sensitive nature of the topic area.

For the purposes of this thesis, the research method adopted was semi-structured interviewing. Semi-structured interviews were more suited to the research aims and objectives as they offer flexibility (Bryman, 2012). This is critical when exploring a new topic area on an under-researched ethnic group as it would enable the researcher to probe and explore unexpected issues which arose and to derive values and meanings attached to these. Semi-structured interviews allow for participants to delve deeper into their experiences and explain in more depth their perspectives and accounts (David & Sutton, 2011). As the impact of imprisonment on British Pakistani families is not an area of research which has been explored previously, semi-structured interviews are particularly suitable as they allow the researcher to divert from a proposed interview schedule where this is deemed appropriate or ask new questions in relation to what emerges in the interviews (May, 2011). Furthermore, Lee (1993) argued that predetermined categories or a fixed set of questions can hinder research on sensitive topic areas; therefore research on the impact of family imprisonment on British Pakistani families would be suited to semi-structured interviews.

3.3 Research Design

Interview schedule

A simple draft interview schedule (see Appendix A) was constructed by the researcher. The researcher then conducted a pilot interview on a family member who fit the criteria of 'British Pakistani' and had faced the imprisonment of a family member. Upon carrying out the pilot interview, amendments were made in accordance with the improvements the researcher felt were appropriate and necessary. An example of one of the amendments made is the inclusion of question four (see Appendix B), *Are you aware of others who have experienced discrimination in any way?* The reason this was included to follow question 3 was because the pilot interview demonstrated how some family members may not have had significant contact with the Criminal Justice System, they may not have been present at arrest, sentencing or visited their family member in prison. However if they were aware of other instances of discrimination this may be detrimental to their perceptions and experiences. These amendments made up the final interview schedule (see Appendix B).

The structure of the interview schedule was guided by the research aims and objectives. The sequence of the questions followed a 'walk along interview' (Evans & Jones, 2011). A 'walk along interview' involves the researcher accompanying the participant on a literal journey in which the participant will describe their experiences. This was particularly appropriate for two reasons, firstly as one of the objectives of the thesis was to develop an understanding of the participant's experience of the journey through the Criminal Justice System. Secondly, such a sequence may enable the participant to vividly recall and describe the incidents and their experiences, emotions and behaviours at each stage of their journey as they occurred. Question two on the interview schedule (see Appendix B) for example, asks the participant to describe their experiences during different stages of their journey through the Criminal Justice System, and breaks these down into stages such as pre-arrest, arrest, bail/remand, sentencing, visits and release, in that order. In relation to the question style the researcher adopted Kvale's (1996) model which begins with introductory open questions i.e. *Can you tell me about your family member who was imprisoned?* In cases where it was deemed appropriate and necessary follow up questions were asked. For example in interview two, the research participant explained how his brother had received a twelve year prison sentence for smuggling drugs. Follow up questions were asked which established that the participant's brother was to be extradited after serving a prison sentence in the UK, and serve another sentence of five years in Europe for the same offense. In accordance with Kvale's (1996) model, probing and specific questions were asked through the course of this literal journey, which diverted from the interview schedule, to gain a clearer understanding of the participants' experiences while their family member was imprisoned. Questions such as *'how did this make you/your family feel?'* attempted to direct the participants towards their feelings at critical points, such as the point of arrest or sentencing in order to gain an insight into the participants' social world.

The questions following the literal journey through the Criminal Justice System aimed to probe culturally specific issues which may not have been covered in question two. These were specific and direct questions; for example, *'What issues do you think are particularly relevant to British Pakistani families while a family member is imprisoned?'*, and more structured questions which dictated the direction in which the interview was heading. In

accordance with Klave (1996), interpretive questions were also implemented which diverted from the interview schedule but were used to gain clarity on the participants descriptions. For example in interview six, the participant described his parents' concerns of *bias* in prison. When asked to elaborate on this by the researcher the participant described concerns for the safety of their imprisoned family member as they belonged to an ethnic minority group. The researcher interpreted this and asked the participant if they meant concerns around racism, to which the participant agreed. An iterative process was adopted in respect to the interview schedule, and although the core questions remained the same, the researcher adapted the schedule after each interview for the researchers benefit (see Appendix C). This involved reviewing the interview schedule and including prompts for the researcher based on the outcome and discussions after each interview. The researcher also included definitions of Islamophobia and Institutional Racism in case these were to arise during the course of the interviews.

Interview conduct

The interviews were carried out at locations chosen by the research participants. These consisted of a telephone interview on one occasion, a participant's workplace on one occasion, and mutual friends'/associates homes on four occasions. The purpose of this was primarily for the research participant's comfort. It would allow the participant to be comfortable and allow them to have some element of control within the confines of the research needs and the researchers' personal safety. The researcher was dressed in smart but casual clothing, to prevent the interview from taking place in a completely formal atmosphere and allowing for the participant to be at ease. The researcher also intended for this to create a casual yet professional atmosphere in which the researcher could attempt to build rapport with the participant. The interviews ranged between fifty to eighty minutes. The meetings began with introductions and light conversation usually related to the researchers or participants journey to the interview location or a description of how the researcher and participant were associated to the owner of the property where the interviews were being carried out (in cases where this was a mutual friend or associate). This was also an attempt to build rapport with the participant, to allow them to feel comfortable and at ease during the interview. Where there was a shared association with

the host or owner of the property in which the interview was taking place, this was a valuable aspect of the interview experience and allowed for the interview to be conducted in a relaxed and comfortable manner. The researcher recognised the importance of the participant's feeling during the interview and how they can determine to what extent the participant expresses their experiences, so therefore these steps were carried out.

The interviews began with a re-introduction of the researcher in the researcher role and a description of the interviews, what they entail and a description of the research aims. The research participant was also given a Research Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix D), which was explained to the research participant and included the researcher's contact details for the participants benefit. The purpose of this was to enable the participant to understand what was expected of them and to demonstrate how the participant and their contribution were important to the research and its aims. The researcher advised and gained consent for the interview to be recorded using a dictaphone. During the interview, the researcher mirrored the participants' body language, tone and use of language to make the participant feel at ease and in a natural setting. This was also an attempt by the researcher to build rapport with the participant, in accordance with Bryman (2012) and Gray (2014), who emphasise the importance of building a mutual respect and trust with the participant in order to obtain 'rich, honest and illuminating data' (Gray 2014, p.393). This was not possible in the telephone interview, which was different to the other interviews as the researcher was unable to pick up on body language to understand how the participant was feeling during the interview. This was problematic in relation to picking up prompts through the participants' body language to probe further into specific issues. The interviews were carried out at a steady pace and the participant was given opportunities' to reflect on questions before delivering answers. To end the interviews, in four cases where the imprisoned family member had been released from prison, a few softer questions were asked which diverted from the interview schedule. These were usually around the release and resettlement of the offending family member. This was carried out in an attempt to transform a deep, emotional and in some parts negative conversation, into a positive conversation revolving around the reunion of the family and the rehabilitation of the offender. This was possible as all four of the participants displayed relief and happiness

when discussing the release of their family member. However it is important to recognise that the release of a family member may not always be easy to deal with. In some cases it may involve family members having to negotiate the imprisoned family members return to their home and family.

Sample

The criteria for the data sample were 'British Pakistanis' who were over eighteen years of age and had experienced the imprisonment of a family member. The term "British Pakistani" in this instance referred to British citizens with Pakistani heritage. As previously stated in this thesis, British Pakistanis are an under-represented cohort in existing literature on families of prisoners, therefore there were no restrictions or additional criteria in relation to the nature of the offence or prison sentence of the family member. Furthermore, the thesis allowed for close relatives (as defined by the family) to take part in the research in cases where they were heavily involved in the family experience. The researcher recruited the initial participants through opportunistic sampling and gained two participants through personal contacts. The remaining four participants were recruited through snowball sampling, with the support of the initial two research participants. Snowball sampling is an ideal method of recruitment when targeting a hard-to-reach cohort (Bryman, 2012). The table below details the diversity of the research participants.

Table 1- Research Participants

Interview number	Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Relationship to imprisoned	Offense type
1	Rehman	M	18-21	Son	Financial crime
2	Munir	M	34-37	Brother	Drugs related
3	Yamana	F	34-37	Cousin	Terrorism- Conspiracy to make explosives
4	Imaad	M	34-37	Brother	Death By Dangerous Driving
5	Taaiba	F	30-33	Sister	Assault
6	Yacoob	M	26-29	Brother	Robbery

Ethics

All British Criminology Society (British Criminology Society, 2014) ethical guidelines and procedures were adhered to throughout the duration of this research. The University of Huddersfield Ethics Panel approved the ethical forms and research procedure (see Appendix E) and gave authorisation for the commencement of the research. All participants who agreed to take part in the research signed consent forms to demonstrate this (see Appendix F). All the participants also consented for the interviews to be recorded. Participants were made aware of the nature of the research and informed that they have the right to withdraw, without question, at any point during the research. None of the participants opted to do so.

All the information gathered has remained confidential. This has been ensured by keeping all documents in relation to the interviews and analysis anonymous through the use of

pseudonyms, also names of locations and prisons have been altered where necessary. All files produced as a result of the interviews have been transferred and stored onto an encrypted storage device.

Alongside the Research Participant Information Sheets and Consent forms (Appendix D and F), participants were given contact details for counselling services (see Appendix G) they could contact in case of any psychological or traumatic impact the interviews may have. As a British Pakistani, the researcher recognized that although there may be a shared cultural heritage between researcher and participants, it was necessary to acknowledge and avoid the possibility of making cultural assumptions. This will be discussed in more detail in the researcher's reflexive section which will follow the discussion. All sources were checked for reliability.

3.4 Analysis

A thematic analysis was used to translate and interpret the data collected from the interview transcripts. Bryman (2012) describes a thematic analysis as a process which involves recognising and extracting key themes within a text, but points out there is ambiguity with regards to what forms or encompasses a theme. It is argued that a thematic analysis does not have a specific structural framework or a distinguished method (Boyatzis 1998, Bryman 2012). The lack of a distinct method in which to conduct a thematic analysis is problematic according to Boyatzis (1998), as the data is open to the researchers' interpretation and qualitative research is subjective, which could influence the reliability of the findings. In recent years however, there have been developments in relation to the processes involved in conducting a thematic analysis. Ryan and Bernard (2003) illustrated techniques towards identifying themes when conducting a thematic analysis, Ritchie, Spencer and Connor (2003) described a theoretical framework devised by the National Centre for Social Research which provides guidelines in the conduct of a thematic analysis. This thesis adopted Braun and Clarke's (2006) method of conducting a thematic analysis to avoid the pitfalls mentioned by Boyatzis (1998).

Braun and Clarke (2006) define a thematic analysis as a 'method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (p.79). Braun and Clarke (2006) elaborate and

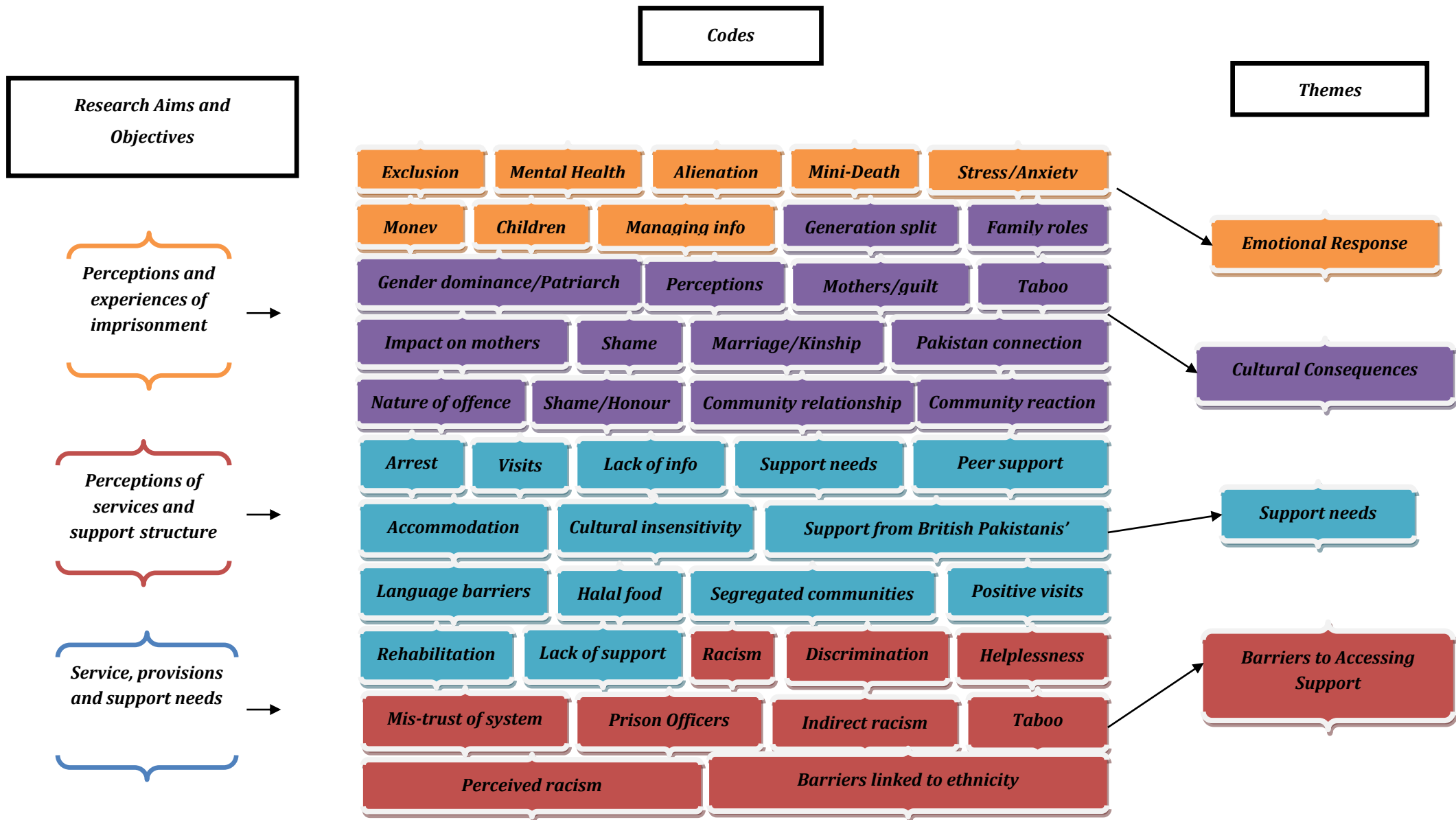
describe some of the benefits of thematic analysis as its flexibility, its ability to generate unanticipated insight and its usefulness and suitability in informing policy development. A flexible approach with the ability to generate unanticipated insight is beneficial to research which has not been conducted before, such as the impact of imprisonment on British Pakistani families. Furthermore, its suitability in informing policy development is consistent with the research objectives which aim to explore service needs for a particular group.

The first step of the analysis involved the researcher reading and transcribing the entire data set (see Appendix H). This was followed by an iterative process which involved familiarising and re-reading the interview transcripts. This was in accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2006) model which involves familiarisation with the data set. This iterative process was particularly useful as each time the transcripts were reviewed new patterns began emerging, further reading allowed for the researcher to make sense of the patterns and develop relationships between them. The following step involved the generation of initial codes which were extracted in relation to the research question (see Appendix I). For example, the codes (in no specific order) *Lack of Info*, *Language barriers*, *Halal food*, were extracted in relation to the research objectives which involved exploring the service and support needs of families of prisoners. The next stage of the thematic analysis process involved sorting the codes into overarching themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) a theme 'captures something important about the data in relation to the research question' (p.82). The number of times a code occurs does not influence what constitutes a theme and themes may be highly visible in some data sets as opposed to others (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The five themes which emerged from the data in relation to the research question were;

- Support Needs
- Emotional Response
- Family Roles
- Cultural Consequences
- Barriers and Islamaphobia

Appendix J demonstrates how the codes were organised into five themes. Upon reviewing the themes, as step four of the analysis, the decision was made to merge 'family roles' into cultural consequences', which meant the data sets produced four themes.

The tree diagram on the following page illustrates how the codes were sorted into four over-arching themes. The diagram demonstrates how codes were extracted based on the research aims and objectives, and how these were grouped together as themes. The themes were then extracted from the data sets and organised into four documents, a document representing each theme. Each document was used in turn to produce the report which follows.



4.0 Discussion

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the data has produced four themes which will be discussed in this chapter in relation to the literature review. The research aim of this thesis is to explore the experiences of British Pakistani's who have a family member in prison. The objectives of this research involve exploring these experiences in respect to the criminal justice system journey, the services which are currently available to support British Pakistani families of prisoners and to explore whether there is a need for further development where services and interventions to support families are concerned. This chapter will be split into four sections, each exploring themes which emerged through analysing the interviews. To begin with this chapter will explore the 'shared experience of family imprisonment' and draw on similarities and consistencies between the experiences of British Pakistani families and the wider population who have a family member in prison. The next section will discuss 'cultural consequences' and explore issues which are culturally specific to the British Pakistani community. This will involve exploring the impact of imprisonment on family roles in a British Pakistani household. The third section of this chapter will consider the 'support needs for British Pakistani families' of prisoners'. Finally a section on 'barriers to accessing support' will discuss barriers in accessing services and provisions designed to support families of prisoners. There will be sub-sections within the four sections of this chapter which will include quotations from the interview transcripts. In accordance with the ethical guidelines discussed in the previous chapter this section will adopt the use of pseudonyms to protect the identity of the research participants and (ex) prisoners.

4.1 Shared experiences of family imprisonment

There are fundamental issues which impact on the experience of families of prisoners regardless of their ethnic background. Therefore this section of the chapter will explore commonalities between the experiences of British Pakistani families of prisoners and families of prisoners from the wider population. It is necessary to appreciate however, that where imprisonment occurs in British Pakistani families the impact could be particularly severe and multiply existing disadvantages. For example, even where the imprisonment of a family member is not an issue, British Pakistani's are amongst the most marginalised group in the UK who face poverty and deprivation (see chapter 2.3.1). Therefore the imprisonment

of a family member increases the possibility of social exclusion and deepens financial disadvantages particularly where the imprisoned person is a significant contributor to the household income. This section will consider the wider experiences of family imprisonment as they emerged in the interviews and discuss where and how the implications of imprisonment can be particularly detrimental to British Pakistani families of prisoners.

Emotional response to imprisonment

In accordance with Gan Rankin's et al. (2010) findings, participants reported feelings of confusion, stress and anxiety amongst themselves and other family members. One participant explained how upon returning home late one night his mother mistook him for his imprisoned brother.

Munir: It affected my mom to the point that mentally, that one time I came home...my mom actually thought it was my brother Imran that had come home and she was like, oh, you know, cuz we look very similar and the lights were off and she was all hugging me, I go no...it's me Munir, I've come home... like you know my mom was in tears over that and stuff, you know that was very difficult

Mental health issues have been recognised as a consequence of family imprisonment (Clewitt & Glover 2009, Every Child Matters 2003, Gan Rankin et al., 2010), however the implications can be particularly severe amongst British Pakistani families. Although mental health issues are not exclusive to a particular group facing the imprisonment of a family member, British Pakistanis are the least likely to seek professional support for such issues (see chapter 2.4.2).

Participants highlighted the prevalence of issues such as stigma, alienation and exclusion which is consistent with wider literature on families of prisoners (Codd 2007, Murray 2007, Social Exclusion Task Force 2008). A participant described how women from an older generation would make condescending comments to her mother which added to feelings of isolation.

Taaiba: She will have had comments...I think it was more like I said underhand, so you know, something has been said with double meanings or they was almost blaming

her for what had happened...I think a lot of it was and I don't wanna say stereotypical of Asian people or the Pakistani community, but I know with kind of the older generation, with some of the women, they do say things in a way that's not very nice, so she will have had comments like that

This relates to Toor's (2009) findings on how families in Asian communities are affected by reflected shame as a consequence of their family member's criminal status. Gilbert, Gilbert and Sanghera (2006) also described how the criminality of one person can bring shame upon those closely associated with the individual, damaging their izzat in the process. Taaiba's description of her mother's experience also draws upon Toor's (2009) point which states that the reaction towards the criminality of a family member may be particularly severe towards mothers in Asian communities.

It is also apparent that exclusion and isolation can be self-imposed through fear of how people will react towards families of prisoners in the British Pakistani community. One participant described how his father refused to leave the family home and stopped attending the mosque for weeks following the imprisonment of his brother.

Munir: My dad was ashamed to go to the mosque, to face all the people in the mosque cuz he knew that they'd be talking about him and it was shame on him like that, so you know, he became, like a recluse would have been in the house

Munir's description of his father's experience bears similarities to Wahl and Harman (1989), who described feelings of shame amongst parents of mentally ill children. This demonstrates how although attributes which can lead to the stigmatisation of individuals and their families may differ, the consequences towards those affected can be similar. Another participant described how she avoided revealing information regarding her brothers' imprisonment as she feared being stigmatised and judged by extended family members.

Taaiba: I was visiting one of my husband's family in London and I remember speaking to her about it but I was very much brushing over the whole, brushing over it as if it never really happened and not delving into any details because I didn't want her to think badly of me

Taaiba's description of her mother's experience demonstrates the reality of attributed shame and stigma by community members towards families of prisoners and how this can lead to exclusion and isolation. However Munir's account of his father's experience and Taaiba's description of how she avoided discussing her brothers' imprisonment with extended family highlights how those affected by family imprisonment may often exclude and isolate themselves through fear of how the community may respond before they have even faced a reaction. Furthermore, this supports Raikes' (2014) point who described how families may refrain from sharing their experiences as they fear stigmatisation and mistreatment as a consequence of the imprisonment of their family member. Imprisonment of a family member may mean British Pakistanis are further excluded and left feeling isolated amongst their own communities in addition to the pre-existing feelings of exclusion and alienation amongst the wider population described by Hussain and Bagguley (2012).

Participants also described how feelings of self-blame were evident amongst the parents of the imprisoned family member;

Yacoob: obviously the parents have, have come to a point where they feel like they're to blame to an extent, you know maybe they've not done something correct

In one case a participant described how the imprisonment of her brother caused conflict between her parents who resorted to blaming each other for neglecting what they perceived to be each other's responsibility towards their son and therefore failing their parental duties.

Taaiba: I think it was a lot of mom blaming dad, dad blaming mom, her thinking well you're the father you should've done something, you should've spotted this sooner, him thinking well I've been at work, you should've spotted this sooner, you're... you've been the one that's been at home

Taaiba also pointed out how the aftermath of the imprisonment of her brother felt like a 'mini death' and stressed how this is common in Pakistani households when a family member is imprisoned. Again this bears similarities with existing research on the imprisonment of families amongst the wider population (Raikes', 2014). However Taaiba went on to describe how relatives and extended family would visit to do 'afsos' which is

usually associated with expressing sorrow and offering condolences to a family after the bereavement of a loved one, which has not been noted in previous research on other populations.

Financial implications

British Pakistanis share further experiences with the wider population who face the imprisonment of a family member. Rehman was a 16 year old college student when his father was sent to prison, he described how *'obviously we struggled a lot, you know, everyone had to kinda pull their own weight'*. This involved him putting his studies on hold in order to be in a better position to support himself and his family until his father was released from prison. Another participant, Yacoob, described how his imprisoned brother was no longer able to support his ex-partner and their seven year old daughter, and how this was directly impacting on the life opportunities of the family and children, for example their child had recently missed the opportunity to attend a school trip.

These examples illustrate how the financial implications of parental imprisonment can lead to the loss of social capital¹. The financial implications of imprisonment on the family left behind can be severe and deepen existing financial disadvantages. Hellyer (2007) described how Pakistanis were amongst the most socially deprived group in the UK. British Pakistanis were over twice as likely to be unemployed and be on lower pay in cases of employment (Hellyer, 2007). As illustrated by Gan-Rankin et al. (2010), the financial implications of imprisonment can be severe especially where the imprisoned person is the only source of income. This may be more likely to occur in British Pakistani communities as women from this ethnic group are less likely to be in employment (Kenway 2007). As an ethnic group, British Pakistanis are marginalised prior to the imprisonment of a family member; therefore this strengthens the argument that family imprisonment may have a greater impact within Pakistani communities. Difficulty in managing the loss of income can also intensify pre-existing isolation and exclusion of British Pakistani families.

¹ 'Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Impact on children of prisoners

The findings of this research demonstrate how some of the implications of family imprisonment on children from British Pakistani families are reflective of the impact of imprisonment on children in existing literature (Clewitt & Glover 2009, Codd 2007, Gan-Rankin et al., 2010, Jones et al., 2013). Taaiba described how behavioural problems and bullying became apparent at her sisters school after her brother was imprisoned.

Taaiba: I think definitely because she'd gotten into a couple of fights at school, she was bullied a little bit, she was quite rude to the teachers, so I think it was as a direct result of what was happening with her brother

Yacoob described how his family had been dishonest with his brothers' daughter who was living with her mother at the time of imprisonment. She was told her father had gone away to work and was not permitted to visit him or communicate via telephone; the only way she was allowed to maintain contact was through exchanging letters. This is reflective of Raikes' (2014) who described feeling of ambiguous loss amongst children of prisoners. Yacoob explained how his brother had missed occasions such as Eid and his daughter's birthday, and how this had caused her great distress, which corresponded with Gan-Rankin's et al. (2010) findings. Yacoob's niece had recently expressed how she missed her father and felt his absence was unfair as her father was unable to attend events at her school like other school children. The following section explores the culturally specific impacts of imprisonment on family members.

4.2 Cultural Consequences

The three-generational British Pakistani community described by Kalra (2000) and Small (2012) in chapter 2.3, has largely emerged and grown since the late 1950's, therefore it is a relatively recent community. This section will explore the differences in perceptions and experiences of each generation, how imprisonment impacts gender and family roles and the role of the wider British Pakistani community when a family faces the imprisonment of one of its members.

Generational differences

The interviews illustrated how first generation British Pakistanis held concerns over prison conditions and the environment in which their family member was kept. They held perceptions that the conditions in British prisons were like those of a developing country such as Pakistan.

Munir: My parents are from Pakistan, they think jail is like Pakistan, in that developing country, so my parents actual concept of jail, is really different to mine, because I've had personal experience of being in jail myself

Imaad: ...it's like a cellar where you just locked away for example. They had more of a perception of what a prison in Pakistan may be like, where you get beaten up and you know by the guards

Imaad described how he and his siblings had to explain to his parents how the conditions of prisons in the UK were not like those which they expected.

Imaad: We made my mom aware...no prison is not like, you know, what you may have heard, you get to have television in there, you get to go to the gym in there, you get to pray there...it's not like what you might have heard about prison.

The perception held by the first generation of British Pakistani's draw similarities with those of children of prisoners, as described by Raikes' (2014), who envisaged their parents to be kept in cages and chained to walls. For earlier generations, this lack of understanding and misconstrued impression of the Prison Service may be reflective of their failure to successfully integrate within British society. For example second and third generation British Pakistanis or first generation British Pakistanis who have successfully integrated into British society would understand how prisons are governed and regulated. Holding such perceptions can be traumatic for first generation British Pakistanis and add to the stress, anxiety and fear they already face as a consequence of having a family member or child in prison. It would imply vulnerability is increased within their own ethnic group,

There is evidence of further vulnerability amongst the first generation of British Pakistanis. Participants described how their parents were heavily dependent on them and their siblings

for guidance and support. This involved support in arranging transport for visits, accompanying parents on visits, translating information, dealing with official correspondence and applying for refunds for travel costs etc.

Interviewer: *What kind of things did you support them with?*

Yamana: *Making the prison visits, taking em there and back, making sure they got money back for the visits, the fuel and the travel costs and stuff, so you know arrangements, if we were going there two days, sorting out accommodation and everything*

Other participants also described the manner in which they supported their parents.

Imaad: *Yeah every time he went to the solicitors he'd come home, he'd obviously tell ourselves, our elder brother would go with him anyway, and we'd tell the parents, that look this is the ways, you do really need to prepare yourself for the prison sentence, cuz that's what's gonna happen*

Munir: *Either me, my brother in law, my sister or my other brother, whoever's available really...So it doesn't really make a difference, it comes down to availability...Someone that can take em there because they can't drive themselves to go there.*

Rehman: *So obviously at the age of sixteen I took control of the house, you know, letters, communicating with solicitors and stuff.*

This strengthens the point made that first generation British Pakistanis are additionally vulnerable compared to both the wider population and second or third generation British Pakistanis. Earlier generations are likely to have a poorer understanding of British culture and societal norms and consequently are unlikely to be able to access the relevant support services. It is equally as necessary to consider how providing support and assistance to older members of the family can add to the responsibilities of younger members of British Pakistani families who also have to contend with the criminality and imprisonment of a family member. Besides Taaiba and Rehman, participants described how their parents faced language barriers which meant they were entirely dependent on other family members to

explain and translate information at all stages of their experience of family imprisonment. Rehman explained how the imprisonment of his father '*held me back*' from attending college and how he was unable to participate in social activities with his friends and people in his age group. Munir described how he and his siblings had to arrange for his parents to be taken to visit his brother and this was largely down his and his sibling's availability. The additional responsibility, which involves to some degree as acting as carers for older family members, can add strain to younger family members. Imaad made reference to occasions where he and his siblings had to counsel and comfort their elderly parents. The dependency of first generation British Pakistanis has a knock-on effect on other members of the family. This demonstrates the importance of exploring the impact of imprisonment on British Pakistani families as these findings would not emerge in research on the wider population.

Gender dominance and family roles

In accordance with Toor (2009), participants described how British Pakistani women were often perceived to have failed their roles as a consequence of their family members' criminality. Taaiba reflected on how after the imprisonment of her brother, members of the wider community and also close family members lay blame on her mother who was deemed to be responsible for her son's criminality. The following quote highlights the role expectations in Taaiba's family;

Taaiba: 'The dad's the breadwinner the dad's got his own work and the mom is the figure that kind of stayed at home and been the housewife I guess. So the bringing up of the children was mostly left to her to do. So there was a lot of, it's not that it's not my son but you were the mother and you were there and you should have spotted anything that was kind of going wrong for him.'

This is consistent with literature on how women's behaviour is regulated in British Pakistani communities (Charsley 2006, 2007, Enright 2009, Gill 2005, Macey 1999, Phillips & Dustin 2004, Qureshi, Charsley & Shaw 2012, Shaw 2006). Taaiba's point illustrates how the imprisonment of a family member can be detrimental to the well being of British Pakistani women.

As discussed in the previous section, when the imprisoned person is a partner, British Pakistani women can find it difficult to manage financially. Women from British Pakistani communities are less likely to be in employment (Dale et al. 2010, Kenway 2007) and therefore may face severe financial difficulties, and similarly British Pakistani women are less likely to seek support for mental health issues (Sheikh & Furnham, 2010). Amongst a disadvantaged ethnic minority group who faces further disadvantages as a consequence of family imprisonment, the implications of family imprisonment appear to be greater for British Pakistani women. This strengthens the argument for further research focusing on British Pakistani women who suffer as a result of familial imprisonment and more specifically British Pakistani mothers.

In relation to the impact of imprisonment on women in British Pakistani communities, Munir offered an alternative perspective and illustrated how his brothers' criminality was a negative reflection of his father in the local community.

Munir: It reflects on the father, that's how it is, they don't say that, so and so, this guy here, he's a drug dealer, they'll say so and so's son is a drug dealer, so and so's sons in jail for murder, so and so's son. So it's always going back to the father, it's how they explain it, all the time when you hear about it, when you hear people talking about other people, oh he's in jail, oh who do mean? Oh this guy's son, that guy's son, it's always referring back to the father, all the time

In relation to Toor's (2009) argument that mothers in Asian communities would largely face criticism over their family members' criminality, this suggests that there may be another perspective to consider in respect to criminality, the British Pakistani community and impact on fathers.

Despite imprisonment, male family members in prison still exert influence and maintain control of the house and the family left behind. Although this may be partially attributed to the fact that British Pakistani women are almost three times more likely to be unemployed than white British women (Dale 2010, Palmer & Kenway 2007), it suggests there are highly gendered roles within the family unit. Rehman, who was sixteen at the time of his father's

imprisonment, describes how his father was still able to exert influence over the day to day occurrences in the household while he was still in prison.

Rehman: *Yeah, he still had all the control to be honest, anything that happened, he had regular contact, he used to ring two or three times a day so we used to tell him that this happened, so he used to advise us what to do and stuff obviously*

Rehman goes on to describe how in accordance with Pakistani culture, as the eldest male in the household, many of the responsibilities fell upon him.

Rehman: *And obviously in Asian culture, being the oldest son was like being the second man in the house, it doesn't matter if there's a daughter older than you, it does automatically fall on your head as well so obviously that's why I took responsibility for what I was doing, made sure everyone was alright in the family, you know, done what was necessary at the time*

Rehman explained how he had to compromise his education in order to conduct his new role as the man of the house. Although taking on additional responsibility at home may be a cultural norm; having to conform to cultural expectations while attempting to cope with the imprisonment of a family member may add strain to a difficult situation. Another participant described the impact on her aunt after her cousin received a prison sentence.

Interviewer: *How was his mom at the time when he got sentenced?*

Yamana: *In pieces, she was in absolute pieces because my uncle, he suffers depression, so the man of the house was my cousin, so she'd lost that, she'd lost her son*

This demonstrates how impact of imprisonment appears to be particularly difficult for British Pakistani mothers in cases where the imprisoned person has held a dominant family role prior to imprisonment. Rehman explained how his mother, a first generation British Pakistani who had lived in the UK since 1993 and was working as a teaching assistant at a local school, found it difficult to manage without her husband's presence. Rehman pointed out how his mother felt afraid without his father, *'because in the first year or so my mom was very scared as such, you know, she said just don't be out till late you know, it's not right,*

your dad's not home'. Although British Pakistani mothers may take on household responsibilities and responsibilities towards younger children to a greater extent, their low economic activity (Dale, 2010) may restrict the extent to which they can extend financial responsibilities, which Codd (2000) described was the case in her study on older female partners of prisoners. The highly gendered structure in British Pakistani families may also mean the shift in the balance of power (from imprisoned to partner) which was evident in Codd's (2000) study, may not be apparent in families from this ethnic group. This reinforces Codd's (2000) recommendation for further research exploring the experiences of older female partners of male prisoners and emphasises the importance of considering race and ethnicity when doing so. The implications on women from British Pakistani families who face the imprisonment of a partner may be particularly severe as it may involve them having to adjust from having an agreed dependence on their husbands to having to manage without their husband, a situation which they are unfamiliar with within the home and the wider British Pakistani community.

Shame and Community Reaction

Some participants highlighted how they feared the imprisonment of their family member would bring the family's honour into disrepute. Participants attributed a significant amount of value towards their honour within their community and spoke of how the imprisonment of family members may impact on this.

Rehman: *Your family's' honour is the biggest thing in an Asian Pakistani community*

Imaad: *You know respect is one of those things that you know you could try earning it all your life but you could lose it in one night*

Taaiba stressed how the imprisonment of a family member can be detrimental to the family's reputation but also demonstrated how there was a lack of understanding of white British cultural impacts of imprisonment on white British families.

Taaiba: *It affects everything, it affects you for the rest of your life, whereas for a non British Pakistani family, it would affect their CV for a while, but that's about it*

As highlighted in chapter 2.2 and 4.1, stigma and feelings of shame are common amongst families of prisoners from the wider population and therefore these experiences are not exclusive to British Pakistani families. Munir acknowledged that the imprisonment of a family member could impact non-Pakistani families similarly but described British Pakistani communities as a '*society within a society*', with separate ideals and values. Munir explained how British Pakistani's who face the imprisonment of a family member will be stigmatised amongst the general population but also within their own British Pakistani community, who are regulated by separate and culturally specific principles towards which criminality is detrimental. According to Goffman's (1963) model, Munir's explanation denotes that British Pakistanis would have to contend with stigma as a consequence of personal deviations, amongst the wider population and also separately within their own cultural community. Amongst the participants there appeared to be a greater concern regarding the shame they would face within their own British Pakistani community over stigmatisation amongst the wider population. For instance, Munir described how his father would prefer not to discuss his brothers' imprisonment outside of the family, but where necessary he would be prefer talking about his brothers' offense to someone of a different ethnic background or a British Pakistani who did not belong to the same community. Rehman reiterated this point and highlighted how he would be less comfortable speaking about his fathers' imprisonment to someone who belonged to the same British Pakistani community. Rehman noted there would be an exception in cases where British Pakistanis had similar experiences to himself. This is consistent with Phelan et al. (1998) who described how families who face stigma, albeit for different discrediting attributes, would refrain from sharing their experiences to those individuals from whom they expected the most negative reaction. This indicates that some British Pakistanis feel the impact of shame within their own communities is particularly severe compared to the impact of stigmatisation by the wider population.

All the participants described how after the imprisonment of their family member some extended family members and some members of the community visited to offer their condolences. Yacoob explained that this is just a formality within British Pakistani communities and Munir referred to this as a cultural practise. Taaiba also explained how this

was a formality within British Pakistani communities and how her mother questioned the sincerity of people who were displaying sympathy.

Taiba: I think my mom felt that it wasn't genuine...I think for her it was what they weren't saying to her face, what they were saying behind her back, and I guess that was just making it harder for her because then she was trying to second guess what people were thinking and saying about her.

Taiba also stressed how having people visit after the sentencing didn't allow for her family to have the privacy they required in order to cope with the news of imprisonment of their family member. Having to tend to guests and people who were visiting them was particularly strenuous under the circumstances.

There was a collective fear amongst participants regarding opinions and perceptions the local British Pakistani community would hold of their families, and this was reflective of Codd's (2007) findings who described these perceptions are usually far stronger than the reality.

Yacob: I think as British Pakistanis- one of the worst experiences is the impact it has on your respect and your status within the local community. Because going to prison- especially for something like robbery it is the worst thing ever. You know people are talking about it- but they will never say it to your face or confront you

Taiba: Mom was very stressed and upset and you know very emotional about what was going on with her son and how could this happen to my son and what's gonna happen to me and what's the community gonna say and what people gonna say and what people are gonna think?

Yamana highlighted how some members of their local community had a geographical connection with her aunt as they shared places of birth in Pakistan. Yamana described how upon sentencing, members from within this transnational relationship visited her aunt and were sympathetic and supportive. On the other hand Yamana described how this transnational relationship was detrimental as it meant news of the offense and imprisonment of her cousin would reach their village and surrounding villages in Pakistan.

Yamana explained how her cousins' sentence had caused her aunt great distress and expressed how her aunt was concerned that her sons' criminality would impact on her families' ability to develop kinship and ties within the British Pakistani community.

Yamana: *one of the reasons why my auntie is like, holding back, because she doesn't want to have to face that sort of a (pauses). She might turn around and say, I'm gonna go ask somebody's hand in marriage [for her son], they might turn around and say well, you know, I don't think so, we've seen what your son's been up to.*

Taaiba also referred to similar concerns her family held around the imprisonment of her brother. Imprisonment of a family member may damage the families' prospects of developing relationships and ties within the British Pakistani community. This also demonstrates the loss of social capital, the implications of which are long term and could cause further isolation and exclusion, as marriage is a means in which to enhance and develop relationships within British Pakistani communities.

The nature of the offense appears to be an intrinsic factor which can determine the nature and strength of the reaction by the local British Pakistani community towards the offenders' family. Rehman did not specifically refer to the offense for which his father had been sent to prison, but referred to it as a 'white collar crime'. Rehman stated how *'the nature of the crime definitely in our relationship with the community, played the biggest role'*, when explaining why his family received sympathy and support and not a hostile reaction from the local community. Rehman described how his family had been established in their local community for a number of years and had been involved in a number of community events. Rehman explained how the local community were sympathetic and supportive due to the relationship they held with his family and father and how some members of the community felt the imprisonment of his father was an *'injustice'*. Rehman acknowledged how the reaction from the community made their experience bearable however pointed out that had the offense been of a different nature this may not have been the case. Imaad, whose brother received a prison sentence for causing death by dangerous driving, explained how this was not perceived to be an offense which warranted a negative reaction from the community.

Imaad: obviously it's not like he had mugged an old woman, or you know raped anyone, or murdered anyone, so...the people around they were...very sympathetic, like they'll say to my mom, we understand look, it's such a shame you know, we know he's a nice lad, we know it's not something that happened on purpose

Rehman and Imaad's explanations demonstrate how the extent to which the offence deviates from the values of the community or to what extent the offence indicates an intentional harmful act can determine how the local community will react and the extent to which the family will be stigmatised. This is reflective of Jones' et al. (2013) findings who found that the intensity of stigmatisation correlated with the severity of the crime, however what may appear to be a deviant act in the white British community may not be perceived to be so, to the same extent in a British Pakistani community.

4.3 Support needs for British Pakistani families' of prisoners

All the participants described a lack of awareness of support services currently in place to support prisoners' families or British Pakistani prisoners' families. Participant's demonstrated willingness to access services designed to support them and felt these should be tailored towards British Pakistani cultural needs, particularly where the elder generation is concerned. The support needs of British Pakistani families of prisoners appear to cross themes. For example cultural insensitivity becomes apparent at various stages of the families experience during the imprisonment of their family member. Language barriers are also consistent at the various stages, for example at the point of arrest and during visits. This section will consider these issues where they appear in the criminal justice journey. This section will also consider generic support needs which apply regardless of ethnic background as these are still applicable to the British Pakistani community.

Accessing the Criminal Justice System

Access to information and a lack of information given to the family at various stages of their subsequent journey through the Criminal Justice System was a concern highlighted by a number of participants. The participants' description of the point of arrest and sentencing was reflective of Light's (1995) findings which stated there was a lack of clarity and understanding of the events which were occurring.

Rehman: Nothing like this ever happened in my family before, so it was a first time experience, so, no one knew who really to speak to or who to get information off and stuff

Yamana: Nobody's even got told of by the police, so it was a really big thing, so nobody knew how to react, they didn't know what to do either....they were, sort of kept in the dark...They didn't know what was going on really at all

Yacoob: it would be nice if they had someone come out or they'll have someone there on offer, either at the court rooms, on the day of sentencing, sorry on the day they get remanded or whatever, someone there who can actually speak the language, can explain the procedures and what are the next steps

Rehman and his siblings were at school when his father was first arrested. Whether this was actually a consideration made by the police before arresting their father or whether the arrest was carried out at a time most convenient for the police is unknown. Seeing the police carry out the arrest and search their home could have been a traumatic experience for Rehman and his siblings, and could have added to the stress, anxiety and fear they face while their father was in prison.

Light (1995) described language barriers and police insensitivity amongst other issues which impacted families of prisoners at the point of arrest. Similarly, a number of participants displayed concern over the manner in which the arrest was carried out. Issues emerged around language barriers and the insensitivity of police carrying out an arrest on a household from a Pakistani ethnic background without considering whether a translator or a police officer who could speak the appropriate language was required. Munir explained how his elderly father was alone at home during the arrest. Munir recalled telephone conversations between him and his father once the police had entered their home in which Munir's father was under the impression the police had come to arrest Munir rather than his older brother. This was due to the fact that Munir's father did not speak English and therefore there was uncertainty regarding the events which were occurring. Munir felt the police were not considerate and concerned for his father's well being who he described endured a very stressful experience while the search of their property was carried out.

Munir: *'That's my father's house, so you know they would've had to explain to him, this is the reason we're here, we're here for this person, this is what we're here for. They may have said it in English, and Asian parents being Asian parents, they would've just nod and said, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes. And the police officer would've taken that, look, he said yes, I'm gonna assume that he's understood what I've said.'*

The insensitivity displayed by the police in this case may have been intimidating and traumatic for an elderly gentleman who does not speak English and is witnessing a search being carried out of his home. Munir described how amongst the belongings which the police removed from the property was a phonebook which belonged to his father and contained writing in Urdu. The phonebook contained contact numbers for family and friends and therefore removing such an item would have left Munir's father unable to contact people who may have been able to assist and support him. Munir explained how trained dogs entered his home during the search of his property and how this caused his father severe distress as his father was a practising Muslim and dogs are considered to be impure in Islam. Munir acknowledged why this may have been necessary in a drugs related offense but emphasised how this added to his father's negative experience. A lack of cultural understanding or consideration on behalf of the police meant the search processes and why they were necessary were not explained to Munir's father. As described earlier, Munir explained how his father perceived prison conditions to be similar to those of Pakistan. The cultural insensitivity displayed by the police could add to these perceptions. Alternatively, if a police officer or translator had been present to support Munir's father, his perceptions may have been altered from the very beginning of the journey and consequently he may have felt he had received appropriate support.

Yamana also expressed concerns over how the police acted at the point of arrest of her cousin. Yamana acknowledged the seriousness of her cousins' offense who was sentenced under terrorism laws for conspiring to make explosives to cause harm, however she expressed how the arrest was traumatic and deeply distressing to the family who were unaware of her cousins' activities. Yamana described how the house was raided by the police in the early hours of the morning and all family members were placed in handcuffs, including her uncle who suffered from depression. Yamana questioned the competency of

the police who she believed had carried out surveillance on her cousins' family and felt they should have been aware of his condition. The family were not detained but taken to Yamanas' house in the early hours in the morning. The severity of the offense for which her cousin was sentenced can be used to justify the manner in which the police approached the arrest. However the prevalence of terrorism related crimes since 9/11 and 7/7 suggests that further exploration is required into the impact of imprisonment on families of prisoners linked to terrorist activity.

Participants explained that there was a lack of information available during the imprisonment of their family member and upon release which added to distress and anxiety.

Taiba: 'I remember my mom kind of asking me questions at the time, what's happening now, what's gonna happen next, I don't know what's gonna happen next, what's this mean for him, you know when, I remember one of the days that they'd agreed that he could have a home visit that was kind of a bit unclear, there was no real clarity around what, if he was, why, there was no real clarity on why, I think on anything though, some communication helps.'

Yacoub: 'Nothing, not been made aware of anything, it's been zero, zilch, nothing, not even any, not even a brochure you know, to say that yeah, you know, this is what's out there for help, this is what's... absolutely nothing.'

Rehman: 'We weren't sure about what can happen now in the future, you know, is it all ended and stuff? We were uncertain if anything happened in the future, could he go back and stuff like that, his probation and his license and stuff, it was, you know, it was quite confusing.'

In relation to families of prisoners, these findings are not specific to the British Pakistani community and are apparent in existing literature on families of prisoners (Gan Rankin et al. 2010, Light 1995). Families of prisoners require information at all stages of their journey through the criminal justice system. Information is required upon sentencing, during the prison sentence and post release, as highlighted by Rehman who described how his family were concerned his father could be recalled upon release from prison. Although there are

similarities between the needs of British Pakistani and white British family of prisoners, it is important to take into consideration issues such as language barriers, a lack of knowledge of British culture and societal norms and the impact on different generations, as this suggests there is another dimension to the support British Pakistani families of prisoners require in comparison to the wider population.

Rehman also described how it was difficult to manage without his father as his family had been heavily dependent upon him running the household prior to his imprisonment. This suggests that family members also need support and assistance with practical issues especially in cases where the imprisoned person had most household responsibilities prior to imprisonment. As described in chapter 4.2, younger family members may often have to sacrifice educational commitments as the dependency of earlier generations or partners of prisoners can increase after imprisonment. As mentioned previously, although these needs may be consistent with other groups, there is a cultural aspect of support which would need to be considered. For example, although Rehman and Munir recalled seeing literature in Urdu available while visiting their imprisoned family members in some prisons, they both made reference to the fact they felt it was insufficient. Other participants described how their family members faced language barriers.

Munir: If she could speak to someone maybe in her own language and someone who could obviously break it down and make her understand everything to her, in the way she needs to understand it.

Munir explained how his mother would have benefitted from having the option of support in a language she could understand. Although a lack of information is a support need recognised by existing literature (Light, 1995), in relation to British Pakistanis it is necessary that there is also assistance in managing language barriers, particularly with earlier generations who have little understanding of both the English language and British culture.

Participants described the visits to be predominantly a troubling experience. A lack of information and knowledge of the visit process influenced this to an extent but participants also described the treatment by prison officers added to their negative experience during their visits. Rehman described a particularly difficult experience on which upon queuing to

see their father they were advised that the visit had been cancelled. No explanation was given and the family was left feeling distressed and confused as to what had occurred. On other occasions participants described they felt they were being unfairly treated as a consequence of their family members' criminality.

*Taaiba: Yeah, when you going through the doors and stuff and like the *inaudible* and everything, they're just, sort of, unfriendly it was unreal, just really like, it just felt like, ok if whoever you're coming to see is wrong, then you are too, do you get what I mean? They have that sort of look on their faces. Getting tarnished with the same brush*

Interviewer: How did that make you guys feel?

Taaiba: Honestly, bad. Didn't wanna be there at all, obviously, it was just horrible

Yacoob shared this feeling with Taaiba and described how he felt criminalised and felt as though he was being deemed to be guilty by association with his family member. This is consistent with wider literature (Codd 2000, 2007) on the experiences of prisoners' families and therefore is not an occurrence which is unique to the British Pakistani prisoners' families.

Yamana described how her family had to make long distance trips to visit her cousin while he was remanded in custody and his trial was ongoing. Alternatively Munir explained how his elderly parents were not fit enough to make the five hour trip to visit his brother and had to wait until he was moved to a closer prison before they could start visiting his brother. Munir explained how he had made use of the Assisted Prison Visits scheme to refund travel costs, however Yamana had not been aware of such a provision and therefore failed to receive a reimbursement of her travel costs.

There were a number of issues besides language barriers, a lack of information, gender dominance and family roles which arose amongst participants in the interview which are specific to British Pakistanis who face the imprisonment of a family member. Rehman described how the lack of families from his ethnic background made him feel alienated and unwelcome in the prison visit atmosphere. Rehman recognised how other families were

able to use their shared experiences of family imprisonment and develop relationships amongst each other during visits, but Rehman felt *'distanced'* from this network due to his ethnicity. Rehman explained how *'you feel a bit excluded from the rest of the people. It was one of those that there wasn't any alternative option to it.'* The implications of this inability to build relationships with other prisoners' families can deepen feelings of isolation amongst families of prisoners from a British Pakistani background. Taaiba described how her family found it easier to develop a relationship with other Pakistani families they came across during visits. During a visit, Rehman and his family came into contact with and began accessing support through POPs. Rehman explained how his family would visit POPs and began meeting other prisoners families which was a key factor in supporting his family cope with feelings of exclusion, fear and confusion and their lack of knowledge of the prison system. Rehman and his family valued the support offered by members of staff and other prisoners' families. This demonstrates how accessing pre-existing support services that are not culturally specific can be beneficial to some British Pakistani families of prisoners.

Some participants felt that the visit setting was culturally inappropriate for British Pakistani families. Participants described their discontentment at the lack of halal food available during the visits and felt this added to feelings of alienation.

Rehman: *'No, prison settings in that sense, I don't think they were very appropriate, they weren't very accommodating for anyone who's Muslim, or Asian or anything like that, I mean, the food they sold in the canteen, only thing you could have was crisps or a coffee or a chocolate or a drink, the hot foods, none of it was suitable. It was all not halal.'*

Rehman described how this was unwelcoming and emphasised how he felt his family did not belong in such a setting. Imaad and Yacoob also highlighted how the lack of halal food available during the visits had a negative impact on their experience. Alternatively, Yamana and Taaiba explained how halal food was not a priority given the circumstances in which the visit was taking place. This highlights the importance of taking into consideration the cultural backgrounds of families of prisoners in the visitor setting.

Imaad also advised how the search that was carried out on his mother prior to visiting his brother was a distressing experience. Imaad accepted the need for such processes but explained how he thought it was poorly managed in the case of his mother who had to remove her headscarf and come into contact with trained dogs which would have impacted her ability to offer prayers. He advised how his mother was also advised she had to leave behind her tasbeeh (prayer beads) and how this was something she always carried with her.

In contrast, Taaiba reported a relatively positive experience which involved her speaking to prison officers about her brother and his rehabilitation. She also mentioned an occasion where she had to offer prayers and one of the prison officers accommodated this by allowing her to pray in the crèche area. Taaiba highlighted these as positive and reassuring experiences however she highlighted that there was still a need for more cultural awareness in the prison setting. This demonstrates that experiences of British Pakistani's are varied and inconsistent and emphasises the need for consistent institutionalised good practise.

Accessing support through British Pakistani networks

Some of the participants appeared to be open to the idea of seeking support through agencies and service providers who are staffed or managed by British Pakistanis. Participants felt that the familiarity, understanding of culture and ability to communicate in an appropriate language would be beneficial to all family members, particularly the elderly and earlier generations. Rehman explained how he and his family would have felt more comfortable approaching and asking British Pakistani police and prison officer's questions had they been present at any point of their experience. Munir reinforced this point and described how the presence of British Pakistani police officers would have allowed his father to have a better understanding of what was happening during the search of their property. Yacoob explained how a '*friendly face*' would be beneficial at the point of sentencing to explain what the processes are and how families can begin communicating with their imprisoned family member. Imaad also advised how his mother would have been willing to seek support if cultural barriers were not an issue.

Imaad: *'If she could speak to someone maybe in her own language and someone who could obviously break it down and make her understand everything to the way she needs to understand it.'*

Although some participants agreed that access to British Pakistani support services would have been beneficial there appeared to be issues relating to confidentiality and trust. Although Munir had previously highlighted the presence of translators or British Pakistani police officers would have eased his father's experience, he felt his father would later be reluctant in seeking support from British Pakistanis from the same community.

Interviewer: *'You mentioned that your father would find it easier to talk to someone who's not Asian....'*

Participant: *'Yeah....'*

Interviewer: *'But at the same time you said that potentially...'* [Referring to the point made about having British Pakistani police officers present at the point of arrest]

Participant: *'An Asian person yeah just to, well, see thing is, someone who's not part of the community as well so say if it's someone who lived in [town A] but worked in [town B]... My father wouldn't have a problem talking to them because they don't, they wouldn't go around gossiping, they wouldn't you know, tell other people what would be said would remain confidential and stuff like that, so it wouldn't get out, so that way my father could feel, and my mother could feel fine you know, opening up to them and talking to them about it.'*

Munir also pointed out his father would rather not speak to anyone about his experiences while his brother was in prison, but would find it easier to speak to someone of a different ethnicity or someone who belonged to a different community entirely. This was attributed towards fear of gossip and the family business becoming public knowledge. This point was reinforced by Rehman who explained that the shame element is amplified when speaking to British Pakistani service providers, unless they themselves have similar experiences. Rehman also felt it would be easier to speak to British Pakistani service providers who did not belong

to the same community. Taaiba explained how these feelings were largely down to issues relating to mistrust and confidentiality.

Taaiba: 'If it was someone...who was like a local counsellor, but you didn't know them on a personal level, then that would be easy for you to speak to them, but if you...knew a member of their family, I personally, and I know my mom and dad would feel this way...is that person going home and discussing me and my case with family?'

Interviewer: 'So British Pakistanis are more concerned about secrecy and keeping things confidential?'

Taaiba: 'They don't want people to know, exactly what you say, you know, hit the nail on the head that they don't want, people don't want other people to know and you don't want people to know your business.'

In relation to accessing support from British Pakistani support networks and service providers there appears to be a double-edged sword. The participants recognised that cultural values, language barriers and familiarity would be beneficial when accessing support from individuals from the same ethnic background. However, the fear of gossip and family business becoming public knowledge would often find families of prisoners reluctant in accessing support through these channels. In order to address these concerns it would be useful to explore these issues further to establish how these barriers can be overcome in a practical manner.

4.4 Barriers to accessing support

Chapter 4.3 has considered the experiences of the participants in order to develop an understanding of where British Pakistani families may need support when facing the imprisonment of a family member. As discussed in chapter 1.1, BME families of prisoners are an under researched group, therefore this section will consider the barriers prisoners families from a British Pakistani ethnic group may face in accessing support. This section will begin by exploring 'cultural behaviours' within British Pakistani families which may act as barriers to accessing support. This section will continue and discuss 'indirect racism' and

'direct racism' and consider the role of Islamophobia and how these may act as a barrier for families who require support.

Cultural behaviours

As described earlier in this chapter, Munir described how his father would prefer not to discuss the imprisonment of his brother. Munir explained that where necessary his father would prefer to discuss such issues with someone who was either of a different ethnic background or belonged to a different community. Rehman, whose family did access support from a charity supporting the families of prisoners, explained why British Pakistani families may be a difficult group in terms of accessing support upon the imprisonment of a family member.

Rehman: I don't think they're approached well, and the other thing is, it's very bad and talking about it is bad as well. That's what I think most Asian British Pakistanis think, ...going to prison is bad enough and then having to speak about it and you're sharing your experience with other people, it's not seen as very,...I don't think British Pakistanis are quite open about the subject, they won't prefer talking about it

Rehman's comments suggest the imprisonment of a family member is a taboo subject in British Pakistani communities and therefore is not a subject which families will feel comfortable discussing. Munir's comments with regards to his father imply there are similar attitudes surrounding the imprisonment of family members. Further research into the taboo of family imprisonment in British Pakistani families would shed light on why such attitudes exist and may enable service providers to develop methods which are culturally appropriate and accessible for British Pakistani families of prisoners.

Indirect racism

Rehman explicitly stated that he and his family did not experience any racism during their journey through the Criminal Justice System and he did not feel racism was an issue or a cause for concern. Yamana and Taaiba also stated that they had not experienced any racism and neither had their family members to their knowledge. Despite this, although participants did not describe it as such, the findings of this research demonstrate that there

is evidence of indirect and institutionalised racism. This becomes evident through institutional practices discussed in this chapter, for example the assumption made by the police that language barriers would not emerge when carrying out an arrest and search of Munir's fathers' property. Another example of this is the lack of prayer facilities for visitors in prisons, although the prison officer attempted to accommodate Yamana, a crèche may not be sufficient to fulfil actual requirements. It is necessary to point out however, the good practise displayed by the prison officer in finding space for Yamana to offer prayers demonstrates how although there may be evidence of institutional racism, individual officers may not be prejudiced as such. Although Taaiba and Yamana described that given the circumstances of their prison visit, the option of halal meat was not a priority; it demonstrates the lack of consideration by the prison towards the diversity of its population and their visitors. The fact that participants did not name such incidents as racism of any sort, demonstrates how British Pakistani families of prisoners may have considered such practices as the 'norm' and thus are 'institutionalised' themselves towards institutional racism. The lack of cultural sensitivity within the Criminal Justice System, if it is recognised as such, may alienate British Pakistani families and therefore act as a barrier for prisoners' families in accessing adequate support.

Direct racism and Islamophobia

The remaining participants described their perceptions of direct racism within the Criminal Justice System. Munir explained how in his opinion some prison officers were supportive and professional whereas others were '*blatantly racist*'. Munir's opinions stemmed from his personal experiences of the Criminal Justice System and he described speaking about this to his brother on a visit, who agreed with Munir's views. Munir did explain he and his brother refrained from sharing their experiences and opinions with their parents as this would add to their concerns. This was reflective Jones' et al. (2013) findings who described how families would often shield each other from certain information which they felt would be upsetting and cause additional distress.

Imaad described how British Pakistanis can be victimised due to disproportionate and sensationalised coverage in the media often related to grooming gangs and terrorist related activities and Islam or British Pakistanis. Imaad's feelings were consistent with Quraishi's

(2006) findings, as he explained how he felt British Pakistanis were mistreated by the extensive and disproportionate coverage in the media but also by the public as a consequence. Imaad also explained how racism was a concern while his brother was in prison, although there were no specific incidents involving Imaad or his brother which led to this concern. Imaad described how he had heard of cases where prison officers '*stitched up*' British Pakistani prisoners so that they were placed on prison wings where they may face conflict with other prisoners. Imaad expressed he had been concerned as he felt prison officers may mistreat his brother as a consequence of his offense, particularly if prison officers were in some way connected to the victim of the fatal road traffic incident for which his brother was serving a sentence. Munir was familiar with the Zahid Mubarek case at HMP Feltham and the Shahed Aziz case at HMP Armley and explained how he didn't trust prison officers after hearing of such cases. Yacoob explained how his parents had similar concerns regarding the treatment of his brother as an ethnic minority in prison.

Imaad also highlighted how he was concerned that prisoners were misled into believing the food they were being served was halal. Taaiba described an occasion which involved her brother making a similar point about halal meat and joked how they were probably being fed horsemeat. The perceptions held by Imaad, Munir and Yacoob's parents demonstrate a mistrust of the Criminal Justice System and concerns of Islamophobic attitudes. In addition to adding concerns over the treatment of their imprisoned family member, these perceptions may deter family members from approaching the support services they require, particularly if they are linked to the prison where their family member is held. In relation to reporting and bringing these concerns to the attention of the relevant authorities, Imaad explained how he would find it difficult to report as he felt he would be accused of using the race card and described how he would feel helpless in that situation. Where the imprisonment of a family member is a taboo subject and difficult to discuss as discussed earlier in this section, mistrust towards an institution believed to hold Islamophobic attitudes can add to difficulties in approaching and accessing support services.

Summary

There are a number of shared experiences of family imprisonment between British Pakistani families and the wider population, such as stigmatisation, mental health issues, social

exclusion, and financial implications. The implications of these experiences however may multiply pre-existing disadvantages common in British Pakistani communities and therefore this must be taken into consideration in relation to their support needs. Some of the support needs of British Pakistani families are consistent with those of the wider population. However, service providers must also have a culturally sensitive approach where British Pakistani families are concerned. British Pakistanis must also contend with culturally specific issues within their own homes and communities upon imprisonment of family members. The impact of imprisonment and need for support may vary within the highly gendered family structure of British Pakistani families, and some family members may be particularly vulnerable compared to others. British Pakistanis have culturally specific support needs. Awareness and accommodation of culturally specific support within the Criminal Justice System and non-government organisations would be beneficial to the experiences of British Pakistani families of prisoners.

5 Reflections on research

Researcher positionality

Reflexivity in qualitative research involves social researchers considering how their personal biography, which shapes their perception of social reality, can influence the research they conduct and how to overcome the perils associated with this (Bryman 2012, Ormston et al., 2014). Therefore it is necessary for me to consider my position as a researcher amongst the participants of the interview. The insider/outsider status of a researcher, which is concerned with the personal biography and position of a researcher in relation to the research processes and participants, has been well documented in literature on qualitative research methods (Bahvnani 1991, Edwards 1996, Gunaratnam 2003, Merton 1972, Ramji 2008). Researchers who are classified as 'insiders' are described to share a characteristic, role or experiences with the subjects of their research, for example ethnicity, occupation or a stigmatising attribute, whereas 'outsiders' do not have any commonalities with the research participants (Dwyer & Buckle 2009, Hellawell 2007, LaSala 2008, Merton 1972). In relation to positionality, literature has recognised that the insider/outsider status of a researcher is not one which is unchanging but rather it is fluid and can fluctuate between insider and outsider or occupy a space in-between (Dwyer & Buckle 2009, Wray & Bartholomew 2010,

Zubair, Martin & Victor 2012). Reeves (2010) describes how the occupation of either insider or outsider positions or the spaces in between is not a dichotomy, or a three point position, but rather two ends of a continuum. This section of the thesis will begin by exploring existing literature on insider/outsider research positions and discuss the benefits and disadvantages of both of these. I will then discuss these in relation to my position as a researcher and how this may have impacted on this thesis.

According to Bonner and Tolhurst (2002), Leslie and McAllister (2002) and Toffoli and Rudge (2006) an insider status is beneficial as sharing identities such as ethnic background with research subjects would be favourable in gaining access to research participants, understanding cultures and language and building a rapport and trust with the cohort. LaSala (2008) describes how insiders are advantaged through their knowledge of a community which enables them to ask questions which are relevant to the cohort and the research topic. Literature has recognised how researchers who carry insider status can readily gain acceptance within a group of participants (Burns, Fenwick, Schmied & Sheehan, 2012), particularly amongst participants with whom they share negative experiences as participants will feel researchers can either understand their experiences and/or influence change (Dwyer & Buckle 2009, LaSala 2008). This can be beneficial for the researcher as participants may perceive the researcher to be less judgemental, and this would reduce any shame and stigma inhibiting participation or frankness within interviews. Although there are advantages to carrying an insider status, researchers have also highlighted the perils insider researchers may face as opposed to outsider researchers. LaSala (2008) demonstrated how in cases where geographical location is a commonality between researchers, participants have issues surrounding confidentiality. This was reinforced by Wray and Bartholomew (2010) who demonstrated how participants can often have concerns surrounding discretion and confidentiality when a researcher belongs to the same community as the participants. This is particularly interesting as it was an issue raised by Taaiba in relation to accessing support services from local British Pakistani service providers in this study; she expressed concern about the local community discussing her family's business. In relation to collecting data, insider researchers also face issues as an over-familiarity between researcher and participant and assumptions made by the participant with regards to the researchers'

knowledge can act as barrier in obtaining rich and in-depth data (Dwyer & Buckle 2009, Wray & Bartholomew 2010). Literature has also indicated how findings by those who hold an insider position may lean heavily towards researchers' perspectives and biases, either consciously or subconsciously (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

My position

In doing this research I occupied both an insider and outsider status simultaneously. I was able to occupy an insider status with the research participants in relation to our shared cultural heritage and our status as second generation British Pakistanis'. The British Pakistani participants involved in this research are part of a stigmatised and disadvantaged group as they face the imprisonment of a family member, in relation to this aspect of identity I was an outsider. However I was not entirely unfamiliar with the stigma associated with this cohort, as it affected members of my immediate family with whom I have a close relationship, and as an ex-prisoner I understood the implications of bearing a stigmatised attribute². I believe these aspects of my biography allowed me to occupy a space which fluctuated between insider and the 'space in between' described by Dwyer and Buckle (2009), Wray and Bartholomew (2010) and Zubair, Martin and Victor (2012). My outsider position was further solidified as since I had been released from prison I had gained a BSc (Hons) Sociology and Criminology degree and was now undertaking a post-graduate degree. Therefore as a researcher my position was not static, but fluid and varied at different stages of the research process. This was useful as a researcher as it meant I could emphasise certain aspects of my identity or insider-ness or outsider-ness to positive affect for the research.

In relation to Wray and Bartholomew (2010), who stated an insider status can be disadvantageous in gaining access to research participants on the basis of confidentiality and trust, it is necessary to consider the unique position of both the participants and myself. The participants were members of the British Pakistani community and additionally possessed a stigmatising attribute of family imprisonment. If issues around confidentiality and trust were prevalent, they would be related to the stigmatised identity of the cohort. As

² Refer to Chapter 1- Introduction.

the researcher, I shared ethnicities with the participant group however I also possessed a discrediting attribute in the form of my imprisonment. Although the stigma I faced differed from that of the participants, as I described previously members of my immediate family had been affected by the same stigma, and as an ex-prisoner I had faced stigma closely associated to that of the research participants. I believe this allowed me to occupy a very exclusive position as a researcher wanting to access this particular group, as it allowed me to transcend issues around confidentiality and trust. I was not just a British Pakistani, I was also an ex-prisoner, so someone who had knowledge of their experiences. Of the seven potential participants were approached for the purposes of this research, six accepted and one refused. The participant who refused did not express any concerns surrounding my position as a member of the same ethnic and geographical community however stated he held a mistrust of institutions generally and due to my affiliation with the University of Huddersfield, did not feel comfortable participating. Furthermore, Schneider (1988), in a study on the experiences of people who suffer from epilepsy, argues that social scientists exploring stigmatised groups without experience of the stigma themselves are unable to accurately record and interpret the perceptions of the group they study and tend to over rely on their sociological theories and research practises. This is an important observation in relation to researching British Pakistanis families of prisoners as it suggests that although a researcher may carry 'insider' status with regards to the ethnic identity of the group they could remain detached from the stigmatised identity of the group. To what extent, a researcher from an outsider position who did not share ethnicity or the stigmatised characteristics of the cohort, would be able to gather data around the stigmatisation and experiences of families of prisoners and derive the meanings and values of these in relation to the participants cultural identity, is questionable.

To disclose or not to disclose

I had to consider a number of issues before I commenced this project. I was a British Pakistani, ex prisoner who was embarking on a journey to investigate the impact of imprisonment on British Pakistani families, experiences which were common amongst my own immediate family. I had to be aware of how my own perspectives could influence the findings of this research; an issue described by Dwyer and Buckle (2009), but at the same

time not compromise my cultural knowledge which would be an advantage to the thesis. Upon reflecting on my own experiences, I decided I would only mention my own imprisonment where this would be necessary. Although, as I previously stated the participants were aware of my status as an ex-prisoner, this was not discussed at any stage other than the conversation with Rehman. I made this decision as I felt by delving into this aspect of my identity, participants could be influenced into discussing issues they felt I wanted to hear. I also discussed potential biases with my supervisor and we decided I would avoid asking direct questions about racism and discrimination, and only probe these issues if they were to crop up. The purpose of this was not to influence the direction of the interview or to focus heavily on certain issues which I felt may be may arise, as this was contentious. The final consideration I made with regards to my influence on the research process was to consciously be aware of my position as primarily a researcher through all stages of the research project.

The only participant who was unaware of my experience as a prisoner prior to the interview was Rehman. Rehman was recruited through my supervisor, as they had previously worked together; therefore the interview setting was not something Rehman was unfamiliar with. Rehman appreciated the experiences he and his family had while they were involved in the COPING project, and was willing to participate in this interview as a result of that relationship. Although I shared a cultural background with Rehman, which meant I was researching as an insider, we were from different geographical locations. Throughout the duration of the interview with Rehman, I did not disclose that I had also served a prison sentence and instead maintained my outsider-insider position of British Pakistani researcher, although the dominant position fluctuated between insider as a British Pakistani, and outsider as a post-graduate researcher and also as someone from a different geographical location through the interview with Rehman. During the course of the interview, which was quite personal and may have left Rehman feeling vulnerable, he mentioned how it would be easier to discuss such experiences with British Pakistani's who shared similar experiences. It was towards the end of the interview, once the questioning stage was over, that I disclosed to Rehman that I had experienced imprisonment. This was partially due to the fact that he had mentioned he would prefer talking to people who

shared similar experiences as himself. I also disclosed this information as I wanted to reassure Rehman, who had shared a lot of personal information, that I understood his experiences. I was able to use my own negative experiences to empathise with research participants where necessary. Rehman appeared to be more reassured and convinced that he had not just disclosed detailed personal information to a complete stranger after I disclosed my imprisonment.

Challenges and benefits of insider positions

Although Rehman did provide a wonderful insight into the experiences of family imprisonment from a British Pakistani perspective, I did feel there were occasions, consistent with Wray and Bartholomew's (2010) findings, in which assumptions were made with regards to what extent I possess knowledge of British Pakistani values and culture.

Rehman: And obviously in Asian culture, being the oldest son was like being the second man in the house, it doesn't matter if there's a daughter older than you, it does automatically fall on your head as well, so obviously that's why I took responsibility for what I was doing.

This extract is an example of how Rehman had presumed it would be *obvious* I would have sufficient knowledge of cultural roles and practices. In order to address a problem it is necessary to establish what the problem is and why it is a problem, on occasions this was problematic as Rehman would describe what issues he and his family faced but would fail to explain why these issues existed. This was challenging as it affected the quality of the data which I collected and later analysed. It is possible where the researcher and participants did not share a cultural heritage; Rehman may have been more specific and provided detail and depth on cultural values which impacted his experience. However it is important to note that Rehman did mention how he would find it easier to discuss his experiences with people who shared a cultural heritage as long as they didn't share a geographical location. In order to address this issue in forthcoming interviews, I adopted Kolb's (1984) experiential learning cycle to determine how I could adapt my interviewing technique to prevent a repeat of such occurrences. Moon (1999) describes the four stages of Kolb's (1984) learning cycle as 'a circle in which 'reflective observation' is the process of bringing the 'concrete experiencing'

of events or experiences to the state of 'abstract conceptualization'. Abstract concepts, thus formed, guide a further stage of 'active experimentation' and, thence, more 'concrete experiencing'. (p.24). Therefore in practise, this cycle involved me reflecting (reflective observation) on the interaction between me and Rehman which was problematic (concrete experience). The abstract conceptualisation stage involved me generating ideas and methods to overcome similar issues if they were to occur in subsequent interviews. In doing so, I decided I would make two alterations to my interviewing approach. Firstly, in my introduction to interviews, I would stress the importance of understanding in depth, the problems participants faced and explain this may involve me asking questions that appear to be obvious. Secondly, if these occurrences' persisted I would ask probing questions such as, *why is this important to you?* I applied these techniques in the interviews which followed (active experimentation) and found that they were useful and enabled participants to shed some light beyond the surface of their experiences.

In interview four, I faced a dilemma in relation to whether to discuss the wife of one of the imprisoned family members. During the course of the interview, I felt uncomfortable about her in case I offended the research participant. I am well aware that British Pakistani culture is highly gendered and therefore I did not wish to come across as inappropriate. However, on reflection I have formed the view that this was unfortunate, as an understanding of her experiences could have added depth to the findings of this research, particularly as she was a fairly new arrival in an alien culture and society which she may have had very little understanding of. On hindsight, I decided that to prevent this issue from occurring again, in future I would clarify at the beginning of the research how I aim to collect the experiences of all family members, and this may involve me asking questions which can be deemed offensive or personal. Subsequently, there were no other occasions such as this.

Study limitations

There are a few considerations to be made in respect to this thesis. The data sample consisted of six participants. A larger sample would have enabled the thesis to gain more consistency in the data which emerged. A larger data sample may also have generated additional themes to the four produced in this thesis, which in turn would have revealed more depth with regards to the experiences and support needs of British Pakistani families

of prisoners. The timescale for the research project added constraints, as a lengthier time period in which to conduct the study would have provided the opportunity to recruit more participants.

The variations in the geographical locations of the participants in this thesis is another aspect which must be considered. If research participants had shared specific geographical locations it may have strengthened the thesis by resolving any disparities between the socio-economic positions of the participants. Furthermore, a specific location would have been beneficial in distinguishing what the service provision and support needs are for a particular area. The involvement of service providers within the thesis may have also established alternative perspectives and supported the thesis.

Another perspective to consider is that the imprisoned family members of the research participants were male prisoners. Considering the significance of cultural values in British Pakistani communities and the highly gendered dominance, the findings of the data may differ or intensify when female members of the family are imprisoned.

6 Conclusion and Policy/Practise Implications

This section of the thesis will aim to conclude the findings of the analysis in relation to the research aims and objectives and the literature review. This thesis aimed to explore the experiences of families of prisoners from the British Pakistani community. The objectives included developing an understanding of the perceptions held towards the Criminal Justice System and the support structure currently in place to support prisoner's families, and to explore whether there were any specific needs for this particular group. These objectives will be discussed under 'policy implications' and 'practise implications'. There will also be a sub-section which will consider the research implications of this thesis.

British Pakistani families experience multiple and heightened social disadvantages which isolate them from both wider society and their cultural and ethnic communities, the impact of which they feel is ill-understood and for which they lack adequate support. This lack of adequate support can further deepen the negative impacts of imprisonment on family members. There were similarities between the experiences of British Pakistani prisoner's families and those of the wider community however the implications of these experiences

can be severe and multiply existing disadvantages where British Pakistani families are concerned. Experiences such as stigma, social exclusion, financial implications and a negative impact on children were common. For example, financial loss as a result of imprisonment is likely to be more severe in British Pakistani communities due to their poor economic position amongst the wider population. This would intensify feelings of social exclusion and isolation. Furthermore, British Pakistani families would face stigmatisation amongst the wider population, but also within their own ethnic community which is often regulated by additional moral values and principles. The reaction by the local Pakistani community can be dependent upon the nature of the offence. Some offences may be seen to deviate from cultural values and the reaction can be hostile and isolating. In contrast, where the offences are deemed to have been unintentional the reaction can be sympathetic and supportive. Isolation and exclusion within an ethnic group which faces its own issues of isolation and alienation amongst the wider population, can be particularly detrimental. Another perspective to consider is, although British Pakistani families face similar disadvantages to the wider population, issues such as language barriers can add another element to the extent to which they are affected and the support they require. For example, where families of prisoners in general are affected by the manner in which the arrest is carried out, this can be even more severe when family members do not understand what is happening and cannot communicate with authoritative figures.

There were further cultural issues which could be harmful to the experiences of British Pakistanis who face family imprisonment. As an ethnic group who have migrated relatively recently, older generations faced issues around a lack of cultural understanding. Poor language skills and the inability to successfully integrate into British society meant older generations were highly dependent on younger family members who had been born and educated in the UK. Supporting older family members in turn, means younger family members had to take on additional roles in some capacity to accommodate older family member's needs. This can result in younger family members having to compromise educational or occupational commitments in order to support their families and in turn compromise their own life opportunities. The impact on women in British Pakistani communities, particularly mothers, appeared to be difficult due to several disadvantages.

British Pakistani women are more likely to be unemployed, as demonstrated by Dale et al. (2010) and Kenway (2007), therefore the financial implications can be particularly severe when the imprisoned is the 'breadwinner'. A highly gendered family unit can also mean that male members (including the imprisoned) are able to exert influence over the day to day occurrences within the household. Furthermore, when the imprisoned is a child, mothers in British Pakistani families may often be shamed and blamed for the criminality of their family member, by family members and the wider community, as the deviance of family members can be viewed as a failure by women in carrying out their motherly role. One of the participants highlighted how criminality can also be a negative reflection of the father amongst the British Pakistani local community, therefore parents of prisoners may be particularly vulnerable in British Pakistani communities.

The majority of participants described a complete lack of awareness of what support was available for families. Of the six families involved in the research, one family accessed support through a charity who offered family of prisoners' support which was not culturally specific, and one participant mentioned that costs for visits were claimed back through the Assisted Prison Visits scheme. British Pakistani families of prisoners therefore face severe and multiple disadvantages during the imprisonment of a family member. Some of the experiences are reflective of those of the wider population but carry more severe implications, while some experiences are unique to the British Pakistani community. The following sub-sections will conclude the thesis by discussing the implications which have emerged as a result of this research.

Policy and Practice implications

It is necessary for public bodies who may come into contact with British Pakistani families of prisoners, to ensure the fulfilment of their duties under the Human Rights Act (1998) and the Equality Act (2010), and be called to account if they do not. British Pakistanis have 'protected characteristics' in the language of the Equality Act (2010), and therefore public bodies such as the Prison Service and the police have a duty to promote equality of opportunity and to make adjustments to meet the needs of minority ethnic groups such as British Pakistanis. The Human Rights Act (1998) is also significant as it provides the right to observe one's religion and to be free of discrimination. Therefore appropriate measures

must be taken to accommodate British Pakistani families of prisoners, such as ensuring cultural awareness was embedded in prison officer training with specific training for staff members whose duties involve interaction with visitors. The Prison Service and police must ensure procedures are in place to regularly review good practice in relation to British Pakistani prisoners' families.

In relation to the support needs, there were a number of considerations which could be adopted by the Criminal Justice System and non-government organisations to support and assist British Pakistani families of prisoners. In relation to the Criminal Justice System there is a need for cultural sensitivity including consideration towards language barriers which may arise. The inclusion of either a British Pakistani translator or where possible a British Pakistani police officer at the point of arrest would support families in understanding why their family member is being detained. This could be extended to an option of a translator throughout the arrest, bail/remand and sentencing period or accommodation of this service within Probation services. Cultural awareness must go beyond language barriers and include an understanding of cultural issues, and being sensitive to those and dealing respectfully with the family and explaining the need for certain instances, for example when trained dogs are required to enter the home. Families of prisoners raised concerns regarding the uncertainty after their family member had received a sentence. Therefore the option of a support worker, representing either the courts or the prison, who could provide information in relation to the prisoner and what support is available for families i.e. the Assisted Prison Visits scheme, would be beneficial for families. In relation to prison visits, regular cultural and diversity training for staff members would enable prison staff to understand ethnic minority groups to a greater extent. The presence of only female prison officers when conducting searches on British Pakistani women, particularly those who wear a headscarf would be more culturally appropriate. Prisons offer chaplaincy services to prisoners, but must also consider accommodating the religious requirements of British Pakistani families who visit prisoners, who are predominantly Muslim. A suitable prayer facility and the option of halal food available during visits would make the environment more welcoming for families.

Signposting families towards non-government organisations who can offer support and guidance would be practical and cost efficient and therefore it would be beneficial for prisons to build relationships with charities who support prisoner's families. Non-government organisations would also have to consider language barriers and cultural sensitivity and aim to accommodate these. Participants highlighted issues around trust and confidentiality and suggested this would be a barrier in seeking support through services offered by British Pakistani run organisations and suggested it would be easier to access support from British Pakistani's who were from a different community. This could be impractical for organisations however it suggests there must be greater emphasis on confidentiality and discretion when dealing with British Pakistani families of prisoners. In order to overcome the lack of awareness regarding support services that are available for British Pakistani families specifically, it would be useful to increase the visibility of culturally sensitive promotional material at police stations and courts. It may also be beneficial for engagement with local mosques and community leaders. Working with the courts to have support workers physically present during sentencing would also enable families and service providers to connect. Within diversity and awareness training there is a need for greater emphasis and cultural awareness of the impacts of shame and honour, this would be beneficial for staff within the Criminal Justice System and non-government organisations.

Research implications

There are a number of research implications which have emerged from this thesis, which could be considered for future development. A larger sample size for example, would give a broader but clearer understanding of the experiences of British Pakistani prisoner's families. A larger sample size may also produce additional themes which may not have emerged in this research. Discrepancies in the socio-economic status of research participants could be overcome by focusing on specific geographical locations. Considering the geographical location of research participants would also be practical in relation to service provision and support networks, as there may be discrepancies in support needs in different locations.

All the participants involved in this research were family members of male prisoners. Considering the impact of imprisonment on British Pakistani families, when the imprisoned is a female member of the family, would provide insight from alternative perspectives. It is

possible there may be additional disadvantages associated with female imprisonment due to the highly gendered nature of British Pakistani communities. There is scope for further research on mothers and female partners of prisoners, as this thesis has highlighted the impact of imprisonment can be particularly severe for women in British Pakistani communities, from a cultural perspective. The findings of this thesis illustrate how the impact of imprisonment on earlier generations and elderly parents within British Pakistani families is an avenue which may be worth exploring further. This thesis highlighted the high dependency and vulnerability of earlier generations and elderly British Pakistanis, which are linked to cultural barriers. Investigating the experiences of this cohort would provide a rich and detailed account of how they experience the imprisonment of a family member. Exploring the impact of imprisonment on families of terrorism related prisoners would provide insight into what may be a highly vulnerable group as a consequence of the stigma attached to the offence, as highlighted by Yamana's experience of family imprisonment. Finally, a similar research project considering interviewing the imprisoned family member in future studies, to discover how their experiences triangulate and differ from the experiences of family members is another avenue which could be explored.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A- Draft Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule/Guide

Introduction Time: 5 min

- Welcome- Interviewer introduces self, the research area and what the interview entails.

Interview

- 1) Can you tell me about your family member who was imprisoned?

(Experiences and perceptions of the CJS)

- 1) Please can you describe your experience at different stages of the journey through the CJS?

(Culturally sensitivity)

- 2) Have you or any family member experienced any such discrimination during your contact with the CJS?

(Culturally specific issues)

- 3) What issues do you think are particularly relevant to British Pakistani families while a family member is imprisoned?
- 4) Do you think contact with the CJS brings more shame to British Pakistani families than white British families and if so why?
- 5) Do you think as a British Pakistani with a family member in prison you feel more isolated than a white British family member might do?

(Awareness and perception of services available)

- 6) Which services are you aware of that you could go to for support? (to assess knowledge and awareness of what is available)
- 7) How do you feel about the support services which are currently available?
- 8) Would you or family members use services that were tailored to meet the needs of British Pakistanis?

Services- are current services adequate? Are there any culturally specific requirements or needs which can be addressed?)

- 9) What do you see as the gaps in provision? What services would you like to see in place?

Appendix B- Final Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule/Guide

Introduction Time: 5 min

- Welcome- Interviewer introduces self, the research area and what the interview entails.
- Give participant a copy of RPI sheet and consent form (and get a signed copy for myself), and also form with contact numbers for counselling services.
- Clarify the interview will be recorded recording, discuss data protection, no right or wrong answer.
- Ask the interviewee if they have any questions before commencing.

Interview

- 1) Can you tell me about your family member who was imprisoned?

(Experiences and perceptions of the CJS)

- 2) Please can you describe your experience at different stages of the journey through the CJS?
 - Pre arrest
 - Arrest
 - Bail/Remand in custody
 - Sentence
 - Visits
 - Release

(Culturally sensitivity)

- 3) Have you or any family member experienced any such discrimination during your contact with the CJS?
- 4) Are you aware of others who have experienced discrimination in any way?

(Culturally specific issues)

- 5) What issues do you think are particularly relevant to British Pakistani families while a family member is imprisoned?
- 6) Do you think contact with the CJS brings more shame to British Pakistani families than white British families and if so why?
- 7) Do you think as a British Pakistani with a family member in prison you feel more isolated than a white British family member might do?

(Awareness and perception of services available)

- 8) Which services are you aware of that you could go to for support?(to assess knowledge and awareness of what is available)
- 9) Are you aware of any support services available for specifically British Pakistani families who have a family member in prison?
- 10) How do you feel about the support services which are currently available?
- 11) Would you or family members use services that were tailored to meet the needs of British Pakistanis?

Services- are current services adequate? Are there any culturally specific requirements or needs which can be addressed?)

- 12) What do you see as the gaps in provision? What services would you like to see in place?
- 13) Is there anything you feel you can add to contribute to the research in terms of your experience as a British Pakistani whose family member is in or has been in prison?

Appendix C- Researchers final interview schedule

Interview Schedule/Guide

1 copy of counselling form

2 copies of participant info/consent form

Introduction Time: 5 min

- Welcome- Interviewer introduces self, the research area and what the interview entails.
- Give participant a copy of RPI sheet and consent form (and get a signed copy for myself), and also form with contact numbers for counselling services.
- Clarify the interview will be recorded recording, discuss data protection, no right or wrong answer.
- Ask the interviewee if they have any questions before commencing.

Interview

- Reiterate the purpose of the research, break it down- what i hope to discover-FOPs experience are their needs that need to be addressed
- I will be asking you what you experienced during the journey through the CJS
- Try to speak about the perception from the point of view as a British Pakistani (during pre-arrest, point of arrest) - stigma/shame, explore this more.

1) Can you tell me about your family member who was imprisoned?

- Who were they? How long did they serve? Offense (not necessary)
- Did you live in the same household? If so did they move back to the same household after prison?
- Who else did lived with the imprisoned family member? Children? Ages of people?

(Experiences and perceptions of the CJS)

1) Please can you describe your experience at different stages of the journey through the CJS?

- Pre arrest
- Arrest
- Bail/Remand in custody
- Sentence
- Visits
- Release

- Speak about those family members (which i asked about earlier) more? Ask more questions about them. Talk about race.
- Married- effect? Potential marriage?
- 'Why is this important to you?' - What people think.
- Children- the impact- were they told the truth? What were they told instead (if applicable?) How did that make them feel? Stressful...
- How do you feel the police treated you? 'They don't tell you much.'
- What was the reaction from the community? Nature of offence? What did they tell people? How was information given to outsiders managed? What did they tell relatives in Pakistan?
- Did some family members have more involvement during these stages? Why? How did that make you or them feel do you think?
- Is it different for families who have had more involvement in the CJS then those who haven't?
- Visiting- was this ever in issue?
- Gender roles?? Does one gender play a bigger role then others? If so how does that make the less involved gender feel?
- Visitors centre? Provisions? Food? Halal? Language? Posters? How did they feel about this?
- Sentencing- race, racism etc (could these be mentioned earlier? Before going through the different stages of the journey but after talking about the family) perhaps have a little discussion after warm up questions (which will be on the interviewees family, IFM family members, ages etc)
- Sentencing- break it down families- religion? Did people use religion as means to find solace?
- Did religion/spirituality have a role to play throughout these stages?

(Cultural sensitivity)

- 2) Have you or any family member experienced any such discrimination during your contact with the CJS?**
 - think about this- culturally specific/appropriate prison settings- CJS journey?
- 3) Are you aware of others who have experienced discrimination in any way?**
 - What do you understand by the terms racism, institutional racism and Islamaphobia?
 - Islamaphobia- perhaps mentions like 9/11- 7/7
 - Explore this more? Institutional racism/Islamaphobia

(Culturally specific issues)

- 4) What issues do you think are particularly relevant to British Pakistani families while a family member is imprisoned?**
 - Extended family- how did they react? Natures of offence play a role in this?
 - Speak about shame? Why is this important in your culture more so then others?
 - How does this (shame) affect families- what are the consequences of this?

- What does shame mean to you as a British Pakistani? What does it mean to you in British society? What does it mean to you as a Pakistani?
- 5) Do you think contact with the CJS brings more shame to British Pakistani families than white British families and if so why?
- Perhaps explore shame more when talking about the effects specifically on BPFOP's- ask more questions around culture- why does it exist? Izzat/be-izzati
- 6) Do you think as a British Pakistani with a family member in prison you feel more isolated than a white British family member might do?
- Language- really pushes on this? Foreigners? Alien? Different for parents perhaps? Feel more isolated then usual?

(Awareness and perception of services available)

- 7) Which services are you aware of that you could go to for support?(to assess knowledge and awareness of what is available)
- If accessed some why not others? Any barriers? What would encourage them to use services more?
 - Mention some? Ask if these would have helped?
 - Did they come across leaflets etc or were they signposted towards agencies.
 - Services/provisions- explore this more- awareness and need of services
 - Probation- involvement with the family
- 8) Are you aware of any support services available for specifically British Pakistani families who have a family member in prison?
- 9) How do you feel about the support services which are currently available?
- 10) Would you or family members use services that were tailored to meet the needs of British Pakistanis?
- Explore services more
 - Speak about the interviewees needs- did they need someone to talk to? Would that help? Someone to talk to about the processes etc.
 - Is it important to be understood- in terms of values and culture?
 - Would they feel comfortable talking to a British Pakistani counsellor etc. - from same town? Pakistani geographical location?

Services- are current services adequate? Are there any culturally specific requirements or needs which can be addressed?)

- 11) What do you see as the gaps in provision? What services would you like to see in place?
- 12) Is there anything you feel you can add to contribute to the research in terms of your experience as a British Pakistani whose family member is in or has been in prison?

Definitions for Islamophobia and institutional racism.

Islamophobia- The term "Islamophobia" was first introduced as a concept in a 1991 Runnymede Trust Report and defined as "unfounded hostility towards Muslims, and therefore fear or dislike of all or most Muslims." The term was coined in the context of Muslims in the UK in particular and Europe in general, and formulated based on the more common "xenophobia" framework.

Institutional Racism- The Macpherson report- "Institutional racism is that which, covertly or overtly, resides in the policies, procedures, operations and culture of public or private institutions - reinforcing individual prejudices and being reinforced by them in turn."

Appendix D- Research Participant Information Sheet

Research Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form

Please read this form carefully.

Title of Research: *Does the over representation of British Pakistani men in prison have a disproportionate impact on their families?*

My name is Tahir Abass and I am currently undertaking a Masters degree at the University of Huddersfield in the area of Criminology and the Social Sciences. I graduated in 2012 with a BSc Sociology and Criminology degree and have since worked in the area of rehabilitation.

What is the research about?

This research aims to address the issues British Pakistanis face when a member of their family is imprisoned- exploring culturally specific issues within communities and their wider experiences as an ethnic minority group. This research will address the issues around the family's perceptions of their journey while a family member is imprisoned. The research aims to explore these issues which have not been considered as specifically in previous literature. Ultimately, this research aims to give academics and practitioners a clearer understanding of issues faced by the British Pakistani community who have a family member in prison.

Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You have been contacted to take part in this research as I believe that as a result of your experiences you can make an important contribution towards the study. You can withdraw from taking part in this research at any stage without reason; this is your right irrespective of signing the consent form. You can withdraw your consent of the use of the data collected in this interview at any stage.

If you want to take part in this research then once you have read and understood this information sheet, you will be asked to sign a consent form. Once you have signed the consent form we will have an interview with regards to your experiences of having a family member in prison.

The interview will take no longer than an hour. You will be asked a series of open ended questions which will allow you to express your feelings and experiences. The questions will be on your experiences as a British Pakistani who has or has had a family member imprisoned; we will explore culturally specific issues, and also discuss wider experiences of the Criminal Justice System as a whole. I will also ask questions regarding the support structure and services currently in place for families of prisoners.

Data Protection

Your personal information will remain anonymous and no personal information will be disclosed at any point of this research. For the purposes of the typed notes your names/identities will be changed and protected at all times. None of your personal details will be recorded or used in anyway. Where something is disclosed during the interview which may compromise your anonymity, the details of the events described will be changed to protect your identity.

This research will follow standard practise and procedures, whereby if any information is disclosed which raises child protection issues; or indicates the threat of harm to any individual then the relevant organisations will be notified.

Only I will have access to the information which you disclose. All data collected and stored will comply with the Data Protection Act 1998. A Dictaphone will be used to electronically record the interview, I will be the only individual who has access to the Dictaphone and on completion of the research the data/recording will be destroyed. You also have the right to request that your interview should not be electronically recorded. All paper notes which include any information which you have provided will be shredded on completion of the research. All electronically stored data will be anonymous and kept on encrypted storage devices. This data will also be deleted on completion of the research. Information which is selected for use in the research and made public will be anonymous with no indication as to who has provided the information.

The results of the research

The findings and the final product of the research will be available to you should you wish to obtain a copy, I can arrange for one to be sent to you once assessed by the examiner. Alternatively I can arrange for a copy of the findings of the research to be sent to you. Only the University of Huddersfield and I will be issued with copies of the final research. The final project may be used in presentations at conferences, local seminars etc and be available to local government and non government organisations should they wish to view the research. All identities in the research will remain anonymous.

Research supervisor details

If you have any concerns or complaints about this study then do not hesitate to contact the research project supervisor. Details can be found below.

Ben Raikes
School of Health and Human Sciences
University of Huddersfield
Queensgate
Huddersfield
HD1 3DH
b.raikes@hud.ac.uk
01484 473610

And my contact details in case you have further questions or need to get in touch are as below,

Tahir Abass
School of Human and Health Research Office

University of Huddersfield
Queensgate
Huddersfield
HD13DH
07912482861
U0561644@hud.ac.uk

Appendix E- Ethics forms

THE UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD

School of Human and Health Sciences – School Research Ethics Panel

OUTLINE OF PROPOSAL

Please complete and return via email to:

Kirsty Thomson SREP Administrator: hhs_srep@hud.ac.uk

Name of applicant: Tahir Abass

Title of study: Does the over representation of British Pakistani men in prison have a disproportionate impact on their families?

Department: School of Health and Human Sciences

Date sent:

Issue	Please provide sufficient detail for SREP to assess strategies used to address ethical issues in the research proposal
Researcher(s) details	Tahir Abass- Mres student at the University of Huddersfield
Supervisor details	Ben Raikes (Co-supervisor – Carla Reeves)
Aim / objectives	<p>The aims of this project are to establish;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What are the perceptions' and attitudes of families of British Pakistani prisoners towards the CJS journey?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the perceptions of families of British Pakistani prisoners towards the services and support structure currently in place for prisoners' families- and are these adequate? • What are the experiences of British Pakistani families while they have a family member in prison? • Do the families of British Pakistani prisoners have particular requirements in terms of the support structure and interventions?
Brief overview of research methodology	<p>Participants of this research will be adults of Pakistani ethnic background who have or have had a family member serve a prison sentence in the UK. Participants will be Muslim as the majority of first, second and third generation British Pakistanis identify themselves with the Islamic faith. In order to recruit participants I will be consulting family, friends, colleagues and associates. I will adopt purposive snowball sampling methods once participants have been identified and/or interviewed.</p> <p>This research will implement a qualitative method of research. Qualitative methods are well suited to the aims of this research as it will allow for the researcher to gain an in depth understanding of the participants perspective, it will allow for the researcher to probe attitudes and values and reasons behind these rather than to simply measure or quantify an idea. It is also suitable as it will enable the researcher to extract data from a smaller sample then it would be possible to with quantitative methods, this is appropriate as due to the nature and sensitivity of the research as recruiting a large number of participants may be problematic. For the purposes of this project semi structured interviews will be used. The aims of the research are to investigate the perceptions, attitudes and feelings of the interviewees rather than to focus on any particular research concerns, therefore this method will be more appropriate as it allows for the freedom and flexibility for the interviewee to express these. Semi structured interviews will allow for the interviewees to express what they feel is of importance to them and what they feel is of relevance, again supporting the aims of the research which are concerned with perceptions and feelings; in contrast a structured interview does not offer this flexibility. Semi structured interviews will allow for the researcher to adapt to responses by participants and enable the interviewee to influence the</p>

	<p>direction of the interview. This method is therefore suited to the aims and objectives of the research.</p> <p>To analyse the data, the thematic analysis approach will be implemented. Thematic analysis offers the researcher some flexibility as there is no 'identifiable heritage' and there is no specific definition of the techniques which are applied. Upon analysis of the data themes will be identified and developed- for example <i>repetitions, similarities and differences, analogies and transitions</i>. By analysing the occurrence of themes and sub themes it will enable the researcher to establish a theoretical understanding of the data which can be developed to make a contribution towards the focus of the research.</p>
Study Start & End Date	Start Date: 01/10/2013 End Date: 30/09/2014
Permissions for study	I will no longer be contacting any organisations to seek participants for my interviews. I will be adopting a snowball sampling method of recruitment through family and friends.
Access to participants	I will also use my family members, friends, colleagues and associates to recruit participants. For example if my family have friends whose family members have served a prison sentence, or if my family know of someone who could potentially be a participant, and know them well enough to comfortably enquire about the possibility of participation.
Confidentiality	All the information I gather will remain confidential. I will ensure of this by keeping passwords on any files I produce and by using encrypted storage devices (whether electronic voice recordings or written transcripts). All paper documents will be transferred onto an encrypted storage device and then destroyed.
Anonymity	I will use pseudonyms for the interview participants of my research to maintain anonymity. The participants real names will be kept in a separate password protected folder on an encrypted storage device, and data will be kept on a separate password protected folder. Once the data has been collected and analysed any information with participants real names will be destroyed.
Psychological support for participants	Alongside the Information sheet which I give to participants I will also include a sheet offering contact details of services that can offer counselling and support in case of any psychological impact the

	interview may have. (attached)
Researcher safety / support (attach complete University Risk Analysis and Management form)	Please see Risk Analysis form.
Identify any potential conflicts of interest	As a British Pakistani I must be cautious not to let bias or my experiences influence my findings.
Please supply copies of all relevant supporting documentation electronically. If this is not available electronically, please provide explanation and supply hard copy	
Information sheet	See attached
Consent form	See attached
Letters	See attached 'Research Participant Information Sheet' and 'Participant Letter'
Questionnaire	Not applicable
Interview guide	See attached
Dissemination of results	Participants will be offered a copy of my thesis upon completion if they request this or a summary sheet of the research findings. Anonymity will be maintained with the use of pseudonyms if findings disseminated in journals, conference papers etc.
Other issues	I will be writing the interview transcripts myself. However if any extreme case should arise whereby there is a lot of data which may prove to be time consuming to transcribe I may use reputable organisations who offer such services who comply with Data Protection laws etc.
Where application is to be made to NHS Research Ethics Committee / External Agencies	Not applicable

All documentation has been read by supervisor (where applicable)	See attached
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All documentation must be submitted to the SREP administrator. All proposals will be reviewed by two members of SREP.

If you have any queries relating to the completion of this form or any other queries relating to SREP's consideration of this proposal, please contact the SREP administrator (Kirsty Thomson) in the first instance – hhs_srep@hud.ac.uk

Appendix F- Consent form

Consent form

Please tick the boxes to indicate that you have consented to the statements below then please sign and date the declaration at the end. If you do not understand anything then please ask.

1. The research has been explained to me and I have understood what it entails. ☐
2. The researcher would like to record the interview via Dictaphone, however, this is optional. Please circle YES if you consent to having your interview recorded via Dictaphone. YES/NO
3. I freely give my consent to participate in this research and have been given a copy of this form for my own information. ☐

PARTICIPANT

SIGNATURE

DATE

RESEARCHER

SIGNATURE

DATE

Appendix G- Counselling services

I have enclosed some numbers for counselling services which are available should you feel you would like to talk to someone in confidence as a result of this interview or for any other purpose relating to your experience.

Pakistani Resource Centre- 0161 434 7800

Asian Family Counselling Service- 020 8571 3933 or 020 8813 9714

Action for Prisoners Families- 020 7553 7653

Offenders' families helpline- 0808 808 2003

Samaritans- 08457 90 90 90

Appendix H- Transcription of Interview 1

Interview transcript 1

Participant A

Interviewer: If you could tell us a little bit about your family member who was imprisoned, who they were, how long they served, and for what offense.

Participant: Yeah, the family member who was imprisoned was my dad who was imprisoned. Initially he got a sentence of seven years, but that got reduced after the solicitors, the barrister who was dealing with the case put in an appeal. It got reduced to five years so it ... about two and a half years. And he got sentenced for money laundering. That was the offense. That was obviously, that was charged against.

Interviewer: So did you live in the same household at the time?

Participant: Yes.

Interviewer: And did you live in the same household when they came out of prison?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: Who else lived with you at the time?

Participant:(errm) just my family lives with me, that's two little brothers, younger than me, an older sister and my mom.

Interviewer: Ok, and how old were you at the time?

*Participant:*When my dad went into prison I was sixteen.

*Interviewer:*So the first part of the interview, we're going to talk about your experiences at the different stages of your journey through the criminal justice

system. What you experienced pre arrest, and if you were there at the stage of arrest, how you were feeling at that point. We'll start with the point of arrest. If you could just talk about how it happened and what your perception was of what was going on.

Participant: My dad got sentenced two and a half years after he was charged, so I was about 14 when he got charged. I wasn't there when he got arrested. I was at school. I didn't know much of what was going on until I actually got home in the evening and my dad came back from (pauses) well he got released on bail. And once he got released on bail, obviously the family come around and stuff, and friends, and that's when I realised that something was happening but I didn't know what, until closer to the time of the actual court date. I was quite young, I didn't really understand it, so not much was told.

Interviewer: One thing I want to add, because you're here and because you've seen what your younger brothers, your sister and your mom are going through, we'll touch on that a little bit as well. So you were 14 and understandably you don't really know what's going on, how would you say that the feeling was around the rest of the family?

Participant: It was quite negative obviously, because everyone was a bit on the edge, they didn't know what was going on, you know, what was gonna happen, because obviously when my dad got arrested, we didn't know if he was gonna get out on bail or what was actually going on. Nothing like this ever happened in my family before, so it was a first time experience, so, no one knew who really to speak to or who to get information off and stuff. And my younger brothers who was there, they didn't tell them what was happening because they were just ten and twelve, so they were younger than me. My sister, she was sixteen at the time, so she didn't really know what was going on much as well, so we didn't really know much until the court date came closer to be honest.

Interviewer: When you explained that you didn't really know what was going on, so with your siblings it was a similar feeling and they didn't really know who to turn to.

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: So was your dad out then for two and a half years on bail?

Participant: Yeah, he was out for two and a half years on bail yeah.

Interviewer: How were things whilst he was out on bail?

Participant: When he was out on bail, things were quite normal because he was still working where he used to work and stuff, obviously everything was pretty normal. We didn't realise any changes or anything. Not until, I would say, about two months before the actual court date, it started to kick in what was actually going on, but

before that, the two and a half years, not much was spoken about at home (inaudible) happened to be honest.

Interviewer: When you say that nothing was really spoken about at home until two months before the court date, would you say that was to some extent your parents trying to protect you?

Participant: Yeah, probably it was to protect, the other thing was probably because (erm) they didn't know what was happening because obviously there was other people involved in the case so it was ongoing with the police and stuff. Who's actually liable for what's going on and who's charged and stuff. So obviously the blame was always shifting from here to there and stuff so we didn't really know what was going on. It was more to do with, you know the elder people were dealing with it, as I say, so we weren't really involved much.

Interviewer: Would you say it affected you much at that time?

Participant: Not really, not over that period of time because I didn't know much.

Interviewer: A couple of months prior to your father getting sent down, did it affect you then?

Participant: Yes that's when it started kicking in, and you start realising, you know what this is real now, he can get sentenced. And obviously that's the worst scenario. So that's when we started realising we need to (pauses) be prepared in the sense, for you know, the worst. It was about two months before yeah because his court date was in the beginning of October, and it just got (discontinues sentence). I went on holiday after my GCSE's, I came back about August and that's when coz it was Ramadan then as well, four years ago I think it was.

Interviewer: So during this initial period were you at any stage involved with the police, did you come across the police?

Participant: No I've never been interviewed or asked any questions or any contact with the police.

Interviewer: Did you witness anything? At the arrest or anything?

Participant: No.

Interviewer: What about your younger brothers?

Participant: No, nobody did, because we were all at school at the time and stuff, so no one seen anything. They did come around to our house actually once two days after the raid, just to obviously get some of my dad's stuff. He was on bail at the time so he was at home as well, so (erm) that was a bit of an experience as I should say because you usually just see stuff like that on the TV, the first thing that hits your

mind is drugs. And because we live in a, quite a close community, and we live really close to the mosque, so a lot of people go passed the house and stuff. And when the police cars are outside the house, they'll ask questions because there's a closely linked community and our families were known in the community as well, so obviously everyone was asking questions, why is there police outside your house, this, that, because they did put a barrier thing around, the police ribbon, they put that around the house as well, and around the gate so no one could enter or exit, so obviously a lot of people were asking questions at the time so that was probably one of the hardest experiences out of the whole thing.

Interviewer: So when this initial raid happened, that's when it was in the public eye wasn't it?

Participant: Yeah that's what was going on.

Interviewer: Prior to this with the arrest and stuff was it?

Participant: No, no, not really because when the arrest happened there wasn't much conflict in the newspapers and stuff because that was just an arrest. He did get charged but there wasn't much conflict in the newspapers. Obviously then, people started asking questions and obviously it became quite public.

Interviewer: What was the reaction from the people in this close knit community that you mentioned?

Participant: Luckily because people knew our family for quite a long time, people were quite sympathetic and you know, helpful towards the situation, so we didn't really suffer much in that sense. Initially anyway when the raid happened, people were asking, we just said aw it was just one of those, what's it called, (erm) because my dad used to do a lot of money transfer and stuff where he used to work so just one of them security checks, just something like that, because obviously it happened previously as well once, just a security check, that's what we said, so everyone was just ok, just to make sure no one's funding any terrorist activities or anything like that, do you get what I mean?

Interviewer: Yeah, especially in the current climate.

Participant: Because my dad got arrested once before for that as well because he used to do money transfer and stuff, people were sending money, something like that, so you know obviously, it was just one of those cover ups we made, well we didn't make because I didn't know what was going on so obviously my parents and stuff did. After that it was forgotten until the court date, that's when the community really spoke about it.

Interviewer: So you're saying that people were generally quite sympathetic, because they knew your family for a long time?

Participant: Yeah because we were a well - known family in the area.

Interviewer: Ok, now we'll move onto the sentencing, just bare in mind the cultural aspects, you're a British Pakistani. So when the sentencing happened, how did you guys feel?

Participant: First of all we were quite hit back because we weren't advised that it was going to be so long. There was a week between when the jury pleaded him guilty and the sentencing. So on the one week everyone was telling us their own perspective and their views or don't worry he's going to get off with community service or a fine or two years imprisonment or one year, you know three years or something like that, everyone was telling us. And then when the initial sentencing happened we were quite hit back that it was so big, so it was a long amount of time, seven years, so then obviously, and that's when it would come in the papers and stuff, that's when everyone in the community knew about it. But again, like I said, we were quite lucky in the sense that everybody knew our family for a long time. There were a few families involved in it, so obviously everyone was quite sympathetic and stuff, and you know, helpful and stuff because obviously my dad was gone so my mom, me and my sister were the only ones left in the house to manage everything. But everyone was very very helpful and very sympathetic in the community I mean no one said anything bad or looked at us in a bad way and stuff. We were still quite involved in the community actually with the local mosque and stuff, we were involved there, so not much changed in that way. But obviously by living in an Asian community, the worst thing was, you know, word of mouth. Because not everyone would read the paper but everyone would know about it. Living in an Asian society and culture that word gets about very quick.

Interviewer: You said that people were telling you, your dad would get three years, some would say community service, who were these people?

Participant: Just family members, dad's friends, you know, few different solicitors were advising and stuff so obviously we didn't know who to believe at the time and who not to, so we just taking it all in, because it was quite a hard time obviously.

Interviewer: I'm going to come back shortly to what you just mentioned about living in an Asian community. So did you visit your dad?

Participant: Yeah well we visited him every week. He started off in [Prison A] which was a Cat A prison, so we could only meet for about an hour, it was an hour once a week so that was quite local to our house as well, but it was Cat A so it's very strict and stuff, you're limited to what you could do. Then he got moved to Cat C, he was there for about a year and a half and then he was in Cat D for about half a year. We used to visit him at all his prisons until he went to Cat D where he used to come home obviously, so we didn't go visit, but I used to go get him and stuff every

Sunday and the Fridays as well for the weekend stay, yeah so, but other than that we used to visit every week yeah.

Interviewer: All of you used to go?

Participant: Well, the visiting order in [Prison A] you were only allowed three people and in Cat C you were allowed to six, two kids and then three adults, so we used to go, but (erm) because of the (discontinues). I used to work, my sister used to work and stuff and so then we couldn't always go and we got quite a big family that people want to visit, you know like friends and stuff, so we couldn't get a chance every week. We used to get quite a lot of chances, well not every week, some weeks it used to just be his friends who'd go and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Can I ask, for example my mom is first generation, was your mom born in Pakistan?

Participant: Yeah, same, my mom was born in Pakistan.

Interviewer: Can your mom speak English?

Participant: Yeah, she can, she can speak English yeah.

Interviewer: Throughout this process that we spoke about so far, would your mom have had a good indication as to what was going on?

Participant: No, not really because, she didn't want to, you know, she was finding it very difficult obviously just to manage without my dad and stuff so she had a good indication of what was going on but I don't think there was enough information given to her in you know, the sense that should have been.

Interviewer: So your mom was born in Pakistan, do you know roughly how long she has been living here in the UK?

Participant: Yeah she'd been here..she came in 1993, I was born in 94, so she's a teacher in school now, an assistant in school.

Interviewer: The reason I ask is because obviously as you can imagine, some people who don't speak English, might have a lot of difficulty in communicating with prison officers, or reading letters etc.

Participant: Yeah, all that responsibility then fell on my head, because my sister wasn't up to as much as I was. So obviously at the age of sixteen I took control of the house, you know, letters, communicating with solicitors and stuff because then once the proceeding was finished then proceeds of crime case began, they wanted to see what obviously you've gained out of this, you know whatever there was and obviously it was constant, every weekly runs to the solicitors with a load of papers, you know bank statements from seven years ago, this letter, that letter, insurance,

mortgage, this, that, you know, everything was (inaudible) to be honest. So I was doing all that, my mom wasn't quite up to it.

Interviewer: So you took on a lot of responsibility at quite a young age?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: With regards to your mom and your sister, the fact that you had taken a step forward, and had to take this responsibility on, was that because your dad asked you, did your dad have some control over what was going on at home?

Participant: Yeah, he still had all the control to be honest, anything that happened, he had regular contact, he used to ring two or three times a day so we used to tell him that this happened, so he used to advise us what to do and stuff obviously, but he didn't tell me to take control, I think it just kind of fell on me and I just took control I didn't wait for anyone to tell me, you know, because I knew it was a family situation and stuff. And obviously in Asian culture, being the oldest son was like being the second man in the house, it doesn't matter if there's a daughter older than you, it does automatically fall on your head as well, so obviously that's why I took responsibility for what I was doing, made sure everyone was alright in the family, you know, done what was necessary at the time.

Interviewer: Would you say to some extent you were also protecting your mother and your sister from much exposure?

Participant: Yeah, because I was obviously taking it all on. I had to take a year out of college for that obviously because the sentencing was done at the end of October and it had a big effect on the family so I failed my exams in January. Then obviously we were still struggling, we never done anything without my dad, he did everything you see, so I had to take a year out of college and come back the next year, so that was a big effect on me and stuff.

Interviewer: Going back to the visits, had you ever been to a prison before?

Participant: No, I'd never been to a prison before, we never knew how it worked or anything, they wasn't much help in that sense as well, because we didn't know how to, you know book the visiting order, what time do you get there, how does it work, what do you have to leave in the locker, what can you take and stuff like that, you know even the money, you can take twenty pounds but only a certain amount can be in coins and a certain amount can be in notes and stuff, so we weren't told a lot about that, not kept in the dark, but just information that wasn't available to get.

Interviewer: So that's quite generic in the sense that, that information may not be available to other members of the community. When you went to the prison, from a cultural perspective, how did you see the environment, when you seen your dad, as in you've gone passed the security, you've got your money, you've put your stuff in

the locker, you've seen your dad, what was your experience in terms of the setting as an Asian person?

Participant: It wasn't really comfortable, because (errm, takes a breath), obviously it's not very private, you know you can't speak to your dad the way you wanna, stuff like that, so it was quite different for an Asian person because you never think that you're gonna have to go through that. Obviously not saying that anyone else does, it was just different because there wasn't any other Asians there you see, so obviously you feel a bit excluded out, you feel you're not at the right place and stuff so, but we never had any racism or anything like that at the prison and stuff, everything was alright, it's just that there was no one else there you know. A lot of people used to be there, we used to go every week, with the other people, quite a few people used to be at the regular Sunday visits, so you used to see all the other families there, you used to know each other and stuff, but obviously we were quite, you know, distanced from that.

Interviewer: So a lot of the families who were visiting regularly, as yourselves were as well, there was kind of a bond being built between them?

Participant: Yeah, because obviously they spoke about how their husbands went in, fathers went in, and stuff.

Interviewer: And that's a form of support as well isn't it?

Participant: Yeah, exactly, you know, they'll help you, if someone in their family has been in a lot longer than yours, they'll tell you, you know, this is what's gonna happen or this is the process, or every three four months you get to send them clothes and what you can't send and stuff. Obviously we didn't know that stuff, we had to just get information off whatever we could, you know leaflets and whatever was given on the day, but not much except from anyone else who had been through it. So that's the biggest experience, the biggest help isn't it.

Interviewer: Did you feel any difference between the three types of prisons you mentioned, the category A, category C and category D? Was there a similar experience, as an Asian person in each?

Participant: Yeah, well Cat A was obviously the most toughest, because you used to visit for about an hour and its very high security and stuff. Cat C was a lot more relaxed, we were there about three hours, and there were sofas and stuff, and you see the regular families and stuff so there were a few Asian families who used to go there, so we got to know them and stuff. Cat C is a lot more friendly as well, the environment, you used to feel a lot more comfortable, and Cat D, we only visited Cat D once, it was an open prison, there wasn't anything, no security or anything, you just walk in and basically walk out.

Interviewer: Ok, we're just going to move on and talk about release, how was it at release?

Participant: Well, at release, because he was coming home quite a lot in Cat D and stuff, so the release happened quite soon after he went to Cat D, so about three months after he got to Cat D he got released. So, the release, was quite good actually, but obviously you've got a lot of family coming around, a lot of friends, so the first two weeks, we didn't really even tell about time because, dad was having a lot of family coming about, friends, everyone, whoever had not visited and stuff. A lot of people coming around after about two weeks and also thanking that it's all finished now, it's all over and done with, we can look onto our lives and start again you know, do something again, so it was a good experience, again on release term, we weren't sure about what can happen now in the future, you know, is it all ended and stuff? We were uncertain if anything happened in the future, could he go back and stuff like that, his probation and his license and stuff, it was, you know, it was quite confusing.

Interviewer: What issues do you think are particularly relevant to British Pakistani families, while a family member is imprisoned, so for example, is there a particular reaction from the community, or extended family? Does the nature of the offense play a role in that?

Participant: Yeah, I think the nature of the offense plays a role, because it was something that was white collar, so there wasn't anything that was critical really, if it was drugs or something else it comes into different category obviously, doesn't it? But the nature of the offense was different. The family members were all obviously very supportive because they're family members and stuff. Community wise as well, like I said it was quite sympathetic, quite helpful you know, everyone, whenever we went to the mosque or you know any community event, everyone would ask how's your dad, you know and stuff, give my salaams, you know, my regards. So no one ever looked at us in a bad way or frowned at us or anything like that. Like I said we were still very involved with the community.

Interviewer: Do you think your family's relationship with the community and the nature of the offense had a lot to do with that?

Participant: Yeah, obviously but if we didn't have a very good relationship with the community and we were quite new to the community, a lot of people would think that, you know, a lot of people would think that my dad's innocent because obviously they knew him for quite a long time and everything, so that's why we were quite good, because a lot of people saw it as an injustice to him and what happened, so that's why we were quite lucky. The nature of the crime definitely in our relationship with the community, played the biggest role.

Interviewer: With regards to the reaction of the community and how it happened with you guys, was that important to you?

Participant: Yeah obviously, I think it was the most important part because if the community all turned against you, it would be difficult to continue living in the same community, because you're going to the same school, same mosque, same shopping, same cash and carry, same Tesco, everything is the same, you living there, you seeing the same people every day, especially where we live, like I said, it's very close to the mosque so majority of people who were going to the mosque, would pass our house, so you'll bump into them or some stuff like that. So it was very important that you know that the community was, not much on your side, but you know, not against you as well.

Interviewer: Like not hostile, or excluding.

Participant: Exactly, yeah.

Interviewer: Would you say that some degrees of offenses would attract more shame than others?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: In our communities it's more about honour, so as a British Pakistani, does that mean more to you?

Participant: Yeah, well obviously, your family's honour is the biggest thing in an Asian Pakistani community and even you know you won't be doing something bad because they know your dad or they know your mom or they're gonna talk bad about you and stuff like that, so obviously it's one of the biggest things. But like I said, we never ever felt that people were hostile towards us, we never felt ashamed or you know, anything like that, because a lot of people, as I said two and a half years were very very supportive, people who we didn't know, that knew our dad, that we didn't know personally, they were still, you know, quite helpful towards us and stuff like that. In that sense, we didn't find it difficult at all, you know what I'm saying, no one in the family did, you know, no one was ashamed to associate with us and stuff like that, so it wasn't difficult in that sense. The sense that it would be difficult obviously, was not having dad around and stuff you know. That made it quite difficult.

Interviewer: Going back to the whole process, from sentence to release, and perhaps after, did religion or spirituality have a role to play through any of these stages?

Participant: Yeah, religion obviously, because we're close to the mosque, it kept us on the right path and stuff, you know, so we knew that whatever is happening, it's a test. So we didn't go towards the wrong stuff and you know, start blaming people or this, that. So obviously the mosque played probably one of the biggest roles anyway to keep us on the right path and you know, helping us get through the hard times.

Interviewer: So did the mosque actually provide some kind of support?

Participant: Yeah, not exactly provide support, not as much as before when my dad was still here, we were quite closely linked with the mosque community, you know as we were younger we were doing a lot of youth work and stuff, running fundraisers and barbeques and stuff like that, so everything just carried on like it was but obviously, the imam knew us personally, everyone involved with the mosque knew us personally and stuff, so obviously no one said that basically you can't do this or you can't do that because your dad's this or your dad's not here, he's in prison and stuff.

Interviewer: So they were warm?

Participant: Yeah, everyone was you know welcoming and stuff, if not better than they were before, so you know, and obviously staying close to the mosque, everyone was there just looking out for us and stuff, just making sure no one was up to any bad or anything like that.

Interviewer: Have you or any of your family members or even your father for example, experienced any discrimination during your contact with the criminal justice system? If you look at it from a culturally specific sort of view, were the prison settings appropriate?

Participant: No, prison settings in that sense, I don't think they were very appropriate, they weren't very accommodating for anyone who's muslim, or Asian or anything like that, I mean, the food they sold in the canteen, only thing you could have was a crisp or a coffee or a chocolate or a drink, the hot foods, none of it was suitable. It was all not halal.

Interviewer: Was this at both the Cat A and the Cat C?

Participant: Both at Cat A and Cat C yeah. They were both not suitable. You know probably having a bit more Asian stuff there would help, because obviously they can see that if an Asian family is coming they'll recognise if it's your first time or not, you know everyone can tell if it's your first time or not, because you don't know what you're doing and they go speak to them just to see if everything's alright, it just makes it a bit easier if they're more approachable.

Interviewer: So you're saying there wasn't any halal food, and not many options for you as a British Muslim, so how did that make you feel when you visited your dad?

Participant: Yeah it just makes you feel like, you know, just emphasize on the point that you're not in the right place, you feel a bit excluded from the rest of the people. It was one of those that there wasn't any alternative option to it.

Interviewer: How did it make you feel about your dad's experience?

Participant: Yeah, my dad, I think he was alright on the inside, he never had any problems or anything, so he used to tell us, you know, everything's alright, there's no discrimination or racism.

Interviewer: Were there other Asian people in the prison with your dad?

Participant: Yeah, there was quite a few Asians so obviously he knew them and stuff, and he just said, everything's alright and stuff, so obviously that was quite a lot of reassurance. I don't think he, in this time in prison, went through any racism or discrimination, I don't think it is much in the prison system.

Interviewer: And the fact that your dad had other people there, other Pakistani Asian people, did that help?

Participant: Yeah it helped a lot. Obviously because he could ask them, they'd been there longer than him, so he could ask them, you know, what's happening, so he could have more advice and more knowledge about how the system works, and then obviously he used to pass it down to us.

Interviewer: We've spoken about your experience specifically, but generically, from your perspective as a British Pakistani, do you think contact with the criminal justice system brings more shame to British Pakistani families in their community than a white British family?

Participant: Yeah, I think it does, obviously, because in a Pakistani community, it's seen as being the worst thing ever, you know, going to prison, in a Pakistani community, even though it might be a minor offense. If someone's even going to prison for, like I know someone who recently went to prison for driving without a license, but the family said don't tell anyone, because it was seen as a very bad thing, going to prison, even though it was for something like driving without a license, something that's a very minor crime, you know, but he got sent to prison, he went for 20 days but still the family were you know, very secretive about telling anyone. I only found out because I knew the guy closely. But yeah other than that, I think it is seen as a very very bad thing, one of the worst things that could possibly happen to someone.

Interviewer: Do you think there's more of a degree of shame associated with that for British Pakistanis than there is for a British white family, what's your perspective on that, do you think there's a difference?

Participant: Yeah I think there is a major difference, because if you know someone who is in prison or one of your family members is in prison, then obviously it becomes quite a daunting experience for you. Obviously it depends how close you are, but probably for a white person it's not as worse because their community isn't as close and as a link in a Pakistani community you'll know everyone more or less.

*Interviewer:*More involvement?

*Participant:*Yeah, exactly, but you know, I don't think for a white person you know just your next door neighbours or one or two other people in the street and that's it, you don't really know anyone in the community much.

*Interviewer:*So it's kind of like because Asian people are in a close community and everyone kind of knows each other, it has more of an effect on them than perhaps in a community where people don't really know each other's business?

*Participant:*Yeah exactly, so it obviously makes a bigger difference, with Asian communities, like we said before, its Chinese whispers basically, so someone hears something, a lot of gossip goes on, a lot of passing news about, which makes all the difference.

*Interviewer:*When it comes to language, you said, you can obviously speak English, so can your mom, your sisters and your little brothers, so that was never an issue in reading letters etc?

*Participant:*No.

*Interviewer:*From what you can recall, do you think for someone who can't speak English, it's problematic?

*Participant:*Yeah for someone who can't speak any English, they'll struggle most you know, it would be very very difficult for them, because there isn't much support in a Pakistani language like Urdu or something like that, there isn't any support, the only support comes from obviously when you go to the prison, but it's all English.

*Interviewer:*What services are you aware of that you can go to for support?

Participant: The only one that I'm aware of is [Support Service A] and that's because we were approached one day at the prison. We were at [Prison A], we were approached by someone there and they said, you know, you're quite new and stuff, they offered us support and stuff, and said we have this counselling session thing, not counselling as much, but like a focus group, so we just attended one as a family obviously after our visit, it was in a prison, it wasn't in [Support Service A]. So we just sat down, spoke about experiences and stuff.

Interviewer: Who was with you when that happened?

Participant: My mom and my two little brothers, on that particular visit yeah, and the we just obviously shared our experiences and stuff. The first time they said they post a lot about Pakistani families, but no one actually took an interest and so we were they first ones so they were quite impressed and stuff and then we went to [Support Service A] and stuff, so it just went further and further like that and then it got to Ben

and stuff, from[University A] , but other than that I don't think there's any resources out there to be found, you know, I think there's a lack.

*Interviewer:*Let's not look at British Pakistanis generally, but at that point did you know any general services?

*Participant:*No, nothing, I don't think, I think there's a big gap for services as a whole, then as a niche British Pakistanis, but as a whole there's a very big gap in the services, because if you want any information you have to ring up the prison, and they're not very helpful to be honest, they don't wanna answer the phone and stuff.

*Interviewer:*You mentioned a couple of times, just information about what's going on and what's going to happen and that kind of thing could have been really useful?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: So you mentioned that [Support Service A] were quite impressed and they mentioned that they've not had much involvement with British Pakistanis before, and as I mentioned that there is a lack of research when it comes to BME groups, why do you think that is?

Participant: Probably because, I don't think they're approached well, and the other thing is, it's just something you know, very bad and talking about it is bad as well. That's what I think most Asian British Pakistanis think, that you know, going to prison is bad enough and then having to speak about it and you're sharing your experience with other people, it's not seen as very, you know, I don't think British Pakistanis are quite open about the subject, they won't prefer talking about it and stuff like that.

*Interviewer:*Why do you think that is, is it because, as you mentioned, because it's seen as really bad, the whole stigma that's attached to it?

*Participant:*Yeah, exactly, yes. The stigma, I think that's the worst, it's just seen as the worst thing that could possibly happen, one of the worst things anyway in an Asian community, so.

*Interviewer:*Do you think to some extent they avoid talking about it?

*Participant:*Yeah, well like I said, just by going through it is bad enough, so they wouldn't want to talk about it.

*Interviewer:*So you mentioned that there wasn't any support that you came to know of and by the sounds of it, you would be quite willing to use services if they were out there?

*Participant:*Yeah obviously, I think everyone would be, not just me, I think everyone who goes through this, no matter if you're whatever ethnic group you're from, would be you know, willing to use the service if it was the right service that was out there,

and it was aimed at the right people and it was you know, structured in the right way. If it was structured in the correct way I think everyone would use it, because that experience isn't easy for anyone.

Interviewer: Throughout this whole process, was probation involved?

Participant: No, not much.

Interviewer: Not much with the family?

Participant: No.

Interviewer: When you went to the prison, did you come across any leaflets or any posters?

Participant: Yeah just, (pauses) no, in Cat A we did come across a few stuff, I don't think in [Prison B] no, and in Cat D, there wasn't anything there. Just in [Prison A] there were a few leaflets in Urdu but not much.

Interviewer: So you've come across [Support Service A]., and there's also the national offenders helpline, which you probably didn't know about then, which is a 24 hour line that you can call up and ask for advice, and there are a few other agencies, with regards to support. But [Support Service A]. being one of the main ones you came across, how do you feel about a service like that?

Participant: I think it made the experience, obviously a lot better because in [Support Service A] we met other people, like I said we had never met anyone before, whose been through this, and when we went to prisons, other families knew each other, so they were knew each other and stuff, but we didn't, so we were like the only ones. But when we obviously went to [Support Service A] we met a few other families and stuff, not Asian families, it was all different, but we seen the experience people have been through and they gave us their advice, that this is what's going to happen or this is how long he'll get moved in Cat C for and then Cat D and this is what you can apply for, you can apply for full day visits and stuff, which we didn't know about. So when we met other families, they said oh at [Prison A] you can apply for, after he's been there for six months, a full day visit, the whole family, because only three people could go, where here the whole family can actually go, because there's five of us, except my dad, so they say you know, you can apply for that, so obviously we weren't told about none of that stuff, unless we would have met them people we wouldn't have known about it. So obviously it made a very big difference.

Interviewer: Would you say your family, your mom, your sister, your two little brothers, your dad, would you say you guys more willing to engage in these sort of things than perhaps other British Pakistani families?

Participant: Probably yeah, because we, I think of the community support we had, we never felt ashamed to talk about it, you know, but obviously other people, if the offense is different, might feel quite ashamed to talk about it and it might just be a different situation, but I think obviously if the right support gets out there, I don't see why people won't get involved, obviously to make the experience, not better, but a lot less stressful for the next people, because to think this is gonna keep on happening, it's not like people are gonna stop committing crimes to be honest, so the only thing we can do is make it easier for the family, and obviously that's why I'm taking, participating in such research, is so probably someone else can benefit from it. If I haven't benefit from it, if my time's too late, but someone else can, you know.

Interviewer: Would you feel comfortable talking to another British Pakistani person about this whole experience? Would it matter for example, where they're from?

Participant: I think yeah, you'd feel a lot less comfortable talking to someone who's British Pakistani, if they've been through the same thing, probably yeah, if they haven't, I don't think so because, generally I think it's quite, it's one of those things, stereotypical, that they'll judge more than someone else would and you know, by them judging you, you'll have more an effect than someone who's white judging you. Because if they're one of you, they'll probably downgrade you and stuff like that, so it would make a bit of a difference.

Interviewer: Do you think it's because they understand the culture?

Participant: Yeah, it can have a really positive effect or a really negative effect, obviously, because like I said, they'll probably, they'll judge you in a different way, you'll feel, you know, demoralised and you'll feel downgraded by their reaction. Or if they're very supportive then you can feel lifted because you say you know what, he's one of us, but he's not going against me, he's supporting me and stuff like that, it works both ways.

Interviewer: And they understand you as well don't they?

Participant: Exactly yeah.

Interviewer: So if they're really good they'll understand your culture and they can perhaps tailor their support around that, but if they're really bad then because they're Asian, would you feel you withdraw a bit?

Participant: Yeah, one of those, you feel a bit, you know, you hold back on the information you share basically.

Interviewer: Are you from this area?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: So say for example, there was support available to you, and it was from an Asian from this same area..

Participant: No, I don't think it would be quite helpful if it was from the same area because obviously you won't trust them very much, because if you share something with them, they'll probably go home and share it with their family, word gets about like I said. But if it's a general thing you know, as a bigger geographical area like [City A], someone who you didn't know from there, like let's say I'm from [Town A] he's from (inaudible) or you know, south of [City A], because you know, I'm in the north then you know you'd feel more comfortable because you won't know the person or that person probably doesn't know a person who knows you.

Interviewer: So people talking, is a big concern?

Participant: Yeah, it is, yeah, because obviously if someone is from your local area, he probably doesn't know you, but he probably knows someone who knows you, so it'll be difficult.

Interviewer: This whole thing about people talking, that's something that concerns you a lot?

Participant: Yeah, I think that's one of the biggest things that concerns everyone.

Interviewer: Because it's attached to the stigma side of things?

Participant: Yeah stereotypes, you know, people making up their own conceptions and stuff, people talk everything up.

Interviewer: Would you say it's important to be understood in terms of values and culture?

Participant: Yeah I think obviously values and culture are what creates a person you know, so obviously, it depends on what you stand up for and what you believe in. In our culture, obviously going to prison is seen as a very bad thing, but your values still stick with you know, being loyal to the person who's gone in and not, you know, just leaving him, or you know, forgetting about him and turning your back on him and stuff, so it depends on your upbringing I think, how you've been orientated, how your family's been orientated and stuff like that. It just depends, obviously, some people it doesn't affect them at all because they didn't really know their dad so they're not bothered, it's just you know, whatever, he's gone, so they've got more freedom, that's how some people would see it. I spoke to some people, but we were obviously quite close to our dad, he would look after us and support us and stuff so we felt him not being around probably more than someone else would.

Interviewer: As a British Pakistani, what provisions and services specifically, would you like to see in place, what do you think would be really useful, not only from your

perspective, from your mom's perspective, from your sister's and from your little brother's perspective?

Participant: I think, firstly, starting off in the beginning when they arrest and stuff, if the person is on bail, they'll explain to you themselves what's going on, if not, obviously then you need some type of support, someone who would come around, you know, and explain to you, this is what's going on. A police officer in that situation is probably one of the best people because, if they're Asian, they'll come and they'll explain, they'll feel more comfortable coming to your house and you'll feel more comfortable with them being around obviously, it's one of things in an Asian household, if a Pakistani comes around, you're a lot more comfortable and stuff, but if someone white comes around then you're you know, you're always sat on the edge, because you know, you're a bit, not fearful as such, but you don't know, you're not very comfortable, you can't be very open with them and stuff. So I think having Pakistani or Asians at least involved in the system, it will make the biggest difference and you know, just a lot more support and stuff, you know with the general stuff like, obviously if my dad's not around you know, how to deal with you know, the bills coming in, financially what supports available for us and stuff like that, because obviously we struggled a lot, you know, everyone had to kinda pull their own weight, it didn't come to that, my sister and that were still supported by my mom and dad, but as the oldest son, I just then felt it being a bit wrong for me to ask my mom and dad for you know, to support me, when I'm going college and stuff. So I had to do something myself, that's when I got into like business, started buying stuff, started selling stuff, I did markets, I did markets for two years and stuff, you know, and then, you know it's one of those experiences, it's made me who I am today, and as successful as I am today, it's partly come down to that, having the responsibility at a young age, but, then if you ask me would I rather be where I am today and you know have that responsibility now, or you know, lived them two years, in college and properly, you know, how I should have done, how someone who's 16, 17, 18 lives their life, I would have rather done that. Because I missed out on a lot of stuff you know that I couldn't do, because I was held back by family, because in the first year or so my mom was very scared as such, you know, she said just don't be out till late you know, it's not right, your dad's not home, be home at like half ten eleven you know, where my mates and stuff were out till like twelve, half twelve you know, so there were a few things that I had to hold back on and I couldn't do, and stuff, but support like that. All sorts of support, like I said, financial supports out there and stuff. And just support throughout the whole process I think, when you going to visit, what you need to do, what you shouldn't do, how to send clothes to him and stuff, it's everything, everything was written, was all in black and white obviously, black and white doesn't always help. So if was on a paper, I think speaking to someone is the biggest help you could get, ask questions, because you can't ask questions from a piece of paper can you? They're not gonna answer. Questions that we could ask from the people, they weren't very helpful, like one experience we had, where we

went for a visit in Cat A, this was quite recent, quite early as soon as he got sentenced, we went to the prison, the Cat A and my dad, they said to us, your visits been cancelled. So obviously we didn't know, it was like two weeks in or something like that, no second month in, sorry, and we, didn't know what was going on, we still getting used to it and the visits cancelled. The person who was behind the glass just said your visits cancelled, can you please get out of the queue, that's how he put it, he said can you please leave the queue. We obviously didn't know what was going on, we didn't know if my dad's transferred or what's going on, why has the visit been cancelled and stuff. So obviously that was one of the worst times because my mom was quite upset and stuff. And so my dad called and then he explained that he got moved wings and they didn't know that he moved wings and so he missed the call.

Interviewer: As the oldest male in the house, you took a step forward to protect your mom and sister, do you reckon, there should have been any specific support available for them, that they might need?

Participant: Yeah I think, just, you know, just general support for my mom and obviously, the whole family, like [Support Service A] was one of those that we used to go to, not every week, every few weeks, speak to other people, you know, it was quite a social chilled out environment, it wasn't like anywhere else, like other prisons where there's so much security cameras and you can only do this, you can only do that, you know there's certain places you can go and you can't go, so it wasn't like that at all, I think it was quite, you know, more social, you can speak to people, that's what made it really much easier because we met a few families there, they'd been through it longer than us, similar crimes but they'd been through it longer than us, like in about six months he'll be moved to Cat C, you know, tell him to apply, write a letter to the governor saying you know, I've done everything here and I wanna and stuff, stuff like that, that type of support was never given so we didn't know the way, we used to obviously tell my mom or dad saying write a letter to the governor saying that look I've done the courses here, I wanna do something else kinda move to Cat C, look at my record, this, that, and that's what got him out of Cat A sooner than about three months before when he was actually eligible for it. Then he moved to Cat C and stuff, and then when he went to Cat C he was gonna be quite far, then they told us, you know what, it's obviously too far, no point even going there, tell him to go to [Prison B] it's a good prison and stuff and it's near [City B] so obviously there again, someone who has been through it, told us that, then we told my dad and obviously that's what he did when he was applying for it, he said I don't wanna go very far, I rather stay here because it's closer to my family so that took an extra like three weeks to go to Cat C, but he got moved to [Prison B] which is closer. Then Cat D they were gonna send him, I think there was one in south [City A] which was quite far near [City C], this other one was near [City D], [Prison C] that was the closest one to us. So obviously on the preference he put [Prison C]. But we didn't even know what Cat A, C, D, prison is, we just thought prison is prison, we didn't know that

different categories and how it works and stuff. So obviously knowing someone, we didn't get that support from any professional or anyone who was involved, just someone who's been through it basically, they told us.

Appendix I- Initial codes

CODES

Arrest (appropriateness)

Prison- visits

Lack of Info

Holding back/Managing info

Support needs

Community relationships

Community reaction

1st/2nd/3rd generation split

2nd/3rd generation supporting 1st generation or elderly family members

Family roles

Gender dominance

Patriarch

Barriers linked to ethnicity

Stigma/shame/honour

Peer support (prisoner families)

Peer support (Pakistani families)

Accommodating British Pakistanis

Cultural insensitivity

Racism/discrimination

Helplessness towards discrimination

Support from BP orgs/individuals

Marriage

Pakistani connection

Nature of offence

Language barriers

Appropriateness of sentence

Perceptions of prison

Halal food

Mis-trust of system (prison officers)

Pre- destination

Media coverage/exaggeration /mis-trust

Prison officers behaviour towards visitors/prisoners

Mental health

Segregated communities- 'society within societies'

Disclosing/impact on children/protecting

Support for kids

Guilt (mothers/parents)

Mini-death/bereavement

Impact on mothers (failures)

Positive prison visits

Support for families to support rehabilitation

Alienation

Perceived racism (paranoia)

Parents/1st generation withdrawn

Shame within families (not spoken about- almost taboo)

Self exclusion

Lack of support

Appendix J- Themes

THEMES

SUPPORT NEEDS

Arrest

Prison- visits

Lack of support

Lack of Info

Support needs

Peer support (prisoner families)

Peer support (Pakistani families)

Accommodation

Cultural insensitivity

Support from BP orgs/individuals

Language barriers

Halal food

Segregated communities

Positive prison visits

rehabilitation

EMOTIONAL RESPONSE

Self exclusion

Mini-death/bereavement

Mental health

Alienation

Confusion/stress /anxiety

Social exclusion

Money

Children of prisoners

Holding back/Managing info

CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES

Generation split

Impact on new generations

Family roles

Gender dominance

Patriarch

Perceptions of prison

Guilt (mothers/parents)

Impact on mothers (failures)

Parents/1st generation withdrawn

Taboo

Shame within families

Marriage

Pakistani connection

Nature of offence

Stigma/shame/honour

Community relationships

Community reaction

BARRIERS

Racism

Discrimination

Helplessness

Mis-trust of system (prison officers)

Prison officers behaviour towards visitors/prisoners

Indirect racism

Taboo

Perceived racism (paranoia)

Barriers linked to ethnicity