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**MAKING SENSE OF THE IMPACT OF IMPRISONMENT ON CHILDREN AND
FAMILIES**

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD

SEPTEMBER 2021

"While prison necessarily balances security issues with human rights considerations ...there is a third dimension not being taken into account: the effects that imprisonment . . . has on innocent families and, in particular, children. The international evidence is clear that, for society, failure to support families can have serious social and economic costs."

(Liam Herrick, Irish Prison Reform Trust (IRPT), Executive Director,
quoted in Irish Times, 2012).

"Throughout my career, I have sought out issues that are filed under 'too difficult to deal with': issues that make some policy makers shift uncomfortably in their chair and nod vaguely in the direction of 'someone else's responsibility'. The plight of children of prisoners (sic) is one such issue".

Dame Louise Casey (Kincaid et al., 2019)

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Abstract

The damage caused to children and families when a parent is sentenced to imprisonment has been the subject of research for several decades, with increased outputs in the last ten years. This commentary will draw together the eight publications that I have submitted for my PhD by publication and confirm the contribution to knowledge they have made. All publications relate to different aspects of the impact of imprisonment on children and families. My publications are set out in Table 1 below. The commentary will begin by setting out the issues facing children and families impacted by parental imprisonment drawing on recent and seminal literature. The emphasis of the literature reviewed will be on the impact of sentencing mothers to imprisonment since five out of my eight publications focus specifically on imprisoned mothers. It will then apply Ashworth's Lifeworld fractions framework (Ashworth, 2016) to use as a lens through which to understand and enrich the qualitative data contained in my publications. This framework contends that any lived experience can be explored by dividing it into eight different fractions: Embodiment; Selfhood; Sociality; Temporality; Spatiality; Discourse; Project and Moods. This commentary will demonstrate my contribution to knowledge in relation to each of these fractions and explore how they inter-relate. It will also show how the findings link to existing literature. It will conclude that any intervention for children and families impacted by parental imprisonment that is going to be truly beneficial and holistic needs to address all these eight fractions. This commentary will therefore not only set out my contribution to knowledge but will also constitute a contribution to knowledge in its own right.

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people I would like to acknowledge. First and foremost, the children with parents in prison, their carers, and fathers and mothers who spoke to myself and others involved in this research. I want to express my appreciation to them for being prepared to share their very personal and often difficult experiences with us. Without them none of my publications would have been possible.

Professor Adele Jones who empowered me to make the transition from practitioner to researcher after I took up my academic post in 2007. She co-opted me onto the team that put together the successful bid for the COPING (Children of Prisoners Interventions and Mitigations to Strengthen Mental Health) Project and gave me the opportunity to be part of the COPING research team, leading on the child centred aspects of the project. I would also like to thank Dr. Martin Manby, who led the qualitative work package of COPING for his invaluable advice and support. In addition, I would like to express my thanks to Kim Heanue, my line manager, who has supported me throughout my PhD journey.

My supervision team comprising Dr. Leanne Monchuk and Professor Barry Percy – Smith for their amazing support, patience, pragmatism and positivity. In addition to being a supervisor Professor Percy – Smith has steadfastly supported my research ever since he first came into post.

I would like thank Jen Cooper for her practical support and for all our discussions, especially those that occurred while cruising the canals on my boat! Finally, I would like to thank my wonderful fiancée Georgie for all her support and interest in my research and for keeping me going on this journey and my eye on the light at the end of the tunnel!

Table 1: The published papers

Paper 1	<p>Raikes, B., & Lockwood, K. (2011). 'Mothering from the Inside' - A Small Scale Evaluation of Acorn House, an Overnight Child Contact Facility at HMP Askham Grange in <i>Prison Service Journal</i>, No. 194, 19-27. HM Prison Service of England and Wales.</p> <p>Contribution 50%</p>
Paper 2	<p>Lockwood, K., & Raikes, B. (2016). A difficult disclosure: The dilemmas faced by families affected by parental imprisonment regarding what information to share. In C. Reeves. (Ed.). <i>Experiencing Imprisonment: Research on the Experience of Living and Working in Carceral Institutions</i> (pp. 230-247). Taylor and Francis Inc.</p> <p>Contribution 50%</p>
Paper 3	<p>Raikes, B. & Balen, R. (2016). The benefits of prisoner participation in interdisciplinary learning. <i>Social Work Education</i>. 35(8), 933-944.</p> <p>Contribution 95%</p>
Paper 4	<p>Raikes, B. (2016). Unsung Heroines: Celebrating the care provided by grandmothers for children with parents in prison, (pp.320-330) In <i>Probation Journal</i>, 63 (3).</p> <p>Contribution 100%</p>
Paper 5	<p>McConnell, M., & Raikes, B. (2019). "It's Not a Case of He'll Be Home One Day." The Impact on Families of Sentences of Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP). <i>Child Care in Practice</i>. 25(4), 349-366.</p> <p>Contribution 50%</p>
Paper 6	<p>Raikes, B. & Lockwood K. (2019). Acorn House Revisited: 'Think Family, Up and Down and Side to Side'. In: M. Hutton & D. Moran. (Eds.). <i>The Palgrave Handbook of Prison and the Family</i>. <i>Palgrave Studies in Prisons and Penology</i> (pp.295-319), Palgrave Macmillan.</p> <p>Contribution 80%</p>

Paper 7	<p>Raikes, B., Asiminei, R., Nathaniel, KA., Ochen, E.A., Pascaru, G. & Seruwagi, G. (2019). A Comparison of the Position of Grandmother Carers for Children with Parents in Prison in the UK, Trinidad and Tobago, Romania and Uganda. In: M. Hutton & D. Moran. (Eds.). <i>The Palgrave Handbook of Prison and the Family. Palgrave Studies in Prisons and Penology</i> (pp.229-250). Palgrave Macmillan</p> <p>Contribution 75%</p>
Paper 8	<p>Raikes B. (2021) 'I used to say I haven't got a mum because that was the best thing for me to say': Exploring the lived experience of children with parents in prison. In A. Parkes & D. Donson. (Eds.). <i>Parental Imprisonment and Children's Rights</i>, (pp.7-21) Routledge.</p> <p>Contribution 100%</p>

Importance of terminology

The words that are used to refer to people who are caught up in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) and their children are very important. They can be very dehumanising and stigmatising such as 'inmate' or more positively framed in such a way as to foreground the person they are referring to rather than the fact that they are in prison, e.g., 'imprisoned mother'. The language we choose to use therefore has the power to either contribute to the idea of people in prison being 'othered' as different to the rest of society (Fredriksson, 2019) or conversely to stand as a reminder of their humanity. By careful choice of language, both written and spoken, we can make a significant contribution to how people in prison and their families are perceived. This is of crucial importance as the perception of families impacted by imprisonment by both the general public and policy makers will shape the extent to which the Criminal Justice System respects their rights and meets their needs.

Likewise, children who experience parental incarceration have indicated they do not like the term 'Children of Prisoners' which used to be commonly used, as it suggests their lives are determined by the imprisonment of their parent or parents (Weidberg, 2017). They prefer the factual term 'children with imprisoned parents' (CIP) that indicates that this is one amongst many of their unique attributes. Therefore, this commentary will be referring to children and young people in this situation using the CIP abbreviation throughout.

Introduction

When setting out to write this commentary, my objective was to find fresh ways of making sense of the evidence from the research presented in the set of publications that constitute this submission. My aspiration was to come to new insights with the benefit of hindsight. I adopted a critical reflexive approach to have ‘new conversations’ (Phelan, 2011, p.165) with the content of my work. I was aware that within my publications (four chapters and four articles set out in Table 1 above) I had a large amount of data capturing the lived experience of children and other family members impacted by imprisonment. However, through rehearsing ideas in dialogue with my supervisors, I came to the realisation that I needed a theoretical framework that would enable a deeper search for meaning out of these findings to reify the significance and meaning of the experiences of children and parents separated by imprisonment. The Lifeworld framework emerged out of the endeavour of reflective learning from this dialogue with my research and it became central to my aim of crystallising the significance of my work in academic, policy and practice terms, whilst foregrounding the experiences of those that my work was trying to elucidate.

My intellectual forays into this theoretical tradition led me to an article by Ashworth (2016), which proposed that any lived experience could be understood by dividing it into eight ‘fractions’ (see below for explanation). The universality of this framework appealed to me as I was intrigued to see if it could be applied to the issue of the impact of imprisonment on families and draw out new insights. I put it to the test by coding all the significant points in my publications according to these fractions (see appendix 1). It soon became apparent that this framework was a very good fit for this subject matter as all the data from my research mapped to one or more of the fractions. The Lifeworld framework has previously been applied in health settings (Hemingway, 2011) to inform best practice for promoting patient well-being. I found one reference that links the Lifeworld framework to the lived experience of imprisonment for those serving prison sentences (Leder, 2004). However, to my knowledge, it has never been applied in a detailed way to the issue of the impact of imprisonment on families.

I have thus taken a phenomenological stance as a researcher, seeking to understand the meaning of the lived experience of the children, parents and carers affected by imprisonment that I have interviewed (Neubauer et al, 2019). Throughout the research projects that have resulted in the publications presented and discussed in this commentary, I have had a deep respect for the participants’ perceptions of their reality and what can be learned from it.

Developing empathy for research participants, and metaphorically walking in their shoes, is central to a phenomenological approach (Churchill, 2018).

As Social Constructionists such as Burr (1995) acknowledge, there are no universal truths, but rather our perceptions of reality are determined by the situation in which we find ourselves. The research variables pertinent to this work, such as whether a mother or father has been imprisoned, the length and type of sentence, the nature of the offence, and the security level of the prison in which the sentence is being served, will all impact upon an individual's perception of reality and provide an existential shift to the context in which most families live. It is a shift that they could not have envisaged before the prison sentence was imposed.

Within the enterprise of phenomenological inquiry and social constructionism, narrative approaches are commonly adopted as research tools to elicit 'individual expressions of internal states' within a 'transactional frame' from participants (Dwyer et al., 2017, p.4). Transactional frames refer to not only the social context in which research takes place but also to the interaction that occurs between the researcher and research participants (ibid, p.5). I feel very privileged to have worked within a 'transactional frame' where child and adult participants have been able to make themselves vulnerable and share very personal and sensitive information with me, despite the challenging nature of what we discussed. As such, it felt imperative to honour and do justice to their stories in my own theorising and sensemaking. My aspiration has been to use the individual narratives that emerge from research participants to shed light on and, in some cases, influence the broader issues as they relate to policy and practice towards children and other family members affected by imprisonment.

I have used a narrative approach in my submitted publications since it is well suited to sensitive topics such as the impact of imprisonment and making sense of the emotions attached to an individual's particular social reality. (Squire et al., 2014). I am mindful of the critique of narrative research that recognises the potential for it to be disempowering towards research participants if their words are edited and reconstituted by researchers (ibid.). Throughout my publications I have placed an emphasis on quoting what participants have said rather than paraphrasing. By using the words of the participants, the raw emotions attached to the situation they find themselves in can be fully appreciated. I consider this to be the best way to engage hearts and minds in the subjects being discussed.

A few years ago, during a Prison Reform Trust Roundtable event that I attended, Dr. Shona Minson, from Oxford University, told me that being moved by the experiences of imprisoned

mothers and their children as documented in Paper 1 was one of the factors that drew her into researching this subject having previously practised as a barrister. She alludes to this in the introduction of her recently published book on the sentencing of mothers (Minson,2020).

This is exactly the sort of impact that I hope my work will have, especially when her subsequent research has produced such powerful awareness raising resources for the judiciary about the impact of prison sentences on mothers and their children (Minson,2018).

Literature Review Contextualising the issues

The impact of parental imprisonment on children

It has been well established that having a parent in prison increases the vulnerability of children to experiencing poor outcomes in terms of mental health (Jones et al., 2013), social isolation, financial insecurity (Weidberg, 2017), poor school attainment (Brown, 2020) and in the case of boys with their father in prison anti-social and offending behaviour (Murray, 2005). Boys are more likely to externalise their feelings whereas girls tend to internalise them (Morgan & Gill, 2014). Families in this situation are likely to face stigma and bullying (Saunders, 2018) and for this reason are less likely to seek assistance from statutory and non-statutory services (Phillips & Gates, 2011). Whilst recognising these negative outcomes can occur for CIPs, it is essential to move beyond labelling them as victims, in recognition of the resilience that many children in this situation show in the face of adversity (Brookes, 2014). It is also important to recognise from the outset that for some families the imprisonment of a parent can come as a huge relief if the negative effects of their offending impacts directly on the family, for example in cases of domestic abuse.

Numbers of children affected

England and Wales continue to imprison the largest number of people in Western Europe, currently at the rate of 130 per 100,000 of the population. At the other end of the scale Norway imprisons just 54 people per 100,000 (World Prison Brief, 2021). It is self-evident that the higher the prison population the more children and families will suffer the damage caused by imprisonment. Recent estimates suggest that 312,000 children experience the imprisonment of a parent each year in England and Wales, which equates to 7% of the school age population, with 17,000 of those children being impacted by the imprisonment of their mother (Kincaid et al., 2019). These are estimates as there is still no systematic recording of children affected by parental imprisonment. Therefore, the negative impact of imprisonment on families shows no signs of reducing while the prison population remains so high.

The impact of maternal imprisonment

It is important to recognise that families experiencing imprisonment should not be regarded as a homogenous group. Their lived experience is determined by their individual set of circumstances. As a long-standing researcher in this field has observed research has

'tended to mask significant heterogeneity in children's experiences ... this is not one monolithic group' (Adalist-Estrin, 2018, p.102). A particularly important factor is whether the parent serving the prison sentence is a father or mother. If a mother is imprisoned the disruption to her children is likely to be far greater than if it was a father. This is due to the stark statistic that only 5% of children with a mother in prison stay in the same home that they were living in prior to her sentence (Caddle & Crisp, 1997), meaning that at the time when they need support the most, they are likely to be moved away from their familiar surroundings and networks. This compares to 90% of children with a father in prison remaining in the family home with their mother as primary carer (ibid). By contrast only 9% of children with a mother in prison are cared for by their fathers (HM Government, 2007). Children and families who have a mother in prison have been referred to as a 'marginalised' group within an already marginalised group since women only make up around 5% of the prison population, within a system designed predominantly for the needs of males. (Beresford, 2018).

Increased prison places for women

It is depressing that calls to reduce the numbers of women who are imprisoned, and to use community-based facilities that address the reasons behind their offending (Corston, 2007), have not been heeded. In fact, the direction of travel for women's imprisonment is in the opposite direction with the Government announcing in January 2021 that 500 new prison places for women will be created. While it is positive that that £2M will be directed towards services to address the issues that underlie women's offending, this is only a tiny fraction of the £25M that the new prison places will cost (Grierson 2021).

Other significant factors

Additional significant factors to consider are the type offence which will determine the amount of stigma associated with it. Sexual offences are likely to carry the most stigma (Evans et al., 2021). The sentence length and sentence type (e.g determinate with a release date or indeterminate with a release date dependent on a successful parole hearing) will also shape the experience of family members of the imprisoned person.

Addressing the impact of parental imprisonment upon children at the point of sentencing

The impact of parental imprisonment upon children needs to be addressed at source, at the point at which people are sentenced. Clearly there will always be circumstances that render the offence so serious that the person being sentenced will inevitably receive a custodial sentence regardless of whether they are a primary carer for children or not. However, in many situations involving the sentencing of a primary carer, usually mothers, the courts potentially have considerable discretion.

Minson (2020) writes powerfully about the dramatically different ways children's article 9 right under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) to live with their parents is treated by the family and criminal courts. In the family courts children are only separated from their parents after comprehensive reports are prepared to guide what is in their best interests. By contrast, in the criminal courts, children can be separated from their parents by imprisonment without any regard to how they will be affected. Over time case law has been established in England and Wales, often as a result of appeals, to allow the courts the discretion to for example suspend or reduce a prison sentence where the defendant is a primary carer (Epstein, 2019). The fact that two thirds of women sentenced to imprisonment in England and Wales receive sentences of six months or less (Baldwin & Epstein, 2017) gives an indication as to the extent to which that discretion could be used. The use of that discretion would also be in accordance with The Bangkok Rules (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011) which amongst other points urge states to seek non-custodial options for female offenders wherever possible.

The judiciary's lack of awareness

Unfortunately judges and magistrates in the criminal courts are not only often unaware of the discretion they have, but also lack an understanding of the devastating impact that a prison sentence can have upon families when the sentence is imposed on a primary carer (Epstein, 2021). Minson (2018) has produced resources which are now available in every Magistrates and Crown Court to address this knowledge gap for the judiciary. Sentencing guidelines ask courts to obtain information about any children who might be affected by the imposition of a prison sentence, and to adjourn if necessary, to obtain it. However, there are no sanctions to ensure these guidelines are followed (Epstein, 2019). Recommendations by the Council of Europe in 2018 to place the 'rights and best interests' of children with a parent in prison or facing prison as the 'primary consideration' (Council of Europe, 2018) is another

encouraging development, but as ever it will remain to be seen if this actually changes sentencing practice in the courts.

This problem was recognised by the Joint Parliamentary Commission on Human Rights in 2019 which produced a report entitled *The Right to Family Life: Children Whose Mothers are in Prison*. The report concluded:

‘that when a court is considering sending a primary carer to prison, usually a mother, the child’s right to respect for family life should be a central concern. Too frequently this is not the case. As a result, tens of thousands of children each year are being harmed when their mothers are sent to prison, often for non-violent offences ... The harmful effects of a mother going to prison begin as soon as the mother is sentenced, are felt throughout her sentence and continue for many years after she is released’ (UK Parliament, 2019, p.3. cited by Epstein, 2019)

The reality, given the UK population’s apparent appetite for harsh sentencing (King & Maruna, 2009), is that there is unlikely to be a newspaper headline criticising a judge for failing to take account of the damage done to children when a prison sentence is imposed on their mother. However, there are likely to be lurid headlines about the country being ‘soft on crime’ if a defendant is seen to be spared a prison sentence due to being primary carer.

No systematic recording

As can be seen from the above there has been a recurring theme of recommendations that have only been partially implemented. There have for a long time been calls for the numbers of children affected by parental imprisonment to be systematically recorded (Murray, 2007) so that each local authority can develop a plan to ensure they are supported. Given the well documented pressures and negative outcomes faced by CIPs they are likely to fall under the definition of a ‘child in need’ as defined by section 17 of The Children Act 1989, namely a child who needs ‘additional support from the local authority to meet their potential’ (The Children Act, 1989). Since 1998 parental incarceration has been included as one of the ten key Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) that children can face, with evidence to suggest that it increases the vulnerability of children to experiencing other ACEs (Turney, 2018).

However only a ‘handful’ of local authorities have developed plans to support children with a parent in prison (Kincaid et al., 2019, p.36). Significantly there is no mention of this group of children in the ‘Working Together to Safeguard Children’ (HM Government, 2018) document which sets out multi-agency duties in relation to safeguarding. Leeson & Morgan (2019)

have argued that to categorise children with parents in prison as young carers, in view of the emotional labour children are often required to perform in the wake of a parent's imprisonment, could be a non-stigmatising way of ensuring their needs are recognised and met.

COPING Project

There have been positive developments that have served to raise the visibility of CIP who have often been referred to as 'invisible children' (Dzierżyńska-Breś, 2017). I was proud to be part of the COPING (Children of Prisoners Mitigations and Interventions to Strengthen Mental Health) Project team at the University of Huddersfield. We successfully secured a 3 million Euros grant to fund research into the lived experience of children and families impacted by parental imprisonment in the U.K., Sweden, Germany and Romania, with an emphasis on hearing directly from children about what assists them to remain resilient. I was part of a sub team that persuaded the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) to dedicate their Day of General Discussion in Geneva in 2011 to the issue of children with incarcerated parents. Myself and my colleagues facilitated two young people from the UK to address the UNCRC on this. The event produced a comprehensive set of good practice recommendations (Robertson, 2012).

Barnardo's resources

Around the same time the children's charity Barnardo's made Children Affected by Parental Imprisonment (CAPI) a key priority and produced a number of very helpful resources including a toolkit for schools to guide them in supporting children in that situation (Morgan & Gill, 2014), in recognition of the crucial support role that schools can provide. Research has revealed there is a parallel to the judiciary in terms of school staff who have a lack of awareness in relation to how parental imprisonment impacts on children, highlighting a need for training to enable schools to provide the best support in the most sensitive ways (Morgan et al., 2013). Barnardo's also pioneered an invaluable resource website for professionals working with families impacted by the Criminal Justice System, initially known as iHOP, now called the National Information Centre on Children of Offenders (NICCO - <https://www.nicco.org.uk/>).

Lord Farmer's reviews and HM Prison Inspectorate benchmarks

Lord Farmer's reviews into how to strengthen family ties for male (Lord Farmer, 2017) and female (Lord Farmer, 2019) prisoners have been the most influential contemporary reports on this subject. A striking feature of these reports was that they placed an emphasis on seeking views from people in prison. The 2017 Review received responses from 1000 men in prison. In 2017, for the first time, HM Inspectorate of Prisons incorporated benchmarks in relation to 'children and families and contact with the outside world' which would be assessed as part of their inspections of male prisons (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2017).

These are all signs of the impact of imprisonment of families climbing higher up the agenda in terms of prison policy.

The impact of Covid 19

Covid 19 has hit families impacted by imprisonment very hard. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2021) carried out a thematic review to inquire into how the pandemic affected those in prison and their families. Families worried about the physical and mental well-being of the family member in prison who had very little time out of their cell or social interaction. Visits were stopped entirely when the first lockdown was imposed in March 2020 and did not resume until July 2020. When they did resume, due to social distancing families had to sit two metres apart and visits were shortened and less frequent due to limited space created by the social distancing requirements. Other obstacles were created by a rule that stated that visitors must be from the same household, for example meaning that a Social Worker was not permitted to bring a child in foster care to visit their parent.

Other consequences of Covid 19 that created additional stress were the backlog in cases coming to court, as well as restrictions on release on temporary licence. In addition to this offending behaviour courses were suspended, and with very little time out of their cells it was very hard for people in prison to demonstrate to prison authorities that they had made positive improvements with regard to their behaviour and attitude, which in turn hindered their chances of gaining early release. People serving prison sentences felt aggrieved that restrictions remained in place in prisons even after the lockdown for the rest of the country had been eased (ibid).

Ambiguous loss and disenfranchised grief

The concepts of 'ambiguous loss' and 'disenfranchised grief' are essential theories to enable us to understand the inner world of children with parents in prison and the psychological

impact of the situation they find themselves in. Disenfranchised grief refers to stigmatised losses, where the mourner is deemed unworthy of the sympathy and concern that would normally be extended to a bereaved person (Worden, 2018). The impact of parental incarceration on children has been for a long time been recognised as akin to a disenfranchised bereavement (Hames et al., 2003). Not only are children suffering the loss of the imprisoned parent but also potentially losses such as friends, their home if they have to move house, and quality of life generally as a result of the loss of the imprisoned parent's income.

Ambiguous loss is a term originally coined by Boss (2010) and characterises losses that are traumatic due to a lack of a resolution or closure. In this context the theory refers to uncertainty around family boundaries following a parent's imprisonment, resulting in children being uncertain about who is included in their family and which roles and tasks they carry out. This manifests for children who have incarcerated parents as a result of vague explanations provided as to the reason for their parent's imprisonment. Children in this situation can be reluctant to seek help from adults (Bocknek et al., 2009) at a time when they need support the most. Boss (2010) distinguishes a 'clear cut loss' such as a death where there are established rituals and processes from an 'ambiguous loss' where these markers do not apply. It leads to a 'structural' disruption where parenting roles and decisions are often put on hold and celebrations are cancelled, again adding to a child's sense of loss.

Methodology and Ethical Issues

Research participants for each paper.

All papers involved qualitative research using semi structured interviews and focus groups apart from Paper 3 which was quantitative using questionnaires.

Paper 1	5 mothers serving prison sentences in an open prison who had used Acorn House overnight visiting facility 4 children of the mothers serving sentences who had used Acorn House overnight visiting facility 3 carers for children while their mother in prison (1 father, 1 sister of child, 1 female friend) Governor in charge of Family Services Principal Prison Officer Prison Officer assigned to Mother and Baby Unit
Paper 2	9 fathers serving prison sentences 7 mothers serving prison sentences 6 children with a parent in prison 1 female carer of a child with a parent in prison
Paper 3	Questionnaires completed by: 12 imprisoned mothers 60 students (20 Social Work, 20 Police, 20 Child Branch Nursing)
Paper 4	3 grandmothers caring for grandchildren while their mother is in prison 1 focus group of 7 imprisoned mothers, with children cared for by grandparents, serving their sentences in a closed prison 1 focus group of 8 imprisoned mothers, with children cared for by grandparents, in an open prison.

Paper 5	<p>6 mothers of men serving sentences of Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP)</p> <p>3 female partners of men serving IPP sentences</p>
Paper 6	<p>8 mothers serving prison sentences in an open prison who had used Acorn House overnight stay facility with their children</p> <p>6 children who had used Acorn House with their mothers</p> <p>1 grandmother caring for 2 grandchildren who had used Acorn House</p> <p>4 staff members interviewed – Principal Prison Officer, Family Support Worker, Nursery Manager, Acorn House Coordinator.</p>
Paper 7	<p><u>Trinidad and Tobago:</u></p> <p>2 focus groups with imprisoned mothers whose children were cared for by their grandmothers. 7 imprisoned mothers in each group</p> <p>5 grandmothers caring for their grandchildren while their mother was in prison</p> <p><u>Romania:</u></p> <p>1 focus group with 5 imprisoned fathers</p> <p>2 grandmothers caring for their grandchildren while their father was in prison.</p> <p><u>Uganda:</u></p> <p>2 imprisoned fathers with children cared for by their grandmothers during their prison sentences</p> <p>12 grandmothers caring for their grandchildren while their parents were in prison</p> <p><u>United Kingdom: (Same data analysed as in Paper 4) :</u></p> <p>3 grandmothers caring for grandchildren while their mother is in prison</p> <p>1 focus group of 7 imprisoned mothers, with children cared for by grandparents, serving their sentences in a closed prison</p> <p>1 focus group of 8 imprisoned mothers, with children cared for by grandparents, in an open prison.</p>

Paper 8	12 children with parents serving prison sentences
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Reflection on sample sizes

In Paper 2 and Paper 8 I was able to draw on the U.K. data from the large scale COPING Project that I had access to having been on the research team. In Paper 2 I was able to use the qualitative data analysis system NVivo to find data which addressed the issue of disclosure and to combine it with findings on disclosure from other smaller scale projects that myself and my co-author had been involved with. Likewise in Paper 8 I used NVivo to examine the transcripts of all the children interviewed for the COPING Project in the U.K. to identify key themes emerging regarding the lived experience of being a CIP.

The sample sizes for other papers are much smaller, meaning they are effectively case studies. These other papers were either supported by small grants from the University or not supported by any funding and done in addition to my teaching duties with no extra resource. However, I consider they have made a significant contribution to knowledge since they are researching areas which had not been previously researched. Papers 1 and 6 are the only publications to date to examine the practicalities and benefits of overnight contact between imprisoned mothers and their children in the U.K. Paper 3 is the only publication to date that I am aware of that examines the benefits for learning and building self-esteem of bringing student professionals together with those who are serving prison sentences. The questionnaire responses, although just based on one event, make a strong case for creating more opportunities to do this for the benefit of both student and imprisoned participants.

As far as I am aware, when I published Paper 4 in 2016, there had not been any other U.K. publications focussing on the lived experiences of grandmothers caring for children while their mothers served prison sentences, comparing these experiences to those of imprisoned mothers with their children cared for by grandparents. The sample size in Paper 4 is small but I consider the impact of the Paper to be significant. It was always intended to be a catalyst to start a discussion and further research on the particular issues pertaining to grandparent care for children with mothers in prison. This is confirmed by the fact that it was cited by Lord Farmer (2019) in his influential report on strengthening family ties for female offenders.

Likewise, Paper 5 was the first publication to consider the impact of indeterminate prison sentences on the children and family members of those serving them. Again, this paper was intended to start a discussion and shed light on an issue that had hitherto not been given

any focus in the literature. Again, despite small sample sizes, its impact has been considerable as is evidenced by it being cited in a U.N. report on the impact of Life Sentences (Rope, 2019).

Paper 7 was based on small sample sizes in the four countries (Trinidad and Tobago, Romania, Uganda and the U.K.) where the issues relating to grandparents caring for children while their parents served their prison sentences were compared. Again, this was pioneering research since in Uganda, Trinidad and Tobago and Romania the issues relating to children with parents in prison had barely been researched at all, let alone issues relating to grandparent carers. This ground-breaking research was made possible by excellent links between myself and colleagues in the universities and other organisations that participated in those countries. The collaborations forged by that research led to other positive outcomes, for example the first symposium on the impact of imprisonment on families in Trinidad that myself and my colleague at the University of the West Indies organised in 2018. For the first time prison officials and those who had previously served prison sentences came together to learn from each other's experience.

I consider that my publications show that if research resources are scarce, then it is still very worthwhile to conduct small scale pioneering research, even when based on small sample sizes. It can serve to raise awareness of under researched issues and is a catalyst for debate and further larger scale research. However, I also recognise that it is not possible to reliably generalise from such small samples.

The importance of hearing directly from children

All too often the views of children are 'filtered through the interpretations of adults' (Brady, 2018, p. 8). Reasons stated for excluding children from speaking directly to researchers are the idea that they lack maturity (Devries et al., 2015) and therefore insight as well as the notion that they need protection (Carter, 2009). Particularly sensitive topics are regarded as those which are considered as private, stressful or stigmatised (Powell et al., 2017). Issues relating to having parents in prison tick all these boxes.

However, the case for involving children and young people directly in research is compelling. Not only do they have their own unique lived experience, they also enjoy the right under the UNCRC to express their views in relation to matters that affect them. Children, it has been argued, are 'active beings' rather than 'human becomings' who should not be

'disenfranchised' from participation in research (Balen et al., 2006, p. 29). Importantly by listening to children and young people there is the opportunity to get their 'experiences and priorities' incorporated into policy and the design of services (ibid., p. 8). Wherever I have involved children in my research this has been my primary aim.

Child specific ethical issues

Involving children and young people in research does require the researcher to be very sensitive to child specific ethical issues (Royal College of Paediatrics, 2000) particularly around informed consent and voluntary participation. I learned quickly that it was not sufficient to gain consent from children at the start of the process. Consent from children needed to be regularly reviewed during an interview given the power dynamics between myself as an adult interviewer and the children and young people I interviewed. It is all too easy for a young person to continue with an interview to please the interviewer (Vreeman et al., 2012) when in reality they are finding it very stressful and traumatic. Therefore, it is incumbent on the interviewer to allow the young person multiple exit points from the interview should they wish to do so.

Whilst it is understood that child research participants must at all times be protected from all types of harm (Graham et al., 2014), it is also very important to consider what potential benefits a child will gain from being part of a research project (Ungar & Kodish, 2006). For verbally articulate children involvement can offer a chance to process difficult issues in a cathartic way. However, for a less verbally confident and articulate child answering a researcher's questions could be very stressful. It is essential that researchers bear this in mind at all times, and ensure their consideration for the child participant, rather than their desire for rich data, guides their decisions on whether to continue or to stop.

When doing research with children I always had the support of a non-governmental organisation (NGO), such as Partners of Prisoners Support Service (POPS) in Manchester or Person Shaped Support (PSS) in Liverpool. This meant that if a young person was distressed, they could rapidly be referred for support. If they were visiting their parent in prison regularly, they could often make contact with a support worker during the visit.

Sometimes during the COPING Project I co-worked interviews with children with an NGO support worker which allowed any distress to be picked up immediately.

There have been calls recently for researchers involving children in their projects to be trained more rigorously on how to conduct child focussed, sensitive and ethically attuned research. (Postma et al., 2021). I was fortunate since prior to coming into my researcher role I had extensive experience of engaging children and young people to discuss sensitive topics in my work as a Court Welfare Officer and Family Mediator. Without the benefit of that experience and training in those job roles I would have sought training to prepare me for involving children in my research.

For the purposes of my commentary, I will define a child or young person as being under the age of 18 years.

Consent with imprisoned people

Equally the issue of consent needs to be carefully considered when involving imprisoned people in research as there are many, often hidden and subtle, ways in which prisoners might feel coerced into participating (Edens et al., 2011). This was brought home to me even when working in the more relaxed context of an open prison. One of the key prison governors overseeing family support work had encouraged several prisoners to participate in the research. However due to power dynamics what the staff might see as gentle encouragement can all too easily feel coercive. Therefore, when potential research participants gathered to hear about the research from myself in the prison dining room one evening, I made a point of emphasising the voluntary nature of participation and encouraging those who had any doubts to leave. I was glad that several prisoners left at that point as I knew that those that remained were volunteers, as far as I could ascertain.

However, these concerns should not put us off from involving prisoners in research. There are so few opportunities to hear from those who are imprisoned about the lived experience of imprisonment (Crewe, 2012) that it is essential that researchers continue to involve prisoners but with diligent attention to ethical issues, especially around informed consent and coercion. Research can also be empowering for those serving prison sentences. One of the imprisoned mothers who I interviewed thanked me at the end and told me it was the first time during the 18 months she had been in prison that she had been talked to as a person of worth.

The papers and a summary of the contribution to knowledge of each paper

Paper 1

Raikes, B. & Lockwood K. (2011). 'Mothering from the Inside' - A Small Scale Evaluation of Acorn House, an Overnight Child Contact Facility at HMP Askham Grange, *Prison Service Journal*, No. 194 (19-27). HM Prison Service of England and Wales.

This paper relates to an evaluation of Acorn House, an overnight stay facility for children to visit their mothers at Askham Grange open prison. The Governor in charge of family work at the prison set the facility up to mitigate the loss of confidence felt by the mothers in the prison in recognition of the fact that separating mothers from their children by imprisonment 'hacks into their self-esteem' as she put it. The unique contribution of this paper is that it goes beyond other publications since not only does it record the anguish experienced by imprisoned mothers (as other publications have done) but it also sets out how the overnight stay facility can significantly reverse the loss of confidence and self-esteem felt. At the time when I undertook the research for Paper 6 in 2016, which is based on how Acorn House developed in the five years since our first evaluation in 2010, the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) (now Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service, HMPPS) made it a priority in its Business Plan for the female prison estate to develop more overnight stay facilities. As myself and my co-author were the only authors who have evaluated Acorn House, which at that time was the sole overnight stay facility in the England and Wales, my contribution to knowledge is evident in capturing the learning and wisdom that had been developed by the staff who facilitated Acorn House, allowing it to be channelled into developing other similar facilities. I gave a presentation summarising good practice developed by Acorn House staff at a workshop at a conference at HMP Askham Grange in 2016 which was set up to support other women's prisons to develop overnight stay facilities similar to Acorn House.

Paper 2

Lockwood, K., & **Raikes, B.** (2016). A difficult disclosure: The dilemmas faced by families affected by parental imprisonment regarding what information to share. In C. Reeves. (Ed.). *Experiencing Imprisonment: Research on the Experience of Living and Working in Carceral Institutions* (pp. 230-247). Taylor and Francis Inc.

Paper 2 considers the issue of how parents disclose the fact of their imprisonment to their children. The unique contribution to knowledge of this paper is that it draws together qualitative evidence from different research projects to provide an account of both positive and negative disclosures and the impact upon children. This serves to assist family members and professionals who are grappling with how to explain the imprisonment of a parent to a child.

Paper 3

Raikes, B. & Balen, R. (2016). The benefits of prisoner participation in interdisciplinary learning. *Social Work Education*. 35(8), 933-944.

Paper 3 captured the learning from an Inter Disciplinary Learning (IDL) event that brought imprisoned mothers together with student Social Workers, Nurses and Police Officers. The objective was for the student professionals to understand more about the impact of imprisonment on families by hearing directly from imprisoned mothers in small workshops. The workshop was also designed to build the self esteem and non-prisoner identity of the imprisoned mothers who participated. This paper represents a unique contribution to knowledge as, at the time of writing, there were no other publications that focussed upon the benefits of involving serving prisoners in student learning.

Paper 4

Raikes, B. (2016) *Unsung Heroines: Celebrating the care provided by grandmothers for children with parents in prison*, (pp.320-330) in *Probation Journal*, 63 (3).

The unique contribution that Paper 4 made was to build on existing literature that had been written on grandparent carers in other contexts such as parental substance abuse, and to apply it to case studies in relation to grandparents who were caring for children as a result of their parent's imprisonment. The paper also mirrored the perspectives of the grandparent carers by setting them alongside the views of imprisoned mothers, who participated in focus groups, whose children were looked after by their grandparents. To my knowledge I believe I was the first person to write about grandparent carers in the UK in this situation, as was evidenced by Lord Farmer referencing Paper 4 in his 2019 review of the importance of strengthening family ties for female offenders (Lord Farmer, 2019, p.23).

Paper 5

McConnell, M., & **Raikes, B.** (2019). "It's Not a Case of He'll Be Home One Day." The Impact on Families of Sentences of Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP). *Child Care in Practice*. 25(4), 349-366

Paper 5 made a unique contribution to knowledge since it was the first publication to discuss the impact of the now abolished indeterminate sentence of Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) on children and families.

Paper 6

Raikes B. & Lockwood, K. (2019). Acorn House Revisited: 'Think Family, Up and Down and Side to Side'. In M. Hutton & D. Moran. (Eds.). *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison and the Family. Palgrave Studies in Prisons and Penology* (pp.295-319), Palgrave Macmillan.

Paper 6 is an exploration of how the Acorn House overnight stay facility at HMP Askham Grange developed in the six years since we evaluated it in 2010. It represents a unique contribution to knowledge since, to date, myself and my co-author are the only researchers to have written about this facility and captured the good practice that has been developed by the prison.

Paper 7

Raikes, B., Asiminei, R., Nathaniel, K.A., Ochen, E.A., Pascaru, G. & Seruwagi, G. (2019). A Comparison of the Position of Grandmother Carers for Children with Parents in Prison in the UK, Trinidad and Tobago, Romania and Uganda. In M. Hutton & D. Moran. (Eds.). *The Palgrave Handbook of Prison and the Family. Palgrave Studies in Prisons and Penology* (pp.229-250) Palgrave Macmillan.

Paper 7 built upon Paper 4 to explore the situation of grandparent carers for children with parents in prison beyond the U.K. in Uganda, Trinidad and Romania. This paper represents a unique contribution to knowledge since myself and my co-authors are the only ones to have explored these issues in these countries. The same methodology of case studies and focus groups that was deployed in Paper 4 was utilised. The paper discusses both the common threads in the experiences of grandparents in these countries but also the way in which cultural factors and constrained resources amplified the challenges faced by grandparent carers and the children they cared for.

Paper 8

Raikes, B. (2021). 'I used to say I haven't got a mum because that was the best thing for me to say': Exploring the lived experience of children with parents in prison. In Parkes A., & Donson, F.,(Eds.). *Parental Imprisonment and Children's Rights* (pp.7-21). Routledge.

Paper 8 presented data gathered from children in the U.K. who participated in the pan European COPING Project in the context of the UNCRC. It contributes to knowledge by capturing the lived experience of the children interviewed, as it came directly from them as opposed to it being mediated through the adults who were caring for them. Therefore, this paper makes a significant contribution in bringing the experiences of these often-invisible children and young people to life. By mapping the children's lived experiences to the UNCRC, the paper also serves to highlight gaps between aspirations and practice in terms of the extent to which UNCRC rights are enjoyed by children with parents in prison.

Lifeworld Theory and Ashworth's Lifeworld fractions

Lifeworld theory

The Lifeworld framework is derived from literature on existential phenomenology based on the ideas of Habermas and Husserl dating from 1960s. It is closely linked to a commitment to social justice and for this reason is a very relevant framework to employ when examining a social problem such as the harms inflicted upon family members when a parent is sentenced to imprisonment. It has been referred to as supporting 'everyday coping patterns in the struggle for a successful everyday' (Grunwald and Thiersch, 2009, p.1). In this context it can be used to consider the most supportive interventions to ensure the well-being of CIPs, their carers and parents in prison. It is also instructive in terms of developing good practice. Lifeworlds are influenced by the systems in which they occur. In the case of those impacted by parental imprisonment the relevant systems are the Criminal Justice System and the broader political system and associated policy and sentencing framework which it sits within. The Lifeworld has been conceptualised as the 'forestage shaped by the backstage of societal structures and developments' (ibid., p.5).

Ashworth's fractions

Ashworth (2016) contends that any lived experience can be understood by exploring it in relation to eight different 'fractions' to understand a person's Lifeworld, or 'Lebenswelt' to use the original German word coined by Husserl and Heidegger. He considers that these 'fractions' are universally present and 'implicated' in any lived experience. Further he asserts that it is useful to examine the fractions separately whilst at the same time recognising that they are 'mutually entailed, with overlapping or interpenetrating meanings' (ibid, p.23) since while 'each fraction is essential, each melds in with the others' (ibid, p.24). He also acknowledges that the characteristics of a particular Lifeworld will determine which fractions are most significant for those living within it. Ashworth's fractions that follow have been formulated using Merleau-Ponty's (1962) Phenomenology of Perception as their source.

- 1) **Selfhood** which focusses on how a person's identity, sense of agency and presence are determined by the circumstances which they find themselves in. Therefore, in this context powerlessness can be significant too.
- 2) **Sociality** relates to the impact of relationships with other people, which can be positive or negative. Those around us can 'affirm or undermine' (ibid, p.4) our Lifeworld.

- 3) **Embodiment** refers to the physical form of individuals through which they experience their Lifeworld. This manifests as gender, age, ethnicity and health which all influence how the Lifeworld is experienced.
- 4) **Temporality** refers to the impact that time has on the Lifeworld, which could relate to a person's life stage and biography or how they experience the passing of time. This has also been referred to as the 'temporal flow of events' (Andrews et al., 2019, p.3).
- 5) **Spatiality** refers to the spaces that are lived in within the Lifeworld. Linked to this is who these spaces are controlled by, and who is included within and excluded from them (ibid.p.3)
- 6) **Project** refers to the extent to which those within a particular Lifeworld can engage in the activities that give their life meaning, which in turn is determined by their priorities concerns and what they are committed to doing. Churchill (2018) considers Project to link to the ability of an individual to self-actualise as the person that they aspire to be. He contends that the success or otherwise of this fundamental human project is a very good reference point for understanding the emotions that are experienced within a Lifeworld.
- 7) **Discourse** relates to the language that is used to describe a Lifeworld and the activities within it.
- 8) **Moodedness** is the term Ashworth uses to describe the emotional atmosphere of the Lifeworld, and the feelings that are experienced as a result of the situation individuals find themselves in.

Contribution to knowledge aligned to Ashworth's eight fractions

I will demonstrate my contribution to knowledge in relation to each of these 'fractions' and explore how they inter-relate. I will conclude that any intervention for children and families in this position that is going to be truly beneficial and holistic needs to address all these eight fractions. A review of the literature suggests that Ashworth's (2016) Lifeworld 'fractions' framework has not been applied in a detailed way to the impact of imprisonment on families before. I contacted Professor Ashworth to check that this was definitely the case. He responded that his understanding was that this was indeed a new application of his framework, and he also considered it to be a good fit when I gave him a flavour of how I was approaching it. This confirmed that this was the framework I wanted to use. Therefore, my intention is not only to document the contribution to knowledge that my publications have

made in this commentary, but also for this commentary to be a contribution to knowledge in its own right.

He also suggested that his framework could be a good means to understand aspects of research participants' Lifeworld's that from my own standpoint might not be self-evident. This links to the idea of 'epoche', which involves putting aside our preconceptions and assumptions and suspending judgement when conducting research.

Re-analysis of data using Ashworth's (2016) Lifeworld fractions

I re-analysed the data from my publications coding it to Ashworth's (2016) Lifeworld fractions framework. Appendix 3 contains the table that I devised to record this process. I systematically re-read all my publications considering which fraction or fractions each new finding would fit most effectively into. I found this gave me fresh impetus to re-examine data that I was very familiar with, and to see it in a fresh way. Sometimes I would summarise the finding and sometimes I would cut and paste quotes directly into the table.

I have always used thematic analysis to analyse the data from my research, which as Braun and Clarke (2006) observe provides a way of organising and seeking patterns in findings. Usually, I do this by opening a word document and creating headings and sub-headings from the data as I read through it. When I was a researcher on the COPING project I did this using Nvivo as part of a large international research team. This involved in depth discussions to identify how we would label the different nodes in a way that was broad enough encompass all our data, but at the same time manageable enough to organise and focus our findings. By contrast, when analysing data from my own small scale research projects, it was quite liberating to have the freedom to decide on my own themes, whilst at the same recognising these decisions are always subjective (Ayre et al., 2022).

Therefore, it was an interesting exercise re-analyse all the data from the publications submitted for my PhD by publication using the pre-determined framework of Ashworth's (2016) Lifeworld fractions, rather than themes that I had devised myself. I was intrigued to test whether Ashworth's contention that all human experience could be categorised under one or more of his Lifeworld fractions would prove to be true. Having completed this exercise I found that indeed all my findings did fit into one or more of Ashworth's Lifeworld fractions, which points to the universality and effectiveness of his framework. I made subjective decisions about which findings to code to which fraction, and no doubt different researchers

might have made different decisions about that. However, it was very striking that all my findings found a 'home' with one or more of fractions.

I did not consider that I had to 'shoe-horn' any of the data into the fractions. The findings in some of my papers linked to multiple fractions whereas the findings in other papers related to fewer fractions. I was aware that Paper 3 had quite a different focus to the other papers since it was about the benefits of a learning event directly involving mothers serving prison sentences, rather than the impact and lived experience of different aspects of parental imprisonment. This meant that the application of the data from that Paper had a different context and focus to my other papers, but it nevertheless worked well. For example, in relation to Selfhood the focus was on the imprisoned mothers striving to develop their non-prisoner identity. Temporality considered the significance of the point at which the imprisoned mothers were at in terms of serving their sentence, and likewise the students in their professional journey, and the bearing it had on their ability to participate in and gain from the event.

Selfhood

A prison sentence causes huge disruption to the lives of not only the person who is imprisoned but also to those to whom the imprisoned person is connected. This has led to children with an imprisoned parent being referred to as 'Collateral Convicts' (Robertson, 2012). For an imprisoned parent this disruption relates particularly to their identity, especially for mothers who are generally primary carers for children, for whom a large part of their identity and sense of self is bound up with performing that role. Baroness Corston (2007, p.2) refers to this situation as being 'nothing short of catastrophic'.

Paper 1 brings the emotional impact of this change in identity from mother to imprisoned person into sharp relief. It articulates how the loss of this identity is reinforced by normal visits and even home visits where children look to their carers to meet their needs and not their mothers as they have grown used to doing this while their mother is imprisoned, even in some instances referring to their carer as 'mum'. This is also echoed in Paper 4 where an imprisoned mother laments how her child 'doesn't cry for mummy anymore', and another mother describes how her child, and her grandmother who cares for her, talk 'across' her during visits.

Notions of stigma are also closely linked to Selfhood. Stigma has been defined as a 'social attribute which devalues a person's social identity' (Bruce & Yearley, 2006, p.290). The imprisoned mothers we engaged in our research were also wracked by guilt and acutely

aware of how they are perceived negatively as a result of doing something 'wrong' leading them to think they are unworthy of being a mother. However, Paper 1 explains how the overnight stay facility provides a unique and private space where it is possible for 'mothering' to take place, and for mothers to rebuild their confidence and recognise that they have not totally lost their parenting skills. As one mother put it 'with Acorn House I can slowly build it back up again'. In that way they can start to restore the part of themselves that is identified with being a mother.

The mothers we interviewed provided a very poignant account of how the short walk from the main prison to the overnight stay facility enabled them to process the change in identity from imprisoned mother to mother, and then the painful change from mother back to 'prisoner mode' on their return. It is striking how their accounts combine elements of both Selfhood and Spatiality. One mother used the phrase 'double edged sword' to describe the experience of having overnight stays. In doing so she was expressing the joy of engaging with her daughter in the positive environment of Acorn House but at the same time recounting the pain of separation at the end of the visit. She considered that pain was akin to a feeling of being sentenced again.

When myself and my co-author, Dr. Kelly Lockwood, conducted the evaluation of Acorn House we were acutely aware of the need for our research to not add to the exclusion that the imprisoned mothers who participated felt from their children's lives and the loss of the sense of themselves as mothers. Therefore, we fully involved the mothers in planning how the research would be conducted, abandoning our original idea of interviewing children in their homes in favour of their suggestion to structure our interviews with children around an extra family day, during which children could engage in activities with their mothers while they were waiting to be interviewed. In this way we developed a 'mother centred' methodology which can be picked up by future researchers.

In Paper 6 I re-evaluated Acorn House six years on to see how it had been developed. The positive impact of it for both imprisoned mothers and their children was confirmed. One 15 years old child commented 'I loved it me, felt like normal again', in effect expressing that whilst at the overnight stay facility with his mother he felt himself again. This gave him hope for how life could be restored to something close to how it was prior to his mother going to prison when she was released. This young man had reconnected with his mother by having an overnight stay on her birthday. The significance of the particular point in time represented by a birthday links to Temporality.

Paper 6 was also able to capture the way the staff who managed the Acorn House overnight stay facility conceptualised the work they were doing, which all linked to Selfhood in different ways. They identified there were three situations that the overnight stay facility could assist with: Maintaining, Rebuilding or Resolving relationships between imprisoned mothers and their children. Maintaining involved keeping the relationship between the mother and her child that had existed prior to her imprisonment alive despite the barriers caused by imprisonment, or put another way maintaining the imprisoned mother's mothering identity. Rebuilding involved building bridges between the imprisoned mother and her child where the relationship had broken down prior to her imprisonment, in effect allowing mothers to bring back a focus to that part of themselves that was their role and identity as a mother. The resolving aspect was where due to a very lengthy sentence or a lack of parenting capacity a child could not be cared for by their mother in the long run. In this situation Acorn House was used as a venue for often highly emotive final 'goodbye' contacts where if appropriate mothers could meet adoptive parents and have photos taken. This intervention recognised that even where children do not live with their mothers there is still a large part of that mothers' identity and sense of self that is tied up with being a mother.

One of the issues myself and my co-author considered when writing Paper 2 was the link between how an imprisoned parent makes sense of their imprisonment in terms of the language they use, and how this in turn impacts on their sense of self. This demonstrates how Discourse and Selfhood are closely linked. For some of the mothers' who were rebuilding their relationships with their children they framed their imprisonment as a time of recovery, repair and personal growth. In doing so they were able to project a positive attitude to their children, which in turn would be positive for their children's well-being and how they perceived their mothers.

Grandparent carers of children with imprisoned parents also face huge shifts in their identity and sense of self as documented in Paper 4. These changes have been captured in the literature as 'incongruence between life stage and role enactment' (Landrey-Meyer and Newman, 2004, p.1015), and a 'repeat performance of parenting' (Lever and Wilson, 2005, p.167). This links to Ashworth's fractions of both Selfhood and Temporality, the latter in terms of the impact of a disruption to the expected chronology of their life trajectory.

Paper 4 made a unique contribution to knowledge by shining a spotlight on the particular situation faced by grandparent carers for children with parents in prison. Papers 4 and 7 confirmed that both for U.K. based grandparents and those based in Uganda, Trinidad and Romania, they derived a huge satisfaction from caring for their grandchildren and seeing them flourish in their care, to the extent that it was an expression of the part of their self and

identity that was derived from being a grandparent. This deep-rooted motivation to do all they could to care for their grandchildren, and make sacrifices is undoubtedly a huge strength. However, as I contended in Papers 4 and 7, it is essential to appreciate that their care is enacted against a backdrop of multiple losses. Not only have they lost their own son or daughter as a result of them being imprisoned but also, they have lost their special grandparenting relationship with the children they are caring for. In addition to this, linking to Ashworth's Sociality fraction, they have often lost their social network as well since it is hard to incorporate children into their social life with peers who do not have responsibility for children. There is also a link to Ashworth's Moodedness fraction too since they are also coping with the emotional fall out that their grandchild or grandchildren are experiencing due to missing and worrying about their imprisoned parent. By bringing these factors together for the first time I was able to add to the call for more resources to be directed towards supporting grandparent carers.

Paper 4 was also able to draw on the wisdom of imprisoned mothers with grandparent carers for their children, who participated in focus groups, to shed light on how best to navigate the difficulties arising from changes in roles. This is instructive for those who are working with families in this position. As discussed above the mothers were able to express their anguish at being excluded from their children's lives as their own parents fulfilled the parenting role in their absence. However, they also appreciated that the care provided by their parents had prevented their children from having to go into foster care. Therefore, for example, the imprisoned mothers were able to restrain themselves from saying anything when they saw their children on visits looking like they were dressed in clothes from a 'refugee camp or car boot sale' or when they disagreed with the way that their children were being disciplined. The imprisoned mothers also recognised the importance of good communication with their parents and thorough preparation for release. For example, an imprisoned mother in the focus group whose mother had moved into her house to care for her children was desperate to move back into her house alone with her children as soon as she was released. However, she realised that there needed to be a transition period where she lived in her house with her mother and the children to allow the children to adjust back to her care.

Selfhood was evident for different reasons in my other publications. Paper 5 articulated how the uncertain release date attached to the sentence of Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) means that those serving the IPP sentence, and by extension their families, do not have anything to plan and hope for in the future. A definition of 'hope' is to have optimism about 'future possibilities' (Tutton et al., 2012, p.2062). With this in mind, the European Court

of Human Rights ruled in 2013 that the ability to hope is 'an important and constitutive aspect of the human person' (Van Zyl Smit & Appleton, 2016, p. 9) and that therefore being deprived of hope with no prospect of release from a prison sentence is 'degrading' and against Article 3 of the Human Rights Act (2000). This confirms that the ability to hope is an intrinsic part of what constitutes a person's sense of self. It does not take a huge leap of imagination to understand why imprisoned people serving the IPP sentence have a significantly higher rate of suicide compared to other prisoners (Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2008), since the sentence causes the crushing of hope and sense of self and what it is to be human. Myself and my co-author were the first writers to consider how this might affect the children and families of those prisoners serving the IPP sentence. Our hope is that it will prompt policy makers to explore this further and to put in measures to mitigate its devastating impact.

Paper 8 brought into sharp relief the importance of the cultural context in which a family impacted by imprisonment lives. One of the benefits of the pan European COPING project was that the experience of young people with a parent in prison in different countries could be compared. The different perceptions of Swedish and English young people were very striking. The Swedish children and young people, having been brought up in a society which placed a high priority on ensuring that they were aware of their UNCRC rights (Thorburn Stern, 2017) were significantly more forceful in vocalising how they wanted to be supported by the State. For example, they agreed that the State should force their carers to disclose why their parent was in prison in a truthful and age-appropriate way, if their carer was not prepared to do so. Children and young people in the U.K. did not have the same awareness of their rights, and therefore were not so forceful in terms of how these rights should be enjoyed in relation to the situation they found themselves in. In this way it is apparent that the emphasis placed on rights can have a profound impact on a young person's sense of Selfhood, and therefore their expectations of how they should be treated by those around them and the State.

Paper 3 captured the learning from an Inter Disciplinary Learning (IDL) event that brought imprisoned mothers together with student Social Workers, Nurses and Police Officers. The objective was for the student professionals to understand more about the impact of imprisonment on families by hearing directly from imprisoned mothers in small workshops. One striking aspect that was evident from the evaluation done by the imprisoned mothers who participated was how much they appreciated the chance to portray themselves in a way that affirmed their non-prisoner identity. Sharing their experiences and seeing the powerful

effect that it had on the students who participated caused them to look at themselves differently, as one commented:

‘being a prisoner and having spent so long in prison ... you don’t know how much work you have done (on yourself) until you are tested’.

One of the imprisoned mothers I interviewed for Paper 6 told me how much she appreciated being spoken to like a ‘human being’ rather than as a prisoner. This demonstrated how sensitively and ethically carried out research can affirm the non-prisoner identity of participants who are in prison. This mother made an offer to share her experiences with my students as part of a module that I lead in my role as a Social Work lecturer that involves service users sharing their lived experience of various different situations. She has shared her experiences of how her prison sentence impacted on herself and her family and in particular her relationship with her son several times now. However, when I have contacted her each year we have had a long discussion about whether sharing this experience will be empowering or whether it risks casting her back in a negative way to the prisoner identity from which she has now moved on. Each time, after much thought, she has decided that sharing her experiences is positive especially if it makes a difference in terms of how the student professionals she addresses practice in relation to imprisoned mothers. I have learned a great deal about Selfhood from our discussions and each year when the time of her lecture approaches will bring a new negotiation in terms of whether she participates and how doing so might impact upon her sense of self.

An aspect of imprisonment should be about developing a non-prisoner identity in preparation for release, since this is regarded as crucial to desisting from crime (Vaughan, 2007). Paper 3 is a reminder to those who manage prisons and who develop prison policy to build in as many opportunities as possible for those in prison to express their identity in ways that go beyond being a prisoner.

Sociality

Sociality is the fraction that relates to the impact of those who are around you in your Lifeworld. These people can have a positive or negative impact. This understanding goes to the heart of Lord Farmer’s reviews of the importance of family ties for both imprisoned males and females: ‘supportive relations with family and significant others give meaning and all important motivation to rehabilitation and resettlement activity’ (Lord Farmer, 2017).

Paper 1 recounts how the whole staff commitment at HMP Askham Grange to the successful operation of Acorn House and family work in general was integral to the success of the facility, and the positive experiences that the imprisoned mothers and their children had when using the facility. This commitment was evident to children from the warm welcome they received from Prison Officers who took the time to talk to them and remember details of their lives, such as a passion for rugby. For the children and young people we interviewed, this contrasted sharply with their experience of visiting in the closed prisons where their mothers had started their prison sentences. The Prison Officers in those prisons were referred to as being unfriendly, intimidating and focussed on searching and security. This is echoed in other research (Hutton, 2016; Booth, 2020). The way in which prison staff present themselves on visits impacts not only on the quality of the visit itself but also on how children and other family members perceive the treatment of their loved ones in prison, and in this way, it links to Moodedness. In Paper 4 grandparents discussed the importance of staff attitudes in prison visitor centres. One grandparent described how friendly staff made a huge difference making her feel she had been given a 'big hug' every time she visited her daughter. However, by contrast, she also described her dismay when her daughter was transferred to another prison where the staff were not so warm, helpful or friendly. Other U.K. women's prisons have aspired to create overnight stay facilities similar to Acorn House. However, progress on this has been slow and I consider that one of the obstacles is the absence of a whole prison commitment to developing overnight stay facilities.

Within my network there is a Prison Governor in charge of family work at a large men's closed prison. When he took on the role of heading up family work, he did so on the condition that he could create a new staff team to manage visits, since he was aware that the current team had poor attitudes towards visitors. This was resisted at first as the current visiting team's emphasis on security was deemed to be essential, even if it was at the expense of a positive experience for visitors. However, he doggedly pursued his objective to recruit a new team based on their ability to engage family in a positive way, and eventually he was allowed to take this forward (Clancy & Maguire, 2017), with dire warnings that it would probably result in a rise in contraband coming in if the new staff were not so security aware. In fact, with the family-friendly positive staff in place, families felt more able to share security concerns with staff and therefore staff were able to gather intelligence about possible security breaches with the result that security on visits improved. This demonstrates how considerations of Sociality when selecting staff to work at the visiting centre can deliver benefits to both families and the security of prisons.

The lack of privacy is a recurring complaint about prison visits, from both imprisoned parents and their children (Lockwood et al., 2021). Paper 1 recounted the views of imprisoned mothers who found it very hard to have a meaningful visit under the conditions of the normal prison visit. One difficulty is that children have to be accompanied on normal visits by an adult over 18 years old. Generally, this will be a family member or trusted friend and so the imprisoned mother feels obliged to give the accompanying adult attention on the visit, to the detriment of the precious time she can spend with her own child. One mother commented: 'you dish yourself out so thin, and it isn't the quality time you want to spend'. Another mother discussed the unsatisfactory nature of phone calls 'you can lose a phone call just like that (clicks fingers) by saying the wrong thing'. Acorn House allows mothers and their children to have the private time they both crave as there is no requirement for an accompanying adult to be present. In fact, there is a strict rule that partners and carers can only drop off and collect which means the child can have their mother's undivided attention. A 15-year-old participant in Paper 1 summed up how important this was to her: 'it was our time, we didn't have to worry about anyone else'. Another 16-year-old expressed why she appreciated overnight stays so much: 'it's all about me and her'.

One of the particular contributions of Paper 1 was to focus down in a detailed way on the Lifeworld of the children who had used the overnight stay facility. Using the lens of Sociality is informative since the Lifeworld of children extends beyond their relationship with their imprisoned parent, for example to include their relationships with step siblings and their links to sporting activities. In Paper 1 a daughter who engaged in overnight stays with her mother on a monthly basis expressed how this arrangement allowed her to have quality time with her mother but also left her free to see her step siblings at the weekend. In Paper 6 a young man who had a passion for rugby explained how seeing his mother once a month for an overnight stay meant that not only did he have a meaningful connection with her but it also allowed him to play rugby with his team on the other weekends. He recognised that his participation in rugby was very important to his sense of self and identity and having the continuity of being able to lose himself in a game of rugby was a key factor in allowing him to remain resilient in the face of all the stress caused by his mother's prison sentence.

Paper 6 discussed how overnight stay facilities are available routinely in both female and male prisons in other parts of the world, most notably Scandinavia. In Scandinavia there is an appreciation of the importance of all aspects of Sociality for both male and female people in prison, including sexual relationships. This also links to Selfhood and identity, allowing imprisoned people of both genders to affirm their identities as members of a family and sexual partners.

We can also understand the way in which stigma is generated and experienced in terms of Sociality. Stigma manifests itself in terms of how other people treat you. In Paper 2 a research participant captured this very well: 'as soon as you mention the word prison everyone looks down on you and points a finger at you'. Paper 4 illustrated how stigma rippled out beyond the imprisoned family to affects others, in this case the grandmother who was caring for a child while their mother was in prison. The grandmother talked about how her work colleagues gossiped behind her back at her workplace saying things like 'her daughter, bloody druggie, back in jail again'. This in turn caused grandmothers to experience shame meaning that they withdrew from family and friends and missed significant events such as christenings and communions. This added to their sense of isolation and inevitably took its toll on their mental health. In Paper 8, a young person whose father was convicted of a sexual offence described how some of those around her family reacted in an extremely stigmatising way 'shouting abuse and spray-painting stuff on windows'.

Paper 5 discussed how the family members of those subject to the IPP sentence assumed the person subject to it had committed a highly stigmatised offence, such as murder or child abuse, or further offences whilst in prison meaning their release date was delayed, when in reality their offending was not of that magnitude and their delayed release was as a result of the backlog of parole hearings. This in turn generated another level of stigma for the family members of those subject to the IPP. In relation to the IPP it demonstrated the importance of clearer information in relation to what its purpose was and why it was imposed.

One of the shocking findings in relation to children with parents in prison in Uganda discussed in Paper 7 was that family members caring for them sometimes actively discriminated between their grandchildren on the basis of who did and did not have a parent in prison. An example was given that in one family the children with a parent in prison were made to sleep on uncomfortable thin mats whereas the grandchildren without a parent in prison had the benefit of sleeping on comfortable mattresses.

Sociality is also important in terms of understanding the situation of children with a parent in prison in Uganda, and how it is impacted by cultural factors and poverty. Whereas in the U.K. when a father is sentenced to imprisonment the affected child or children will generally stay with their mother. However, in Uganda often mothers are wholly reliant on their husbands for food to survive. In this situation a mother's only chance of surviving could be to remarry. However, in Ugandan culture it is unlikely that a future husband would be prepared to marry a woman and take on her children from a previous relationship. Therefore, a mother's only hope of survival might be to separate herself from her children. If the children are lucky, they will be cared for by their grandparents. However, if grandparents are not

available or able to provide this care then the children are vulnerable to child exploitation or even being killed in sacrifice rituals (Roberts, 2013). Paper 7's contribution was to explore how cultural factors and constrained resources amplify the struggles faced by families impacted by imprisonment. Paper 7 is one of the first publications to explore this, and it is hoped that other publications will build on it to deepen our understanding of these factors.

The key message emerging from Papers 4 and 7 in relation to grandparent carers was how they desperately needed more emotional and financial support. In the context of Sociality, it is instructive to note that one of the grandparents in Uganda, living in abject poverty, stated that her primary need, beyond material support, was companionship. One of the imprisoned mothers in the UK who participated in the focus groups discussed in Paper 4 echoed this in relation to her own mother who she stated 'just wishes she has someone to turn to who's going through what she is going through ... there's really nothing out there for them'. Another grandparent summed this up when she expressed her disappointment that 'no one is catching us, there is no safety net for us'. One grandmother interviewed had set up her own support group via Facebook to enable links with others in her position.

There have been notable examples of good practice such as a National Lottery funded Grandparent Plus Project that provided a dedicated worker to support grandparents caring for children with parents in prison. However sadly once the lottery funding ended so too did the project, but the mantle has been taken up by the organisation Kinship (kinship.org.uk) which has a commitment to supporting those who care for children while their parents are in prison. Grandparents have huge strengths in terms of the amazing care for children they can provide in the situation where a parent is imprisoned. However, as I argued in Paper 4, Government resources need to be directed towards supporting them so that the benefits of these strengths can be realised without placing an intolerable burden on these grandparents.

The need for peer support was echoed by children whose voices were captured in Paper 8. They asked for more opportunities to meet up with others in the same position to share experiences without the need to explain themselves or being judged. There are some very well-developed services that provide such opportunities, including Time Matters UK in Merseyside (timemattersuk.com) and Children Heard and Seen based in Oxfordshire (childrenheardandseen.co.uk) but it is a postcode lottery as to whether children have a service in their area. I have seen the power of children providing peer support to each other in a group setting for myself. It is an amazing strengths-based intervention where, for example children who have had a parent in prison for a long time, can share the wisdom and coping strategies they have developed over time with other children who perhaps are having to adapt to their parent being recently sentenced (Brookes, 2014). Paper 8 added to the calls

for funding to be made available to enable a peer support group for children with parents in prison to be established in every local authority area. With the advent of the pandemic, and the increased use of virtual means to connect, there is scope for many more children to be offered this type of support.

In Paper 8 it was clear that the quality of contact with their imprisoned parent was central to the Lifeworld of children with parents in prison. One of the teenage young people who contributed to the research for that paper had been denied all contact with her father who was in prison for a sex offence. Considerations of Sociality or lack of it is an important reference point to understand her particular situation. She did not believe that her father had committed the offence he was convicted and sentenced for, and she also described how her relationship to her father was stronger than her relationship with her mother. Her experience whilst her father was awaiting sentence was one of isolation, since she was not allowed to have contact with her school peers unsupervised as they were witnesses, with the result that she sat alone during lunch time and breaks. Once he had been sentenced, if her father telephoned from prison, then she had been instructed by his Probation Officer to immediately hand the phone over to an adult. She was not allowed to write or receive letters. She captured the situation as 'no contacts, no phone calls, no letters, no nothing'. Whilst there may have been very valid safeguarding reasons for all these restrictions what was significant was that she was not given any explanation about why they were imposed. This would appear to be contrary to the UNCRC rights to contact with both parents and also to have information about situations that affect children. When decisions are made in terms of safeguarding it is understandable that the potential risks arising from the offence are central to decision making about contact. However, in Paper 8, I argued that the emotional risks to a young person of being denied all contact with a parent need to also be considered and weighed in the balance when contact decisions are made.

Embodiment

As discussed above, Adalist-Estrin (2018) has asserted it is not helpful to conceive of children with parents in prison as a homogenous group. The reality is that their specific characteristics will determine their Lifeworld and how they experience this situation. The same applies to the parents in prison and also to those caring for affected children.

Embodiment can take various forms. It could relate to the gender of the imprisoned person. Heidensohn (1985) recognised that women and men being sentenced are treated differently by the judiciary. She contends that women coming before the courts are subject to a double judgement, firstly for the fact that by offending they have broken the unwritten rules that

inform what is acceptable for women and norms of femininity, and secondly for breaking the criminal law. She concluded that this could result in women receiving a harsher sentence than men for a similar offence. This also contributes to the stigma that is particular to women in prison. With far fewer women than men in prison there is inevitably more stigma associated with being an imprisoned mother than father. The way gender roles are configured in our society is also significant with mothers generally being primary carers for children. This means there are significant differences in the experience of children that are determined by whether it is their mother or father who has been imprisoned (see Introduction).

Embodiment is also significant in other ways, for example in terms of ethnicity. With tragic cases of deaths in custody related to Racism (Mr Justice Keith, 2006), and concerns about public services such as the Police and Prison Service being institutionally racist (MacPherson, 1990), children and family members from racially minoritized communities face an extra layer of worry about their family member in prison. This concern is focussed not only on their physical safety but also upon whether their cultural needs are being met and respected. In Paper 8 one of the young people interviewed described how when his father was held at a high security local prison at the beginning of his sentence, he was encouraged by the fact that Halal food was available to buy at the prison visitor centre. This signalled to him that the prison had respect for his father's cultural needs, and it gave him a positive view of how his father was being treated. He contrasted this to when his father was transferred to a prison with a lower security classification. He was dismayed that the visitor centre did not provide Halal food options and this in turn caused him to worry about the treatment his father was receiving in the prison and whether his culture was respected. Likewise, the young man expressed his disappointment that a priority was not placed on visits during Eid. He explained how his family had consciously not booked a visit over the Christmas period to enable a Christian family to have the opportunity to celebrate Christmas with their loved one. However, when it came to Eid, the same courtesy was not extended to his family by non-Muslim prisoners. I have co-authored a paper that is not included in this submission that focuses on how imprisonment impacts upon British Pakistani families in ways that are culturally specific (Abass et al., 2016). I consider the discussion of this situation in Paper 8 highlights the importance of recognising the diversity of different Lifeworlds that exist for children and families with a parent in prison, with each family having different needs that require a tailored approach to be fully met.

Embodiment applies as well to grandparent carers. All the grandparent carers we interviewed in Papers 4 and 7, both in the U.K. and beyond suffered health problems. One

grandparent carer even described how she had discharged herself early from hospital in to minimise time away from the grandchild she was caring for. The grandparents in Trinidad had a variety of health complaints including high blood pressure and those in Uganda were ill with diseases such as malaria. However, what united the grandparents was that they struggled on regardless despite the challenges created by their poor health, such was their commitment to their grandchildren. This is all the more reason for resources to be directed to these carers who save their governments a huge amount of money by avoiding the need for foster care.

Temporality

The concept of Temporality is embedded into how the issue of imprisonment is discussed. Everybody knows that 'serving time' relates to being in prison, as demonstrated by a recent, highly acclaimed, BBC drama entitled 'Time' (BBC, 2021). Temporality relates not only to the length of the sentence being served but also to the stage in that sentence the imprisoned parent and family are at. For one girl in Paper 8, whose mother was serving a long sentence, this was conceptualised as: 'I have to have another eight Christmases without her'.

Temporality also refers to the life stage that children and young people are at and is also relevant to the stage of study of the student professionals who participated in the interdisciplinary learning event in Paper 3. In a more macro sense Temporality also relates to the historical period in which a prison sentence is served. The importance of family ties for parents in prison has been increasingly recognised over time, from the Woolf Report into the disturbances at HMP Strangeways in 1991 (Prison Reform Trust, 1991) to Lord Farmer's reviews in 2017 and 2019. Consequently, although progress is slow, services for families of those in prison have gradually improved over time, for example with the advent of the Prisoners' Families Helpline, and a growth in the number of NGOs providing support to families in this situation such as the Partners of Prisoners Service (POPS) in Manchester.

In Paper 8 Temporality was significant since many of the children interviewed expressed their frustration at for example not being able to control how they aligned times for themselves and their parents to talk on the phone. Telephone contact is highly valued by imprisoned parents and their children, with often daily calls being made (Jones et al., 2013). In fact, one young person in Paper 8 expressed a preference for telephone contact over face-to-face visits as 'you lose the sense that you are talking to someone in prison', linking to notions of spatiality.

Those who are not in prison take it for granted that they can spontaneously telephone or make appointments to connect with people at a certain time. In most prisons telephone calls are one way in the sense that parents can phone out, but family members are unable to phone in. For people in prison, it is unpredictable when they will get access to shared phones due to queues and possible intimidation and bullying that might be an obstacle at certain times too in some prisons (Ellison et al., 2018). The result is that children feel out of control of timings for when they can contact their parents, either to share good news or to seek emotional support. The time lag between the event they want to share happening and being able to contact their parent to share it can mean the moment to share it has passed in the child's mind. One eight-year-old girl expressed this very eloquently in relation to her imprisoned father in Paper 8: 'when I want to talk to him he doesn't phone and when he does phone I don't want to talk to him'. In Paper 1 a teenage girl whose mother was serving a Life sentence expressed her anguish at not being able to talk to her mother when she was feeling low, having to resort to willing her mother to ring her. This evidences the difference more control over telephone contact would make in terms of improving the well-being of children in this situation and going some way to upholding children's rights to family life.

There are now some prisons where in recognition of this family members are able to phone into the prison to speak to loved ones on a private in cell phone (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2021). At the time when I was conducting the research for Paper 6 HMP Askham Grange was trialling a scheme whereby children could phone their mothers at set times on the shared prison phones. This was much appreciated despite the lack of spontaneity. In addition to this, as a response to the Covid pandemic, some prisoners have been given access to mobile phones with restricted numbers, and virtual video visits, supervised and at set times, are possible too (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2021).

Children have the right under the UNCRC Article 13 to information about situations that affect them. However, for carers of children with parents in prison, translating this aspiration into practice, in relation to informing children that their parent is in prison, can be very challenging. This is especially the case when the offence is serious and stigmatised. As mentioned above the contribution of Paper 2 is to focus solely on this issue, exploring the impact on children of both well and poorly handled disclosures. One of the young people that I interviewed captured perfectly the NGO advice about age-appropriate disclosure (Families Outside, 2012) by drawing a square with his fingers in the air: 'it's simple' he said 'you give them an outline which you fill with more details as they get older.' So, in this context

Temporality is informative since the timeline of a child's life, and of course their level of understanding, should be what informs the amount of detail they are given about their parent's offence.

In Paper 5, myself and my co-author discussed how the Indeterminate Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) sentence, due to having no pre-determined end date, has a very different relationship to notions of Temporality compared to determinate sentences that by contrast do have an end date. The IPP sentence has a 'tariff' date which is the minimum time that the person subject to it must serve. However, to be released after that date they must satisfy the Parole Board they are safe to release. With long waits for cases to be considered due to backlogs, made worse by the Covid 19 pandemic (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2021) and no guarantee of being transferred to prisons where recommended courses are held, those subject to the IPP are vulnerable to losing hope of ever being released. The IPP sentence has been contrasted with the Life Sentence, which although also indeterminate, has well established structures and markers linked to it, for example wings that are solely inhabited by life sentence prisoners, and special events geared solely to the needs of 'Lifers'. A United Nations Report refers to the vulnerability of those serving indeterminate sentences to having 'no real perception of their own time frames' if there are no clear milestones to aim for (United Nations, 1994). In Paper 5 we highlighted how NGO advice about helping children to conceive of how long their parent would spend in prison, whilst helpful for determinate sentences was of little utility with regard to indeterminate sentences such as the IPP:

'whatever the length of sentence their parent is serving, try to give the child a sense of the future ... younger children may like to tick off days on a calendar' (Action for Prisoners Families, online)

In doing so, our contribution to knowledge was to show how the pernicious effect of the IPP sentence impact not only on the person serving it but also on their family members. Support for children and family members in this situation needs to be carefully tailored to take account of how time can feel suspended. Alongside this there need to be resources put into clearing the backlog of cases to be heard so that those on IPP sentences can progress through the system, thereby restoring some hope of release to them and their families. Despite the IPP sentence being abolished in 2012 there are still 1,875 people serving the sentence who have never been released, and a further 1,357 people serving it having been released and recalled to prison. (Prison Reform Trust, 2021).

In Paper 7 Temporality was significant in terms of the uncertainty felt by those in prison and their loved ones at the beginning of their journey through the criminal justice system in resource constrained countries. In Uganda and Trinidad, defendants can spend years remanded in custody waiting for their cases to be heard and tried due to long backlogs of cases waiting to come to court (Penal Reform International, 2021; Trinidad and Tobago Guardian, 2020). The uncertainty of pre-trial detention, when those detained have no idea what the outcome of what their trial and possible prison sentence might be, causes immense pressure and can often lead to a deterioration in mental health. Those in this position have described the relief felt when the situation is resolved by their trial coming to court. This is the case even when they are sentenced to imprisonment. This is because, assuming it is a determinate sentence, they can then plan for the future (Jones et al., 2013).

In Paper 3, which focussed on the benefits of involving people serving prison sentences in student education, timing was very significant. The involvement of impressionable student professionals at the start of their careers in Social Work, Nursing and Policing respectively meant that they were particularly receptive to having their practice shaped by the lived experience shared by participants who were serving prison sentences. Likewise, the stage that the participants who were in prison were at was very important too. Some of the imprisoned mothers who participated recognised that at the start of their sentence they would not have had the confidence to participate, or even the right attitude. It was significant that all those who participated were at an open prison. In order to progress through the prison system to gain a place at an open prison those in prison have to be able to prove they have participated in programmes to address the reasons why they committed their offences, thereby demonstrating their risk of reoffending has reduced.

A striking aspect of the way the Acorn House overnight stay facility is operated, that was reflected in Papers 1 and 6, is that it responds to particular needs, rather than having a set criterion. This was particularly the case in terms of how it had developed to go beyond catering to just mothers and children under 16, to include older children and other people who were significant to the person enjoying the visit. One mother who I interviewed for Paper 6 kindly allowed me to interview her at Acorn House during her overnight stay visit which included her two grown up daughters and their grandchildren, one of which had been born just days before the visit. Her daughter who had just given birth told me how devastated she had been not to be able to have the support of her mother during her birth. In recognition of this the team who facilitated visits at Acorn House had prioritized this visit as close to her daughter giving birth as possible. This is an important link to Temporality since timing was crucial in terms of this very significant life event. Although the birth of her grandchild had

been missed by the imprisoned mother, the overnight stay with her family so soon afterwards went some way to mitigate that loss. In allowing this overnight contact the prison also affirmed the mother in prison's identity as both mother and grandmother, which links to Selfhood and the need for interventions to be holistic in order to address all aspects of an imprisoned person's self.

Spatiality

The separation that a prison sentence causes between a parent and their child can be further aggravated by the distance that the prison their parent is held in is from their home. Paper 7 demonstrated how in resource constrained countries such as Uganda this difficulty is further aggravated by poor transport links due to rough roads meaning journey times are significantly increased. Embodiment links to this since with fewer women in prison there are inevitably fewer women's prisons than those for men, with the result that women are on average held in prisons 64 miles from their homes (Prison Reform Trust, 2017). This means that women who are progressing well through their prison sentence and who earn the privilege of a place at an open prison, face a dilemma in terms of whether to take it up or not. By taking it up they can enjoy the benefits of an establishment like HM Askham Grange with opportunities for overnight stays and working in the community. However, by moving to an open prison they may necessitate a move that takes them a long way from their family, making it much harder for visits to take place. With the two open prisons for women currently located in Kent and North Yorkshire respectively a woman from the Midlands for example would face putting a great distance between herself and her family with whichever one of those prisons she relocated to.

On a more micro level the restrictions placed on normal visiting facilities, dictating how the space is managed, have a huge impact on imprisoned parents and the families who visit them. Apart from within open prisons, the imprisoned person receiving the visit is not allowed to move out of their chair, unless it is a special visit such as a family day. A younger girl interviewed for Paper 8, whose father was in prison, summed up her advice for how improvements could be made in simple terms: 'let daddies walk around and play with us children more'.

A 16-year-old participant who was interviewed for Paper 1 described how visits in closed prisons made her feel:

'it just felt weird at the tables ... you couldn't get up and give her a hug and it just felt like you were there but you felt like really distant from her'.

So, although she was physically close to her mother these restrictions on their movements made her feel like she was in fact a long way away from her mother. This is an example of 'secondary prisonisation' when relatives feel that they too are restricted by the prison regime and the restrictions they face as a visitor (Comfort, 2008). The quote from the girl above in Paper 1 adds to the evidence of how 'secondary prisonisation' is experienced and how important it is that prison establishments take steps to minimise the extent to which this takes place.

Paper 2, with its focus on how the fact of a parent's imprisonment is communicated both to children and to the outside world links to a different aspect of Spatiality, namely how families negotiate the boundary between the inside world of the way prison has impacted upon their family and the outside world. When children are forbidden to discuss the imprisonment of their family member beyond their family, often due to a negative perception of them by their carers (Manby et al., 2015), it can make that space beyond the family feel very uncomfortable and lonely. Again, it is essential that this is appreciated by those designing services to support families in this position.

Spatiality featured in Paper 4 as a context in which imprisoned mothers framed the pain of seeing their mothering role performed by their own mothers who were caring for their children during their sentence. One mother who was serving a Life sentence recounted how her 13-year-old son, cared for by his grandmother, did not see her as having the right to discipline him due to the fact she had been absent from the space of the family home since he always replied to her attempts to discipline him from prison with 'you haven't been there for 13 years'. Another mother described how when she was on home leave it felt like the space had been taken over by her mother who was caring for her children causing her to feel like a 'visitor in mi own home'. Another imprisoned mother spoke of how hard it was to know rooms in her house had been repainted by her mother, again signalling to her that it no longer felt like her home, and in turn undermining her identity as mother. In this way it is clear that Spatiality is closely linked to Selfhood, as we know from the extent to which we project our identity through how we decorate and furnish our homes. The contribution of Paper 4 was to show the granular detail of how this is disrupted by the imposition of a prison sentence and the knock-on psychological effects for imprisoned mothers.

Papers 1 and 6 show how the physical layout and use of space within Acorn House made it conducive to overnight stays. It is in effect an ordinary house set within the prison grounds. Acorn House is so much like a normal house that Social Workers find it to be a very good space to use to assess imprisoned mothers' parenting capacity when carrying out assessments, since for example they can test out a mother's ability to keep track of her

young child when there are different rooms and a staircase to negotiate. The mothers who use it are encouraged to bring in their own personal items, such as photos, so it feels like their space. This in turn shows how considerations of Spatiality feed into Selfhood and preserving mothering identity, and also how the staff facilitating Acorn House recognise this in their approach with such positive results.

The fact the HMP Askham Grange is a former stately home, and as an open prison does not have a prison-like wall or perimeter fence around it, also adds to the positive appeal of Acorn House. The children we interviewed all explained how they felt dubious at first about staying overnight within the grounds of a prison, but then were very reassured when they were shown the Acorn House itself ahead of the visit. As one child commented about her stay at Acorn House:

‘you can go in there, it feels like you are in your own little house, and you just forget there is a prison there’.

Paper 3 relates to Spatiality in a different way. When planning the workshop, we had to think carefully about the use of space as well as who would occupy different spaces at different times. For example, having a large space was very important for an introductory quiz where we had different tables with two imprisoned mothers and ten student professionals on each one. This same large space was used for coffee and lunch breaks. We anticipated correctly that these would be very important times when students and mothers serving prison sentences could talk informally. Likewise, in terms of the small workshops we had the use of smaller rooms where we set up a panel of three imprisoned mothers to share their stories and then facilitated discussion. The ability to hold the workshop in a large and flexible space was instrumental in enabling it to achieve its objectives of breaking down stereotypes on both sides and raising understanding of the issues from each of the stakeholder’s perspectives.

Project

Ashworth’s Project fraction relates to doing the activities that give your life meaning. In the context of my publications this mainly relates to parenting related activities, either being a parent in the case of imprisoned parents or spending meaningful quality time with parents in the case of children. Paper 1 demonstrates how by providing the opportunity for private overnight stays imprisoned mothers and their children can continue to engage with the project that is related to being a parent or a child. Prior to having overnight stays and given the unsatisfactory nature of even the best normal visits, most imprisoned mothers

considered themselves to be denied the opportunity to engage as meaningfully as they would have liked to with the project of parenting. This in turn caused them to worry about their children and to feel powerless to do anything about it. The Governor who set up Acorn House eloquently explained how this erodes their sense of self and identity as mothers: 'It is this lack of power that contributes to them feeling less ... we want to give some of that power back'. The notion of Project is built into the process of how mothers prepare for time with their children in Acorn House. They have to provide a detailed timetable of how they plan to spend all the time they have with their children, with specific detail about the different activities undertaken. For mothers with well established relationships with their children this planning comes very easily as can be seen from this mother's account of preparing for her overnight stay: 'we do crafts ... I get lots of paper, paints, glue and sticky things and sequins and glitter'. For mothers who are rebuilding their relationship with their children, who are less confident, support and guidance is available from staff.

What came through from the mothers who participated in the research for Papers 1 and 6 was that it was the simple activities that were most fulfilling such as plaiting hair, dancing, sitting on the sofa watching TV, cooking and doing homework together. A member of staff interviewed for Paper 6 summed this up as allowing mothers to 'be more like an ordinary mother, doing ordinary things'. In the absence of overnight stay facilities in all prisons apart from HMP Askham Grange, there is still much scope to make the notion of Project central to family visits, as has been done in prisons with the best visiting facilities. Examples of good practice in this regard is allowing families to share food outside in the prison grounds, or for the imprisoned parent to purchase food for their family, which they can then eat together, from a canteen serving proper hot meals in the visiting hall. As discussed above the notion of Project was integral to how we planned activities for the family day during which we interviewed mothers and children for Paper 1. The project was for mothers and children to decorate frames for photos taken during that day to be placed into, thereby capturing the precious time spent with their children.

Discourse

Discourse refers to the way experiences within the Lifeworld are discussed. This relates particularly to how crimes are reported in the media, which is stigmatising and causes children and other family members to quickly lose control of information about their situation as this quote from a teenage girl in Paper 8 illustrates, with clear links to Sociality:

‘then it went in the *Chronicle*... then it went on the news and more and more people knew and more and more people looked at you’.

In Paper 8 I explore the way in which family members often avoid talking about anything that could be upsetting on visits since they do not want to risk the visit ending while they are potentially in emotional turmoil, and unable to resolve the issues. In this way family members wear metaphorical masks, maintaining the pretence that everything is OK, both for the imprisoned parent and the family members on the outside. This mirrors the way imprisoned people have to wear metaphorical masks that they can only rarely let down to reveal their true self to survive the prison environment (Jewkes, 2005). In the context of family visits this way of relating has the potential for conversation to be quite superficial. One of the participants in the Acorn House research acknowledged this situation and stated how at Acorn House ‘you can talk about the things you need to talk about’, in contrast to the restrictive environment in which visits in closed prisons take place. A member of the Acorn House staff added to this, which links to Temporality, stating that one or two night overnight stays allowed emotions to be processed ‘at the pace of a child’, mimicking how difficult situations would typically be resolved over a period of time within families.

One of the contributions of Papers 1 and 6, that focussed on Acorn House, was that by experiencing a very positive setting for visits, participants were able to consider the limitations of normal visiting arrangements more fully. The two benefits that Acorn House could deliver that were prized most highly were privacy and uninterrupted time together. A 16-year-old young man who participated in the second evaluation of Acorn house written up in Paper 6 explained how unsatisfactory a family day he had spent with his mother at the closed prison, where she had been held before moving to Askham Grange, had been. He explained how six mothers and their children participated in the prison gymnasium, a large space, with lots of potential for creating private spaces. He was the oldest child with most of the other children being much younger. He and his mother requested the opportunity to sit privately in a corner of the gym away from everyone else. This request was denied, and the 16-year-old was told to play with the other children participating. He is a resourceful young man and he told me how he spent most of the four hours of the family day making paper aeroplanes and playing with them with the other children. However, during the whole visit he craved private time with his mother, as she did with him, when the situation meant they did not have the opportunity to make a meaningful connection. In this instance it shows how even within the restrictions of a closed prison there is scope to create a situation which delivers privacy and time if thought is given to what constitutes a meaningful visit for all those participating, rather than adopting a one size fits all approach, which wastes the

potential to deliver a quality experience. A contribution of these papers is to add to the evidence from those experiencing prison visits about what for them would improve the experience. The example above shows how some of these improvements can be potentially be achieved within existing resources.

As discussed above it is not uncommon, due to fears about stigma, for families to keep the fact that a parent is imprisoned a secret both from their children and those outside the family. In Paper 2 we considered this reality in the light of other literature on stigmatised situations, and also deconstructed the impact of secrecy. How parents discussed and justified their reasons for disclosing or not disclosing the fact that a parent was in prison provided a window into the private world of families. It was apparent that parents knew that their attempts to keep the truth from their children were most likely futile in an age where information is so freely available on the internet as illustrated by what this parent told interviewers in Paper 2: 'We never actually used the word prison ... I think they probably know'. Children interviewed for these papers referred to lots of different cover stories for why their mother or father was absent, such as that they were working as an air stewardess. When children are given inaccurate or incomplete explanations, as stated above, they become vulnerable to experiencing what has been termed 'ambiguous loss' which causes them to feel insecure about which adults are solidly there to support them and which might disappear at any given moment.

Paper 2 explored the impact of badly handled disclosures and non-disclosures on children and added weight to the argument that good practice, in the best interests of children, is to disclose information about a parent being in prison in an honest and age-appropriate way.

Moodedness

Moodedness refers to the emotions that are experienced within the Lifeworld. I consider that the publications presented here make a particularly significant contribution in capturing these emotions, which in turn I hope increases the chances of those reading them developing some empathy and understanding for those affected, given that normally families affected by imprisonment come low down in the hierarchy of worthy causes. As discussed above all the stakeholders in this Lifeworld are grappling with loss of some kind. The anguish felt by imprisoned mothers separated from their children has come through in relation to the other fractions. Likewise, the losses and loneliness felt by grandparent carers in the U.K. and beyond is covered under the other fractions.

Family Systems theory, which essentially looks at the connections between mutually dependent people and the systems they are part of (Skyttner, 2005), can help us understand Moods. What happens to one person has a profound effect on those they are close to. Therefore, if an imprisoned parent is as happy as they can be given their circumstances then the likelihood is that this will cause their children to be as happy as they can be too since they will worry about their parent less. The same is true the other way round. So, a key benefit of Acorn House, as discussed in Papers 1 and 6, is to create a virtuous circle which promotes the well-being of the mother and her children, as can be seen from this daughter describing the effect upon her mother of having overnight stays with her: 'when I get phone calls from her, she's not down and upset so I don't get down and upset'. Acorn House also provides the mothers and the children who use it with something to look forward to, which in turn generates hope, which as discussed previously is so important in promoting a positive state of mind.

Likewise, there is an interconnected relationship between grandparent carers and imprisoned mothers which provides a context for understanding how imprisoned mothers cope with their situation. One imprisoned mother considers it is knowing how well her son is cared for by his grandparents that has prevented her from 'cracking up'. It was clear that many of the imprisoned mothers who participated in the focus group in Paper 2 were close to what they could cope with emotionally, as is evident from this mother describing how it felt to know her mother was potty training her son when she knew that was what she should be doing: 'it's just so hard ... I don't know how I get through it to be honest with you'. There was also a recognition by the mothers in the focus groups of the emotional burden borne by grandparent carers too: 'they are worrying about us at the same time that they are worrying about their grandkids'. As discussed in Paper 5 the IPP sentence takes a huge emotional toll on those subject to it as well as their wider family. As one partner of an imprisoned person serving an IPP sentence commented: 'I'm trying my damnest to make sure I don't crumble, but it's not that easy'.

One of the headline findings of the COPING project was that children in the U.K. with a parent in prison are 25% more likely to experience mental health problems than children who do not have a parent in prison. These quotes from children whose words feature in Paper 8 poignantly capture the emotional atmosphere of their Lifeworld:

'there isn't as much laughs in the house as when dad is home ... it isn't the same feeling as when dad is around because it isn't the same atmosphere'

'I don't actually cry because I have managed to get used to it because she has been in so long'

This quote speaks of the internalising and normalising of emotions to the extent that the child becomes resigned to their feelings but as a result is unable to express them.

Other children described the emotions they felt when they first heard that their parent had been sent to prison. One stated they were 'sad and thoughtful' whilst other children grappled with understanding why his father had got into trouble: 'I was thinking why did he do it? I wish he never did'. Another child provided an insight into their emotional state by stating: 'when I am at home I am sad, I am down most nights'.

These quotes also suggest that the children who shared them are not receiving support to enable them to remain resilient in the face of these negative feelings. This adds to calls to not only identify children with parents in prison but to channel resources to enable them to be supported regardless of which region in the U.K. they reside.

It is important to also recognise that some CIPs manage to remain resilient and thrive despite all the pressures that accompany having a parent in prison. One 14 year old girl I interviewed recognised the difficulties she faced but was keen to stress that she was not being bullied and was coping well: '...I am one of the more popular ones...I have got friends, everybody knows me'.

Critique and Reflection on applying Lifeworld fractions

The Lifeworld theory has been critiqued. Siriwardane et al. (2016) note that as a result of Husserl never fully defining the concept it can be seen as 'relatively nebulous and opaque' (p.2). I was drawn to Ashworth's (2016) interpretation of the theory as his focus on the eight fractions was very concrete and clear as opposed to being abstract. Gorichanaz (2017) considers that any application of a Lifeworld based analysis will also face the limitation that lived experience will always be too complex to fully capture in written explanations. With a nod to Ashworth's (2016) fractions they recognise that human beings experience the world in multi – dimensional ways and that many of those dimensions are experienced simultaneously rather than in a compartmentalised way.

I intentionally started my analysis of the findings from my papers in a compartmentalised way, using the structure of coding the different findings from my papers to different fractions.

However, it quickly became apparent that far from being compartmentalised the fractions overlapped and influenced one another. I have set out where this is the case in my commentary. I plan to develop the application of Ashworth's (2016) fractions to the subject of the impact of parental imprisonment further by focusing specifically on considerations of how they overlap and influence one another in a publication.

It is apparent from Appendix 3: Lifeworld Table with Coded Data that some of the fractions were more richly populated with evidence from my papers than others. A large amount of data from all my papers linked clearly to Selfhood, Sociality, Temporality and Spatiality. This is not surprising as it is self-evident that the imposition of a prison sentence will disrupt not only the imprisoned person's sense of self, but also that of their children and other family members. In addition to this, for those in prison, it will inevitably bring into sharp relief the new ways in which they are forced to relate to people in spaces that are imposed upon them rather than chosen. The same will apply to their children when they come to the prison to visit. Upon reception into prison, imprisoned people are not only focussed on the amount of time until they are released, but they also relinquish the freedom to spend time as they wish. Likewise, their loved ones are unable to see the imprisoned parent at times of their choosing or for as long as they would wish for. It is predictable that qualitative data arising from those in this situation will reflect the anguish experienced in relation to these fractions. This was in turn reflected in a significant amount of data matching 'moodedness' reflecting the depressing effect a prison sentence has on all those who are directly and indirectly affected by it.

Embodiment, Discourse and Project were the least populated fractions. However, this did not mean they were not important. Characteristics of families affected by imprisonment, for example in terms of ethnicity, are highly significant in terms of how imprisonment impacts upon them. A publication that I co-authored, but chose not to include in the publications I submitted for my PhD, focussed on the experience of British Pakistani families experiencing imprisonment (Abass et al., 2016). If I had decided to include this publication there would have been much more data to include under Embodiment. Paper 2 contained a great deal of data on Disclosure since it was all about what information families agree to share about the fact that a parent has been imprisoned. Disclosure was also a feature of the distress felt by children in the wake of the language used by the media to report on their parents' court cases. However, the other papers did not have such a focus on Disclosure. Although not foregrounded, Project in the sense of being a parent bringing meaning to a person's life, is a thread that runs through much of the discussion in all the included papers. This is due the way it is frustrated by the imprisonment of a parent.

Overall, considering that I applied the Lifeworld fractions retrospectively, I was very struck by how well the findings from my publications fitted into them. I have given consideration as to whether some of the data was shoe-horned into the fractions. After reflecting on this I concluded that by thinking carefully about which fraction or fractions were the best fit for the evidence, I have been able to frame the data in new ways and to examine it differently. I have also thought about whether I would have liked to adapt Ashworth's framework. I have decided that I would not adapt it since, as it stands, all the lived experience that I have drawn upon and analysed in my publications has fitted into one or more of the fractions. This supports Ashworth's contention that his framework contains all the essential elements of any human experience, and that it is therefore universally applicable.

Conclusion

The negative impacts that parental imprisonment has upon families are now well known, as is the scale of the problem and the particular effects that imprisoning mothers or primary carers can have. Calls to consider non-custodial alternatives to imprisonment for primary carers have only partially been responded to, despite recommendations from the UK Parliament, the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Prison will always be needed as a punishment and deterrent for the most serious crimes. However, Governments need to carefully consider how they can mitigate the pernicious effects of imprisonment on families by providing the best possible support. Catherine Flynn, a well - established researcher in this field, asserts that the priority now is 'not for more research, but for better policies and practices to combat the harm caused by parental imprisonment' (Gordon, 2018, p.5). To design holistic and effective support services policy makers need to attend to every aspect of the lives of the children and families affected. The Lifeworld fractions framework, and an understanding of how the fractions inter link, allows in depth exploration of all the different ways that damage can occur to families from the imposition of a prison sentence on a parent and this should inform the development of support services.

Papers 1 and 6 set out the reasons why overnight contact was valued so highly by children and mothers. This was due to the privacy it afforded (Sociality), the larger physical space that provides scope for a wider range of activities (Spatiality) as well as the extended time together it provided (Temporality). The combination of time and privacy allows meaningful bonding and the rebuilding of mother and child identities (Selfhood). At the start of 2021 the U.K. Government confirmed that it intends to increase the provision of overnight stay facilities within women's prisons (Grierson, 2021). The National Offender Management Service Annual Report (2015 – 2016) had previously stated that it was a priority, but there has been limited progress towards this so far. To achieve this there needs to be a whole prison understanding of and commitment to the benefits of overnight stays (Sociality). Training is needed to develop that understanding and commitment amongst prison staff. The training should be informed by how overnight stays enhance the Lifeworld and well-being of children and their imprisoned mothers with reference to Selfhood and its impact on identity, self - esteem and confidence.

Paper 2 discussed the impact on children when they are not told about the fact of their parent's imprisonment. It recognised that this is a difficult conversation to have with a child, and that in contrast to other difficult conversations in other contexts such as terminal illness there is limited support to assist parents to find the right words to use when discussing

imprisonment with their children (Discourse). Some families are fortunate enough to have this support in their area, but the majority are not. To remedy this, I would suggest that at the point when a parent receives a prison sentence, families are given the option of being linked to a support worker who is knowledgeable about the impact of imprisonment on families. This support worker could provide advice about all aspects of coping with an imprisoned family member, supporting both children and their carers. Unless this is put into place many children will not have their UNCRC right to information upheld and will suffer consequences such as ambiguous loss as a result.

Paper 3 discussed the benefits of involving people serving prison sentences in student education, in this case Social Workers, Nurses and Police Officers. There were clear benefits for both the students and imprisoned mothers who took part. The students had their hearts and minds changed by the testimony they heard from the imprisoned mothers and the mothers regained a sense of purpose (Project) and affirmed their non prisoner identity (Selfhood). An overarching effect was that stereotypes on both sides were broken down, with each group coming away with a sense of each other as human beings rather than media portrayals (Sociality). When I wrote Paper 3, I could not find any other examples of publications about similar educational workshops involving people serving prison sentences. I have again searched the literature at the time of writing this commentary, and still have been unable to find any publications relating to similar events. Palfreyman (2021) has highlighted the fact that while many different forms of lived experience such as disability and mental health are often included on professional education programmes such as Social Work, the lived experience of incarceration is rarely included. I am passionately committed to breaking down stereotypes in relation to imprisoned people. Therefore, I consider universities should make links with the prisons in their locality to involve those serving prison sentences in professional education programmes. Lower security prisons will have prisoners who are eligible for release on temporary licence within them who could attend events. Many higher security prisons, with some careful preparation, can facilitate events within them. I believe this is the best way to change attitudes towards people in prison. Every professional participant in a workshop involving incarcerated people will go on to practice differently and will most likely tell their colleagues about their experience too.

Paper 4 focussed on the incredible care provided by grandparents for children with a parent in prison. However, it recognised that this was at considerable cost to their own physical (Embodiment) and mental (Moodedness) health and social network (Sociality). In addition to this they have to adapt to taking on different roles (Selfhood) at a time in their lives when they did not expect to do so (Temporality). They have incredible strengths and commitment

to their grandchildren, but the state needs to recognise their invaluable contribution and to fully support them financially and emotionally (Sociality), and to move away from the postcode lottery that characterises whether support is available at the moment. The emotional support could be provided by the workers that I envisaged would be offered to every family after the imposition of a prison sentence. These support workers could also assist grandparents with the daunting task of talking to their grandchildren about imprisonment and assist the parents of the children with negotiating the further change of roles that is required on release.

Paper 5 focussed on the unique ways in which the sentence of Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) impacts on those who are serving it and their families. Central to this is the uncertainty created by the lack of a release date which takes away the ability of those affected to have any hope for the future (Selfhood). The situation is compounded by a lack of control since even if those in prison are recommended to attend offending behaviour courses, they do not know whether they will be transferred to the prisons where these are held (Project). The suspension of transfers and courses during the pandemic served to make this situation worse, as does poor information about the IPP sentence. With over 3,000 people currently serving the IPP sentence the backlog of cases urgently needs to be cleared, and support needs to be put in for those in prison and their families to recognise the way the sentence takes a toll on the well-being of all family members due to its indeterminate (Temporality) nature. There is a paucity of research in relation to the families of those serving IPP sentences and this gap urgently needs addressing to fully understand how it impacts on all aspects of the Lifeworld of those affected.

As stated above Paper 6 confirmed the positive evaluation of the Acorn House overnight stay centre at HMP Askham Grange and captured in more detail the work undertaken by the staff who facilitate the overnight stays, including how they have been extended to include older children, in recognition of how the mother child relationship continues throughout the life course of mother and child (Selfhood, Temporality). In this way it added to the case for more overnight stay facilities to be provided within women's prisons. At the time when I undertook the second evaluation Acorn House was developing the facility to include not only children but also 'significant others', who may not be blood relatives, in recognition of the importance that connections with people have in terms of promoting well - being and desistance from offending (Lord Farmer, 2017; Lord Farmer, 2019). I am hoping that in the future I can evaluate this new aspect of Acorn House.

Paper 7 compared the position of grandparent carers of children with parents in prison in the U.K., Uganda, Trinidad and Romania. It was striking that common themes of stigma and a

lack of financial, practical and emotional support (Mooredness) emerged in all four countries, as well as the steadfast commitment of the grandparents to their grandchildren (Project). However, as would be expected it was apparent that poverty amplified the stresses faced, as well as cultural factors in Uganda. I am still not aware of any other research studies that have been conducted in relation to grandparent carers in Uganda, Trinidad and Romania. The incarceration of parents and the impact on families is a global phenomenon and it requires a global response. I hope that the international Coalition for Children with Incarcerated Parents, for which I am a board member, will be a catalyst for future international research of this nature.

Paper 8 drew on qualitative data gathered from children with parents in prison who participated in the COPING project to understand the lived experience of their Lifeworld. The research showed that they are vulnerable to not having their UNCRC rights respected (Selfhood). This paper made an important contribution to the literature as it captures children voices directly, rather than relying on their parents to recount their situation. The emotional atmosphere often (but not always) characterised by sadness and loss comes through strongly (Mooredness). Stigma impacted heavily on the children interviewed (Sociality) and one way that it could be reduced would be if there were more controls on the media in terms of reporting offences. There was a call by the children to have the chance to share their experiences with others in peer support groups (Sociality). Therefore, resources should be put into ensuring all children with a parent in prison have access to a peer support group, either in person or virtually, depending on their preference.

The data that this paper drew on also highlighted gaps in the research involving children. Despite the best efforts of the myself and other COPING project staff team it did not prove possible to recruit children and young people cared for by local authorities with a parent in prison, or children who did not visit their parent in prison. There is now a wealth of worldwide research on children who visit their parents in prison. I would suggest that future research should focus on these two groups of children.

Over at least the last 15 years there has been good practice guidance arising from research about what policies would best support children and families impacted by parental imprisonment. The UNCRC is a very good benchmark to use to consider the extent to which the needs of children in this situation are met. Likewise, the detailed recommendations which arose from the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, Day of General Discussion on Children with Incarcerated Parents, provide very helpful guidance to both policy makers and

practitioners (Robertson, 2011). Unfortunately, these recommendations have not been implemented in a systematic way. Judges and magistrates need to use their discretion to a far greater extent to avoid using custodial sentences in relation to primary carers wherever possible to address the issues at source. Resources need to be channelled into developing supportive non-custodial alternatives to prison for women who come before the courts for sentence to address the issues that have led them into offending, as recommended by Baroness Corston in 2007. This especially applies to those who are primary carers for children, which is around two thirds. The number of children with parents in prison needs to be systematically recorded and these children should be recognised as 'children in need' with provision made to provide support to them by every local authority rather than that support being a postcode lottery. Judges, teachers and social workers need to have their awareness about the needs of children impacted by imprisonment raised so they can take account of their needs in their professional roles. In response to what children with imprisoned parents request there should be peer support available either in person or virtually in every area. Unfortunately, this group of children is still a marginalised group only partially on the radar of policy makers and practitioners. For their needs to be properly met they need to be central to the thinking of both policy makers and practitioners.

My contribution to knowledge has been to frame findings arising from the lived experience of the impact of imprisonment on children families in a new way, using the Lifeworld fractions framework. Families in this situation need to be seen in the context of their unique Lifeworlds. Their unique Lifeworlds are defined by both the individual characteristics of those within them, but also the systems, such as family structure and religious observance, that they sit within. The different fractions that make up these Lifeworlds are mutually dependent. Therefore, interventions for children and families in this position need to take into account how they affect all the fractions to be truly holistic and beneficial. I hope to publish the ideas contained within this commentary in psychological journals to bring the issues relating to the impact of imprisonment upon families to a new audience.

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Appendix 1: My research journey linked to publications

Prior to coming into my current academic role as a Senior Lecturer in Social Work in 2007, I worked as a Probation Officer and for the Family Court Welfare Service, now known as the Children and Family Court Advisory and Support Service (CAFCASS), from 1992 onwards after qualifying as a Social Worker. With hindsight I can reflect that when I was in the Probation Officer role my focus was on the adults I was supervising. Many of those adults had children but unless those children were on the Child Protection Register (now referred to as Child Protection Plans), I am ashamed to admit I did not think much about how they were affected by their parents' offending or imprisonment. This siloed way of thinking reflects my experience when I have involved Social Workers, Teachers and other professionals in my research and related workshop activities. Invariably, in my experience, professionals have thought very little about the lived experience of children who have a parent who is caught up in the criminal justice system. However, after these professionals have been educated about the issues, either through taught workshops or ideally by hearing directly from children in this position and their parents who have experienced imprisonment, they report that they have a very different perspective, and they commit to practicing very differently in the future (**Paper 3**). The workshops have enabled them to understand the context which has led to a mother receiving a custodial sentence, which in turn humanises her, and brings to the fore the importance of providing her with the opportunity to rebuild or maintain her relationship with her children, assuming there are no safeguarding issues to indicate against that. (**Papers 1 & 6**).

When working as a Court Welfare Officer I did occasionally have to write reports to guide the Family Courts on child contact issues when one parent was in prison. This was the start of my awareness of these issues. My main observation regarding those cases at the time was the way in which mothers in prison applying for contact were regarded negatively as in the eyes of the courts and other professionals they had gone against the norms of what is expected of mothers by making choices that had resulted in them being in prison. Imprisoned fathers applying for contact did not provoke so much negativity.

After working as a Family Court Welfare Officer, I moved to work as Deputy Manager and then Manager of the NCH Action for Children Family Mediation Service (Greater Manchester). Whilst in the manager role myself and my colleagues successfully gained a three year Government 'Strengthening Families' grant to provide peer parenting support groups within HMP Styal women's prison as well as mediation to foster links between imprisoned mothers and those caring for their children during their sentences. It was while managing this project

that my awareness of the issues facing parents in prison and their children was raised. Often mothers would gain the confidence through attending the parenting group to re-establish their links with their children. However, when we rang their Social Workers to take this forward, we were lucky if Social Workers returned our calls and when they did, they were invariably negative and sceptical about whether the imprisoned mother would in fact follow through on her intention to renew her contact with her child or children once released. This experience was very formative for me. I understand from my own time in practice and current work training Social Workers how high caseloads are, and therefore how facilitating contact between parents in prison and their children is a low priority if the child is safe with grandparents or in foster care. However, what was missing in this way of thinking was the *child's right* to have contact with their mother, as enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. This experience spurred me on to research these issues in the hope of influencing policy and improving the situation for imprisoned children and their parents.

Two years after starting my academic role at the University I gave a lunch time seminar presentation about the work I had been involved with at HMP Styal. One of my colleagues who came to the talk was aware that HMP Askham Grange were looking for an evaluation of their overnight stay facility. She put me in touch with the Governor in charge of family work there and I agreed to undertake the evaluation with my then PhD student Kelly Lockwood. That was how **Paper 1** came about which was the start of my publication journey. **Paper 6** was a follow up to the original evaluation of the overnight stay facility at HMP Askham Grange. Over time I have built up strong links with staff at HMP Askham Grange. Staff were keen to give women serving sentences at Askham Grange the chance to share their experiences with students, facilitated by them being released for the day to attend workshops at the University. This led to the inter professional workshop I facilitated that is written up in **Paper 3**. On another occasion I co facilitated a workshop with midwifery students and women who had given birth whilst serving prison sentences.

It was very serendipitous that when I commenced my academic post at the University of Huddersfield I was introduced to Professor Adele Jones who was heading up a bid to the European Commission to fund a large-scale pan European research project to explore the lived experiences of children with parents in prison and their carers. When Professor Jones learned of my experience managing the project at HMP Styal I was co-opted onto the team producing the bid and was able to bring some of my contacts on board as partners such as the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO) in Geneva and the Partners of Prisoners Support Service (POPS) in Manchester. The bid was successful and the COPING project that grew out of it is to date the largest project of its kind. I was honoured to be part of the research team

and to lead on the Child Centred aspects of the project. **Paper 8** draws on the qualitative interviews conducted with children in the UK for the COPING Project.

Another very formative experience for me was facilitating two young people to speak at the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child Day of General Discussion on Parental Incarceration on 30th Sept 2011. The resilience and courage shown by the young people in addressing this event, and wisdom they shared about young people in this position, spurred me to use my research to give voice to young people's experiences as there is so much that can be learned from them in terms of what constitutes good practice.

Throughout my time researching the impact of imprisonment upon families I have been aware of the international context of this work. My involvement with the COPING Project informed me about policy and practice in the partner countries of Sweden, Germany and Romania. I was very fortunate to hear directly from colleagues in those countries about the nuances of their Criminal Justice Systems, and the position of families with a loved one in prison or awaiting sentence. Most striking was the high priority placed on children's rights in Sweden, reinforced by their education system. This meant that Swedish young people involved in the COPING project had a far greater awareness of their rights under the UNCRC, and determination to ensure they were granted those rights, than their UK counterparts (**Paper 8**).

One of the areas for future research that was identified by the COPING Project was the position of grandparent carers. With assistance from the University Innovation Fund, I led some research on grandparent carers and mothers in prison with their children cared for by their grandparents that led to **Paper 4**.

Whilst working on the COPING Project we were contacted by Francis Ssuubi, who founded Wells of Hope in Uganda. Wells of Hope provides a boarding school for children with parents in prison, as well as support to the parents in prison and those caring for their children, often grandparents. With support from the University of Huddersfield I was able to visit Wells of Hope in 2013 and see the amazing and inspiring work they do with very scarce resources for myself. This led to research collaboration with Wells of Hope and the nearby Makerere University, with two Ugandan academic colleagues (who coincidentally had both done their PhDs at the University of Huddersfield) on the position of grandparent carers. Romanian colleagues with whom I had developed close links during the COPING Project were also part of this collaboration, as was a colleague from the Trinidad campus of the University of West Indies with whom the University of Huddersfield has a Memorandum of Understanding. This research was written up in **Paper 7**.

Paper 5 came about after I did a lecture on the impact of imprisonment on families for the Social Work students that I teach. After the lecture one of the Masters students approached me to see if I would be interested in collaborating on an article regarding the impact of the Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) sentence. **Paper 8** resulted from collaboration with colleagues at the Law Department of University College Cork after they invited me to speak at a conference they convened on the rights of children with parents in prison.

In 2015 myself, Francis Ssuubi and colleagues from NGOs and universities across the world founded The International Coalition for Children with Incarcerated Parents (INCCIP), whilst attending the International Prisoners' Families conference in Dallas, Texas, USA. The aim of INCCIP is to provide a worldwide supportive link between organisations that champion the rights of families impacted by parental imprisonment, to share best practice, and to campaign for positive change. I am currently an INCCIP board member. I attended the inaugural conference for INCCIP which was held in New Zealand in 2017. I organised the second INCCIP conference that was held in Huddersfield in 2019. These conferences have been unique due to the diversity of the countries from which participants have attended, ranging from Argentina to South Korea. The Deputy Director of the Washington DC Corrections Service attended the Huddersfield INCCIP conference. One of my proudest moments was when she declared at the end of the conference that having listened to a panel of young people, who spoke of their lived experience of having a parent in prison, that she would make radical changes to the way her Corrections Officers are trained. The next INCCIP conference is based in Washington DC, but largely on-line due to the pandemic. It is timed to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child Day of General Discussion on Children with Incarcerated Parents from 30 September 2021. I will be presenting a paper derived from this commentary at that conference.

Appendix 2: Ashworth's Lifeworld fractions applied to a case study

One family that I interviewed for my research illustrates how hard it is in practice to be true to 'epoche' principles and set aside pre-judgements. I was also interested in this family since the father was re-evaluating his life and priorities at the time when I interviewed him in prison, which caused a shift in how the Lifeworld fractions applied to him.

At the time when I conducted my interviews the mother was caring for their 7-year-old daughter and their severely disabled toddler. I interviewed the father in prison where he was serving a long sentence for dealing drugs whilst on licence having been released from a previous prison sentence. From my background information on the father, I knew he had spent the majority of his 7-year-old daughter's life in prison, with just short periods when he had been able to see her when he was free before he was locked up again after reoffending. This had led me to assume that his partner give would give me quite a negative account of him as a father. In fact, she emphasised how when he was at liberty, he was a committed father focussing on his daughter and engaging her in a variety of activities such as cycling and swimming. Likewise, I had anticipated that his daughter would have only vague recollections of him as he had been absent for a considerable portion of her life. Again, his daughter surprised me by not mentioning his absence but rather talking enthusiastically about all the good things they did together when he was home. She drew a picture for me of her dad and herself in matching t-shirts, smiling. The picture suggested a strong connection rather than the fractured one I had envisioned. In this situation it was apparent that the mother was focussing on the positive aspects of the father in a way that was also being emulated by her daughter, which in turn I am sure assisted her resilience.

I am going to explore the father in this family in relation to each Lifeworld fraction. Embodiment provides the context. When I met him, he was in his late twenties and physically fit. This was significant in terms of sociality since it meant he did not fear violence during his prison sentence, in fact candidly telling me that he was 'one of the lads' in prison. I had previously interviewed a number of other imprisoned fathers who were in prison for the first time who were very pre-occupied with not breaking the strict prison rules, especially in relation to family visits. When I interviewed this father, I had expected him to also complain about restrictions on visits such as not being able to have his daughter sit on his knee. However rather than the narrative of compliance that I had received from previous research participants, he provided a narrative of resistance. Linking to Discourse he told me words to the effect of 'if I want to have my daughter on my knee, I will fucking well have her on my knee'. In response I questioned what had happened when his daughter had sat on his knee contrary to the rules. He told me that the result would be punishment in the punishment block for a number of days, but he saw this a price worth paying, and it was his way of demonstrating he was a devoted father.

He told me of a similar situation where he was told at short notice that he was being moved to a prison located a long way from where his partner and children lived which he knew they would not be able to visit as long journeys were detrimental to the health of his son who had

severe disabilities. He explained that he had physically resisted being moved and had spent 30 days in the punishment block refusing to cooperate with the move. Eventually the prison governor had accepted his reasons for not being moved, and he remained at the prison closer to where his family lived. He again framed his resistance as what any good father would do for the benefit of his family.

This links to Selfhood since although he was powerless by virtue of being in prison, he mitigated this by resisting and was not deterred from doing so by the consequences in terms of disciplinary action against him. His Project was to fight back against the ways in which being in prison undermined him as a parent. He was very reflective during my interview with him. Linking to Temporality he told me how he looked back on his life and realised that he needed to change to avoid missing out on his children as a result of being in prison. He explained how when he was moved to the prison where I interviewed him, he could have gone on a wing where he was well known and respected by the other people who knew him from previous prison sentences. However, he told me that he knew he would just repeat previous patterns of behaviour if he did that and so he chose to go on a quieter wing where he was not known. This links to Sociality, Spatiality, Moodedness and Project in the sense that when I saw him he told me how uncomfortable and strange he felt, not surrounded by his familiar entourage. However he knew he was doing it for the benefit of his children and partner.

Appendix 3: Lifeworld Table with Coded Data

	Paper 1	Paper 2	Paper 3	Paper 4	Paper 5	Paper 6	Paper 7	Paper 8

	Paper 1 – Acorn House	Paper 2 – Difficult Disclosure	Paper 3 – Prisoner Participation in IPL	Paper 4 – Unsung Heroines	Paper 5 – Impact of IPP	Paper 6 – Acorn House revisited	Paper 7 – International Grandparent Carer Comparison	Paper 8 – CwPiP and UNCRC COPING findings
<p>Selfhood</p> <p><i>-Literature on how we construct ourselves</i></p> <p>CwPiP referred to as ‘invisible children’ across literature – huge impact on concept of self – see Unsung Heroines for references</p> <p>Goffman on stigma: ‘an attribute that is deeply</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>Imprisoned mothers loss of confidence to parent their children – ‘hacks into their self esteem’</p> <p>‘because you have done something wrong and you’re in here, you know, should you be giving them advice? I think with Acorn House I can</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>-honesty can allow parents to construct a positive narrative of recovery, repair and personal growth – e.g that prison assisting with tackling drug use and saving parent’s life – and serving as a warning to stop children from going down prison path themselves – preferable to a demonising</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>-Mothers in prison finding it worthwhile sharing experiences with students – sense of themselves beyond being prisoners – ‘being a prisoner and having spent so long in prison ... you don’t know how much work you have done (on yourself) until you are tested’</p> <p>-people in prison rarely have chance to</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>Impact on grandparent’s self – ‘incongruence between life stage and role enactment’ (intersection with time here) (Landrey-Meyer and Newman, 2004:1015) – also links to time factors.</p> <p>-‘Repeat performance of parenting’ (Lever and Wilson, 2005:167)</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>- Definition of hope is to have optimism about ‘future possibilities’ (Tutton et al.) which relates in this context to the prospect of release</p> <p>- 2013 judgement at European Court of HR ruled that the ability to hope was ‘an important and constitutive aspect of the</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>Family Support Worker: ‘Acorn House gives confidence to mothers who doubt if they can be a parent again’</p> <p>-UNCRC article 8 on identity is preserve through prison visiting – the extent depends on the quality of the visits</p> <p>-mothering identities can be disrupted and</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>-International confirmation that sense of self and identity for grandparent carers derives partly from satisfaction of raising grandchildren in their parents’ absence</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>-Innate qualities significant for resilience</p> <p>- Swedish children have far more awareness of their UNCRC rights than UK children and it was reflected in their approach to the issues – eg forcing explanation by legislation from parents – awareness of rights affects selfhood and the extent to which</p>

discrediting' that diminishes those it attaches to 'from a whole and usual person to a tainted discounted one'(IPL for reference).	<p>slowly build it back up again.</p> <p>– but Acorn House provides an intimate space where they can 'mother' their children again – re-establishing their maternal bond and rebuilding their identity as mothers</p> <p>-saying goodbye – as they walk from overnight stay house to prison their identity changes from mother to prisoner as they go back into 'prisoner mode'</p> <p>-a friend caring for children of her friend in prison described</p>	identity – selfhood and discourse overlap here	articulate their views and experiences – affirmation of non-prisoner identity	<p>- angst felt by mothers seeing children dressed by grandparents in ways they would not have chosen looking like they were out of a 'refugee camp or car boot sale' – or hearing grandmother shouting at children in background during phone calls</p> <p>- no right to discipline children as in prison</p> <p>-child and grandmother talking 'across' imprisoned mother on visits reinforcing her</p>	human person' – and being deprived of hope with no prospect of release is 'degrading' and against Article 3 of the HRA	<p>reinforced during visitation – Acorn House serves to reinforce them</p> <p>-importance of mother centred and informed methodology – to ensure process contributes to identity as mothers rather than diminishing it ensuring mothers part of process as far as possible of their children being interviewed.</p> <p>15 yr old on Acorn House 'I loved it me, felt like normal again'</p> <p>-resolution aspect of Acorn House preserves</p>	<p>you feel a better well being is possible.</p> <p>-encroaching on children's rights is an encroachment upon their selves</p>
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	<p>how children 'kind of fall under the radar of my family'. It is really important for them from an identity perspective to know 'that's my mum, that's the person that brought me up until a year ago'. The friend was scrupulous to ensure important decisions were still made by their mother' to preserve her role as mother.</p> <p>Another sister carer uneasy that her brother called her mum sometimes</p>			<p>absence from children's lives</p> <p>-lack of mother role and identity reinforced by child crying for 'nannie, he doesn't cry for mummy any more'</p> <p>-imprisoned mother handing over decisions to grandparent – e.g. re school choice as she didn't feel she had the right to make those decisions and one mother's worries about release vividly shows how her confidence had been eroded – saying her mum and dad had done such a</p>		<p>identity of mother – photos and an event that allows adopters to speak positively about mother to child</p>		
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	Mother centred methodology – not to erode mothers’ sense of themselves as parents			good job that ‘I’m scared that I’m not gonna be as good a mum as they have been’				
Sociality -50% mothers receive no visits from their - Grandparent carers save many CwPiP from going to prison with little support -Corston 2007:2 – impact on children of imprisoning their mothers is ‘nothing short of catastrophic’	Askham staff working together to create a very positive and family focussed prison environment. -the benefits of overnight stays in terms of quality sociality between imprisoned mothers and their children -better contact assists with confidence for mothers and mental well	-if a particular problem draws stigma from others then people are less likely to disclose it -social support is crucial for wellbeing – but only possible if there is honesty about your situation – links to discourse -COPING participant ‘as soon as you mention the word prison people everyone looks down on	-the power of bringing imprisoned mothers together with students to challenge stereotypes and promote good practice – innovative as not much written about involving people in prison in teaching (link to Adam’s article) -professionals prepare reports on people in prison for a purpose – but power resides	-25% of CwPiP cared for by grandparents - impact on grandparents of focussing on grandchild – ‘decreased peer network interaction, social isolation’ (Williams, 2001:6) -grandparent carers sometimes fulfilling multiple care roles – e.g. for their grandchildren as well as own parents	-stigma amplified by IPP – people assume offender is murderer or paedophile - if not released on tariff date wider family and friends assume further offence committed and person in prison is lying	- for 85% of mothers imprisonment is the first significant separation from their children -imprisonment generally very negative for parent – child relations – but it can also be an opportunity to rebuild and repair fractured relationships -recognition that significant others are important as well as family ties – reference	-grandmother living in poverty in a remote Ugandan village stated that her primary need, above material things, was companionship -Ugandan situation re mothers remarrying and divesting themselves of their children is a culturally different and dangerous outcome in terms of sociality - leaving children vulnerable to	- contact with imprisoned parent goes to the heart of the issues. Particularly acute when all contact denied to daughter of sex offender – even phone and letter contact – ‘no contacts, no phone calls, n letters, no nothing’ -stability provided by carers very significant for resilience -quality of face to face and

	<p>being for children</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - children - overnight stays mean children can divide time between different important people in their lives – including step siblings and friends -mothers struggling with lack of private space on visits ‘you dish yourself out so its too thin, and it isn’t the quality time you want to spend’ -phone calls difficult ‘you can lose a phone call just like that {clicks fingers} 	<p>you and points a finger at you’</p>	<p>with these professionals. People in prison rarely have chance to discuss the lived experience of being in prison and the impact on those around them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -siloed working reduced by IDL -staff with a shared vision and commitment coming together can make great things happen – e.g. Acorn House and IDL -recognition of importance of lunch and tea breaks for mingling between mothers in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -grandparent carers subjected to gossip – one overheard work colleagues say ‘her daughter, bloody druggie, back in jail again’ -grandparent’s best friends turning away from them -one imprisoned mother described how her mother ‘wouldn’t go out of the house for a week’ and another reported her mother didn’t go out for ‘three months’ due to shame -grandparents also avoided family events like christenings 		<p>Farmer report – ‘supportive relations with family and significant others give meaning and all important motivation to rehabilitation and resettlement activity’. Acorn house – link to discourse – what is best way to make change – framing as pure support or to reduce offending</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -latter likely to attract more funding - recognising this too -sociality includes the importance of privacy – 15 yr old – ‘it was our 	<p>exploitation and even sacrifice – resulting from poverty and different expectations of marriage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -poverty in Romania and Uganda meant that families have to choose between visits or buying the essentials necessary for living -allowed grandparents to self-identify to be included in the study sociality defined by participants – ties in with Farmer ‘significant other’ 	<p>telephone contact very significant in terms of how children coped.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -support from extended family members very important for coping – 25% of children with mothers in prison living with grandparents -sharing experiences with other CwPiP seen as very desirable by -NGO support significant both in terms of support and for ethical conduct of research -dad there at breakfast then
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	<p>by saying the wrong thing</p> <p>-saying goodbye to children after overnight stay the women walk from the overnight stay house to the prison and as they do so their identity as mother changes back to their identity as prisoner</p> <p>-‘everyone (all prison staff wants it to work’ – prison staff coming together to make great things happen – taking joy at ‘the contentment you can see in mothers’ faces when they have</p>		<p>orison and students</p> <p>-IDL and multiagency working are a form of sociality</p>	<p>and communions due to shame, adding to feelings of isolation.</p> <p>An imprisoned mother stated that after she was sentenced her mother ‘got proper depressed and she made herself even more ill ... she wasn’t eating properly, she wasn’t going out, she was panicking all the time, I think she was scared f what people thought’ (links to moodedness too – depends on systems you are part of the impact on your well being – e.g.</p>		<p>time, we didn’t have to worry about anyone else’ – link to other children who craved privacy</p> <p>14 year old in evaluation ‘thank you for letting me spend time with my mother without other people there’</p> <p>16 year old ‘it’s all about me and her’</p> <p>-importance to children of smiling, friendly and welcoming prison officers at Askham Grange who remembered his name</p>	<p>- UK grandmothers ‘there’s no one catching us, there’s no safety net for us’</p> <p>-in Uganda no support for grandmothers from local civic leaders – indifference to their plight due to stigma – reliance on NGOs such as WoH</p>	<p>not there when he came home</p> <p>-frustration of sharing parent on visits</p> <p>-children felt treated with contempt by prison officers</p> <p>- people reacting in stigmatising ways – e.g. ‘shouting abuse and spray painting stuff on the windows’.</p> <p>- CwPiP recognises judgements made by others– re prisoners – you’d imagine them to be quite rough wouldn’t you.</p>
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	had a visit (at Acorn House)			<p>support groups positive</p> <p>-grandparents feeling very 'visible' – when people see her with grandchild immediately know something has happened – links to embodiment - e.g. physical age</p> <p>-grandparents and imprisoned mother maintaining good communication to avoid children playing them off against one another</p> <p>-imprisoned mother stated her mother 'just wishes she has someone she could turn to</p>				
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				<p>who's going through what she is going through ... there's nothing really out there for them</p> <p>Another grandparent stated 'no one's catching us, there is no safety net for us'</p> <p>-Attitude of staff at visits centre made all the difference</p> <p>One grandmother had set up her own support group – Strengths based interventions the best</p> <p>One example of good practice involved an</p>				
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				agency regularly visiting grandparent carers each month to check they were OK				
Embodiment Heidensohn's double judgement – more stigma to female offenders - probably does not include experiencing poverty ?	-would attribute as mother or father count as embodiment ?			-grandparent carers having health issues				-girls more articulate than boys regarding their feelings - gender difference – 9% of children with imprisoned mothers live with their fathers but 95% of those with fathers in prison live with their mothers -imprisonment of ethnic minorities disproportionate and has cultural impact (Abass et al., 2016) - ethnicity – lack of culturally

								appropriate -e.g. halal food made him worry that father's other cultural needs not met
Temporality 'Serving time' -different stages in the criminal justice process marked by time – not necessarily linear – bail – many adjournments – sentence – parole knockbacks – release	-overnight stay visits lasting for potentially 48 hours	-chronological age of child significant in terms of how disclosure of fact of imprisonment is handled – child's advice – give an outline of offence and fill it in as the child gets older -some children might be so young they won't be aware of imprisonment – rationale for not telling them -one mother not sure what age to start to tell her child about her	-time significant in terms of point in careers that stunts were at – more impressionable than seasoned professionals – but also significant in terms of the point that the mothers were at in their sentence		-IPP by definition does not have an end date – but also does not have the structure and time markers of the Life sentence -people on IPP sentences 'have no real perception of their own time frames' (UN) and so by extension nor do their children or families - Action for Prisoners Families advice on how to explain prison	-significance of life stage – grown up daughter of imprisoned mother used Acorn House to see her mother just after she had given birth – an event at which she had acutely missed her mother's presence.	-time on remand waiting for trial – often for years in resource constrained countries is a significant factor – leading to uncertainty for families as well as those in prison.	Children's concept of time until their parent would be home: 'I have to have another eight Christmases without her' Other children were acutely aware of all the significant events their parent had missed while in prison e.g. proms and receiving exam results -time lag between events happening and children having the chance to tell imprisoned

		imprisonment – fed into eroding confidence in her parenting ability			sentences to children not fit for purpose in relation to IPP and indeterminate sentences: 'whatever the length of sentence their parent is serving, try to give the child a sense of the future ... younger children may like to tick off days on a calendar'			parent about it – phone call more immediate -no control over times parent phones 'when I want to talk to him he doesn't phone and when he dies phone I don't want to talk to him' Teenage participant willing her mother to ring her when absence particularly painful
Spatiality	-mothers held 62 miles from families -physical space between parents and their children	-negotiating the boundaries between the inside world of prison and the outside world	-mothers serving prison sentences and student SW and Police in same space breaking down barriers – lots of thought regarding how	Mothers absence from a space – one mother on life sentence tried to discipline child only to be told she had no right to as 'you	-IPP prisoners required to go to prisons where programmes on offending behaviour are offered – meaning they may travel to	-Acorn House provides a unique space creating conditions for quality time together – significance of being located	-long distances to travel to prisons exacerbated by poor transport infrastructure in resource	-quality of visiting space – rules around chairs and sharing food make it stressful and unsatisfactory so often not

	<p>-mothers wanting to be close to children when they were interviewed to avoid adding to feelings of exclusion.</p> <p>-‘it just felt weird at the tables ... you couldn’t get up and give her a hug and it just felt like you were there but you felt like really distant from her (F16)</p> <p>- mothers free to move around visiting space in open prisons</p> <p>- even in open prison lack of privacy and presence of other visitors</p>		<p>to best use that space and the time allotted to it</p> <p>-people in prison rarely have chance to speak to professionals who are outside the prison but who can make decisions about their lives.</p> <p>-space available governed number of participants</p>	<p>haven’t been there for 13 years’.</p> <p>-imprisoned mother commented on home leave she felt like ‘a visitor in mi own house’-</p> <p>importance of spaces and pain of seeing your space occupied and even changed by someone else – e.g. grandmother repainting room</p>	<p>prisons a long way from family members – one participant in a prison a 400 miles round trip away</p>	<p>away from main prison and very much like a family home in appearance – located within a positive open prison with a commitment to family work</p> <p>-geography significant – UK not as advanced as Scandinavia in terms of overnight contact facilities</p> <p>-15 yr old’s account of unsatisfactory nature of family day – despite being in a big space he was not allowed to sit privately with his mother</p> <p>-Acorn House is a very conducive</p>	<p>constrained countries</p> <p>-in Uganda grandparents looking after children with and without parents in prison would discriminate against children of imprisoned parents – e.g. worse space to sleep with no mattress.</p>	<p>child friendly – ‘let daddies walk around and play with us children more’ – links to Comfort (2003) secondary prisonisation</p> <p>-‘the sound is quite loud and actually hurts your ears’</p> <p>-children living in children’s homes or foster care excluded from research – and visits to their imprisoned parents by virtue of where they are living – as are CwPiP who have carer who is negative about imprisoned parent</p> <p>-disruption caused espec. to</p>
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	<p>were inhibiting factors</p> <p>-virtual spaces – e.g. phone calls – felt inhibited due to being monitored</p> <p>- ‘it’s nice to be with just that one person you want to be with’ (F16)</p> <p>-overnight stay provided privacy in a way that home visits didn’t due to other people who mum needed to see being present</p> <p>-‘you can go in there, it feels like you are in your own little house, and you just forget there is a prison there’</p>					<p>space for Social Workers to observe contact during assessments – better than many community settings - testing for example parents’ ability to keep track of young children in a house with multiple rooms</p> <p>- space allows for additional health or psychological needs to be met – oxygen and autism</p>		<p>children with mothers in prison in terms of having to move home – only 5% remaining in same home as before mother sentenced to imprisonment</p> <p>- the invasion of the privacy of home during house searches – children expressed a desire to be elsewhere rather than to have to witness that</p> <p>-benefits of more relaxed visiting arrangements at open prisons – became enjoyable with possibility of buying produce</p>
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								<p>from the farm shop – NGO staff instrumental in creating these atmospheres and setting up family days</p> <p>Phone calls preferred by one child as on the phone ‘you lose the sense that you are talking to someone in prison’</p> <p>-daughter of sex offender made to sit separately from her school peers at school lunch time, some of which were prosecution witnesses</p>
Project Preparing for release a project in itself?	-mothers worrying about children but ‘powerless to do anything about		-participating in the workshop is a positive Project for	-grandparent carers report ‘joy and meaning’ as well as a ‘purposeful	-IPP frustrates any plans that might be made as no release	-Acorn House allowed a mother to ‘be more like an ordinary mother,		

	<p>it. It is this lack of power that contributes to them feeling less. It just hacks into their self-esteem and their self-belief ... we want to give some of that power back'</p> <p>- method of engagement – providing mothers and children with the activity of decorating picture frames for photos from the day to go into – very significant when they have limited chances for joint projects</p> <p>- joy of overnight stays 'just to have that one to</p>		<p>mothers in prison</p> <p>- increased sense of purpose and confidence are recognised as benefits of service user participation in teaching – a great chance to enhance their sense of Project</p>	<p>social role' (Kropf and Burnette, 2003:5) arising from caring for grandchildren</p> <p>-grandparent not parent going through childhood 'dramas'</p>	<p>date to build up to</p> <p>-hopelessness is cited as a major reason why attempts to gain parole are unsuccessful vicious circle</p>	<p>doing ordinary things' which prior to imprisonment were taken for granted</p> <p>-Acorn House allows for a wider variety of activities – project links to selfhood – doing these activities confirms non prisoner/parent identity</p>		
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	<p>one time and no interruptions, you can say what you want, do what you want' – (cooking, dancing, hair plaiting)</p> <p>Project – different projects – preparation, day contact, overnight building up</p> <p>Acorn House allows you to keep a check on things like homework</p> <p>-Mother serving Life sentence – described hw her daughter 'likes pampering and for the last twelve, thirteen years I've not</p>							
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	<p>been able to pamper her'</p> <p>Another mum – 'We do crafts ... I get lots of paper, paints, glue and sticky things and sequins and glitter'</p>							
Discourse	<p>Hard to talk freely with others present even during open prison visits</p> <p>By contrast at Acorn House you can talk about 'things you need to talk about'</p>	<p>- discourses on disclosure serve as a window onto the private world of families</p> <p>- 'secrecy is a selective denial of uncomfortable truths' – and it creates an unequal power balance in relationships</p> <p>- decision to make regarding disclosure – total secrecy or total openness</p>	<p>- honest exchange of ideas forms a positive discourse between others in prison and students to break down stereotypes – mothers given chance to rehearse what they will say</p> <p>- workshop allowed imprisoned mothers to speak directly to students –</p>	<p>Grandparents grappling with finding words for age appropriate explanation of parent's imprisonment</p>	<p>- people subject to IPP do not understand what it is or the terminology associated with it</p> <p>- children misunderstand it – think parent will be released after tariff date and then when not are devastated – think they have been lied to – links to ambiguous loss</p>	<p>- Acorn House allows for difficult and upsetting conversations to happen that might normally be avoided (e.g. anger at mother behaving in a way to be imprisoned) – and then can be left at the prison rather than polluting release</p>		<p>- Importance of honesty</p> <p>- 'ambiguous loss' when parents not honest</p> <p>- children dictated to in terms of the words they are expected to use to account for the absence of their parent</p> <p>- true explanation protective factor</p> <p>- metaphorical masks –</p>

		<p>-secrecy can 'build a foundation for isolation, loneliness and shame'</p> <p>-quotes re story of mum being air stewardess and nit understanding situation – and confusing impact that had – link to ambiguous loss – start to doubt that family network can support them</p> <p>-Swedish children believed they should be given honest information – even if parents didn't want information disclosed</p>	<p>without having their views portrayed by a third party – e.g. a researcher</p> <p>-groundrules to create respectful communication</p>					<p>everyone invested in maintaining the pretence that everything is ok on prison visits</p> <p>- the way cases are reported leading to stigma for children and families – 'more and more people knew and more people looked at you and I couldn't go out at night so I stayed in all the time'</p>
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		<p>-mother in prison reported 'we never actually used the word prison ... I think they probably know'</p> <p>-discourse in media adds to stigma – and can force disclosure -</p> <p>honesty can allow parents to construct a positive narrative of recovery, repair and personal growth – e.g that prison assisting with tackling drug use and saving parent's life – and serving as a warning to stop children from going down</p>							
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		prison path themselves – preferable to a demonising identity – selfhood and discourse overlap here						
Moodedness	<p>-overnight stays mean mother happier – which causes children to worry less – virtuous circle where mothers and children’s mental well being was enhanced</p> <p>- mothers and children could look forward to overnight stays – provided hope (cf IPP)</p> <p>-mothers expressed</p>		-workshop allows emotion to be shown by imprisoned people who participated and experienced by those who attended and to be a catalyst to change hearts and minds	<p>Parental imprisonment likened to a bereavement – with child experiencing ‘disenfranchised grief’ (Robertson, 2007, Worden definition)</p> <p>Anger and frustration if children not allowed to talk about imprisoned parent and receive little</p>	<p>-IPP causes absence of hope which can quickly lead to despair</p> <p>-draw distinction between indeterminate and determinate sentences – tariff – need to prove low risk – but no access to courses recommended</p> <p>-no light at the end of the tunnel</p>	<p>-overnight stays increase well being as observed by child’s carer – after visits children would have a ‘spring in their step’ and were observably their faces were lot ‘brighter’</p> <p>- 15 yr old expressing his joy at observing his mother laugh for the first time, 9 months into her sentence, when they were at</p>		<p>- COPING statistic that UK CwPiP 25% more likely to experience mental health problems – or overall 2.3 times more likely.</p> <p>-bereavement – (Robertson,2007) ‘disenfranchised grief’ (Worden,2009)</p> <p>-‘...I am one of the more popular ones...I have got friends,</p>

	<p>concern about long term impact of their prison sentence on their relationship with their children and emotions characterised by 'grief, loss and a crippling sense of guilt'</p> <p>- mothers a lot happy as a result of Acorn House – 'when I get phone calls from her she's not down and upset so I don't get down and upset'</p> <p>-provides hope – Acorn House visits give children 'something to look forward to' (cf IPP situation)</p>			<p>sympathy for their plight.</p> <p>-grandparent carers experience 'depression and lowered life satisfaction'</p> <p>-double loss experience by grandparents – firstly grandparent role, secondly loss of own son or daughter in prison whose parental role they have stepped into.</p> <p>- important to recognise grandparents's joy at caring for grandchildren too</p> <p>-grandparent carers boosting</p>	<p>-limbo with no release date induces feelings if powerlessness and depression</p> <p>-all challenges of imprisonment are amplified by IPP</p> <p>-IPP prisoners have significantly higher rates of self-harm than other prisoners</p> <p>-one suicidal IPP prisoner's partner considered his child was the 'only reason he is staying sane'.</p> <p>-one partner 'I'm trying my damnest to make sure I don't crumble,</p>	Acorn House together.		<p>everybody knows me'</p> <p>'sad and thoughtful' after learned father had been sent to prison</p> <p>'I was thinking why did he do it? I wish he never did'- these thoughts creating his mood</p> <p>'There isn't as much laughs in the house as when dad is home ... it isn't the same feeling as when dad is around because it isn't the same atmosphere'</p> <p>'I don't actually cry because I have managed to get used to it</p>
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	<p>'Double edged sword' – 'it's wonderful to have the (overnight) visit but it's so heartbreaking to leave'</p> <p>-mothers described going through a grieving process after every overnight stay and visit</p> <p>-a father described how his daughter had mood swings on her return from short 2 hour visits but was happy and stable after overnight stays.</p> <p>-Acorn House allowed for the processing of emotions and as</p>			<p>mental health of mothers whose children they care for – one mother commenting that without that support she might have 'cracked up, or something like that ... that's what gets you through, knowing how well he's being looked after'</p> <p>-unbearable for mothers not to be part of their children's lives – e.g. in relation to facilitating potty training – 'I should be doing that ... it's just so hard ... I don't know how I get</p>	but it's not that easy'			<p>because she has been in so long'</p> <p>'When I am at home I am sad, I am down most nights'</p>
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	<p>a family support worker said to 'work at the pace of a daughter and to stay maybe with those silent moods'</p>			<p>through it to be honest with you'</p> <p>-they are worrying about us at the same time they are worrying about their grandkids'</p>					
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