# Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study

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### **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to the children and families who shared with me their lived experiences of parental imprisonment and re-entry. I hope this thesis honourably reflects your experiences.

### **Abstract**

New Zealand incarceration rates continue to increase and thus do the number of children experiencing parental imprisonment. Estimates reveal that at any given time, as many as 23,000 New Zealand children have one or both parents in prison. However, research examining the impact of parental incarceration on children is scarce both in New Zealand and internationally. Children of prisoners are, therefore, the hidden survivors of the prison industrial complex. Using a transformative research design, this study conducted semi-structured interviews to explore children's expectations and experiences of parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand and subsequently determine the factors that contribute to a positive re-entry experience for children. Interviewed were seven children (aged 7-16), their nonimprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and two community practitioners. The findings reveal that the majority of children want and are excited at the prospect of a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent, with hopes and expectations of re-establishing the family unit. Yet, nearly all describe the transition as unexpectedly difficult, conveying disappointment due to unmet expectations. During these difficult times, children seek social support, which is often strained and limited due to the parental incarceration. For their social support, children seek out significant others, such as family or friends, or accessible professionals, such as community practitioners, teachers and mentors. The children also get involved in highly social leisure activities, such as team sports and community events. The study concludes that child-centred programmes are required to meet children's daily needs and experiences throughout parental re-entry both in the community and in prisons.

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### **Definition of Terms**

Parental Incarceration/Imprisonment: For the purpose of this study, parental incarceration/imprisonment refers to the detention of either the biological parent or considered parental figure (i.e., 'mother figure' or 'father figure') with the latter being determined by participant families as having raised child participants in a parenting role (often a shared whānau responsibility within Māori society, e.g. the role of parenting is taken on by grandparents, aunts and uncles (Cram, 2012)) prior to imprisonment.

Parental Re-entry: The term re-entry refers to the overall experience and the certain challenges faced by an individual who is released from prison and (re)integrates into the community (Schlager, 2013). This transition is interchangeable with the terms 'resettlement' or 'reintegration' and is experienced by all prisoners who are released either on parole supervision or upon completion of their sentence. According to Maruna, Immarigeon, and LeBel (2004), re-entry is also recognised as "both an event and a process" (p. 5), whereby re-entry begins on the day of release but can be seen as "a long-term process, one that actually starts prior to release and continues well afterwards" (p. 5). The latter and more inclusive definition has been applied to this study. Parental re-entry refers to parent prisoners experiencing the release from prison and (re)integrating into the community.

Children of Prisoners: Children below the age of 18 as classified in the New Zealand Care of Children Act (2004) who currently have or had a parent or both parents in prison.

**Non-imprisoned Parent (or other Primary Caregiver):** Adults who are responsible for caring for children whose parent(s) are incarcerated (Mackintosh, Myers, & Kennon, 2006).

## **Attestation of Authorship**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my
knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by
another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor
material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other
degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed:

Date:

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First and foremost, thank you to the children and families who participated in this study. It was truly inspirational and moving to hear your stories of the struggle and resilience experienced throughout parental imprisonment and re-entry. I hope that I have captured and documented your experiences faithfully and that your stories will inspire change for all children of imprisoned parents in New Zealand.

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### **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **Overview: An Invisible Population**

Children and families with incarcerated parents have been a relatively invisible population to the public, to policymakers, and to funders. Programs and policies, which have traditionally focused on the offender, his or her victims, and the public safety of the community, ignore the vast and growing number of the other victims - children (Bouchet, 2008, p. 14).

As New Zealand incarceration rates increase (Walmsley, 2016), so do the number of children experiencing parental imprisonment. Estimates made by Gordon's (2009, 2011) studies suggest that at any time, 23,000 children have one or both parents in prison and as many as 30,000 children experience parental incarceration every year in New Zealand. This proportion is estimated to constitute near 3% of New Zealand children under the age of 18 (Stats NZ, 2018)<sup>1</sup>. Despite these figures and parental imprisonment being recognised as an adverse childhood experience (Arditti, 2012a), research on children of prisoners remains limited and consequently are not in the forefront of social policy and service provision (Bouchet, 2008; Flynn & Eriksson, 2017; Saunders, McArthur, & Moore, 2015).

There are a multitude of factors which have led researchers to refer to children of prisoners as the 'forgotten' (Codd, 1998, p. 148), 'invisible' (Bouchet, 2008; Gordon, 2009) or 'unseen' (Petersilia, 2005, p. 34) survivors of the prison industrial complex. At an individual family level, "parental imprisonment for many children is both stigmatising and shameful, and is often actively concealed by their families" (Flynn, 2008, pp. 14-15; see also Boswell, 2002; Dodds, 2015; Gordon, 2009, 2011; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008). At a societal level, "imprisonment is an experience confined to the 'other'" (Flynn, 2008, p. 14). The imprisoned 'other' is removed and disconnected from their community - out of sight, out of mind and this social exclusion is then

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  As of December 2009, there were an estimated 1,097,700 children under the age of 18 in New Zealand  $(30,000 \div 1,097,700) \times 100 = 2.7\%$ 

extended to prisoners' families and children (Flynn, 2008; Murray, 2007). This invisibility and lack of recognition by the public is argued to be a non-accidental consequence of a penal system "centred on the principles of 'justice' and 'individual responsibility'" (Larman & Aungles, 1991, p. 263). Policy shifts towards a more tough approach on crime (Mauer, 2001; Shichor, 1997; Workman, 2008) have seen rapidly increasing prison numbers and, as Smith (1986) points out, the essence of penal populism. Penal populism, which is very much ingrained in New Zealand (Pratt, 2007; Pratt & Clark, 2005), attempts to obscure the collateral consequences of imprisonment because "it would be political suicide to build up one picture of crime and criminals to the voting public, instilling fear and prejudice and present law and order platform and then contravene it by aiding prisoners' families" (Smith, 1986, p. 9). While this statement was made over 30 years ago, New Zealand community service providers continue to stress the lack of interest and funding received by the government to support prisoners' families and children (Milnac, 2016).

Conducting research on this population is therefore a significant challenge and almost all studies in New Zealand (Gordon, 2009; Gordon, 2015; Maxwell & Stanley, 2004) and internationally (Flynn & Saunders, 2015; Gabel & Johnston, 1995; Gursansky, Harvey, McGrath, & O'Brien, 1998; Murray, 2007; Seymour, 1998) emphasise the absence of statistical information available on prisoner's children. In many jurisdictions, data on the families and children of prisoners is not systematically collected or is not available to the public and researchers (Flynn & Saunders, 2015; Robertson, 2012). For example, in New Zealand, gathering statistical information about children of prisoners for the Prison Census ceased after 2003. An Australian report by the Standing Committee on Social Issues (1997, as cited in Woodward, 2003), stated that "[t]he lack of statistics and the paucity of specific research on children of imprisoned parents has led to a vacuum in correctional and community services policy and practice for this group" (p. 47). As such, there is a heavy reliance on estimations in examining the effects of parental incarceration on children.

### **Topic and Purpose of the Research Study**

Each year, approximately 15,000 prisoners are released into the New Zealand community (Department of Corrections, 2016). Most of them are parents (Workman, 2005), and a significant number will reunite with their families/whānau (Travis, 2005). A crucial factor to successful re-entry includes re-establishing supportive family relationships (Arditti & Few, 2006; Brunton-Smith & McCarthy, 2017) and for many parents in particular, this involves "repair[ing] parent-child relationships that have been damaged by long or repeated separations and establishing a home environment that is conducive to caring for children" (Siegel, 2011, as cited in Johnson & Easterling, 2015, p. 61). Parental re-entry has been described by children, family members and formerly imprisoned parents as the most traumatic and difficult period to adapt to throughout imprisonment (Robertson, 2007), particularly when the risk of recidivism is prominent. In New Zealand, nearly 30% of prisoners (from a cohort released in 2002-2003) were re-incarcerated within the first year of their release and within five years just over half of all former prisoners returned to prison (Nadesu, 2009), thus illustrating the significant risk of children experiencing their parents reimprisonment. In spite of such statistics and the recent surge of interest in the welfare of children with incarcerated parents (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011; Lawrence, 2013; MacGibbon, McFelin, & Gordon, 2011; Mlinac, 2016; National Health Committee, 2010; Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; Superu, 2015; Taylor, 2016), children's experiences of parental re-entry has not yet been examined in New Zealand. Since positive child-parent relationships have shown to lower the risk of recidivism for re-entering parents (Bahr, Armstrong, Gibbs, Harris, & Fisher, 2005; Berg & Huebner, 2011; Petersilia, 2003; Visher, 2013), it is essential to investigate children's expectations and experiences of parental re-entry. Research on this topic may be beneficial for both children and re-entering parents by providing insight into an area that lends itself for transformative interventions.

This study aims to start closing this gap in research by qualitatively exploring children's expectations, experiences and social support during parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand, through the narratives of the children themselves, as well as from their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and from a small number of community practitioners. Incorporating a multi-perspective approach allows for a holistic understanding of parental re-entry from prison to be examined.

Semi-structured interviews were designed to elicit participants' free descriptions of their thoughts and feelings about parental re-entry and are focused on the following research questions:

- 1. If they have any, what are the expectations children have before their incarcerated parent is released from prison?
- 2. What are the everyday lived experiences of children after their incarcerated parent has been released from prison?
  - 3. What factors make parental re-entry a positive experience for children?

To explore these research questions, a qualitative phenomenological methodology was employed within the tenets of a transformative research paradigm. This is well suited to fulfil the aim of this study because it adheres to the UNCROC article 12, whereby children are afforded their right to speak their thoughts, feelings and experiences (here of parental re-entry from prison) without being substituted by adults advocating their voice (Powell & Smith, 2009; Robinson & Kellet, 2004). Aligned with the methodology, this study employs a 'child-centred' approach and pursues the ideal that "children are the best sources of information about themselves" (Landreth, 2002, p. 59). The study findings are based on semi-structured interviews with four families, totalling seven children (age 7-16), five non-imprisoned parents/caregivers and two community practitioners who have provided direct support to children of prisoners in New Zealand. The interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, and the transcripts were examined for emerging themes using thematic analysis.

This study presented an opportunity for children in New Zealand to voice their own hardships and resilience in the process of parental re-entry from prison. Their participation in research can "ensure that child advocacy is well-founded and that decision-making is guided by a more complete picture of all the key issues" (Smith & Taylor, 2000, p. x). By providing children a space to voice their own experiences, the community have the opportunity to understand and effectively support children who go through the process of parental imprisonment and re-entry.

### **Thesis Structure**

Chapter Two is divided into two sections. The first presents a review of the literature on New Zealand's parent prison population and that of their families and children. The second section summaries the extant literature on what is known about children's experiences throughout the process of parental incarceration, from arrest to release, and sheds light on one particular research gap in New Zealand, that being children's experiences of parental re-entry from prison.

Chapter Three provides details of the research design and methods used to conduct this study. The chapter begins with researcher reflexivity, followed by a detailed description of, and the rationale behind, the chosen paradigm, methodology and methods used for participant recruitment, data collection and analysis. Lastly, ethical considerations to ensure informed consent, protection and confidentiality of all participants, as well as the methodological limitations of the study, are described.

Chapter Four presents the findings of this study through thematic analysis of the narratives by the children themselves, their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and community practitioners.

Chapter Five provides a discussion of the findings which are analysed in accordance with the three research questions of this study.

Chapter Six summarises the main findings of this study with a discussion of the practical implications of this research regarding ways to improve the lives of children experiencing parental incarceration and re-entry.

### **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

For this study, the literature review is divided into two sections. The first section presents a picture of New Zealand's parent prisoner population and describes who their children are and who cares for them during parental imprisonment. The second section details the process in which children experience parental incarceration, which, as emphasised by Parke and Clarke-Stewart (2003), is "not a single or discrete event, but a dynamic process that unfolds over time" (p. 199). This process (also known as crisis points; Fishman, 1983) includes understanding the impact of and what children experience upon parental arrest, during trial, imprisonment and upon re-entry, as documented in both New Zealand and international literature. The review will shed light on one particular research gap in New Zealand, which pertains to understanding the experiences of parental re-entry from prison from the child's perspective.

Due to the scarcity of research conducted on prisoners' children in New Zealand, this review draws heavily on grey literature such as government documents, community service research reports and evaluations, and theses. These sources provided rich information and are pertinent to exploring this topic given the range of government departments and community organisations that directly work with, research and campaign on behalf of prisoners' children. Furthermore, these grey literature sources have formed a crucial aspect of the evidence-base that informs child welfare policy and practice in New Zealand (see Gordon, 2009, 2011). Lastly, a review of international literature points to some issues that are relevant within the New Zealand context.

## Prisoners and their Families in New Zealand: Context and Statistics

While the focus of prison research has significantly shifted over time, the characteristics of incarcerated men and women have largely remained the same. They are primarily young, from ethnic minority populations, who prior to imprisonment were lacking formal education, un- or under-employed and dependent on welfare benefits (Braybrook & Southey, 1992; Department of Corrections, 2003; Harpham,

2004; Lash, 1996, 1998; Rich, 2000). In terms of physical and mental health, many prisoners suffer with asthma and obesity (National Health Committee, 2010) and with their likely use of unsanitary needles are at high risk of having contracted hepatitis and HIV/AIDS (Lindberg & Huang, 2006). Mental health problems amongst prisoners include substance abuse disorders, major depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (National Health Committee, 2010; Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; Wesley Community Action, 2009). However, there have been trends over recent years, largely related to changes in sentencing policy and practice worldwide, whereby, longer sentences and a decrease in the number of approved paroles have left prisoners with lengthier prison terms and to serve more of their sentence before being released (Ministry of Justice, 2002; Newbold, 2007). Concurrently, we have a growing number of individuals entering prison who come from marginalised and vulnerable communities (Department of Corrections, 2011; National Health Committee, 2010; Workman & McIntosh, 2013) and are even more disadvantaged upon release. International research confirms that parents who enter prison exhibit similar characteristics (Mumola, 2000; Taylor, 2004) and like them, their family/whanau and children experience socioeconomic disadvantages prior, during and after parental incarceration (National Health Committee, 2010; Superu, 2015).

### The Parent Imprisoned

Gordon (2009) highlights that a particular challenge to conducting research on parental imprisonment in New Zealand is the lack of comprehensive and up-to-date statistical information available on parent prisoners and their relationships with their children. We cannot determine exact figures as such data is no longer collected. However, estimations have been made based on government reports and academic studies, although these are also fairly dated. Drawing on Prison Census data from 1993 to 2003 (collected biennially), which is the most current and detailed data set on prisoners and their relationship to family members, the characteristics and needs of the parent prisoner population can be examined.

As of November 2003, with 262 female sentenced and 4,833 male sentenced prisoners, 47% of females and 26% of males were recorded (9.7% did not respond) as having dependent (living and cared for and/or financially supported) children (under 18 years

old) prior to imprisonment. Thirty-five percent of female prisoners were living with their children before imprisonment as compared to only 12% of male prisoners. Of these, 40% of prisoners had one dependent child, 25% had two dependent children, 17% had three, 8% had four, and 10% had five or more child custodial dependents prior to entering prison (Harpham, 2004). In terms of marital status, most are single and have never been married (56%), followed by those who are in a de facto relationship, and those who were married upon entry into prison (Harpham, 2004). No data was collected at the time to distinguish the number of prisoners who were the sole caregiver of their dependent children. Nonetheless, Prison Census trends show, between 1993 and 2001, a drastic 66% increase in the number of solo-parent prisoners. In 2001, 35% of males and 84% of female prisoners were the sole caregiver of their dependent children as compared to only 9% of males and 44% of female prisoners in 1993 (Department of Corrections, 2003; Southey, Spier, & Edgar, 1995). Kingi (1999), Taylor (2004) and Gray Matter Research (1996) have recorded similar findings.

In line with international trends (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008; Cunningham & Baker, 2004), for each census mothers with dependent children are the fastest growing subgroup within the prison population. Additionally, these women are more likely to have never been married, are of a single-parent household and to be on welfare benefits than their male counterparts and the general female population (Belknap, 2014; Department of Corrections, 2003; Faris & Miller, 2010; Haney, 2010; Kingi, 1999; La Vigne, Davies, & Brazzell, 2008; van Wormer & Kaplan, 2006), which can greatly exacerbate their children's financial and living conditions upon entry into prison.

More contemporary estimates as to the number of parents incarcerated and their relationship to family members is revealed in studies conducted by the New Zealand community organisation Pillars who provide a range of services supporting prisoners' children. Pillars completed a two-year research report commencing in 2009 with the preliminary data of their first-year report (Gordon, 2009) having accumulated prison surveys from Paremoremo, Christchurch Men's, Christchurch Women's and Arohata prisons, with a total of 137 prisoners surveyed. Of the prisoner sample surveyed, roughly 87% of female prisoners and 65% of male prisoners were parents. In the second year report (Gordon, 2011), 73% of the 368 prisoners surveyed in nine prisons (inclusive of all three women's prisons) reported being parents with on average 3.1

children per parent. However, it is not clear whether these parents had dependent children or children in their care prior to imprisonment.

The high rate, in comparison to Prison Census data, as addressed in Gordon's (2011) study, is likely due to the dependence on convenience sampling and the inherent focus of the study being the children of imprisoned parents. Yet, the study briefly discusses that having children by more than one partner is the norm among incarcerated parents (Gordon, 2011, p. 13). This is supported by findings from the longitudinal Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health & Development Study which shows that 10% of their male birth cohort engaged in high levels of antisocial behaviour, but they fathered 27% of the children fathered by that cohort by the time the cohort reached the age of 26 (Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington, & Milne, 2002, as cited in Superu, 2015). As a result, a substantial number of prisoners' children will not have lived with their birth parents at the time of their birth parent's incarceration (National Health Committee, 2010). This likely leads to underestimating the actual number of children who experience parental incarceration, since the New Zealand Prison Censuses questionnaire only asks: "In the 4 weeks before you came into Corrections care, how many dependent children under 18 years old were living with you?" (Department of Corrections, 2003, p. 82). Furthermore, parents who are re-incarcerated on a number of occasions are likely to have little to no contact with their children, yet, this does not mean that these children are not indirectly impacted by their parents' incarceration despite prior separation (Johnston & Sullivan, 2016; Walker, 2003).

A concerning feature discussed in the Pillars Study is the trend of multiple family generations who experience imprisonment (Gordon, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). Gordon (2011) found nearly half (48%) of surveyed prisoners to have experienced the imprisonment of someone residing with them when they were a child. This was often their father, uncle or brother. Additionally, half of these prisoners revealed that, during their childhoods, they had seen multiple family members (up to eight) go to prison (Gordon, 2011).

Due to the present void in statistical information collected in New Zealand, only estimations can be made as to the number of parents currently imprisoned. In terms of those on remand, the Prison Census for 2003, identified that 13% of remand prisoners (out of 1,145; 7.2% did not respond) reported having been residing with and caring

for their dependent children prior to imprisonment (Harpham, 2004, p. 48). With a current prison population of 10,035 as of March 2017, of which 7,143 are sentenced prisoners (492 females and 6,651 males) and the remainder on remand (210 females and 2,682 males) (Department of Corrections, 2017), the estimated number of parents currently in prison is high and continues to grow (Superu, 2015).

#### The Children of Prisoners

According to Prison Census data from 2001 (Department of Corrections, 2003) and consistent to Kingi's (1999) findings, more than half of parent prisoners (59%) had at least one child under the age of 5. Roughly 24% of parent prisoners had children between the ages of 4 and 10 years, and only 6% were responsible for adolescent children aged 15 and over prior to imprisonment.

A recent report by the New Zealand Treasury (2016) using Government administrative data analysed several characteristics of the population of children aged 0 to 14 years (a total of 873,180 children) at the end of December 2013 and estimated their future outcomes as adults. Findings show that 16.9% of children aged 0-5, and 17% of children aged 6-14, have a parent with a community or custodial sentence through the Department of Corrections (Ball, et al., 2016). The exact number of children with an imprisoned parent has not been reported. These figures are higher than previous estimates and explicate the considerable increase of children who are experiencing parental incarceration in New Zealand (Gordon, McFelin, & Milburn, 2017).

Furthermore, a breakdown of the report's findings revealed that of the 86,949 children aged 6-14 who had a parent with a sentencing history, 59.4% are Māori; 8.9% had a previous or currently gang affiliated parent; 46.6% have a mother who was single at their birth; 24.8% have a mother with no formal qualifications; 40.2% were mainly supported by benefits since birth; and 30.1% had experienced abuse/neglect or had been placed in the care of The Department of Child, Youth and Family Services (CYFs). Before the age of 21, projected outcomes for these children was that 48.4% will have further contact with CYFs; 14.1% will have contact with Youth Justice; 35.4% will not have achieved any school qualifications; 19.6% will have received a benefit for more than 2 years; 26% will have used mental health services or pharmaceuticals; and 17.1% will have received a community or custodial sentence

(Ball, et al., 2016, pp. 27-28). Children of prisoners in New Zealand are at the greatest risk of poor outcomes (Gordon, McFelin, & Milburn, 2017).

### The Caregivers

The relationships of children of prisoners to their caregivers during parental incarceration are very different when the incarcerated individual is the father or mother (Caddle & Crisp, 1997; Johnston, 1995; Kingi, 1999; Prison Reform Trust, 1996). Data from the 2003 Prison Census indicated that 79% of male prisoners had children in the care of their current or ex-partner and another 12% were looked after by immediate family or whanau. In contrast, the children of 21% of female prisoners were cared for by their current or ex-partner and another 57% were in the care of immediate family or whanau. The dependent children of incarcerated women were four times more likely (8% in contrast to 2%) to be in the care of foster parents or CYFs than those of incarcerated males (Department of Corrections, 2003). Similar trends were found in previous prison census data (Lash, 1996, 1998; Rich, 2000) and research (Deane, 1988; Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011; Kingi, 1999).

More often than not, the characteristics of caregivers are that they are female members of the family, whether the mother (often in the case of paternal imprisonment), aunt or grandmother of the child(ren) (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011; Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; Woodward, 2003). Data on children's living arrangements during parental incarceration suggests that many placements are made informally (i.e. within the whanau) as both prisoners and their families keenly want to avoid placing children into CYFs care (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). The consequence of this is that some children are cared for by family members who are "economically, socially or psychologically not able to cope well with their charges ... [and] that the children [do] not get the help and support that they need" (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011, p. 25). Caregivers have acknowledged significant disruptions to their lives as a result of supporting children upon parental imprisonment, including living in overcrowded households; feeling overwhelmed and exhausted which can lead to tension in relationships; and many struggle financially (particularly when taking on the role of caregiver requires leaving the workforce) (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011; Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; Wesley Community Action, 2009;

Woodward, 2003). In addition, caregivers feel that there is a lack of recognition and support by the government, with reports of caregivers having difficulties with gaining respite from childcare and access to medical care and other support services (Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; Woodward, 2003).

### Māori Families and Imprisonment

Research done by Te Puni Kokiri (analysing data collected by Pillars in 2009 and 2010), presented their report exclusively on the experiences of Māori families and children (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011), and there is a sharp distinction in the ethnic make-up of imprisoned parents. In total, 217 Māori prisoners were surveyed (88 females, 129 males), of whom 74% were parents and between them, more than 539 children experienced parental incarceration. Māori parent prisoners had an average of 3.4 children, and including non-parents, the rate is 2.5 children per Māori prisoner which is a higher rate than that of the whole sample of 2.34 children per prisoner. Rattray and colleagues (2015) determined that these findings suggest that at any given time nearly 10,000 Māori children experience parental incarceration in New Zealand. Furthermore, Māori reconviction/reimprisonment rates between 2006 and 2015 have been "consistently 10 to 12% higher than for the general prisoner population" (Johnston, 2016, p. 23), with 48% of Māori men (compared to 30% of male respondents) interviewed in the Te Puni Kokiri study reporting four or more periods in prison (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). Lastly, the trend between Māori and Pākehā is noticeably different when considering their personal experiences of family member imprisonment, whereby, more than half of Māori prisoners compared to only a third of Pākehā have experienced the imprisonment of a family member when a child (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). Overall, there is a higher number of Māori children experiencing the imprisonment of their parents or other family members and they are also more likely to be affected by repeated terms of incarceration (Superu, 2015).

The current imprisonment rate in New Zealand is 208 per 100,000 (Walmsley, 2016). The rate that applies specifically to Māori, however, is approximately 704 per 100,000 (Rethinking Crime and Punishment, 2011) as Māori comprise approximately 15% of the general New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), yet, made up 51% of the prison population in the year ending December 2016. Workman (2011)

argued that this substantially high rate has reached the phenomenon of Māori 'mass imprisonment' and consequently;

... imprisonment becomes part of the socialisation process. Every family, every householder, every individual in these neighbourhoods has direct personal knowledge of the prison—through a spouse, a child, a parent, a neighbour, a friend. Imprisonment ceases to be a fate of a few criminal individuals and becomes a shaping institution for whole sectors of the population (Garland, 2001, as cited in Johnston, 2016, p. 8).

A number of New Zealand reports argue that prison has become normalised (Webb, 2011) and seen as "an inconvenient expectation, a 'fact of life' or even, on some accounts, a 'rite of passage'" (Blagg, 2002, as cited in Workman & McIntosch, 2013, p. 123), particularly within Māori communities (Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; Wesley Community Action, 2009). From this perspective, children of prisoners will go on to experience imprisonment themselves as it is seen as the expected, normal or possibly only path into adulthood because of their familiarity with the criminal justice system (Hairston, 2002; Tebo, 2006). Appropriate intervention would therefore involve preventing children from maintaining contact with their imprisoned parent, a standpoint iterated by several government stakeholders interviewed in the Pillars Study (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). This standpoint, however, is strongly opposed by community organisations such as PARS, Prison Fellowship and Pillars, who support the notion of maintaining positive child-parent relationships throughout imprisonment. Data from the Pillars study (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011) found little evidence in support of the normalisation view and more so argue the likely cause to be socio-economic disadvantages within the family as "most of these children live in conditions of significant poverty, where their basic needs struggle to be met ... Families endure these effects and are resigned to the children, in many cases, getting into trouble" (Gordon, 2011, p. 42).

## Prisoners Children: Their Experience of Parental Incarceration from Arrest to Release in New Zealand

The imprisonment of an individual is not a one-off event but involves transitioning through multiple separate stages within the criminal justice system. Likewise, Fishman (1983) and Park and Clarke-Stewart (2003) stress that understanding parental incarceration and its effects on children necessitates focusing on the impact of parental arrest and trial and its immediate child-parent separation, the multi-layered impact of prolonged parental absence during imprisonment, and the impact of reunification (both positive and negative) pre and post release. Fishman (1983) defined these separate stages as crisis points, which are particularly distressing for the children left behind. Only a small number of studies globally have examined what prisoners' children experience throughout the process of parental incarceration (Burns, Brandon, Oakes, Olopade, & Krikorian, 2007; Butler, 1994; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2003). Pillars, a community organisation providing a variety of services for children of prisoners and their families in New Zealand, have illuminated the fluctuating psychological strain on children surrounding each crisis point with or without intervention (see Figure 1; permission letter attached in Appendix R).

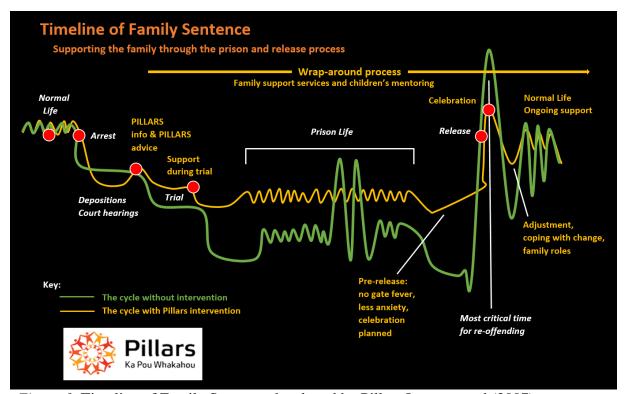


Figure 1. Timeline of Family Sentence developed by Pillars Incorporated (2007)

As illustrated above, the effects of imprisonment on children begin at the point of their parent's arrest, followed by the potential refusal of bail and subsequent trial and sentencing at a judicial court. During imprisonment, which is largely the focus of research worldwide, children experience a host of adverse social, physical and psychological outcomes. These effects do not altogether cease upon the release of their parent from prison; rather, the child(ren) and family as a whole, are faced with additional challenges in re-establishing relationships that may have waned during imprisonment while also supporting the re-entering parent back into the community (Codd, 2013). Fishman (1983) expressed that it is during the re-entry period, where the needs of children are often overlooked as family dynamics are redefined. Failure to acknowledge the experiences of children with incarcerated parents at each crisis point may "result in their rights, needs and best interests being overlooked or actively damaged" (Robertson, 2007, p. 7). The following section describes what is currently known about children's experiences throughout parental incarceration (from arrest to release) in New Zealand, as documented in both New Zealand and international literature.

#### Arrest

Most children come into contact with the criminal justice system for the first time when their parent is arrested (Robertson, 2013). For a few children, this was also the time of the offence (e.g. drug-related search warrant, driving charge) (Kingi, 1999). Estimates of the number of children who have witnessed parental arrest varies greatly across international studies, with rates of 20% to 83% (Convington, 1995; Hissel, Bijleveld, & Kruttschnitt, 2011; Kampfner, 1995; Nolan, 2003). In New Zealand, 35% of incarcerated parents have reported one or more children present during arrest (Gordon, 2011, p. 12). However, the rate is higher for children of Māori descent (near 40%) (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011, p. 4), and highest (56%) amongst children who witnessed maternal arrest (Kingi, 1999, p. 59). At the time of arrest, most children were pre-schoolers and many experience a shift in living arrangements (whether temporarily or permanently) (Mauer, Nellis, & Schirmir, 2009; Kingi, 1999).

During arrest, children have described similar experiences as demonstrated overseas (see Braman, 2004; Fishman, 1983; Harm & Phillips, 1998; Richards, et al., 1994; van Nijnatten, 1998). Comparatively, most cases of arrest occur in the early morning (known as dawn raids) which were described as most intrusive (Gordon, 2015). Some arrests included verbal altercations and the forceful removal of the suspect, with dogs and armed officers present:

Eight police woke us up at 6am, arrested Dad, and forced us to sit in the lounge for four hours while the house was searched. We were not allowed to go to the toilet or get breakfast (child) (Gordon, 2011, p. 16).

Children described feelings of fear, sadness and bewilderment towards the situation. As well as feelings of anger, hostility and resentment towards arresting officers (Kingi, 1999; Gordon, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). In the rush of an arrest, some children have described being left unattended for hours until care arrangements could be made. In certain cases, parents describe the arrest to have been conducted in a polite and low-key manner, which resulted in no traumatic experiences for children present. Yet, a number of children report having vivid memories of parental arrest two years after the occurrence (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011) or even reporting flashbacks well into adulthood (Gordon, 2011).

### Trial and Sentencing

Between arrest and imprisonment, parents may spend long periods of time away from their children. Children suffer the effects of prolonged deprivation without any resolution of what will happen to their parent. If a parent is on remand, only few children have had the opportunity to visit. All families articulate the confusing or often conflicting advice they receive concerning the attendance of children at court. During trial, approximately one in five families have taken children to court (Gordon, 2011). Predominately adolescent children attend. Young children are discouraged by their families, often arguing that "the court is no place for ... a young child" (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011, p. 42). In other cases, young children attended, however, some remained in a waiting room or car as they were denied access into the courtroom to avoid disrupting the proceedings.

Nearly all families [in the Pillars study] acknowledge that children were not welcomed in New Zealand courts for their parent's trial (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). Children have described the process to be confusing and intimidating. Children received very little advice or support surrounding the trial and sentencing of their parent (Gordon, 2011). While some children were informed by lawyers that attendance would reduce their parents' sentence. Judges felt that this was the overriding assumption of all children attending. Judges additionally reported their concern that children who attend may normalise the process and steer towards criminal behaviour (Gordon, 2011, 2015). However, many adolescent children explained that it was their need to understand what was happening to their parent which led them to attend trial and sentencing. Also, children desired the opportunity to say goodbye at the chance they may not see their parent for a while. However, in most cases, this was a simple "see ya" with no physical contact. Few children had the opportunity to hug and kiss their incarcerated parent. Findings demonstrate that attendance at trial may be traumatic for children but can also be important. Despite the effects, all children who attended trial expressed no regrets (Gordon, 2009).

### **Prison**

Children in New Zealand struggle with a host of challenges and changes during parental incarceration which has largely been consistent with overseas literature (Arditti, 2005; Arditti, Smock, & Parkman, 2005; Bocknek, Sanderson, & Britner, 2009; Braman, 2004; Boswell, 2002; Condry, 2007; Murray, 2005, 2007; Myers, Smarsh, Amlund-Hagen, & Kennon, 1999; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008). Financial instability is a major concern as most caregivers (usually the mother) are dependent on welfare benefits (Gordon, 2009; Kingi, 1999). In near all situations, this is the direct outcome of their partners imprisonment. In other circumstances, grandparents who take on the role of caregiver are on National Superannuation and express many difficulties in raising their young grandchildren. Several children have asked their caregiver if they could "win the lotto" to alleviate financial strains. Some children experience multiple changes in placement or caregiver, most often between family members and in a few cases in foster care. Residential changes impact children's educational performance and routine activities such as partaking in after-school sports clubs or maintaining friendships (Gordon, 2009, Gordon 2011; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011).

Children also experience the social effects of parental imprisonment. Some children attempt to remain silent and secretive which is strongly advised by their caregivers to avoid being stigmatised. In certain cases, this became a problem when their parent's incarceration was unexpectedly revealed and resulted in the break-up of social networks (Gordon, 2009):

My daughter used to have a good friend when she was living in Christchurch. She told her friend's dad that her dad worked for the government, as she thought well he does in a way because he works in the prison garden. One day her friend's dad kept on asking my daughter what does her dad do, this was in front of his friends and she just told him "he is in prison". He then said to her you have just embarrassed me in front of my friends - don't expect to play with my daughter again. That was the end of her best friend relationship. This was very difficult (Case 30) (p. 41).

Many children describe becoming the target of bullying at school and within their neighbourhood. In turn, some families move locations and schools so that their children could experience "a normal life". In contrast, some children report receiving strong social support from school, family, friends and community organisations (Taylor, 2016). Such support include money and food, additional after hours support by teachers, the opportunity for children to make cards and presents for their incarcerated parent at school, and children fostering new relationships with peers who also experience the incarceration of a family member (Gordon, 2011).

Most parents have some form of contact (letters, phone calls or visits) with their children throughout imprisonment (Gordon, 2009; Kingi, 1999). The mixture of occasional visits and regular phone calls is the most common process of maintaining contact. Many children express their excitement and joy in being able to maintain contact with their incarcerated parent (Wesley Community Action, 2009). However, as identified in overseas research (Arditti & Few, 2006; Boswell, 2002; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Poehlmann, Dallaire, Loper, & Shear, 2010; Roy & Dyson, 2005; Tudball, 2000), many factors impede such contact. Phone calls from prison can cost up to 99 cents per minute while the only exception, yet still expensive, would be for families to obtain an 0800 number (Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011). In terms of writing letters, there remains the obstacle that many prisoners are functionally illiterate (Dixen & Thorson, 2001). In addition, more than half of incarcerated parents report being located far away from their children (Gordon, 2009). With only three female prisons located in New Zealand, children of incarcerated mothers experience the greatest difficulty in maintaining contact (Kingi, 1999). This is of particular concern when incarcerated mothers are required to complete drug and alcohol treatment programs which is only available at Arohata Women's Prison in Wellington (Gordon, 2009). The cost and distance of travel for many families is a huge burden and only few are able to receive support from community organisations (e.g. Child Travel Fund and Waikeria visitors bus service provided by PARS). A few children have informed their caregiver that they are willing to forego meals and school amenities in order to accumulate the funds needed to visit their incarcerated parent (Roguski & Chauvel, 2009, p. xi). In turn, contact with the incarcerated parent is viewed as extremely important by these children (Gordon, 2009):

We leave at 3am, no problems from the children. They are really excited. Can't wait to get in the car, even though they get car sick (parent) (p. 33).

Many caregivers and incarcerated parents describe the prison environment as not "child-friendly" especially over recent years. Increased security and stringent rules accompanied by unpleasant body searches and metal detectors terrify children. Interactions with corrections officers are often cold and objectionable. In addition, no food and drinks are allowed during visits and no vending machines are available. Children are often bored and agitated due to long waiting times and the absence of play areas and toys (Gordon, 2009; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2011; Roguski & Chauvel, 2009).

A host of psychological distress symptoms have been identified amongst prisoners' children in New Zealand. These include but are not limited to separation anxiety, anger, depression, bedwetting, night terrors, aggression and violence, withdrawal, decreased academic achievement, and truancy. Furthermore, research has shown that prisoners' children experience a range of physical health-related issues, including asthma and eczema, psoriasis and other skin and nervous disorders (Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; National Health Committee, 2010). Such problems are endemic amongst many children living below the poverty line, however, caregivers are adamant that children's overall physical and mental health has significantly depleted since the incarceration of their parent (Gordon, 2009; Gordon & MacGibbon, 2012).

They just miss Dad. Since he has gone they are bed wetting, sleep walking, having anger, bad dreams and desperation. These are all completely new problems that they never had before (parent) (Gordon, 2009, p. 46).

### Release

Each year, approximately 15,000 prisoners are released into the New Zealand community (Department of Corrections, 2016), of which many will reconnect and reside with their families/whanau. To date, no estimations have been published on the number of incarcerated parents who return to their children's lives after imprisonment.

Parents and whanau acknowledge that despite the end of imprisonment, re-integration and re-adjusting can be daunting for all involved (Gordon, 2011). It has been described by children, family members and formerly imprisoned parents as the most traumatic and difficult period to adjust to throughout imprisonment (Robertson, 2007), particularly when the risk of recidivism is prominent (Johnson, Selber & Lauderdale, 1998). Although research has extensively documented the many challenges of re-entry and resilience experienced by both the former prisoner (Baldry, McDonnell, Maplestone, & Peeters, 2006; Bales & Mears, 2008; Bobbitt & Nelson, 2004; Bucklen & Zajac, 2009; Johnston & Sullivan, 2016; Kingi, 1999; La Vigne, Visher, & Castro, 2004; Malin, 2007; Shapiro & Schwartz, 2001; Solomon, Visher, La Vigne, & Osborne, 2006) and their adult family members (Cecil, McHale, Strozier, & Pietsch, 2008; Grieb, et al., 2014; Hairston, 1991; Naser & Visher, 2006; Petersilia, 2003), very little is known about children's voices and their own narratives on parental reentry (Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Yocum & Nath, 2011).

Research overseas has identified that many children express their desire for parental reunification (Boswell, 2002; Lösel, Pugh, Markson, Souza, & Lanksey, 2012; Siegel, 2011; Wakefield, 2007; Yocum & Nath, 2011) and develop certain expectations for what life will be like upon release. Young children are more likely to describe their expectations in terms of activities inclusive of being able to cuddle their parent, go out to eat, to the movies, shopping, playing at the park, helping with homework and partaking in and watching sports together (Lösel, Pugh, Markson, Souza, & Lanksey, 2012; Wakefield, 2007; Yocum & Nath, 2011). Adolescent children often express a deep desire for a normal family life (Boswell, 2002; Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Siegel, 2001). This, however, is contingent upon the parent 'doing right' by ceasing antisocial behaviours and adopting more pro-social lifestyles. For example, some children are aware of their caregiver strains and explain that upon release their incarcerated parent would reprieve financial, physical and emotional pressures (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Yocum & Nath, 2011). Some children, having

experienced previous terms of parental incarceration are sceptical of their incarcerated parents' ambitions and promises. These children are acutely aware of and worry that temptations may reignite old habits (whether drug and alcohol use and criminal activity) and their parent would be reincarcerated (Boswell, 2002; Yocum & Nath, 2011).

For other children, the impending release of a parent may elicit emotions of dread, fear, and anxiety as well as an increase in behavioural and physical health problems (Wakefield, 2007). This is predominately present amongst children whose incarcerated parent had been sentenced for particularly violent crimes such as murder, domestic violence and child sexual assault. These children have little to no desire to be reunited and are keenly aware of their and their caregivers' (usually the mother) fear towards a potential reunion and the violence that may ensue (Wakefield, 2007).

For children whose parent had already been released from prison, nearly all describe the transition as unexpectedly difficult (Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Wakefield, 2007). Many children explain their difficulties in reconnecting their relationship (Robertson, 2012) and adjusting to the added discipline and monitoring that comes with the addition of their incarcerated parent to the household (Boswell, 2002; Wakefield, 2007; Yocum & Nath, 2011). In a New Zealand study (Roguski & Chauvel, 2009), parents who had experienced imprisonment have reported that children under the age of 12 were more likely to undermine their parent's parenting role by siding with the primary caregiver (e.g. the individual who provided care during imprisonment). Children over the age of 12, on the other hand, would actively defy the parent, show signs of resentment because of feelings of abandonment and that the parent 'owed them for lost time'.

It's been a little bit difficult because he is nearly 15 and when I first came home we sort of butted heads and he would say, "Whatever Mere". You know like not Mum. And he just said, "You know I don't do that. You haven't been here for 14 months; I don't do it like that. I do it like this". And he would say, "I don't want to be with you, I am going to be with my dad". Every day is getting better, you know we are communicating better every day but in the beginning it was definitely rough and I really didn't

know how to cope (Mother of 14 year old) (Roguski & Chauvel, 2009, p. 51).

With time, several children acknowledge improvements in child-parent relationships and a greater sense of normality within the family (Siegel, 2011). In other circumstances, children express great shock, disappointment, anger and bitterness when their recently released parent returned to old habits and had been reincarcerated (Siegel, 2011; Wakefield, 2007). With rates of criminal recidivism as high as 50% in many jurisdictions (Fazel & Wolf, 2015), parental incarceration has become a chronic and reoccurring problem for many children (Superu, 2015).

No research in New Zealand has examined from the child's perspective, the impact of parental re-entry. The current study seeks to close that gap by exploring children's expectations, experiences and social support during parental re-entry from prison, through the narratives of the children themselves, as well as from their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and from a small number of community practitioners.

### **Chapter Three: Research Design and Methods**

Where research affects the interests and well-being of vulnerable families, particularly when Indigenous peoples are overrepresented in the focus topic, Smith (1999) stresses "getting the approach 'right'" (p. 190) is a crucial first step in the research design. The transformative paradigm as developed by Mertens (2009) was chosen for the purposes of this study because it is "motivated by a strong social justice and human rights agenda that is specifically targeted to marginalized communities" (Chouinard, 2010, p. 266). Accordingly, researchers who are people of 'privilege' or 'outside' the realm of experience to that of their participant sample, need to engage in the process of self-reflection (Absolon & Willett, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Land, 2015; Menzies, 2001; Smith, 1999; Steinhauer, 2001; Struthers, 2001) and ensure a self-awareness of any assumptions or biases that they may bring into the study (Mertens, 2009, pp. 19-20). Hence, this chapter begins with researcher reflexivity and self-location.

### **Researcher Self-Location**

Researcher reflexivity and the process of self-location are major components of qualitative research as they provide audiences with the opportunity to assess the rigour and trustworthiness of the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Smith (1999) emphasizes that in Māori tradition there are certain practices to self-locating which consist of sharing "where we are from and how we connect to everybody else" (p. 169). This is unlike the practice of Western research in which the explanation of our nationality is often sufficient.

I identify myself as Austrian, NZ European and Cook Island Māori. I have since my birth lived in multiple countries in South America, the Middle East, Europe and Asia. My background has enabled a heightened social and cultural awareness, and an understanding of and respect for unique cultures and their related norms and traditions. Moreover, through my fathers' relations to the land and kōpū (Cook Island Māori for extended family), I have a lived understanding of Polynesian culture. Prior to this study, I have also developed an understanding of the experiences of prisoners and their children as a prison volunteer for PARS (People At-Risk Solutions) at the Auckland

Region Women's Corrections Facility (ARWCF). It is here where I began my journey to investigate children's involvement during their parent's release and reintegration from prison. I want to understand how children fare upon the release of a parent from prison; how do children feel and prepare themselves for such a reunion; what is it like for children when their parent is home and a physical part of their lives again; and what makes parental re-entry both a positive and a negative experience for them.

### **Research Paradigm**

Researchers like myself who are in a position of privilege need to be aware of the role we play in potentially creating oppression across the research process (Mertens, 2009, pp. 19-20). It is my identity and the conscious awareness of 'white privilege', which explicitly seeks to articulate the voice of marginalised groups, communities and populations. To engage effectively with those on the margins, including imprisoned parents and their children, requires seeking out, documenting and advocating their voice directly by asking them to 'speak their world' and 'name their experiences' under their own terms (Freire, 1996). As Smith (1999) states "voice is a form and an expression of knowledge and power" (p. 171), and "social sciences cannot simply develop grand narratives of the silenced without including the voices and understandings of marginalised and silenced communities" (Lincoln, 1993, as cited in Smith, 2008, p. 121).

The transformative paradigm provides an umbrella underneath which individuals who have been pushed to the margins of society have a space to bring their voices into the realm of research. Originally, labelled as the emancipatory paradigm, in 2005, Mertens (2009) changed the name to *transformative* "because of a desire to emphasize the agency role for the people involved in the research. Rather than being *emancipated*, we [the researcher and participants] work together for personal and social transformation" (p. 2) (original emphasis). To accomplish this, transformative research often includes an action agenda for reform (Mertens, 2009) that addresses important social issues such as inequality, discrimination, social exclusion and oppression with the aim of changing participants' lives, the systems or institutions to which they are subjected, and possibly the researcher's own life (Creswell, 2013). Since children of imprisoned parents often feel confronted with stigma, prejudice, and

marginalisation, and are socially excluded from peers, their communities and from the institutional bodies which are tasked to care for them (Chui, 2010; Meek, 2006; Murray, 2007; Murray, Janson, & Farrington, 2007; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Smith, Grimshaw, Romeo, & Knapp, 2003; Tudball, 2000), transformative research places central importance on the study of prisoners' children's lives and experiences. In addition, transformative research would focus on resilience and personal strengths which foster empowerment amongst prisoners' children (Mertens, 2009; Este, Sitter, & Maclaurin, 2009).

The ontological assumption of a transformative paradigm informs researchers to the existence of multiple realities "constructed and shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, and racial/ethnic [contexts and] values" (Mertens, 2007, p. 212). Where reality is socially constructed, the above characteristics in addition to privilege have the power to determine what version of reality is accepted as 'real'. In this regard, transformative research also responds to Indigenous critique that "production of meaning from a Eurocentric perspective does not capture any 'truth' of Native and tribal lives but also infiltrates Native life-worlds in the form of 'epistemic violence'" (Spivak, 1988; Duran & Duran, 2000, as cited in Mertens, 2009, p. 53). Transformative research is therefore appropriate when investigating matters that predominantly concern Māori community members and when research involves participants of Māori descent (Cram & Mertens, 2016). In order to know these realities, what people say in a particular context is important. Lived experience is valued and their agency encouraged, in that they are active participants and decisionmakers, whether in the formulation of research questions, the research design, analysis or use. Consequently, the researcher must maintain a collaborative relationship with participants throughout the research process (Mertens, 2005).

This study is dedicated to capture the views of prisoners' children, their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and from a small number of community practitioners in New Zealand around the phenomenon of parental re-entry from prison. In particular, this study is focused on a 'child-centred' approach where child participants are able to construct their own social reality without being substituted by adults assuming their own understandings (Powell & Smith, 2009; Robinson & Kellett, 2004). Children in this study are therefore positioned as the "experts on their own subjective experience" (Grover, 2004, p. 91).

Lastly, the research design was informed by New Zealand community organisations that provide a range of provisions for children of prisoners. The findings of this research may be utilised by these organisations to inform their practices on how to best serve the interests of children.

# **Research Methodology**

Transformative research considers the use of qualitative research but mixed methods can be utilized (Mertens, 2009). Hence, a qualitative phenomenological methodology was employed as it asserts that "truth and understandings emerge from people's life experiences" (Byrne, 2001, p. 830). Within the means of a Master's thesis, this is an exploratory study that seeks to capture children's experiences of parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand.

Exploratory research is particularly useful "where little work has been done, few definitive hypotheses exist and little is known about the nature of the phenomenon" (Patton, 2002, p. 193). As the literature review demonstrated, very little is known about children's experiences of parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand. This qualitative research study aims to reveal and develop an understanding of what it is like to be a child anticipating or experiencing the release of a parent from prison.

Phenomenology is a qualitative research methodology (Creswell, 2013) that stems from the larger philosophical branch examining the phenomenon of human consciousness. It "is the reflective analyses of [lived or] life-world experiences" (Moustakas, 1994; Von Eckartsberg, 1986, as cited in Lin, 2013, p. 478) with the primary objective of identifying the meaning or *essence* of a phenomenon from the lived experience perspective of individuals (Patton, 2002, p. 104- 107). As defined by Creswell (1998):

[Phenomenological] researchers search for essentials, invariant structure (or essence) or the central underlying meaning of the experience and emphasize the intentionality of consciousness where experiences contain both the outward appearance and inward consciousness based on memory, image and meaning (p.52).

The lived experiences of phenomena provide meaning to an individual's insight on life; "how the every-day, inter-subjective world is constituted" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 192) and consequently determines "what is real or true in his or her life" (Broussard, 2006, p. 214). In turn, Creswell (2009) stresses that phenomenological research does not begin with or focus on a theoretical/conceptual framework, nor should the researcher aspire to discover or explicate causes, rather, the objective is to shed light on the essence of a phenomenon from lived experiences.

Green and Thorogood (2004) propose that a researcher can gain access to an individual's 'world-view' by eliciting in-depth conversations and allowing him or her to tell their own stories. As our world-view is socially constructed, there is the inevitable possibility that different groups of people will 'see things differently' of a particular phenomenon. For example, realities vary from a child's perspective and that of an adult. For that reason, it was decided to include the perspectives of the nonimprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) of the child. Furthermore, the inclusion of community practitioners' insights allowed for further contextual understanding of parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand. The comparison of the views of children, their caregivers and community practitioners, a process known as targetperson triangulation (Thomas, 2004, as cited in Mertens, 2008), facilitates an even deeper understanding of the phenomenon and allows us to understand whether and how much these three stakeholders' views are (in)congruent. Since differences in experiences may influence how related support practices and policies are shaped, such a deeper understanding may prove especially useful to practitioners and policy makers who seek to support children of incarcerated parents.

## **Research Questions**

The literature review sets the groundwork for well-formulated research questions (Mertens, 2015). It was identified that the largest gap in the literature concerned parental re-entry from the child's perspective in New Zealand. In accordance with phenomenological research, Creswell (2009) argues that research questions must be descriptive and seek out meaning in participant experiences. Accordingly, the following three research questions were developed for the purposes of this study:

- 1. If they have any, what are the expectations children have before their incarcerated parent is released from prison?
- 2. What are the everyday lived experiences of children after their incarcerated parent has been released from prison?
  - 3. What factors make parental re-entry a positive experience for children?

The purpose of the first two research questions was to understand what children have experienced in relation to the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). As this study focuses on both children's thoughts, feelings and experiences, prior and post parental release from prison, these two questions aim to explore characteristics of the phenomenon that have social meaning and significance to the children. The third research question was designed to understand what context or situations have influenced their experience of the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994, as cited in Creswell, 2009), in particular, through a strengths-based lens (Arditti, 2012b, pp. 177-180; Arditti & Parkman, 2011; Burnett & Maruna, 2006; Rapp, Saleebey, & Sullivan, 2005). Participants were encouraged to describe challenges in their lives and name what supported them, and how, throughout these challenges.

### Research Method

After selecting a suitable framework, Smith (1999) argues that the second essential matter to consider in the research design is "employing the most appropriate methods and people" (p. 190). Therefore, it is imperative to utilise research methods and strategies that are sensitive towards and appropriate for the children and family members participating in this study. As this exploratory study employed a phenomenological methodology, underpinned by a transformative research paradigm, interviews with a semi-structured approach (Bevan, 2014; Martin & Booth, 1997; Smith & Osborn, 2010) were deemed as the most appropriate method of data collection (Creswell, 2009; Moustakas, 1994). Semi-structured interviews include both open and theory-driven questions and allow for the use of probing throughout the interview so as to gain a deeper exploration of the research topic (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Galletta, 2013). Semi-structured interviewing demonstrates a particular practicality with sensitive topics and its flexible framework provides

children the opportunity to freely share their lived experiences of a phenomenon (Tisdall, Davis, & Gallagher, 2009).

In accordance with semi-structured interviewing techniques, interview schedules with pre-determined open-ended questions were compiled to ensure each of the participant's experiences are able to answer the research questions of this study (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez, 2011; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Interview schedules that were compiled included; one comprehensible to child participants (see Appendix M), another for their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) (see Appendix N) and the final interview schedule for community practitioners (see Appendix O). Interview questions were informed by the literature and in particular drawn from the work of Yocum and Nath (2011). The interview questions were reviewed by one of New Zealand's foremost experts in child public policy, Dr Kirsten Hanna. She is a trained linguist and a member of the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group. Her review and the respective revision of interview questions ensured that the wording, structure and content of interview questions were comprehensible to the age and maturity of child participants and were unambiguous to caregiver participants. However, the order of interview questions remained flexible and probes were used to expand on participant responses (Merriam, 1998).

Through consultation with a Māori scholar advisor (not named for confidentiality reasons), who herself, has worked with prisoners' children for a number of years, culturally appropriate research practices were incorporated in the design that are non-threatening, data generating and empowering for the participants (Deckert, 2017; Liamputtong, 2010). These have been documented in Table 1 drawing from Smith's (1999) and Cram's (2001) seven cultural values that guide appropriate researcher conduct (as cited in Smith, 2006).

**TABLE 1** Smith's (2006) guideline to appropriate researcher conduct incorporated in study

Guideline (Smith, 1999, as cited in Smith, 2006, p. 12)	Description (Cram, 2001, as cited in Smith, 2006, p. 12)	Procedure	Research Process	
Aroha ki te <b>tangata</b>	A respect for people	Recruitment	- Interviews were conducted at a time and place suitable to both the researcher and the parent/caregiver of the child participant to ensure the child's safety was maintained at all times.	
Kanohi <b>kitea</b>	Face to Face	Recruitment	- Giving participants the choice to attend a hui to meet the researcher face-to-face.	
Titiro, <b>whakarongo</b> kōrero	Look, listen speak	Interview	- Ensuring participants set the pace of the interview, allow the true meaning of their stories be captured and understood, while I (as the researcher) keep my own voice to a minimum.	
Manaaki ki te <b>tangata</b>	Share and host people, be generous	Interview	<ul> <li>Process of interviewing seen as a learning opportunity.</li> <li>Light snacks and refreshments; paper and colouring activities provided.</li> <li>Participants received a Koha (gift) to contribute to travel costs and to acknowledge their time and for sharing their knowledge.</li> </ul>	
		Final Report	- The data and information provided by the participants have been mentioned and acknowledged in this study, without negligence of respecting their privacy.	
Kia <b>tupato</b>	Be cautious	Throughout research process	- Drawing on the expertise of my kaiārahi (supervisor) and kaitohutohu (advisors) in matters of tikanga (protocol & process) and research involving children.	
Kaua e <b>takahia</b> te mana o te <b>tangata</b>	Do not trample over the mana (dignity) of the people	Interview	<ul> <li>Ensuring that all discussions were respectful and appropriate to the age and maturity of child participants.</li> <li>Ensuring participants were satisfied with the interview direction and acknowledging their opportunity to discuss more if so desired.</li> <li>Summary findings comprehensible to child and caregiver participants offered at completion of study (all participants requested a copy).</li> </ul>	
Kaua e <b>mahaki</b>	Do not flaunt your knowledge	Interview	- Participants recognised as expert informants of their own lived experiences and thi was acknowledged and respected. I clarified at the start and throughout the interview that there are no right or wrong answers.	

## Sample size

In qualitative research, there is 'no rule of thumb' as to what is deemed an appropriate sample size (Patton, 2002). Rather, sample size is more so determined by the objectives of the study and what is achievable to the researcher in terms of time, access and resources. Boyd (2001), for example, suggests that research saturation can even be reached from interviewing two participants, whereas, Creswell (2013) recommends "long interviews with up to 10 people" (p. 65) as sufficient for phenomenological research.

## Recruitment, Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Initially, the aim of the study was to recruit a minimum of five child participants and their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver). Seven children and five caregivers from four families as well as two community practitioners were recruited according to the following inclusion and exclusion criteria:

- 1. Children who are 7 to 17 years of age;
  - Who are expecting the near release (within 6 months) of a parent from prison OR
  - Who have already experienced parental re-entry from prison
  - This parent may be biologically related to the child (mother or father) or be considered a key parental figure of the child for at least 2 years prior to incarceration.
- 2. Their non-imprisoned parent or other primary caregiver; who has provided parental support to the child during the duration of incarceration.
- 3. Community practitioners who are or have worked for an organisation and directly supported the provision of a range of services to children impacted by parental imprisonment.

#### **Exclusion Criteria:**

Mental capability and emotional resilience of child participants. Designated advisors from community organisations ensure only child participants partake in the study, who are known to them as being mentally capable to answer the research questions, and who have sufficient emotional resilience to not be negatively impacted by the research. Participants (either the child and/or their caregiver) who are not deemed suitable, are excluded from the study. The exclusion is necessary to avoid causing harm to particularly vulnerable participants.

Participant families were recruited using facility-based sampling, a commonly used non-probability sampling method designed for the recruitment of 'hidden' or 'hard-to-reach' populations through social networks (Berg, 2009; Easterling & Johnson, 2015; Shaghaghi, Bhopal, & Sheikh, 2011). This process consisted of recruiting potential participants from community organisations in New Zealand, verifying inclusion (and exclusion) criteria through designated advisors at the organisation, and asking participants about their willingness to take part in the study. The sample also aimed for a spread by the child's gender, age and ethnicity to ensure a wide range of views on the research topic.

Community practitioners were recruited through snowball sampling procedures and were selected because of their personal knowledge and expertise in having provided support services to prisoners' children around the time of parental release from prison. Snowball sampling is where existing participants are asked to recommend other potential participants for interviewing (Babbie, 1995; Crabtree & Miller, 1992), and was the chosen method of recruitment due to the researcher's initial unfamiliarity liaising with community and institutional bodies that care for children of prisoners.

#### **Recruitment Procedure**

Four charity organisations with direct access to prisoners' and their families were approached to discuss the possibility of recruiting some of their clientele as research participants. Two organisations, one based in Auckland and the other within the Wellington Region, were willing to facilitate such access. A designated advisor from each organisation received hard copies of Recruitment Posters (see Appendix B), Participant Information Sheets (see Appendix C and D) and Consent/Assent Forms (see Appendix F, G and H) to place in their office and to distribute amongst potential

families during home visits. Additionally, advisors agreed to screen potential participants in terms of the inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Upon receiving the above documents, potential participants had two weeks to proclaim their interest by either contacting the advisor or the researcher by email or phone. Furthermore, potential participants were advised that they had the opportunity to attend a hui to meet the researcher in person and obtain additional information before a decision was made as to whether they would like to participate in the study; none of the participant families opted for such a meeting prior to the interview. To ensure participation remained confidential, advisors signed a confidentiality agreement form (see Appendix J) and participants were informed of this.

All interested participants were contacted to affirm whether they qualified for the study and to determine the time and venue for interviews to be conducted. Six families proclaimed their interest. One family was excluded from participating as it was determined between the primary caregiver and the researcher that the children in question were in a particularly vulnerable state and participating in the study may cause unnecessary emotional harm. The second family did not maintain contact and therefore did not participate in the study for unknown reasons. The remaining four families were interviewed.

Interviews were conducted at a time and location suitable to both the researcher and the parent/caregiver of the child participant to ensure the child's safety was maintained at all times. Potential locations for interviews included the Whānau room at the organisation's office as it is a familiar setting; a pre-booked room at the AUT University – South Campus (for Auckland-based participants); a pre-booked secure room located at any Public Library closest to the family residence; or at the participant family home. Suitable arrangements were made for the researchers' safety when conducting interviews in participant homes and are outlined in the researcher safety protocol (see Appendix K).

A brief demographic summary of participant families is presented in Table 2. Pseudonyms have been used and the ethnicity of child participants was excluded to protect the identity of each participant. However, the majority of child participants identified themselves as NZ Māori as well as NZ European, Fijian, Chinese and Indian. One caregiver is identified as NZ Māori and the remaining as NZ European.

**TABLE 2** Description of Participant Families

Pseudonym of Child Participants	Sex	Age	Incarcerated Parent	Status of Incarcerated Parent	Current Caregiver
Jewlz	F	7	Grandfather (Father Figure)	Released May 2016	Mother
Richard	M	10	Father	Incarcerated. Parole Hearing denied March 2016	Mother Father Figure
Kaia	F	10	Father Figure	Released April 2015	Mother
Spuds	F	16			
Eritrea	F	14	Mother	Released March	Grandmother
Ava	F	8		2012	
Lucas	M	7			

Recruitment of community practitioners was accomplished through close interactions with a range of organisations providing services to prisoners and in particular to their children. The first community practitioner interviewed subsequently advised the researcher of one more community practitioner that through their extensive background working in the social sector in New Zealand may be interested in participating in the study. All were sent a Participant Information Sheet and Consent form (Appendix E and I) and agreed to partake in a recorded one-on-one interview at their place of work. One community practitioner identified themselves as NZ Māori and the other as NZ European.

## **Interview Procedure**

Upon meeting and introducing myself to participant families, I reviewed the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent/Assent Forms and answered any additional questions to ensure participants were well aware of the study's purpose and that they were comfortable proceeding with the interview. Thereafter, Consent/Assent Forms were signed and I gained verbal consent to use two digital recording devices

(in case one malfunctioned) to record the interview. To ensure children, in particular, were comfortable with being recorded, I allowed children to replay their voice and to take control of tape recorders (see Appendix L). Participants were also advised that I may take down notes during and at the end of the interview. The process of self-reflection after conducting interviews allowed me the opportunity to improve the structure and interview process for subsequent interviews.

At the end of each interview, child and caregiver participants each received a koha in the form of a \$30 gift voucher, as a means of thanking them for sharing their valued experiences and time (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Participants were also asked if they would like to receive a summary report of the study's findings upon completion of the thesis; all caregiver participants acknowledged their interest in receiving such a summary report.

Caregivers additionally completed a demographic survey (see Appendix P), which entailed questions pertaining to the caregiver's, incarcerated parent's and child(ren)'s demographic details; frequency of contact to one another during parental incarceration; and information pertaining to the parent's incarceration history. The survey took 5 minutes to complete and was completed after their interview.

Data was collected over a 5-month period, from June 2016 until October 2016. Child participant interviews ranged from 20-45 minutes, caregiver interviews ranged from 45 to 120 minutes, and community practitioner interviews averaged 90 minutes.

## **Data Analysis**

Thematic analysis was the chosen method to analyse participant responses. It is used to identify, analyse and report themes "according to commonalities, relationships and differences across [data sets]" (Gibson & Brown, 2009, p. 127; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis seeks to understand the everyday experiences of research participants from their perspective and reality (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Creswell, 2013). Participants provided their accounts of parental re-entry from prison; they were also asked to reflect on the impact of external influences, such as their family, culture, and community, on their experiences. Thematic analysis can either be inductive (data-driven) or deductive (theory-driven); this study employed an inductive approach,

aligned with the nature of exploratory research (Vogt, 1999) as no research in New Zealand had examined children's experiences of parental re-entry from prison.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. McIntyre (2005) argues that transcribing one's own interviews is a key part of the analysis process as it allows for a review of the interview process to potentially capture things that the researcher may have failed to notice during the interview itself. Transcripts were then stored in QSR NVivo, a qualitative software package used to assist in managing the data.

The six stages of Braun and Clarke's (2006) structured approach to thematic analysis were carried out and made "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes)" (p. 79) easier to manage. In line with the transformative paradigm and the study's focus on children's experiences of parental re-entry, I used the narratives of child participants as the "first layer of data analysis" (De Lange, Oliver, Geldenhuys, & Mitchell, 2012, p. 82). Through reading and re-reading of child transcripts, initial ideas were written down. I then proceeded to generate codes by coding common features across child participant transcripts in a systematic method and arranged data to each related code. Upon completion of the coding stage, I organised the collection of generated codes into themes and reviewed the data within each theme to ensure clear distinctions were made between each of the themes. The same procedure was applied to parent/caregiver and community practitioner transcripts. Lastly, overarching themes were broken down into sub-themes which allowed for further distinctions to be made between the three participant groups' responses.

## **Research Ethics**

This study was approved by the AUT Ethics Committee on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 2016 (see Appendix A) with no required amendments to take place.

As recommended by AUT Ethics Committee, I behaved in a manner respectful of Tikanga Māori (Māori protocols and practices) and ensured the minimum standards of research involving Māori (Consultation, Mainstream, Cultural sensitivity, Mana tangata) as outlined in the *Te Ara Tika Guidelines* (Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, & Smith, 2010) were incorporated in the research design and practice, and furthermore ensured that I adhered to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi: Partnership,

Participation and Protection. Additionally, I was informed by Ethical Research Involving Children (Graham, Powell, & Taylor, 2015) and by Peart and Holdaway (1998) on Research with Children as a guide to ethical practice when researching with children. The ethics of research with children differs from that of adults and involves informed consent, protection and confidentiality (Graham, Powell, Taylor, Anderson, & Fitzgerald, 2013).

## **Voluntary Participation and Informed Consent**

Participation only proceeded once participants were fully informed of the study and they voluntarily consented to take part in the interview by signing consent/assent forms. Child participants were offered a Participant Information Sheet comprehensible to their age and maturity where they were able to make an informed decision as to their participation and complete an assent form. Adjacent, a Participant Information Sheet was offered and a parental consent form signed by their parent/caregiver to ensure both understood the purpose, risk and benefits of the study. Child participants were informed that it is their choice to participate in the study and that their refusal (whether initially or during the interview) would have no consequences for them, their parents or their involvement with the organisation in which they were recruited from (Thomas & O'Kane, 1998). Child participants were not interviewed without their consent and the consent of their parent/caregiver (Graham, Powell, & Taylor, 2015; Graham, Powell, Taylor, Anderson, & Fitzgerald, 2013). Caregiver participants additionally signed a consent form to clarify their own interest in participating in the study. Lastly, participants were informed that they may withdraw from the study up to one month after completion of their interview.

#### **Protection**

In order to minimise perceived power imbalances, in particular, between the researcher and child participants, I became aware of and incorporated Morrow and Richards (1996) non-invasive, non-confrontational and participatory methods to research. It was my responsibility to set aside my adult tendencies of speaking *for* children and to facilitate an environment where children can speak for themselves (Morrow & Richards, 1996, as cited in Kanyal, 2014). To empower child participants to feel

Nixon (2013) and they included "dressing informally (to distinguish oneself from other adult figures in the setting), avoiding titles such as [Ms. or Miss.], sitting at eye level, not too close and not too distant, and generally displaying a friendly and approachable demeanour" (p. 193). Child participants had the opportunity to express their experiences through storytelling and utilize toy equipment such as paper and colouring tools to visually depict their thoughts and feelings. Children were able to take control of tape recorders being used during the interview (Thomas & O'Kane, 1998) and chose their pseudo name for the study.

Due to the sensitive research topic, participants may have experienced some level of emotional discomfort and/or embarrassment. Participants were informed that they did not have to answer any question they were uncomfortable with - children were provided with flash cards to illustrate a non-verbal refusal (See Appendix Q). I also had the option to terminate the interview if I sensed discomfort and the participant was given the opportunity either to reschedule the interview or withdraw from the study. Additionally, I brought tissues to every interview (Easterling & Johnson, 2015) and contact details of organisations (i.e. Youthline, Kidsline, Lifeline Aotearoa, Relationships Aotearoa, Pillars Helpline) were made available before and after the interview, should a participant wish to speak with a professional. Careful consideration was given to the potential disclosure of child abuse or risk of self-harm; if this were to occur, I would firstly confer with my supervisor and further action would have been taken to ensure the safety of participants through the organisation from which they were recruited and participants were made aware of this – however, this did not arise.

To ensure the protection of the researcher while conducting interviews off university grounds, contact was made with my supervisor before and after each interview.

# Confidentiality

As the researcher conducted face-to-face interviews and thus was aware of the identity of all participants, anonymity could not be assured. Confidentially was preserved through the replacement of participants' names (and that of any other individuals mentioned) with pseudonyms as well as de-identifying specific locations of certain

community organisations' operations. To further ensure participation remained confidential, advisors from organisations the participants were recruited from signed a confidentiality agreement form and participants were informed of this.

Participant consent and assent forms are securely stored in a locked office at AUT's School of Social Sciences and Public Policy. These will be kept for a period of six years in accordance with AUT Ethics Committee regulations and then destroyed. All electronic data stored on an external storage device owned by the researcher will be deleted upon completion of the Master's thesis.

# **Limitations of the Study**

One limitation of the study is the use of facility-based sampling procedures. Though precautions have been made to ensure child participants ranged in age, gender and ethnicity, the hiddenness of the population as well as the stigma attached to parental imprisonment makes it difficult to access children whose family have not sought or received services from community organisations in New Zealand. Consequently, the study's sample likely contains a higher (than average) number of children from more stable and supportive families than the general prisoners' children population (Jones & Wainaina-Woźna, 2013). Obtaining a more representative sample has been a particular struggle for many researchers seeking the views of prisoners and their family (see Flynn, 2008, p. 113-115; Murray, 2007). However, in phenomenological research, there is no aim to uncover generalizable findings (Creswell, 2009) and thus this would not affect the research purpose of describing the phenomenon of parental re-entry from the lived experiences of participants. Nonetheless, for future research to ensure a more defensible sample a range of sampling procedures is required. This would be strongly contingent upon funding, time and access to both correctional and social sector institutions.

Second, due to the environment in which interviews were conducted (at the family home or in a single secured office space), there was the inevitable circumstance where caregivers were present during child interviews and vice versa (during 2 of 4 families interviewed). While in certain instances during this study, the caregivers' presence augmented child engagement during their interview, this presence may also have hindered some children from expressing their thoughts, feelings and experiences if

they believed it would negatively affect the family if their caregiver were to have known. Furthermore, the adult status of the researcher/interviewer may have illicit answers that children think are desirable. Careful consideration needs to take place to ensure children feel safe, comfortable, and able to speak openly and confidently about how they feel without feeling disloyal or fearing that they will upset a family member.

Third, it is important to highlight the position of the researcher who may hold prior knowledge, beliefs and assumptions of the phenomenon being explored and how this may influence the 'interpretation of meanings' made by participants. Creswell (1998) used the term transcendental subjectivity to refer to a researcher's need to "bracket out preconceptions and develop universal structures based on what people experience and how" (p. 54). Drawing on an interpretive Heideggerian approach to phenomenology, such a detachment from both the participants and the research topic is seen as impossible (Laverty, 2003). This echoed my own standpoint and is aligned with the epistemological stance of transformative research, whereby researcher engagement is vital "to link the apprehension of meaning to social action while taking into account cultural, historical, and institutional concerns" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, as cited in Mertens, 2008, p. 181) brought about by participants.

In phenomenological research, "it is essential that all participants have experience of the phenomenon being studied" (Creswell, 2013, p. 155) so they can reflect on and answer the research questions (van Manen, 2014). Most children in the study were able to do so, however, there were some shortcomings with the quality of recollecting lived experience. For example, some children had experienced the release of a parent four years prior to being interviewed, resulting in the need to remember and reflect but also had the time to adjust to their parent's release, while for others this was fresh in their mind having only experienced the release a month or two prior to being interviewed. In future, small scale research such as this Master's thesis would benefit from incorporating a narrow inclusion criterion; e.g. seeking children who have experienced the release of a parent within the last 6 months.

Concurrently, differences in the developmental stage or age of participants may affect the nature of their lived experience and influence the study's findings. This could have influenced the experience itself as well as their articulation of the experience as one's cognitive and meaning making abilities develop with time. Flynn (2008) highlights that research on prisoners' children has repeatedly examined them as a homogenous group with very limited discussion on the differing impact parental imprisonment has on children of varying ages. Cunningham and Baker (2003) argue that prisoners' children are far from a homogenous group and have a range of differing experiences because of their age; for example, adolescent children are sometimes required to take on caregiving roles while their parent is imprisoned (see Trice & Brewster, 2004). Future research would benefit from a more narrow age range of participants or comparatively investigating young and adolescent children's experiences which, in this case, would provide for the significant developmental differences between 7 and 16 year-olds to be recognised.

With regard to participants' degree of involvement in this study's research design and analysis, they reached that of the 'consulted and informed' category (see ladder/circular model by Hart (1992) and Treseder (1997)). This assured their full understanding of why they are being asked to participate and how the findings of the study will be used. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic and in particular time constraints, participants were not able to contribute to the formulation of research questions, the research design, analysis or its final use. However, participants were able to share their stories and experiences of parental re-entry from prison, an opportunity not yet offered to children in New Zealand. As a small-scale Master's Thesis, restrictions in time, funding, and location of participants made fulfilling an ideal transformative research design impossible to accomplish. Nevertheless, the transformative epistemology is reflected in a close collaboration between the researcher and community leaders in this study, and it is hoped that the research findings contribute as a stepping-stone to further research wanting to enhance social justice (Mertens, 2010).

# **Chapter Four: Findings**



Child participant Jewlz and interviewer

This chapter provides a summary of the research findings. For this study, demographic groups included are the children anticipating or experiencing the release of a parent from prison, their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver), and community practitioners from organisations in New Zealand providing a range of services to prisoners' children. This chapter is ordered according to themes developed as structured in the interview guide, focused around children's expectations and experiences of parental re-entry from prison, the types of support and coping strategies they have employed, and what further support the children would have desired during this period. Subsequently, caregiver and then community practitioner findings are presented. Overarching themes were highlighted through direct quotes and identified through participant pseudonyms. Aligned with the paradigm and methodology employed for the design of this study, verbatim quotations (some rather lengthy and ungrammatical as is expected in unplanned speech) are presented to honour the authenticity of the participants' voices.

To adequately understand where the children's and their caregivers' thoughts, feelings and experiences of parental re-entry from prison develop from, it is important to understand their relations and experiences to one another and the incarcerated/released parent, prior and during the imprisonment stage. Therefore, brief descriptions of their interactions and experiences are included, to provide the context in which to situate the findings – this is consistent with the structure of the interview guide and information provided through the demographic survey.

The participant group comprised of seven children (whose names here are pseudonyms) from four families currently living in Auckland (two families) and the Wellington Region (two families). A total of five caregivers were interviewed, three are the child's biological mother, one the grandmother, and one the current male partner of the mother and considered father figure of their children. Pseudonyms have been used for these caregivers and all other individuals mentioned and community/non-governmental organisations (NGOs) mentioned by participants were de-identified.

### **Family One**

Jewlz (age 7), Jewlz's Mother (age 28)

Jewlz's grandfather was incarcerated for 4 years for drug-related charges when she was 3 years old. This was Jewlz's first experience of her grandfathers' incarceration despite him having been incarcerated on multiple occasions (more than 6 times) throughout her mother's childhood and adulthood. Jewlz's mother confirms that the grandfather was especially close to Jewlz, having taken on the role as father figure. Jewlz recalls having a loving relationship with her grandfather prior to his incarceration with her most memorable moments spent with him playing at the park. During imprisonment, Jewlz received weekly calls and monthly letters from her grandfather, occasionally writing letters back and having visited on a few occasions. Jewlz's mother had to limit the number of visits to the prison as they caused Jewlz to be 'clingy' towards others and to feel as if people were continuously leaving her:

... she would be terrible after she had visited him ... it made it worse for her. Her teacher noticed in class that after she visited him, she would cling to someone on the matt and she'd get really upset and then one day in class, they were quiet and then she just burst into tears and said 'ooh my pops in jail' and then walked out of class and didn't know what to do (Jewlz's Mother).

The grandfather was released in May 2016 and currently lives in close proximity of Jewlz and her parents. He visits on a daily basis.

### **Family Two**

Richard (age 10), Richard's Mother (age 43), Richard's Father Figure (age unknown)

At the age of 5, Richard witnessed the violent incident which led his father to be sentenced for 8 years and 6 months in prison. The charges were 2 counts of rape, 2 counts of indecent assault, 1 breach of protection order and a strangulation offence (see Law Commission, 2016) against Richard's mother. Richard states that other than the incident, he does not recall much of his relationship to his father prior to incarceration and there has been no contact since. As his mother described:

It was a very volatile relationship [with] a lot of domestic violence ... a lot of blaming mum, or saying mum is a bad mum [however] he never physically touched any of the kids [Richard or his then infant twin sisters] but he did emotionally harm them by being aggressive and nasty to me (Richard's Mother).

Richard's father is still incarcerated<sup>2</sup>, yet, every year he has a parole hearing to determine whether he can be released from prison to parole supervision in the community for the remainder of his sentence. It is around this particular time (most recent parole hearing in March 2016) in which, noted by his mother, father figure and teacher, Richard's behaviour drastically changes due to fear of his father's potential release. Richard's mothers' new partner, has been pivotal in their support and as described by Richard, is now his 'poppa'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> While Family Two have not experienced the release of the incarcerated parent from prison, the family were not excluded from this study as they were able to convey re-entry related expectations consistent with answering Research Question One.

### **Family Three**

Kaia (age 10), Kaia's Mother (age 36)

Kaia was not initially aware that her father figure was in remand custody (for the first few months of a 9-month stay) as he often would come and go from the family's life. However, Kaia acknowledged that prior to his time in remand (and for some time thereafter), he was her 'dad', "coz I never had a closer dad, coz my first dad left". Their bond revolved around her keen interest in sport and adventure as emphasised here:

... they were really happy especially this one you know and she would call him dad ... and be like 'hi papa' and ... go diving together and get some mussels because she is that tough one that can play the sports and jump in and dive and go and do things like that (Kaia's Mother).

Once Kaia was informed, a few visits to the prison ensued. Kaia's mother had more regular visits and received near daily calls (during school hours only) and written letters were exchanged. The father figure was previously incarcerated on two occasions when Kaia was around the age of 2 and Kaia is aware of the repeat incarcerations of her koro (grandfather) throughout her mother's childhood and adulthood. For his most recent offence, the father figure was charged with sexual offense against a person, however, with two hung juries he was acquitted and released on the day in April 2015. He stayed with the family for roughly two weeks in which Kaia witnessed the father figure hit her mother and engage in a fight with Kaia's koro. This resulted in the father figure being kicked out of the home and currently resides in another part of New Zealand. Around the time of the interview, it was made aware to Kaia and her mother that the father figure is attending court for drink driving charges. Their hope is for home detention, however, there is the risk of the father figure returning to prison.

### **Family Four**

Spuds (age 16), Eritrea (age 14), Ava (age 8), Lucas (age 7), Their Grandmother (age 55)

The children's mother was incarcerated for 2 and a half years (full sentence was 4 years) for intent to manufacture methamphetamine and was released on probation in March 2012. Just prior to her incarceration, the mother was pregnant with Lucas and guardianship of all her children (6 children in total) was given to their grandmother. Lucas and Ava share the same father who is currently in prison for drug-related charges. Along with their grandmother, they visit the father as often as possible. Eritrea's father is also currently in prison for assaulting their mother – no contact is maintained. Spuds and Eritrea remember having a good relationship with their mother prior to her incarceration. Yet, they acknowledge while not understanding at the time the implications of their mother's drug habit, they were aware of her not being present:

... if her friends were to come over we'd have to leave the room; we would leave anyway coz we'd hate the smell of cigarettes. We'd hate the smell of all that, we just don't like it (Eritrea, age 14)

... we just knew when her friends were over they were having an adult talk like it was not our business (Spuds, age 16).

Due to their infancy, Ava and Lucas do not recall much of their relationship with their mother prior or during imprisonment. The family would visit the mother every Saturday and additionally, all four children received multiple calls on a weekly basis and also exchanged written letters. Upon release and the four years thereafter, contact with the children remained, however, the mother resides a distance away and the children continue to be in the care of their grandmother.

### Children's Voice

### **Theme 1: Reconnect in Safety**

Children want and are excited at the prospect of a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent unless they fear the incarcerated parent will compromise their or their caregivers' physical safety.

For four children, regular contact during parental imprisonment fostered good relationships and therein, the children simply desired to maintain that relationship outside of prison and beyond the mere restrictions of visits to the prison.

Yeah I wanted to see him and I knew we were gonna see him after his prison thingy because he is always coming and going so yeah so I knew he was gonna come (Kaia)

Happy and excited [at the thought of a reunion] (Jewlz)

We were just thinking ye-ye when she gets out we get to see her, not just once a week for an hour or two ... because we weren't allowed to get close, like, we weren't allowed to hug. Because they [Corrections officers] think, we were doing something with the zipper and if something would happen, they would remove her from us and then we weren't allowed to see her for the rest of that thing [visitation] ... I just remember crying all the time when we had to leave coz like no-one wants to leave mum (Eritrea)

[Conversation continued by sibling] Yeah heaps of rules and that was it, just in and out ... we would just say 'we are good' and since there is so many of us [six children and their grandmother], we'd be like one in there and then the other five would be in there. We would swap around [due to restrictions of the number of visitors at each visit]. It would be nice if it was a longer visit or if we could actually do something with her like not just sit there and talk. Wait, the volunteer ladies would come in and the kids could draw and paint and we gave them all to mum ... but they [weren't] around much ... We were just glad to the fact that we get to see her [outside of prison] (Spuds)

Of the remaining three children, two of the youngest siblings were unable to provide a response as to whether they wanted a relationship with their mother after her release as they do not recall the time of her incarceration. However, they were eager to articulate their desire for a continued relationship with their currently imprisoned father for when he is to be released.

Yup [I want to see him after he gets out] and he promised us a pet (Lucas)

[Re-affirmed by sibling] He did and I do too (Ava)

The remaining child had no interest in seeing or forming any relationship with his father at the time of the interview, nor planned to in the future. When asked how come, his response illuminated his concern of physical safety as to the potential of continued domestic violence upon parental re-entry.

Because he tried to hurt my mum and that's all ... I am very angry and sad at the same time. Because it wouldn't be safe for mum and [his two younger sisters]. [How about for you? Do you feel safe?] With my poppa [current father figure] yes but not with my dad (Richard)

## Theme 2: Normalcy

Children's hopes and expectations upon parental re-entry encapsulates the need to attain some sense of normalcy whereby the function of the returning parent would be to re-establish the family unit by 1) reinstating regular 'family time', and 2) assume their parental role within the home environment that ensures their childrens' wellbeing.

Four children express their desire for family time upon parental re-entry. Young children more so acknowledge family time through specific activities and adolescent children emphasise simply the need to be together.

Go to the beach and go over to the pools coz we always used to walk to the pools and the park. I really wanted to go to the park with him again (Jewlz) I might have thought that he would come, we'd go places, all of us to the beach and stuff like that, [go] diving ... I felt like he was gonna stay now coz he is out of jail and I'm thinking that him and mum were gonna like work now and yeah. All spend time together, not just separately ... like a little family kinda yeah (Kaia)

[The consequence of parental imprisonment was] just not growing up with mum around yeah. So all we wanted was [for her] to spend time with us (Spuds)

We were not really thinking about 'what exactly' would happen when she got out. But you know being together is important like [I missed] sleeping with her in the bed coz mum cuddles at night. I love her (Eritrea)

One child had hoped for her grandfather to move in with her and the family after release, however, knew this could not be met due to current family tensions. Alternatively, she hopes for a family reunion during Christmas.

We talked [child and caregiver] about where he was gonna live and stuff coz [I wanted my poppa to live with me but] my parents didn't want him to live with us so he ended up moving, going to my uncle's place because my nana and my koro don't get along ... [Instead, I hoped that my koro could] come over to my nana's house for Christmas that's where our whole family goes on Christmas (Jewlz)

Furthermore, the same four children express that their incarcerated parent upon reentry should assume their parental role of re-establishing and maintaining a home environment which contributes to their care and wellbeing. In turn, it is the responsibility of the returning parent to seek employment, get a car and home and equally contribute to the maintenance and care of the household.

Get a job, get a house, get us back, that's all we wanted (Spuds)

[Re-affirmed by sibling] Nan got mum a house [two weeks prior to anticipated release date] near the prison so she can keep working after prison [employment obtained through the release to work programme] ... we were sweet, just had to wait to get us [to move in with their mother] (Eritrea)

Go over to my dad's garage and use his weights [as he had gained weight during imprisonment] ... The good thing is that he got a job. He has a car now and he takes me to places and he got my trampoline to my house (Jewlz)

Uh yes if he could change a little, he would go to work or if he's not gonna go to work he's gonna clean the whole house while my mum goes to course and me and [my sister] go to school and then we would come back [and] he's either doing something educational. Yeah, that's what I was hoping ... because [before imprisonment] he'd make mum do everything, he didn't clean up ... when he made a mess he just left it there waiting for us to clean up after him [which] we don't like coz we are used to having our house really clean and having it messy just feels weird and it's not right (Kaia)

## **Theme 3: Uncertainty**

During the re-entry phase, children are faced with strong feelings of uncertainty as to whether their recently released parent will remain in the family home and normalcy is maintained or will leave the family home due to either parents' relationship breakdown or return to prison. Three children express their feelings of uncertainty:

I was happy that he came but then I was worried if he was gonna leave coz he is always doing that ... yeah I was excited and happy and I felt like he was gonna stay now coz he is out of jail ... [but worried] that he would leave again coz yeah I wasn't really negative about him when I was little but now I've change[d], I am older (Kaia)

If you asked me why he was in jail, I don't know. Nobody does. Nobody in my family. [Would you want to know?] Yeah kinda. [Have you ever asked your poppa?] Yup but he just says no. I think coz one reason is because um he's actually, he doesn't actually know he did things wrong. [Do you think he did things wrong?] I don't know coz he didn't know he did things wrong ... I just [was] worried that he wouldn't come and [then he came] and I [asked if he'll stay] and poppa said YEAH but um I don't know (Jewlz)

We were worried that mum might go back to drugs and something might happen like she'd have to go to prison again coz right in the beginning, she was all hanging out again with her friends (Spuds)

## Theme 4: Excitement and Disappointment

Three of the four families experienced differing outcomes upon parental re-entry. The remaining family experienced the continued imprisonment of the parent. Differences in the outcome of parental re-entry (or continued incarceration) allowed some children to be excited and very happy that their expectations upon re-entry were met, whereas for others, this was not entirely the case and children also conveyed disappointment.

Jewlz is happy that her grandfather has been released from prison and maintains family time through daily visits. She is always excited to go to the park with her grandfather, as was hoped for, and partake in an array of fun activities together – inclusive of "getting me lollies", helping out with homework such as "spelling and reading", and "help me do a handstand".

In the case of Richard, who witnessed his father's crime, the continued incarceration of his father is a "relief" to him as he states: "I do feel relieved and a bit happy yeah".

Three children discussed in detail how and why their hopes and expectations were not met. From their responses, two premises had emerged: 1) the struggle seeking employment due to stringent parole conditions, and 2) lack of motivation from the parent upon re-entry.

The two oldest child participants had desired for their mother upon her release to "get a job, get a house [and] get us back". This did not occur as Spuds states, "it didn't happen and we got really cross", yet, acknowledged "but yeah we still got our dream" that their mother is no longer in prison. These two children explain why their hopes and expectations could not be met and their argument is centred on the difficulty of seeking employment due to stringent parole conditions.

Because of her charge. She can't really get jobs that offer like chemicals in the area because of what her charges were. So she couldn't actually work at like Bunnings, coz of all the chemicals there (Spuds)

[Conversation continued by sibling] but those [are] the jobs that are on offer! (Eritrea)

They further describe the ripple effects of their mother not being able to find employment.

All the easy good jobs that you need, mum can't work there so then she can't get money [therefore] she can't get a proper house for herself that's hers ... and for us to live in (Eritrea)

Like if she was to get a job it would be somewhere real far away and then she'd have to buy a house and spend all her money on the rent or whatever. It's just not enough (Spuds)

As the initial plan was to continue working at the mother's place of employment through the release to work programme offered by the prison, the mother had to remain living a distance away from her children. This, as agreed upon by the two oldest child participants was a benefit for the mother to also avoid the temptations of returning to old habits of drug use.

She didn't wanna live in [Town of residence] coz she has bad memories and bad vibes and she doesn't wanna get involved with that stuff so she just wants to live somewhere further away from it all. That's why she lives out far where there is no one that can get her back into those things (Spuds)

The consequences of their mother living in a different town meant that the two oldest child participants had to make the decision on whether to move or remain where they are under their grandmother's guardianship.

Well the good things were that we got to see her more and the bad things were like that she lived far away from our school (Eritrea)

[Conversation continued by sibling] and if we wanted to move in with her, we'd have to move schools but we didn't want to change schools because well we really haven't been at this school for so long that it was like no point. I wouldn't really move because I've only got one year of college left and there is no point in moving on your last year or there is no point in moving if you're half way through intermediate [as is what Eritrea is currently in] and your nearly about to start college coz that's stupid and you don't want to start all over again and then have to get all your credits back up (Spuds)

[Conversation continued by initial sibling] and also having to go to intermediate or college and know no one ... we told her that, we said we'd want to live with you if you wanna drop us back to [Town of residence] ha-ha coz we not changing but yeah we invite her to sports games or cultural nights, polyfest, all those sort of things. "come see us" and do all those things and like "mum come watch us" (Eritrea)

Despite their hopes and expectations not having been met, the two oldest child participants make the most of it by including their mother in as much family time as possible. Equally, their younger siblings enjoy every opportunity to be with their mother.

I remember when me, nana and Lucas, we went to go visit her [their mother] at her little house and she was playing with the toys ... [and] we watched TV with her and cuddled her and mummy also buys stuff and takes us up to the park (Ava)

When we have the sleepover in the weekends, she always gets us to go to the playground and take us to the dairy and have some icecreams and sit in the little train. I like that mummy is here now (Lucas)

The third and remaining child participant Kaia had hopes and expectations that upon her father figure's re-entry he would partake in a more proactive lifestyle which included seeking employment or taking care of the household to alleviate some of the workload her mother takes on as a single parent and to be "like a little family". However, her hopes and expectations were not met as she articulates "That's what I was hoping but it's the patterns like mum said it is still going on" – these patterns are that the father figure continues to be 'lazy', with a lack of motivation to seek employment or care for the home and family.

We started going, I was just kinda getting used to it. I was just getting used to how he was here ... [and then] he lets mum do all his washing, cook breakfast for him and he doesn't deserve that because he doesn't do anything ... he just watches movies, sitting there [in bed] reading or being lazy ... [I wanted him] maybe going to work or being busy, not lazy [but] he's just being that lazy friend that sits there and does nothing until something cool happens or he is bored and then he goes

out and um [drinks] and when he is angry he takes it out on mum (Kaia)

Around two weeks after the release of the father figure, the reoccurrence of drinking and aggressive behaviour ended with him hitting the child's koro in an altercation and the mother in front of the child. Subsequently the father figure was 'kicked out' of the home. Witnessing this domestic violence resulted in the child participant discontinuing her relationship with the father figure.

When he left, I didn't care that much. When he usually leaves I cry but that time it was actually his fault. Sometimes I think the problems was mums fault but that one was his fault this time and coz he got himself into trouble and it was his fault that he left. I was talking with [my sister] and I said to her it was [the father figure's] fault, he had *left my mum ... My mum and [father figure's] relationship would have* happened if he didn't go out and be crazy so yeah so it's his fault ... I am really angry like I don't want him to come back like if he comes back, I'd rather live with my nanny and papa. I don't want him back in our lives now. It's just gonna happen over and over again and he doesn't, he's not gonna be a good father to us or treat us like a good father. He would argue with mum and me and [sister] didn't like it and really wanted him to go because we felt sorry for mum that she doesn't realise that he's not the man and mum should stop ... And he always comes and goes and it's annoying because he needs to make a decision if he is gonna stay or not. And if he stays it's just gonna be messy and mucked up so the best thing for him is to leave and never come back and if we're gonna have like a good life without [the father figure] then there's no ringing him or texting him. But he's not gonna come back ever again and coz, if he does, my koro would be really angry yeah (Kaia)

The child furthermore contemplated her own hopes and expectations and the reality of her father figure's behaviour after release. Despite the outcome of parental re-entry, she felt empowered in being able to vocalise her acceptance of it.

Well right now [at the time of the interview] no, I don't think he would have been different but if he was in jail and I was 8, I would have thought he was gonna be different. But right now, I don't think coz the patterns are just gonna go on and on and he's never gonna change and coz he's him and yeah ... And if he comes then I don't think it would be my fault if I told him to get out because this is our house and coz mum knows I don't like [the father figure] now and I don't think

she would let him back here coz then I would start getting psycho and I would probably tell him to get out. I don't know if mum would say to me shush but it's also my thing coz I'm part of mums life so I get to let out my words too because then I'm just gonna be angry inside and if I don't let it out I'm gonna get like really angry so I gotta say it out (Kaia)

## **Theme 5: Companionship**

The theme of companionship captures children's need for social support during parental re-entry. Social support is defined as one's personal network of significant others (i.e. family or friends) or affiliated professionals (e.g., community practitioners, teachers and mentors) and leisure activities (e.g. team sport and community events). In times of uncertainty and disappointment where children dwell on the outcome of their parent's re-entry experience, companionship functions as a positive distraction from such strenuous thoughts and provides children with the opportunity to be in an environment in which they can express or physical exert their feelings. However, children also describe the challenges in finding such companionship and in proclaiming further social support they would have desired during re-entry.

One way to deal with uncertainty is to communicate with family members although communication can be difficult. Three children from large families discuss the importance of family as they are always there for one another, know what they go through and can be relied on for positive support.

[My older sister] coz she already knows what's happening and coz she is always there. I can rely on her she won't tell anyone and I wouldn't say that she would tell her friends coz her friends don't look trustworthy, they are weird ... Talk to my Nan, my cousins. I would talk to my cousin's coz I've talked to them before about my mum and [father figure]. They don't like [the father figure] because of what he's done. My cousins know that he's hit my mum before and has bossed her around. My cousins support me and they are always there for me so I can just rely on them (Kaia)

The only people that will be around forever is family so if you needed to talk it out, might as well talk it out with them (Spuds)

[Reaffirmed by sibling] Yeah exactly I don't like my friends knowing but family is alright (Eritrea)

Two children acknowledge, however, that communication with close family members can be difficult because of current family tensions towards the released parent.

[Do you talk to your mum about poppa?] Not that much [Do you want to talk to your mum about him?] {Nods in disagreement} she gets all sad sometimes [How about your dad?] {Nods in disagreement} [Is there anyone you like to talk to about your poppa with?] My nana is okay with it as long as it's not about him moving to my nana's (Jewlz)

I would talk to mum but then I do know she would say 'no no no' and give me stuff I shouldn't be saying when I'm trying to say what I wanna say (Kaia)

Additionally, the oldest two child participants argue that talking to their youngest siblings is not always feasible due to their infancy at the time of their mother's imprisonment and the maternal bonds their two youngest siblings have made with other family members.

Well, Lucas is a baby since he has been with Nan. He never grew up with mum, he was just with Nan from the beginning. Lucas is like kind of your son [to their grandmother], not grandson (Spuds)

[Conversation continued by sibling] And then Ava lived with her aunty for a while, so she kinda thought of Aunty as mum so really when they ask questions, they are just not sure what they are talking about...so we don't try anymore (Eritrea)

Three children describe the pivotal role of companionship their primary caregiver provided during parental incarceration and upon re-entry. These children are grateful for their caregivers' sacrifices in order to accommodate their needs and feel empowered by their caregiver's own resiliency.

Yeah our grandparents had to go out of their way to help us ... and we are still here (Eritrea)

[Conversation continued by sibling] Yeah she does cleaning and everything ... we had Nan like Nan bringing us food every day [for school]. I remember you [their grandmother] used to chop us fish and chips all the time. None of their mums [mothers of school friends] would do that ... and Nan had to leave [her] job to look after all of us ... I am grateful coz Nan had to change [her] lifestyle to adjust to us (Spuds)

Mum is better than that she's sticks up for herself and she tells him [the father figure] what to do most of the time coz he has nothing to say coz this isn't his house ... when she speaks to [father figure] she lets her thoughts out and that's what I wanna do coz I don't wanna keep it inside of me so I got my thoughts out for mum ... I watched um [mother] talking her thoughts and saying them to [father figure] and it's what I'm doing now ... so I'm kinda doing that and yeah (Kaia)

Five children acknowledge certain friends with whom they have developed a sense of companionship. From their responses, there are two particular characteristics within friendships that are pivotal to children with a parent returning from prison: 1) someone whom they can trust to keep a secret as stigmatisation around parental incarceration is very much a concern for children, and 2) individuals who share similar experiences that can relate, understand and help one another during difficult times.

Someone that I really really trust maybe my friend but it have to be someone I really trust ... [For example] my friend called Tim and Tom, they are brothers and mum and poppa and that's all ... uuh I just said [to my friends] that my real dad is in prison and that my poppa well just looks after us yeah but nothing else. I think they understand it or something like that (Richard)

Yeah but those are like close ones from ages ago (Spuds)

[Continued by sibling] Yeah like Primary friends (Eritrea)

Only my friends. My BFF [how do they help you?] They say "don't think about it" (Jewlz)

I would talk to a girl called Melani, she's my friend. Her parents have splitted and they have had the same thing that my mum did. They've been fighting. They have sweared at each other. She's a good person to talk to when you're having something with your parent's coz she's had that before and um we are really good friends. We do argue sometimes but I can tell her anything. She doesn't tell anyone coz she's that kind of person ... I don't think she would tell anyone because me and her have been good friends for a long time and we've talked about things like her secrets. Like she will help me through stuff and she knows that I can [help] too. For her to tell, to say to my mum, my sister and me about her parents is really brave of her so I would tell her what happened to my mum and [father figure] yeah so I talked to her (Kaia)

The four children of Family Four, however, have expressed that, despite having a few friends to confide with, they are not particularly in favour of discussing their mothers' incarceration and release. The oldest two child participants' argument for this include embarrassment and that friendships don't last.

I hated telling people aye. We don't talk about it. It's not something that you just bring up so when they go "how's mum?", "ooh she good", "how's your dad?", "good". we don't like bring[ing] it up with people like if they ask us questions, we just answer the question ... but yeah [younger sister] used to tell everyone (Eritrea)

[Conversation continued by sibling] shit yeah and then they would come up to us. It was kinda embarrassing like knowing your mums locked away and all their mums are with them, picking them up from school ... I don't like it coz you talk to your friends but they are not gonna be your friends forever (Spuds)

Similarly, the two youngest siblings state that they do not have any friends they confide in.

No, I tell no one of that (Ava) [Reaffirmed by sibling, Lucas]

Teacher's awareness of parental incarceration and their involvement around the time of re-entry was a positive and supportive experience for two children.

A couple of my teachers know. They've said it's gonna be okay [and do you feel like that they are helping you?] Yup (Jewlz)

My teacher does [know]. Just before the parole hearing he talked to me about it yeah [it was] good [do you like talking to your teacher?] Yup (Richard)

Yet, the oldest two child participants feel differently about their teacher's involvement with their mother's incarceration and release. From their responses, similar to their opinion on friends knowing, teachers are viewed as not understanding what it means to be a child of a prisoner and in turn are incapable of providing the right support. Additionally, these children describe not needing support from teachers as they had developed a strong sense of self-reliance: "When we want something done, we'll do it ourselves".

Teachers try talking to you and it's like "I don't care what's you got to say" coz they don't even care ... And they tell you "oh you don't understand what your situation is". OH WE UNDERSTAND and I'm like "oh man, I know better than you do. You probably didn't grow up with yeah [a parent in prison]" (Spuds)

It just makes it even worse coz they just kind of watch over you, watch what you are doing, make sure you are doing all right, and then they keep annoying you they just keep going they just don't know when to stop. It can get annoying when they just try to get into your personal life and stuff like that ... When we want something done, we'll do it ourselves. We don't need you [teachers] to uh help us, or try help us coz you're not actually helping (Eritrea)

All seven children have found positive coping strategies against stress and feelings of uncertainty and disappointment during parental re-entry from prison. The most common coping strategy employed was participating in leisure activities like team sports, and attending community events. This supported children in a number of ways:

1) it was an outlet for anxiety and frustration; 2) provided opportunities to develop new skills and increase their confidence; 3) new friendships could be established, and 3) proved a healthy distraction from the stress at home.

Oh playing sport so things to take away, so instead of thinking about her, we think about things what we can do to forget about all that so instead of sitting in our rooms crying about it all or sulk about it, instead of doing that we just let it out in our sports so like touch, rugby, netball, basketball, try new sports (Spuds)

Yeah, just distractions like fun things to make you happy like sports and try to stay on task just coz our childhood wasn't what other children have ... [and] camp [organised by NGO]. We used to go there ... I loved it (Eritrea)

*Yup I play netball and mini-ball and I'm playing summer soccer (Ava)* 

I play basketball (Lucas)

Um forget about it and go and play. I play like mums and dads and mostly sisters and COC, it's where our teacher helps us with like soccer and rugby and there's these people [from youth-focused NGO] ... Art at school coz we are doing wonderland art ... I go there [to the cinema] with [NGO Mentor], she is my [NGO] lady ... we talk and do stuff together. She is my BFF (Jewlz)

Cricket, sports, watch TV, play on the tablet, play on the computer when I'm allowed. Read books and play checkers (Richard)

PE fitness. I play soccer with the boys, we play touch tackle yeah it's really fun ... it's my way to help me like I get my thoughts out for mum and I play touch to let it out [too] ... and kids camp [organised by NGO] it was fun. [Did some of the kids also have a mum or dad who is in prison?] Yup. I wasn't talking about [the father figure]it's my first time going to the kids camp but yeah some of the kids they just told me their story, they just blurted out to me but I have new friends [names a few]. They were really nice ... [Would you be interested in going on a camp like that again?] Yes. Yeah it was fun ... but they [camp facilitators and leaders] are really overprotective (Kaia)

Subsequently, two children are aware of the financial struggles in attempting to partake in their sporting hobbies. One child articulates her willingness to fundraise to support her sporting hobbies, illustrating the importance of sport in her life.

[I want to join the] cricket team. I can't join it yet because I don't have all the gear and we can't find one and we don't have enough money (Richard)

I can't, there are like 6 of us like I live with my grandparents, I can't just ask for that much money like if it was for sports or if I needed that for Reps or something, if we couldn't afford it, I would pull out. If it's expensive, if I wanted it that badly I would have to fundraise or I would have to go get a job, find something to do to earn money. This year I'm in a cheaper team, they don't go to nationals, they don't go away but that's alright at least it's learning some new skills, getting more involved in sport life, just forgetting about it all (Spuds)

When asked, most children were unable to identify any other additional social support (that they were aware of) that they would have desired during parental re-entry; the overriding response was a shoulder shrug or "I don't know". For two children, one was quick to describe what he is currently doing to alleviate some of his frustration yet acknowledged its lack of effectiveness. In turn, he suggested the possibility of participating in team sports but also voices uncertainty as to what is (or can be) available to him for support.

Well slam my door and stay in my room. [Is that something you do to make yourself feel better?] Uh not really but I just read and stay in my room for a while but it doesn't actually really help. [Is there anything you feel would help you?] Cricket and rugby but other than that uh nope, I don't really know (Richard)

The remaining child re-emphasised the benefits of being able to communicate with children who share similar experiences through organisations who can provide the opportunity to become acquainted with one another. Additionally, the child participant, not having received support from adults outside the family, came to recognise the interviewer (myself) as a source of potential external support.

People that have situations between their mum and dad I could talk to but I've gotta know them first yeah. [Where do you think you would feel comfortable in meeting such people?] Uh Camp [organised by NGO] and stuff like that ... and if I had any other support from someone I would talk to you [the interviewer] (Kaia)

# Caregivers' Voice

#### Theme 1: Reconnect in Safety

Caregivers acknowledge that positive pre-imprisonment relationships foster a child's desire for a post-release relationship with the incarcerated parent unless children are (in)directly impacted by their parent's crime and physical safety is of concern.

Three caregivers recognise that their children desired a relationship with the parent upon re-entry and were happy at the prospect of reuniting with them. From their responses, children had a positive relationship with the parent prior to imprisonment and therefore desired to maintain that relationship thereafter.

Yeah, they always have had a relationship with their mum. You know prison didn't sort of changed that too much I mean ... More so they were at my house [prior to imprisonment], coz the mum would come around and say "oh mum I'll be back in an hour" and you know, two days later she'd turn up but that was just normal for her and the kids. They have their ups and downs as we all do but yeah and they know that she's their mum (Their Grandmother)

Yeah, she was excited to see him. [It was] my son [not interviewed, below age criteria] that pulled away. I think coz he didn't get to know him before he went to jail. He made a relationship with my mum's husband so he is not that close to my dad and my dad is finding it easier to make a bond with Jewlz and in a way he is not trying as much with my son because she is more willing to do stuff and wants to be with him ... She was really close with him [prior to imprisonment] (Jewlz's Mother)

I feel like this one [Kaia] was happy that he could be coming home. She would call him dad and that's what I think she liked more from him like giving her that feeling of like having that close relationship and that bond because she wanted it or she missed it, because she never had it really you know he's been basically the only father figure type, male role model in that sense so yeah. When he did come out she was happy and the lead up to it she was happy because she got to see her father/friend again. So yeah I really think that's what he did give her (Kaia's Mother)

In contrast, two caregivers are in agreement that their child had no interest in seeing or forming any relationship with his incarcerated father around the time of his most recent parole hearing in May 2016. No relationship is desired by the child because of the impact of having witnessed the crime which lead to the parent's imprisonment.

I don't think so. Richard doesn't have a good picture of his dad which I don't blame him for as a mum but I try my best to discourage it. He says things like I hate my dad, I change it to "You hate your dads behaviour but yeah you can still love him" but let's leave it at that. So I give him the opportunity to love his dad but if he so chooses not to, there is not much I can do about it (Richard's Mother)

I think they are just too young [Richard and his two younger sisters] at this stage. If it were to happen now [father were to be released] definitely not ... [as] that night would be pretty powerful, [the memories] are not gonna go away (Richard's Father Figure)

In addition, the two caregivers further acknowledge that having witnessed such violence has instilled an intense fear over safety in the child and consequentially a sense of responsibility to protect his mother and family from the father and his potential release now or in the future.

The teacher just brought it up over morning tea. He asked Richard to stay so they could have a talk [a few days prior to parole hearing] and Richard came up with that he is really scared of his dad getting out of jail and that he won't be able to protect me (Richard's Mother)

[Conversation continued by partner] Yeah that has been going on for the last five years. He's been responsible and if it is not mum, it is his sisters (Richard's Father Figure)

As a result, one caregiver highlights an incident which occurred in the weeks leading up to the parole hearing whereby the child presented a story for a school assignment which illustrated his desire for his father to no longer be in his life.

He did this presentation for school and got deleted because it was such a terrible terrible terrible story ... but thinking back, some of that story was so similar to that night. Things like there were loud bangs and then screams, and you know the loud bangs being the dad getting into the house and the screams would have been me and it was almost like telling in a different way what happened that night [because] in the end it was about his dad dying in a pool of blood

## Theme 2: Normalcy tempered by Uncertainty

This theme captures caregivers' awareness of their children's desire to attain some sense of normalcy upon parental re-entry. However, caregivers are more observant of children's (and their own) uncertainty of a positive re-entry experience.

Two caregivers illustrate their children's desire to be reunited with their incarcerated parent and re-establish normalcy through specific activities that they used to do together prior to the parents' imprisonment. Yet, children are aware of their parents' past transgressions (i.e. aggressive behaviour, repeatedly leaving the family) which may hamper the child's positive re-entry experience.

I think she thought that he was gonna get home and live with us and go for walks up the park again and all things that she did when she was in pre-school [prior to the grandfather's imprisonment] ... She was excited but I think because he had told her before that he was coming home like six months into it [of a 4-year sentence] - I think there was a bit of a let-down. She didn't want to get herself too hyped up in case it didn't happen so she didn't plan too far ahead ... [Also] she wants him to live with her but I think she knows it won't be as happy. She kind of remembers that it is not as nice when poppa does live with us so yeah she has said that she wanted him to live with us and then I have said to her no he can't and then she said "Oh, he gets angry at you aye mum?" I think she doesn't remember most of the arguing I think she just remembers a lot about him throwing something at my car which he did once and where I drove away. So she knows sort of but did want him to stay with her and sometimes she will block out the bad and pay attention to the good sort of thing (Jewlz's Mother)

So there was definitively some conversation about what was gonna happen if he got released because yeah I had to let them know that [father figure] might be coming out today ... and this one [Kaia] was excited and wanted to do all the things she and [father figure] used to do together ... coz she is so sporty, Kaia wanted [father figure] to come to games like her softball reps that she was in ... They [did] ask questions. I can remember them still say "oh what is he gonna do? Is he gonna get a job? or is he just gonna be the same, he is gonna come and stay?" I don't [think] that they had really high expectations of

him because they just knew that it's all so normal for them to see him come and go but with the hope "is he gonna stay this time?" (Kaia's Mother)

The two caregivers from Family Four highlight their child's fear and subsequent behavioural and emotional problems at the thought of the incarcerated fathers' potential release from prison. Their child's expectation of normalcy centres on his incarcerated father's not being involved in his life, if released, as the child has already developed a sense of normalcy with his family and the paternal bond made with his father figure.

I think he [Richard] knows in an abstract sort of way [that his father may be released] ... we got the letter in February [for Parole Hearing scheduled in May 2016]. From the day we decided to tell him that yeah that night basically it started. It's quite a pronounced change in behaviour, more unsettled although at the time when we were talking to him about it he seemed and reacted good but that night and during May um he goes back to waking up multiple times at night, screaming out for me multiple times at night and he requires to have a light on at night ... the week after the teacher noticed his behaviour at school and yeah they had a chat (Richard's Mother)

[conversation continued by partner] because he was calling out in class being disruptive but not naughty, not hitting people but being disruptive but the teacher has just [said] to us "he's struggling to cope with those emotions and he doesn't know what to do with them" ... It's like rubbing salt on it and it already takes him like 11 months to get him back to feeling safe and then it's like here we go again. This year seems to have been worse for some reason, maybe it's coz he is a year older and he is starting to think things through. I don't know ... He understands that [if] his dad will get out he wants him to like live in the South Island or Stuart Island or Chatham Island or somewhere not close, so he doesn't want nothing to do with him at this stage ... He is happy with the way things are right now, with me as part of the family (Richard's Father Figure)

Only one caregiver was not aware of her children's hopes and expectations upon parental re-entry as no conversation was made to determine such knowledge.

Nope. No. I don't think we had a discussion as such. I think they were happy that their mother was coming out coz it saved going into prison every Saturday ... I think it was just, they were staying with us and

things would just continue on as normal and mum would be around when she was around ha-ha. Mum would pop in and out when she is ready ... yeah I guess they take it all in their stride though coz you know it is what it is, as horrible as it is (Their Grandmother)

Two caregivers have personally experienced parental imprisonment on a multitude of occasions throughout their childhood. Such experiences have raised doubt and concern that their children's hopes and expectations of a post-release relationship may be short-lived.

I have had bad experiences before so I wasn't too excited. I'm glad he is out because we are close but I can see that he's gonna go back so it's hard to be excited about it. I could say that before he came out of jail, he was already sort of talking about things that wasn't the best idea so yeah. He thinks because of the drug charges and because of taking drugs, he thinks what's he's done isn't wrong so he has been around a whole bunch of other people who believe him being innocent, he believes that himself that he is innocent. He tried to talk to her when he got out about it and it involved sort of the police being in the wrong so I didn't want him to start telling her his stories ... It's hard and kinda more anxious for now when he is gonna go back and then she [Jewlz] is gonna have to do this again (Jewlz's Mother)

My dad was in and out of jail from when he was a teenager all up to his 50s still doing drink driving like still reoffending ... with my dad coming out I hated him because he was in and out and he hurt my mum and he would drink and drive and crash the car and my mum would have to pay for it coz she was working hard and all he did was drink. I get angry with him coz he wasn't there to guide us through life and I would see and be told that I was like my mum because [Kaia's father figure] was like my dad. I felt like when dad was in jail it was good because we got a good break, coming out was scary because we just knew he would end up just drinking and smashing things up or hitting my mum and was typical 'once were warriors' type of thing in the 90s he had that mentality. I have reflected on it and yeah I do a lot of the same things as my mum with [Kaia's father figure] and I don't want it with my kids of course. ... So I had a lot of doubts even though I was happy I really wanted him to come out and hopefully be a new start and wipe the slate clean but I just knew that he wasn't gonna stay and this one [Kaia] wasn't sure either but was hoping things could change (Kaia's Mother)

## Theme 3: Excitement and Disappointment

Differences in the outcome of parental re-entry (or continued incarceration) allowed some children to be excited and very happy that their expectations upon re-entry were met, whereas for others, this was not entirely the case and caregivers acknowledge children's disappointment.

For Family Four, both caregivers acknowledge that the continued imprisonment of their child's father resulted in a positive change in the child's behaviour, some form of closure and a sense of safety is re-established.

We've got his [school] report back on Friday and his behaviour has settled right down, it was like magic (Richard's Father Figure)

They feel a lot safer with a bit of closure. I won't say completely safe because [child interviewed] still gets scared at night that his dad's gonna come back and get him so it's not 100% safe but it's a lot safer (Richard's Mother)

Another two caregivers acknowledge positive child-parent relationship moments. From their responses, the recently released parent's active involvement in their children's lives is pivotal to what makes parental re-entry a positive experience for children.

Supporting the kids with all their sporting stuff. So usually when the kids have sports on or other events at school, she'll try and come but because she is on the dole, she has to attend classes so she can't always make it. She doesn't have a lot of money so she can't give much but it's not about that anyway. Spends time with them, the girls play netball and basketball so she was our ref for that season which is really good for the kids it's what gets them together. Sometimes they are all like sisters to one another and I have to be the responsible one ha-ha and I hate that. She is involved in as much as she can (Their Grandmother)

He has been spending time with the kids when he is not at work and he sort of comes over and um yeah my sons' starting to warm up to him. Jewlz is definitely, every time he comes over she is really happy and he'd have to do homework with her and stuff if he comes over after school which is good ... She's become more out going again. She has got more of her personality back. She has got more confident

Three caregivers acknowledge that their children's hopes and expectations were not met, for differing reasons. From their responses, four premises emerged; 1) child's expectations were not feasible, 2) lack of motivation by the released parent, 3) witnessing violence, and 4) the criminal justice system is set-up for people to fail. Overall, children were faced with disappointment.

Anytime he comes over even if it's 6 o'clock at night she wants us all to get up and go for a walk. Now she is in school it's not as feasible so yeah she's finding it hard to adjust, that's hard. I think she thought it was definitely gonna be the same ... and she thought he would pick her up from school and stuff but he got a job and so yeah she thought he was gonna be able to watch her after school and take her to school and little things and he can't do that ... [Also] I think she is now just noticing the vibe between me and him. He's definitely hanging out with her but sometimes shouldn't be hanging out with [her] and probably doing things he shouldn't be doing [as the grandfather is still using drugs]. When she was little and if he was on drugs she wouldn't go near him. She had this thing about it like she knew it wasn't something good and so it's similar to that now. When he comes home she is excited but she will talk to him from this far she won't sit on his lap and talk to him and stuff like she will other days. It makes it difficult for her to have that connection with him now. I had to explain to her that "poppa is not okay in the head because of the drugs" but she doesn't really understand, so I said "he's not all right" and so I think she kinda doesn't want to say things, in case it gets him in trouble. [Is the child aware of that potential of the grandfather going back to prison?] I think she has kind of realised in the last few weeks. She is keeping her distance, maybe in a way she is preparing herself for that um potential ... but [because of it] she became scared and doesn't want people to leave her. Seemed to think that everybody was going to leave and didn't like people leaving her and would get really upset and clingy (Jewlz's Mother)

When he did come out it was still the patterns, it was still the same. Kinda always good for one week where he might cook or get up and look and sound enthusiastic ... Those two weeks was like walking on eggshells, waiting for it all to go to shit but I was hoping that he wouldn't because he had this great opportunity ... and then next minute he'd still be like lying there and doing nothing and these one's [Kaia and sister] going "err what is he doing? It's still the same. Aww he is drinking" ... And I felt like Kaia was hovering around more like waiting for him to say like "jump up and watch a movie with me". I

felt like she [Kaia] wanted more. She would get angry because she wanted more from him like he had to make up for the time he wasn't here. She wanted that attention and for him to play with her because she was really close with him. It was pay attention to me, pay attention to me but yeah. It's on the days when he begins in the same things and that's when they start to moan and go "God, [father figure] you've just been lying there all day, it's such a mess you should get up, go get a job, go clean the house"... Not so long after he hit me ... and he hit my dad, so they have seen that too and my mum got upset and the girls got upset and it kinda changed. They kinda put two and two together and just thought "omg if he is just still doing this then mum why are you still letting him back in? He is just a useless whatever" yeah and their attitude from then just went downhill and I kicked him out after that (Kaia's Mother)

So two and a half years in jail and then she [the mother] was out on probation and she actually said she wished she had stayed in jail and done her whole sentence, for that 4 years because when she came out on probation, they made it soooo hard, they do everything possible to make you fail. You know she was trying to get a job but she couldn't coz with probation she had to report once or twice a week, and when she was out trying to do something, she had to stop doing that to get to go report to probation, attend parenting courses, drug and alcohol and all these other things they wanted her to go to and they would never give her the same probation officer. It always changed so she would over and over again have to explain her story and that used to rack her up into something terrible but anyway, you know, you gotta play the game. So that restricted her from getting jobs because she couldn't just up and go to a job and she can't get certain jobs in certain places because her crime was drugs ... [but] they [probation] keep sending her for job interviews at places like that [e.g. Bunnings and Mitre 10] but of course, when she gets turned down, she gets put down to the bottom of the list and it's just a vicious cycle ... she was on the work to release programme from prison, she was working. So she'd go out during the day and work and then go back in in the afternoon but then again couldn't keep that job [after her release] because she had to report to probation and they didn't make it easy for her, they wanted her to be there 10 o'clock in the morning, and if you missed probation you'd be in the cells for the weekend or whatever ... so again it was this cycle and soooo many people must suffer with that out there. The whole system is set-up for people to fail, in my mind anyway ... it took so much out of her, put her down over and over again and gave her little to no time to focus on her kids (Their Grandmother)

Furthermore, the above caregiver acknowledges that the two oldest child participants were well aware of their mother's struggles upon re-entry and in turn developed a bleak view of police and the criminal justice system.

Yeah, unfortunately, it hasn't given a very good impression to these guys of police [oldest two child participants describe police as "bloody pigs"] and what have you and they've seen some of the crap that goes on, it's just the way it works aye (Their Grandmother)

## **Theme 4: Companionship**

This theme of companionship captured caregivers' perspectives on children's need for social support during parental re-entry. Caregivers acknowledge that social support through their personal network of significant others (i.e. family and friends) is vital for children wanting to express their feelings of excitement, uncertainty and disappointment. However, caregivers highlight their children's struggle in finding companionship through such support and further recommend affiliated professionals (e.g., community practitioners, teachers and mentors) whom can offer children (and caregivers) the support and companionship they so desire.

Extended Family provides positive support although communication can be difficult. For three caregivers, their large family with inclusive positive role models were supportive to their children's and their own experiences during re-entry.

We had good support I mean I've got a big family, my sister's and that, and my other daughter and son, they were always around to help me and the kids as well. They would come for visits. Strong support from family for sure (Their Grandmother)

Family! They [Kaia and sister] got cousins there is 11 of them and they are all the same age. So we got a big family so they are lucky because they would come over here and they'd play and all are so active as and laugh and just play. They've got good other role models, their uncle, my older sister's partner, he is a hardworking man, he's good and my younger sister's partner. They still have good role models apart from [the father figure]. We always got family if we need them ... My family are angry with [the father figure] because they don't feel like the kids deserve it of course but they are always there that is not a problem (Kaia's Mother)

I think it's the change in his uh, well [child's mothers'] environment, being with me [father figure] now. It's allowing him to see what it could be like, should be like. Now it's a lot more open. He's starting

to feel more comfortable and it's just dealing with the emotions of 5, 6 years of questions (Richard's Father Figure)

Two caregivers highlight the difficulty for children to be able to communicate their feelings with certain family members as they are too close and have been emotionally impacted by parental incarceration.

He's not comfortable talking about it with me, I have tried and mum's too close (Richard's Father Figure)

I have heard her try to talk to her brother a few times but he, coz he is younger, he is to her "oh yeah just poppa in the face, tell him to go away" so yeah he doesn't get it. She needs someone she can talk to that can relate and understand what she is feeling ... She told my step dad that she couldn't talk about it with me and my mum. Yeah and then when we questioned her about it, it was because we get upset but I think she gets the anger side from my mum too because my mum is angry that my dad does this over and over again. I think that's why she thought she couldn't really open up to anyone and I think she didn't, she kind of felt when her teacher told her to not tell people, I think she kind of felt like it was a bad thing she had done (Jewlz's Mother)

As a result, both above families emphasise the pivotal role of the NGO Mentoring programme to provide children the opportunity to bond and talk to someone external to their family. For example, Jewlz's Mother states:

Jewlz is with [NGO] which is awesome for her. And it was her teacher that found [NGO] for me because there wasn't anything else the teacher could find around to help her. We weren't sure [NGO] would be able to [provide support] because it's not her parent, it's her grandfather but yeah they've been really good ... She has got a mentor who is her best friend now. [NGO mentor] is awesome so she picks her up every fortnight and they do something together. It has really helped Jewlz ... She's more confident now because she was not very confident with people she didn't know and stuff but she [NGO Mentor] is great with Jewlz (Jewlz's Mother)

Yet, both caregivers from Family Two are unable to utilise this opportunity as the NGO pairs mentors and children of the same gender and have been short-staffed on male mentors for extended periods of time. This is a common issue amongst caregivers seeking support for their male children from the specified NGO.

Maybe he'll tell you [Interviewer] and maybe even tell you stuff that he doesn't tell us and that's alright, as long as he talks to somebody, we don't have a problem with it. He just needs an outlet coz I think he needs to release this inside him which is why we are trying to get through [the NGO], somebody who he can be comfortable with (Richard's Mother)

[Conversation continued by Partner] Unfortunately they don't have a male mentor and other than [the specified NGO] we don't know of anyone else. (Richard's Father Figure)

Furthermore, Richard's Mother explains that their child has "some really good friends", however, her partner, Richard's Father Figure argues against their child's ability to be able to utilise his friendships to communicate his feelings about parental incarceration.

Again, not sure. I think he might be out-thinking himself. Thinking he can deal with it on his own rather than realising that it's actually better to talk about what he is feeling. Richard needs a friend who he can relate to and truly understand what he is feeling and going through. He has friends but Richard doesn't tell them what he is feeling. They just know the father is in prison (Richard's Father Figure)

Subsequently, another caregiver from a small family describes the importance of her child having found trusting and similarly experienced friends in which she has been able to communicate her feelings around parental re-entry.

Her little friend Abby has been there for her but Abby's dad has got cancer so she hasn't, it's kind of her [Jewlz] being there more for Abby now which is kind of good that her grandfather has come home because it's given her the confidence to sort of be there for Abby now. I guess they share their experiences of grief when they get upset they can relate to one another in some way ... My friends know part of it so obviously a few little friends that she can talk to about it which is good like her little friend Anna coz that's one of my friend's

daughters, so she knows that Anna knows, Anna's mum knows, Anna's dad knows, Anna's family knows so it's okay (Jewlz's Mother)

In particular, trusting friendships provide children of prisoner's companionship which negates the stigma attached to parental imprisonment. As is illustrated in an incident experienced by Jewlz:

Jewlz was having conversations with her friend Milly for weeks at school about it and telling everything that she knew and then she said to me to tell Milly's mum because "I don't want her to get in trouble or not be able to hang out with me" and stuff coz her teacher explained to her it's nice though if she kind of maybe don't tell people your pops in jail ... when I mentioned it to the mum, Milly hadn't even been talking about it with her mum, so she had been taking it all in from Jewlz and just yeah been a good little friend which was quite caring (Jewlz's Mother)

Caregivers who are aware of their children's struggle in finding companionship through peers recommend peer supports and communal outings with fellow children facing similar experiences of parental incarceration and re-entry. The peer groups and communal outings serve several purposes for children (and caregivers attending): 1) a safe environment to reduce feelings of stigma and isolation, 2) provides the opportunity to establish new friendships, and 3) engage in activities that develop new skills and increase confidence. Additionally, one caregiver describes the benefits (and potential of expanding support) of cultural identity excursions.

Something where she is with sort of maybe other kids to talk about this coz she talks about it with her friends but they don't know they have no idea what she is going through so yeah something where she would feel comfortable to talk to other kids ... so they can work with problem-solving and stuff like that coz she's tried [with friends and family]. I think maybe something sort of more counselling, open for children where they could sort of talk about it and stuff like ... group events YEAH. Where they can sort of get to know each other and get a bit more comfortable or even have them meet-up with the [NGO] mentors and take them out on the weekends. Something to get the kids to know each other and know of the kids that are going through what they are going through (Jewlz's Mother)

What would be great and thinking from as I am Māori ... to have outings so somebody like [NGO], because that is what they do anyway. They set up like the [NGO] camp but in a rural area where it is a Marae, peaceful environment, mountains and good fresh air ... and being at a Marae would be a big connection for Māoris because that is what we can relate to it is what we do, we like going back to our Marae and learning and everything and I think that would be a nice touch ... Marae to me is Marae like culture. Like I was saying with the potluck, it's really like just [a] socialising kinda feel ... we could do a Noho Marae if we were to be teaching the kids how to do poi or how [to make] things [like] flax or weaving, Tāniko's or tokitoki panels or if we didn't know Te Reo, learn Te Reo Māori from others. So to go there and do Māori tanga stuff would be nice and cool ... the kids can play together, make friends ... help each other out and even learning other peoples culture like Indians they might have something they might do and if they come to our's I wouldn't mind and learning about theirs. Sharing a light on how Indians and other cultures and their take on how it feels for them partners to be inside and, heck, the kids could even bounce ideas off each other coz they might have a different way to help or go through it differently. It could be a lot of things to learn from. It would be cool but if it helps I wouldn't have a clue ... yeah, trial and base there is no harm in trying especially if nobody is doing ANYTHING ha-ha yeah. I would like to hear everybody else's opinion and thoughts, and what do they wanna do and then what was more effective and what was more powerful and go with that and grow on that and next minute it becomes a big thing and it's a chain reaction and then it's an awesome thing ha-ha and hey it's never too late we are always gonna have a prison system (Kaia's Mother)

Furthermore, caregivers desire more involvement from the Ministry of Education and Community Organisations in easing the stigma of parental incarceration/re-entry within the school environment. In particular, these caregivers describe that the function of support is to raise awareness of this group of children, equally for students, teachers and school administrators to understand what it is like for a child experiencing parental incarceration/re-entry and how we can best address their needs. It is highlighted by two caregivers that such support is to be provided by experts such as from relevant community organisations but is also the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to regularly enforce such training throughout schools in New Zealand.

Her teacher explained to her it's nice though if she kind of maybe don't tell people your pops in jail just because she goes to school at [suburb in Auckland] so it's more of a high decile school. It's very snobby and so she didn't want her getting judged by her peers [but] when her teacher told her to not tell people, I think she kind of felt like it was a bad thing she had done [talk to her peers about grandfather's imprisonment and release] ... We need something more for the schools because there isn't anything really, and her school obviously they wouldn't be as much because I don't think anyone at her school has [a parent or family member] in jail. Even at the schools where we live in, it's a very rough area and there is just nothing around there either because I did go to the local schools just to see if they had any programs or anything but yeah there is just nothing ... I just wish there was more available for kids (Jewlz's Mother)

On a school trip, one of the kids asked "oh where's your dad?" and Richard said "in prison" and then the kid didn't even talk to him throughout the whole trip which made him feel uncomfortable. I think that you know you can even have talks at school about if a child has allergies or if a parent had just died to have an advocate come inside to talk about it and yeah it would be really nice to have an advocate from [NGO] to come and present at the school and introduce it at the whole school assembly like "some kids have a parent in prison and this is what it is like" so everyone can hear it. That is my wish (Richard's Mother)

[Conversation continued by partner] I think you'll find that with teachers - to teach them what this experience is like for them kids, I think it's more a case of educating the schools, to be able to ask [the NGO] or somebody for help and ask how can we deal with it. I know the Ministry of Education has things with real bad habits at school, they will send in a social worker and that's something major but I am a strong believer of an ounce of intervention than a ton of care. It is a lot easier to fix it before it happens (Richard's Father Figure)

Lastly, caregivers recognise themselves as part of their children's need for companionship. However, they feel a need to be supported during the re-entry phase in order to better prepare for such a reunion and support their children through it. As emphasised by Kaia's Mother:

Definitely, something when he [imprisoned father figure] would have come out coz it's like what are we gonna do from here? Because that was where I had the most doubt and anger. I would have loved to have had some sort of help or support because I didn't get the support then. [NGO] got involved way way after like [the NGO] just recently got in contact with me and I'm like he's gone too late ... Around when he was released, that's when I really would have wanted to ask questions

whether it would have come from the prison, being in there visiting with the kids ... like are we gonna plan something before he comes out? I would have been all for that, bringing in Kaia and [older sister]. All of us [caregiver, children and imprisoned father figure] together making a plan with the prison. Is there something [the NGO] could have done? Yeah ... and [then] we could have had ongoing support for when he got out and [told us] these are the services that can be provided (Kaia's Mother)

Caregivers recommend support groups and parenting programs during parental reentry. These would serve the purpose of providing caregivers with 1) supportive connections with other caregivers who go through similar experiences, 2) allowing caregivers to become advocates themselves through community organisations, and 3) gain a deeper understanding of what children experience throughout parental incarceration and re-entry.

I do advocacy work now [for domestically abused women]. I've got my channels and I can act as an advocate. So if this were possible through [the NGO] like some of my friends have their partners inside and have gone through some of my stories. We can relate to one another and I really do think that even if it was only in the last few weeks it would be just so good to have a support group. I don't even think there is one for the mothers. Not just for mothers, but I would say parents, the one remaining parent. You know something like we are just doing now [current interview], and have this conversation without being judged coz there is so much judgement about the [partner of the] parent in prison regardless of whether you are at fault or not, whatever the offense is, because people automatically think "oh my gosh, what did they do? What was she or he doing with him/her? Is he/she doing drugs or what?" The stigma I think that's the one, the stigma of parents being inside and the parent outside, people judge you. They judge you and then they pre-judge your kids ... I actually wouldn't mind doing a parenting program, you know what would be really good where you can do one of those parenting programs that maybe [the NGO] could set-up where we'd talk about parenting and how it's like when having a parent in prison, coz I've done some research and there is some behaviours that children with a parent in prison show and it would be good to be able learn how to cope with that and get the kids involved so they can maybe understand too (Richard's Mother)

I wouldn't mind if somebody came up to me [and] at least give us that opportunity, say we've got this and if you're willing we'll do this and this ... form some sort of club [where] we just come together ... for example, all bring in and have dinners, a Sunday potluck. The kids

could go out and play, someone looks out for them and yeah we rotate, we form greater relationships and rapport and our kids are getting to know each other, we do all have that one thing in common so it is good. So let's not be stuck in hard out like "aww poor us, we are classed as this one group" like that's fine but we still us and we still got lives, let's socialise now on a better note. It gets started from one leader who does come up to say if and then we become leaders [ourselves] and it just keeps expanding so soon enough you got a lot of us that can help each other and more things, like support groups and programmes and activities for our kids can be organised by us – we become the leaders and when we do come to these little events that they [the NGO] do put on for us like the dinners and camps, we're their leaders and we've got this little group we've formed on the side and this is our reasons why and would you like to be a part of it? I think a lot of parents would say I would!! ... and yeah let's hear each other's stories and bitch and moan how our men drive us crazy and like "how did your phone call go today? Omg how did your visit go or how was your first visit?" or even a new person who has never even experienced anything like that before and damn this could be her first time but to be able to have people like us who have been through it, a lot of experiences could help this one person who could be just so shy and not even confide in asking anybody and just be stuck there thinking okay yeah and if we were there, shit, I'd be like "this is what it's like but don't worry and lets go and do this" and maybe be able to help her and her partner when he comes out, planning something and that's part of something we could do you know helping parents set up a house, etc that'll be nice and we ourselves get a better understanding of it all too and just offer that at the prisons, this is what is offered from us (Kaia's Mother)

# **Community Practitioners' Voice**

Participant Reference Key:

CP1 (Community Practitioner One, Female, NZ Māori)

CP2 (Community Practitioner Two, Female, NZ European)

## Theme 1: Reconnect in Safety

Community practitioners detail whether children want a post-release relationship with their imprisoned parent and under what circumstances children do or do not desire such a relationship. Of their responses, strong bonds, continuous communication and a positive relationship prior to and during parental imprisonment is why children desire a post-release relationship unless children are (in)directly impacted by their parent's crime and physical safety is of concern. Children themselves may choose to not want a post-release relationship with their parent due to the impact of repeat incarcerations and violence (or antisocial behaviour) that often ensues upon re-entry. For such children, their parent is seen as a 'destructive force'. In other circumstances, it is the decision of the primary caregiver to impede or terminate such a relationship, often to safeguard their children from the potential of further harm.

It depends. It really does vary hugely from family to family. Obviously depending on the crime, depending on the family dynamic before the arrest even happened and I guess how things have been while the parent has been in prison. So in some cases, when the parent is in prison and the family have a very strong bond with them, going for regular visits, they write, they talk on the phone a lot, there is still very much a bond and a connection - when that kind of support is there that transition when the parent is released can be easier for children. However ... In some cases, we have families who have been through extreme levels of violence. In cases where the children have witnessed or been victims of that extreme violence and in those cases obviously it's a safety issue, it's a care and protection issue that the parent should not be involved with those children. That the children are quite literally kept safe from that parent and those extreme violence cases. That's when the children and the family don't want the parent to be involved but it can be something as say for example, for a child as young as 7 may have seen their parent coming in and out of prison their entire life, what they hear from other family members

are saying and what they themselves see. They start to see their parent as a bit of a destructive force, that every time they come back, somebody gets hurt, that kind of thing. Basically, a wall goes up as a self-defence mechanism, it's maybe a bit easier that the parent is not involved - that kind of feeling. Those are possibly the most likely cases (CP2)

I think all children want to meet with their parent after prison. I think children are really forgiving for whatever, their love is unconditional, irrespective of what goes on in the adult world. From my perspective on what I see with our families, children always want to have some form of contact with their parent during and after the incarceration, even if there is no relationship left between the mother and father. [Are there particular circumstances where children do not want to meet or have a relationship with their parent upon re-entry?] Yup, these probably, and that call is probably made from the caregiver who has the children. Probably that would be around sexual offences, extreme violence even, to a degree, drug and alcohol abuse where all they've seen is that type of violence. In saying that, even though children experience those, for some they still want to have that contact with their parent, but usually it is the parent that will say, "No, no more. I don't want my child exposed to these types of influences anymore because of the behavioural issues that they have been left to deal with after dad's gone away" (CP1)

## Theme 2: Normalcy

Community practitioners convey that children's hopes and expectations upon parental re-entry are centred on re-establishing the family unit and the desire for quality time as children so know it. As highlighted by one community practitioner, who herself was a child of a prisoner, the void that is present when a parent is absent due to imprisonment is what children hope to be filled upon re-entry through the re-establishment of 'being together as a family'. Young children, in particular, acknowledge Family Time through specific activities. However, for some children normalcy means having 'two broken adults than one' – in turn, children have confessed their love for both parents and the need for them to 'fix' prior and current family issues.

If they haven't been victims of what's happened, they tend to believe that things will go back to the way it was before or be even better than it was before ... there is a heavy focus on activities that they can now do together ... The younger children look forward to the activities they can do together with their parent, activities that they have participated together in prior to the arrest and imprisonment. Quite often it is the normal activities like going to the park or being walked to school or having their parent just being home when the kids just come through the door and that their parent is just there. In their mind, some kind of family unit is being re-established (CP2)

I think they would probably just like mom and dad to be back together again and they would kind of be able to just carry on as a family. From a child's perspective, I think their view of being a family is just being together. Hopefully where perhaps things might be different, but for many, it's just about being together as a family. That would be my understanding. If there's extreme violence I would imagine, I've had some kids say that even though they don't like mom and dad fighting all the time, they still love mom and dad. They would still like mom and dad to be together and maybe work through whatever it is that went on before to make the family better ... For many, it's better to have two broken adults than one, for some reason. Like with dad not being there or mom not being there, I think a lot of children that I've worked with, they would say, "Mom and Dad, they fight all the time and I don't like them fighting. I don't like that Dad drinks all the time. I don't like that Mom yells all the time, but I still love my mom and I still love my dad and we wish that they would just fix it." They don't know how to fix it, children don't. They just say, "I just want them to fix it or find a way to fix it." That's just what I see from the kids that we work with ... It just comes back to family. My understanding and even my own experience, because I was a child of a prisoner, my own experience was there's this huge gap. There's a huge void in a child's life when one parent is missing, for whatever reason. They just want that void filled, and by having that void filled it means that parent being back in for them, that void. It's having the parents back together again and having the family function in whatever context that looks like for them, be it good, bad or otherwise (CP1)

Incidentally, one community practitioner argues that fixating on normalcy could be damaging as children's desire for normalcy may be obstructed by 'adult issues' such as drug addiction, poverty or family dysfunction in which they are often unaware of or hold a simplistic understanding.

They tend to believe that things will go back to the way it was before or be even better than it was before which is not always the case and it's often simply due to a lack of - they have been protected from the kind of whole picture, basically for their own emotional safety and they don't actually understand that there's drug addiction or that

there is some kind of - anger problem happening, there is these adult issues either happening before the imprisonment of the parent or from when the parent is released which aren't burdening on their shoulders yet. They see things very simplistically and sometimes think things will go back to normal ... or what they wish it be normal. It's interesting, issues that face our children on a daily basis what's relevant to them instead of these adult issues like addiction or poverty or dysfunction, a child's issues for them that are very real and are hugely important or a valid concern is like bullying at school, obviously food and housing, things that they face on a daily basis. One of our boys said that when dad gets out of prison, he's gonna fix all of his problems as he was getting bullied at school and he believed that once dad was out of prison that dad could sort out the bullies, so he was looking forward to this resolution that his dad could fix this problem for him which is again, it's an expectation or a hope that something might work out but that is not always the case (CP2)

## **Theme 3: Uncertainty**

This theme encapsulates community practitioners' observations as to what children face during the re-entry phase and that is excitement of a positive reunification experience but also a combination of feelings encompassing fear, worry and anxiety as to their parent's potential return to antisocial behaviour and imprisonment resulting in intense feelings of uncertainty.

For many there's obviously - they're excited and happy that dad or mom is going to come home. Some might see it as a form of celebration because dad's been away a long time. Others might see it as a little bit of anxiety, probably fear and worry about the unknown or that things might fall back into that same pattern again. It would be the worries of what happened when dad went away or mom went away and maybe what led up to that happening. It could be that there was violence, there was arguing, there was whatever, a lot of dysfunction that was going on. It would also worry them that dad might come out just short term and be gone again. If they're recidivist offenders, kids are going, "Oh, please, I hope Dad stays around us tonight. I hope Dad isn't gone". It would be those, for me, would be the worries of maybe falling back into what happened when dad first went to prison. There's always that fear: "has dad changed? Is anything different? How's mom?" I know they worry about their parent and whoever the carer is. They worry about how it's going to affect mom, which I say mom because most of them are dads that have gone to prison. You know, with the dad, how long dad is going to be around for. They exhibit a lot of behaviours and emotions when dad

and mom go to prison, and I think that they exhibit similar to when mom or dad is going to be released, but there's that added excitement and there is always ... I think children always have this ray of hope that things can be different. I think children exhibit that all the time, that there's always hope. There's always happiness, "Yay, Dad is coming home," or "Mom's going to be home, we can be a family again. Things might be different this time." There's always that excitement around that but there's also that fear that comes with, "Will things change? Will Dad still be the same? Is he going to be different? What will it be like for Mom and for the rest of the children and the family?" I think there's all that fear, worry, and anxiety (CP1)

There's very much extremes on some cases - extreme fear and in some cases extreme elation where they believe that things will be good again. I guess they ask a lot of questions. They ask the caregiver what's going to change about whether or not certain things will happen. Especially for the young children it's quite surreal. For example, dad is the disciplinarian but when he went to prison the mum had to be the disciplinarian and that's what the rocky transition involves, redefining roles and finding new boundaries and dealing with new expectations of behaviour and I guess it's almost like starting again ... Other children may be worried about their parent reoffending and go back into prison and that's where they will become agitated and upset. In my experience, I would say that our children as young as 7 years old are quite wise beyond their years, that yes they may not have a fully adjusted notion of how prosocial or antisocial behaviours affect them on a wide lens but they most certainly do recognise those anti-social behaviours and most certainly recognise that they are harmful and they become hurt and upset when they see those behaviours beginning to re-appear. I would say the same that many young children if they feel able to will voice that they don't want their parent to be doing the same things. I've seen it happen several times, where children voiced that and getting very upset because they noticed their parent, for example, stealing from the super market, something that they know is wrong and they see that as beginning some kind of law breaking, anti-social behaviours or that they have a connection and their memory of alcohol and violence and that they believe when dad is home that then drinking won't be allowed in the home, but then drinking begins to happen - things like that and they become upset - these things that they see are so obvious to anti-social behaviour and that's what led to hurtful behaviour are being ignored again ... Such concerns I have noticed amongst children as young as 7 years old. Five and six, kids are still a bit more immediate, they are not really thinking about 3 months from now but I have seen it in 7-year olds ... And there are those in the middle, the ones who've been hurt over and over again, there may be some indifference - so the middle ground is indifference, so to some it may mean nothing as they are aware that their parent will likely go back to prison (CP2)

As a consequence of children's strong reactions to uncertainty, practitioners see a need to manage children's expectations prior to parental re-entry in order to curb high expectations and in order to balance feelings of uncertainty with positive, supportive action.

So there is expectations, I guess it really needs to be carefully balanced with the family - so it needs to be looked at a case by case basis - so that expectations are healthy and can be managed and supported because to create unrealistic expectations and that goes both ways - thinking things are gonna be really good or thinking things are gonna be really bad - it depends on a case by case situation. Being in touch with the family and children, knowing exactly what is going on, and that's the starting point to help them to construct a plan, a pathway about how it's going to work so that everybody can be on the same page as things move forward. I believe it is everybody's responsibility (CP2)

## **Theme 4: Excitement and Disappointment**

Upon parental re-entry, younger children more so experience an immediate sense of normalcy whereby emotional and behavioural problems encountered throughout parental incarceration dissipate. This allows them to be excited and very happy that their expectations upon re-entry were met even if disappointment awaits further down the line. Whereas, for most adolescent children this was typically not the case. Older children tend to be more hesitant upon parental re-entry. They usually remain sceptical of normalcy longer than younger children do.

One community practitioner describes young children's experiences upon parental reentry from prison:

I would say it's the classic honeymoon period right at the beginning where they are very pleased that their parent has come home, their hopes and expectations and aspirations are still intact. I think, the families that I've worked with, those with just younger children, it's like dad was never away, and they fall right back, almost to their normality, you might as well say, it's like we don't have any more issues, "Johnny's behaviour is gone since dad's been home. He's been to prison and his behaviour escalated, got out of control, he's angry and violent at school, didn't want to react ... Since he's come home,

he's fallen back. He's happy, he goes to school, he's compliant, he listens to me now". That's what I hear from the moms with the younger children. [But] for some of our kids, those are little by little dismantled until they let go of that as an expectation and they see it as not happening. It's very much a day-to-day existence for a while. There is a trend that it is usually quite a dilated honeymoon period, followed by a rocky reintegration whatever that looks like (CP1)

Both community practitioners acknowledge the particular behavioural changes in older children upon parental re-entry, emphasising their scepticism of normalcy.

That is quite often the case with our older boys, we do notice them pushing the envelope with their behaviour when dad or mum comes home. I guess just seeing how far they can go, and a lot of it comes, expressed as defiant behaviour but it's always important to remember that anger is like hurts bodyguard - they are merely expressing something that is happening deep down. Sometimes it's a little bit of anger against that parent. Kind of like, not entirely like pay back, like "you know you hurt me, now you see how you like it" sort of thing. For example, dad may face things like "I do what I want, and you can't tell me what to do because who are you, you are no role model, you have just come out of prison, you can't come with this thing that you are my father and wanting the best thing for me, even though you have just come out of prison - I don't have to listen to you now" that kind of mentality (CP2)

They [Older children] recognise the behaviours that lead to offending even if the actual offending always would take place outside of the home or not around the children, the children would recognise antisocial behaviours that lead up to that. They know when things aren't good ... and then the behaviours start escalating from that (CP1)

One community practitioner provides two incidences (of which are a common occurrence) where children conveyed disappointment as their desire for normalcy was not met, and in turn, exhibited a 'downward spiral' of emotional and behavioural problems.

I've had one young man, when his dad went to prison when he was a baby for a long sentence, and got out when the child was 12 - this young man had spoken with his dad a few times and written some letters; absolutely loves his father and was very excited, very much looking forward for when the father was to be released, and firmly believed that when dad came home, everything would be better than

it ever was before. Dad was home for 2 months and reoffended and went back into prison, and this young man was devastated and actually sparked a downward spiral for him (CP2)

The second incident involves the experiences of a girl:

She knew of some of her father's offending because some of it happened in front of her, but in her eyes, her father could do no wrong even though she knew he was breaking the law. She believed that he was doing it for some better reason or because he loved her, that was why he was doing things and the lead up to release from prison she was very, very excited about being able to live with him again. That it would be him walking her to school and making her lunches and going to the park and doing all these normal things and when that never happened, I think she built a big wall emotionally and her behaviour. She began to be naughty at school, she was getting bullied at school and then she became a bully - all these sort of things ... this is where we need to make sure children have access to the support that they need (CP2)

Consequently, another practitioner acknowledges that if the released parent can remain home for at least a year and provide children the sense of normalcy they so desire, that is a good start wherein children begin to be more at ease and the feeling of uncertainty is reduced.

It's the unknown that is the greatest fear for children ... there's always going to be to a degree some form of anxiety or anxiousness around how long is this going to last and it's hard for them to see long term ... I think that if dad can remain home for a year, a good year following his release from prison, and the fact that he's probably engaged in doing activities, whatever that looks like. That's a really good start (CP1)

# Theme 5: Companionship

As both children and their caregivers acknowledge, companionship captures children's need for social support during parental re-entry. Community practitioners acknowledge equally the role of companionship provided in social support; be it with their incarcerated parent, a mentor or through communal events and outings.

One way for children to experience companionship during the re-entry phase is for them to have the opportunity to be involved in their incarcerated parent's reintegration scheme. This allows children along with their incarcerated parent and other family members to establish a plan, exchange expectations and possibly manage feelings of uncertainty. While progress is beginning to take shape with the introduction of a Children and Families Team at Auckland South Corrections Facility – the first of its kind in New Zealand, there is more of such required.

I do encourage a lot of, where possible, and this is something we discuss with the prison ... There should be some form of reintegration that starts in the prison before release so that the families, so that the transition, is smoother for the children because dad comes home, he's been missing. They've got to almost create all these brand new relationships all over again ... The [Auckland South Corrections Facility] is doing that right now. It's the first time ever. They've got a family team in there ... [so] staff that have been specifically employed for their expertise in these particular areas. The first prison to have a family team, and their focus is reintegration. Their focus is to have parenting programmes in there for the dads. A lot of dads come out and they haven't parented their kids for ages. So it starts with a parenting programme, then they have a support group for the men about how they're going to deal with their emotions when they come out, and part of all of that training is that the family will become a part of that process. I know that one stage of it the mom actually goes in. Mom will go in and she will learn about what dad's learning and the children even have the opportunity to be able to go in and see so dad can start practising some of that stuff in there. By the time they do come out, they're all are on the same page. This has been something that's been argued for a long, long while. That for me is actually a really great beginning. We just need more of it, not just in one prison (CP1)

Community practitioners also highlight the significance of companionship through one-on-one role modelling offered by mentoring.

The mentoring program component is about that one on one positive role modelling with the child; empowering them to take safe risks and explore new horizons; explore their own potential; find out new things that interest them and bear witness to a different way of living and sometimes empower them to make choices of where they want to go themselves. We are not about trying to change people to become more like something else, it's just about empowering them to be the

happy-self that they want to be. One really sad example we have one young man, he is Māori, and the mentors are working really hard at the moment to establish a positive Māori role model - the mentor is Pākehā but is working hard to introduce his mentoree to positive Māori role models as the boy see's Māori people as bad and that Māori men are bad because he's never seen a positive male role model, that's just the way he has simplified it to make sense for himself and he has this construct in his mind that dad is in and out of prison all the time, every time dad comes back something bad happens and the same being said for all his uncles, and therefore in his mind he thinks that Māori are bad, which off course that is not true but that is the world he has been exposed to. His mentor took him to a recycle place and they found an old crappy bicycle that wasn't working and they spent a lot of time together to get the bike back up and running, like cleaning off all the rust and putting parts back together and making it all functioning and making it really nice, it was a bit of a project they had together and once it was finished which was weeks of work, they took it home for the boy to have it as his bicycle and then the next week when the mentor went to get him, the mentor asked him where the bike was so they could take it to the park. The boy cried coz his father came the next day and took the bicycle - "I don't know why I guess maybe he sold it I don't know". It's upsetting because he only sees his dad in a negative way, and every time he comes into an interaction with his dad its negative. So the mentor is tasked to help find positive male role models for the boy. In this case, which is quite common for our children is that they see their parent as a destructive force. Our Mentoring programme provide children a companion where, for a variety of reasons, are unable to or struggle with having a close, positive relationship with their [released] parent ... However, our waiting list often tends to be largely male simply because of the constant need to get more male mentors because we match men with boys and women with girls - our girls tend to get matched faster than the boys do which is something I'm trying my very best to stop this but at the moment that is where it stands - with males largely on the waiting list. And they very often need that positive adult role model by their side (CP2)

As a parent, as an adult, we always want more for our children and the best for them, and with mentoring in whatever capacity, be it through any extended family, a family member, be it through a sports club, be it through some activity I think can break that cycle [of intergenerational incarceration]. That's why I think, for many family and a lot of our moms, the only barrier that they have around that is funds and not having the money to get their children to sports clubs or get them into music because everything costs money. Our mentoring programme makes huge differences to our children's lives, and the families and our moms know that ... so I think by parents or the care giver who's looking after the children trying to break that cycle. The moms break that cycle by getting a mentor from [the NGO], by mom going to work, going to study. Getting the children

involved in activities that dad might have ended if he was home, or some would say dad didn't want to go and take them to football training, dad didn't want them to do this, so mom often will become that role model to a degree. For many of our boys a lot of that is wanting a manly ... It's always about getting them on our mentoring programme or "is there someone else in the family who might be able to spend time and take Johnny out for a few hours?" The more he has ... The more positive activities he can have with a positive role model, be it family or otherwise, it's gonna help to change his perception and his thinking and his world view (CP1)

One community practitioner recommends communal events and outings with fellow children facing similar experiences of parental incarceration and re-entry. The purpose of communal events and outings serve several purposes for children: 1) a safe environment to reduce feelings of stigma and isolation, 2) provides the opportunity to establish new friendships, and 3) engage in activities that develop new skills and increase confidence.

We did some fun raising for a kids movie night at Hoyts with their mentor - had the entire cinema booked out for the kids, a whole bunch of people donated lollies and snacks and all kinds of goody bags for the kids. Kids getting together, meeting each other and getting to know one another through fun - everything starts off through engagement, letting them try something new and have fun doing it - a lot of our kids have never been to the movies before. We planning in September, we are having an arts day which will basically be downstairs and we are gonna have a number of stations set-up with different mediums for them, to let them basically run with it to create pieces of art, whatever they want it to be about - its very much from their voice and what they want to say. At the end of the year, we are having just before Christmas, we are having a beach party and we are having inflatable gladiator and beach volleyball and a BBQ and swimming etc... Again for everybody and Santa will be there, handing out presents just about creating little opportunities of fun and laughter and stuff for our kids to take part in. ... I find it when the kids comes together, for example when we did the mural here, all our kids came together and I guess on one level they know that the one thing they all have in common is that they have a parent in prison - they know that but it's something they talk about with each other when they are doing the activities, like sometimes it might come out, they might have different coping mechanisms, like some make a joke out of it, but when they get together they just like normal kids, they just wanna meet people and have fun and meet new people. They just like to be children of promise like all other children, how they like to be

seen I guess and we want to continue to provide this for the children (CP2)

# **Chapter Five: Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to explore children's expectations, experiences and social support during parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand from the perspectives of the children themselves, from the perspective of their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and from the viewpoint of a small number of community practitioners. Specifically, this study aimed to address the following three research questions:

- 1. If they have any, what are the expectations children have before their incarcerated parent is released from prison?
- 2. What are the everyday lived experiences of children after their incarcerated parent has been released from prison?
  - 3. What factors make parental re-entry a positive experience for children?

# **Addressing Research Question 1**

If they have any, what are the expectations children have before their incarcerated parent is released from prison?

In order to determine what expectations children have before their incarcerated parent is released from prison, it is pertinent to first establish whether children desire a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent at all and to identify under what circumstances children may not wish to maintain a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent.

# **Reconnect in Safety**

The findings of this study suggest that children want and are excited at the prospect of a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent *if* they had a positive child-parent relationship pre-prison and/or during incarceration. However, children who had negative experiences of the pre-prison child-parent or parent-caregiver relationship and therefore express (rational) fears that the incarcerated parent will compromise

their or their caregivers' physical safety upon re-entry, do not wish to maintain a postrelease relationship with their incarcerated parent.

Of the seven children interviewed, six children were genuinely looking forward to their parent's return from prison. For these children, parental re-entry meant the opportunity to both psychically and emotionally maintain the positive bond they had established prior to incarceration (in the case of Spuds, Eritrea, Kaia and Jewlz) or developed during imprisonment through contact and visitation (in the case of Ava and Lucas). In terms of physical bonding, the children emphasised the freedom to reunite in familiar environments that signalled positivity in contrast to the controlled environment experienced during prison visits. In terms of emotional bonding, the children emphasised one-on-one bonding in familiar environments, expressing their need for emotional attachment through parental role modelling, their desire to gain parental approval and praise in child-parent interaction to strengthen the mutual emotional attachment. In short, the children expressed a desire to relate to their parents.

According to Deci and Ryan (1985, 2000), the need to feel socially connected, i.e., to care for and be cared for by significant others (relatedness) is one of three fundamental psychological needs all human beings have. The other two psychological needs are autonomy ("feelings of volition, agency and initiative") and competence ("feelings of curiosity, challenge and efficacy") (La Guardia, Ryan, Couchman, & Deci, 2000, p. 368). Ryan and Deci (2017) posit that without the fulfilment of these three basic psychological needs, an individual's psychological functioning suffers. Individuals whose need for relatedness to significant others remains unfulfilled tend to become demotivated and depressed. People whose need for relatedness is satisfied exhibit higher levels of psychological well-being (see Bartholomew, Ntoumanis, Ryan, Bosch, & Thøgersen-Ntoumani, 2011). Research has demonstrated that fulfilling the need for relatedness has a positive effect on individuals' behaviours, emotions and cognitions (see Deci & Ryan, 2000; Vallerand, 1997). During childhood, the three basic psychological needs are first and foremost fulfilled through parental involvement (Grolnick, Benjet, Kurowski, & Apostoleris, 1997). If parents provide their children with approval and praise for completed tasks, they provide a sense of security, making their children feel worthy (Connell & Wellborn, 1990, as cited in Pomerantz, Cheung & Qin, 2012). As a result, children come to view themselves as capable and can be

motivated (either by intrinsic or extrinsic drivers) to contribute to society. For children to feel socially connected with significant others "underpins [their] willingness to explore and actively engage in a range of activities within different environments" (Poulsen, Rodger, & Ziviani, 2006, p. 78). Hence, fulfilling children's need for relatedness through parental involvement may have vital implications for children's development across the lifespan. For example, children's emotional attachment to their imprisoned parent is captured well by child participant Kaia (age 10): "I never had a closer dad [referring to imprisoned father figure], coz my first dad left". Kaia felt deprived of praise and approval for her actions, e.g. for her latest sporting achievements, that her father figure would have given her otherwise.

Staying connected is the most discernible method for parent prisoners and their children to maintain relatedness and manage the strain of separation throughout imprisonment (Hairston, 2003). It also increases the chances of a positive post-release reunion and relationship (La Vigne, Nasser, Brooks, & Castro, 2005; Lösel, Pugh, Markson, Souza, & Lanksey, 2012; Martin, 1997; Visher, 2013). Research on prisoner's children has largely been informed by attachment theories (see Baradon, et al., 2008; Byrne, Goshin, & Josetl, 2010; Cassidy, et al., 2010; Dallaire, Wilson, & Ciccone, 2009; Murray & Murray, 2010; Poehlmann, 2005; Poehlmann, Shlafer, Maes, & Hanneman, 2008; Schlafer & Poehlmann, 2010) and show that parental imprisonment places affected children at higher risk for developing internalising and externalising behaviour problems which in turn, interferes with the child's optimal development (Sroufe, 1988). How the child handles an attachment disruption may depend on multiple family factors, inclusive of the child-parent, child-caregiver and parent-caregiver relationship as well as the quality and regularity of contact during imprisonment (Eddy & Poehlmann, 2010; Johnston, 2003). It can be assumed that the abrupt separation of an actively present parent would instil more grief and disruption in a child's life than being separated from an already absentee parent. Yet, studies have shown that children who had lived with their parent prior to imprisonment compared to those who had not, were more likely to establish contact and maintain it throughout imprisonment (Bloom & Steinhart, 1993, as cited in Block & Potthast, 2017; Hedge, 2016). In addition, Hedge (2016) found that these children held a greater sense of trust and communication in the child-parent relationship and accordingly felt less alienated from their parent. Consistent with the tenets of attachment theory (Bowlby, 1984), "a

key influence on a child's sense of security is availability of the attachment figure. Availability depends on children believing that there are open lines of communication with the attachment figure, that there is physical accessibility, and that the attachment figure will respond sensitively if called upon to help" (Murray & Murray, 2010, p. 295). Children who had developed a positive emotional attachment to their parent prior to imprisonment see contact and visitation as necessary to maintaining that relationship as well as to providing the opportunity to demonstrate their progress to their parent and to satisfy their need for parental approval and praise (Beck & Jones, 2007).

Children who have not lived with their father prior to incarceration, which is a considerable proportion of the children of prisoners' population (Harpham, 2004; National Health Committee, 2010) may yet see contact and visitation as an opportunity to establish a relationship. In this study, child participants Ava and Lucas who at the time of their mother's incarceration were infants had developed maternal bonds with their primary caregiver and other female family members (as highlighted by their older siblings). Yet, through regular contact with their currently imprisoned father (facilitated by their grandmother), both Ava and Lucas do look forward to a postrelease relationship and can be implied an emotional attachment has been established. Young children in particular, are dependent upon their caregiver to facilitate communication (Arditti & Few, 2006; Enos, 2001) and in turn, both the childcaregiver and parent-caregiver relationship is crucial to how often children are able to visit their incarcerated parent. Positive parent-caregiver relationships have been linked to more child-parent contact (Loper, Carlson, Levitt, & Scheffel, 2009; Poehlmann, Shlafer, Maes, & Hanneman, 2008) as well as ensuring more stability in living arrangements for children throughout imprisonment (Poehlmann, Shlafer, Maes, & Hanneman, 2008). Self-reports from children have revealed that feeling more warmly accepted by their caregiver led to fewer displays of disruptive and anxious behaviours (Mackintosh, Myers, & Kennon, 2006). Concurrently, regular communication has been attributed by children to feeling significantly more comfortable in asking their caregiver for support to maintain such a relationship as well as feeling more strongly towards exercising their rights to be in contact with their incarcerated parent (Hedge, 2016). This strongly suggests children's desire to relate to their parents and children who maintain contact exhibit fewer internalising and externalising behaviour

problems and overall improved outcomes (Edin, Nelson, & Paranal, 2004; Hedge, 2016; Stanton, 1980; Trice & Brewster, 2004).

There have, however, been mixed findings in research on children's accounts of prison visits. Poehlmann (2005) and Dallaire, Wilson, and Ciccone (2009) found children (ranging from 30 months to 14 years) displaying insecure attachment problems after having visited their imprisoned parent. In both studies, the authors argue that the unfriendly visitation system and time restrictions which make it difficult to engage in effective communication as well as the resulting separation after a prison visit are likely the cause affecting children's attachment security (Poehlmann, 2005, as cited in Poehlmann, Dallaire, Loper, & Shear, 2010). Both explanations for these findings resonated in child participants Spuds (age 16) and Eritrea's (age 14) experiences of visitations and have been attributed to a more intense desire for the freedom to reunite in familiar environments upon release that signalled positivity in contrast to the controlled environment experienced during prison visits:

We were just thinking ye-ye when she gets out we get to see her, not just once a week for an hour or two ... because we weren't allowed to get close, like we weren't allowed to hug. Because they [Corrections officers] think, we were doing something with the zipper and if something would happen, they would remove her from us and then we weren't allowed to see her for the rest of that thing [visitation] ... I just remember crying all the time when we had to leave coz like no-one wants to leave mum (Eritrea)

[Conversation continued by sibling] Yeah heaps of rules and that was it, just in and out ... we would just say 'we are good' and since there is so many of us [six children and their grandmother], we'd be like one in there and then the other five would be in there. We would swap around [due to restrictions of the number of visitors at each visit]. It would be nice if it was a longer visit or if we could actually do something with her like not just sit there and talk. Wait, the volunteer ladies would come in and the kids could draw and paint and we gave them all to mum ... but they [weren't] around much ... We were just glad to the fact that we get to see her [outside of prison] (Spuds).

The prison visitation system continues to be a challenging setting for children and in their maintenance of child-parent relationships. Initiatives in New Zealand such as the Pillars Family Activity/Pathway Centres at Christchurch Men's and Invercargill Prison provide a child-friendly visitation space (with toys and art activities), inclusive of a yard for outdoor play, and volunteers present to support child-parent interactions (Pillars Incorporated, 2016a). Evaluations have shown that children loved utilizing the space, prisoners enjoyed the opportunity to actively engage with their child(ren) through play, caregivers acknowledged improvement in child behaviour because of the more positive environment, and prison staff felt the focus on prisoners as parents was beneficial to the prison culture (Pillars Incorporated, 2016b). JustSpeak (2014) recommends such a child-focused visitation centre be made available at all prisons in New Zealand. Other prisons have shown interest but due funding limitations have not been able to support such an initiative (Pillars Incorporated, 2016b). In turn, many children miss out on such opportunities.

Despite the many challenges and substantial risks children are subjected to during parental incarceration, a significant proportion of children in studies internationally (Boswell, 2002; Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Lösel, Pugh, Markson, Souza, & Lanksey, 2012; Muhammad, 2011; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Posley, 2011; Saunders, 2016; Siegel, 2011; Yocum & Nath, 2011) and in New Zealand (Gordon, 2009, 2011; Gordon & McGibbon, 2011; Mlinac, 2016; Roguski & Chauvel, 2009; Taylor, 2016; Wesley Community Action, 2009) do want to maintain contact with their parent both throughout imprisonment and upon release. Many caregivers will, in turn, provide assistance to support positive child-parent interactions (Roy & Dyson, 2005) as it may equally benefit the family and incarcerated parent upon release (La Vigne, Naser, Brooks, & Castro, 2005; Tuerk & Loper, 2006; Yocum & Nath, 2011).

These theoretical backings as well as children's interview responses resonated in the children's non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) testimonies. The caregivers recognised that their children viewed their incarcerated parent as a significant paternal or maternal figure of whom they missed out on throughout imprisonment:

She would call him dad and that's what I think she liked more from him like giving her that feeling of having that close relationship and that bond because she wanted it or she missed it, because she never had it really you know he's been basically the only father figure type, male role model in that sense so yeah (Kaia's Mother).

Community practitioners highlight that each family and the circumstances that surround them is different. They stress that these circumstances must be considered when determining what support actions are appropriate. However, community practitioners corroborate the above findings that generally children who have a positive "strong bond [...] and a connection" with their incarcerated parent pre-prison and during incarceration are more likely to desire the continuation of that relationship upon release.

In this study, the majority of children and their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) acknowledged wanting a child-parent relationship after release. Numbers may be inflated by research sampling biases because primary caregivers who care about their children's well-being so much that they seek help from support organisations may be more likely to have a positive relationship with the incarcerated parent and may be more likely to participate in research that seeks to support the interest of children who have experienced parental incarceration. The children in this study all exhibited a strong emotional attachment to their non-imprisoned (or other primary caregiver) and the children who maintained or developed an emotional attachment to their incarcerated parent had regular contact and visitations.

Law-breaking by the incarcerated parent and incarceration were not reported by the children as a cause for emotional detachment from their incarcerated parent unless the children feared for their physical safety. Hence, incarceration represents for most children a disruption of the child-parent relationship but not a disruption of their emotional attachment to the incarcerated parent. As many parent prisoners have also acknowledged their desire for a child-parent relationship upon release from prison (Arditti & Few, 2006; Arditti, Smock, & Parkman, 2005; Meek, 2007), and the benefits of reunification may include lower recidivism rates and improved outcomes such as a greater degree of stability within the family (Bahr, Armstrong, Gibbs, Harris, & Fisher, 2005; Gadsden & Rethemeyer, 2003; Klein, Bartholomew, & Hibbert, 2002; Petersilia, 2003), these findings illustrate the importance of maintaining or even strengthening children's relationship with their incarcerated, and eventually, reentering parent.

On the other hand, this study found that children who fear that their or their primary caregiver's physical safety may be threatened by the incarcerated parent do not wish to establish a post-release relationship:

Because he tried to hurt my mum and that's all ... I am very angry and sad at the same time. Because it wouldn't be safe for mum and [his two younger sisters]. [How about for you? Do you feel safe?] with my poppa [current father figure] yes but not with my dad" (Richard, age 10).

Researchers in multiple studies (Cunningham & Baker, 2003; Eddy & Reid, 2003; Hagan & Dinovitzer, 1999; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Wakefield, 2007) and both community practitioners in this study have suggested that child-parent separation due to imprisonment may be of benefit to the child, particularly when parental anti-social behaviour such as harsh, coercive or neglectful parenting, child and/or spousal abuse, or substance misuse was prevalent within the home. Exposure to such behaviours places affected children at greater risk for poor psychological health (Smith & Farrington, 2004; Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant, Lizotte, Krohn, & Smith, 2003). A New Zealand study on children's perceptions of violence found that being a witness to physical violence (in particular when this is towards a loved adult family member) was more detrimental to children's physical and emotional wellbeing than being a victim of violence (Carroll-Lind, Chapman, & Raskauskas, 2011). The effect of children witnessing domestic violence has been shown to lead to adverse adult outcomes inclusive of their own anti-social and criminal behaviour (Buehler, et al., 1997; Evans, Davies, & DeLillo, 2008; Wildeman, 2010), more so, than children who had not witnessed their parents engage in domestic violence (Buehler, et al., 1997; Murrell, Christoff, & Henning, 2007). Thus, the removal of an anti-social or violent parent from the home through imprisonment may reduce children's risk for poor psychological health and wellbeing (Robertson, 2007, as cited in Akesson, et al., 2012).

However, the impending release of such a parent and children's perceptions of the potential violence that may ensue has shown to elicit intense emotions of dread, fear and anxiety as well as prompting immediate behavioural and physical health problems in affected children (Wakefield, 2007). In this study, this was clearly evident in Richard's case, as described by his mother:

From the day we decided to tell him that yeah that night basically it started. It's quite a pronounced change in behaviour, more unsettled although at the time when we were talking to him about it he seemed and reacted good but that night and during May [Month in where Parole Hearing was to commence] um he goes back to waking up multiple times at night, screaming out for me multiple times at night and he requires to have a light on at night (Richard's Mother).

Also, it was observed by Richard's father figure, that behavioural problems in Richard seem to intensify as he gets older and becomes more aware and thoughtful as to what a potential release of his father from prison may mean for him and the family. In particular, Richard takes very seriously his responsibility in protecting his mother and younger siblings from harm and worries about his ability to do so. The outcome of such intense feelings of fear and safety leads Richard to desire for his father to no longer be in his life, whether that is through his death (as illustrated in a presentation for school) or that upon the father's re-entry, he remains as far away as possible. Richard has developed a paternal bond with his currently present father figure, feeling a sense of security and new found normalcy. These findings are important in that they represent an often excluded group of children in research where emphasis is placed on the benefits to maintaining child-parent contact both during imprisonment and after release (Wakefield, 2007). To date, little research exists on these children's experiences during the incarceration of a violent parent or leading up to parental reentry and the consequences of the individual's release from prison. The findings of this study show that parental re-entry from prison instils many different emotions, feelings and desires in children and these differences require further research to ensure child policy specifically addresses the variety of needs of prisoner's children.

# **Re-entry Related Hopes and Expectations**

The four children who desired a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent and could recall the re-entry event reported that they had certain hopes and expectations of what life would be like upon parental re-entry. Their hopes and expectations coincide with their desire for relatedness and encapsulate the need to attain some sense of normalcy whereby the function of the returning parent would be

to re-establish the family unit by reinstating regular 'family time', and by (re)assuming their parental role to establish a home environment that ensures their child(ren)'s care and wellbeing. Consistent with international studies (Boswell, 2002; Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Lösel, Pugh, Markson, Souza, & Lanksey, 2012; Siegel, 2011; Wakefield, 2007; Yocum & Nath, 2011), younger children in this study linked the idea of 'family time' with specific activities that they considered as memorable childparent moments that occurred prior to imprisonment: "Go to the beach and go over to the pools coz we always used to walk to the pools and the park. I really wanted to go to the park with him again" (Jewlz, age 7). Children's expectations to undertake these same activities after re-entry expresses their desire to regain such happy times. Older children in this study more so emphasise simply the need to be together as a family: "We were not really thinking about 'what exactly' would happen when she got out. But you know being together is important like [I missed] sleeping with her in bed coz mum cuddles at night" (Eritrea, age 14). Because children's representational capacities, i.e. cognitive and language skills, improve with age, older children may better understand their living situation and integrate their experiences about parental involvement differently than younger children or are able to express ideas about postrelease relationships more abstractly than younger children are.

Furthermore, the same four children in this study were highly attuned to the needs of the incarcerated parent to succeed post-release as well as their caregiver's needs for emotional and practical support from the re-entering parent. These children acknowledge that their re-entering parent would need to find employment, partake in educational courses to ensure more prospective employment opportunities, obtain a car and a home and equally contribute to the maintenance and care of the household in order to reduce strains on the non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver). Initiatives in prison and upon re-entry that support a healthy co-parenting relationship between parent and caregiver would in this case provide children the stability and security they need while also relieving them from some of the caregiving roles (e.g., babysitting younger siblings, cooking, and cleaning) they often take on to support the family (Nichols & Schwartz, 2004, as cited in Yocum & Nath, 2011). Similar findings are presented in international studies (see Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Yocum & Nath, 2011) revealing that children (often unbeknown to their parent/caregiver) were very much aware and empathic to "what was happening,

what was needed, and what caregiver and parent concerns were" (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008, p. 1124). This study extends our knowledge by indicating that children as young as seven years old exhibit an awareness of successful prisoner re-entry needs.

Testimonies from two caregivers and both community practitioners reflect a correct understanding of children's hopes and expectations that parental re-entry be centred on re-establishing the family unit and the desire for quality time as children know it. Many prisoners and their supporting families are, however, not prepared for re-entry (Woodward, 2003). There are particular issues which led (or were contributing factors) to criminal behaviour that are often not resolved or remain untreated during imprisonment while the experience of imprisonment itself introduces new challenges and may, therefore, impact the lives of the released prisoner and the family they return to (Ogilvie, 2001, as cited in Woodward, 2003). One community practitioner highlights that some children who want to re-establish the family unit are also mindful that this may require mending strained or broken relationships and dealing with unresolved issues:

I think a lot of children that I've worked with, they would say, 'Mom and Dad, they fight all the time and I don't like them fighting. I don't like that Dad drinks all the time. I don't like that Mom yells all the time, but I still love my mom and I still love my dad and we wish that they would just fix it'. They don't know how to fix it, children don't. They just say, 'I just want them to fix it or find a way to fix it' (CP1).

Hence, a significant finding of the present study is that children of prisoners are able to understand and articulate potential inter-parental conflicts that may arise upon reentry, including issues like substance abuse and anti-social behaviour.

However, one community practitioner draws attention to how some children have been:

... protected from the kind of whole picture, basically for their own emotional safety and they don't actually understand that there's drug addiction or that there is some kind of - anger problem happening, there is these adult issues either happening before the imprisonment of the parent or from when the parent is released which aren't burdening on their shoulders yet" (CP2).

The 'conspiracy of silence' as termed by Kampfner (1995, as cited in Mills & Codd, 2007) reflects this experience where caregivers, in order to protect children, avoid or refuse to inform them of the whereabouts of their absent parent or, when told, are given very limited information as to why their parent is in prison. The consequence is that children are placed in an uncertain and anxious state increasing stress, family dysfunction and affecting their ability to cope (Boss, 2002; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2003). Likewise, providing children with little knowledge or understanding as to what challenges and 'adult issues' may arise upon re-entry may likely usher children to develop unrealistic and highly optimistic expectations of a positive re-entry experience.

Siegel (2011, as cited in Johnson & Easterling, 2015) argued that differences in reentry related expectations on the part of children, their imprisoned parent and caregiver could adversely affect children emotionally upon release, especially when children are 'blind-sided' by the emergence of 'adult issues' which they may have been unaware of or even believed were resolved during incarceration due to a lack of open communication. Although some caregivers may hold contrary beliefs, the present study supports Johnson & Easterling's (2015) view that a positive re-entry experience for children is best facilitated through open communication that addresses re-entry related expectations and potential challenges that the family as a whole may face after release. An example of open communication between child and caregiver has been illustrated in this study by Family One which allowed for the child participant to more congruently manage her expectations of parental re-entry:

We talked [child and caregiver] about where he was gonna live and stuff coz [I wanted my poppa to live with me but] my parents didn't want him to live with us so he ended up moving, going to my uncle's place because my nana and my koro don't get along ... [Instead, I hoped that my koro could] come over to my nana's house for Christmas that's where our whole family goes on Christmas (Jewlz, age 7).

Two caregivers expressed concerns that children's hopes and expectations of a positive re-entry experience may be short-lived due to the caregivers having personally experienced parental imprisonment on a multitude of occasions throughout their own childhood. These two caregiver's are well aware of the challenges and likely

occurrence of parental reoffending, re-arrests and reconviction. Concurrently, both caregiver's acknowledge having observed their children conveying similar concerns such as fearing the potential re-emergence of criminal and antisocial behaviour upon re-entry and that their children's hopefulness for a positive re-entry experience is partially dependent upon children "block[ing] out the bad and pay[ing] attention to the good sort of thing" (Jewlz's Mother). Children in this study, however, have not voiced such concerns prior to the release of the parent from prison. One explanation may be that the interviewed children did not reveal such fears due to being more uncomfortable in the beginning of the interview when related questions were asked. Another explanation for this incongruence may be that the two caregivers were projecting their own personal concerns onto their children. Projection is a psychological process that serves to protect the individual who does the projecting from intense anxiety by attributing their unwanted thoughts, feelings, and impulses onto someone else (Baumeister & Kathleen, 2007, pp. 707-708). Further research may be necessary to explore how such projections of caregivers might impact on children's expectations of parental re-entry.

# **Addressing Research Question 2**

What are the everyday lived experiences of children after their incarcerated parent has been released from prison?

# Feelings of Uncertainty upon Parental Re-entry from Prison

Of the seven children interviewed in this study, six children experienced parental reentry from prison. Two children were too young (being aged 2 and 3) at the time to recall their mother's release from prison and therefore could not contribute to answering Research Question 2. Of the remaining four children, three children described being faced with strong feelings of uncertainty as to whether their recently released parent will remain in the family home and normalcy is maintained or will leave the family home due to either parents' relationship breakdown or return to prison.

Children's intense feelings of uncertainty as expressed in this study have been identified in previous research, however, were acknowledged prior to the parents release from prison and most notably expressed amongst older children who had lived

with their parent pre-imprisonment or had already experienced previous terms of parental imprisonment and re-entry (Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Yocum & Nath, 2011). These children emphasised their scepticism over their incarcerated parent's promises to them citing prior 'let-downs' and current anxieties as to how the newly released prisoner would treat them and their caregiver (Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Yocum & Nath, 2011). In this present study, children acknowledged their feelings of uncertainty to have developed shortly after the release of their parent from prison because of incidences that challenged their hopeful expectations of a positive re-entry experience. For example, Jewlz's mother describes how the released parent attempted to explain to Jewlz why he was imprisoned, however, his explanation conflicted with Jewlz's past experiences of the parent:

He thinks because of the drug charges and because of taking drugs, he thinks what's he's done isn't wrong ... He tried to talk to her when he got out about it and it involved sort of the police being in the wrong so I didn't want him to start telling her his stories ... When she was little and if he was on drugs she wouldn't go near him. She had this thing about it like she knew it wasn't something good (Jewlz's Mother).

This potentially explains why Jewlz feels uncertainty at present:

If you asked me why he was in jail, I don't know ... I think coz one reason is because um he's actually, he doesn't actually know he did things wrong. [Do you think he did things wrong?] I don't know coz he didn't know he did things wrong ... I just [was] worried that he wouldn't come and [then he came] and I [asked if he'll stay] and poppa said YEAH but um I don't know" (Jewlz, age 7).

Another reason for children's feelings of uncertainty upon parental re-entry is that they witness early patterns of the parent's high-risk behaviour which had led them to be imprisoned: "We were worried that mum might go back to drugs and something might happen like she'd have to go to prison again coz, right in the beginning she was all hanging out again with her friends" (Spuds, age 16). This resonated in one community practitioners' testimony who stresses that children as young as seven years old exhibit strong reactions of fear, worry and uncertainty because they witness the beginning

patterns of their parents' anti-social/criminal behaviour and recognise the potential harmful impact this may have on a successful parental re-entry:

[...] children may be worried about their parent reoffending and go back into prison and that's where they will become agitated and upset. In my experience, I would say, that our children as young as 7 years old are quite wise beyond their years, that yes they may not have a fully adjusted notion of how prosocial or anti-social behaviours affect them on a wide lens but they most certainly do recognise those anti-social behaviours and most certainly recognise that they are harmful and they become hurt and upset when they see those behaviours beginning to re-appear ... [and] are being ignored again (CP2).

Hence, children's feelings of uncertainty result from observing parental behaviour that have previously led to parental incarceration. Differing cognitive skills of different age groups may allow older children to anticipate and express this possibility already prior to parental re-entry, whereas younger children have to observe parental behaviour directly to make the same connection. The findings of this study extends our knowledge by indicating that children as young as seven years old exhibit an awareness that re-incarceration might be a possibility and is likely the outcome of the parent's repeat behavioural patterns.

Feelings of uncertainty stem from a lack of information or confidence in "whether, where, when, how or why an event has occurred or will occur" (Knight, 1921, as cited in Bar-Anan, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2009, p. 123). The consequences of uncertainty, in particular when events are of unknown or more likely of negative valence, include experiencing anxiety, worry, helplessness and problems in adjusting to new situations (Buhr & Dugas, 2002; Gao & Gudykunst, 1990; Gordon, 2003; van den Bos, 2001, as cited in Wilson, Centerbar, Kermer, & Gilbert, 2005). Uncertainty constitutes a powerful stressor that often has a significant impact on a child's well-being (DeRanieri, Clements, Clark, Kuhn, & Manno, 2004). It can exacerbate existing and/or elicit new psychological problems and impact on a child's ability to restore their sense of safety, predictability, and self-efficacy. In order to manage feelings of uncertainty, individuals generally will seek information (often from their social support network) to be able to predict and consequently control their surroundings (Berlyne, 1960; Imada & Nageishi, 1982; Inglis, 2000, as cited in Bar-Anan, Wilson,

& Gilbert, 2009). Hence, clarifying and managing children's expectations prior to parental re-entry may provide an opportunity to reduce children's feelings of uncertainty and mitigate the consequences of such strong emotions.

#### **Disappointment Dominates**

Of the four children who had experienced parental re-entry and could recall the event, only one child participant from Family One expressed excitement and joy that her expectations of re-entry were met. The three remaining children (two children from Family Four and one child from Family Three) conveyed disappointment as their reentry related hopes and expectations of re-establishing the family unit were not completely met.

Disappointment is the psychological reaction caused by a person or an outcome when one's hopes or expectations are not fulfilled (Bell, 1985; van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2002; Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988). The greater the discrepancy between expectation and reality, the greater the disappointment and without effective coping strategies or supportive networks an individual's psychological and physical well-being can be jeopardised, resulting in depression, anger, apathy, denial, fear and eventual rage (Ashworth, 2016). Disappointment, like uncertainty, is viewed as an aversive state and can be mitigated by managing expectations through effective communication and focusing on positive solutions (Ashworth, 2016).

For child participants Eritrea (age 14) and Spuds (age 16) from Family Four, their feelings of disappointment arose from the discrepancy between their expectations of parental involvement and the reality of parole conditions the parent had to abide by; particularly revolving around finding employment. This was reaffirmed by the primary caregiver:

The whole system is set-up for people to fail ... You know she was trying to get a job but she couldn't coz with probation she had to report once or twice a week, and when she was out trying to do something, she had to stop doing that to get to go report to probation, attend parenting courses, drug and alcohol and all these other things they wanted her to go to ... it took so much out of

her, put her down over and over again and gave her little to no time to focus on her kids (Their Grandmother).

Consequently, both children developed a bleak view of police and the criminal justice system. This negative view was not only expressed by the children in the interview process but was observed by their caregiver. Despite these outcomes, both child participants had revised their expectations and focused on positive solutions by making the most of their interactions with their mother now: "we invite her to sports games or cultural nights, poly fest, all those sort of things. 'come see us' and do all those things and like 'mum come watch us'" (Eritrea, age 14). A likely explanation for such positive attitudes may be that these children are surrounded by an effective social network that provides them with support and a strong sense of self-reliance which has been found to be a key predictor of resilient functioning amongst children experiencing adversity (Cicchetti, 2010; Cicchetti & Rogosch, 1997).

For child participant Kaia (age 10) from Family Three, her hopes and expectations upon parental re-entry were centred on the released parent partaking in a more prosocial lifestyle. According to her expectations, this changed lifestyle included seeking employment or taking care of the household to alleviate some of the workload her caregiver takes on as a single parent. However, feelings of disappointment emerged when these expectations were not met because the parent demonstrated no motivation to contribute to the home environment. Moreover, the reoccurrence of drinking and aggressive behaviour resulting in domestic violence as witnessed by Kaia caused for the subsequent removal of the parent from the home and by Kaia's volition the dissolution of the child-parent relationship:

When he left, I didn't care that much. When he usually leaves I cry but that time it was actually his fault. Sometimes I think the problems was mums fault but that one was his fault this time and coz he got himself into trouble and it was his fault that he left. ... My mum and [father figure's] relationship would have happened if he didn't go out and be crazy so yeah so it's his fault ... I am really angry ... I don't want him back in our lives now. It's just gonna happen over and over again and he doesn't, he's not gonna be a good father to us or treat us like a good father (Kaia, age 10).

This was reaffirmed by Kaia's primary caregiver:

Not so long after he hit me ... and he hit my dad, so they have seen that too and my mum got upset and the girls got upset and it kinda changed. They kinda put two and two together and just thought "omg if he is just still doing this then mum why are you still letting him back in? He is just a useless whatever" yeah and their attitude from then just went downhill and I kicked him out after that (Kaia's Mother).

Kaia was able to come to terms with the outcome of her parental re-entry experience by practising acceptance and feeling empowered in being able to vocalise her feelings of disappointment and anger:

Well right now [at the time of the interview] no, I don't think he would have been different but if he was in jail and I was 8, I would have thought he was gonna be different. But right now, I don't think coz the patterns are just gonna go on and on and he's never gonna change and coz he's him and yeah ... And if he comes then I don't think it would be my fault if I told him to get out because this is our house and coz mum knows I don't like [the father figure] now and I don't think she would let him back here coz then I would start getting psycho and I would probably tell him to get out. I don't know if mum would say to me shush but it's also my thing coz I'm part of mums life so I get to let out my words too because then I'm just gonna be angry inside and if I don't let it out I'm gonna get like really angry so I gotta say it out (Kaia, age 10).

Practicing acceptance and vocalising emotions is a healthy way of dealing with disappointment (Ashworth, 2016; Durst, 2012).

The children interviewed for the present study coped with disappointment upon parental re-entry regardless of whether they received support services or not. However, this does not suggest that children will cope regardless of support services being available because community practitioners observed that, in general, children who were unreservedly hopeful about their parent's re-entry from prison, were more likely to convey feelings of disappointment when their expectations were not met and exhibited a 'downward spiral' of emotional and behavioural problems. More research may be required in this particular area.

# **Addressing Research Question 3**

What factors make parental re-entry a positive experience for children?

This study found that in times of uncertainty and disappointment, when children dwell on the outcome of their parent's re-entry experience, they seek social support from their personal network of significant others (i.e. family or friends) or from accessible professionals (e.g., community practitioners, teachers and mentors) and through participation in leisure activities that involve social contact with like-minded others (e.g. team sport and community events). These relationships seem to fulfil children's need for relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000) and help to alleviate some of the stress they feel. However, children also describe the challenges in finding such support. This is reiterated by their caregivers and the community practitioners involved in the present study. Both caregivers and community practitioners, as well as some children themselves, have made suggestions for how to better support children during parental re-entry from prison.

Like adults, children are able to adjust to adversity when they are surrounded by a willing and supportive social network (Almund & Myers, 2003, as cited in Lockwood & Raikes, 2016). Pearlin et al. (1981) define social support as "the access to and use of individuals, groups, or organizations in dealing with life's vicissitudes" (p. 340). Social support comes from a variety of sources and fulfils a range of functions – mediating or serving as a buffer against stress and promoting positive outcomes (Thompson & Goodvin, 2016). Wills and Shinar (2000) distinguish instrumental support (e.g. providing practical help and financial aid), emotional support (e.g. confiding about problems and worries), informational support (e.g. provision of advice, guidance, suggestions and information), companionship support (e.g. the presence of others to enforce the feeling of belonging), and validation support (e.g. others serving as role models). These five types of social support are beneficial to and have a protective effect on the child who perceives or receives it (Schwarzer & Knoll, 2007, as cited in Free, 2014). In general, high social support can promote children's self-confidence and self-esteem, health, psychological well-being, and improve their academic performance (see Taylor, 2011; Thompson & Goodvin, 2016). A lack of social support, on the other hand, has the inverse effect and can lead to depression, problem behaviours, and poor social and academic competence (see Chu, Saucier, &

Hafner, 2010; Gariépy, Honkaniemi, & Quesnel-Vallée, 2016; Repetti, Taylor, & Seeman, 2002; Uchino, 2009). In turn, "the child's adjustment to a parent's [release from prison] is significantly related to the presence and quality of protective factors and support systems that were available during the incarceration period and upon release" (Adalist-Estrin, 2003, para. 2).

### **Family Support**

The findings of the present study suggest that the most important form of social support for children during parental incarceration and upon re-entry is the support from family members: "The only people that will be around forever is family so if you needed to talk it out, might as well talk it out with them" (Spuds, age 16). Children from large families acknowledged the advantage of close relatives such as siblings and cousins (of similar age) and grandparents because of their personal awareness of circumstances prior to, during and after parental incarceration. These relatives offered children a sympathetic ear, empathic support, feelings of acceptance, and ensured privacy and confidentiality as well as trust when communicating. Caregivers equally described the unconditional support they and their children received from close relatives, despite the relatives' circumspect attitudes towards the recently released parent. Support from relatives of the same age provided child participants companionship, a sense of belonging through shared social activities. The presence and supportive benefits of positive male role models (e.g. uncles) was also emphasised by a caregiver for children whose father/father figure is imprisoned.

Most importantly for the New Zealand context, Taylor (2016) found extended family support to play a vital role in assisting children's well-being during parental imprisonment in New Zealand and discussed how it reflects Māori worldviews through the holistic model Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 1998). Taha Whanau (social/family health), one of four dimensions of the model, relates to the capacity of belonging, the ability to care and to share. As Taylor (2016) notes, "an individual's well-being is seen to reflect the functioning of the family as a whole, by how they support and interact with each other" (p. 46). Therefore, it is the collective responsibility of all whanau members to ensure each individual is supported when their social health and well-being is impaired by the burden of parental incarceration and the challenges faced upon re-entry, or else the whole whanau is looked at as a

source of blame (Durie, 1998). In the face of adversity, the commitment of familial relationships or familial collectivism is a cultural strength (Eddy & Poehlmann, 2010) that can help children maintain a sense of belonging and identity, and help to decrease the effects of societal shame and stigma typically associated with parental incarceration (Gabel, 1992). These findings support Gordon's (2009, as cited in Taylor, 2016) study where New Zealand children with extended family support, were coping well and faring better than those without such support.

Furthermore, the findings of the present study suggest that important social support also comes from children's non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) through instrumental assistance, emotional support and validation. Three of the interviewed children expressed gratitude for their caregivers sacrifices in order to accommodate their needs as expressed by Spuds (age 16), "Nan had to leave [her] job to look after all of us ... I am grateful coz Nan had to change [her] lifestyle to adjust to us" and feel empowered by their caregivers own strength and resiliency as noted by Kaia (age 10), "when she [mother] speaks to [recently released father figure] she lets her thoughts out and that's what I wanna do coz I don't wanna keep it inside of me so I got my thoughts out for mum". These findings echo previous research from the pan-European 'COPING' study (Jones & Wainaina-Woźna, 2013) which shows that children are coping better with parental incarceration because of the effective care and support provided to them by their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver). Caregivers who were interviewed for the present study recognised themselves as important support figures to their children. However, they also felt the need for formal, additional support for themselves during the re-entry period in order to sufficiently support the re-entering parent as well as their children.

One caregiver acknowledged the necessity for parent/caregivers as well as children to be involved with their incarcerated parents' reintegration scheme in order to allow expectations and feelings of uncertainty to be managed as re-entry instils "[...] the most doubt and anger" (Kaia's Mother). Reintegration strategies that include reunification services offered to children and parent/caregivers when appropriate, may well promote child, family and community well-being (Festen, Waul, Solomon, & Travis, 2002). In New Zealand, most reintegration initiatives by the Department of Corrections are relatively new (State Services Commission, 2014) and favour a collaborative community-centred approach. Key reintegration initiatives that factor in

assistance for prisoners reconnecting with whānau/family include Out of Gate (for short-serving prisoners and those in remand custody), Whare Oranga Ake (targeting Māori prisoners), Guided Release (for long-serving prisoners) and the 'Building Awesome Whanau' programme (offered at the Auckland South Corrections Facility). Some of these initiatives have shown a small reduction in reconviction and reimprisonment rates for those who completed the service (Department of Corrections, 2016). There are, however, a number of issues with such initiatives. Firstly, a substantial number of Māori prisoners are not able to partake in these initiatives due to limited space availability (Johnston, 2016). Secondly, except for the 'Building Awesome Whanau' programme (Serco, 2015), these initiatives do not actively involve children of prisoner's in their parent's reintegration scheme. One community practitioner in this study argues for the need to involve children during release planning and stresses the potential benefits of the 'Building Awesome Whanau' programme. While progress is beginning to take shape with the introduction of a Children and Families Team who administer the 'Building Awesome Whanau' programme, this initiative is only available at a men's prison. Therefore children experiencing maternal incarceration receive no support and schemes involving children which is particularly important for female prisoners because they, more so than male prisoners, desire to be reunited with their children upon re-entry (Travis, 2005). Future research may address the experiences of the few children who have participated in their parent's reintegration scheme and investigate whether involvement in such a programme positively influences the re-entry experience for both children and parents.

Furthermore, the findings of the present study revealed that caregivers also had a vested interest in participating in support groups and parenting programmes that provide supportive connections with other similarly experienced parent/caregivers, allowing for the opportunity to become advocates themselves through community organisations, and consequentially gain a deeper understanding of how to best prepare and support children upon parental re-entry. These findings appeal to the notion of 'kaupapa whanau' – members that share a common activity or event and aim to accomplish a common goal, task or aspiration such as supporting one another through family member incarceration (Durie, 2001). The findings also echo the theory and practice of Popular Education (Freire, 1972), which draws and validates participants

personal knowledge and lived experiences but also embraces the idea that programme facilitators and participants "interact with one another in a way in which both are cospeakers, co-learners, and co-actors" (Castelloe, Watson, & White, 2002, p. 9). Thus, feelings of a lack of control as well as a mistrust of service providers (a common perception amongst many prisoners and their families) (Grieb et al., 2014) may be addressed to impart power and improve participant health and well-being. Popular education is strongly committed to advancing social justice, collective action, and social change, and interventions have shown to enhance empowerment and promote positive health outcomes (see Wiggins, 2012).

Pillars have introduced in 2015 a support group for parent/caregivers residing in Christchurch and more recently (after the completion of data collection for this study) begun facilitating a support group in Auckland (Pillars Incorporated, 2016a). Opening avenues for participant parent/caregivers in such support groups to become advocates themselves could assist community organisations in expanding the number and size of available (and potentially new) programmes and services they have to offer, as keenly presented by one caregiver in this study:

It gets started from one leader ... and then we become leaders [ourselves] and it just keeps expanding so soon enough you got a lot of us that can help each other and more things, like support groups and programmes and activities for our kids can be organised by us (Kaia's Mother).

Similarly, Johnston and Sullivan (2016) have found a significant proportion of their sample of adult children of incarcerated parents to have taken a career path that advocate for and support prisoners' children and their families. These individuals serve as role models for having overcome the adversities of parental imprisonment. In addition, their contribution allows for the evidence-base that informs community practitioners, researchers and policy makers to be drawn from both professional and lived experience (Johnston & Sullivan, 2016).

As the current findings of this study suggest, the core support for children during parental re-entry from prison is family. However, the present study also reveals that there are times where communicating with certain family members can be difficult as children are worried about causing strife or upset because of family tensions towards the released parent. This has been identified in previous research (Meek, 2007) and

confirmed by two caregivers in the present study. As a result, both caregivers and community practitioners have emphasised the benefits and need to provide children a 'responsive ear' through a positive non-related adult role model during parental reentry. Hence, a significant finding of this study is that caregivers are fully aware of children's need to communicate about the incarceration of their parent and are self-aware that they may lack the communication skills that are required in the situation. Lastly, child participant Kaia (age 10) who has not received support from adults outside the family, came to recognise the interviewer (myself) as a source of potential external support: "and if I had any other support from someone I would talk to you [the interviewer]". While such a comment should be viewed with caution (potentially due to social desirability bias), it can be implied that there is an interest in communicating with non-related adults who they feel are supportive.

Mentoring as a type of prevention and intervention strategy has increased dramatically in the past several decades across the globe (Eddy, Cearley, Bergen, & Stern-Carusone, 2013; Zwiebach, Rhodes, & Dun Rappaport, 2010) and is now one of the most commonly advocated programmes to support children of prisoners. Mentoring holds a particularly strong appeal in New Zealand as it operates similarly to the Māori custom of Tuakana/Teina, involving the older/more expert whānau mentor supporting the younger/less expert mentee (Farruggia, et al., 2011). Culturally-based mentoring has been shown to be extremely effective, improving academic performance, selfesteem, and ethnic identification amongst mentees (DuBois & Karcher, 2013; Liang & West, 2006; Yancey, Grant, Kurosky, Kravitz-Wirtz, & Mistry, 2011). Although studies that examine mentoring children of prisoners are limited, research on mentoring, in general, can benefit children (particularly for 'at-risk' or 'high-risk' groups) in several different areas (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Copper, 2002). This includes enhanced academic performance, self-esteem and social skills; improved relations with parents and peers; and reductions in depressive symptoms, substance use, and problem behaviours (Aseltine, Dupre, & Lamlein, 2000; Klaw, Rhodes, & Fitzgerald, 2003; LoScuito, Rajala, Townsend, & Taylor, 1996; Rishel, Sales, & Koeske, 2005). Preliminary research on mentoring with children of prisoners suggests similar positive effects (Jucovy, 2003; Laakso & Nygaard, 2012; Shlafer, Poehlmann, Coffino, & Hanneman, 2009), particularly in reducing problem behaviours and improving children's self-confidence, their sense of trust and performance at school. In turn, a mentor fulfils the role of a supportive and stable adult companion to children who otherwise may lack an appropriate adult role model (GACP, 2011).

Jewlz (age 7) is the only child participant in this study to have a mentor and it can be inferred that a strong and positive relationship has been forged as her mentor is described as her "BFF" – Best friend forever. Jewlz's mother corroborates this and also attests to the beneficial outcomes of mentoring for her daughter:

She has got a mentor who is her best friend now. [NGO mentor] is awesome so she picks her up every fortnight and they do something together. It has really helped Jewlz ... She's more confident now because she was not very confident with people she didn't know and stuff but she [NGO Mentor] is great with Jewlz (Jewlz's Mother).

Regrettably, male children of incarcerated parents, as is the case with Richard (age 10), are often unable to utilise the opportunity offered through mentoring because of regulations surrounding same-gender pairing and the common shortage in male mentors. Gender-matched mentoring is commonplace and theoretically well-supported (see Kanchewa, Rhodes, & Schwartz, 2014), however, finding male mentors for children has been a long standing and considerable challenge for many organisations and typically relates to generalisations and stereotypes made of volunteering (Garringer, 2004). One community practitioner argues this case and desires for changes to be made as same-gender pairing is a significant drawback for many male children of incarcerated parents who are in a particular need for a supportive adult role model in their lives:

[...] our waiting list often tends to be largely male simply because of the constant need to get more male mentors because we match men with boys and women with girls ... which is something I'm trying my very best to stop but at the moment that is where it stands - with males largely on the waiting list. And they very often need that positive adult role model by their side (CP2).

Research suggests that there is no definitive evidence that gender-matched mentoring is more beneficial for children than cross-gender pairing (DuBois & Karcher, 2013). On the other hand, culturally-based mentoring has been shown to be effective (DuBois & Karcher, 2013; Liang & West, 2006; Yancey, Grant, Kurosky, Kravitz-Wirtz, &

Mistry, 2011). According to identity theories, people naturally gravitate towards others with similar ethnic backgrounds and for those whose cultural identity is particularly important to them, ethnic-matching in a mentoring relationship will likely be of more value and benefit to them than gender-matching (Davies, et al., 2009; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1998; Clark, 1999). With a high number of prisoner's children being of Māori descent, these research findings may prove particularly important for community organisations in New Zealand.

Conversely, the effectiveness of mentoring is contingent upon identified best practices whereby mentoring relationships be long-term, strong and reliable (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Copper, 2002). Studies have shown that inconsistent mentoring and premature terminations can cause more harm than good, with reported declines in mentee self-esteem and self-worth; poorer perceptions of academic competency and social skills; and increasing alcohol use (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Karcher, 2005; Rhodes, 2002). This is particularly concerning for prisoners' children as they have already experienced a traumatic separation (Arditti, 2012b; Meyerson & Otteson, 2009). In turn, it is imperative that enough resources are devoted to the recruitment, training and matching of mentors to children of prisoners (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Copper, 2002; Rhodes, 2002). Preferably, mentoring relationships should begin prior to the incarcerated parent's release from prison and remain during the re-entry period for up to one year. As Meyerson and Otteson (2009) explains, "by establishing mentoring partnerships with the family during incarceration, the mentors will better understand the family's needs during the process of reintegration and will have already begun aiding the family in planning for re-entry and connecting to services (Bost, 2007)" (pg. 14). Also, in the case where interparental conflict and/or parental reoffending/re-imprisonment occurs shortly after release, children are likely to benefit from the support made available by their stable adult mentor who can guide them through feelings of uncertainty, disappointment and significant turmoil.

# **Peer Support**

The findings of the present study suggest that the second most important form of social support for children experiencing parental re-entry are positive friendships with other children. Five child participants were highly selective in the choice of friends to confide in about their parents' re-entry. They emphasised seeking friends whom they can rely on and be trusted to keep a secret, as stigmatisation around parental incarceration is very much a concern for them. Hence, the children considered particularly valuable friends who share similar experiences because they can relate and provide a 'reciprocal helping relationship' for one another during difficult times. For example, this is captured well by one child participant:

She's a good person to talk to when you're having something with your parent's coz she's had that before and um we are really good friends ... Like she will help me through stuff and she knows that I can [help] too. For her to tell, to say to my mum, my sister and me about her parents is really brave of her so I would tell her what happened to my mum and [father figure] yeah so I talked to her (Kaia, age 10).

These findings were similarly revealed amongst children experiencing parental divorce or remarriage (Hogen, Halpenny, & Greene, 2002) and military deployment or relocation (Milburn & Lightfoot, 2013). A recent New Zealand-based study, which was published after the data analysis for the present study was completed, also confirmed that friendships amongst children experiencing parental imprisonment constitute important social support (Taylor, 2016). Furrer and Skinner (2003) found children's 'sense of relatedness' to peers at school, increased academic motivation and emotional and behavioural engagement.

However, prisoners' children are highly disadvantaged in finding supportive friendships, as parental imprisonment is both stigmatising and shameful (Boswell, 2002; Dodds, 2015; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2011). As a consequence, many children remain silent and secretive in particular to avoid being bullied by their peers at school or within their neighbourhood (Gordon, 2009). The four children from Family Four have expressed their restraint in informing their peers of their mother's incarceration and release. Furthermore, one caregiver describes her daughter having established a supportive friendship but feared repercussions from her friends' mother potentially

stigmatising her because of her grandfathers' incarceration. Fearing stigma and isolation are significant problems that can further exacerbate children's anxiety and capacity to cope (Berman & Steinhoff, 2012; Bocknek, Sanderson, & Britner, 2009; Johnson & Easterling, 2015; Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008).

Two caregivers acknowledge that while their children have a multitude of friends, there remains the difficulty of their children to meaningfully communicate their feelings with peers who lack an intrinsic or experiential understanding of what it is to be the child of a prisoner. For example;

Richard needs a friend who he can relate to and truly understand what he is feeling and going through. He has friends but Richard doesn't tell them what he is feeling. They just know the father is in prison" and this can be observed in Richard's testimony: "uh I just said [to my friends] that my real dad is in prison and that my poppa [father figure] well just looks after us yeah but nothing else. I think they understand it or something like that (Richard's Father Figure).

In turn, caregivers who are aware of their children's struggle in finding supportive friendships recommend peer supports, communal outings and cultural identity excursions with fellow children of prisoners. One child participant agrees, articulating her interest in being able to attend events, which provide opportunities for children to become acquainted with one another:

People that have situations between their mum and dad I could talk to but I've gotta know them first yeah. [Where do you think you would feel comfortable in meeting such people?] Uh, Camp [organised by NGO] and stuff like that (Kaia, age 10).

In congruence, one community practitioner relays a range of communal events (e.g. movie night, arts day) and outings (e.g. beach party) that have been made available or are scheduled to take place for children and their families to get to know one other.

Such forms of support serve several purposes, inclusive of providing children a safe environment in which they can freely and without judgement acquire information and hold discussions about their shared lived experiences while also engaging in fun activities, establishing new friendships and developing new skills and confidence

(Hairston, 2007; Johnston, 2005, 2012). In the present study, three children have previously attended communal outings such as a camping excursion specific to children who have a parent imprisoned and were highly satisfied with the experience and to have made new friends. The benefits of relationships based on shared lived experiences provides "confirmation, affirmation, and acceptance to the child" (Kahn, 1994, p. 49), which upholds a 'sense of not being alone' and reduces feelings of stigma and isolation. During the re-entry period, peer support can be particularly important for children as their needs can often be overlooked when their family struggle to redefine themselves (Fishman, 1983). Providing increased opportunities for these children to build and maintain supportive friendship networks through peer supports and communal outings can counterbalance the challenges to parent or adult support (Demaray & Malecki, 2002).

#### **Teacher Support**

The present study revealed mixed findings as to teacher support for children affected by parental re-entry. Consistent with research by Ramsden (1998), younger children in this study felt supported by their teacher's efforts to communicate with them: "My teacher does [know]. Just before the parole hearing, he talked to me about it yeah [it was] good [do you like talking to your teacher?] Yup" (Richard, age 10). Whereas, older children were averse to their teachers' involvement as they felt teachers lacked proper understanding as to what it means to be a child of a prisoner and consequently incapable of providing appropriate support:

Teachers try talking to you and it's like "I don't care what's you got to say" coz they don't even care ... And they tell you "oh you don't understand what your situation is". OH, WE UNDERSTAND and I'm like "oh man, I know better than you do. You probably didn't grow up with yeah [a parent in prison]" (Spuds, age 16).

Dallaire, Ciccone and Wilson (2010) found that elementary school teachers compared to high school teachers were more aware of the fact that they had students experiencing parental imprisonment. An explanation proposed is that younger children are more vulnerable (see Myers, Smarsh, Amlund-Hagen, & Kennon, 1999) and, therefore, more prone to display disruptive and anxious behaviours in the classroom than older

children who may employ more advanced defence mechanisms or coping strategies to remain unnoticed (Dallaire, Ciccone, & Wilson, 2010). Relatedly, in this study, child participant Eritrea (age 14) relayed not wanting any extra support from teachers due to their inefficiency and alternatively rooted her support in a strong sense of self-reliance: "When we want something done, we'll do it ourselves. We don't need you [teachers] to uh help us, or try help us coz you're not actually helping".

Research has shown that a significant number of teachers and school administrators are unaware of the number of children who experience parental incarceration, the identity of these children in their classes, and which specific support needs these children have (Dallaire, Ciccone & Wilson, 2010; Morgan, Leeson, Dillon, Wirgman, & Needham, 2013; Ramsden; 1998). Many children experiencing parental incarceration struggle academically and are more likely than their peers to fail classes, receive a suspension, skip school and ultimately drop out (Gadsden & Jacobs, 2007; Trice & Brewster, 2004). Moreover, Dallaire, Ciccone, and Wilson (2010) and Turney and Haskins (2014) found evidence suggesting that despite prisoners' children's level of academic competency, teachers' expectations of them are lower than that to their peers. Facing stigmatisation and feeling isolated because of parental incarceration in the school context could negatively affect children's interactions with teachers and peers, as well as their academic performance and feelings of acceptance and belonging in an academic environment. This highlights the need for specified training that assists teachers and school administrators understanding of parental imprisonment and its impact on children's schooling experience.

With 23,000 New Zealand children experiencing parental incarceration every year (Gordon, 2009, 2011), the school setting provides a unique opportunity for teachers and school administrators to identify and support children affected by parental incarceration and re-entry. Caregivers interviewed for this study expressed a desire for more involvement from the Ministry of Education and community organisations in easing the stigma of parental incarceration/re-entry within the school environment. They emphasised that, in order to effectively support children of prisoners, it is important that schools actively raise awareness of this social group among students as well as among teachers and school administrators:

[...] it would be really nice to have an advocate from [NGO] to come and present at the school, and introduce it at the whole school assembly like "some kids have a parent in prison and this is what it is like" so everyone can hear it. That is my wish" (Richard's Mother).

Two caregivers highlighted that support for teachers requires experts from related community organisations and stressed that it is also the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to regularly enforce such training throughout New Zealand schools. Awareness needs to be raised that affected children need school-based support at the time of arrest, trial, during imprisonment and at the time of release. In particular, Morgan et al. (2013) stress that schools should focus their support (e.g., counselling) at the pre-incarceration and release stage of parental imprisonment because of the enhanced stress and uncertainty children endure "as these times [constitute] a crucial change in family dynamics" (Morgan, Leeson, & Dillon, 2013, p. 207). In the New Zealand context, more research may be required to determine how well-supported teachers are in addressing parental incarceration/release and whether the way this issue is addressed in schools has a supportive impact on the affected children.

#### **Support through Team Sports**

Findings from this study established that the strongest theme relating to children's coping mechanism against stress and feelings of uncertainty and disappointment during parental re-entry was getting involved in social leisure activities like team sports. To varying degrees, all children in this study were motivated to play as a way of keeping their mind off emotional stressors:

Oh playing sport so things to take away, so instead of thinking about her, we think about things what we can do to forget about all that so instead of sitting in our rooms crying about it all or sulk about it, instead of doing that we just let it out in our sports so like touch, rugby, netball, basketball, try new sports (Spuds, age 16).

Taylor (2016) also found sport participation amongst New Zealand children during parental imprisonment to be a particularly important source of coping as well as providing the opportunity to establish new friendships.

Empirical studies show that engaging in sports is positively related to a range of physical, social and psychological outcomes (Eime, Young, Harvey, Charity, & Payne, 2013). Sports reduces the risk of "several chronic diseases [such as] cardiovascular disease, diabetes, cancer, hypertension, obesity, depression" (Warburton, Nicol, & Bredin, 2006, p. 801) and anxiety (Findlay & Coplan, 2008). Sport participation promotes relaxation and increases positive mood (Caltabiano, 1995, as cited in Taylor, 2016) and is strongly associated with improved health for individuals experiencing a lot of stress (Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993, as cited in Taylor, 2016). For children, sporting activities improve cognitive function, boosting their concentration, memory and overall academic achievement (Trudeau & Shephard, 2008). Engaging in team sports can support the development of new friendships, both with teammates and trainers, fostering social inclusion (Allender, Cowburn, & Foster, 2006; Feinstein, Bynner, & Duckworth, 2006). Furthermore, this can lead to more positive thinking, self-esteem, build on teamwork and leadership, and provide children with learning opportunities to obtain new coping strategies (Eime, Young, Harvey, Charity, & Payne, 2013). Sport participation has shown to serve as a deterrent to juvenile delinquency (Gardner, Roth, & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Taylor, Shoemaker, Welch, & Endsley, 2010) by diminishing affiliations with delinquent peers (differential association theory; see Sutherland, Cressey, & Luckenbill, 1992). Murcia and colleagues (2008) found that team sports (provided teammates are supportive) improve individuals' three basic psychological needs, i.e. competence, autonomy and relatedness (see Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000). Hence, team sport can improve motivation and be a positive influence on children's self-determination.

The only drawback to participating in team sports is that it can be costly. Two children in this study were well aware of their family's financial struggles in attempting to support their sporting hobbies: "[I want to join the] cricket team. I can't join it yet because I don't have all the gear and we can't find one and we don't have enough money" (Richard, age 10). In the face of this financial barrier, one child participant articulated her willingness to fundraise in order to support her sporting hobbies, illustrating the importance of sport in her life:

I can't, there are like 6 of us like I live with my grandparents, I can't just ask for that much money like if it was for sports or if I needed that for Reps or something, if we couldn't afford it, I would pull out. If it's expensive if I wanted it that badly I would have to fundraise or I would have to go get a job, find something to do to earn money. This year I'm in a cheaper team, they don't go to nationals, they don't go away but that's alright at least it's learning some new skills, getting more involved in sport life, just forgetting about it all (Spuds, age 16).

Furthermore, one caregiver recognised that children's sport participation afforded opportunities for the released parent to be actively involved by providing praise and approval for their children's hobbies:

Supporting the kids with all their sporting stuff. So usually when the kids have sports on or other events at school, she'll try and come but because she is on the dole, she has to attend classes so she can't always make it. She doesn't have a lot of money so she can't give much but its not about that anyway. Spends time with them, the girls play netball and basketball so she was our ref for that season which is really good for the kids it's what gets them together (Their Grandmother).

Providing these children with opportunities to participate in organised team sports will offer feelings of social inclusion and afford them healthy ways to cope with feelings of uncertainty and disappointment during parental re-entry from prison.

# **Chapter Six: Conclusion**

The aim of this study was to explore children's expectations, experiences, and social support during parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand, from the perspectives of the children themselves, their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and from a small number of community practitioners. Using a qualitative phenomenological methodology underpinned by the transformative paradigm, three research questions were addressed:

- 1. If they have any, what are the expectations children have before their incarcerated parent is released from prison?
- 2. What are the everyday lived experiences of children after their incarcerated parent has been released from prison? and
- 3. What factors make parental re-entry a positive experience for children?

The findings of this study reveal that children want and are excited at the prospect of a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent because of a positive child-parent relationship pre-prison and/or during incarceration. Children with positive child-parent relationships expressed specific hopes and expectations upon parental reentry. These hopes and expectations reflect their basic psychological need for relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Children desired that the return of the parent would re-establish the family unit by reinstating regular 'family time' and by (re)assuming their parental role to establish a home environment that ensures their care and wellbeing. However, children who had negative experiences of the pre-prison child-parent or parent-caregiver relationship and therefore expressed (rational) fears that the incarcerated parent will compromise their or their caregivers' physical safety upon reentry, had no desire to establish a post-release relationship with their incarcerated parent. Further research may be required to establish whether these two distinct groups of children identify differentiated social support needs.

Upon parental re-entry, findings showed that children who were looking forward to re-establishing a relationship with their incarcerated parent were overwhelmed by feelings of uncertainty as to whether the parent will remain in the family home and normalcy is maintained or the parent will leave the family home due to either their

parents' relationship breakdown or a return to prison. Such emotions were triggered by children observing the beginning patterns of their parents' anti-social/criminal behaviour that had previously led to parental incarceration and children recognising the potential harmful impact this may have on a successful parental re-entry.

The outcome of parental re-entry was, dominated by feelings of disappointment as children's hopeful expectations of re-establishing the family unit were not completely met. These children relayed their disappointment to factors such as parole conditions and difficulty finding employment, which limited child-parent social interactions; the parent lacking motivation to contribute to the home environment; and the reoccurrence of antisocial/abusive behaviour towards family members.

Despite a discrepancy between children's hopes/expectations and their actual experiences of parental re-entry, children in this study were able to cope with their disappointment by surrounding themselves with an effective social network and adopting emotion-focused coping strategies. These findings may be inflated by research sampling biases as community practitioners in this study argue that in general, children struggle with feelings of disappointment and resultantly exhibit a 'downward spiral' of emotional and behavioural problems.

Parental re-entry from prison instils many different emotions, feelings and desires in children. Assisting children to feel acknowledged, informed, safe and supported from the moment of parental arrest, and providing them with positive and open lines of communication with their parent throughout imprisonment, has the potential to ensure a positive re-entry experience for children. To realise this, more research on children's experiences of parental arrest, imprisonment and release is required to further inform child welfare policy and practice in New Zealand.

The findings of this study suggest that parental re-entry from prison can adversely affect children, but these adversities can be mitigated by formal and/or informal social support. Social support was highly valued among all children and came from a variety of sources including from their personal network of significant others (i.e. family or friends); from accessible professionals (e.g., community practitioners, teachers and mentors) and through participation in leisure activities that involved social contact with like-minded others (e.g. team sport and community events). Not all forms of social support were perceived as helpful by each child participant, and

in turn, caregivers and community practitioners, as well as some children themselves, made further suggestions for how to better support children during parental re-entry from prison. In sum, the study findings suggest that child-centred programmes are required to meet children's daily needs and experiences throughout parental re-entry both in the community and in prisons.

This study presented an opportunity for children in New Zealand to voice their own hardships and resilience in the process of parental re-entry from prison. While acknowledging the limitations of an exploratory study the basic principal tenet of the transformative paradigm requires to conclude with some suggestions that may advance an agenda for reform to improve the lives of children experiencing parental incarceration and re-entry (Mertens, 2009). As highlighted by a community practitioner in this study, recruiting male volunteers to support male children of prisoners remains a formidable challenge. The findings of this study suggest that the establishment of sports clubs facilitated by community organisations may make efficient use of scarce male volunteer resources as team sports only require a small number of volunteer trainers and suitable recreation centres. All children in this study found sport participation to be a particularly important source of coping and with families financially struggling to support their children's sporting hobbies, this suggested avenue may well benefit all involved parties. However, it is upon the discretion of community practitioners and their representative organisation to use the study findings and these concluding suggestions as they see fit.

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# **Appendices**

## **Appendix A: AUTEC Approval**

14 April 2016

Antje Deckert Faculty of Culture and Society



Dear Antje

Ethics Application: 16/81 Young children's expectations and experiences of parental reentry from prison. A New Zealand study.

Thank you for submitting your application for ethical review. I am pleased to confirm that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) has approved your ethics application for three years until 11 April 2019.

AUTEC queried what will happen with children who do not speak English fluently, and also whether the use of parentheses around the word mum in the documents was appropriate.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <a href="http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics">http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics</a>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 11 April 2019;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <a href="http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics">http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics</a>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 11 April 2019 or on completion of the project;

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at <a href="ethics@aut.ac.nz">ethics@aut.ac.nz</a>.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary

**Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee** 

Cc: Jennifer Swaysland

**Appendix B: Recruitment Poster** 





# I would like to INVITE YOU to participate in my study!

UNIVERSITY
TE WÄNANGA ARONUI O TAMAKI MAKAU RAU

My name is Jennifer Swaysland and I am a student at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT).

### Are you

- At least 7 years old but not older than 18 years?
- Is your mum or your dad in prison right now but will be released soon (within the next 6 months)?

OR

Has your mum or your dad been recently released from prison?

If this if you, I would like to invite YOU AND YOUR non-imprisoned PARENT/CAREGIVER to take part in this study exploring children's expectations, experiences and social support during parental re-entry from prison.

### WHAT IS THIS STUDY ABOUT?

The purpose of this study is gain in-depth knowledge of the lived experiences of children who are expecting the near release OR have recently experienced the release of a parent from prison. I am also interested in understanding how these children cope and navigate through this difficult and/or exciting time.

### WHAT WOULD THE STUDY INVOLVE?

Children will be required to participate in an interview of around 20 minutes.

The parent/caregiver will be required to participate in an interview of around 30 minutes and complete a short 5-munite demographic survey.

I will be conducting the interview and

All interviews will take place HERE at

As a thank you for participating, children will receive a \$30 Westfield voucher and the parent/caregiver can choose between receiving a \$30 Westfield OR a \$30 Petrol voucher!

If you would like to know more, the Information Sheets are available at the reception desk or you can contact me at

## **Appendix C: Information Sheet for Child Participants**

## **INFORMATION SHEET FOR CHILDREN**



Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study

Date: 29th of March 2016

Kia ora, my name is Jennifer and I want to talk to you about how children feel when their dad or their mum is in prison.

### Is this you?

You are between 7 and 18 years old. And your dad or your mum is in prison right now, but will come out soon.

**Then**, I would like to talk to you.



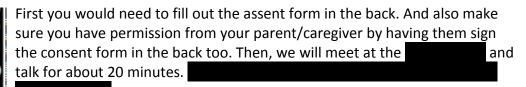
You are between 7 and 18 years old. And your dad or your mum was in prison but just came out. **Then**, I would also like to talk to you.

### WHAT WE WILL TALK ABOUT?

There are 20,000 children in New Zealand who have a mum or dad in prison. I am interested in hearing how you feel and prepare yourself for when your dad (or your mum) is about to get out of prison. And if your dad (or your mum) is already home, what is it like for you. No research in New Zealand has done that yet. You could be one of the first to be a part of it.



### WHAT WILL HAPPEN?



I will ask you questions like:

- What do you hope is going to happen when your dad or mum comes home?
- What do you want to do with your dad or mum?
- What happened when your dad or mum came home?
- Did your hopes and dreams come true?

You don't have to answer a question if you don't want to. And you can have a break whenever you like. I will tape what we say so that I can be sure that I remember everything – if you are a little worried about the tape recorder. I

am happy to show you how it works and let you even hear your own voice on the

tape. I will also have some snacks, drinks and colouring activities for us. If anything we talk about makes you feel upset, and I will help and support you straight away.

As a thank you for helping me, you will get a \$30 Westfield voucher when we are finished ©

### WILL ANYONE KNOW WHAT I HAVE SAID?

I want to write down some of your ideas for other people to read and think about, but they won't know who you are because you will choose a pretend name.



### WHAT HAPPENS TO THE INFORMATION THAT I GIVE?

I will store the information you give me safely in a locked file cabinet at the AUT. And when I am finished, I will send you a 2-page report of what I have learned.





### **YOUR CHOICE**

It is your choice if you want to take part. It is also your choice to choose not to be part up to 1 month after meeting me. Noone will mind what choice you make.

### **ANY QUESTIONS?**

You might have some questions before you decide if you want to take part. I would be happy to talk to you on the phone or arrange to spend some time to meet you and your parent/caregiver.

My contact details are below.



### WHO IS DOING THIS STUDY?

Jennifer Swaysland

Email:

Mobile phone:



**WHO IS JENNIFER'S SUPERVISOR?** (The person at the University who gives advice and support)

Antje Deckert

Email: <a href="mailto:antje.deckert@aut.ac.nz">antje.deckert@aut.ac.nz</a>
Office: 921 9999 ext 6852

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Antje Deckert, antje.deckert@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6852.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

### **THANK YOU!**

## **Appendix D: Information Sheet for Parent/Caregiver Participants**





# Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study

DATE: 29th of March 2016

### **INVITATION**

Kia ora, my name is Jennifer Swaysland. I am a postgraduate student at AUT. I would like to invite <u>you</u> and <u>your child</u> to take part in my study. The study looks at kids' expectations when one of their parents will soon be released from prison. It also looks at kids' experiences after release. You and your child's participation is voluntary and greatly appreciated. The study will help me to complete my Masters of Arts degree in Policy Studies.

### WHO IS INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

I would like to interview:

- Children aged between 7 and 18;
- who are expecting the release of a parent from prison (within the next 6 months) OR

who have recently experienced the release of a parent

**AND** I would also like to interview the children's non-imprisoned parent, or other caregiver.

### WHAT IS THIS STUDY ABOUT?

There are 20,000 children in New Zealand who have a parent in prison. Many of these children will experience the release of their parent. The purpose of this study is to gather knowledge about the lived experiences of these children. I want to interview the children. But I also want interview you as the main caregiver during that time. I want to know from you, how your child copes during this difficult and/or exciting time. My findings will be reported in my Master's thesis. I will provide you with a summary of the research findings, if you wish.

### WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE STUDY?

Please contact me to arrange a place and time for the interview. The interview can be held at the

The interview will take about 30 minutes. It will take another 5 minutes to fill out a short survey about you (age, ethnicity etc.). I will ask you to sign the attached consent form. I will bring some snacks and drinks so you don't get hungry or thirsty during the interview. I will audio-tape the interview and type it up afterwards. This is to make sure that I don't forget anything you said. You can skip questions you don't want to answer, and you can end the interview at any time. Even when the interview is complete, you have one month to pull out of the study.

### WHAT ARE THE DISCOMFORTS AND RISKS?

There are no physical discomforts. But you may feel a little bit uncomfortable talking about your personal experiences. Some of the questions may remind you of negative experiences or bring up some negative feelings. In case that happens, I will remind you that you don't have to answer questions if they upset you. Also, I will give you the contact details of organisations that provide free counselling services.

### WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS?

You may benefit by telling us your story. Sometimes it just feels good to be heard. Talking about things can also help us understand our situation and the situation of the child better.

No researcher has investigated this topic in New Zealand yet. So, your participation will reveal new information. This may help and other organisations to improve their practices. This, in turn, may help other children and families who are going through the same experiences.

A \$30 Westfield voucher OR a \$30 Petrol voucher (your choice) will contribute to your travel costs. You will receive the voucher after the interview.

### **HOW WILL MY PRIVACY BE PROTECTED?**

All information will be confidential. That means that the information you give me will not be linked to your name. Before the interview, you can chose a false name (pseudonym). When I type up the interview, I will replace all names you mention with a letter (Mr. X, Mrs. Z etc.). So, other people will not know that you participated in this study or what you said. will also keep your participation confidential. an agreement with me.

### WHAT OPPORTUNITY DO I HAVE TO CONSIDER THIS INVITATION?

You have two weeks to respond after receiving the information sheet. You may have some questions about this study before you make a decision – I would be happy to talk to you, either on the phone or in person at the office. My contact details are below.

### **HOW DO I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY?**

All you need to do is, contact me or and, and complete the attached consent form. You will also need to complete the forms for your child.

### WHO DO I CONTACT FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THIS STUDY?



The researcher: Jennifer Swaysland Email: Mobile phone:

My supervisor

Dr Antje Deckert adeckert@aut.ac.nz Office phone: 921 9999

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Antje Deckert, antje.deckert@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6852.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

### Thank you for taking the time!

## **Appendix E: Information Sheet for Community Practitioners**

# INFORMATION SHEET FOR COMMUNITY PRACTITIONER



# Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study

DATE: 29th of March 2016

### **INVITATION**

My name is Jennifer Swaysland and I am a postgraduate student completing a Masters of Arts thesis in Policy Studies at the Auckland University of Technology. You are invited to participate in this research study, which seeks to explore your expertise and knowledge surrounding the experiences and provision of support available to children of prisoners in New Zealand.

Participation in this research study is voluntary and greatly appreciated.

### WHAT IS THIS STUDY ABOUT?

Each year, approximately 15,000 prisoners are released into the New Zealand community, of which many will reconnect and reside with their children and families/whanau. Due to a void in both international and New Zealand literature, we know little about children's voices and their own narratives on parental re-entry from prison. This study aims to explore children's expectations, experiences and social support during parental re-entry from prison in New Zealand, from the perspectives of the children themselves, their non-imprisoned parent (or other primary caregiver) and from a small number of community practitioners.

The research will be reported in a Master's Thesis and a copy will be provided to you at that time. If a journal article or other publication is contemplated, I will inform you.

### WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE STUDY?

Once you have agreed to participate, a mutually agreed upon time and venue will be organised to partake in one interview of 60-90 minutes. The interview will be semi-structured in that the researcher (myself) will have an interview schedule with topics for conversation but you will have every opportunity to speak freely and expand on any topic. The interview will be audiotaped to ensure your experiences are accurately recorded. You may decline to answer any question.

### WHAT ARE THE DISCOMFORTS AND RISKS?

There should be very little risk to you participating in the research. However, due to the nature of the discussed topic, strong emotions and feelings may arise. You do not have to discuss anything you are not comfortable with and are free to withdraw at any time. Even when the interview is complete, you have one month to pull out of the study.

### WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS?

By taking part, you will help in contributing to the underdeveloped area of research related to prisoners' children in general as well as address the significant gap of research undertaken in New Zealand. In particular, it is envisaged that expert opinions from various community organisations providing support to children of prisoners may yield valuable to inform community and policy implications and practice.

### **HOW WILL MY PRIVACY BE PROTECTED?**

Your personal details will be kept confidential in the course of this study. That is your name or identifying characteristics will not be included in any reports or data recorded from this study. Written and oral reports that come from this study will look to aggregate data and information. Quotes from this interview may be made part of the final research report. Under no circumstances will your responses, name or identifying characteristics be included with those excerpts. Your interview data will be held on a password-protected computer held by myself.

### WHAT ARE THE COSTS OF PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH?

There is no financial cost to participating in this research, other than asking for 60-90 minutes of your time for the interview.

### WHAT OPPORTUNITY DO I HAVE TO CONSIDER THIS INVITATION?

You are requested to consider and respond to this invitation within the next two weeks. You are welcome to ask any questions that you may have; please direct them to the contact details listed below.

### **HOW DO I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY?**

If you agree to participate please return the attached consent form. You will be contacted to arrange an agreed time and place for the interview.

### WHO DO I CONTACT FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THIS STUDY?



The researcher:
Jennifer Swaysland
Email:
Mobile phone:

My supervisor

Dr Antje Deckert adeckert@aut.ac.nz Office phone: 921 9999

ext 6852

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Antje Deckert, antje.deckert@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6852.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

# **Appendix F: Assent Form for Child Participants**

# **Assent Form**



Project Title:		Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study	
Projec	t Supervisor:	Antje Deckert	
Resea	rcher:	Jennifer Swaysland	
0	I have read and understood the sheet telling me what will happen in this study as why it is important.		
0	I have been able to ask questions and to have them answered.		
0	I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.		
0	I understand that while the information is being collected, I can stop being part of this study whenever I want and that it is perfectly ok for me to do this.		
0	If I stop being part of the study, I understand that all information about me, including the recordings or any part of them that include me, will be destroyed.		
0	I agree to take part in this research.		
0	I wish to get a co (please tick one)	py of the summary findings : YesO NoO	
	Your Sig	nature:	
	Your Na	ne:	
	Date:		

# **Appendix G: Child Participation Consent Form for**

# **Parent/Caregiver**

# **Parent/Caregiver Consent Form**



Project	Title:	Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study	
Project	Supervisor:	Antje Deckert	
Resear	cher:	Jennifer Swaysland	
0	I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 29 <sup>th</sup> of March 2016.		
0	I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.		
0	I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.		
0	I understand that I may withdraw my child and/or myself or any information that we have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.		
0	If my child and/or I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.		
0	I agree to my child taking part in this research.		
0	I wish to receive a copy of the summary findings (please tick one): YesO NoO		
Child's I	Name:		
Parent/	Caregiver's Signa	ture:	
Parent/	Caregiver's Name	2:	
Parent/		act Details (if you wish a copy of the summary findings):	
•••••			

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 11/04/2016, AUTEC Reference number 16/81.

Date: .....

# **Appendix H: Consent Form for Parent/Caregiver Participants**

# **Consent Form**



Project litie:		during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study
Project Supervisor:		Antje Deckert
Resear	cher:	Jennifer Swaysland
0	I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 29 <sup>th</sup> of March 2016.	
0	I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.	
0	I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.	
0	I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.	
0	If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.	
0	I agree to take part in this research.	
0	I wish to receive	a copy of the summary findings (please tick one): YesO NoO
Particip	oant's Signature:	
Particip	oant's Name:	
Particip	pant's Contact Det	rails (if you would like a copy of the summary findings):

# **Appendix I: Consent Form for Community Practitioner**

# **Consent Form**



Project Title:		Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study	
Project Supervisor:		Antje Deckert	
Resear	cher:	Jennifer Swaysland	
0	I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 29 <sup>th</sup> of March 2016.		
0	I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.		
0	I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.		
0	I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.		
0	If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.		
0	I agree to take part in this research.		
0	I wish to receive	a copy of the summary findings (please tick one): YesO NoO	
Particip	pant's Signature:		
Particip	pant's Name:		
Particip	oant's Contact Det	tails (if you would like a copy of the summary findings):	
Date:			

# **Appendix J: Confidentiality Agreement Form**

# **Confidentiality Agreement**

Project title: Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support during



Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study					
Project Supervisor:		Antje Deckert			
Researcher:		Jennifer Swaysland			
0	Lunderstand th	at all that is said during interview meetings is confidential.			
0	I understand th	at the content of the interview meetings or material inclusive ent forms, tapes, or interview notes can only be discussed			
0	I will not keep a	ny copies of the information nor allow third parties access to			
Signature:					
Name:					
Contact Details (if appropriate):					

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 11/04/2016, AUTEC Reference number 16/81.

Date: .....

### **Appendix K: Researcher Safety Protocol**





Project Title: Children's Expectations, Experiences and Social Support

during Parental Re-entry from Prison: A New Zealand Study

Project Supervisor: Antje Deckert

Researcher: Jennifer Swaysland

Researcher safety protocol for interviewing participants in their own homes:

- The interviewer will advise the principal investigator in writing in advance of the dates, times and addresses of each interview, motor vehicle being used & registration.
- The interviewer will phone or send a text message to the principal investigator prior to the commencement of each interview indicating expected time of completion.
- As soon as is practicable, the interviewer will phone the principal investigator to advise the interview is successfully completed.
- Each interview [(child and parent interviews are conducted subsequently)] will last up to [3] hours. If the principal investigator does not receive a call from the interviewer after [4] hours [she] will firstly call the interviewer's mobile. If no response, [she] will phone the interviewer's nominated contact who is authorised to phone the police to report the concern.
- Should the interviewer feel any concerns about safety at any stage during any interview, she will terminate the interview, leave the dwelling and phone the principal investigator.

This protocol was taken verbatim from Rosalind, K. (2015). What is the lived experience of hospitality for adults during their hospital stay?. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand, p. 151.

## Appendix L: Recording Protocol for Semi-structured Interviews

# Recording Protocol for Semi-structured Interviews



### **Supplies:**

- 2 audio-tape recorders
- Note-taking involved

### **Child Interviews:**

{Welcome, explanations and introductions. Sign consent forms if applicable}.

"We will now talk about the tape recorders. So I have two tape recorders here [Present recorders]. Here is the play button to start recording and here is the pause button to stop recording. For example, I will press the play button and say: 'My name is Jennifer and my favourite movie is Ice Age'. Then I press the stop button and here I can replay what I have said [Replay recording]. Do you like to give it a go? [Allow child to hold and speak into the tape recorder]. Awesome job! So, one recorder will be close to me and this recorder will be close to you. This is to make sure that all we talk about is properly recorded and I don't miss anything when I type it up afterwards. And just in case one recorder runs out of battery, we have the extra one here too. If you like, you can hold the recorder when we are talking. And when we are finished recording, we can together press the pause button on the recorders. Also while we are talking, I might write down some notes. The notes are just to make sure I remember everything. Is that okay with you?"

If Yes: "Great, let's press the play button and get started" [Continue with rapport questions].

If No/unsure or showing signs of concern: [Continue teaching child how to use and play with the recorder until child is at ease]. "You are really good at this, are you happy to try and record some questions like: 'How old are you? What grade are you in? What are your favourite things to do?'" [These will be questions asked to build rapport. If child is comfortable, continue with Interview questions].

### **Caregiver Interviews:**

{Welcome, explanations and introductions. Sign consent forms if applicable}.

"We will now talk about the tape recorders. So I have two tape recorders here [Present recorders]. One recorder will be close to me and the other recorder close to you. This is to make sure that all we talk about is properly recorded and I don't miss anything when I type it up afterwards. Also, if one recorder runs out of battery, we have the extra recorder here too. Here is the play button to start recording and here is the pause button to stop recording [Provide an example if necessary]. If at any time you want to have a break or want to discuss something in particular without being recorded, I can press the pause button on both recorders — that is not a problem. Also, I might take some notes down while we are talking. The notes are just to make sure that I am on the right track, and I don't miss any good points we could expand on. Are you happy to begin or do you have any questions for me?"

## **Appendix M: Interview Guide for Child Participants**

#### **Interview Guide for Child Participants**

Date of interview: Length of interview:

Name of Caregiver: Pseudonym:

Name of Child: Pseudonym:

#### **Preliminary**

i) Introduction and thanks

- ii) Check whether the participant is happy for the interview to be recorded
- iii) Sign Assent form and confirm Parental Consent forms are signed (if not already)

Where applicable, replace 'parent' with appropriate name for relation of incarcerated parent to child. Replace 'caregiver' with appropriate name for relation of non-imprisoned parent/primary caregiver.

### **Rapport Building**

1. Let's talk about you.

<u>Prompts</u>. How old are you?

What year are you in?

What are your favourite things to do?

#### **Child-Parent Relationship**

- 2. Now let's talk about your family.
  - 2a. Tell me about how you get along with your caregiver?
  - 2b. Tell me about how you get along with your parent?

What do (don't) you like about him/her?

What things did you and your parent do together before he/she went to prison?

2c. What's it been like having your parent away in prison?

What did (didn't) you miss about him/her?

What was it like for you at home? at school? with your parent away in prison?

2d. Did you get to see your parent while he/she was in prison? Tell me about it. (Discuss phone contact and letter writing)

Did you and your parent talk about what will happen when he/she got out of prison?

IF YES: What did you two talk about?

Did you ask any questions? Make plans?

Did your parent make any promises or plans? Tell me about it.

#### **Expectations for Re-entry**

3. Did you and your caregiver talk about what will happen when your parent got out of prison?

IF YES: What did you two talk about?

3a. Did you know when your parent was going to get out of prison?

If Yes: How did you feel about your parent getting out?

Did you want to see your parent after he/she got out?

Did you want a relationship with your parent after he/she got out? If YES: What did you imagine it be like, seeing your parent outside of prison? If NO: How come? (Go to question 4. *First Re-entry Experience*)

- 3b. What were the good things about your parent getting out of prison?
- 3c. Was there anything that made you nervous or worried (or mad) about your parent getting out of prison? Tell me about it.
- 3d. Did you do anything to get ready for when your parent got out? If YES: What did you do, tell me about it.

Now I am going to ask you a few questions about how you feel now with your parent out of prison.

#### **Re-entry Experience**

4. Have you met your parent since he/she is out of prison? IF YES: How did it make you feel seeing your parent outside of prison? What sort of things have you done together? What do you like (don't like) doing with your parent? Is there anything your parent is doing now that makes you nervous or you are worried about? Tell me about it. Did you know/imagine this would happen? What do you want to change? What do you want to keep the same?

IF NO: How come?

Do you want to meet your parent now or in the future?

#### **Parent Responsibilities**

5. Since your parent is back, what sort of things do you think he/she needs to do for you? For your caregiver? For themselves?

#### **Resilience/Social Support**

So you've told me a lot about the good things (and not so good things) about your parent getting out of prison.

- 6. Do you talk to anyone else about your parent getting out of prison? If YES: Who do you talk to?
  - e.g. Friends at School, Teachers etc.
  - what do they say about your parent? How do they help you?
  - 6a. Is there anyone who is mean to you? Or made it more difficult for you? e.g. school bullies, mean teachers?
    - What do they say about your parent?
  - 6b. What sort of things do you do to make you feel better?
  - E.g. school sport activities, going to church, singing ...
    - How has it helped you?

Is there anything new you would like to do or try out?

#### Closing

1. Are there other things you want to say about your parent getting out of prison?

## Appendix N: Interview Guide for Parent/Caregiver Participants

#### **Interview Guide for Parent/Caregiver Participants**

Date of interview:	Length of interview:
Name of Caregiver:	Pseudonym:
Name of Child:	Pseudonym:

#### **Preliminary**

- i) Introduction and thanks
- ii) Check whether the participant is happy for the interview to be recorded
- iii) Sign Consent and Parental Consent forms (if not already)
- iv) Advise of demographic survey (to be completed prior or after interview)

Where applicable, replace 'parent' with appropriate name for relation of incarcerated parent to child. Replace 'caregiver' with appropriate name for relation of non-imprisoned parent/primary caregiver.

#### **Family Composition**

I would like to understand some of where you're coming from and the different people in your family.

1. How many children do you have (are in your care)?

How old are they? Do they share the same parent?

Does your child(ren) live with you? If not, where do they live?

Tell me about your relationship with your child(ren)?

IF Mother/Father: Are you the main (sole) caregiver of your child(ren)?

- Who else is residing in your household? What important family members have I missed? (Shared responsibility to care for kids?)

Tell me about your relationship with the parent?

#### Parent's Incarceration and Re-entry History

[TIMELINE OPTION]

2. Has the parent been in prison before this?

If YES: (When, for what, how long?)

How old was the child(ren) when the parent went to prison that time? (If applicable): What was it like for the child(ren) when the parent returned from prison that other time?

Prompts: Who did the parent live with?

What was hard? What went well?

How was the parent involved with the child?

How long was it until the parent returned to prison?

IF NO/continue: How long was the parent in prison [this time]? What was he/she in prison for? When was he/she released from prison?

<u>Date of release:</u> Was he/she released on Parole?

2f. Has anyone else in the family been in prison that your child(ren) is aware of? IF YES: What was that like for your child(ren)?

Now I am going to ask you questions about the child(ren)'s relationship [and yours] to the parent prior and during, and the weeks/months before the release date.

#### Child-Parent Relationship before Incarceration (specific to child)

3. Before the parent went to prison [this time], what was his/her relationship with the child(ren) like?

Prompts. In what ways was the parent involved in the child(ren)'s life?

- Did the parent live with the child(ren)?
  - If NO: How often did the parent see the child(ren)?
- Help out with the child(ren)? How so?
- Play with the child(ren)? How often?
- Provide financially? How so?

#### Effects of Incarceration on Family and Familial Relationships [during imprisonment]

- 4. How had the family changed while the parent was in prison? How had incarceration affected [you and] the child(ren)? (in brief)
  - Financially?
  - Living situation?
  - School changes for child(ren)? School environment?
  - Behavioural changes/problems in child(ren)?
  - Your relationship with the parent?
  - The child(ren)'s relationship with the parent?
  - Child(ren)'s relationship with you?
  - 4a. How were things better for the child(ren)?
  - 4b. What were the challenges for the child(ren)?

#### **Contact in Prison**

5. What was the child(ren)'s relationship like to the parent when he/she was prison? <u>Prompts.</u> What sort of things did the child(ren) say about their parent being in prison?

5a. Was the child(ren) in contact with the parent while in prison?

If YES: How were they in contact?

- What did they talk about?
- Did they talk about what will happen upon the parent's release from prison?What did they say to each other? Any promises or plans made?

If NO: What are the reasons they were not in contact with each other?

5b. In what ways, if any, did you encourage the parent's involvement with the child(ren) during his/her imprisonment? How come? In what ways, if any, did you discourage the parent's involvement with the child(ren) during his/her imprisonment? How come?

#### **Anticipating Release**

6. Did you know when the parent would be released from prison? How early on did you know about the release date?

6a. Did the child(ren) know when the parent was getting out?

If Yes: Describe what you think the child(ren)'s experience was like, knowing that the parent was getting out in X days/months.

- Did the child(ren) ask questions about it? What sort of questions?
- Did you talk about it with the child(ren)? What did you talk about?

6b. Did the child(ren) want a relationship with the parent after they got out? If YES: What sort of relationship did the child(ren) imagine it to be like?

If NO: What are the reasons the child(ren) did not want a relationship with the parent?

6c. Did you want the parent and the child(ren) to maintain some form of contact/a relationship after his/her release from prison?

If Yes: - Go to Question 7 below

If No: How come?

#### **Expectations of Re-entry**

7. How did you imagine the parents' involvement with the child(ren) after his/her release?

<u>Prompts.</u> What did you expect life would be like when the parent was released from prison?

- How often would the parent see the child(ren)?
- What responsibilities did you expect of the parent?
- What role would the parent play in disciplining the child(ren)?
- What would his financial role be?
- What did you think was going to be easy? [for you, for the child, for the grandfather]
- What did you think was going to be hard? [for you, for the child, for the grandfather]
- What were you and the child most looking forward to?
- What were you and the child most worried about?

(e.g. fear of reoffending/reincarceration)

7b. What were the parent's plans for housing?

- Where would he/she spend his/her first night out?
- Where was he/she planning on living after that?
- How would the parents' release have affected you and the child(ren)'s living situation? (including visiting schedules)

7c. In what ways did you encourage the parents' involvement with the child(ren) for when he/she gets out? How come?

- In what ways did you discourage the parents' involvement with the child(ren) for when he/she gets out? How come?

7d. Did you and the child(ren) do anything in particular to prepare for the parents release?

(e.g. welcome back poster, family dinner, etc...)

Now I am going to ask you questions about the parents' actual release.

#### Re-entry Experience

- 8. Has the child(ren) met with the parent so far?
  - If YES: Can you describe the first time the child(ren) met the parent outside of prison.
  - Where did they meet? (e.g. at home, when picking up parent from prison gate)
    - Who else was there? (e.g. you, whole family?)
  - How did the child(ren) react to meeting the parent? (e.g. nervous, afraid, shy, happy)
    - What did the child(ren) say to the parent?
    - What did the parent say to the child(ren)? What did they talk about?
    - What did they do together on that day?

If NO: What are the reasons they have not met after the parents' release from prison?

- Does the child(ren) want to meet the parent? Now or in the future?

#### Living Arrangements/ Day-to-day life

9. Where does the parent currently live? (e.g. with child/family, half-way house?)

If not with child:

- Is the parent in contact with the child(ren)?
- How much contact do they have with one another?
- How does the child(ren) feel about this arrangement?

If with child: How does the child(ren) feel about living with the parent?
- What sort of things do they do together?

what sort or things do they do together.

9a. What sort of things do you think the parent needs to do [now] for himself/herself, for you and the child?

- Get a job? Provide financially?
- Take care of the house? Do some Housework?
- Homework?
- Play with the kids?
- Discipline Are there any rules the parent wants the child to follow? How does the child(ren) feel or react to that?

9b. What are the good things the parent is doing since he/she is out of prison? [for himself/herself, for you and the child]

9c. Is there anything the parent is doing now that makes you and your child(ren) nervous or worried about? Tell me about it.

What do you want to change? What do you want to keep the same? 9d. Overall, has this been a positive or negative experience for the child(ren)?

#### **Support System and Service Utilization**

10. Who are the people your child(ren) would turn to if you needed help with something?

9b. If any, what community services are you and your child(ren) involved with? (including programs, faith communities, etc.)

- How have they helped or not helped?

9c. What other supports get you and the child(ren) through these times? (e.g. faith, sports)

#### **Information and Service Needs**

11. What kinds of information or services would be helpful to you and your child(ren) during and after the release of a parent/family member from prison?

#### Closing

12. Are there other things we haven't talked about that would be important for me to know in order to understand how the parents' release has affected you and the child(ren)?

## Appendix O: Interview Guide for Community Practitioners

#### **Interview Guide for Community Practitioners**

Date of interview: Length of interview:

Representative of which organisation:

Name of Community Practitioner:

#### **Preliminary**

- i) Introduction and thanks
- ii) Check whether the participant is happy for the interview to be recorded
- iii) Sign Consent forms (if not already)
- 1) Describe the organisation in which you represent.

What do they do?

Services provided in New Zealand? Services related to Prisoner Re-entry? Who are the clients? Client Demographics.

2) Describe your role at the organisation.

How long have you been working at the organisation?

3) Through your experience, do children want to meet (or have a relationship with) their parent after their release from prison?

Under what circumstances do children want to meet (or have a relationship with) their parent?

Under what circumstances do children not want to meet (or have a relationship with) their parent?

4) What are the expectations (hopes and fears) children have before their incarcerated parent is released from prison?

What do children expect life will be like upon parental re-entry?

What do children look forward to?

What are children most worried about?

What behaviours do children exhibit when realizing their parent is soon to be released from prison?

6) How do children and their family prepare for the release of their parent from prison?

What is available in New Zealand for families (in particular the children) to prepare for the release of the parent from prison, that you are aware of? In your opinion, are they

affective? Is more needed? How should such support look like?

7) What are the everyday lived experiences of children after their incarcerated parent has been released from prison?

Do children's expectations match to the reality of their parents return from prison? If yes, what does that do for children? If no, what is the result of such a discrepancy?

- 8) What factors make parental re-entry a positive experience for children? What services provide such support and what more is needed?
- 9) Is there anything else we haven't talked about that would be important for me know in order to better understand how parental re-entry affects children?

# Appendix P: Demographic Survey for Parent/Caregiver Participants

## **Demographic Survey**

2-3 / month

1 / month

6-11 / year

< 6 / year

Never



Parent/Caregiver: If you consent to your child's participation in this study then please complete this form. All information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Participant Number: ..... Please provide the following information about yourself: Age: ..... Gender: Female Male Relation to child: ..... Race/Ethnicity (More than one may apply): **Employment and Financial Information;** ■ NZ European Are you currently employed? Yes No ■ NZ Maori If yes: Full-time Part-time Pacific Island: Samoa ☐ Niue Occupation: ..... ☐ Fiji Cook Island What are your sources of income? Tonga Tuvalu ■ Employment Tokelau ☐ Child support Indian Welfare Asian ■ Government disability European Other (please specify): ..... Other (please specify): ..... Please estimate your yearly income before tax: Please describe the amount of contact you have/had with the parent while in prison: \$0-\$10,000 Visits Phone Calls \$10,001-\$20,000 4+ / week 4+ / week \$20,001-\$30,000 2-3 / week 2-3 / week \$30,001-\$40,000 1/week 1/week S40,001-\$50,000 2-3 / month 2-3 / month \$50,001-\$70,000 1/month 1/month \$70,001-\$100,000 6-11 / year 6-11 / year <6/year \$100,001-\$150,000 < 6 / year \$150,001-above Never Never Receive Mail Send Mail 4+ / week 4+ / week 2-3 / week 2-3 / week 1/week 1/week

2-3 / month

1 / month

6-11 / year

< 6 / year

Never

Please provide the following information about the imprisoned/recently released parent:

Age Group:  18-24	Offence:  Violent offence Other offence against the person Property offence Drug offence Offence against justice Offence against good order Traffic offence Miscellaneous offence
Race/Ethnicity (More than one may apply):  NZ European  NZ Maori  Pacific Island:  Samoa  Cook Island  Tonga  Tokelau	Length of sentence:       □ 1-2 years         □ 1-3 months       □ 1-2 years         □ 3-6 months       □ 2-3 years         □ 6-9 months       □ 3-5 years         □ 9-12months       □ 6-8 years         □ 8-10 years       □ 10+ years
☐ Indian ☐ Asian ☐ European ☐ Other (please specify):	Date of release (if applicable):OR  Expected date of release:
	Has the parent been previously imprisoned?  Yes No If yes, on how many occasions?  Has the child been through this previous imprisonment?  Yes No

Please provide the following information about the child participating in this study: Age: ..... Gender: Female Male Had the child been living or had regular contact with the parent prior to this Race/Ethnicity (More than one may apply): imprisonment? NZ European Yes ☐ No ■ NZ Maori Pacific Island: Samoa ☐ Niue Has the child experienced the Cook Island imprisonment of another family/whanau Tonga member? Tokelau ■ No Yes ☐ Indian Asian If yes, of whom? ..... European Other (please specify): .....

Please describe the amount of contact the child has/had with the parent while in prison:

Visits		Phone Calls		
	4+ / week 2-3 / week 1 / week		4+ / week 2-3 / week 1 / week	
	2-3 / month 1 / month	日	2-3 / month 1 / month	
	6-11 / year < 6 / year		6-11 / year < 6 / year	
	Never		Never	
Receive Mail				
Receive	Mail	Send Ma	il	
Receive	Mail 4+ / week 2-3 / week 1 / week	Send Ma	il 4+ / week 2-3 / week 1 / week	
Receive	4+ / week 2-3 / week	Send Ma	4+ / week 2-3 / week	
	4+ / week 2-3 / week 1 / week 2-3 / month	B	4+ / week 2-3 / week 1 / week 2-3 / month	

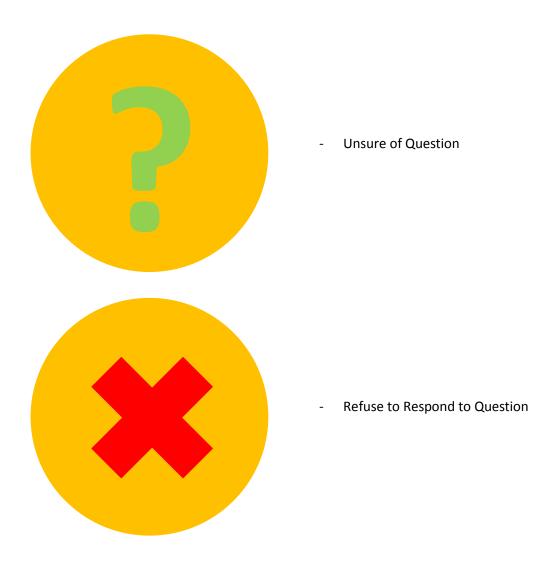


# **Description of Offence Types**

- Violent offences: involve either a direct act of violence against a person or the threat of such an act. Includes offences such as: homicides, kidnapping/abduction, sexual violation, indecent assault, robbery, assaults and threats to kill or do grievous bodily harm.
- Other offences against the person: are mainly offences of obstructing or resisting police officers or other officials, and sexual or intimidation offences which are not included in the violent offences category.
- Property offences: include dishonesty offences, property damage offences, and other
  property abuses. For example, burglary, theft, fraud, arson, motor vehicle conversion,
  receiving stolen goods, and wilful damage.
- **Drug offences**: involve possession or dealing in any illegal drugs, possession of drug paraphernalia, or other drug offences. The vast majority of drug offences involve cannabis.
- Offences against justice: are mostly the result of a breach of a sentence awarded for an earlier offence (e.g. breach of community work), failure to answer bail (i.e. failure by a person on bail to appear in court at a specified time and place), breach of protection orders, or are offences relating to court procedure.
- Offences against good order: include disorderly behaviour, offensive language, carrying offensive weapons, trespassing, and unlawful assembly.
- **Traffic offences**: includes a range of non-imprisonable and imprisonable traffic offences e.g. driving while forbidden; failing to stop; careless, dangerous or reckless driving; driving while disqualified; and driving with excess alcohol. This category does not include infringement offences for speeding or parking offences etc.
- Miscellaneous offences: contains offences defined in an assortment of Acts and regulations including the: Arms Act 1983, Dog Control Act 1996, Fisheries Act 1983, Income Tax Act 1994, Tax Administration Act 1994, Goods and Services Tax Act 1985, Postal Services Act 1998, and Sale of Liquor Act 1989.

As described by the Ministry of Justice NZ on www.justice.govt.nz

# **Appendix Q: Flashcards for Child Participant Interviews**



# **Appendix R: Letter Seeking Permission from Publishers 3<sup>rd</sup> Party Material**

Jennifer Swaysland

Mobile Phone:

03/04/2017

#### **Pillars Incorporated**

Dear Verna McFelin,



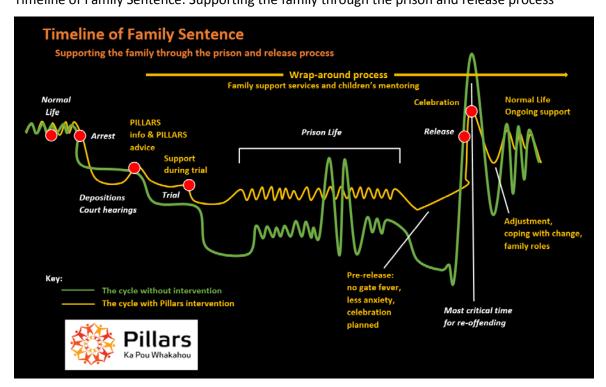
My name is Jennifer Swaysland. I am a Masters student at Auckland University of Technology and am writing a thesis on Children's expectations, experiences and social support during parental re-entry from prison: A New Zealand Study for a Master of Arts in Policy Studies.

A print copy of this thesis when completed will be deposited in the Auckland University of Technology Library, and a digital copy will also be made available online via the University's digital repository, Scholarly Commons http://autresearchgateway.ac.nz/. This is a not-for-profit research repository for scholarly work which is intended to make research undertaken in the University available to as wide an audience as possible.

I am writing to request permission for the following work, for which I believe you hold the copyright, to be included in my thesis:

Illustration of figure to be used in thesis to describe the fluctuating psychological strain on children surrounding each crisis point with or without Pillars intervention.

Timeline of Family Sentence: Supporting the family through the prison and release process



Only available bibliographic details: (Pillars, 2007)

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If you agree, I should be very grateful if you would sign the form below and return a copy to me. If you do not agree, or if you do not hold the copyright in this work, would you please notify me of this. I can most quickly be reached by email at

Thank you for your assistance. I look forward to hearing from you.

0.7.7.7%

Yours sincerely,

Jennifer Swaysland

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