The Experience of Parenting a Young Person who has Offended, from Early Life to Youth Custody

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Abstract

The role of caregivers has been identified as a contributing risk factor for youth offending. Empirical data and theory underscore inequality, and stigmatisation in exacerbating delinquency and potentially impairing parents' abilities to supervise their children and implement family-based interventions derived from substantial previous research and policy. However, there remains limited research on how it feels for parents to experience their child's trajectory into offending behaviour and their subsequent custodial sentence, and how this has impacted their self-concept and family life.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight participants from minority ethnic backgrounds, investigating the experiences of parents whose children have engaged in offending behaviour. The interpretative phenomenological analysis resulted in four group experiential themes: 'The strength to parent and survive against the odds,' 'This is out of our hands', 'Being forced to accept a new way of being', and 'The importance of hope, faith and people'.

The findings indicate that parents encounter significant challenges that profoundly affect family life. Parents questioned their abilities and efforts to prevent their child from behaving antisocially or offending. They reported significant negative emotional toll, personal suffering, and loss. Parents spoke to conflicting duties between supporting their child in custody and family responsibilities, including parenting other children, and providing financially. The findings revealed that parents felt their custody was an inexorable outcome and debated their child's personal responsibility versus external influences on their child's behaviour. Despite hardships, some parents spoke of finding hope through support networks, having a positive mindset and through faith.

Strengths and limitations of the study are discussed, as well as recommendations for future research. The study highlights the need for early intervention, community support and trauma-informed services to support parents and their children to identify and cope with antisocial behaviour leading to offending, and with rehabilitation.

Key Words: caregiver experience, parental experience, parenting, youth offending, young offender, youth justice, interpretative phenomenological analysis, qualitative research

Chapter 1: Introduction

This research considers youth offending and family mental health, through consideration of how parents and carers of young people experience their child's offending through the use of an interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). This thesis draws together a systematic literature review identifying what the literature says about parent/carer experiences of youth antisocial behaviour, and an empirical study exploring parental experiences of youth offending, with the aim of outlining clinical and policy recommendations to support family mental health and the rehabilitation of young people.

1.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter explores how parents/carers experience their child's offending behaviour, through the exploration of their child across their lifespan. The researcher will outline her personal and philosophical position in relation to the research, alongside reference to key empirical research in this area, including theories of youth offending, the impact of individual, family and community-based risk factors, and an exploration of how caregivers are positioned throughout this experience. This will conclude with a rationale for further research to contextualise the current study.

1.2 Positionality

1.2.1 Researcher's personal position

Research reflects the space shared between participant and researcher (England, 1994), whereby biases and perceptions, shaped by values, beliefs, and aspects of social identity undoubtedly influence the epistemological stance and ontological assumptions of the research (Bourke, 2014; Holmes, 2020).

It is increasingly prudent to clarify and justify one's personal motivation for research, especially in qualitative research, which requires a commitment to reflexivity (Etherington, 2004): I am a young, third generation British-Indian female, who grew up in a largely white, working-class village in South Cambridgeshire as the daughter of shopkeepers. My experiences intersect with other aspects of my identity, such as being a well-educated Trainee Clinical Psychologist, training when High Education England (HEE) had increased funding to increase access to Clinical Psychology for minority ethnic applicants. My various

identities inherently shape the way I approach and am perceived and positioned by every person I encounter, including research participants.

I consider myself an 'outsider researcher' (Bridges, 2001), someone without direct experience of the phenomenon under investigation. I have not experienced custody, nor have I experienced a family member being incarcerated, but have previously worked in a young offender's institute (YOI). In the YOI, I spent time with young people and their families, and was exposed to myriad stories about how their lives developed. These conversations made me curious about how dominant societal discourses had saturated my beliefs. I was therefore motivated to hear more, and to use my professional power to share these lived experiences. As a Trainee Clinical Psychologist, I felt emboldened also to approach forensic psychology, bringing together shared values across disciplines to make meaningful change.

1.2.2 Epistemological position

This research is grounded in a critical realist epistemology (Bhaskar, 1975), which assumes a realist ontology[1] and subjectivist epistemology[2]. Critical Realism (CR) assumes that a true and observable reality exists in nature and in social science (Gorski, 2013), but that people's description or experience of that reality is moderated through their interpretation. For example, this thesis will explore experiences related to laws, offences and the criminal justice system and will report on the structures which define a person's experiences with these systems but will also consider caregivers' personalised experiences. Even when experiences are accurately recalled to the best of participants' ability, they may not have taken into account the wider, external factors which influenced their experiences (Fletcher, 2017). Thus, this epistemology allows for a co-constructed lens of how various power structures have interplayed to achieve an outcome, inform their lived realities and personal sense-making but will not be representative of an objective 'truth.'

[1] The study and classification of existence whereby reality exists independently of thoughts, beliefs or perceptions.

[2] The study of knowledge, whereby an emphasis is placed on the role of the individual's mind and personal experiences in the formation of knowledge.

1.3 Key Terms

Key terms consistently used in this thesis are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Key Terms and their definitions

Key Term	Definition
Antisocial behaviour	Antisocial behaviour is an umbrella term for both criminal and non-criminal behaviour which causes harassment, distress, or alarm. This tends to refer to much lower-level behaviour, such as vandalism, graffiti, and threatening/inconsiderate behaviour towards others, but can also include more serious offences such as rioting, racially or religiously aggravated assaults or harassment, road traffic offences, drug-related offences and sex offences (Legislation.gov.uk, 2014).
Caregiver / Parent	For the purposes of this thesis, a caregiver is defined as the biological or non-biological person with legal caregiving responsibility for a child throughout the majority of the child's life. This can include family members such as aunts/uncles, grandparents, and older siblings. This does not include residential staff, foster carers or professionals undertaking caring responsibilities in institutions such as secure homes or in custody. Parents are defined as a subset of caregivers; as biological persons whose parental rights have not been terminated, or non-biological persons (e.g., adoptive parents, stepparents), whose parental rights have been conferred by a legal proceeding. In this thesis, whomever has cared for a child throughout the majority of their childhood experiences i.e., through their schooling years is considered the primary caregiver (Anderson et al., 2006).

Delinquency	Delinquent behaviour can include illegal or non-age appropriate behaviour such as smoking, drug and/or alcohol misuse and petty crimes such as property damage, robbery, vandalism and public disorderliness (Darvishi et al., 2022; Kowalski et al., 2019). Whilst it is acknowledged that 'delinquency' is increasingly referred to as offending behaviour, the term is present and used across much published literature.
'Young offender'	A 'young offender' is the name often used to refer to a young person aged between 10-17 who has committed a criminal offence. Those who are 18 or over are considered adults in England and Wales. Children under 10 years cannot be arrested nor charged with a crime (GOV.UK, n.d.-a).

1.4 The landscape of youth offending in the United Kingdom

In England and Wales, when a young person is sentenced to custody, they will arrive at one of three types of institution: one of five young offender institutions; three secure training centres; or seven secure children's homes. The five young offender's institutions (YOIs) across England and Wales house boys aged 15-17 and young-adult men aged 18-21.

The National Statistics of England and Wales report that between April 2022 and March 2023, 59,045 children and young people (CYP) aged 10-17 were arrested, with 16,589 proceeding to court. This resulted in 11,911 court sentences given to CYP, including 544 custodial sentences (Youth Justice Board, 2024). Official policy states that family members and friends are permitted to visit children in custody at specific visiting times as often as once per week (GOV.UK, n.d.-b). However, the Children's Commissioner report found that visiting slots were substantially underused, families receipt of logistical and financial support was inconsistent and poorly communicated, and that understaffing and poor coordination often led to visits being cancelled at short notice (Children's Commissioner, 2023). Youth in custody are typically highly vulnerable with disproportionately high rates of unmet physical and mental health, social, and developmental needs (Barnert et al., 2015). They have limited

opportunity to maintain social and family relationships which may have ordinarily served as a protective factor against poor mental health during this time (Biggam & Power, 2002); contributing to a more stressful, upsetting and traumatising experience for youth and families alike (Monahan et al., 2011; Young et al., 2019).

1.5 Overview of empirical and theoretical literature: theories of youth offending

Early sociological theories have been important in providing a basis for the development of evidence-based psychological theories, often using a biopsychosocial model to conceptualise the integration of individual, structural and familial risk factors for offending (Donker et al., 2012; Nalah & Daniel, 2013). There is also extensive literature alluding to a biological, genetic or developmental basis for offending (Fergusson et al., 2012; Goddard, 1929; Moffitt, 1993; Wilson, 2011), and review data have shown that genetic and environmental factors can explain some variation in antisocial behaviour (e.g. Azeredo et al., 2019).

1.5.1 Inequality and environmental factors

The 'Strain Theory of deviancy' (Agnew, 1989; R. Merton, 1938) draws upon Durkheim's theory of 'anomie' (Bernburg, 2002), whereby crime arises when individuals cannot achieve goals or acquire status through legitimate means. This occurs when aspirations are low (Burton & Cullen, 1992; Knight et al., 2010) due to blocked opportunities or lack of education (Burton et al., 1994; Settersten & Ray, 2010). This idea of 'strain' manifests from the pressures resulting from inequality (Pratt & Godsey, 2003; Sigfusdottir et al., 2012), further contributing to the disenfranchisement of youth. Young people are often problematised by police, practice and research as perpetrators of crime (Halsey & White, 2008; Richards et al., 2019), however there is a strong evidence base advocating for these young people as victims of their social and contextual background (Hazell et al., 2022; Kipping et al., 2015). For example, living in more socially or economically disadvantaged areas, with higher rates of deprivation, monetary dissatisfaction, homelessness and unemployment lead to higher rates of crime (Baron, 2006).

These experiences resonate for young people and their families across a range of 'Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS'[3] (Burnham, 1992, 2012); such as Gender, Race, Class, Education and Employment. For instance, many young people who go on to offend exhibit antisocial behaviours during school, contributing to the "school to prison pipeline" (Kim et al., 2010). This research emphasised that zero-tolerance policies, including expulsions and suspensions for truancy and disobedience are often rooted in institutional racism. The study suggests that the choice to leave school prematurely is a response to being pushed out rather than a voluntary choice and is a significant predictor of future imprisonment (ibid).

Crucially, this strain and pressure is experienced by the whole family, with the inequalities young people face stemming from decisions that are out of their control: the geographical location they were brought up in, the schools and quality of education available to them (Farrington & West, 1993), and various identity factors or Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS, such as race and class (Barry, 2007; Morgan, 2007; Peterson et al., 2007).

Examining how socioeconomic disparities and community conditions influence parenting practices can help to identify the link between how inequality is experienced across the family, and youth offending. For example, financial stress and limited resources can hinder parents' ability to provide consistent guidance and support, meaning that children are more vulnerable to delinquency (Besemer et al., 2017; Wildeman, 2020). Moreover, families who live in areas with higher crime rates and less neighbourhood cohesion may face additional pressures, increasing the likelihood that children are more prone to delinquency and parents more focused on family safety (Brisson & Roll, 2012). In environments characterized by inequality and social disadvantage, parents may themselves have experienced adversity or have lacked positive role models, which can affect their parenting style and behaviours (Besemer et al., 2017). If parents have been involved in criminal activities or have negative coping mechanisms, such as substance abuse, their children may be more likely to emulate these behaviours (Parke et al., 2004).

[3] An acronym outlining various identity factors to explore differing power dynamics across different contexts, representing: Gender, Geography, Race, Religion, Age, Ability, Appearance, Culture, Class, Education, Employment, Ethnicity, Spirituality, Sexuality, and Sexual orientation.

1.5.2 Social Discourses and Labelling

The media, politicians and various institutions have been responsible for 'othering' young people (Fielder & Catalano, 2017); for example, through the use of the word "gang" to describe groups of antisocial young people, often under the assumption that they are males and racialised as black. This stigmatising and racist characterisation of black youths can lead to the amplification of deviancy due to often-exaggerated attention and scrutiny by the police and by the media (Hill, 2001; Wiley & Esbensen, 2016). A further exploration of the school to prison pipeline also found that teachers saw no alternative to zero-tolerance policies due to their attitudes that behaviours exhibited by the minority ethnic children are rooted in unalterable cultural norms (Berlowitz et al., 2017).

Labelling is a phenomenon that inherently impacts the family, particularly when one member has been in contact with the police or official justice systems. The families become known as 'criminal families', and consequently are under increased scrutiny and surveillance due to bias shown against them by justice systems and by the community (Kotova, 2020). This can mean that these families will be reprimanded for offending more often, will appear in official statistics more frequently, and this cycle continues onwards intergenerationally (Besemer et al., 2013). This experience of stigmatisation due to association with the labelled individual can lead to judgement or ostracization from their community, peer group or family members, leading to feelings of shame and isolation (Kotova, 2020). For parents of young people who offend, this can increase emotional distress, alongside feelings of guilt, helplessness and blame, leading to emotional burden which can further strain family relationships and worsen mental health (Deakin et al., 2022). This can have an impact on finances and social support available to the family, further compounding the stress and strain experienced, and leaving parents with less access to resources or assistance (Hollingsworth, 2007).

'Mother-blaming' (Holt, 2009) is commonly reported via mainstream and social media to explain youth offending (Gueta & Condry, 2024; Jackson & Mannix, 2004). Systemic issues such as being a lone female parent, coming from a working-class background, or minority ethnic background all increase the likelihood of being held responsible for the actions of their children (Harris, 2008; McLanahan & Booth, 1989). The overall effect of this could be feelings of inability to participate fully in legal decisions and practices which may further

impact the family, as well as secondary victimisation through stigma and negative community reactions (Holt, 2009).

1.6 Risk Factors for Offending

Whilst the thinking has since developed, a substantial body of research has focused more qualitatively on risk factors of offending, with developmental perspectives citing low socioeconomic status, affect delinquency and poor parental supervision as key, (Farrington, 2003; Loeber & Farrington, 2000) attributing the root causes to chaotic and unsafe schools, neighbourhoods, and home lives (Barnert et al., 2015; Pyle et al., 2020). Commonly reported risk factors to offending include being troublesome, having a convicted parent and high impulsivity (Farrington et al., 2016). However, this places the onus of responsibility at an individual level, with little thinking about the systemic forces which might have additionally impacted this trajectory.

1.6.1 Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs)

Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) have been identified as a set of negative experiences that increase the likelihood of various negative life outcomes, including likelihood of offending (Felitti et al., 1998). The original study identified ten experiences before the age of 18 (Table 2) which were predictive of poorer health outcomes, whereby cumulative exposure to ACEs increases risk to an individual's brain development, which may contribute to the development of psychiatric disorders (Teicher et al., 2003), but also increase the risk of offending (Craig et al., 2017).

Table 2

Adverse Childhood Experiences (Felitti et al., 1998) *and their prevalence across young people who offend* (Malvaso et al., 2018)

Description of Adverse Childhood Experience	Prevalence of individual ACE **(Malvaso et al., 2018)**
Physical abuse	27.4%
Emotional Abuse	34.2%
Sexual Abuse	12.2%
Physical Neglect	14.0%

Emotional Neglect	21.1%
Household Substance Abuse	24.6%
Violent treatment towards mother	[No data]
Parental separation or divorce	80.4%
Household mental illness	10.8%
Having a household member incarcerated	60.8%

Review data from 124 studies across 13 countries have found that the odds of justice-involved young people having experienced at least one ACE was 12 times greater than non-justice involved young people. In addition to the figures in Table 2, 55.3% of justice-involved young people experienced domestic violence, and 87% of young people experienced at least one traumatic event (Malvaso et al., 2018). These experiences either occur within the family home or whilst children have been under the caregiving responsibility of their parents, indicating the clear link between parenting behaviours, ACEs and poor future outcomes (Lange et al., 2019).

The ability for children to form a secure attachment with their parents provides a strong foundation for emotional regulation, resilience and social skills which are protective against future behavioural difficulties (Grady et al., 2017). In contrast, children who experience inconsistent caregiving and ACEs including neglect or abuse are more likely to be at risk for future offending (Dahake et al., 2018). Evidence also points to the relevance of social learning in shaping children's attitudes, whereby if children are observing and imitating antisocial or aggressive behaviours or attitudes from their parents, this could increase the likelihood of offending (Edleson, 1999).

Literature has shown that maladaptive family functioning, such as high family conflict, or high parental stress positively influences rates of behavioural problems across children and young people (CYP) (Kim et al., 2007). Systematic review data found an association between ACEs and family functioning, and thus highlights the importance of family-focused care to support children at risk of offending and mental health difficulties (Scully et al., 2020). Positive parenting practices such as displays of warmth and consistency can mitigate the impact of ACEs on children's development, whereas harsh or neglectful parenting can exacerbate the impact (Yamaoka & Bard, 2019).

1.6.2 The Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD)

Using a biopsychosocial approach can be helpful in considering how individual, family, intergenerational and social contextual factors interact to explain the development of delinquent behaviour. One example is the CSDD. Key findings from its 40-year lifespan, alongside the study's strengths and limitations are widely available (e.g. Farrington et al., 2016).

Crucially, this study indicated the impact of family dynamics and parental influence on future criminal behaviour. Criminal record checks were undertaken when the males were 32 years old to determine whether they had offended and what the type of offences were, and from this, several predictors at age 8-10 years for future delinquency and/or criminality were found (Table 3). Further findings showed how 73% of those convicted at 32 years were exposed to a combination of three or more of the previously stated risk factors (Farrington, 2013),

Table 3

Predictors of later delinquency and offending (Farrington et al., 2006; Farrington, 1995)

1.	Antisocial behaviour, including being troublesome in school, dishonesty, and aggressiveness.
2.	Hyperactivity, attention deficit disorder, daring, risk-taking and poor concentration.
3.	Low intelligence and poor school attainment.
4.	Family criminality, convicted parents, older siblings, and siblings with behavioural problems.
5.	Family poverty, large family size and poor housing.
6.	Poor parental child-rearing behaviour, including harsh and inconsistent discipline, poor supervision, neglect, and parental conflict.

The predictors above (Table 3) indicate that risk factors fall in to one of three domains: individual risk factors, family environment, and community and neighbourhood. Family, community, and neighbourhood factors have an equally significant role to play. Key secondary findings of the study are that inadequate parental supervision and inconsistent

discipline increase the risk for onset and persistence of delinquent behaviour amongst CYP, alongside parental criminality and the intergenerational transmission of criminal behaviour (Farrington et al., 2001), and positive, securely attached parent-child relationships (Farrington, 2005). Finally, family structure does positively influence risk for delinquency, for example large family size and single-parent households (Farrington, 2010).

The CSDD has undoubtedly been hugely impactful, and its findings are consistent with other research aiming to explore the long term-impact of childhood behaviours on future outcomes. For example, the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study, a longitudinal study in New Zealand, found that pre-school behaviour problems were the best predictor of antisocial behaviour at age 11 (Poulton et al., 2015). The Newcastle Thousand-Family Study also reported a strong association between deprivation in the home, such as poor parental guidance and/or supervision and future male delinquency (Kolvin et al., 1988).

1.6.3 The Integrated Cognitive Antisocial Potential (ICAP) Theory

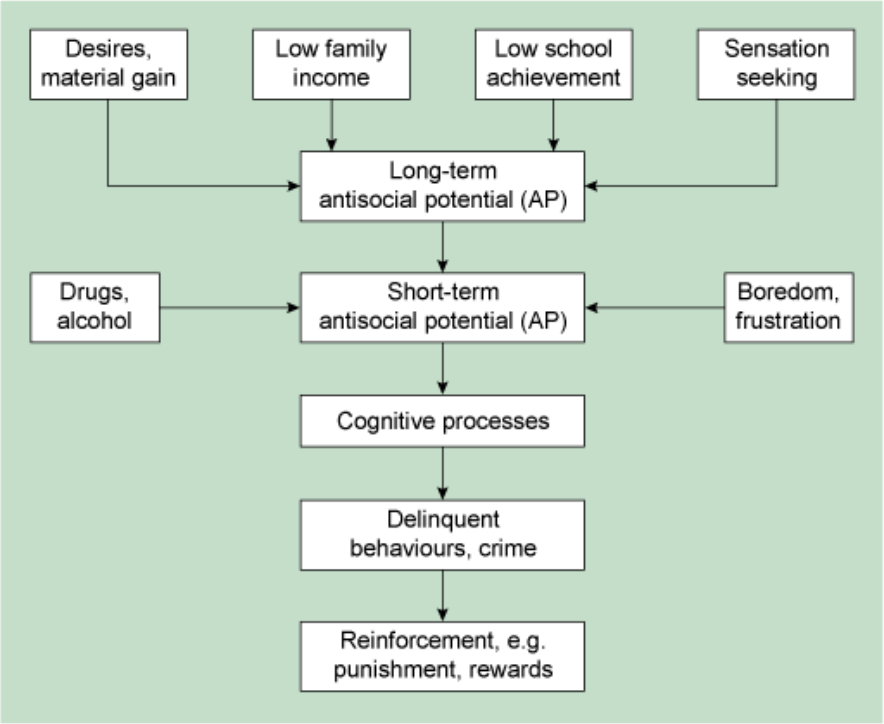
Based on the findings from the CSDD, a theoretical model was developed to explore risk factors for criminality. The Integrated Cognitive Antisocial Potential (ICAP) Theory (Farrington, 2005; Farrington, 2020) is based upon the premise that factors which increase the risk of offending vary over time, and that there are short and long-term risks which contribute to a person's 'antisocial potential' (AP): their potential to behave antisocially which can translate into criminality. Individuals with long-term AP often come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, exhibit impulsivity, sensation-seeking tendencies, poor socialisation and have a lower intelligence quotient (IQ). For instance, children who experience neglect or lack warmth from their parents may show diminished concern for parental discipline, thus failing to learn to refrain from engaging in antisocial behaviours. Conversely, individuals with short-term AP may find it becomes escalated due to situational factors e.g., frustration, anger, boredom, or alcohol consumption, resulting in poor decision making.

By integrating these various factors shown in Figure 1 (The Open University, n.d.), the ICAP theory enhances our understanding of the complexities of antisocial trajectories and informs efforts to prevent and intervene in offending behaviour amongst CYP. Parental and family upbringing play a critical role in shaping the social learning and environmental

influences, as well as the cognitive mechanisms and socialisation processes through providing opportunities for modelling, reinforcement, socialisation and the shaping of children's responses to social cues and situations (Cernkovich & Giordano, 2001; Loeber & Farrington, 2000).

Figure 1

ICAP Theory



1.7 Parental Experience and Responsibility

Research has found that parents, in particular mothers of young people who offend, are more likely to have experienced their own mental distress (Athanassiou et al., 2023; Dean et al., 2012). Much of the literature on ACEs asserts that adverse experiences, such as domestic violence and the impact of parental divorce/separation impacted others in the family, outlining intergenerational trauma (Leslie et al., 2023; Narayan et al., 2021)

Families do have a key role to play in deterring their children from offending, with review and meta-analysis data showing that family based interventions can be successful in mitigating the onset and continuation of criminal behaviour, leading to lower rates of reoffending and less time spent in custody (Aos & Drake, 2013; Henggeler & Sheidow, 2012). A review on the effective management of young people found that family based

programmes can reduce recidivism and tend to be more effective than a custodial sentence (Adler et al., 2016).

It should be noted that, alongside consideration of ACEs the extensive literature promulgating 'intergenerational offending' has been increasingly critically reviewed. Reappraisals of work have pointed to potential damage from language that perpetuates harmful stereotypes and contributes to a fatalistic outlook on the futures of families and children, potentially leading to additional isolation, as mentioned earlier (Kotova, 2020) Another comprehensive review of the literature found that whilst these children do face higher risks of involvement with the CJS than their peers, other factors such as family stability, socioeconomic status and access to supportive services resulting from the inequalities faced due to parental imprisonment significantly influence these outcomes (Conway & Jones, 2015). Crucially, this language and the evidence base from which it stems has also been used politically, appearing in the recent Labour Party manifesto (Labour, 2024) as well as in other high-profile and influential documents and reports; including the Operation Paramount national violence reduction scheme (Thames Valley Violence Prevention Partnership, n.d.) and the Farmer Reviews (Farmer, 2017, 2019); two Ministry of Justice Commissioned reviews of prisoner rehabilitation. The presence of this language and these labels in the demonstrate the scope in which families can be stigmatised further, whilst perhaps neglecting to address the wider structural issues that families face such as those stated in Section 1.5 of this thesis.

1.7.1 Parental Supervision

In the UK, parents still have substantial responsibility of their child once they are convicted, e.g., via parenting contracts and orders (Holt, 2009). Meta-analytic data have shown that effective parental supervision limits opportunities for youths to behave antisocially, by allowing parents to address risk factors, limit antisocial activities (Hoeve et al., 2009), and help young people internalise prosocial norms (Sampson & Laub, 2003). Effective parental supervision can act as a protective buffer against negative influence (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Wertz et al., 2016). Most importantly, the implementation of effective parental supervision can be supportive in providing early intervention for youth at-

risk of offending, meaning parents recognise signs of problematic behaviours and intervene accordingly (Loeber & Farrington, 2000).

1.7.2 Parenting Programmes

Parenting Programmes, such as Triple P (Sanders et al., 2014) are intended to support parents in building skills, via equipping them with knowledge and strategies to effectively manage their child's behaviour, offering support and encouragement by linking them in with others families facing similar issues (Barlow et al., 2016; Bunting, 2004). Parents are taught about concepts such as positive reinforcement, effective communication and discipline skills and problem-solving strategies with the intention of empowering parents to address challenging behaviours (Sanders & Glynn, 1981). Data from meta-analyses and reviews have shown that the Triple P parenting program is effective in supporting parents to reduce challenging behaviours (Nowak & Heinrichs, 2008), which supports their intention of disrupting negative developmental trajectories and strengthening family functioning (Nowak & Heinrichs, 2008; Sanders et al., 2014).

Despite the positive findings, mandatory attendance can reinforce the idea that parenting deficiency is the cause of youth offending (Chitsabesan et al., 2006). Blame ignores how structural, social and environmental factors interact to inform children's behaviour, which moves away from problem-solving the wider societal contributors for offending (García-Ponce et al., 2023). Many parents perceive parenting programmes as a punishment, which may again reinforce feelings of blame and resentment (Butler et al., 2020) and disrupt a parent's relationship to future help seeking (Girio-Herrera et al., 2013; Keller & McDade, 2000).

1.8 Conclusions and Rationale

This study aims to explore the realities of parental responsibilities for young people who have offended. By focusing on caregiver experience and particularly on parental self-concept and the way this changes through contact with the criminal justice system, this research hopes to deconstruct widely held assumptions about criminality and speak to lived experience.

Considering youth offending in the context of parental experience requires comprehensive strategies that address the root causes of inequality, improve access to

supportive resources and opportunities for families, and promote positive parenting practices. By considering the underlying socioeconomic and environmental factors that influence parental experiences, this research intends to work towards creating a more supportive and nurturing environment for children and reducing the risk of youth offending. The exploration of parental self-concept and how this might change through processes around custody has direct implications on the corresponding access needs to services, whether that be via through community support groups or healthcare, or through the galvanisation of social support.

This research acknowledges the Farmer Report (2017), which placed family ties at the heart of prison reform, and enhanced rehabilitation efforts (Farmer, 2017). By examining family experiences in depth and understanding external factors impacting family ties, this study aims to provide more nuanced evidence and specific recommendations for services that families believe could have positively influenced their child's trajectory and their own roles as caregivers. This will include reference to the practical needs of this client group, where efforts are best focused i.e., within public health services and/or community settings, and how professionals can work collaboratively cross-sector to support families and reduce antisocial behaviour and offending. This research aims to bridge the gap between clinical and forensic psychology, by highlighting how criminogenic factors and theory can aid wider understanding of the role and experiences of family related to youth offending, whilst using the findings to enhance clinical practice and intervention available for this demographic.

The following chapter will present a Systematic Literature Review, exploring the caregiver experience of their child's antisocial behaviour.

Chapter 2: Systematic Literature Review

2.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents a systematic literature review (SLR) relevant to the current study, offering more comprehensive understanding of what the literature says about how parents experience their child's antisocial behaviour. The methodology and findings from this SLR will be presented, alongside implications for clinical psychology practice and theory, and will conclude by indicating gaps in the literature which the current study aims to address.

2.2 Overview of Systematic Literature Review

SLRs use a comprehensive search strategy to systematically locate, appraise and synthesise all relevant studies related to a particular research topic, to answer a research question (Uman, 2011). By evaluating and summarising the current knowledge available to researchers, gaps in the literature can be identified to inform further research, as well as offering clinical and practical recommendations (Yuan & Hunt, 2009).

The initial stage of the review involved consulting the PROSPERO systematic review database as well as other research databases to assess whether there were any existing reviews on the research topic, of which there were none. This highlighted a gap in the literature around parental experience of youth in custody and provided a rationale for the present SLR. The review initially aimed to answer the question, within a United Kingdom context: 'What does the existing literature say about how parents experience their child's offending behaviour'? This resulted in many search results but few of specific relevance.

Various search terms were attempted; however, studies were either outside the time range for the review, related to the parents' offending, or focused on sexual offending. While it was considered that parents' experiences of their child sexually offending would be important, it was felt that a majority of studies focusing on this area would skew the review to a different phenomenon of interest. The SPIDER Search Strategy (Cooke et al., 2012) was used to formulate the SLR question and subsequent search strategy (Table 4):

Table 4

SPIDER Search Strategy

SPIDER Criterion	SLR Question
Sample	Caregivers
Phenomenon of interest	Youth antisocial behaviour
Design	Published empirical literature
Evaluation	Experience
Research type	Qualitative or Mixed Methods

The decision was therefore made to broaden the SLR review question. The final review question was '**What does the existing literature say about how parents/carers experience their child's antisocial behaviour?'**

It was acknowledged that 'antisocial behaviour' was a broad term incorporating many behaviours, presentations, and outcomes. This SLR aimed to explore the experience of caregivers and therefore it was not deemed necessary to operationalise the term 'antisocial behaviour' further.

2.3 Methodology

Initial scoping of the literature identified that family mental health and antisocial behaviour are explored by multiple disciplines though primarily by psychology and social care, using a variety of methodological approaches. Therefore, it was important that the broad nature of research was captured via careful database selection. SCOPUS and PubMed were selected due to the vastness of their databases which include peer-reviewed journals and articles from various disciplines, including social sciences, health, and psychology. APA PsycArticles was also selected to further capture literature under disciplines of psychology, social care, and social science.

The search strategy (Table 5) was decided upon by conducting several database pilot searches and by looking at key words included in relevant articles to capture the most used terminology included in article titles and abstracts. Initial searches were broader to capture

the most inclusive literature search (parent* AND experience AND (child OR young OR youth) AND antisocial behaviour) as one search string, before refining each of these concepts further. Scopus has an elegant 'Advanced Search' function, which allowed line by line searching to facilitate refinement of final search terms. Each concept could be searched to explore their relevance to the phenomenon of interest, and then combined with additional concepts to locate the literature most applicable. This could be replicated on other research databases using the Boolean operators 'OR,' and 'AND'.

Table 5

SLR Search Terms

Concept 1 **AND**	Concept 2 **AND**	Concept 3 **AND**	Concept 4
Parent	Experience	Youth	Antisocial Behaviour
OR	**OR**	**OR**	**OR**
Carer	Understanding	Young	Crim*
Caregive*	Narrative	Child	"Criminal
Mother	Story	Juvenile	behaviour"
Father	Stories	Adolescen*	Delinquen*
Maternal			"Delinquent
Paternal			behaviour"
			Offend*

This process necessitated discussion with the researcher's primary supervisor and with the University's Library Information Officer. Through these discussions, the concept "challenging behaviour" was removed, as this resulted in extensive literature about the intersection of challenging behaviour and neurodivergence and/or learning difficulties. Whilst it was considered that some of the findings from these papers may be relevant to the review question, it was felt that other terms such as "criminal" and "delinquen*" would also capture relevant papers. Moreover, there was some deliberation as to whether to include "experience" as a concept, due to a sense that it was too broad and would not impact the

searches. Upon its exclusion, fewer results were yielded however more studies were quantitative.

The literature search was conducted between February-April 2024 using the search terms denoted in Table 5. The search terms were applied to search across the title and abstract for all databases, and 'key words' were also searched where the database had this option.

2.3.1 Eligibility Criteria

Filters were used in the search engines to impose eligibility criteria to filter out irrelevant studies. The date range was decided as 1998-present, as 1998 was when the Crime & Disorder Act came into action (whereby the principal aim of youth justice was the prevention of offending) in England and Wales. It was decided that only countries with similar criminal jurisdiction processes would be included, to explore whether this process was impactful on caregiver experiences. Once screening had been completed, this meant that publications from the following countries were included: England, the United States of America (USA), Australia and New Zealand. Only articles published in English were included. Once searches had been run, the studies were screened in accordance with the inclusion and exclusion criteria (Table 6), to assess their eligibility.

Table 6

SLR Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Empirical studies published since 1998 (inclusive)	Studies published before 1998
Studies published in the English language	Studies not published in the English language
Studies detailing the experiences of caregivers (parents/those with caregiving responsibilities)	Studies detailing the experiences of young people or professionals
	Studies about experience of caregivers whose children were over age of 21y at the time of imprisonment

Studies detailing experiences of caregivers' experiences about their child's (<21y) antisocial behaviour Qualitative or mixed method studies with a significant qualitative methods Studies published in the United Kingdom, the United States of America (USA), Australia, and New Zealand	Solely quantitative studies Theory papers, opinion pieces Studies published outside of the United Kingdom, the United States of America (USA), Australia, and New Zealand

This SLR focused on qualitative literature, or mixed-methods studies with a significant qualitative element, as the aim to explore and prioritise caregivers' first-hand lived experiences of their children's behaviour could be best achieved using these methodologies. Following primary searches, the first 10 pages of Google Scholar were searched manually, as well as 'forward and backward snowballing'; which refers to the manual searching of reference lists and citations of selected papers to ensure that no relevant studies had been missed (Kitchenham & Charters, 2007).

Deciding which papers fit the criteria was complex, as most studies would explore this in the context of other experiences e.g., sex offender registration, being notified of detention, or through accessing a parenting programme. Studies were only deemed eligible if experiences and impact of antisocial behaviour were discussed independently, or if the experience contributed to caregivers' meaning making of their child's antisocial behaviour. These decisions were considered thoroughly and were supported by the additional screener (a doctoral peer) when deciding on eligibility.

2.4 SLR Search Results

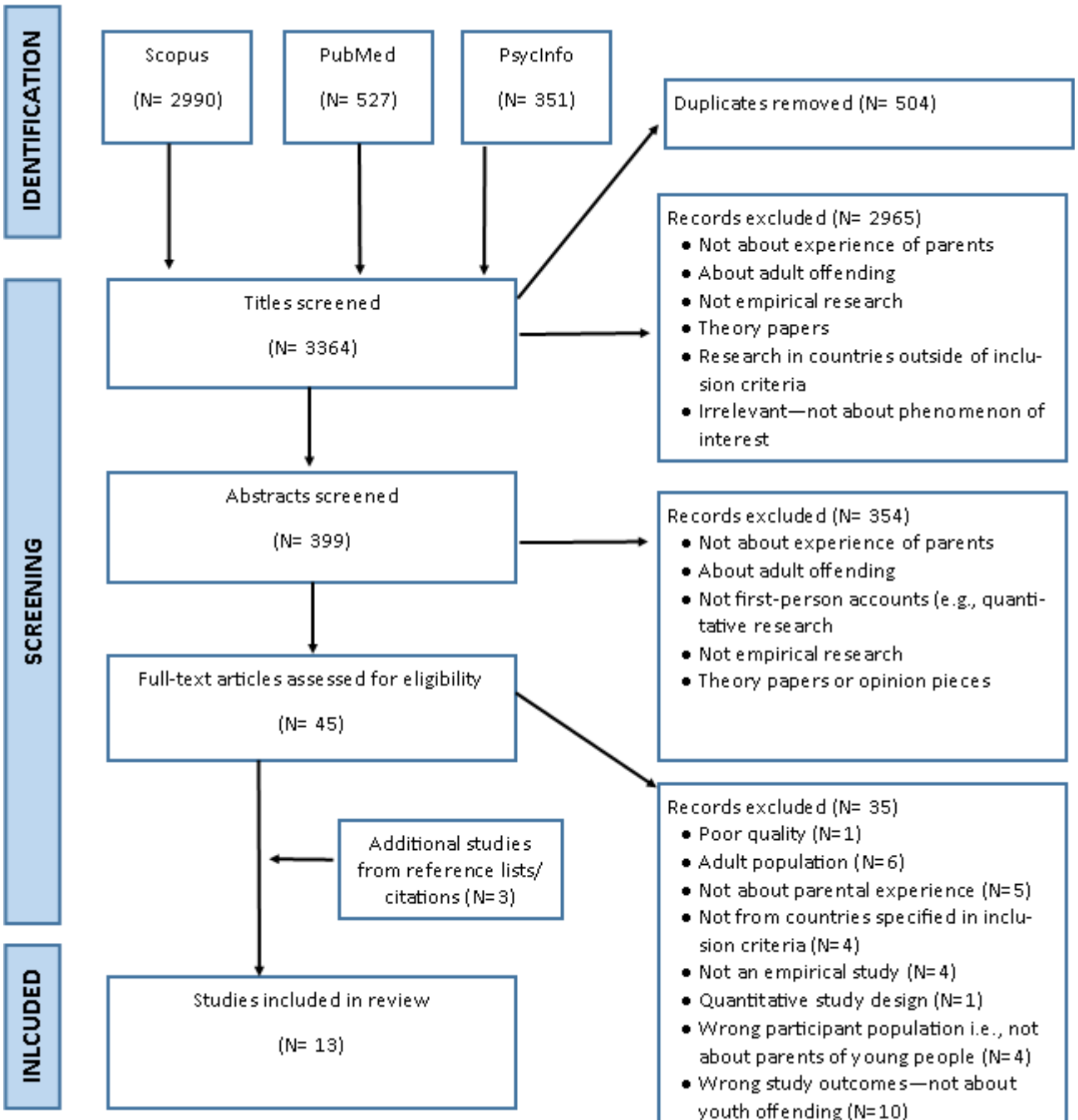
2.4.1 Screening Process

The initial database searches identified 3,868 sources. All searches were imported into Covidence, a systematic review assistance programme, which removed duplicates (N=504). 3,364 papers were then screened by title using eligibility criteria, and then screened by abstract (N=399), leaving 45 papers for full text review. Subsequently, eleven papers met the

eligibility criteria for this SLR, alongside an additional three papers from other sources. A full overview of this process is provided in Figure 2.

Figure 2

PRISMA Flow Chart of Search Process



2.4.2 Overview of Studies

After identifying fourteen potential papers, the quality appraisal (weight of evidence) process was run (see Section 2.5). This led to the exclusion of one paper (Hil, 1998) and thirteen were fully extracted. The thirteen selected papers offered data from four countries: England (N=5), USA (N=5), Canada (N=2) and Australia (N=1) and spoke to the experience of 143 caregivers; primarily parents, though some studies also included the experiences of older siblings and wider family members who had a caregiving role. Twelve of the studies were qualitative, and one used mixed-methods (Romano & Gervais, 2018).

Four of the papers explored caregiver experiences in the context of harmful sexual behaviour or sexual offending (Archer et al., 2020; Jones, 2015; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018), and three explored youth offending and imprisonment more specifically (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Knowles et al., 2016). Two papers explored experiences related to when caregivers were notified of their child's detention (Church et al., 2009; MacNeil et al., 2015), and two explored experiences around their child's school exclusion (Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Martin-Denham, 2020). The final two papers explored caregiver experiences in the context of their child's substance abuse (Usher et al., 2007) and attending a diversion programme (Magidson & Kidd, 2021). Of these papers, one specifically explored how race interacted with parental experiences of youth imprisonment (Adams & McCarthy, 2020).

All papers detailed how caregivers experienced their child's antisocial behaviour. A summary of these studies can be found in Table 7.

Table 7

Studies included in Systematic Literature Review

No.	Author, Year, Title, and Country	Aim	Participants / Sample	Methodology (Data Collection and Analysis)	Summary of Findings	Strengths and Limitations[4]
1.	Adams & McCarthy (2020) Race and parenting in the context of youth incarceration England	To find out what it means to be a primary caregiver of a young man in prison, including reflections on the history of the relationship over time, social impacts on caregivers as well as whether, and how, relationships had changed as a result of the separation induced by imprisonment. This paper specifically	Purposive Sampling across two young offender institutions in the UK **N = 24** Black and Minority Ethnic interviewees Of this sample, N=12 Black	Data Collection**:** Individual interviews Data Analysis: Qualitative analysis (unclear which): transcripts coded line by line, finer synthesis of themes developed	Three themes: 1. Parenting young men in the context of racialized (in) justice – challenges faced in trying to prevent young men being caught up in the criminal justice system 2. Cultural shaming – in the context of race, religion	Strengths: • Examination of race outside of a US context, allowing for differing histories of migration and colonialism Limitations: • Unclear how data were analysed

[4] As identified by the paper authors and by the SLR researcher

		focused on the BAME portion of the sample.	N=12 South Asian N=16 mothers N=13 fathers Others were older siblings/ wider relatives		(South Asian interviewees) and intertwined with poverty and race (West/South African interviewees) 3. Coming to terms with incarceration: the role of faith and coping	
2.	Archer et al., (2019) Parents' perspectives on the parent–child relationship following their child's engagement in	To explore birth-parents' experiences in relation to the parent-child relationship following harmful sexual behaviour (HSB).	Purposive sampling: parents accessing a HSB service for children and young people **N=6**	Data Collection: Individual semi-structured interview Data Analysis: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)	Five subthemes: 1. Feelings evoked: "it's disturbing to be honest" 2. Searching for meaning: "where is this coming from?" 3. Child's identity as fragmented: "you	Strengths: • Key implications for practice using theoretical frameworks • Clear policy and practice implications about supporting

	harmful sexual behaviour England		N=5 female N=1 male		never knew what you got" 4. Wanting distance: "I just couldn't bear to be around him" 5. Moving forwards; "I gave him a cuddle"	engagement with HSB services Limitations: • Only able to access parents currently in a service in a specific location • Only one male recruited • Only one Group Experiential Theme (GET) presented • Small sample size
3.	Church et al., (2009) What do you mean my child is in custody? A qualitative study of parental	To explore parents' experiences upon learning of their child's detention, how they responded to this information and how they interacted with	Purposive sampling: parents of youths in a juvenile detention centre	Data Collection: 1:1 interviews Data Analysis: Qualitative analysis, thematic	Four themes emerged: 1. Feeling frustrated and confused 2. A perception of the system as being fair	Strengths: • Included practical and clinical implications and recommendations for future research • First study to view the juvenile justice

	response to the detention of their child. USA	their child who had been detained.	**N=11** N=8 female N=7 from African American heritage N=4 Caucasian		3. The juvenile system assuming a parental role 4. The influence of detention on family dynamics	system through the eyes of a parent in the USA Limitations: • Multiple interviewers thus potentially low inter-interviewer reliability with no indication of homogeneity checks
4.	Feingold, V., & Rowley, J. (2022). Journeys of endurance: stories of exclusion from pupils, caregivers,	'What are the narratives of primary school children, parents and school staff who have experienced permanent exclusion?'	Purposive sampling from a Pupil Referral Unit **N=3** parents N=2 pupils	Data Collection: Unstructured Interviews with parents pupils and school professionals Data Analysis: Narrative Inquiry Approach: Narrative Analysis AND analysis of narratives	12 themes emerged from adult (parent and professional) storied narratives: 1. The changes and escalation in behaviours over time	Strengths: • Thorough narrative exploration of experience, triangulating data from parents, professionals, and young people

and school professionals. England	N=2 school professionals	2. Significant events and the impact on the child in school 3. Exploring explanations of behaviour 4. Employing explanations for behaviour 5. Staff were unable to manage the behaviour 6. Support and relationships 7. The permanent exclusion 8. The wider impact on the family 9. Lack of support and guidance 10. Alternative provision support	• Clear implications for professional practice • Within-systems approach to school exclusion Limitations: • Very small sample size • Lacks recommendations for future research • Results section does not consistently differentiate between parents and professionals	

					11. Hopes and worries about the future 12. Reflecting on the past	
5.	Hillian, D., & Reitsma-Street, M. (2003). Parents and youth justice. Canada	To examine how parents of boys who have offended experience youth justice.	Purposive sampling (unsure where from) **N=10**	Data Collections: semi-structured interviews Data Analysis: Phenomenological Inquiry	Five themes emerged: 1. Stress and Loss 2. Hard work 3. Inadequate support 4. System Constraints 5. Restricted participation	Strengths: • Key implications on policy and practice • Service user involvement throughout the conceptualisation of study and analyses of data Limitations: • Thorough information on demographics as a narrative however difficult to digest as a reader

						• Solely Caucasian parents
6.	Jones, S. (2015). Parents of adolescents who have sexually offended: Providing support and coping with the experience. USA	Study 1: How parents of adolescents who have sexually offended felt when they provided support to their child after their sexual offence. Study 2: Identifying parents' lived experience and how they coped with this toll.	Purposive sampling: parent support group at the Family Treatment Programme **N=8** Study 1: N=4 Study 2: N=4 Caucasian and African American parents (N=unclear)	Data Collection: Study 1: Interviews Study 2: Interviews and Focus Groups Data Analysis: Content Analysis and constant comparison of each datum with all collected data to yield a conceptual understanding of the data	Study 1: Overarching theme was to prevent reoffending, and three themes emerged from context of 'the prescribed treatment' (via the court): 1. Being there 2. Parental toll 3. The parent's aspirations for the child's future Study 2: Major themes addressing ability to cope were: 1. How their response affected	Strengths: • Adding to limited existing literature on toll • Findings helped to identify and create a treatment programme for adolescents and their parents • Emphasise importance of using a multi-systems approach • Helpful evaluation of the Family Treatment Programme,

					their relationship with their child but their love for their child helped them to cope 2. Feeling personally responsible but better once they knew they weren't to blame 3. Feeling alone and overwhelmed and using prayer to cope Benefitting from support groups and knowing they weren't alone	allowing for sharing good practice Limitations: • Small sample size BUT rich qualitative data • Interview guide in study 1 may have elicited biased responses around positively providing support • Characteristics of sample: parents of adolescents who were successfully completing treatment
7.	Knowles et al., (2016).	To investigate parents' understandings of why their child developed	Purposive sampling: via Youth Offending	Data Collection: Free association narrative Interviewing	Transitional points (Chapters) considered to be important in the	Strengths: • Corroborates previous research

	Exploring parents' understandings of their child's journey into offending behaviours: A narrative analysis. England	their difficulties and became involved in the criminal justice system, but asking them to narrate their child's life story, focusing on important events.	Team Family Workers **N=6** N=1 male, N=5 female All identified as White British	Data Analysis: Experience-centred narrative approach	development of offending behaviours: 1. The emotional distress of the family following cumulative 'loss' and 'trauma' 2. Seeking help: they didn't listen 3. Vulnerability leading to a realisation that the world is not safe or just	• Insight into typically 'hard-to-reach' populations • Offers clinical recommendations Limitations: • Small sample size • Gatekeepers for sampling • Limited to those identifying as 'White British'
8.	MacNeil et al., (2015). What's a parent to do? How parents respond	To explore how parents respond to the notification of a child's police detention.	Purposive sampling: via police intake workers **N=14**	Data Collection: Semi-structured group and individual interviews Data Analysis: 'Pragmatic Qualitative Research	Five themes emerged: 1. Parents try to defer immediate interactions with the child rather	Strengths: • Used bracketing[5] to mitigate researcher's biases • Reflexivity throughout

[5] See 2.5.1 Evaluation of Quality for definition.

to notification of a child's police detention. USA	N=10 female N=7 single-parent headed household	Strategy,' qualitative analysis	than react out of emotion 2. Parents feel anger toward their child, but disappointment and shock are more strongly expressed emotional responses 3. Parents do not accept the behaviour but do not reject their child 4. Police behaviours communicate the seriousness of the act 5. The entire family suffers	• Includes implications for practice and future research Limitations: • No clear statement of aims • Small sample size • Gatekeepers for sampling • Limited to those identifying as 'White British'

					consequences from the child's act	
9.	Magidson & Kidd (2021). Juvenile diversion and the family: How youth and parents experience diversion programming. USA	To explore youth and parents' experiences in diversionary programming; exploring the nature of parental involvement in diversion programming and to gain an insight into parent-child relationships and bonds.	Purposive sampling: parents of children attending a diversion programme **N=19 parents** N=14 female, N=5 male N=6 single-parent household (all female) N=11 minority racial/ethnic group	Data Collection: Semi-structured Interviews Data Analysis: Thematic Analysis	Five themes: 1. Parents' Reflections on Bonds With Their Children 2. Youths' Reflections on Bonds with Their Parents 3. Parent–Child Attachment 4. Labelling and Parents' Perceived Blame 5. Parents' Concern for Labelling of Children	Strengths: • Strong theory-practice links drawn from findings Limitations: • Single programme evaluation, difficult to generalise findings • Small sample size • All youth involved were referred by schools, dependent on where they resided • Findings represent the perceptions of

			N=19 youths			highly motivated parents
10.	Martin-Denham., (2020). Riding the rollercoaster of school exclusion coupled with drug misuse: the lived experience of caregivers. England	To determine the extent of the barriers to mainstream schooling for those excluded for drug misuse, and to explore caregiver's experiences of their child's drug misuse and the impact it has had on them, their child, and their child's siblings	Purposive sampling: via 'gatekeepers' **N=4** (taken from a larger sample of N=21 for the original study) N=3 mothers and N=1 father	Data Collection: 1:1 face-to-face semi-structured interviews Data Analysis: Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis	Four superordinate themes and additional subthemes: 1. Barriers to mainstream schooling 2. The drivers and implications for drug misuse on the household 3. The impact of school exclusion on siblings 4. Barriers to timely access to health services	Strengths: • Strong statement of ethical conduct Limitations: • Small sample size – smaller than we would expect for the methodology • Does not ask for identity characteristics (such as ethnicity) which may have been relevant
11.	Pierce (2011).	To explore how parents perceive the experience of their child sexually	Purposive sampling from within a Family	Data Collection: Focus group and subsequent	Four conceptual themes: 1. The initial reaction	Strengths: • Findings can be used to build an

The lived experience of parents of adolescents who have sexually offended: I am a survivor. USA	offending in the context of their own lives.	Treatment Program **N=4** Caucasian and African American females	interviews (N=3 participant interviews) Data Analysis: Content analysis and constant comparison	2. The relationship with their child 3. "Dealing with it," 4. Being a survivor	intervention using a Trauma Outcome Process (TOP) model • TOP Premises are outlined • Provides implications for future research Limitations: • Small sample size • Completely female sample • All children had gone through the court process – experience of those who had not may be different

12.	Romano & Gervais (2018). 'He Wasn't Falling Apart… We were Falling Apart' Understanding the Mental Health Impacts on Parents of Youth Who Sexually Offend. Canada	To examine the mental health consequences to parents of youth who have committed a sexual offence.	Purposive sampling (unsure where from) **N=16** parents (from 10 families)	Data Collection: Semi-structured interviews and self-report questionnaires (mixed-methods) Data Analysis: Qualitative analysis, thematic	Seven themes: 1. Immediate emotional impacts 2. Perceived stress 3. Mood difficulties 4. Feelings of hopelessness 5. Coping strategies: avoidance 6. Coping strategies: problem solving 7. Coping strategies: social support	Strengths: • Mixed method design allowed for rich qualitative data and standardised, using various questionnaires and forms • Recruited over several years to capture a range of experiences over time Limitations: • Small sample size for quantitative data • All participants were recruited from a local hospital-based unit

						• Not all participants completed the interviews or self-report questionnaires
13.	Usher et al., 2007). Shattered dreams: Parental experiences of adolescent substance abuse. Australia	To explore the lives experiences of the parents who were caring for a substance-abusing adolescent.	Purposive sampling via media advertising **N=18** N=16 mothers N=2 fathers	Data Collection: 1:1 semi-structured interviews Data Analysis: Phenomenological analysis	Eight themes emerged: 1. Confirming suspicions 2. Struggling to set limits 3. Dealing with the consequences 4. Living with the blame and the shame 5. Trying to keep the child safe 6. Grieving the child that was 7. Living with the guilt	Strengths: • Corroborated previous findings • Good sample size • Sample drawn from two setting: urban and rural • Offers clinical implications Limitations: • Limited by the recruitment strategy • No recommendations for future research

	8. Choosing self-preservation

2.5 Quality Appraisal

As this review sought to synthesise qualitative data, the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP; CASP, 2018) was chosen to assess quality of data, as research shows it is the most-used criteria-based tool for research within qualitative health and social-care research and syntheses (Hannes & Macaitis, 2012). The CASP tool, and its various subsets are endorsed by the Cochrane Qualitative and Implementation Methods Group, indicating its effectiveness and validity (Long et al., 2020).

The CASP Checklist has ten criteria which each paper is assessed against, whereby the researcher indicates the extent to which the paper meets the criterion by selecting 'Yes', 'Can't Tell' or 'No'. An overview of the Quality Assessment can be found in Appendix A.

2.5.1 Evaluation of Quality

All studies apart from one were assessed as moderate-high quality and were subsequently included in the synthesis for this SLR. The excluded study (Hil, 1998) did not include a clear statement of aim or statement of findings, and it was unclear whether the data were collected in a way which addressed the research issue. Furthermore, it was unclear whether the data analysis was sufficiently rigorous or whether ethical issues had been taken into consideration.

In accordance with the CASP criteria, all remaining studies (N=13) had a clear statement of aims. All studies used a research design which was appropriate for addressing the aims of the research, either solely employing semi-structured interviews to gather caregiver experiences (Adams & McCarthy, 2020, 2020; Church et al., 2009; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Knowles et al., 2016; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Martin-Denham, 2020; Usher et al., 2007) or a combination of individual interviews and group interviews (MacNeil et al., 2015) focus groups (Jones, 2015; Pierce, 2011), and self-report questionnaires (Romano & Gervais, 2018). All but one study were clear about using a recruitment strategy which was appropriate to the aims of the research, whereas one study (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003) simply stated the geographical location from which participants were found. The data from all studies were collected in a way which addressed the research issue.

Four studies (Archer et al., 2020; Church et al., 2009; MacNeil et al., 2015; Martin-Denham, 2020) explicitly and adequately considered the relationship between the

researcher and participants, by stating that they had actively engaged in bracketing[6] and ongoing reflection to mitigate their preconceptions, biases or assumptions throughout the data collection and analysis process (Tufford & Newman, 2012). Seven of the studies explicitly stated that they had sought and received ethical approval from the researcher's university of academic institute (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Knowles et al., 2016; Martin-Denham, 2020; Romano & Gervais, 2018; Usher et al., 2007). The remaining five studies were marked down as 'Can't Tell' regarding ethical issues.

All but three were assessed as rigorous in their data analysis in accordance with the hints offered on the CASP Appraisal tool, however there was some variation in description of data analysis method, with some studies detailing the specific methodology e.g., Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Archer et al., 2020; Martin-Denham, 2020) or Content Analysis (Jones, 2015; Pierce, 2011), whereas other studies were more vague, stating that they had done a qualitative analysis whereby themes were extracted (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Usher et al., 2007). The studies offered no further detail, nor did they provide a thorough description of the analysis process. Finally, all studies included in the synthesis were deemed valuable, as they offered rich information pertaining to parent experience, and made recommendations for policy, practice, and future research.

2.6 Synthesis of Findings

Thematic Synthesis (Thomas & Harden, 2008) was used as it was developed specifically to bring together papers focusing on people's experiences and it offers a systematic approach to generating themes from qualitative studies. Thomas and Harden (2008) acknowledge that it can be difficult to determine what the findings are in qualitative research, and therefore recommend using data taken not only from direct quotes and experiences of study participants, but also from the 'Findings' or 'Results' sections of papers. Data were synthesised using NVivo software by the researcher firstly coding the extracted

[6] A process whereby the researcher consciously sets aside their own beliefs and assumptions in order to avoid misinterpreting or misrepresenting the participant's intended experience or meaning. This included researchers doing a pre-study reflection to scrutinise their own assumptions and biases with co-researchers, and reflective interviews post-data collection to further consider their biases/assumptions.

data from findings and results sections line-by-line, before organising the collected codes into descriptive themes and finally reorganising them to construct analytical themes which are relevant to the research question and SLR aims. Four high-order themes were generated, with 13 sub-themes between them (Table 8). A full list of studies in each theme can be found in Appendix B.

Table 8

Themes generated from Thematic Synthesis

Theme	Subtheme
1. Rebuilding the sense of being a 'good parent'	1. Shame, blame and resilience 2. Responding from a place of trauma 3. Impact of culture, race, and religion 4. Coping as best as you can
2. Persistence and personal cost	1. Physical and mental labour 2. Parental duty 3. Widespread suffering
3. Meaning making	1. Burden of responsibility 2. Sense of inevitability 3. How can this be the child I raised?
4. Institutions as barriers and facilitators	1. Institutional power 2. Left out and let down 3. Support from services

2.7 Theme 1: Rebuilding the sense of being a 'good parent'.

Twelve studies discussed the detrimental impact of their child's antisocial behaviour on caregivers, particularly in reference to their self-concept and beliefs around whether they were a 'good parent' or not. This theme explored how this was influenced by parent/carers past experiences and their culture, as well as how they sought to rebuild this sense of self.

2.7.1 Subtheme 1: Shame, blame and judgement

This subtheme was present in all but two papers (Church et al., 2009; Martin-Denham, 2020). Four studies spoke about caregivers' lived experience of receiving negative responses

from others (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; MacNeil et al., 2015; Pierce, 2011) and spoke about being treated differently or being actively criticised. Six studies spoke more about the blame and shame caregivers ascribed themselves, that they could and should have done something to alter their child's behaviour, or through their perceived failings as a parent (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Jones, 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021, 2021; Pierce, 2011; Usher et al., 2007). For caregivers' whose children had sexually offended or demonstrated sexually harmful behaviour, they located this as a failing in their parental responsibility, which did not meet "the 'good parent' ideal" (Archer et al., 2020, p. 364). Others felt a sense of disbelief that they had considered themselves "a good mom" (Magidson & Kidd, 2021, p. 1587), however felt their child's actions negated the things they did well, indicating that this belief could not be true: "I'm his parent, obviously [my son's participation in vandalism] is a reflection on his mom and I." (Magidson & Kidd, 2021, p. 1588).

Two studies reported a feeling of condemnation by their family as being a "failed parent", or especially a "bad parent" in comparison to other peers or family members who had also experienced similar hardship, (Adams & McCarthy, 2020), which ultimately led to the breakdown of relationships (Pierce, 2011). One study stated that "Close and supportive extended family was the exception, rather than the rule" (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003, p. 29). More specifically, three studies spoke to the gendered response of mother-blaming, that mothers were judged more harshly than fathers, and that their decision-making and responses were scrutinised more heavily (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Usher et al., 2007).

Parents across two studies explicitly stated that they felt that their parental ability was being judged by professionals in school (Feingold & Rowley, 2022), within the criminal justice system (CJS) or social services (Knowles et al., 2016), which exacerbated pre-existing negative feelings and beliefs about themselves, leaving them feeling more isolated.

> *Yet, day upon day Laura*[7] *was called in to the school and no matter how much she apologised, it felt like it was never good enough for them. She felt like she was at*

[7] All names are taken from the original studies included in this SLR and are pseudonyms.

> *breaking point and the last thing she needed was to feel judged by the staff.* (Feingold & Rowley, 2022, p 317)

Moreover, three studies shared that their shame was all-consuming, to the extent they internalised the offence as their own which led to feelings of not deserving help or support (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Pierce, 2011).

2.7.2 Subtheme 2: Responding from a place of trauma

Seven studies spoke to the negative feelings that this experience evoked, ranging from shock and anger (Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Pierce, 2011; Usher et al., 2007, 2007), hopelessness (Romano & Gervais, 2018), to feeling like they were no longer in control (Church et al., 2009; Jones, 2015). These feelings also seemed to increase alongside the severity of their child's behaviour/offending.

> *You feel you are alone in the world with this terrible thing that you have to be ashamed of. You cut back on friends, socializing. All your energy goes into surviving.* (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003, p. 26)

> *At one point, one parent was so overwhelmed with hopelessness that she wished her life would end.* (Pierce, 2011, p. 180)

Four studies acknowledged the role of trauma in their child's trajectory to antisocial behaviour, but also reflected on how triggering their child's behaviour had been on parents' own traumatic experiences. For example, one mother felt "terror" that her child was "transformed into his father", who had sexually abused her (Archer et al., 2020, p. 365). Together, this compounded feelings of negativity such as guilt and sadness, and also reignited preexisting shame around sexual or domestic abuse (Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Knowles et al., 2016).

2.7.3 Subtheme 3: Impact of culture, race, and religion

Two papers reflected on how their cultural identities came with their own preconceived ideas of what a 'good' parent looks like, or how a person should behave. For example one paper reported on a mother's belief that her son's lack of male role models in his life negatively influenced her ability to keep him on the right path (Magidson & Kidd, 2021). The

study by Adams & McCarthy (2020) specifically explored the experiences of caregivers from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds, and reported that culture was hugely impactful in the ways caregivers, particularly mothers, made sense of their self-identity in response to their child's behaviour, and that their experiences of shame were, in comparison with a white sample, better understood through the lens of race and religion. This paper explored the distinct impact this had on caregivers' child-rearing and sense-making, with caregivers reporting that cultural differences between them and their children were barriers. For example, it was difficult to reconcile the way they had been raised in other countries and therefore transmitted these same parenting values, with the way their child's British peers were raised.

> *Because growing up in the city because when they grow up, you know, children, when they are here they are rude…there are different cultures… It's not like in Africa, us parents they have to tell them what to do* (Adams & McCarthy, 2020, p. 182)

> *Living in the UK was regarded as a "land of temptations" for their children, where besides the cultural struggles to enforce their own traditions and standards of parenting, placed considerable pressures on parents*. (Adams & McCarthy, 2020, p. 182)

Consequently, caregivers in this study reported that they felt they had failed to meet cultural expectations, and thus faced isolation from her community and family, making it difficult to cope with this experience.

2.7.4 Subtheme 4: Coping as best as you can

Despite the negative impact that their child's antisocial behaviour had on caregivers' emotional reserve, six studies explored how caregivers tried to cope with this experience. All six studies reported caregivers either feeling alone or isolated due to feelings of shame, had difficulties accessing support from social networks or from professionals (Jones, 2015; Knowles et al., 2016; Pierce, 2011); or chose to isolate themselves as an expression of avoidance or wanting to escape the situation (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; MacNeil et al., 2015; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018). Some caregivers, particularly those whose

children had sexually offended, found it difficult to talk about the offence and would only share their experiences with a few trusted people (Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018).

> *I didn't want to do anything with anybody anymore; I kind of went into my own little hole, of just family … I didn't talk to my friend at work who I usually talk for hours …and even just going out … I just stopped; I just became a homebody.* (Romano & Gervais, 2018, p. 499)

In contrast, caregivers from three studies indicated that they had benefitted from support from friends and family (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018), or had needed external support. One set of parents spoke about initially secluding themselves at the onset of the offence, but had later accessed either spiritual support or psychological support to help them shift some of the blame away from themselves and hold a more objective outlook on this experience (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003).

Five studies reported how important it had been for caregivers to hold on to hope that things would improve, and that a change in circumstances e.g., starting a new school (Archer et al., 2020), moving house (Romano & Gervais, 2018), their child being detained (Church et al., 2009) or going through a diversion programme (Jones, 2015) would support this change. There was a distinct sense of having hope for the future in one study, where caregivers described feelings of hopelessness reducing over time, allowing them to put this experience behind them:

> *[We're] looking forward to moving…I think it [moving and finalizing the legal process] being over will be a huge relief…and recognizing it will never be fully over ever, but the huge weight of it will be gone and it doesn't have to sit somewhere in your head all the time which will be nice.* (Romano & Gervais, 2018, p. 498)

Across three papers, caregivers reported prayer being important in helping them to cope, enabling them to retain resilience through the experience (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Jones, 2015; MacNeil et al., 2015): "When the researcher asked her how she handled it, she stated, "Pray. Just pray. All I can do. Pray every single day to get them through it because without God, it ain't going to happen." (Jones, 2015, p. 1315)

Consideration of how caregivers wanted to reconnect with their children and thinking about how this experience had strengthened them to cope with any obstacles in the future was reported in two studies (Archer et al., 2020; Pierce, 2011), enabling caregivers to develop a greater sense of pride and self-efficacy: *"*Hold your head up… It's going to be hard. It's going to be very hard. But just hold your head up. And boy! I am a survivor!" (Pierce, 2011, p. 180)

2.8 Theme 2: Persistence and personal cost

This theme was present across twelve studies and spoke to how parents/carers persisted in supporting their child and themselves, and the personal cost this experience had on them and their families.

2.8.1 Parental Duty

Nine studies referenced the decisions made around how best to provide care for their child amidst antisocial behaviour. Three studies spoke to caregivers seeing their role as consistently showing or increasing love and support, which included empathising, listening, loving and believing their child and overall being there for them emotionally (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Jones, 2015; MacNeil et al., 2015): *"*In spite of your shortcomings, I love you. I cannot trust you as much but love ain't got nothing to do with that." (MacNeil et al., 2015, p. 352).

Five studies also spoke about how support and care may look different in the context of antisocial behaviour, such as increasing supervision of their child to reduce opportunities to behave antisocially, or abiding by any court or school assigned supervision/probation orders (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Jones, 2015; Romano & Gervais, 2018; Usher et al., 2007). One study spoke about caregivers needing to retract their support, for example removing their child from the family home while they are using drugs, which left caregivers feeling guilty but felt like it would be a necessary motivator for their child to change (Usher et al., 2007). Another parent also spoke about needing to alter their parenting style in the hope of supporting behavioural change:

> *So anyway I shifted the balance then to parenting an adult even though he was not an adult. Um, but he has always been terribly headstrong, so I thought well I've got*

> *no chance of controlling his behaviour, that is not going to happen. So all I can do is try and minimise the damage by finding out what is happening and being a friend to him and then if I know what is going on then hopefully I can influence his behaviour...* (Usher et al., 2007, p. 425)

There was a shared sense across six studies that although caregivers at times felt powerless to help their child (Martin-Denham, 2020), it was hard but necessary to orchestrate the separation of their child from the household to keep everyone safe (Archer et al., 2020). There was a shared sense that caregivers are ultimately the protector or defender of their children, and they will advocate and stand up for them no matter the circumstance (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Jones, 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Romano & Gervais, 2018): *"*[My son] has to face the consequences of what he's done for sure, but I'm not gonna stand by while they try to make an example out of these three over anybody else who's done this*."* (Magidson & Kidd, 2021, p. 1583)

2.8.2 Physical and mental labour

Five studies described the physical and mental labour that caregivers had to expend, for example one study described parents having to speak to their child much more about sex and consent after their child had sexually offended (Jones, 2015). Others also felt the burden of extra responsibility when trying to stop their child behaving antisocially, such as trying to keep the partners of their children safe and taking on a quasi-parental role (Usher et al., 2007). Moreover, caregivers have to navigate various systems to meet their child's needs, including travelling to/from and attending various appointments, which can demand huge amount of effort, time and money (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003).

> *'I spent days on the phone,' she said, 'communicating with different officials sorting out his comings and goings within the system. Working through such problems tended to take away whatever peace of mind was gained through the youth's placement at a residential resource.'* (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003, p. 27)

Two studies spoke to the financial cost of this and its impact on the lifestyle of them and their family, and their future; such as depleting the Christmas fund (MacNeil et al., 2015) or delaying retirement (Romano & Gervais, 2018).

2.8.3 Widespread Suffering

The final subtheme arose in ten studies and spoke to how the impact of the child's antisocial behaviour affected every aspect of their life. Three studies shared the sentiment that everyone suffers the consequence of the antisocial behaviour, including feelings of humiliation from being related to someone who has sexually offended (MacNeil et al., 2015), or shared feelings of guilt, shame and disbelief that something that they thought could only happen to other people has happened to them.

> *He was humiliated and it was embarrassing for him and embarrassing for us. I mean, humiliating. I'm like "I hope this is not going to be in the paper. I hope no one at church sees it." I mean all these things are going through your mind.* (MacNeil et al., 2015, p. 359)

One study spoke to how siblings in particular were negatively affected and are often overlooked by services. Parents therefore have to pay particular attention in supporting their other children to cope, to be reflective of how these behaviours have made them feel, to ensure that they do not follow the same trajectory, and also to ensure that other children are still attended to despite caregivers' attention being directed elsewhere: *"*Zita reflected that her daughters seemed to fade into the background at home to the focus of attention on the son*"* (Martin-Denham, 2020, p. 256)

Through these experiences, four studies explored that caregivers still have to carry on with their everyday life, such as going to work and caring for other children (Feingold & Rowley, 2022), coping with illness and change (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003), managing employment and the inevitable impact of their child's behaviour on it (Magidson & Kidd, 2021) and also being attentive to their personal and relationship needs, which suffered under the stress of the situation (Romano & Gervais, 2018)

> *The only words that come to mind are damage control … I think it [son's sexual offending] moves … a relationship … from a romantic relationship to … an operational role. (Step-Father 1); [But] it's just what we have to do to get through this; and … the fun in our life seems to have just vanished, and everything's about the kids. (Mother 1)* (Romano & Gervais, 2018, p. 502)

Five studies spoke to the sense of loss caregivers experienced, whether that was specifically related to loss of livelihood (Romano & Gervais, 2018; Usher et al., 2007), or hope for how they imagined their child's future would be. Studies also described a huge personal and emotional loss in terms of their ability to be resilient, the self-concept they had developed, and how they imagined their own lives would pan out (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Jones, 2015; Pierce, 2011)

> *One mother said, "I feel like a victim. I have no life," and another reported, "It takes a lot of emotional investment in what is going on, a lot of time." Despite this emotional toll, they all felt that they had to be strong and put on "the brave face" for everyone else because they had no one to turn to themselves. One mother even compared the experience with that of her child having a terminal illness* (Jones, 2015, p.1312)

2.9 Theme 3: Meaning making

This theme captures caregiver experiences on how they made sense or meaning of their child's antisocial behaviour, whether it was even possible to do so, and also where they placed the burden of responsibility. This theme was present across eleven studies (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Martin-Denham, 2020).

2.9.1 Burden of responsibility

Three studies found that caregivers did place the burden of responsibility onto their own child, suggesting that the child made their own decisions and there was little more that parents could have done to intervene (Jones, 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Usher et al., 2007). Some caregivers found it reassuring to realise that their child would do whatever they wanted, and that parental influence is limited, as their child has agency and freedom to choose. There was a sense of relief over discarding some of the usual parental burden of consent over a child, particularly given the nature of sexual offending and the intervention required:

> *"All you can do is be supportive and encouraging, but ultimately the decision or not to do treatment is up to that child. And that you're not responsible for that."* (Jones, 2015, p. 1314)

> *"I just think the child is going to do, they are going to act the way they are going to act. Regardless if the parent was [a] great parent or if the parent was not involved, you know?... A lot of people say it all starts at home, and it does. But then it doesn't."* (Magidson & Kidd, 2021, p. 1587)

Knowles et al., (2016) shared that some parents assigned responsibility onto their child's negative environment, whether that is school where there are other children with behavioural difficulties, or care-home environments where children may have access to drugs, and the limited control parents felt they had in controlling for this. The impact of their child being in with the "wrong crowd" was felt to have huge influence on their child's behaviours and beliefs, which they felt then led to involvement in antisocial behaviour.

Parental acknowledgement of their responsibility in shaping their child's behaviour was spoken about in four studies (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Church et al., 2009; Jones, 2015; Knowles et al., 2016), with caregivers expressing that ultimately they were responsible for their child's welfare and life outcomes. There was a shared acknowledgement that parents would do all that they could to support their children despite knowing their child had ultimate autonomy, and reflected when their parenting approach had been unhelpful, or that they had lacked control of their child:

> *One parent reported that she had taken just about all of her daughter's valued possessions away from her as punishment (for varying periods of time) and had restricted her freedom, but to no avail; her daughter continued to get into trouble.* (MacNeil et al., 2015, p. 358)

In one study, caregivers reflected that the home environment may have impacted their child's behaviour, such as one child who sexually abused minors was himself sexually abused as a child; or another child had parents who had histories of loss, abuse, mental health difficulties and violence: "Catherine said that she had a 'chaotic' household with other children to attend to and therefore did not notice her child's needs, and Paula reported that she had a 'breakdown' where she was not emotionally available for her child" (Knowles et al., 2016, p. 451)

In three studies, caregivers shared a sense that they did not know where to place the burden of responsibility or what had gone wrong (Archer et al., 2020; Feingold & Rowley, 2022) but that they needed to stop making up excuses for the behaviour and accept that their child was "battling some demons" (Feingold & Rowley, 2022, p. 316) and needed intervention to change their child's behaviour.

2.9.2 Sense of inevitability

Caregivers across five studies shared a sense of inevitability that their child would behave antisocially for a range of reasons. One study shared caregiver views that their child was vulnerable which contributed to them being taken advantage of or bullied, or that their behaviours were a way of expressing distress/an unmet need that parents had not known how to respond to appropriately: *"*They [family] used to go mad at him, and I did. I'll hold my hands up. I used to say 'you're bloody mental you', you know, because I couldn't understand.*"* (Knowles et al., 2016).

Thus, the child was labelled as "naughty," which then become a self-fulfilling prophecy[8], ultimately leading to further bad behaviour and corresponding punishment from parents and school professionals which escalated towards an antisocial nature. Conversely, diagnostic labelling was shown to be supportive of parents' meaning-making across four studies, with parents speaking to Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and/or Autism (Archer et al., 2020; Knowles et al., 2016) or a wider mental health difficulty (Church et al., 2009; Pierce, 2011) which played a role in understanding causality and the function of the behaviour. This helped to remove responsibility from the child, so that caregivers could say that this behaviour was not their child's fault which hugely improved family dynamics.

Caregivers in one study also leant on faith to make sense of their child's behaviour, as it allowed a spiritual explanation for their trajectory into prison (Adams & McCarthy, 2020). Feeling assured that this was all in "God's plan" enabled caregivers to deal with the experience more positively.

> *But the only thing, because I believe in God, I pray if he's there God knows why. God knows why…Because I believe in God, only one can do everything. Our plan is God*

[8] A concept taken from labelling theory (Merton, 1948), whereby a prediction becomes true, partially due to a person's expectation or belief that it will do so.

> *plan. God knows everything. I keep asking myself a question but the only person who knows the answer is God* (Adams & McCarthy, 2020, p. 186)

2.9.3 How can this be the child I raised?

The final subtheme was present in ten studies and reflected caregivers' difficulties to make meaning of their child's antisocial behaviour, and the way that they saw their changed perceptions of their child in the aftermath. Four studies reflected parents' disappointment or disbelief that their child had displayed a pattern of behaviour which was so different to the child that they hoped to have raised; such as misusing drugs and alcohol (Knowles et al., 2016), lying to their parents to cover up any behaviour which they know would be disapproved of (Usher et al., 2007), and overall disobeying and disrespecting parents' rules and guidance.

> *I started off by laying the law down right, but then I soon found out that he would just go behind my back, anyway and find ways to do whatever he wanted to do and all that resulted in was him losing respect and thinking that he was getting away with it. It was just undermining the relationship you see and meanwhile I didn't know what he was doing and I was just hearing about it and finding out about it a lot of suspicious behaviour.* (Usher et al., 2007, p. 424)

Four studies showed that caregivers had a more negative outlook on their children, particularly those whose children had demonstrated sexually harmful behaviour, whereby parents felt disturbed, shocked, troubled, and fearful at the thought of their behaviours (Archer et al., 2020). One parent described a desire for distance from the child, or a wish to emotionally withdraw as they could not accept nor understand their child's behaviours: *"*I just felt as if I just wanted to sort of push him away. I couldn't bear him giving me hugs and kisses and I was sort of like he's not my son, but I've got to deal with this." (Archer et al., 2020, p. 363)

Caregivers from two other studies shared this desire for distance, either due to the mental overwhelm of coping with their child's behaviours amongst other life stressors, for example, managing various health concerns including cancer (Martin-Denham, 2020), and

physiological sensations associated with the stress of the situation, such as stomach pains, headaches and migraines (Usher et al., 2007).

Three studies reported on caregivers needing to separate or split the two parts of their child who had behaved antisocially, as one 'normal' child who they recognise as the child they raised, and another child who causes trouble and has committed crimes (Archer et al., 2020; MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021).

> *It was a bit like a split personality really, one minute you know he can be shy and cry and next minute he could be shouting and screaming. / Every time I looked at him…I … I just felt sick. I felt like I was looking at a monster and then in the next hand he starts talking and then I'm looking at my son.* (Archer et al., 2020, p. 365)

Parents across four studies reported they had mixed feelings towards their child, and that their behaviours led to a loss of connection and trust in the immediate aftermath (Archer et al., 2020; Church et al., 2009; Jones, 2015; MacNeil et al., 2015).

2.10 Theme 4: Institutions as barriers or facilitators

This final subtheme reports on how caregiver experiences of their child's behaviour were influenced by their interactions with various institutions, including school, diversion programs and the CJS in its various branches, across eleven studies.

2.10.1 Institutional power

Six studies spoke to the power that institutions hold in everyday life, such as how the criminal justice system is perceived by society as an authoritarian force that demands that people listen or behave in a law abiding way once they are in contact with its agents e.g., the police (Church et al., 2009; MacNeil et al., 2015). Three other studies found that caregivers depended on institutions to administer their authority in the hopes that it would make the difference in changing their child's antisocial behaviour, either through police contact (Martin-Denham, 2020; Usher et al., 2007) or through exclusion from school (Feingold & Rowley, 2022). Two studies also found that interventions prescribed by institutions that families may have otherwise not have had access to, such as family therapy sessions or drug and alcohol treatment, were experienced as helpful in processing the consequences of antisocial behaviour as a family (Archer et al., 2020; Church et al., 2009).

2.10.2 Left out and let down

The majority of studies (N=10) reported that they felt let down by services and institutions at some stage, and that caregivers' needs had not been met. One study (Knowles et al., 2016) spoke to a general distrust of services; in particular the police in relation to how prior issues have been handled, which have in turn led to increased victimisation and subsequent antisocial behaviour. Three studies (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Knowles et al., 2016; Martin-Denham, 2020) reported that caregivers experienced a lack of support and guidance to manage the impact of their child's antisocial behaviour, and that services were difficult to access due to having stringent criteria. One study reported that caregivers had attempted to access support only to find that they lived one block outside the catchment area (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003). Some caregivers tried repeatedly to access support however felt frustrated that they were not taken seriously and that there appeared to be so many barriers:

> *We realise there is something wrong with behaviour now. I wanted them to have doctors involved, referrals. I referred him to everywhere I could, but no one seemed to take any responsibility. In the end, we shouted so loud that we got someone to the house.* (Martin-Denham, 2020 p. 29)

Four studies (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Church et al., 2009; Knowles et al., 2016, 2016) reported that they felt increasingly frustrated by authorities due to lacking or inconsistent communication, or police and professionals being uncaring, blaming or unresponsive. In summary, there was a sense that caregivers felt that unless their child was already in 'the system', due to SEND needs (Feingold & Rowley, 2022) or prior mental health needs, parents would be let down, or excluded from any decision-making processes (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Knowles et al., 2016; MacNeil et al., 2015; Martin-Denham, 2020).

2.10.3 Support from services

Six studies also found that the help caregivers received from institutions was a positive, or supportive part of their experience. Specifically, professionals demonstrated expertise and empathy that allowed them to navigate systems with greater ease, meaning that parents felt their voices were heard (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003).

> *'[W]e'd call (the probation officer) and say our son had been arrested again and we were at our wits end! He'd say 'put the coffee on, I'll be right over.' Professional expertise combined with empathy was highly valued, in contrast to dealing with someone who did not seem interested in the young person or whose attitude intensified a parent's sense of being at fault. (*(Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003)

One study spoke to caregivers' positive experiences of the CJS in supporting the whole family to understand their child's trajectory into antisocial behaviour, and how caregivers could have more of a role in managing this behaviour (Church et al., 2009). Two further studies spoke about how impactful staff, such as hospital-based social workers (Romano & Gervais, 2018) and staff in school (Feingold & Rowley, 2022), were regarding supporting the needs and wellbeing of both parents and staff, in a way which was attuned to their individual needs and circumstances. Two studies reported that caregivers specifically had positive experiences of the police, that they felt they had received fair treatment, and felt respected and believed (MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021).

2.11 Evaluation of the Review Findings

2.11.1 Summary of SLR

This review sought to answer *What does the existing literature say about how parents/carers experience their child's antisocial behaviour'?* The thirteen studies were synthesised into four overarching themes relevant to this question. Firstly, parents/carers were detrimentally impacted by their child's antisocial behaviour and its consequences, and experienced shame, blame and judgement. This included discussion of past traumas, the impact of culture, race, and religion and how caregivers attempted to cope with the situation.

The second theme explored the personal cost of their child's behaviour on parents/carers, and how this cost could be all-consuming for not only them but for the wider family. The physical and mental labour required of caregivers took a huge toll on them at the time and impacted future plans, however they also had to consider what they saw as their parental duty, and how this may have to change according to circumstance.

The third theme explored attempts to make meaning of their child's behaviour, and how they could explain why and how this had happened. Parents were mixed as to where they felt the burden of responsibility lay, with some apportioning it to the child, some taking responsibility themselves and others seeing this as shared across a range of factors. Some parents/carers expressed a sense of inevitability that this would happen, due to the personal characteristics of their child, whereas other parents struggled to make meaning of this.

The fourth theme spoke to various institutions and services, and the power they have in families' lives when managing a child's antisocial behaviour. For some, institutions were welcomed or seen as authoritative, and indeed some were helpful in supporting parents/carers through this experience, whereas others left parents/carers feeling let down, left out and wholly unsupported.

2.11.2 Evaluation of SLR

Strengths of the SLR are the inclusion of studies from a range of geographical locations, using an array of qualitative methodical approaches, which resulted in rich, detailed data to synthesise. Having said this, using a more phenomenological methodology to explore lived experience of the journey of their child throughout various antisocial behaviours and the outcomes of this may have offered a richer and more detailed understanding, beyond what has been synthesised in this review.

The eligibility criteria were limited to a number of countries who were felt to have similar youth justice structures with the rationale that some of the experiences may be related to the workings of the criminal justice systems. However, this does mean that caregiver experiences from other countries were missed, and upon completing the review, broadening the geographical parameters may have provided some additional data, encompassing a wider range of experience. It is noted that during the initial screening of studies, there was research from across Europe and Asia which may have been applicable, however they were screened out due to their very different justice system responses to young people who have offended. Notwithstanding this decision, it is acknowledged that a wider range of experiences may have benefited the research, from additional countries and geographical locations. Moreover, their inclusion would lead to a larger sample of studies with perhaps a larger sample of participants within them may increase the generalisability of

the findings. As the present review yielded just thirteen studies, this speaks to the need for additional research in this area and the gap which currently exists in the literature. Moreover, this outlines that additional research is needed for greater generalisability and to capture more diverse experiences; for example, those families where prior offending was evident, or which discussed the presence of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), which was notably absent in the findings.

This SLR did highlight the immense toll on parents/carers and on the family members when a young person behaves antisocially, across a range of antisocial behaviours. It should be noted that not all papers specified what the antisocial behaviour was, and it was also felt that the experience did differ. For example, the majority of parents/carers across all studies felt an element of shame and judgement, however caregivers of children who had sexually offended or displayed harmful sexual behaviour experienced a different version of this, related to the stigma of sexual offending, the severity of the crime, and also the possibility that others in the family had been abused (Archer et al., 2020; Jones, 2015; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018). Whilst the review sought to extract only the core experience of a child's antisocial behaviour, there was potentially a difference in severity of this behaviour which may have led to a wider variation of experiences.

One study specifically looked at the experiences of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) parents/carers to consider their experiences within the context of race and culture and also to compare their experiences with the study's white sample (Adams & McCarthy, 2020). This study found a qualitative difference based on race and ethnicity, which none of the other studies specifically commented on, suggesting that there is a unique phenomenon occurring for minority ethnic parents/carers, which necessitates dedicated research.

2.11.3 Clinical Implications of the SLR

The clinical implications of the SLR speak to the experience of caregivers being under-reported and underused for the development of youth justice provision. They face significant challenges from both their children and the system itself and are often blamed, ignored, and punished, irrespective of their background, which can lead to stress and loss. Caregivers invest substantial time, energy, money, and creativity in navigating the system's contradictions and constraints, typically without sufficient support or information.

The findings highlight the importance of preventative measures and collaborative problem-solving with those in the child's closest systems before a crisis occurs. Clinical Psychologists (CPs) working in this field must actively prioritise the wellbeing of families, and work collaboratively with them, offering training on emotion regulation and attuning principles. CPs must work to improve treatment pathways for families whose children are engaging in antisocial behaviour, which must use a non-judgemental approach that facilitates open communication. Counselling and family therapy can be effective to support caregivers' meaning making of their experiences and to help with negative feelings which may have arisen, and which may be impacting their ability to function. This may also be supportive in reducing referrals to services at a later time when/if mental health and wellbeing has worsened further. Moreover, this may equip parents to better support the rehabilitation and reintegration of their children back into society.

Given that the institutions themselves were experienced with varying satisfaction, CPs can be supportive in reframing information and support pathways for family, and also implementing training programmes for staff working within them to adequately equip people with information on next steps, and to identify where there may be a support need. Finally, CPs can enhance their cultural ties to various communities, whether these are faith-based or related to the Criminal Justice System (CJS) to further develop communication and promote information on referral pathways to both NHS services and to third-sector organisations/charities/parenting groups which may be of interest.

2.12 Aims and Research Questions

The clinical implications outlined above indicate that caregivers experience can contribute to clinical practice, but that recommendations can be varied depending on the specific experiences faced. Only a few studies looked exclusively at the experiences of their child offending and entering custody, which was felt to be a unique phenomenon. Finally, one study focusing on parenting from within the global majority indicated that they shared a particular set of experiences, which would benefit from further exploration.

Thus, the current research study will explore the experiences of parenting a young offender, from early life to youth custody. The study will use a phenomenological approach to gather rich and detailed experiences and will also focus on the experiences of minority

ethnic parents to add to the limited research in this area. The following chapter will present the methodology of the study, which will be followed by the chapters detailing the study findings and discussion of findings.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter will outline the methodological process of the research, including the epistemological position taken, an exploration of the research design and rationale for the use of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA, Smith & Osborn, 2009). Furthermore, this chapter will outline the recruitment, data collection procedure as well as ethical considerations taken throughout the study. Finally, this chapter will conclude with details on data analysis and how quality of the study was appraised.

3.2 Design

This study used a qualitative design to gain a more comprehensive exploration of a person's subjective experiences, and to make sense of the richness and depth of data offered (Harper, 2011). It was also felt that a qualitative design would allow a smaller subset of parents/carers the opportunity to get to know the researcher and feel more comfortable with wanting to share their stories. Given the sensitivity of the topics, a qualitative approach provided a gentler introduction into talking about experience, with enough time and flexibility for parents/carers to find a pace they found comfortable. It also provided space to explore experiences which are underrepresented in research and common discourse. Qualitative designs allow participants to go into as much depth that they are willing to, without being confined by more stringent data method collections associated with quantitative methods (Willig & Rogers, 2017).

3.2.1 Epistemological Position

This study is grounded in a critical realist (CR) epistemology. This study aims to explore phenomena that are grounded in 'reality' or uphold an objective 'truth', namely navigating institutions such as education and the criminal justice system, which abide by strict rules, procedures, and laws. However, participants navigating this reality will only be able to relate their own, individual, and personal experiences, and may not be aware nor have come across other factors which may have influenced this experience (Harper, 2011). The data collected will not necessarily reflect 'reality' but will instead reflect how they interpreted their experience to make sense of them, shaped by their lives and context: their own 'reality'. From this, the data will be analysed using a methodology which requires reflexivity,

through exploring their own biases, experiences, and knowledge. Thus, this epistemology allows for a jointly constructed lens of how various power structures have interplayed to achieve an interpretation of reality.

3.2.2 Experts by Experience

One expert by experience (EbE) consultant has been involved throughout this project as a research consultant, who was compensated using vouchers for their time. They supported the development of the information sheet and consent form as well as the interview schedule. The EbE consultant was key in piloting the interview and supporting with updating the content as part of the feedback process, as well as understanding the general flow of the interview in practice. They were involved in reviewing the key themes, and will support with any dissemination of the research, including presentations, infographics and authorship on reports/articles.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Consideration of Alternative Methodologies

IPA was felt to be the best fit for the aims of the study, however alternative methodologies were also considered (Table 9).

Table 9

Consideration of Alternative Methodologies

Methodology	Description and reason for dismissal
Thematic Analysis	Thematic analysis (TA) is a method used for analysing qualitative data to identify, analyse and interpret patterns of meaning and draw out broad themes (Braun & Clarke, 2022). TA can be applied across a range of research paradigms and theoretical frameworks, and is considered realist in epistemology (Clarke & Braun, 2017). More recently, reflexivity has become a key component of TA, with an emphasis on the researcher actively and organically developing themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013). TA allows the researcher to be flexible with the dataset

	and data collection method, but also can be used to critically interrogate subjective or social meaning around a topic of interest. The key difference between TA and IPA, which ultimately led to the favouring of the latter is that TA considers all cases as one single dataset, whereas IPA in its ideography considers each participant individually. The present study was not intended to generalise experience across a sample, but instead understand the complexities of individual experience for a single phenomenon.
Narrative Analysis	Narrative Analysis (NA) is concerned with how people tell the story of their experiences in order to make sense of them (Franzosi, 1998), with the idea that people live in a narrative world and later describe their lives in narrative terms (Stephens & Breheny, 2013). NA considers the social construction of phenomena via the construction of narratives. While felt to be relevant for the present study, social construction detracts from the emphasis on lived experiences of parenting a young person who has offended. Considering a person's narrative, within their process of sense-making felt better suited to IPA.
Grounded Theory	Grounded theory is a naturalistic method which allows the researcher to construct a theory based upon the data which are collected (Rustin, 2016). This can be helpful when there is little known about a phenomenon, and from this an overarching theoretical framework can be created. However, the present study sought to understand individual experience as opposed to the framework underpinning phenomena, and therefore IPA was felt to be a better fit.

3.3.2 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

The interviews were analysed using IPA. IPA places individuals as the expert of their own experiences, combining participants' interpretative sense-making of their experiences with the phenomenological process of using language to give voice to these experiences. Moreover, its evidence base is in providing detailed insight into personal lived experience of topics which are particularly complex and emotionally laden (Smith & Osborn, 2015), which is suitable for a research study using a critical theorist epistemology.

There are three key theoretical underpinnings pertaining to IPA: phenomenology, hermeneutics and ideography (Smith et al., 2009) (Table 10).

Table 10

Table x

Theoretical Underpinnings of IPA

Theoretical Perspective	Overview and Implications for IPA
Phenomenology	Phenomenology refers to the study of lived experience, from the first-person perspective (Smith et al., 2022). In the present study, IPA specifically allows the researcher to gain a detailed and rich 'insider perspective' of how it has been to parent a young person who has offended. It does this by considering and disentangling their subjective personal relationship to that event, based on their position in and embodied relationship with the world. IPA allows for the interrogation of interpretation: how people made sense of these experiences, based on their own socio-historical context (Alase, 2017), and how it impacted their relationship to the world.
Hermeneutics	Hermeneutics refers to the interpretation of meaning-making, with the understanding that every description or communication of experience necessitates interpretation. IPA seeks to understand how a phenomenon came to be, with the

	researcher responsible for exploring and co-constructing how this experience was made sense of with participants. As the researcher plays a key part in this process, they are urged to explicitly declare their ideas, biases and preconceptions with anyone interacting with their work, alongside the efforts made to mitigate against these (Smith et al., 2022). IPA also involves a 'double-hermeneutic', where the researcher attempts to interpret the participant, who is attempting to interpret their own experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Thus crucially, IPA requires the researcher to actively consider and reflect upon their own context and lived experiences, subjective viewpoints, beliefs, and biases, and how they interact with the content which arose in interviews. As such, the researcher must engage in 'bracketing'; actively removing their preconceptions and assumptions from the research (Gearing, 2004).
Ideography	An idiographic approach refers to the detail to which the phenomenon is analysed, with a focus on the specificity and uniqueness of each individual (Smith & Osborn, 2015). This contrasts with nomothetic approaches, which refers to the discovery of more generalised laws and theories. IPA is an approach that offers a nuanced, rich and thorough analysis of lived experience, in the participants' own terms and voice (Smith & Nizza, 2022).

3.3.3 Limitations of IPA

IPA is a good fit for the present study; however, it is important to consider its limitations. IPA relies on the use of language, both for participants and researcher. Participants must possess the language to fully capture, share and explore the complexity of

their experiences (Willig & Rogers, 2017). Part of the study's inclusion criteria was that all participants were from within the global majority[9] and thus the study had not excluded participants for whom English was not their first language, in an effort to explore a multitude of experience. However, this does mean that some participants may not have been as able to verbalise the nuances of their experience in a way which the researcher could easily comprehend or interpret.

3.4 Participants

3.4.1 Inclusion Criteria

This study focused on the experience of caregivers of young people who have offended, to the extent that they have experienced custody within a Young Offender's Institution (YOI). Caregivers could be biologically or non-biologically related to the young people, adoptive parents/caregivers, or other relatives such as grandparents, or aunts/uncles, who have held this role. The caregiver had to be the primary caregiver to the young person throughout the child's schooling life and throughout their time in a YOI, to be able to reflect on change over time.

The child of caregivers also had to enter and exit custody as a young offender, aged 15-21 and will have been released from custody a minimum one year prior to engaging in the research study. These criteria were decided as it would allow caregivers to reflect on how their lives had changed upon their child's release. The latter criteria were to maximise the likelihood that caregivers had had time to process their experience and felt emotionally ready to participate in the study, and to minimise the chance of harm and distress upon participation (Risan et al., 2020) which should not exceed what might have usually been experienced by the person, given their experiences. Finally, it was a requirement that caregivers identified as being people of the global majority (PoGM; Black, Asian, minority ethnic (BAME) background). This was in direct response to the findings and corresponding recommendations from the Systematic Literature Review (SLR), and in the effort to support the decolonisation of research by amplifying voices that have historically been excluded (Barnes, 2018).

[9] A collective terms for people who have been racialised as 'ethnic minorities', who are Black, Asian, Brown, dual-heritage or indigenous to the global south.

3.4.2 Exclusion Criteria

The study excluded caregivers whose children were still in custody or whose child's conviction was for a serious offence which necessitated them transitioning into the adult estate. This was decided as the present study sought to specifically examine the experiences of navigating the youth offending system. Finally, caregivers who had more than one child who had entered custody were excluded, as the study sought to explore the distinct experience of parenting one child's journey in detail.

3.4.3 Recruitment

Eight participants were recruited for the research study, which met the minimum requirements for a study using IPA (Smith et al., 2022). Participants were recruited using purposive homogenous sampling, whereby individuals who identify with and are knowledgeable about the phenomenon of interest are selected (Etikan, 2016; Palinkas et al., 2015). Due to the specific and sensitive nature of the target population, it was expected that recruitment would be challenging, however the study received significant interest shortly after being advertised.

There were two streams of recruitment: social media and advertisement at parent groups via the research consultant. A purpose-built social media account was created on the platform 'X' (formally known by the name 'Twitter'), using the handle @parentYOIstudy. This social media account was in no way connected to the researcher's personal account, which was already a 'locked' account, i.e., could not be viewed or interacted with unless approved by the researcher. These measures were taken to primarily keep the researcher safe and ensure that private and personal matters and opinions were kept separate from the research.

The research poster (Appendix C) was shared to the social media account with details on how prospective participants could contact the researcher. Various other social media accounts were tagged in the post or followed to encourage them to share the research advertisement. It was hoped that this would give the advertisement greater reach, for example tagging the accounts of YOIs across England or known professionals working within the youth offending services (Gelinas et al., 2017). 'X' was chosen as it was felt it had the greatest reach across social media platforms, and also because its various features such as

its private messaging function allowed for anonymity, if anyone wished to contact the researcher to discuss the study or to express their interest in this way (Wasilewski et al., 2019). Seven people expressed their interest following the creation of this account, before other recruitment methods had been implemented.

Participants were also recruited via the EbE research consultant, who was a member of various parenting groups, both online and in person. Given that the target sample of the study could be considered 'hard to engage', it was felt that recruitment via EbE would be supportive, as they were more likely to be a trusted and accepted member of the in-group. She would also be able to answer any questions prospective participants may have, and provide reassurance around the study, given her active involvement in its design and her specialist knowledge of the phenomenon (McLaughlin, 2009).

3.5 Materials

All materials which were developed and used in this study are discussed in Table 11.

Table 11:

Study Materials

Material	Description
Participant Information sheet (PIS)	The PIS outlined the rationale and aims of the study. This included details of what the requirements upon them would be, information of any risks, and how their information would be collected, stored, and used (Appendix D).
Consent Form	The consent form (Appendix E) reflected the information on the PIS.
Payment Agreement Form	The Payment Agreement Form (Appendix F) was a requirement of the university, for the purpose of offering participants a reward for participation.

Demographics and Screening Questionnaire	This questionnaire used a template (Appendix G), where participants were asked to self-identify the following demographic information: age, gender identity, ethnicity, relationship to young person, and their participant pseudonym. The template prompted participants for any questions or concerns, and then asked a set of questions screening them for both eligibility criteria and emotional readiness for participation.
Interview Schedule	The interview schedule (Appendix H) was a semi-structured protocol with main questions numbered and prompts identified in an alphabetical list thereafter. The interview schedule was designed to ask first about the specific experience of what it was like when their child went into prison, before moving on to ask about what was specifically difficult. From here, the questions are broadened out to think about earlier experiences at school, in the family and across different services, and think about whether parents/carers thought they had a role or a responsibility in their child's trajectory. Finally, parents/carers were asked about how these experiences impacted their self-perception, or the way they had hoped to parent however were unable to. The interview scheduled was developed by the research team, and questions were devised by searching the existing literature for research question examples, and in accordance to IPA guidelines (J. Smith et al., 2022). It was felt that the structure of the interview schedule and its clearly defined sections would allow for organic opportunities to ask participants if they wished to take a break, however, would also allow for flexibility to move between discussing different sections, according to what is being brought.

Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS Information Sheet	This information sheet (Appendix I) made participants aware that they would be asked to consider whether they relate to any of the Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS or whether any have stood out in their experiences of parenting a young person who has offended.
Debrief Sheet	The debrief sheet (appendix J) contained details of resources or organisations that participants could contact for support, as well as the contact details of the study's researcher and primary supervisor.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Several ethical considerations were addressed to minimise potential distress to participants, and to the researcher. This was particularly important given the power dynamics present when the researcher; a Trainee Clinical Psychologist sought to interview participants who have undergone very difficult experiences and may have negative experiences of professionals working in institutions such as academia, or who have worked within the Criminal Justice System (CJS). It was recognised that this study may evoke feelings of discrimination, trauma, or harm for participants. Moreover, it was recognised that this may have been some participants' first opportunity to speak about their experiences, and thus it felt important to ensure that they were clear that the interview was not intended as a therapy session and that participants were emotionally ready to participate. Table 12 outlines the ethical considerations undertaken in this study, including details on how they were addressed by the research team to ensure the interview process was safe and accessible.

Table 12

Ethical considerations and descriptions of their mitigation

Ethical Consideration	Description of its mitigation
Informed Consent	Attempts were made to gain informed consent for participants' requirements of the study via the PIS (Appendix D), which

	outlined the study rationale and aims of the study, information of any risks, and how their information would be collected, stored, and used. Upon reading the PIS, prospective participants could decide whether they consented to participate, and were asked to return a signed consent form (Appendix E).
Confidentiality	Details pertaining to confidentiality were provided to participants throughout their involvement with the study, including in writing in the PIS and consent form. This was then reiterated verbally during the screening assessment. All interviews took place remotely on the researcher's personal laptop in their home, in a private space, where the conversation could not be overheard. In addition, earphones were worn throughout. At no point in the screening assessment or interview were participants asked any specifically identifiable information about themselves or their children, beyond basic demographic information, and pseudonyms were used throughout the interview. Participants were informed that fully anonymised transcripts of interviews would be produced to support write-up and future dissemination of the study.
Data Protection	All data provided; including consent forms, screening assessments forms, payment agreement forms (needed by the University of Hertfordshire so that participants could be financially rewarded) were stored on the researcher's university OneDrive account, which is encrypted and secure, and is only accessible by the author and the principal supervisor. Consent forms and payment agreement forms (the only forms which included non-anonymised information) were kept separately. Additionally, all data originating from the participants (i.e., audio

	recording of interviews, transcriptions and analysis codes were kept securely in different folders, in accordance with the Data Protection Act (2018) and UK GDPR Regulations (Information Commissioner's Office, 2023). Given the nature of the study involving special categories of personal data relating to criminal convictions, The Data Protection Office were contacted, and they confirmed that a Data Protection Impact Assessment (DPIA) was not needed for this study.
Debrief	Participants were offered a space to debrief following the interview and speak to any emotional discomfort which may have arisen through talking about their experiences. Here, participants could reflect on the interview if they chose to or ask anything they might find pertinent. During the debrief, it was also acknowledged that participants might also want some space to process the interview instead of choosing to discuss it at that moment, and so were offered a Debrief sheet (Appendix J), which included information on services and organisations which may be best placed to provide help or guidance, should they need it. Participants were also informed that they could contact the researcher or the study's principal supervisor if they had any reflections, queries, or concerns. The emotional wellbeing of the researcher was also considered, by making the research team aware of scheduled interviews, and by agreeing a debrief slot as needed. In the event that interviews would take place face to face, the researcher's physical safety was also risk assessed, and a safety plan was developed (Appendix K).

Potential Harm or Distress	Through the planning of this research project, the research team were conscious of ensuring clarity that the interview was perceived as intended, and not as a therapy session. This was reiterated to participants throughout the process, and they were also informed throughout that they did not have to disclose anything they do not wish to, and they were able to pause or terminate the interview at any point. Moreover, participants were made aware that they could withdraw their data up to 14 days following the interview, and they would face no ramifications for doing so. Efforts were made to ensure that participants were as prepared as possible when entering the interview space, and therefore they were sent the interview schedule in advance to allow time to familiarise themselves with the questions and themes and so they had more of an idea of what to expect. Throughout the interview, the researcher checked on participants, asking if they wanted a break or to pause, so as to reduce chance of harm or distress, making it clear each time that they would face no ramifications for doing so.
Participant Reward	Participants were offered £15 in Love2Shop vouchers to thank them for their involvement and as a symbol of respect and appreciation. The amount was decided upon to ensure at least eight people could be compensated, with the remaining budget to be used to reward my consultant. The amount of financial reward was not included on the research poster, to mitigate against improper motivation to participate.

3.6.1 Ethical Approval

In accordance with the previous subsections, ethical approval was obtained from the University of Hertfordshire Health and Human Sciences Ethics Committee (Protocol number: aLMS/PGR/UH/05404(1); Appendix L). Upon receiving ethical approval, the number was added to all participant documents.

3.7 Procedure

Prospective participants were sent the participant information sheet (PIS). Upon receipt of the signed consent form, participants were invited to take part in a screening interview, primarily to ensure they met the inclusion criteria of the study and to collect some demographic information, and also to offer the opportunity for questions. During this screening interview, participants were once again reminded of the details of the study and then were asked to confirm whether they wished to proceed.

Participants were informed that the interview would take around 60 minutes, though could continue for up to 90 minutes. Participants were offered the choice of interviewing remotely via Zoom, or in person at a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) forum, which had been arranged and risk assessed as appropriate. This location has been chosen following the recommendation from this study's research consultant, as a safe and confidential place for people of a minority ethnic background to access, in a location which is convenient to participants attending the in-person parenting groups used for recruitment. Written permission from the forum had been received to use this space free of charge. Additionally, an option for remote interviews via Zoom was offered to allow further accessibility and choice. As all eight participants chose to be interviewed remotely, the BME Forum was not used.

When participants joined the virtual meeting for the interview, they were given the opportunity to ask any questions or discuss any potential concerns, before the recording and the interview itself started. Participants had been requested to keep their cameras on during the interview to support rapport building, to aid the researcher's comprehension, and to also use non-verbal cues to extract further meaning. All participants opted to keep their cameras off during the interview, however the researcher kept theirs on to support rapport building.

3.7.1 Sample

Eighteen people expressed their interest in participating. Of those, fifteen returned signed consent forms, nine subsequently attended a screening interview, and eight attended an interview (Table 13). All participants were given the opportunity to self-select pseudonyms for themselves and for their child, with the understanding that they should not be identifiable by the pseudonyms at all.

Table 13

Participant Demographics

Name	Child's Name	Age	Gender Identity	Nationality	Parental Role
Apple	Onion	41	Male	Black Caribbean	Biological Father
Michael	Leo	35	Male	Black American	Biological Father
Rose	Jordan	38	Female	Black American	Biological Mother
James	John	36	Male	Black	Biological Father
Willy	George	35	Male	Black American	Biological Father
Thomas	Andrew	39	Male	Black	Biological Father
Jenny	Nathan	35	Female	Not British	Biological Mother
Stephen	Peterson	42	Male	Black	Biological Father

3.7.2 Transcription

As all interviews were recorded via Zoom, an automatic transcript was produced from the audio. Due to frequent inaccuracies and missing sections of transcribed audio, these transcriptions were used as a basis to work from when manually transcribing all interviews. As is advised by relevant literature, the transcription did not require the inclusion of non-verbal information or length of pauses, and instead was focused on content (Smith et al., 2022). In Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), transcription is recognised as part of the process of interpretation and therefore the transcriptions accurately detail the verbatim speech of both the researcher and interviewee, and some notes on relevant non-verbal information e.g., “[laughter]”, “[long pause]”. Upon completion of transcription, transcripts were depersonalised to ensure any identifiable information had been removed or

altered accordingly. Recordings and transcripts were then stored according to the data management process agreed as part of ethical approval.

3.7.3 Data Analysis

Prior to analysis and following each interview, the researcher used their reflective journal to note down their overall impressions of the interview, general themes which had arisen and their own emotional and physical reactions throughout the interviewing process. Reflecting on their embodied reaction allowed a consideration of where rapport had felt stronger, and what might have contributed to points of perceived disconnection (Engward & Goldspink, 2020; J. Smith et al., 2022).

Detailed steps of the IPA undertaken are presented in Table 14 below.

Table 14

Steps of IPA (Charlick et al., 2016; J. Smith et al., 2022)

	Step of analysis	Summary of Activities
1.	Reading and rereading	The researcher listened to audio recordings of all of the interviews once again to allow immersion in the original data, before reading through the transcripts and trying to imagine the voice of the participant. This allowed the participant to become the focus of the analysis by the researcher slowing the process down and noting their initial reactions and observations of the transcript, which could be revisited later on to further enrich the process of analysis. Repeated reading of the transcript also supported active engagement and the process of entering and staying in the participant's world (Smith et al., 2022, p. 78). Moreover, this facilitated the observation of how rapport and trust have developed across the interview, and where portions have become more detailed, or richer as a result.

2.	Exploratory noting	Here, the researcher began to note down and examine the semantic content and the use of language on an exploratory level, noting down anything of interest, much like a free text analysis where there are no requirements nor rules about what is commented on. Exploratory noting was undertaken using 'Annotations' in NVivo, where sentences or portions of text were highlighted, and exploratory notes were attached (Appendices M-O). Comments varied, with some focusing on the phenomenological aspects, staying close to the participant's explicit meaning. Others were more interpretative, considering the language used and the participant's possible communication intentions. Some notes were conceptual, involving interrogative engagement with the data, such as asking questions, forming hypotheses, or remaining curious with open-ended questions. Through this process of exploratory note taking, the phenomenological focus became apparent to the researcher, offering an interpretation of the participants' sense-making of the phenomenon.
3.	Constructing experiential statements (ES)	In this step, the researcher aimed to reduce the volume of gathered data whilst preserving its complexity, by gathering the essential features of the exploratory notes. This was the first time during the analysis process that the analysis shifted away from the original transcript and to the exploratory notes. Here, the hermeneutic circle was crucial as it involved the interpretation of specific parts of the text in relation to the participant's overall narrative flow. From this, the researcher was able to produce a concise summary of what they

	considered the most important aspects of the exploratory notes, attached to sections of the transcript. To develop ES, portions of the transcript were highlighted in NVivo, and a 'code' was created. This ensured a clear trail was visible between the experiential statement and the participant's words. The number of ES varied for each participant and ranged from 20 to 61 per participant. Screenshots of this process can be found in Appendix N, and an additional document of a larger portion of a transcript containing exploratory notes and experiential statements can be found in Appendix O.
4. Searching for connections across experiential statements (ES)	At this stage, irrelevant ES were removed, and some were refined to better fit the local context of the transcript. This ensured that the analysis remained true to the participant's experiences and their sense-making. To explore multiple connections and avoid bias, the ES were ordered alphabetically using NVivo, which disrupted the chronological flow in which the ES were created and to ensure that each ES was be treated in its own right, unconnected from other ES. The researcher then searched for connections between ES and explored different groupings by manually joining connected ES together into smaller sub-themes, which would later become sub-themes. This required careful attention to ensure sub-themes were distinct and maintained divergent validity.
5. Naming the Personal Experiential	Clusters of ES were then named to create each participant's personal experiential themes (PETs). PETs were then organised into a table of PETs, structured hierarchically with PETS on the

	Themes (PETs); consolidating and organising them into a table	left, followed by the ES and a key phrase or sentence from the transcript that prompted each ES. This organisation provided a clear evidence trail, enabling both the researcher and the reader to follow the analytic process and interpretation. An example table of one participant is include in Appendix P.
6.	Continuing the individual analysis of other cases	Steps one to five were repeated for each participant, treating each case as a separate body of data in line with the idiographic approach of IPA. Although prior transcript readings undoubtedly influenced the researcher, efforts were made to minimise this by regularly questioning whether exploratory notes or ES remained true to the participant's own words. A reflective diary was used to support this process (Appendix M).
7.	Developing Group Experiential Themes (GETs) from PETs, across cases	In the final stage of analysis, patterns of similarity and difference across the PETs were identified to reorganise the data into group experiential themes (GETs), representing the experiences of all participants. Initially, each table of PETs was examined broadly before a more detailed comparison was made. Each participant's PETS were written out manually using different colours to distinguish participants and then organised manually into clusters of similarity, which were reconfigured multiple times as the researcher continued to consult individual PETs and ES (Appendix R). This involved revisiting transcripts to ensure alignment between the researcher's interpretation and the participants' meaning. These clusters were then grouped into GETs and were refined through reflective discussion with the university IPA working group and the supervisory team.

	Once groupings had been finalised, the GETs were organised in NVivo, where groupings of PETs were re-named as sub-themes. Screenshots of this process can be found in Appendix S.

Data were analysed using NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis software by the researcher and was checked for reliability and robustness by the supervisory team and by peers within the university IPA working group.

3.8 Quality Appraisal of Study

A quality appraisal of this study is present in Table 15, using the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP, 2018) CASP Qualitative Checklist Tool (Long et al., 2020). Following this is a summary of the study's strengths and limitations.

Table 15

Quality Appraisal of Current Study Using the CASP Qualitative Checklist Tool

Quality Criteria	Appraisal
Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?	**YES**: This study aimed to explore parents' experiences of parenting a young person who has offended, by considering how their child was in their early life and throughout schooling years, the immediate run up to the offence and how it was to parent their child through custody. The aim is clearly stated in Section 1.8.
Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?	**YES**: A qualitative methodology was deemed appropriate given the study's aims to gather rich and in-depth details of parents' experience. By generating and analysing qualitative data, the researcher was able to explore and gather nuanced accounts of these experiences, adding richness to our understanding of this phenomenon which would likely have been missed if using quantitative methodology.

Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?	**YES:** The study was interested in the personal accounts of parents and a qualitative research design using IPA allowed for a focus on deep meaning and understanding of the phenomenon of parenting a young person who has offended.
Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?	**YES**: Purposive sampling with clear eligibility criteria was used, as per the requirements of IPA in drawing upon a homogenous sample for whom the phenomenon of interest is relevant and meaningful (J. Smith et al., 2022). Participants were recruited primarily via the EbE consultant, who shared the research advert in various parenting groups, and also by social media.
Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	**YES**: Data were collected using semi-structured interviews which allowed participants to speak as openly and in as much detail as they wished to, with opportunities for the researcher to provide prompts for further information as needed. Details pertaining to the development and piloting of the interview can be found in Section 3.5: Materials, and the final interview schedule can be found in Appendix H.
Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?	**YES**: The researcher engaged in reflexivity exercises throughout this research, exploring their own motivations, responses, biases, and assumptions throughout this process. Examples of this were the use of bracketing during data collection, keeping a reflective diary (Appendix M) throughout the research project and ongoing conversations with the supervisory team, fellow trainees, and members within the IPA advanced methodology workshop within the university. Further reflections can be found in section 5.10.

Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?	**YES**: Ethical considerations have been detailed comprehensively in section ethics. This study received ethical approval from the University of Hertfordshire (Appendix L).
Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	**YES**: The data were analysed rigorously using the established IPA framework (Smith et al., 2022), with additional details provided in Section 3.7.3 pertaining to how the researcher specifically and practically underwent the analysis. Data analysis was not a linear process and required repetition at each stage of analysis to ensure rigour. Convergence and divergence are considered across each participant's PETs via cross-case analysis in order to form the final GETs.
Is there a clear statement of findings?	**YES:** A clear statement of findings is provided at the start of Chapter 4. Verbatim quotes are used throughout the chapter to illustrate the findings presented.
How valuable is the research?	**VALUABLE:** The study is one of the first to specifically examine the experience of how it has been to parent a young person who has offended, for parents within the global majority. This adds the understanding of how parents experience their child resorting to behaviours which ultimately means they are in custody, which has clear implications for clinical practice and policy around youth offending and supporting families. Full details are provided in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter outlines the experiences of the eight parents who participated in this research. This will include how they made sense of their experiences of their child offending and will offer the interpretation of this data through completing an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) of the narratives offered. This chapter will offer an understanding of each Group Experiential Theme (GET) and their subthemes, using quotes to illustrate the themes and to outline the researcher's interpretation of the lived experience offered by research participants.

4.2 Summary of Findings

Through completing the IPA, 4 GETs, with 10 subthemes were outlined, which are presented in the table below (Table 16).

Table 16

Group Experiential Themes and Subthemes

Group Experiential Themes (GETs)	Subthemes
1. The strength to parent and survive against the odds	1. Ascribed role of being a (good) parent 2. Duty to protect the family unit 3. Reciprocity between parent and child
2. This is out of our hands	1. This was inevitable 2. Competing with negative influences 3. The transformative role of custody
3. Being forced to accept a new way of being	1. Bearing the consequences of your child's actions

	2. Living through loss
4. The importance of hope, faith, and people	1. The power of good intention and positivity 2. Sharing the load and supporting each other

4.3 GET 1: The strength to parent and survive against the odds

The first GET explores most closely participants' perceptions of what it means to be a parent, their parental duties, and responsibilities and how to fulfil these successfully. This theme discusses where these ideas of parental duties came from and are reinforced and the ramifications of not fulfilling these duties, as well as the strength in holding multiple responsibilities whilst protecting the relationship parents had with their child. Finally, this theme explored the intertwined nature of the parent-child relationship and how the action of one consistently impacted the outcome of the other.

4.3.1 Subtheme 1: Ascribed role of being a (good) parent

This subtheme speaks to some participants' perceptions of how their role as a parent was questioned, challenged, and enforced throughout their child's journey into custody. Also, this spoke to how neglecting their duties impacted perceptions of themselves and the community as to whether they were a 'good' parent or not. There was a cluster of statements from various parents around how they saw their duty to either *"*scold*" (*Jenny*)* their child, assert their parental authority and to hold firm boundaries *"*even if I had to do it by force" (Apple), as a means of ensuring their child behaved pro-socially and stayed out of trouble.

> *Actually, he actually started behaving in some funny attitude, which I actually kept cautioning him about, scolding him as a mother. So he, not as if he just started all up in one day he actually started exhibiting some questionable attitudes, some questionable lifestyles hanging out with some questionable kinds of friends, which I actually, as a mother who was always watchful, actually kicked against it (Rose)*

Moreover, for some parents, being a good parent meant that they were the ones who were responsible for ensuring their child behaved appropriately, had been raised with good morals, and overall was someone that their parents could be proud of. For Rose, she spoke about the added pressure due to the gendered nature of feeling like and being perceived as a *"*bad mother*"*.

> *It was a bad experience for me, actually, as a mother. At first it made me feel, feel I didn't raise my child well, I wasn't a good mother for allowing my child to be that bad to the extent where he was actually in custody. (Rose)*

> *I said shame 'cause I was ashamed. Even if I knew I played my part but to an extent I was ashamed. So that was the only thing I could see, actually had to face or deal with for a period of time. (Rose)*

Stephen and Rose both spoke about how they had never experienced this before in their families, and so their child being the first to go into custody encouraged blame and judgement from others due to how shameful it was. Stephen shared in detail the shock of the police coming to his house to enquire about his son, and the public nature of this being humiliating for him and his family, and contributed to an overall sense that he, as head of the family, was tarnished with poor parenting and raising a criminal.

Rose spoke candidly about this and reflected on the personal responsibility she felt for "allowing" her child to end up in custody. Rose however spoke in detail about how, in contrast, behaviourally she had done everything that she could to raise her son well and what she ascribed to being "in a Christian way" and therefore should not be seen as someone who had failed her parental duties. Rose shared about how she had come under scrutiny and judgement by her religious community who had questioned her parental authority, but she was able to defend herself, even going to the lengths of providing video evidence of cautioning her son and advising him against his antisocial behaviours, for the purpose of proving that she had demonstrated her parental duty.

> *A religious community? They actually questioned my authority as a mother. Probably it was due to not raising my child well. But my child had, well, but I was opportune to*

record one of our conversations on the day I was actually questioning him, so that served as an evidence that I actually played my part as a Christian mother properly. So they actually questioned. But I was able to defend myself. (Rose)

Then, later on, I actually knew people knew I played my part. So then my shoulders were up again… You want to dent our name. You want to dent our reputation… They wanted to apportion the blame on me. Your mother has done a bad job, your father has- but I, I was quick to 'No, no, no!' I actually played my part as a mother and my husband his part as well as a father! (Rose)

Upon reflection, once his child had exited custody, Stephen spoke about contrasting feelings of whether he had and had not fulfilled his parental duty. For example, Stephen shared Rose's conviction that he had tried to caution and warn his son against his antisocial behaviour, but also acknowledged that he perhaps could have done more and had become distracted by competing priorities in his life and had ultimately taken his attention away from parenting his son: "Like I said he did not really listen to me before, but right now he does… I would just say he came to realisation that he has been wrong all this time." (Stephen)

Yeah basically giving more attention, you know, trying to find out, maybe you probably what he's up to or stuff like that, you know, regular… Yeah, I tend to give my older children more attention now. And you know, or to try to find out what's going on with them. or the the the group of friends they have, stuff like that. (Stephen)

There was a difference in parents' views between what looking like a 'good' parent meant when their child had actually entered custody, and whether this meant that it was a parent's role to do all that they could to support their child through this, or to instead keep their distance and allow their child to learn their lesson through imprisonment: "Maybe when it happened, I would have wanted to give more attention to him, pay more attention, going to visit him in the custody, but I think I saw it as him learning his lessons." (Rose)

Because you know when you're shown love, it makes you stronger and makes you more confident and be able to handle things. So, I would say the fact that people showed concern put a little confidence in him like a little, you know. you know, it could make you feel a bit happy (Apple)

An additional component of this subtheme was about how parents considered their parental duty as an extension to other children, whether their own or those in their community.

> *So, it had, to an extent it had a bad impact to me. I was a bit ashamed as a mother. And on the second hand it actually served as a lesson to others, because I would always use them as a point of contact. So if you don't do this, you will get the same result Jordan got. (Rose)*

> *It serves as an experience to other children. For him, he's my child. So many parents would want to hide the fact that they have a child who is an ex-convict. But no, I don't see the way, I see that using that to better the lives of other children. (Rose)*

For these participants, it felt important that something positive, such as bettering the lives of others or serving as good lesson, should come from their experiences, and to also give them a further opportunity to prove that they were doing everything in their power to be a 'good' parent, and by extension, a 'good' community member. This was also true for parents in thinking about how they themselves would use these experiences to inform their future parenting, and how they would want to support their child or other children to stay out of trouble. Willy spoke about wanting to nurture his relationship with his child so they could be more open with each other and solve problems together, instead of his child doing it on his own and ultimately ending up in trouble with the law. Willy acknowledged that he had seen his parental duty as being strict and training his child rigorously in the right way to behave, but now it was his duty to adopt a more supportive, open stance.

> *I'm an open person. So I'm not some kind of dad that he that you, that you're scared of to share some things, or maybe… Just don't wanna share because you don't know how my reaction will like. So I'm like, I'm open… You can talk to me, or if something is bothering you, you can let me know. Or if someone is bullying you out there in the street and you just decide to fight that long but you're safe, you let your parents know about you… So I make it to be more playing and I change the way I'm aware how I train my kid (Willy)*

4.3.2 Subtheme 2: Duty to protect the family unit

Many of the participants spoke about the various challenges they had to endure as a family, and the need to protect the security and emotional wellbeing of the family unit through this experience. Having a child in custody had a significant impact on the family's financial status, with many of the fathers reflecting on their role as a man to be the breadwinner or the authoritative figurehead and shared how difficult practically and conceptually it was that their employment had been affected. James for example had to limit the hours he could work due to his attention being split between various visits and meetings with different professionals which were associated with his son's imprisonment.

Willy also shared how his money was so tightly stretched across different responsibilities, and this could be interpreted as him being forced to divert his money away from his priorities, such as his family's basic needs, rent, or visiting his mother in hospital. There was a sense that he found the Criminal Justice System (CJS) to be wasteful of his time and money and unnecessarily and confusingly process-driven, just to he could perform his parental duty.

> *Whose institute should I go to, to support my son? And actually, during that time I was down in cash. I have a lot of bills I have to pay. My rent is at my neck. And I have to clean up for and other bills, that they have family bills too. I have my mom in the hospital that I'm checking up too. I have a lot of things to do with money, so me having to spend money again in some kind of institute just to be able to stand in*[10] *for my son. (Willy)*

A large component of this subtheme related to how parents addressed their child's incarceration with their other children, and how they could protect them through their own feelings of loss or sadness. Willy described a dilemma between not wanting to lie to his children but also wanting to protect them from the shock, and to also protect how they felt about their older brother, to ensure their relationship could survive in the long term. Willy shared feelings of guilt and regret about choosing to lie to his children, but ultimately having

[10] From the rest of the context of the paragraph, the researcher believes Willy meant "stand up for", instead of "stand in for" his son, i.e., demonstrating his parental duty.

to make difficult decisions with his wife to keep his family going. Willy acknowledged however that the need to protect the family unit conflicted with the devastation he felt in reality, and how he could not be the one to always make the decisions for the family's sake, or act in a way that always protected others from distress. For example, Willy leant on his wife during prison visits, to be the one spending the majority of time with his son, as it made him too sad to see him there.

> *Yeah, I told you there was some time which they gave people visiting hours, but I can't bring myself to go talk to him. I just have to stand from a distance to look at him. It's just always mom that came that that that was that brought herself to go everywhere. He was requested to see me, I can't look at him his face… What if he cry? I would like to, like, can I just take him and we run away together? (Willy)*

During the interview, Willy's raw desire to run away with his child boldly demonstrated his instinct to protect him, protect his family and keep them from suffering harm, so they could both escape the realities they were living, indicating that this painful feeling had stayed with him. Moreover, James shared how he had internalised his duty to protect his family so that he could also help and protect others, by paying closer attention to difficulties they may be having. James recognised that this process has allowed him to feel more capable and confident in his role as a parent and a father, which will allow him to continue to do what he feels is best for his family.

4.3.3 Subtheme 3: Reciprocity between parent and child

This final subtheme speaks to some participants' meaning making of the interconnectedness between parent and child, and how special and unique this relationship feels, due to its reciprocal nature. Michael spoke in detail about the strength of his relationship with his son, Leo, and how they had connected with one another, and a huge sense of loss when his son entered custody. Even while Leo was incarcerated, Michael shared that only his son could have made him feel better about the circumstances, yet this was impossible as he was the one person who could not be there.

> *He would have been the right person to say this kind of words to me would have been the right person to, I can talk to, or something, or am I, It will be the right person to*

> *say some funny words to share my me- my, my, my mood, if I'm feeling sad, or if I'm back to a very tired, who'll be the one to fetch me some water and put some things in the fire for me to eat, or something or because I, I, I, he is one of the person I love most so I was feeling somehow disappointed in him* (Michael)

Alongside pain and sadness, Michael shared his disbelief that Leo had not told him about his struggles which had led him into custody. Michael believed that the strength of their father-son relationship meant that Leo would have told him about any difficulties, and they could have worked through it together. Michael spoke to a unique characteristic of the relationship between father and son, or between boys and men, which felt important to him and unique to his parental relationship with Leo, more akin to friends or confidantes:

> *He shared a lot of things with me is even something that he's not comfortable doing so with his mom. He will just come to me when I'm alone, and tell it to me, and say, I should not tell Mom about this. (Michael)*

Moreover, Rose and Jenny shared a similar but different feeling between mother and child, that their child's trajectory into custody could have been avoided by strengthening their connection to one another, as this would have raised the other up and allowed each of them to fit more comfortably into their roles as mother and child.

> *I feel like I just have to look after him. The more just trying to know him more deeper…* I'm just gonna be more closer to him and that… try to notice when he's OK and when it seems like he's not OK. *(Jenny)*

Jenny spoke about it feeling "incomplete", like a part of her was missing when her son was in custody, as she knew he was not okay and wanting him to feel better but was also wanting to make sure that she had the ability to keep him out of trouble upon his release. Jenny and Michael both saw their roles as being directly responsible for their sons' his future trajectory, and by showing him more love and compassion, their sons would be able to find the motivation to behave lawfully.

> *For right now, I just feel that I need to get more close to him. Just, you know, have that mutual relationship with my child, be able to discuss some things with him. Be*

able to make him open up more to me about any problem or anything he's probably facing and all of that, yeah. (Jenny)

Willy and Michael also shared this sense of their wellbeing being so dependent on their child's. Willy poignantly shared his feeling that *"*Your son does something and parents have to suffer from it. Parents do something that children have to suffer from." which speaks further to the reciprocity of the parent-child relationship, as something which is innately intertwined, and singularly defined. Willy further expressed the extent to which he, as a parent, cared for and worried about his child, and how pervasive and all-consuming these thoughts and concerns were, to the extent that he felt guilty at being afforded things such as good food and warmth when he was unsure that his child could.

I wasn't OK. I wasn't OK. I can't even ask a lot of times I'm thinking how he's feeling. Are they given him some good foods? Is he out there the cold weather? Is he putting on some good clothes? Just so he would fall sick because he's he. He, he don't like cold environment. So how is how is he coping? Was it OK that is just the that is just the the conclusion of the whole matter? I can't sometimes- Maybe at home, a lot of thoughts going through my head. I have no appetite and a lot of things. I can't eat good food because I want to. Sometime I was just thinking, can I take some food to court to give to him? (Willy)

I don't consume a lot of things because the appetite isn't there any longer. I don't feel like [pause] I was just thinking how is my child doing, so how like is he eating good food, how has he been today? So, so I can't I don't have the vibes of lots more luxurious food or a lot more good dishes, because I'm just wanted to imagine him be out there suffering. But I'm I'm here having eating some good dishes, so that appetite wasn't there any longer. (Michael)

This spoke to a wider pattern of parents feeling genuine pain and no longer being able to enjoy good or pleasurable things due to worries about their child's safety and wellbeing or wanting to share these pleasurable things with their child. Some participants did acknowledge their child's responsibility for changing the dynamic between them and Willy expressed frustration that his child had not considered the impact of his actions on his

parents and to their relationship: *"*So how do you put yourself in a situation whereby you're making your parents worry to this extent and a lot more things" (Willy).

4.4 GET 2: Out of our hands

This GET speaks to some participants making sense of their child's trajectory through troublemaking behaviour, going into custody, and their eventual return to 'normal', non-offending behaviour as being something that they had little/no control over. For some this was attributed to a sense of inevitability that custody would be their child's destination due to their behaviours or temperament beforehand, whereas others spoke about the negative influence that antisocial peers had on their child. Finally, some parents spoke about the role that custody played in being enough of a reality check for their child, for them to realise that they needed to behave differently to keep out of further trouble.

4.4.1 Subtheme 1: This was inevitable

Some parents spoke about the sense of inevitability that their child would offend, due to personality traits or behaviours they had noticed in them. Apple and James spoke about their son's "hot temper" and or tendency to become easily annoyed as being indicative of escalation of behaviour, such as engaging in fights or breaking things, which would get him into trouble, either in the community or with the law. There was a sense that due to their child's hot-headed temperament, parents' efforts to caution or advise against this behaviour was to no avail:

> *So, you know I just, despite all my caution, you know all my word of advice. You know, he didn't really listen to me that much. I just think maybe he had a hot head" (Apple)*

> *I would say he was really a hothead from birth, yeah… when he first started school along the line, you know, started displaying his character. (James)*

Stephen and Michael also both shared how difficult it was for them to recognise a more antisocial pattern of behaviour unfolding, but feel unable to make a difference, despite their efforts, and the sadness this brought them.

Well, it wasn't, you know, a good thing for me because you know I felt really, really sad. For a lot of days I kind of, you know, saw it coming because he had always gotten into trouble and had always got warnings from, from both his school and you know from the police throughout. So I would say I kind of saw it coming, but it wasn't a fun experience for me. (Stephen)

Well, I kind of, you know, questioned him. Try to ask him what's going on, but you know he never wanted to Talk. Like I said, he was really stubborn. He would just walk out on you and I tried talking to him several times, but no. It didn't make any sense to him. (Stephen)

James spoke about the characteristics he noticed in his son, John, such as not being able to manage his emotions which indicated to him that he was going down a path which may result in getting into trouble with the law. This was particularly evident when he began to receive reports from school authorities informing him of John's antisocial behaviour, and he felt that John would deliberately turn everything into an argument or would start fights.

Thomas spoke about family dynamics such as being the "pampered" first-born child giving his son a sense of entitlement, which started with making demands of the family to get what he wanted. This way of relating then followed his son through to school, where he started to "get angry, start doing bad stuffs, maybe breaking stuffs or yelling. So he was really, really hard from birth. Yeah, I would say he was really pampered a lot." (Thomas).

There was also a sense of inevitability that had followed a crucial turning point in their child's life, such as starting secondary school or meeting some friends who parents perceived as bad influences. From this moment on, Stephen described a shift in attitude and behaviour; from being a *"*good boy" to someone who "never wanted to talk…stubborn", but that his son's social nature led him to act kindly towards negative influences, who ultimately changed his attitude and behaviour moving forward.

You know, transitioning from school, you know, he was really jovial with people and social… And I would say that was how he met his bad friends because I'm you know, he was always a social type" (Stephen)

Finally, Apple shared that he thought that wider societal beliefs around race contributed to the inevitability of his son Onion's situation, and the corresponding blame that had been directed towards both him and Onion.

> *So you know people often think of Black people as bad people… You know black people are obviously discriminated; you know, in most situations, if things like this happen, know you are bound to almost not get support, you know, especially from white people, you know, because of just you know, probably it's something that's supposed to happen to you (Apple)*

4.4.2 Subtheme 2: Competing with negative influences

Many of the participants felt that once their child had established friendships with peers who they deemed negative influences, or had entered an environment which facilitated antisocial behaviour, their actions to divert them away from antisocial behaviour became much more difficult.

Rose spoke about her disappointment with her son Jordan after she noticed a distinct shift away from the son she felt she had brought up; as someone respectful who took his duties seriously as a son, a Christian, and an older brother. Rose shared that he decided to prioritise his friends over his family, and they were causing him to behave more deceitfully, disrespectfully, turning him into a more anxious person.

> *I actually told him to keep off those friends because they weren't his peers. They didn't exhibit the kind of lifestyle I would want for him as my child. Probably the parents of those children actually signed up for their lifestyle, but I didn't subscribe to it for him as my child. So those were the things I used to tell him he should keep away those friends. So it was later, when he was in custody, I later knew. He only told the friends to stay off coming around our house area, but he was still meeting them. which on my own, I actually thought he stopped associating with them, not knowing he only gave them distance, 'My mom is around. Don't come, my mom is present' (Rose).*

Rose reflected on her attempts to bring him back to being the son she felt she had raised by assigning him responsibilities such as picking his younger siblings up from school, but that he had been able to shirk these responsibilities to be with his friends. The phrasing of "they didn't exhibit the kind of lifestyle I would want" indicates a real tension between Rose's ideals and her personal/cultural experiences which have informed them, and the behaviour of her son, which she couldn't understand nor wished him to have as is her maternal obligation.

Stephen shared a similar experience when he discovered his son had unexpectedly started to socialise with a "stubborn group of boys" who "really act mean", which he noted as the start of when began to get into trouble. Stephen directly blamed these friends for influencing him to such an extent that Peterson disobeyed or ignored words of caution from his family:

> *I have two children who are grown up here, who are grown up. So they actually knew what was going on and I would say they, you know, they actually tried talking to Peterson most times, you know, but his new clique of friends wouldn't let him listen. (Stephen)*

Moreover, others in the community could also see that Peterson was being misguided by these peers, and therefore shared the belief that this was out of Stephen's control. Despite the support however, Stephen shared how emotionally difficult it was to observe Peterson being so easily influenced to the extent that he went to custody, and the disbelief that something so extreme had happened to his child. The concept of Peterson's agency and behaviour were absent in Stephen's portrayal of him, which could suggest that either Stephen did not think his son had any; or that it was easier for him to apportion the blame to others if Peterson had in fact chosen to behave like this.

> *I usually broke down in tears because I knew that this wasn't how he was when he, when he was born, he was really good and he's all of a sudden now he was influenced by his friends and these friends of his had never gotten into custody, you know, they had always narrowly escaped things. But he just getting into the gang, or should I say the clique, just go into custody all of a sudden? (Stephen)*

Another component of competing with external influences was around the experience of hearing negative, critical responses from others in the community, either towards themselves as parents or about their children.

> *I heard a lot of bad comments from around you know, John was really, really hot head[ed]. He got anger issues and he equally kept bad company friends as well. I kind of got some bad comments from people, yeah. You know I just don't have to rely on those bad comments you know, because I'm, John is my son and I do care about him, so I didn't actually think of their bad comments… Yeah, most people were like "you deserve it". Yeah. They were like "you deserve it", stuff like that. (James)*

Most parents acknowledged that these negative responses were present, however there was a difference in parents who decided to take this in their stride, ignore the comments, or spoke about feeling shamed and blamed:

> *Maybe there might be those that that doesn't wishes you good or something, so they're just looking for a little error to be able to block to put in some bad words or you or to paint it black. So that's… I I don't know. I I don't, I don't care to know about what you think, but you can't come to my face to say anything. But I won't. I will take that. You can't embarrass me at my face. You can say all your bad words on my back. Because definitely, I know that there are people that say some negative words towards the case. (Willy)*

4.4.3 Subtheme 3: The transformative role of custody

Two of the parents described how custody was hugely influential in altering the trajectory of their child post-release, either due to being a deterrent from reoffending in the future, or in igniting a sense of devastation around the unsuitability of the criminal justice system in supporting children and their families.

Both Stephen and Michael shared that they noticed a difference in their child post-release, and that they felt that this experience had allowed their children to realise that they should have listened to their parents when they were being cautioned against behaving

antisocially. Custody allowed their children to realise the severity of the consequences of their decisions and allowed them to change for the better.

> *When he had got into custody that he realised that all the corrections which I was trying to give him, which school was trying to give him which put in the neighbourhood and you know, His siblings were trying to give him, well, that he was wrong not to have listened." (Michael)*

Willy and Michael explicitly spoke about custody as a deterrent for future offending, as a place which is dehumanising in its nature and should be avoided by all means necessary.

> *He a lot more composed himself. Yeah, you know, because he he he don't wanna go there any longer, you know… '*daddy I don't wanna go there, the place that, there a lot of people out there that are not acting like a human'*… So I don't think that's you you wanna do anything that you'll make you go back there any longer. So you you would just compose yourself. And you know, yeah, just be a lot more careful. (Willy)*

> *They are just kids that just kids of 17-year-old. I yeah, yet you are treating them like they are, they can withstand this. You know, there are some people that even with that with that situation alone it might make them unstable, and they will lose their mind. (Michael)*

In conjunction with this was the realisation for parents of how challenging the CJS is to navigate in terms of the severe emotional impact it had on them and their children. Some parents also spoke to the experience of how, having now lived through it, they felt more informed in cautioning others about the realities of custody but also in supporting others who might be going through a similar experience: "I don't wish anybody should go through and it's something I don't wish remember ever again and probably don't want to talk about it". (Stephen)

> *Now I'm a lot more informed, and I have a a wider range of knowledge about, about that. because of that experience. So to some extent is is some kind of good experience I have. So I can talk to someone that is. that is that the that you just I just wanna go*

into that is just a victim, so I can be able to talk to the person and some advice and some ways to follow (Michael)

4.5 GET 3: Being forced to accept a new way of being

The third GET speaks to some participants' experience of having to navigate the changes that arose due to their child going into custody, the losses they experienced and how their outlook had to change, often initially for worse and then for better as time went on. This GET contains two subthemes, the first being around how parents made sense of how they coped emotionally during this time and the shift away from feeling that they had to find the ability and strength to manage the fall-out on their own, and how some eventually accepted or asked for help, in order to share the burden. The second subtheme tells us about the various losses that came about, either relationally or practically and how parents had to learn to find their ways through this and adapt to their lives in its altered form.

4.5.1 Subtheme 1: Bearing the consequences of your child's actions

Some parents spoke about the emotional toll they experienced following their child entering custody. This was related to concern for their child and their welfare whilst they are in custody and caregiving responsibilities have been transferred to the state; but also, how this impacted their own wellbeing, to the point of contemplating suicide.

I was alone, you know, I didn't have a wife. Like I said, my wife passed away, I didn't have a job at that point in time, you know, with Andrew's case. With the negative comments that were coming up, it was really, really hard for me. So I I just had some suicidal thoughts. (Thomas)

Apple spoke about the physical consequences of this situation, such as having racing thoughts or not being able to sleep due to feelings of worry. During the interview, when asked about the specific challenges during that time, both Thomas and Apple asked to move on to another topic as they had actively tried to avoid thinking about that time as it was too painful to remember.

> *Well a lot was really, really going on and it's really something I don't want to remember or talk about much, don't know if you understand because like I said, at some point at that time I had some suicidal thoughts. So I don't really want it much if you can understand. (Thomas)*

James and Michael shared in this feeling of *"*devastation*"* and sadness, which also manifested physically in headaches, overthinking and overwhelming fatigue. James conceptualised this time period as one of survival, which had been under threat. Moreover, during this time, he was unable to focus on the things which kept him feeling more grounded and fulfilled, such as putting time into setting up his business, or raising his newborn children, which meant that he no longer could rely on protective factors to his own wellbeing due to the stress associated with coping with his son's situation.

> *So really tiring for me. Now I had to handle my emotions… I had to focus on family, like I said, I just had a set of twins. But also keep up with my hourly work. So I would say that whole time was really tight period. And I'm glad I survived it. I'm glad my family survived it because we had to go through a lot. (James)*

Michael and Thomas further spoke about their own experiences of feeling that, as the main figurehead and breadwinner in the family, it was their responsibility to manage all aspects of the situation on their own. Michael spoke about being torn between his employment responsibilities and the feeling of shame around not wanting to tell his supervisor what was going on, but also needing to communicate his difficulties so that he could be afforded flexibility and time off for visits and meetings.

> *I just need to go to work because I still need money. You know I've, they was trying to tell us I should fight some case to the court. So I need [to be] a lot more financially stable just to be able to pay most of those bills. (Michael)*

This feeling for Michael of having to communicate his experiences and his pain also extended to his wider family and to his Church community, whereby he reluctantly agreed to accept their kind words and attempts to support him and his family. Overall, he shared this

overwhelming need to do things on his own, but also had to motivate himself to accept that this was something that he needed to do and to then fulfil this role without complaint.

> *I have to pick up my boot, and you know, work harder. Because I just need to motivate. I just need, need to encourage myself, because there's no one there that can do that more than me. I'll be in with my first motivation. So I have to just pick my boots and decided to stay strong. Not allowing the situation to wear me down. (Michael)*

Despite this, Michael did share that he had accessed therapy via his work to support him through feelings of depression associated to the situation and, though it appeared he was grateful for this, he spoke about not wanting it to be obvious to others that he had needed therapeutic help.

In contrast to their difficulties, some parents also spoke to some of the more positive consequences which occurred, such as their increased knowledge and understanding of the processes which allowed them to feel better prepared and able to support others; as well as renewed feeling of strength and resilience at having survived the experience.

> *Well, how I feel about myself? Well, I feel more stronger now… I now have a, a, a positive gut feeling towards parenting, yeah…That I can do better… It come from you know, how I handled everything, you know? (Thomas)*

4.5.2 Subtheme 2: Living through loss

The second subtheme further describes the losses and sacrifices that parents had to make during this experience, and the impacts this had on them. This can be summarised as a period of drastic change where plans and routines were disrupted or halted fully, and priorities were diverted accordingly.

For Apple, priorities such as working, visiting his mother in hospital, or spending time setting up his new business were all large losses, and resulted in loss of wages, social connections, and a decline in mental health. James shared some similar challenges of his son's situation getting in the way of setting up his business and organising his mother's funeral. For some participants, there appeared to be a theme of loss and growth in their life

prior to their child entering custody, however once it had happened, the growth stagnated or came to a halt completely. For James, the repetition of “stuck behind” indicates how pervasive this felt and communicates a sense of frustration and a literal sense of being stuck and unable to shift his reality:

> *No, what I mean is, you know, actually trying in the sense of trying to move forward and you’re stuck behind. Now I was trying to open a store at that period, which would have equally helped me move forward, but I couldn't, so I was stuck behind. You know, I'm trying to clear up my mom’s funeral. It didn't go as planned, so you know I was just stuck behind. With work as well, I’m trying to raise up money. You know I couldn't efficiently work at that period so I was just stuck behind, That's what I mean. (James)*

Stephen also spoke about having to reconfigure his life by taking leave from work and access therapy in order to support himself during this time, due to the toll of the experience and various changes.

> *My job, I told you I had to take a leave. Yeah. And I would say I equally had to you know some sign up for therapy around this period because I'm, I was, I really broke down during this period. (Stephen)*

Participants spoke about their regret around parenting other children having to take a backseat while they focused their attention on their child in custody, whilst competing with the fear that their other children would end up in the same trouble. For Stephen, there was a sense of hopelessness due to having to choose between priorities, and the theme of potential inevitability once again came through, but this time due to the influence of Peterson.

> *And when my older kids, you know? They actually knew what was going on. You know, I was equally scared as well. Probably in future any of my other kids will get into the same trouble. So I'm, you know, trying to be a good father to these other ones and trying to be there for Peterson was not really easy for me. (Stephen)*

Parents spoke about how custody had left them with a sense of loss regarding their expectations of their child's life, and the trajectory of their own lives and future. For Jenny, this related to how she felt and thought about her child, in contrast to his behaviours which had resulted in custody.

> *Some things are probably happening and we as a parents, you know, are aware of those things. And you know, it just come like a shock because you've, you know, been doing your best and staying with your child. You're not really seeing him as probably that kind of person, just for you to realise that, OK, he has been doing this without your notice and all of that. (Jenny)*

For example, Jenny found it hard to believe that her son, who had done so well in school and had presented as someone happy and hardworking could be capable of committing an offence. Furthermore, his high performance in school felt incongruent with this behaviour, which resulted in Jenny being completely taken aback when this happened. When he entered custody, her inclination had been to scold him for his actions, but over time she realised that a change was needed, leading to their relationship transforming into something more supportive. This interweaving tension and relationship with loss and change was something that was felt by most parents, however this was positive and negative at different points in the journey for each parent.

> *After the incident, I still got to, you know, start up my store, you know, and you know, everything pretty much went back to normal after that, you know, kind of got a lot of support you know, and even financially, you know people got to support us, yeah. So then I got a lot of love. (James)*

4.6 GET 4: The importance of hope, faith, and people

The final GET speaks to some parents' experiences of retaining or regaining a sense of hope. This was often related to the support they received from the people around them and their ability to have faith in spirituality and religious teachings, and also trying to focus and remind themselves to stay positive and consider the few positive outcomes from this experience. Parents' faith and the role of Church was also a key theme that arose across all

GETs, however was most prominent as a source of support and meaning making for parents and is therefore described further within this GET.

4.6.1 Subtheme 1: The power of good intention and positivity

Apple and Thomas both spoke about their experiences of knowing that others around them were speaking negatively about their child going into custody or were placing blame on them and how they instead chose to ignore this and tried to focus on the more positive, supportive comments: “You know it was just that If you had a good heart you would say something good if you had a bad heart” (Apple)

> *Because you know, if you have a positive motive towards someone, you say something positive. But if you have some negative motive, you will say something negative. So I will just say people who were by my side were people who had positive motives and negative had negative motives. (Thomas)*

Both parents related people’s responses to something more internal, such as having a “good heart*” (*Apple) or “positive motive” (Thomas) which suggests they place high importance on intention and strength of character as to how they were treated. This could also be interpreted as an element of spirituality, whereby responses and reactions are driven more by moral fibre, suggesting that those who were supportive did so because their nature was kinder, more understanding and less judgemental.

Both men also spoke about the support they received from their religious community in the Church, as people who stood by them throughout and consistently kept them and their family in their thoughts and prayers: “Yeah, my church, my church? Yeah. yup, they always put us in prayers and Onion as well. They pray for him every day.” (Apple)

> *Well, they really stood by me, you know. And prayers and faith, you know and everything… Come here. You know, we had always held church prayers. Just for Andrew and for my family as well, so that God could be in control and Andrew could be OK. (Thomas)*

Thomas reflected on how powerful this had been for him, and to know that God was looking over his son which gave him the strength to survive through this experience, with the belief that although he had concerns and was distressed, things would turn out okay. Positivity stemming from belief and moral good will were strong protective factors for these parents. Parents had spoken to the moral fibre associated with the Church across other themes, such as Rose deeming her religious community as upholding moral judgement and superiority that she had to adhere to, and Willy asking his pastor to chaperone him to custody meetings due to their authority. There seemed to be a cohesive, shared sense that, irrespective of how the Church influenced how parents felt about themselves after their children entering custody, the Church's presence was always wanted, respected, and counted upon, as a source of support, clarity, and resilience.

4.6.2 Subtheme 2: Sharing the load and supporting each other

Finally, this subtheme spoke about the importance of parents to learn and accept that they could and should share the emotional and practical load with other trusted people, and that there was strength in forming a supportive community around the family. This included, for some, sharing the burden with their partner, but also extended to wider family and to religious communities.

James and Willy both spoke about how helpful it had been to experience this journey with their wives and James stated they "stood by each other in every way" (James). Although many of the participants had spoken about feeling the need to navigate the circumstances alone, Willy also shared that he needed to lean on his wife to help him with the tasks that he felt less emotionally able or prepared to do, and how helpful this was to be able to rely on his wife in this way. This was despite feelings of embarrassment, which perhaps spoke to threats to his masculinity or perceived role as a man, husband, and father.

> *It was a lot more embarrassing to say something of that. That's why I couldn't bring myself to go and tell my supervisor about it. So, it's my wife that has to go and I don't know the kind of words she used but I know that she has some polished words for him [his supervisor] to be a lot more understanding. (Willy)*

More generally, parents spoke about sharing the news of their child with close family and friends, and the comfort they felt in knowing that this distress was shared. Their social circle shared the sense of loss and distress but were also able to heal together and support one another.

> *Yeah, you know everybody was dead worried. You know, we all kept thinking, thinking, and thinking of what was gonna happen, how it was gonna end. So everybody was just suspense at that period of time. (Apple)*

> *You know his behavioural change is really a positive one now. That's very I'm very, very happy about that. You know, a lot of people in the community, they're really happy about that. (James)*

Moreover, this meant that some parents also experienced words of support and encouragement, which gave them hope and strength to endure the journey and to keep going.

> *The church people, people at work, my neighbours, my neighbours, like my close friends around were also people to talk to, people, to also come and encourage me. "I know you've tried. He's gonna get out." Those were the people who actually give me hopes and will always be. (Rose)*

Furthermore, Thomas shared that people affirmed that he had done his best and gave him the reassurance that things would be okay, which helped to manage some of those deep feelings of shame and guilt that had been so present, due to themes of feeling that he had failed in his duty as a parent.

> *Yeah, like I had some positive, you know, response from them. You know, they just told me that it wasn't my fault. Neither was it Andrew's fault. That stuff do happen most times, you know, and we should just try to learn from this one, you know, so we could do better later. Stuff like that. (Thomas)*

Thomas and Willy also spoke about friends who had been through the same experience who provided them with advice and support, including practical advice around where to go

for information and important contacts who may be helpful. Willy also spoke about his gratitude for the people who accompanied him to prison and also to various appointments, and how this felt reassuring to not be doing it all alone, and to know that he is being guided by others' experience. Furthermore, James, Stephen and Thomas were some of the parents who also received financial support and food, which therefore allowed them to ease some of their worries about paying rent and needing to reduce their hours for work, as this community effort enabled them to focus their attention and efforts on their sons and families.

> *You know, they helped in, you know, some… how should I put it? You know, most visit where I went to visit the prison the way most people came with me. OK, I got to check up on him, most bought food most brought money. Yeah it's things like that… It meant a lot to me. It meant a lot to me because I'm like I said, I really broke down during this period from all the reports and like I said it really help me a lot and really help Peterson too. (Stephen)*

Some parents were surprised by the support they received and had assumed that they would face more judgment and blame. The unexpectedness potentially reflected parents' internal stigmatisation, and whether they felt deserving of support. For James, Apple, and Rose, it felt like a shock that people expressed their love and care through this:

> *This was the most serious case which John had gotten into, and you know, I really thought that they are not going to support me on this or support John either, but no, everybody still kept their love positive, yeah. (James)*

> *Well, I wasn't really expecting you know, positive response from most of the people who showed positive response, and from the church as well. But it shocked me that you know people had my back. (Apple)*

> *Yeah. I was surprised because some people who never used to talk to me, who would just tell me "good morning" actually came like the happenings made them come close to me with me with "What happened Rose?" like so I was kind of surprised at*

some people coming to meet me. and to even know that they cared that much about me? (Rose)

One interesting factor which arose was the racial identity of people who showed their support, with Apple commenting on how his white friends and colleagues had unexpectedly shown a lot of concern, when he had perhaps expected them to be even more blaming or judgemental than those in his racial in-group. He reflected that content of the heart overrode skin colour in terms of character defining traits and remarked how humbled he had been by this.

Yeah… So what shocked me was that the people who is really showing concerns are white people, my kind of most of my white friends. So that's why I said it was pretty shocking… So yeah, contrary to this fact, you know, getting supported by my white, Some white people, even some white people who are not really my friends. Yeah. no, it's it's really, really a big one for me. I would say it's really without. Most people don't care about colour. They just care about the heart. (Apple)

In contrast, James found that the majority of support he received was from people from within his own racial group, though he could not comment on why he thought that was: “You know my, I'm black, so I had a lot of support from people of my colour, yeah. I'll say 80% of support came from people of my colour.” (James)

Many parents spoke about how the burden of the situation could be shared across external systems and institutions, with some areas being seen as being more on your side than others. For example, the court system was decidedly not on the side of parents, by necessitating the navigation of complex and time-pressured tasks.

It's like it was what, complicated, because today they're asking for different thing. The next day they were asking for different thing. The next asking for evidence. The next day, they're asking for, for me to go signing something in the lock out. And now they, I don’t get it. Can this just be straightforward? That you just filing something and do that once and for all? The next day I’ll be in at work, and you have to come to

come urgently to call, sign me something that you supposed to tell me initially to sign that. So why delay the process? (Willy)

Finally, school was an area which parents felt had the power to be supportive but could also fall short of this by not keeping enough of a watchful eye over their child, which meant that their behaviour escalated to the point of offending. Willy shared that school had managed his child's behaviour well, however also felt that they do have a significant responsibility in guiding children.

Yeah, the school, the school management too they must have some kind of role to play… what I told him now that I need a detailed report of everything is going on. So how is that happen initially so and if these reports are being given, we just, just need to take that as serious… You know, I'm not the only one that, that that is not only the parents' responsibility to train kids. Everyone that they come across so they have the obligation to train kids. The school, too, have the obligation to train kids. (Willy)

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter explores the study findings in relation to previous research and literature and relevant psychological theories. The study will then be assessed for quality and rigour, alongside a consideration of its strengths and weaknesses. This is followed by offering potential implications for future clinical practice and policy, as well as recommendations for future research.

5.2 Overview of Findings

The current study explored the experience of parenting a young person who has offended, and it was clear from the interviews that this was a difficult experience for parents and families, which extended across all aspects of daily life. Parents spoke about how this experience led them to question their abilities as a parent and whether they had done what was required of them to keep their child out of trouble, and explored the negative emotional impact this had on them. Parents spoke about conflicting duties to their child in custody and to their family and livelihood, and how much they felt fell under their responsibility versus feelings that external factors had played the dominant role in their child's trajectory. Parents also spoke about how living through this experience forced them to accept a new way of living and being, which included their personal suffering as consequence of their child's actions, and the sense of loss that was felt across all aspects of their life. Finally, the study highlighted that parents' journeys through hardship also contained specks of hope, which were offered from their support networks, their faith and Church community and through their own positive mindset.

The study sought to specifically examine the experiences of parents from within the global majority to explore whether ethnic identity was a component of parents' experiences. The final sample was six biological fathers and two biological mothers aged 35-42, who all self-identified their nationality when asked for their ethnicity: identifying as Black, Black British, Black American or Black Caribbean.

The study resulted in four Group Experiential Themes (GETs): **GET 1:** The strength to parent and survive against the odds**; GET 2:** This is out of our hands**; GET 3:** Being forced to

accept a new way of being **GET 4:** The importance of hope and people. The following sections will consider the relevance of the findings, including how they relate to the studies reviewed in the Systematic Literature Review (SLR; Chapter 2) and to wider literature in the area, prompted by the findings of this research. It is important to note that no single GET contained the experience of all eight participants, thus, indicating the variation in parental experience and sense-making.

5.3 The strength to parent and survive against the odds

This GET drew upon parents' perceptions of their role and duty as a parent, and how this was challenged and scrutinised through the experience of their child's offending behaviour and subsequent custodial sentence.

5.3.1 A "good parent"

The concept of what it meant to be a "good parent" was a strong theme arising from participant interviews, with the idea of what this means differing across the participants, though overwhelmingly supported the significance of social discourses and labelling on self-concept. When their child offended, most parents felt that this reflected negatively on their parenting ability, leading them to be seen and to see themselves as bad parents. In contrast, there was one parent who felt that she had done her part to the best of her ability and spoke about feeling assured that she should not feel any of the shame which others spoke to.

The exploration of 'good' parenting leans into the literature around 'good enough' parenting, which involves a balance of warmth, structure and responsiveness to the child's needs, in order to foster a secure attachment and to support the child's overall development (Valentine et al., 2019). Key historical contributions from this evidence base outline the importance of reliability and sensitivity to the child's needs, to foster resilience and character (Baumrind, 1966, 1991; Borg, 2013; Winnicott, 1953 as cited in Furman & Levy, 2018). The research adds that parental approach does not require perfection but instead focuses on providing a nurturing and stabilising environment to promote positive outcomes for later life (Hoghughi & Speight, 1998). The concept of 'good enough' parenting is particularly important in how parents of justice-involved young people are considered by society and by professionals, particularly given the role of child protection services or

education workers in determining whether a child can or should be sustained in their family system (Choate & Engstrom, 2014); adding a component of real-life application of and importance of what it means to be a 'good parent'.

An additional example of what it is to be labelled a good parent is Epstein's '10 important competences of being a good parent' (Epstein, 2010). These competences include stress management, a focus on education and learning, and behaviour management which are predictive of better relationships between parent and child and supporting their children to have adequate life skills. However, this study showed that parents and their children alike had difficulties in these areas. For example, parents reported that most young people behaved in a way which was difficult to manage and led to their imprisonment despite parents' efforts to discipline, advise against and deter them.

Other parents reflected on their belief that being a good parent meant allowing their child to make their own mistakes and follow their own path, however this did nothing to negate feelings of shame and failure regarding their parenting. Having these widely accepted narratives in mind further propels how parents may feel about themselves which ultimately impacts their ability to cope with daily life and their many responsibilities: for example, their perceived duty to their family and to other children (Moses, 2010; Yoo et al., 2022). The belief around what defines a good parent appeared to be something that participants did not have to consider until the child's behaviour had an impact on their lives, at which point society, extended family and community surrounding the parents began to indicate that there were flaws in their parenting ability. For example, Willy spoke in detail about the multiple ways that he, as a father feels unable to cope though tried to appear to outsiders as a strong, silent, and stoic parent which could have been perceived negatively as disinterest.

Whilst the concept of a "good parent" is conflated with effective parenting, it can be helpful to consider how this can be supportive for parents moving forward. Effective parenting encompasses a combination of involvement, communication, consistent discipline, positive modelling, addressing risk factors, building skills, accessing resources, and demonstrating resilience (Gavidia-Payne et al., 2015; Sanders, 2019). These factors collectively contribute to creating an environment that supports positive development and reduces the likelihood of offending (Hoeve et al., 2009). Despite some of the stigma associated to Parenting Programmes discussed in the Chapter 1, systematic review data have

shown that the skills and knowledge gained through them, alongside feelings of connectivity and support with other programme members, can support parents to deal with their child's behaviour and also to reduce feelings of guilt and corresponding social isolation (Kane et al., 2007). Moreover, Diversion Programmes have been shown to enhance connection between parent and child, and promote effective supervision strategies for their children, which was associated with the reduction of delinquency (Magidson & Kidd, 2021).

5.3.2 The role of shame

Shame was very present in the experience of participants, whether that was the shame parents felt towards their children, or the shame directed towards themselves. Many of the parents in this study spoke to the concept of reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite, 1993), of expressing disapproval of the offending behaviour but wanting to encourage their child to feel remorse and reintegrate them into society. This also extended to the way that the parents were treated by society. This theory also explored how family dynamics, in particular a distinction between 'functional' and 'dysfunctional' families, contribute to the process of shaming and reintegration. For example, functional families offer a supportive environment whereby families express disapproval for offending behaviour yet encourage their child's remorse and reintegration into society (Braithwaite, 1993; Pulakos, 1996). The reintegration process of offering emotional support was showcased by some participants, who wanted to scaffold a more supportive and open relationship with their child after these events, to support them to speak about their difficulties and to tackle potential future problems together.

Reintegrative shaming was also considered as being better suited to societies with strong communal values due to histories of conflict, change and adaptation (Braithwaite, 1993; Forsyth & Braithwaite, 2020), which may be applicable for some study participants. Additional research, explored within the SLR, has discussed how shame interplays within cultural dynamics, for example showing how "cultural shaming" varies across ethnic groups, influenced by historical and cultural factors (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Tonsing & Barn, 2017). This includes examining how parents internalize shame from their cultural community and how their survival and coping mechanisms during secondary incarceration impact these processes (McCarthy & Adams, 2019). Drawing on the concept of "diasporic identities",

(Roman & Henry, 2015) it was found that some parents face conflicts with their own upbringing practices from overseas, adding pressure when their children offend.

With this in mind, interventions aimed at crime prevention should include a focus on strengthening family dynamics through supporting families to more effectively practice reintegrative shaming (Farmer, 2017). By drawing on the tenets of compassion focused therapy (CFT; Gilbert, 2010) these experiences of shame, fear and marginalisation could activate a parent's "threat system", triggering their flight or fight response. For the study participants, this most frequently led to social withdrawal and isolation, which left them feeling emotionally vulnerable and less able to cope. Increasing access to support services such as counselling, community support programmes or via cultural groups and events may enhance parents' ability to provide a nurturing and reintegrative environment for their children and allowing them to feel more equipped to manage this experience (Adler et al., 2016; Ferguson et al., 2013). This can be achieved through increased advertisement and visibility of support services within these spaces, creation of translated resources, the use of interpreters within existing services and co-created community wellbeing events.

5.3.3 Mother-blaming and Masculinity

There was a qualitative difference between the two mothers and six fathers who participated in this study and even within these gendered groups. Both mothers considered how their gender played into how others perceived them alongside their child's offending with both mothers sharing that they felt that judgement and blame were greater due to societal perceptions around motherhood. This relates back to some of the concepts previously explored such as labelling and mother-blaming (Elliott & Aseltine, 2013). This intensified scrutiny from society which attributes the child's offending behaviour to maternal failings including lack of guidance, lack of supervision and firm boundaries or poor parenting (Condry & Minson, 2021), which can often overshadow other factors such as systemic issues, the influence of friends, socio-economic status or being a single-parent household (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2011; Tonsing & Barn, 2017).

In comparison, the fathers appeared to adopt a more traditionally masculine role as the figurehead in their family who is responsible for looking after everyone and ensuring that everything is taken care of (Threlfall et al., 2013). The impact of economic pressures

exacerbated by potential legal fees or lost income can compound the emotional burden on fathers, on top of the possibility of further criticism for not being able to provide adequately for their family (Marsiglio et al., 2005). Previous research has emphasised the father's role as an authority figure, and thus, their child's offending is a direct reflection of their failure. Many, though not all, of the fathers displayed an element of emotional stoicism in the form of not wanting to seek help or express vulnerability, which made it harder to cope with the emotional toll of the experience and exacerbating their suffering and furthering their social and mental isolation (B. A. Jackson, 2018; Watkins & Neighbors, 2007).

This study highlights the difference that the young people might relate to fathers versus their mothers, and how each parent might respond differently depending on the different stressors upon them, leading to different outcomes. Moreover, it highlights the need for trauma-informed services, which extend to understanding the trauma that parents have experienced and how this might have transferred down generationally. Additionally, participants reported being traumatised by this experience, which further compounded existing trauma. Research has shown that participants need the professionals working with them to have a deeper understanding of trauma to better understand needs of the families, which would in turn lead to increased engagement in services and better outcomes for mental health and for antisocial behaviour (Asmussen et al., 2022; Atkinson et al., 2023; Butler et al., 2020).

5.4 Inevitability of custody and rescinding control

This GET explored where parents felt the responsibility lay for their child's trajectory into offending behaviour including a consideration of the own influence upon this. This spoke towards the wider literature previously explored on individual versus environmental factors and how parents perceived that their own parenting played a role and the child's outcome. Moreover, parents discussed the role of custody in shaping their child's future trajectory and how it was necessary for other systems to take on a quasi-parental role.

5.4.1 Individual vs Environmental Factors

The findings of the study echo much of what existing literature said about the individual environmental risk factors of offending as included in the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD) and as conceptualised in the Integrated Cognitive Antisocial Potential

(ICAP) theory (Farrington, 2003, 2020). For example, the finding supports that individual characteristics such as temper or tendency to become annoyed, engage in fights, or break things were perceived as indicative of future offending behaviour by their parents. This sense of inevitability or feeling as though it was out of their control that their child would enter custody echo the findings of the SLR.

Parents also spoke about how their children were susceptible to negative influences; thus, illustrating the impact of social pressure to behave in a certain way. This also nodded to the strain placed upon young people to attain social status or possessions (Baron, 2006; Wareham et al., 2005). Applying a phenomenological approach, the description of antisocial behaviour alongside factors such as group membership with negative peers, closely aligns with the characterisation of a 'gang' member, as described in UK policy (Buckle & Walsh, 2013; Williams & Clarke, 2016). Making youth crime and offending, particularly when concerning people of the global majority (PoGM), synonymous with gang membership has led to societal narratives and policies being tougher on crime, which has ultimately led to the increased control and punishment of those affected by gang violence (Barrows & Huff, 2009; Densley et al., 2020). Instead, the findings from this study indicate that a more community-based resource focusing on youth violence may be helpful in supporting families to strengthen their connections with each other and to the community (see Section 5.8).

This research has stressed the need for early intervention to support young people who are at risk for offending, which includes supporting parents to manage their child's behaviour (Dodge et al., 2015; Loeber & Farrington, 2000). Many of the parents in this study felt that they were lacking control in helping their children, however a joined up approach particularly with education services could support teachers and parents alike to identify the risk factors for antisocial behaviour and future offending or identify those who have lived through Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and offer children and parents 1:1 support to strengthen connections between them, as well as offering a children a safe place to discuss what is going on (Hurley & Boulton, 2021). In addition to this, support should not be underpinned by ideas only drawing on 'intergenerational cycles of offending, given the ethical and methodological flaws outlined in this research (Conway & Jones, 2015; Kotova, 2020). The bolstering protective factors for children with justice-involved parents should also

be considered: involvement in education, positive relationships with caregivers and involvement in community-based activity (Conway & Jones, 2015).

This study highlighted how difficult it can be for adults to meet young people at a place which they can mentally access. It can therefore be difficult to make use of school counsellors or in-reach workers who may be best placed to offer young people evidence-based support to help manage their emotions, and support parents to continue this work at home (Mann & Reynolds, 2006). Early intervention combined with a relational approach of working with families allows the retention of connection and the possibility to enhance internal resource (Mahoney & Wiggers, 2007). Clinically, speaking, this means that co-produced formulations of the young person's difficulties can support the family to make meaning of what is going on, and to consider what their role can be. This goes beyond individual factors and broadens out to consider systemic and community-based factors which may be impacting the young person (Pighini et al., 2014).

5.5 Being forced to accept a new way of being: Labour and Loss

This GET encapsulates parents' reflections that this experience completely shifted the onward trajectory of their life. The findings replicated what had been found in the SLR whereby parents had to expend a significant amount of labour to manage the consequences of their child's behaviour which in turn resulted in loss across many areas of their life. Parents spoke about the money, energy and creativity required to deal with the consequences of having a child in custody. Parents and families were bereaved of the lives they had envisioned for themselves and their children. Another example was that experiences of depression and suicidality due to the experience further necessitated time off work, and thus lost earnings which impacted the family. This highlights the costs of imprisonment not only on families, but also the wider ripples socially; on school absences and employment, or accessing the welfare state (Bolen et al., 2008; Comfort et al., 2016).

On this basis, specific policy recommendations relate to supporting parents to continue their daily functioning, maintain their mental health and continue to support themselves and their family. Financial support would be most beneficial for families. In lieu of this, families would benefit from subsidised phone call costs, transportation support to and from prisons, affordable and accessible mental health treatment for the duration of their child's

imprisonment and intervention for the family post-release (Comfort et al., 2016). Clinical Psychologists can be supportive by working alongside social services to assess and intervene with families who may require additional support and can play a role in streamlining processes so that these are easier to navigate. Moreover, the role of psychology could be to support union or organisation-run initiatives to increase paid parental leave to attend related appointments or to recover from associated ill health, thus reducing stress and workload (Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003).

5.6 The importance of hope and people

This GET explored that parents did find sources of strength which supported them through this experience. Whereas the SLR touched on this it focused more on how institutions were helpful for parents and how the support that they had received allowed them to process and manage the impact of their child's behaviour. This did not arise explicitly in the present study, and instead focused more on how parents were supported by their partners, their family, and their extended community whether that be local, or faith based. This offered parents the opportunity to build resilience and persist through what was a difficult experience.

5.6.1 Community as resilience

The literature on the impact of community and social support for families of offenders highlights key emotional and psychological benefits. For example, supportive networks offer avenues to share experiences and receive care and understanding from others, serving as a protective factor for parents' mental health, as well as offering a sense of belonging and emotional relief, to help to cope with the emotional burden (Rossman, 2002; Vangelisti, 2004). All parents spoke to feelings of stigma and shame, and thus the importance of community integration to mitigate their impact is vital in improving parents' self-esteem and confidence and further cementing the feeling of acceptance and understanding within a supportive network. The sharing of vital resources, information sources and various options allowed parents to regain a sense of control over the situation (McLoyd, 1990). In the longer term, strong family support is crucial for the rehabilitation of offenders as their wellbeing and ability to cope directly impact their child's reintegration into society (De Kemp et al., 2007).

5.6.2 Faith and the Church

Faith was a strong theme for seven participants, which corroborated previous findings which state that faith and religion support families to cope with hardship (Abass et al., 2016), particularly for African-Caribbean parents (Stringer, 2009). Moreover, research supports that faith can be a moral barometer, offering parents the authoritative voice which guides them on how best to parent their child (Adams & McCarthy, 2020). One participant spoke in detail about how bringing a Church figurehead to appointments regarding their child benefitted them as they felt they were taken more seriously due to being accompanied by someone with high social status and standing.

Faith can be supportive for parents to make meaning of their child's offending behaviour, which can offer relief from some self-blame and overall anxiety about the situation, particularly when other members of a religious group show kindness and understanding (Levin et al., 1995; Taylor et al., 1996). This may hold particular significance for BAME families, for whom the research shows an increased connection to using faith for meaning-making and to support with managing the impact of difficult life events (Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Ambrose, 2006). Literature has also shown that increased attendance at church and prayer is negatively associated with depression (Nooney & Woodrum, 2002).

By contrast, the study showed that the Church was present as a source of judgement in parents' lives, with some fearing how they would be perceived by their religious community. In these instances, the Church exacerbated feelings of shame and isolation and was not found to be protective of parents. To mitigate this impact, faith-based organisations can be supported by Clinical Psychologists through the delivery of bespoke training packages to support the needs of individual Churches, alongside co-created sermons speaking to mental health awareness. Church-based therapy forums and mental health champions should be more visible for its congregation, which can support to identify those in need of additional help and to facilitate referral processed to existing psychological services or community-based organisations (Robinson et al., 2018; Taylor et al., 2000)

5.7 Quality Assessment

This study has been quality appraised using the CASP Checklist which can be found the Methods Chapter (Table 16).

5.7.1 Strengths and Limitations

This study was one of the first to specifically explore the experiences of parenting young people who have offended, who also identify as being part of the global majority. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology allowed the elicitation of rich and detailed personal accounts of this experience whilst taking a lifespan approach to consider experiences of parenting prior to their child entering custody. IPA allowed the researcher to explore these experiences in an in-depth and methodologically rigorous manner, including triangulation of data, the ongoing practice of self-reflexivity and use of an IPA working group to discuss the generation of themes. The process of data analysis was also clearly mapped out, allowing readers to see where and how each Personal Experiential Theme (PET) and subsequent Group Experiential Theme (GET) related back to each of the individual participant accounts (Appendices N-S).

Moreover, this study highlighted the experiences of parents from within the Global Majority, who have historically been and are currently marginalised in many ways or are deemed 'hard to engage' and subsequently underrepresented in empirical research. This population was primarily made available to the researcher via the Expert by Experience research consultant, who was also paramount in sharing her own experiences to inform the construction of the interview schedule and participant documents. This enabled the research team to consider the nuances of speaking to the research population due to concerns of the mistrust they might feel about research or speaking to someone from an institution where they might have previously been harmed, i.e., a Trainee Clinical Psychologist from NHS/University settings who has worked within the Criminal Justice System (CJS).

Additionally, the research team considered that only recruiting via the research consultant may have biased the sample towards those who attend parenting groups in one specific geographical location. However, recruiting via social media offered the option of in person or virtual interviews, which allowed for broader reach and increased access to participation.

The study's sample size (N=8) was deemed appropriate in terms of IPA methodology and allowed for a detailed and nuanced account of these parents' experiences and thus

offered greater understanding of this phenomena. Using the CASP checklist, this rated as high quality. However, participants were asked to self-identify their gender and nationality, which made it difficult to map on to tools such as the government standardisation of reporting ethnicity, and to tease out relevant themes. Moreover, themes of migration and ethnic identity were not explored for the purposes of this research, which may have offered additional context for this study sample.

The results also indicated that there was a qualitative difference between mothers and fathers of young people who have offended, however as the sample was skewed towards father (N=6), it was not possible to generate wider themes around specific gendered experiences. With a slightly larger sample size and a more equal split within the sample of mothers and fathers, this would have allowed for a whole-group analysis as well as individual analyses, however this was not in the remits of possibility for the current study and would be valuable to consider for future research.

Despite this limitation, it was also felt to be significant that the research was able to gather experiences of Black African and Caribbean fathers in particular; a population who are known to be amongst the hardest to reach and who are also amongst the most stigmatised (Bamidele et al., 2019; Hatchett et al., 2000), particularly in consideration of contact with the English and Welsh criminal justice system. By focusing on participants from the Global Majority, it was found that the experiences shared did mirror what had previously been found in the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) and other previous research: that this population face additional culture/community-shaming and specific stigma. Whilst wider research was able to draw a comparison with white or British-born counterparts, the current study's focus did add to the themes found by Adams and McCarthy (2020), particularly in reference to faith and the Church as a place of solace, support, judgement and meaning-making. Despite the sole inclusion of people from the Global Majority and the decision to allow participants to speak to race, culture, or ethnicity of their own accord these themes seldom arose in the interviews without prompting. This makes it difficult to draw further conclusions.

Given the extensive literature discussing the impact of parental offending and intergenerational cycles of offending, this theme was not present in the findings of this research or within the SLR. It is acknowledged that this was not asked about specifically

however, and notably many of the parents in this study stated that they had never experienced interacting with the criminal justice system before. It is possible that shame also interplayed in the decision to participate in research (Owens, 2006), or that there was an element of demand characteristics for those who volunteered to participate: participants were not asked directly if they themselves had experienced custody, nor didf they voluntarily disclose this information; or those who did participate presented the best version of themselves, the version that showed them to be a 'good parent' (McCambridge et al., 2012; Nichols & Maner, 2008).

Finally, the opportunity to employ member-checking i.e., sending participants the interview transcripts or analysed themes to check for clarity or accurate representation of their experience (McKim, 2023; Varpio et al., 2017) was carefully considered and ultimately rejected. Due to the epistemological position of IPA in the researcher producing interpretative and phenomenological analysis of data, IPA advises against member-checking due to the inherent subjectivity required (Smith et al., 2022).

5.8 Implications and Recommendations

The previous sections have spoken to the clinical implications for this research, including the need for early intervention, the use of community psychology and community-based programmes which may be more accessible to parents of young people who have offended who are also from an ethnic minority background, and faith-based approaches. There is an underlying need for services, including the education sector and third sector organisations to develop closer relationships and joint-working, to use a trauma-based approach to recognise the risk factors for antisocial behaviour and offending, and to identify the young people and their families who may benefit from signposting or support.

For parents who are or have gone through this experience, this research shows that accessing therapy has allowed them the space and time to process the situation and to support mental health and wellbeing needs. Participants identified a desire to feel closer to their children; to build closer bonds and create a safe environment whereby they could have a closer relationship where children were able to be honest and open with their parents. To aid this, research findings highlight strong clinical outcomes of applying attachment theory, intergenerational systemic theory and trauma-based theories in practice, in order to

emphasise relational safety through family-based interventions at multiple system levels (Hooper, 2007; Mooren et al., 2023; Stob et al., 2020). These interventions aim to help family members find meaning in their powerful emotional experiences and related patterns of interaction (Walter et al., 2024). The main goal is to enhance families' reflective capacities, develop new ways of responding to one another, promote interpersonal connectedness and ensure families continue to support each other. Moreover, strong attachment relationships are consistently shown to be protective during times of anxiety and distress, and to improve the child's ability to cope with adversity (Fonagy et al., 1991; Hughes et al., 2017). By centring families as part of the solution, they can be supported to create a containing, empathetic and non-blaming therapeutic environment whilst maintaining a sense of responsibility, which would meet the needs identified by the study participants.

Therapy across England and Wales is typically difficult to access in the NHS due to stringent referral criteria and long waiting lists, and private therapeutic support may not be financially accessible, meaning that families may rely on charities or voluntary and community sector (VCS) organisations. The demographic of people typically accessing VCS services are female, 'older' clients or those from global majority backgrounds (Duncan et al., 2020), which indicates that they may be perceived as being more accessible, and may engage those who may not access other, public services. Integrating the therapeutic approaches into VCS services could offer parents the support they need in a way which is accessible for them.

Overall, this study nods to the importance of using the strengths and resources available within the community to support the mental health and wellbeing needs of parents and families. Using Community Psychology approaches allows families to be placed in their social contexts and to work towards the prevention of their suffering via promotion of socio-political empowerment (Zeldin, 2004). Thus families, such as the study participants, who may have been typically deemed 'hard to engage' can access support from people in their geographical communities without having to access healthcare related intervention. This can be through community-organised parents groups, individual or group based therapy or counselling sessions, or attendance alongside their children at interventions aimed at reducing youth violence and strengthening community ties (Farmer, 2017; Fraenkel, 2006).

Examples of this include Art Against Knives (Art Against Knives, n.d.), the Elevate/Vanguard project (Violence Reduction Programme London, n.d.), and the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme (MVP; Equally Safe at School, n.d.) who aim to deliver accessible and flexible psychologically informed care for CYP who may not receive support from mainstream mental health processes, which includes additional support for caregivers and families (Duncan et al., 2020; Mayblin & Soteri-Proctor, 2011).

In terms of policy, it is clear that a preventative strategy for youth offending is needed, however this needs to go beyond the current policies which tackle street crime or possession of knives (Buckle & Walsh, 2013) and instead look at the systemic risk factors for offending, primarily the impact of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs), poor education and poverty (Pyle et al., 2020). Clinical Psychologists should be advocating for these families and addressing macrosystem-level factors to create public policy and highlight the impact of stigma that these families face, with focus on the outcomes, individual and social cost implications. Strategies should focus on the implicit bias and discrimination that People of the Global Majority (PoGM) face, particularly regarding themes of offending and crime. More trauma awareness is paramount, which includes the creation of a dedicated roll out across all services which children encounter, to support professionals to identify and support these needs.

The aim is for this research to be used within a multi-agency framework that unites the National Health Service (NHS), Social Services and Youth Justice Services, alongside community and faith groups, to address the impact of youth offending on families. Dissemination of this research to appropriate organisations hopes to create a comprehensive support network, promoting stigma awareness and ensuring best-practice trauma-informed responses. By leveraging diverse expertise and resources informed by lived experiences, agencies can provide empathetic and effective support, leading to improved outcomes and optimised resources.

5.8.1 Future Research

As indicated in prior sections, future research should draw upon a larger sample size, exploring the experiences of different social groups, considering the impact of migration, and placing more of a focus on culture and faith to identify specific recommendations for

policy and practice. Research should also explore paternal and maternal experiences in greater detail, given the qualitative differences identified in the study, and the differing pressures and narratives placed upon them. Recruitment to the present study indicated high interest and a desire for parents to speak about their experiences, therefore future research could expand on the present study; incorporating quantitative data for mixed-method studies to inform future best practice in the area.

Furthermore, this study has indicated that the dialogue between parents and their children is a key feature across this journey into youth custody and the subsequent healing journey post-release. The experiences of parents cannot be fully meaningfully understood in isolation of their children, and thus future research could utilise parent-child dyads or triads to gain insights from both perspectives. From this, intervention options could be co-constructed utilising Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology (Cornish et al., 2023); which would focus both on enhancing family connections and also tackling some of the risk factors for offending.

5.9 Dissemination

In the first instance, the researcher's social responsibility is to share the results from this study with all study participants (Mfutso-Bengo et al., 2008), as well as those who expressed an interest in participating via an accessible written summary or infographic, depending on the participant's choice (Purvis et al., 2017). The research will be disseminated at university-based conferences, within the doctoral department and within the field of postgraduate research, which participants will also be invited to attend. Both the present study and SLR are intended for publication in a peer-reviewed journal. Potential journals include the Journal of Family Psychology, the Journal of Family Therapy, the Howard Journal of Crime and Justice, and the Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology.

5.10 Reflections

Having completed this research, I am left with feeling of utter gratitude to my participants and disbelief that I had been permitted to hear their stories and was trusted to do them justice. I felt a lot of pressure to handle the stories and experiences of my participants with great care and was very conscious throughout of how my interpretations of their stories would be received. At times, I felt a surge of more negative feelings too, of

despair that I was having to do a lot of prompting in some of the interviews and work with a lot of pauses; of frustration that none of the participants had wanted to keep on their cameras, and anxiety around my ability to conduct interviews of a high standard. Overall, the experience of doing this research has been incredibly moving, and I have learnt so much about these lived experiences, and about how I operate when confronted with strong biases, assumptions, and reactions.

Having previously worked with families of young people who offend, and those within YOIs themselves, I know that it can be difficult to hear and to hold these stories and can lead to desensitisation and normalisation of objectively challenging experiences due to repeat exposure. Having space to reflect was key in shaping my interpretation of the experience of interviewing participants, which was noted in my reflective journal (Appendix M). Overall, this process enabled me to stay present and curious with the research and my own interaction with it and allowed me to reflectively engage in sense-making.

A summary of key reflections is presented in Table 17, with additional excerpts of my reflective journal available in Appendix M.

Table 17

Reflections on the Research Project

Research Process	Reflections
Data Collection	Some key reflections I had throughout the process of interviewing were around my surprise that the content parents brought were linked to practical issues e.g., employment, instead of emotional difficulties, as I had initially anticipated. Participants did speak to emotional content however this was later in the interview and with repeat prompting, which made me think that they needed time to warm up to the interview and begin to trust me before sharing more personal experiences. I also reflected on how difficult it had been for me that all eight of my participants had not wanted to keep their cameras on during the

	interview, and all happened to have moderate-strong national accents, which I had become flustered with when I struggled to understand what participants were saying or had to ask them to repeat themselves. Additionally, two participants had asked to move away from discussing the impact of custody on them, and the impact on their mental health. I had a strong pull to ask more about this because it was evident that these areas had been incredibly impactful, but knew that their feeling of personal safety was the priority. I felt disappointed at not being able to explore this in greater detail but also knew that the absence of talking about this spoke volumes. Throughout the interviewing process, I was very aware of myself, my verbal and facial reactions and wanting to keep participants feeling uncomfortable. I was aware of my appearance and my accent, and whether this impacted how participants were able to share with me, due to how I was being positioned. There were times where I did have a strong internal response to what participants were saying, for example when some parents spoke to some of the negative things that others had said to them. During these points in the interview, I needed to strike the balance of affirming their difficulty without taking on a therapist role, of over-validating them and blurring this boundary. It was crucial to employ bracketing throughout, and I found the best way to do this was to write down any strong reactions down as I felt them. By noting these reflections and by sharing these reflections with my supervisory team, I became more aware of how my own assumptions and biases had already impacted the conception of this research but continued to impact it at various stages.
Data Analysis and Results	By asking participants to consider their identity factors as outlined by the Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS (Appendix I), I was acting on the assumption that identity factors were present and conscious to participants, based upon my personal experiences and what I knew

from the literature. I was surprised to find that participants did not talk to them as much as I had expected, and certainly not in the way I had thought. For example, I specifically recruited PoGM and part of the reason why was due to expectations of culture and race coming through in the interviews, and I found myself both prompting for this when interviewing and wanting to increase the presence of these themes when constructing PETs and GETs, however was unable to as there was not enough content. This indicates that despite ongoing debates around racial injustice and disparities in the prison population, caregivers rarely focused on these issues. I wondered if this could be due to a strong sense of self-responsibility that parenting instilled in participants, and that addressing topics of racism may undermine parents' agency (Adams & McCarthy, 2020).

Similarly for church and faith, my research team and I could see how prevalent this was throughout the interviews and thought that it should be a GET or subtheme at the least to speak to its importance. However, to do so would be to undermine the rigour of IPA that had been held throughout the process of analysis: this theme had always fit within participants' individual PETs and had never sat as a distinct subtheme and so there would have been no rationale or trail to showcase how it could become a GET. This created a real struggle between how I wanted the analysis and results to come out and the data I had in front of me, however also allowed for a closer analysis of the subthemes and how the narrative of church and faith could be drawn out as they were, whilst remaining faithful to the idiographic assumptions of IPA.

There was no mention of ACEs within any of the interviews, which is a notable absence given the strong correlations between exposure to ACEs and delinquency (Felitti et al., 1998). This was however

unsurprising given that parents were not asked explicitly about these experiences, which can be considered as shaming given the indication of parental irresponsibility and/or poor decision making (Purtle et al., 2022). Moreover, there are significant barriers to disclosing ACEs, including distinct practical and emotional risks for parents (Selvaraj et al., 2022); thus decreasing the likelihood that this would arise in a research interview.

When writing the results, I noticed my desire to portray all participants in the most positive light I could, as I held the personal belief that they had always done their best and were infallible. Through a process of bracketing via my reflective journal and upon receiving feedback from my principal supervisor, I was able to let go of some of the more unconscious guilt I felt when I did not necessarily agree with what participants were reporting or their decision-making. By going through this process, I felt I was able to present their experiences as objectively as I could, whilst still acknowledging the double-hermeneutic.

5.11 Conclusion

This research has contributed to the understanding of the experience of parenting a young person who has offended. This contributes to the limited literature on caregiver experiences and has real life application to supporting the onward development of policies and interventions for family mental health and how this can support the reduction of youth offending. This study supports the notion that it is illogical to continue to disregard parental experiences, realities, and wisdom, particularly given how crucial their role is in ensuring the safety of communities. Strategies that involve blaming or punishing parents are highly problematic and seek to worsen self-blame and stigma, placing a greater strain on the existing mainstream services. This study supports the need to embrace parents' community resource, work across systems to reduce stigma, identify adversity, and harness the systems which facilitate hope, inner resourcefulness, and resilience.

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Appendices

Appendix A: SLR Quality Appraisal: CASP Checklist for Qualitative Studies

Paper	Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?	Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?	Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?	Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?	Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?	Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?	Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	Is there a clear statement of findings?	How valuable is the research?
Adams & McCarthy (2020) Race and parenting in the context of youth incarceration	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Valuable - Explores typically under-reported accounts of primary caregivers and provides commentary on how race and ethnicity have played a role in the

									incarceration of BAME young men, and how this fits in to the political landscape. Offers recommendations for future research.
Archer, Nel, Turpin & Barry (2019) Parents' perspectives on the parent–child relationship following their child's engagement in harmful sexual behaviour	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Valuable – insight into parents' sense-making, adds to sparse literature in this area. Clear recommendations for clinical practice and implications for policy
Church , W. T., MacNeil, G., Martin, S. S., & Nelson-	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Can't tell	Yes	Valuable – clear insight into initial responses of parents, and

Gardell, D. (2009). What do you mean my child is in custody? A qualitative study of parental response to the detention of their child.										able to gather as much of an immediate reaction as possible. Clear implications for practice and recommendations for future research.
Feingold, V., & Rowley, J. (2022). Journeys of endurance: stories of exclusion from pupils, caregivers and school professionals.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Yes	Yes	Valuable – good triangulation of experience of staff, parents and pupils, within an in-systems approach. Key implications for professional practice however lacks recommendations for future research.

Hil, R. (1998). Listening to the families of juvenile offenders: A North Queensland study.	No	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Can't tell	Can't tell	Can't tell	No	Unclear - quality of research is questionable. It is valuable in debunking assumptions about families of offenders and providing clear insight into their experiences, with explicit recommendations for social workers.
Hillian, D., & Reitsma-Street, M. (2003). Parents and youth justice.	No	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Can't tell	Can't tell	Can't tell	Yes	Valuable – highlights the need to include parents in understanding criminal justice processes conceptually to improve them. Key implications for policy and practice.

Jones, S. (2015). Parents of adolescents who have sexually offended: Providing support and coping with the experience.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Can't tell	Yes	Yes	Valuable – Parental experienced were gathered/analysed thoroughly and then directly supported the creation of a treatment programme and gave recommendations for future research.
Knowles, S. F., Eccles, F. J., Daiches, A., & Bowers, M. (2016). Exploring parents' understandings of their child's journey into offending	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Yes	Yes	Valuable – corroborated previous research and highlighted importance of recognising the distress of the whole family. Offers clinical implications and further research

behaviours: A narrative analysis.										
MacNeil, G., Church, W. T., Nelson-Gardell, D., & Young, S. R. (2015). What's a parent to do? How parents respond to notification of a child's police detention.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Yes	Valuable – added to and corroborated with to the one existing study's findings in this area. Includes implications for practice and future research.
Magidson, M., & Kidd, T. (2021). Juvenile diversion and the family: How youth and parents experience	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Can't tell	Yes	Yes	Valuable – strong theory-practice links drawn from findings, provides insight into positive and negative experiences during time in diversion.

diversion programming.										Provides clear implications for practice and policy, and future research.
Martin-Denham, S. (2020). Riding the rollercoaster of school exclusion coupled with drug misuse: the lived experience of caregivers.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Valuable – provides an insight into caregiver experiences and suggests wide-ranging and co-existing factors, which have specific implications on intervention for both young people and their families. Some recommendations for future research.
Pierce, S. (2011). The lived experience of parents of	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Can't tell	Yes	Yes	Valuable – thorough exploration of parental experiences which map on

adolescents who have sexually offended: I am a survivor.										directly to a Trauma Outcome Process Model, which forms the basis for developing an intervention. Includes recommendations for future research.
Romano, E., & Gervais, C. (2018). 'He Wasn't Falling Apart… We were Falling Apart' Understanding the Mental Health Impacts on Parents of Youth Who Sexually Offend.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Yes	Yes	Valuable: shed light on the mental health impact on parents, indicating future service needs. Includes recommendation for future research.

Usher, K., Jackson, D., & O'Brien, L. (2007). Shattered dreams: Parental experiences of adolescent substance abuse.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Can't tell	Yes	Valuable – clear insights into parents' experiences, and what would have supported them to manage, thus having clear clinical implications,

Appendix B: List of Studies in Each Subtheme of Thematic Synthesis in Systematic Literature Review

Theme	Subtheme	Studies
Rebuilding the sense of being a 'good parent'	Shame, blame and resilience	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Jones, 2015; Knowles et al., 2016; MacNeil et al., 2015; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018; Usher et al., 2007)
	Responding from a place of trauma	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Jones, 2015; Knowles et al., 2016; MacNeil et al., 2015; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018)
	Impact of culture, race and religion	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Magidson & Kidd, 2021)
	Coping as best as you can	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Jones, 2015; Knowles et al., 2016; MacNeil et al., 2015; Romano & Gervais, 2018)
Persistence and personal cost	Physical and mental labour	(Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Jones, 2015; MacNeil et al., 2015; Romano & Gervais, 2018; Usher et al., 2007)
	Parental duty	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Church II et al., 2009; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Jones, 2015; MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Martin-Denham, 2020; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018; Usher et al., 2007)
	Widespread suffering	(Archer et al., 2020; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Jones, 2015; MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Martin-Denham, 2020; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018; Usher et al., 2007)
Meaning making	Burden of responsibility	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Church II et al., 2009; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Jones, 2015; Knowles et al., 2016; MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Usher et al., 2007)

	Sense of inevitability	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Church II et al., 2009; Knowles et al., 2016; Pierce, 2011)
	How can this be the child I raised?	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Archer et al., 2020; Church II et al., 2009; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Jones, 2015; Knowles et al., 2016; MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Martin-Denham, 2020; Usher et al., 2007)
Institutions as barriers and facilitators	Institutional power	(Archer et al., 2020; Church II et al., 2009; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; MacNeil et al., 2015; Martin-Denham, 2020; Usher et al., 2007)
	Left out and let down	(Adams & McCarthy, 2020; Church II et al., 2009; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; Knowles et al., 2016; MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Martin-Denham, 2020; Pierce, 2011; Romano & Gervais, 2018)
	Support of services	(Church II et al., 2009; Feingold & Rowley, 2022; Hillian & Reitsma-Street, 2003; MacNeil et al., 2015; Magidson & Kidd, 2021; Romano & Gervais, 2018)

Appendix C: Research Poster

THE EXPERIENCES OF PARENTING A YOUNG PERSON WHO HAS OFFENDED: FROM EARLY LIFE TO YOUTH OFFENDING.

Neelam Solanki
Trainee Clinical Psychologist
Lead Researcher

Why am I doing this study?

This study aims to explore how it has been to parent a child who has experienced custody within a young offender's institution, and to better understand how this relates to the systems and services available throughout this journey. Moreover, this study aims to examine how this process impacts how parents/carers see themselves, in relation to how services, individuals and systems have responded to this experience.

Who can take part?

You can take part if:

- You have been the parent/carer of a young person who has entered and exited custody as a 'young offender' (aged 15-21).
- Your child exited custody minimum 1 year ago
- You identify as Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic

What will be involved?

A 1:1 interview with the lead researcher (Neelam), which will last up to 90 minutes. Interviews will be face to face at the BME Forum (Croydon, CR0 1LP or via Zoom)

Contact Information

- Lead Researcher: Neelam Solanki, Trainee Clinical Psychologist (N.Solanki2@herts.ac.uk)
- Principal Supervisor: Prof. Joanna Adler, Professor of Forensic Psychology (j.r.adler@herts.ac.uk)

THIS STUDY HAS RECEIVED ETHICAL APPROVAL FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE ETHICS COMMITTEE. PROTOCOL NUMBER: LMS/PGR/UH/05404

Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet

THE EXPERIENCES OF PARENTING A YOUNG PERSON WHO HAS OFFENDED: FROM EARLY LIFE TO YOUTH CUSTODY.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

UH Protocol Number: LMS/PGR/UH/05404(01)

- Lead Researcher: Neelam Solanki, Trainee Clinical Psychologist (N.Solanki2@herts.ac.uk)
- Supervisors: Prof. Joanna Adler, Professor of Forensic Psychology (J.R.Adler@herts.ac.uk 01707 284610) and Louisa Butler, Family and Systemic Therapist.

You are invited take part in a research study exploring the experiences of parenting a child who has been in custody. Before you decide to take part in this study, it is important for you to understand why this research is being conducted, and what your participation would involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. If you have any questions, please contact me or my principal supervisor, Joanna Adler.

What is the purpose of this study and what will be involved?

I am undertaking this research as part of the academic Doctoral qualification in Clinical Psychology at the University of Hertfordshire. The purpose of this study is to explore how it has been to parent a child who has experienced custody within a young offender's institution, and to better understand how this relates to the systems and services available throughout this journey.

This study will include asking you about your child's early experiences at home, in the family and in school. You will also be asked about possible interactions with other services, such as the police and social services. This study wishes to explore the impact of these life experiences on parents/carers, including how they have impacted how you view yourself.

If you agree to take part in this research, you will be asked to participate in an interview. Interviews will ideally be in person, but can take place over the phone, or via remote conferencing (e.g., Zoom, Microsoft Teams). Interviews will take around ninety minutes but may take longer. If you are able to attend an in-person interview, then it will be arranged at a time that suits you, a the BME Forum, First Floor, Unit 1040/42, Croydon, England, CR0 1LP.

During the interview, you will also be asked to provide some demographic information (e.g., age, gender identity, ethnicity, occupation, relation to young person), as well as details of how you heard about the study. You will receive £15 for your participation. Interviews will be recorded and will later be transcribed by the interviewer.

Why have I been asked to participate?

You may have heard about this study via social media, or in person, via a community group you attend or through our research team. You have been invited to participate because you are the person with parental responsibility of a child who entered and exited custody as a young offender (aged 15-21), who has exited custody a minimum of 1 year ago.

Do you have to take part?

No – it is entirely up to you. If you do decide to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form to show that you have understood the requirements of the study and are happy to proceed. If you find the interview uncomfortable, you can ask for a break at any time, or can withdraw entirely from the interview. You are also free to withdraw your interview from the research analysis for up to fourteen days after the interview and can do so by contacting the primary researcher: Neelam Solanki, or principal supervisor Joanna Adler. If you decide to withdraw, you do not need to give a reason and your participation rights will not be affected.

Are there any benefits in taking part?

By taking part, you will have the opportunity to reflect and share your experiences of parenting a child who has been in custody. This may be the first opportunity you have had to do this, which may feel helpful or beneficial. Please note that this interview is not a therapy session, and I do not expect nor wish for you to share anything beyond what you are comfortable with.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

The University of Hertfordshire's Ethics Committee have approved this study.

- There are no significant risks associated with participation. However, you may feel distressed after talking about your experiences. In this instance, signposting to various support agencies will be available should you feel like it would be helpful. If you feel that it may be too difficult to talk about your experiences, or that you are not yet ready to, please do not feel you have to agree to take part.
- We will double check whether you are still happy to take part in this research:
    1. after returning a consent form, we will phone you for a brief conversation;
    2. at the beginning of the interview, we will ask again whether you are still willing to continue; and,
    3. when the interview has concluded, to confirm consent to your recording being stored, transcribed and analysed.
- There will be no ramifications whatsoever for declining to continue.

If you do wish to take part, your identity will remain confidential, unless the researcher has a strong belief that there is a serious risk of harm to yourself or to other people, in which case this will have to be escalated to the Principal Research Supervisor, Joanna Adler.

How will information you provide be recorded, stored, and protected?

The interview itself will be audio and/or video recorded using a Dictaphone or Zoom recording function. The recording itself will be transcribed verbatim and will be stored

separately from any documents which contain identifiable data e.g., consent forms. Both the recording and the interview transcript and recording will be stored on the primary researcher's university OneDrive account, which can only be accessed by them and the principal supervisor. Original recordings will be destroyed after the primary researcher's viva examination. Transcripts will be anonymised and stored up for up to 5 years.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The information you offer during the interview will be analysed to draw out experiences of participants in this study, and key findings and anonymised quotes will be used in the primary researcher's doctoral thesis and will also be written up formally for publication and may be used in academic teaching and presentations. You will be sent a copy of the research findings via email once complete. If you would not like to receive a copy, please email Neelam Solanki or Joanna Adler. Following the initial study and subsequent write-up, the data may be reanalysed for further publications, in which case you will be informed of this and will be asked to consent.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed by: The University of Hertfordshire Health, Science, Engineering and Technology Ethics Committee with Delegated Authority.

The UH protocol number is: **LMS/PGR/UH/05404(01)**

Who should you contact for further information?

If you have any queries about this study, please contact the lead researcher Neelam Solanki (N.Solanki2@herts.ac.uk). Alternatively, you can contact the primary supervisor of the study; Professor Joanna Adler (J.R.Adler@herts.ac.uk 01707 284610).

Although we hope it is not the case, if you have any complaints or concerns about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of this study, please write to the University's Secretary and Registrar at the following address:

Secretary and Registrar
University of Hertfordshire
College Lane
Hatfield
Herts
AL10 9AB

Thank you very much for reading this information and giving consideration to taking part in this study.

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form

THE EXPERIENCES OF PARENTING A YOUNG PERSON WHO HAS OFFENDED: FROM EARLY LIFE TO YOUTH CUSTODY.

CONSENT FORM

UH Protocol Number: LMS/PGR/UH/05404(01)

- Lead Researcher: Neelam Solanki, Trainee Clinical Psychologist (N.Solanki2@herts.ac.uk)
- Supervisors: Prof. Joanna Adler, Professor of Forensic Psychology (J.R.Adler@herts.ac.uk 01707 284610) and Louisa Butler, Family and Systemic Therapist.

Name:	
Email: (optional)	
Contact Number: (optional)	

Please tick (✓) the box next to each statement to confirm you have read and understood.

☐ I confirm that I have been given a Participant Information Sheet (a copy of which is attached to this form) giving particulars of the study, including its aim(s), methods and design, the names and contact details of key people and, as appropriate, the risks and potential benefits, how the information collected will be stored and for how long, and any plans for follow-up studies that might involve further approaches to participants.

☐ I understand that I can withdraw from the study by emailing Neelam Solanki (Primary Researcher) or Joanna Adler (Primary Supervisor), within fourteen days of my interview.

☐ I understand that by withdrawing consent, my interview will no longer be included in this research project.

☐ In giving my consent to participate in this study, I understand that voice, video or photo-recording will take place

☐ I understand that my answers in the interview will be transcribed, and that identifying information will be removed.

☐ I have been told how information relating to me (data obtained in the course of the study, and data provided by me about myself) will be handled: how it will be kept secure, who will have access to it, and how it will or may be used.

I agree to be contacted in the following ways (please tick as many of these as apply):

☐ Via email

☐ Over the phone

☐ Via Zoom.

☐ I understand that I will be asked about experiences which may feel difficult or upsetting for me to talk about, but that you only want me to say what I feel comfortable with.

I agree for the anonymised data I provide, including direct quotes of my responses, to be used for the purposes of:

☐Academic publications

☐ In presentations

☐ To support future research

☐ As part of academic submission of doctoral work to the University of Hertfordshire.

☐I consent for my data to be re-analysed for future publications.

☐ **I agree to take part in this research study.**

Signature of Participant:	
Date:	

Signature of Primary Researcher:	
Date:	
Name of Primary Investigator:	

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research study. Your help is very much appreciated.

Appendix F: Payment Agreement Form

PAYMENT AGREEMENT FOR VOLUNTEERS & LAY MEMBERS INVOLVEMENT IN RESEARCH

Doctorate in Clinical Psychology research study:

The experiences of parenting a young person who has offended: from early life to youth custody.

This research project is a study based at the University of Hertfordshire. The researcher is Neelam Solanki. The purpose of the study is to explore how it has been to parent a child who has experienced custody within a young offender's institution, and to better understand how this relates to the systems and services available throughout this journey.

Payment will be made to volunteers and lay members of the public for their participation in meetings and other research involvement activities. The project will finish by June 2024.

This form must be completed by the participating volunteer before payment can be made. Any queries concerning this Agreement should be referred to the relevant Head of Research Centre at the University of Hertfordshire

Between: The University of Hertfordshire

and

Name: (The "Participating Volunteer")

Address:

Tel No.:

Email Address:

ACTIVITY Volunteer for Doctorate in Clinical Psychology research study

The **Participating Volunteer** has agreed to assist the University by voluntarily taking part in the research **Activity**.

1. The Activity to be undertaken is described below and it is the Activity for which you have given your consent/agreement.

Attend and complete a 1:1 research interview, at an agreed date with the researcher.

CONFIRMATION OF ATTENDANCE

2. The Researcher will confirm the Participating Volunteer has attended the Activity outlined above.

PAYMENT

3. The Participating Volunteer will receive a participation payment of £15 in the form of Love2Shop vouchers for completion of the activities described above. Payment will not be made for any activities in which the Participant did not participate at all.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY AND THE PARTICIPATING VOLUNTEER

4. The University does not regard the Participating Volunteer as an employee of the University nor as a worker, and the payment made to the Participating Volunteer for the participation is not made with respect to any employment relationship with the University.
5. The Participating Volunteer is advised that it is their personal responsibility to declare any payment for participation to HM Revenue & Customs under Self-Assessment, if that is appropriate to their personal circumstances. The University will not deduct income taxes from the payment.

SIGNED FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE UNIVERSITY

The signatory for the University confirms they have authority to enter into this agreement on behalf of the University e.g., Principal Investigator

SIGNED N. Solanki

PRINT NAME Neelam Solanki

Position at UH Trainee Clinical Psychologist

DATE ……..

SIGNED BY THE PARTICIPATING VOLUNTEER

I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this agreement and accept its terms.

SIGNED ……..

PRINT NAME ……..

DATE ……..

Appendix G: Demographics and Screening Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire + Screening Information

Screening Questionnaire

Thank you for expressing an interest in taking part in this research study. Before we proceed, I need to gather some demographic information, and go through a brief screening questionnaire, so we can both be sure that you meet the study criteria and are ready to continue.

Age:	
Gender identity:	
Ethnicity:	
Relationship to young person:	
Participant pseudonym:	

Thank you.

As you will have read in the participant information sheet, the study will consist of an interview asking you about how it has been to parent a child who has experienced custody within a young offender's institution, and to better understand how this relates to the systems and services available throughout this journey. There are no significant risks in taking part in this study, but we understand that talking about these experiences may leave you feeling distressed, and we wish to minimise this as much as possible. In line with this:

Can you confirm that your child has now left custody more than one year ago?

Do you feel emotionally ready to talk about these experiences?

Do you have any concerns about taking part in this study?

Do you have any emotional triggers that would be helpful for me to be aware of?

Are you happy to proceed?

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research study. Your help is very much appreciated.

Appendix H: Interview Schedule

MRP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date (dd/mm/yyyy):	
Participant pseudonym:	

Thank you again for agreeing to take part in this research project. To recap, this interview will be around your experiences of parenting a child who has been in youth custody, with a view of what did and didn't help you and how this may have impacted how you felt about yourself as a parent. The interview will last around 90 minutes. I'd like to be clear that you don't have to answer any question you don't want to answer and that we can take a break at any point if you'd like. You're also free to withdraw from this interview at any point. After the interview, you can withdraw your responses from the recorded interviews for up to two weeks from today.

As I mentioned in the information sheet, it would be very helpful to record this interview. So, before we begin, I just wanted to confirm that you are happy for the interview to be recorded. This will help me remember what we said and to transcribe the interview. Do you consent to me recording?

Also, to reiterate, you do not have to answer anything you do not wish to, and please only tell me about things that you are comfortable to share with me. This interview is not intended as a therapy session and please only share what you feel safe to share. This interview may bring up some distressing feelings for you, and we will have a chance to debrief at the end. I can also tell you about services which may be able to help you, if you would like. Are you happy to proceed with the interview?

Do you have any questions before I start recording?

I'm going to start recording now:

BEGIN RECORDING

Laminated image of Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS wheel to be placed upon the table/screen shared:

Thank you, now, in this interview, we're going to talk about your child who has been in custody. Is there a name that you'd like me to use to refer to your child? It can be their name or one you've made up for this research.

I'd like to understand a little bit more about your experiences as a parent/carer of someone sentenced to youth custody.

1. Please think back to when your child was first sentenced and went into a Young Offenders Institution. Please tell me about how that was?
    a. What was the run-up like? / What was going on for you/ others important to you at that time in your lives?
    b. What was the impact on employment, lifestyle, relationships, finances/daily living, living situation, health/mental health?
    c. Impact on other children and your parenting of them – siblings/other children in your care

2. How did you find the responses of others around you?
    a. Friends/family – support systems
    b. Community responses – religious, local community

3. Were there people who were more helpful?

4. Were there people who were less helpful?

5. Did other people know what to say to you?

6. Did you know what to say to others?

7. What are the challenges that have come about because of your child's incarceration?
    a. Was there anything that surprised you?
    b. Feelings?
    c. The process? Court, judicial system
    d. Custody itself

8. Do you think anything positive has come out of this experience?
    a. For you/the young person sentenced/anyone else?
    b. Did you think that at the time?

Please think back a little further now as I'd like to understand what things were like when your child (use name if given above) was younger.

9. Going back, how was your child/xxx when they started school?
    a. Can you tell me about it?
    b. Emotionally
    c. Behaviour others deemed 'challenging' (including authorised and non-authorised school absences)
    d. Learning needs or neurodivergence?

10. How did your child experience the transitions throughout schools?
    a. How did you experience your child's transitions throughout schools?
    b. How did your family experience your child's transitions throughout schools?

11. Did you have any involvement with the police before xxx/your child was first taken into custody?

12. Did you have any involvement with social services?

13. Do you think that there were any signs/flags that your child might be heading down a difficult path?
    a. Did you have a gut feeling?
    b. Is this something you've felt for a while/always?

14. Has xxx/your child being in custody changed how you now parent your child?
    a. How would you want to manage them?
    b. Has it changed the way you parent other children/might parent other children?

15. Have these experiences affected the way you feel about yourself?
    a. As a parent?

I'd like to think back to the image of the Social Graces which was sent to you prior to the interview. The Social Graces are a way of thinking about the different elements of our identity and how they might impact how we relate to others. It is designed to make identity factors a part of a discussion about privileges and disadvantages that are evident in society. For example, you can see from looking at me that I am a relatively young South Asian female who has attained a doctoral level of education, so some of the Social Graces which might be impacting how I relate with you and you with me are my age, race/ethnicity, gender and education level.

16. Are there any of your own Social Graces which you feel might have been particularly present for you or xxx/your child throughout their journey into youth custody?

17. Is there anything else you would have liked me to ask you?

18. Is there anything you like to ask me?

19. How has it felt to talk to me today?
    a. Is there anything you would like to add?
    b. Is there anything you are unsure about saying or would not like included from our conversation today?

20. Before wrapping up, I just wanted to double check that you're ok with me including this interview in my analysis…

Thank you very much for participating.

Before I stop recording, I just wanted to confirm that you are happy for me to store this record and transcribe what we have said for analysis for my study?

Thank you, I will now stop recording.

STOP RECORDING

Thank you very much for your participation. I understand that some of the things we have talked about may have been distressing for you, and I just wanted to check in on how you may be feeling now? I understand that you may not wish to talk about this at the moment, but please accept this debrief form [Appendix 7], which I will also email to you, if you have given me an email address. I have included the details of some organisations and resources which may be helpful for you to access. Also, if taking part in this study has left you feeling unsettled or distressed, or raised uncomfortable feelings, you are welcome to contact me or my supervisor, Joanna Adler, and our details are included on the debrief sheet. I just wanted to remind you that you are also free to withdraw from this research study, which will include all the information you have provided, and you can do this within the next 14 days, following your interview today.

In terms of next steps, I will be collating all of the information that has been offered to me through these interviews and analysing them together to write them up for my thesis. You do not need to do anything more. If you would like me to send you summary findings from this study, please let me know now. Thank you very much for your participation.

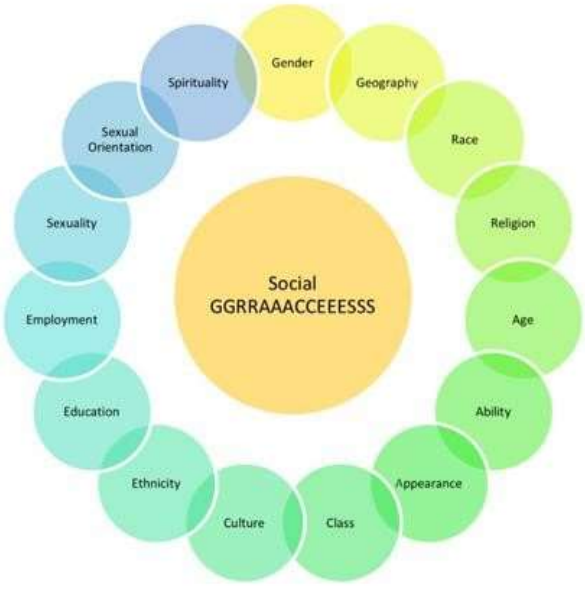
Appendix I: Social GGRRAAACCEEESSS Information Sheet

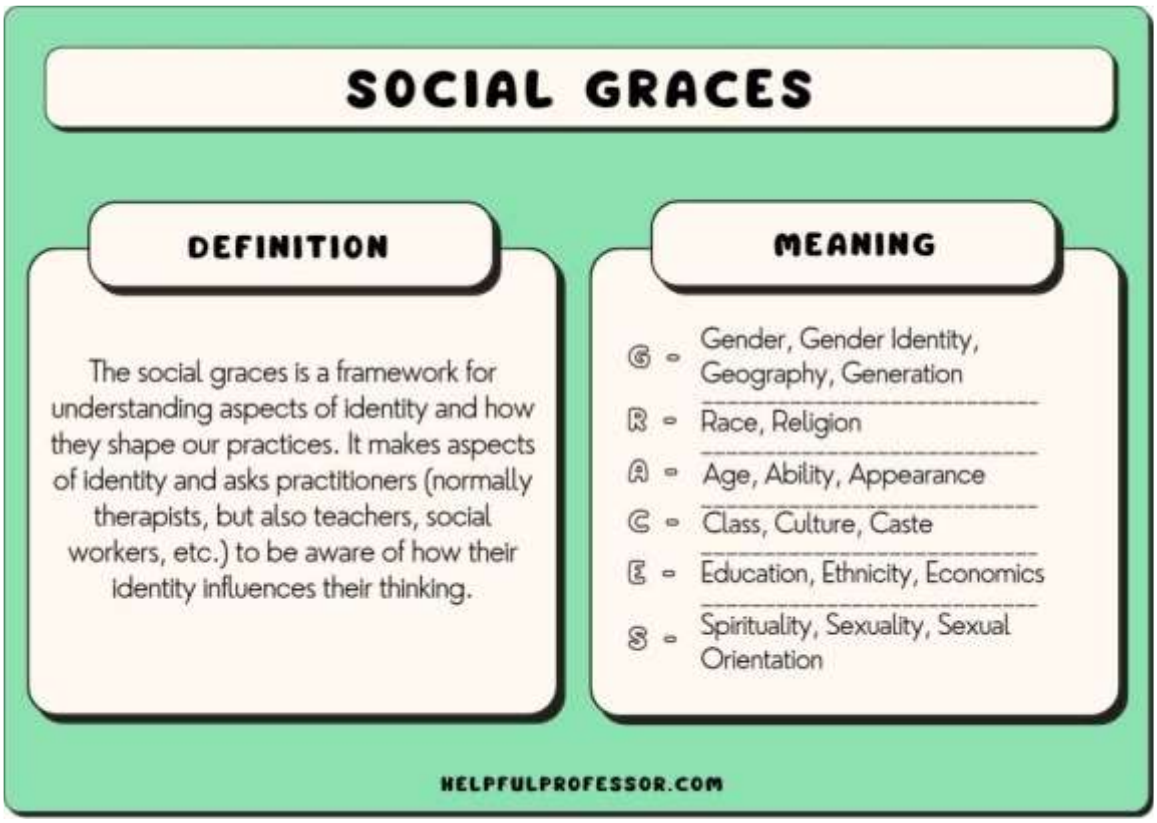
information sent in email:

Ahead of the interview, please find attached the Interview Schedule, along with some resources relating to the Social GGGGRRAAACCCEEESSS (Burnham, 2021). This represents aspects of difference in beliefs, power, and lifestyle, visible and invisible, voiced, and unvoiced, to which we might pay attention to.

Prior to the interview, it would be helpful if you could have a look over the interview schedule, and please think about whether any of the Social GGGGRRAAACCCEEESSS feel important for you as a person or have stood out in your experiences related to being a parent/carer of a child who has been in custody.

Document attached containing the following slides:





Social GGRRAAACCEESSS (Burnham, 1992)

These graces have an impact not only on an individual level, but are activated within the community

One of the key aims of the graces is to 'name' power differentials. In doing so, it is far easier to identify (and work on) our own prejudice, or indeed on our own privilege.

The concept helps us to talk through the elements of identity and how they might impact how we relate to others.

It is designed to make identity factors a part of a discussion about privileges and disadvantages that are evident in society.

Appendix J: Debrief Sheet

THE EXPERIENCES OF PARENTING A YOUNG PERSON WHO HAS OFFENDED: FROM EARLY LIFE TO YOUTH CUSTODY

DEBRIEF FORM

Thank you for taking part in this study. Through this research, we hope to understand how you as a parent/carer have experienced and felt about your child's journey into youth custody, and how this has affected you.

If taking part in this study has left you feeling unsettled or distressed, or raised uncomfortable feelings, you are welcome to contact me, Neelam Solanki at (n.solanki2@herts.ac.uk) or my supervisor, Joanna Adler (j.r.adler@herts.ac.uk)

We have also listed some additional support options which may be helpful to access:

- **Prisoners' Families Helpline** info@prisonersfamilies.org, 0808 808 2003
  Offers support and information for people with a loved one in contact with the criminal justice system in England.

- **Family Lives** https://www.familylives.org.uk/
  A targeted early intervention and crisis support to families.

- **Partners of Prisoners** https://www.partnersofprisoners.co.uk/
  A service which provides information and support for offenders' families from the point of arrest through to release and beyond.

- **Samaritans** https://www.samaritans.org/
  A registered charity aimed at providing emotional support to anyone in emotional distress, struggling to cope or at risk of suicide

- **Black & Asian Therapists Network** www.baatn.org.uk
  Online directory of qualified therapists experienced in working with the distinctive African, Caribbean and Asian experience.

- **National Autistic Society** https://www.autism.org.uk/
  The UK's leading charity for autistic people and their families, offering advice, guidance and support about autism and the challenges autistic people might face.

- **British Dyslexia Association** https://www.bdadyslexia.org.uk/
  An organisation aiming to promote a dyslexia-friendly society, through raising awareness and promoting understanding of dyslexia, and empowering people.

- **ADHD Foundation** https://www.adhdfoundation.org.uk/
  The UK's leading neurodiversity charity, offering a strength-based, lifespan service for the 1 in 5 of us who live with ADHD, Autism, Dyslexia, DCD, Dyscalculia, OCD, Tourette's Syndrome and more.

- **Children with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND)** https://www.gov.uk/children-with-special-educational-needs
  Government advice and signposting around SEND and how you/your child can access support.

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research study. Your help is very much appreciated.

If you have any queries about this study, please contact the lead researcher Neelam Solanki (N.Solanki2@herts.ac.uk). Alternatively, you can contact the primary supervisor of the study; Professor Joanna Adler (j.r.adler@herts.ac.uk 01707 284610).

Although we hope it is not the case, if you have any complaints or concerns about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of this study, please write to the University's Secretary and Registrar at the following address:

Secretary and Registrar
University of Hertfordshire
College Lane
Hatfield
Herts
AL10 9AB

Appendix K: LMS Risk Assessment Form

Ref No.	
Date	
Review Date	
	OFFICE USE ONLY

SCHOOL OF LIFE AND MEDICAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE

Life and Medical Sciences Risk Assessment

The completion of this is an integral part of the preparation for your work, it is not just a form to be completed, but is designed to alert you to potential hazards so you can identify the measures you will need to put into place to control them. You will need a copy on you when you carry out your work

General Information					
Name	Neelam Solanki	Email address	n.solanki2@herts.ac.uk	Contact number	07938495693
Supervisor's name (if student)	Prof. Joanna Adler	Supervisor's e-mail address	j.r.adler@herts.ac.uk	Supervisor's contact number	01707 284610

Activity	
Title of activity	The experiences of parenting a 'young offender': from early life to youth custody.
Brief description of activity	One-to-one interviews with parents of children who have been in incarcerated in a young offender's institution. Interviews will last up to 90 minutes and will be audio and / or video recorded depending on how the interview takes place.
Location of activity	BME Forum, First Floor, Unit 1040/42, Croydon, England, CR0 1LP or via Zoom. (See embedded email:) 
Who will be taking part in this activity	This shouldn't just be you, who else is involved or could be affected - try not to use names but categories of people, e.g. technical staff, undergraduate students etc. If you are doing interviews, then you should include your participants. Research Team Participants: parents of children who have been incarcerated in a young offenders' institution and who identify as being from an ethnically minoritized background. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria:

Inclusion Criteria	**Exclusion Criteria**
• Parent/carer must be the primary caregiver of the young person • Parent/carer of their child who entered custody as a young offender (aged 15-21)	• Parent/carer whose child is still in custody (for their first offence) • Parent/carer whose child's first conviction was for a

	• Parent/carer of a child who was released from custody as a young offender (aged 15-21) • Parent/carer of a child who was released from custody a minimum one year ago. • Parent/carer must identify as part of the global majority (Black, Asian and minority ethic background)	serious offence/necessitated them transitioning into the adult estate. • Parent/carer who has more than one child who has entered custody.

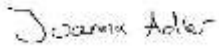
Types of Hazards likely to be encountered				
✓ Computers and other display screen	☐ Falling objects	☐ Farm machinery	☐ Fire	☐ Cuts
☐ Falls from heights	☐ Manual handling	☐ Hot or cold extremes	☐ Repetitive handling	☐ Severe weather
☐ Slips/trips/falls	✓ Stress	✓ Travel	☐ Vehicles	☐ Workshop machinery
✓ Psychological distress (to interviewer or interviewee)	✓ Aggressive response, physical or verbal		☐	☐
Other hazards not listed above	COVID-19			

Risk Control Measures						
List the activities in the order in which they occur, indicating your perception of the risks associated with each one and the probability of occurrence, together with the relevant safety measures. Describe the activities involved. *Consider the risks to participants, research team, security, maintenance, members of the public – is there anyone else who could be harmed?* *In respect of any equipment to be used read manufacturer's instructions and note any hazards that arise, particularly from incorrect use.*						
Identify hazards	**Who could be harmed?** *e.g. participants, research team, security, maintenance, members of the public, other people at the location, the owner / manager / workers at the location etc.*	**How could they be harmed?**	**Control Measures – what precautions are currently in place?** *Are there standard operating procedures or rules for the premises. Are there any other local codes of practice/local rules which you are following, eg Local Rules for the SHE labs? Have there been agreed levels of supervision of the study? Will trained medical staff be present? Etc*	**What is the residual level of risk after the control measures have been put into place?** *Low Medium or High*	**Are there any risks that are not controlled or not adequately controlled?**	**Is more action needed to reduce/manage the risk?** *for example, provision of support/aftercare, precautions to be put in place to avoid or minimise risk or adverse effects*
Computer	Research	Eye strain,	Research Team will follow DSE	Low	No	No

s and other display screen	team, Participants	headache, neck pain	guidelines. Participants will be advised to take breaks when/if needed if interviews take place via Zoom.			
Psychological distress (to interviewer or interviewee)	Participants and research team	Emotional distress could emerge from any questions that may be asked.	Participants will be screened for emotional readiness prior to the interview during initial expression of interest, during confirmation of consent and agreement of interview time and date, and immediately prior and post the interview itself. Participants will be reminded that the interview's purpose is exploratory, and that they do not need to answer anything they do not wish to and can pause the interview until they feel ready to resume or terminate the interview if it feels too much. The researcher may be distressed by what they hear and will be receiving regular debrief phone calls and supervision from their principal supervisor to mitigate this.	Low	No	Participants will be offered a debrief sheet which includes details, organisations, or helplines which they can turn to if they wish to access support.
Travel	Primary researcher, Participants	Potential for travel related incidents (car accidents, breakdown) as I will be driving to interviews.	The researcher will inform the principal supervisor of safe arrival at the venue. The researcher currently has breakdown cover for her car.	Low	No	No
Stress	Primary researcher, Participants	Participants and the researcher may become stressed through the interview process.	Participants will be informed that they can pause the interview until they feel ready to resume or terminate the interview if it feels too stressful. The researcher will be supported through stress by her supervisory team through formal debrief with principal supervisor, and informal catchups.	Low	No	Participants will be offered a debrief sheet which includes details, organisations, or helplines which they can turn to if they wish to access support.
Aggressive response, physical or	Primary researcher, Participants	Participants could become aggressive in	Participants will be informed that they do not need to answer anything they do not wish to and can	Low	No	Discussion with the staff at the BME Forum prior to

verbal		response to questions being asked during interview.	pause the interview until they feel ready to resume or terminate the interview if it feels too much. The researcher will be able to terminate the interview at any stage if she feels threatened by level of aggression. If this occurs, the researcher shall leave the room and inform other staff in the BME forum meeting space of her concerns. Relevant protocols and policies from within the BME forum will also be reviewed prior to interviews and adhered to. The researcher will be supported around any difficult dynamics, such as responses by her supervisory team through formal debrief with principal supervisor, and informal catchups.			interviews to brief them about this potential risk. Reference to the BME Forum protocols and policies.
COVID-19	Primary researcher, Participants	For face-to-face interviews only: Contraction and transmission of COVID-19 between researcher / interviewee, and those we have contact with at the BME Forum.	In accordance with GOV.UK guidance, anyone who has tested positive for covid and/or someone who has active symptoms, will be advised to test for covid prior to the interview, and to stay at home if they (continue to) test positive. In this instance, the interview will be rescheduled. The interviewer will test for covid minimum 24 hours prior to the interview and will reschedule if necessary. Wearing of masks will be advised if either interviewer or interviewee feels unwell. Interviewer and interviewee will sit a safe distance from one another, minimum one metre. The BME Forum's COVID policy will also be reviewed and adhered to. We will use the ventilation available in the BME forum during interviews.	Low	No	No

List any other documents relevant to this application	BME Forum policies and protocols - pending being sent them. Life and Medical Sciences Health and Safety documents University of Hertfordshire COVID protocol: https://www.herts.ac.uk/coronavirus#:~:text=If%20you%20do%20have%20any,fall%20ill%2C%20please%20go%20home.

Signatures					
Assessor name	Neelam Solanki	Assessor signature		Date	08.06.23
Supervisor, if Assessor is a student	Joanna Adler	Supervisor signature		Date	30.5.23
Local Health and Safety Advisor/ Lab Manager	Alex Eckford	Local Health and Safety Advisor/ Lab Manager signature	Alex Eckford	Date	9th June 2023

Appendix L: Letter of Ethical Approval (after Amendment)

University of Hertfordshire UH

HEALTH, SCIENCE, ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY ECDA

ETHICS APPROVAL NOTIFICATION

TO	Neelam Solanki
CC	Dr Joanna Adler
FROM	Dr Rebecca Knight, PhD, Health, Science, Engineering and Technology ECDA Vice Chair
DATE	27/09/2023

Protocol number:	aLMS/PGR/UH/05404(1)
Title of study:	The experiences of parenting a 'young offender': from early life to youth custody

Your application to modify and extend the existing protocol as detailed below has been accepted and approved by the ECDA for your School and includes work undertaken for this study by the named additional workers below:

Louisa Butler (Systemic and Family Therapist) – Secondary (External) Supervisor louisa.butler@nhs.net

Dr Abigail Taiwo – Secondary Internal Supervisor a.o.taiwo@herts.ac.uk

Joana Aggrey – Expert by Experience Research Consultant joaggrey@live.co.uk

Modification:

As modifications as listed in the EC2 application

Note from the Vice Chair:

As a side note, I think the title on the debrief sheet needs editing to remove the word "child"

General conditions of approval:

Ethics approval has been granted subject to the standard conditions below:

Original protocol: Any conditions relating to the original protocol approval remain and must be complied with.

Permissions: Any necessary permissions for the use of premises/location and accessing participants for your study must be obtained in writing prior to any data collection commencing. Failure to obtain adequate permissions may be considered a breach of this protocol.

External communications: Ensure you quote the UH protocol number and the name of the approving Committee on all paperwork, including recruitment advertisements/online requests, for this study.

Invasive procedures: If your research involves invasive procedures you are required to complete and submit an EC7 Protocol Monitoring Form, and copies of your completed consent paperwork to this ECDA once your study is complete.

Submission: Students must include this Approval Notification with their submission.

Validity:

This approval is valid:

From: 27/09/2023

To: 30/06/2025

Please note:

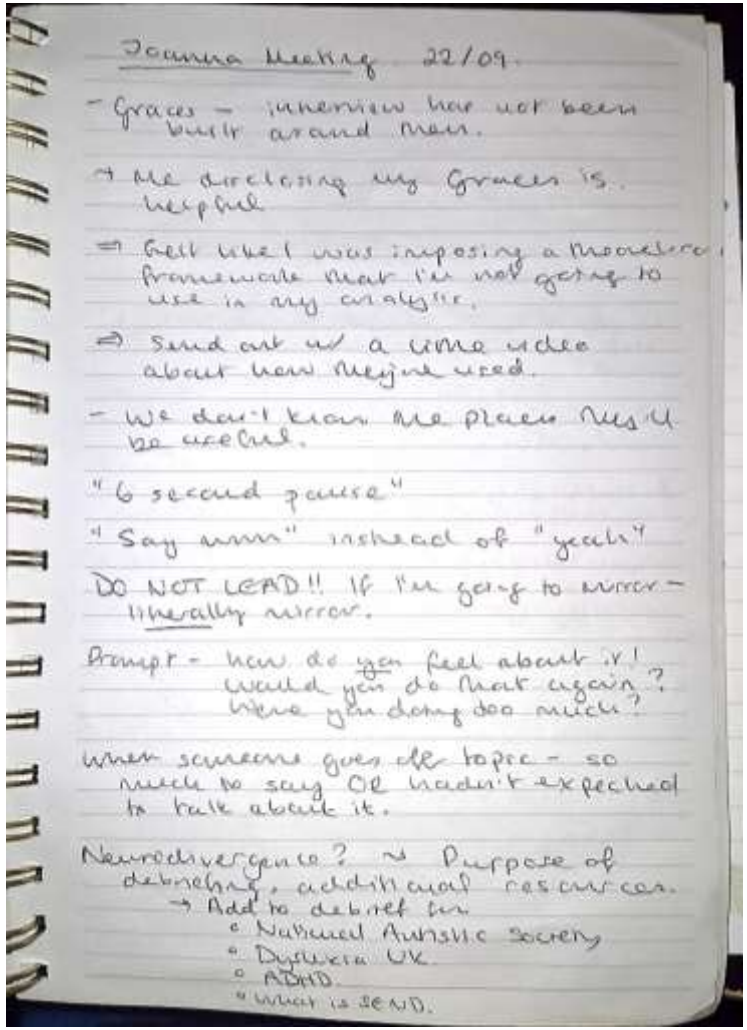
Failure to comply with the conditions of approval will be considered a breach of protocol and may result in disciplinary action which could include academic penalties.
Additional documentation requested as a condition of this approval protocol may be submitted via your supervisor to the Ethics Clerks as it becomes available. All documentation relating to this study, including the information/documents noted in the conditions above, must be available for your supervisor at the time of submitting your work so that they are able to confirm that you have complied with this protocol.

Should you amend any aspect of your research or wish to apply for an extension to your study you will need your supervisor's approval (if you are a student) and must complete and submit a further EC2 request.
Approval applies specifically to the research study/methodology and timings as detailed in your Form EC1A or as detailed in the EC2 request. In cases where the amendments to the original study are deemed to be substantial, a new Form EC1A may need to be completed prior to the study being undertaken.

Failure to report adverse circumstance/s may be considered misconduct.
Should adverse circumstances arise during this study such as physical reaction/harm, mental/emotional harm, intrusion of privacy or breach of confidentiality this must be reported to the approving Committee immediately.

Appendix M: Excerpts from Reflective Diary

a. Notes taken post- pilot interview and corresponding reflections



Joanna Meeting 22/09.

- Graces – interview has not been built around them.

→ Me directing my Graces is helpful

⇒ Felt like I was imposing a framework that I'm not going to use in my analysis.

⇒ Send out w/ a little video about how they're used.

- We don't know the places they'll be useful.

"6 second pause"

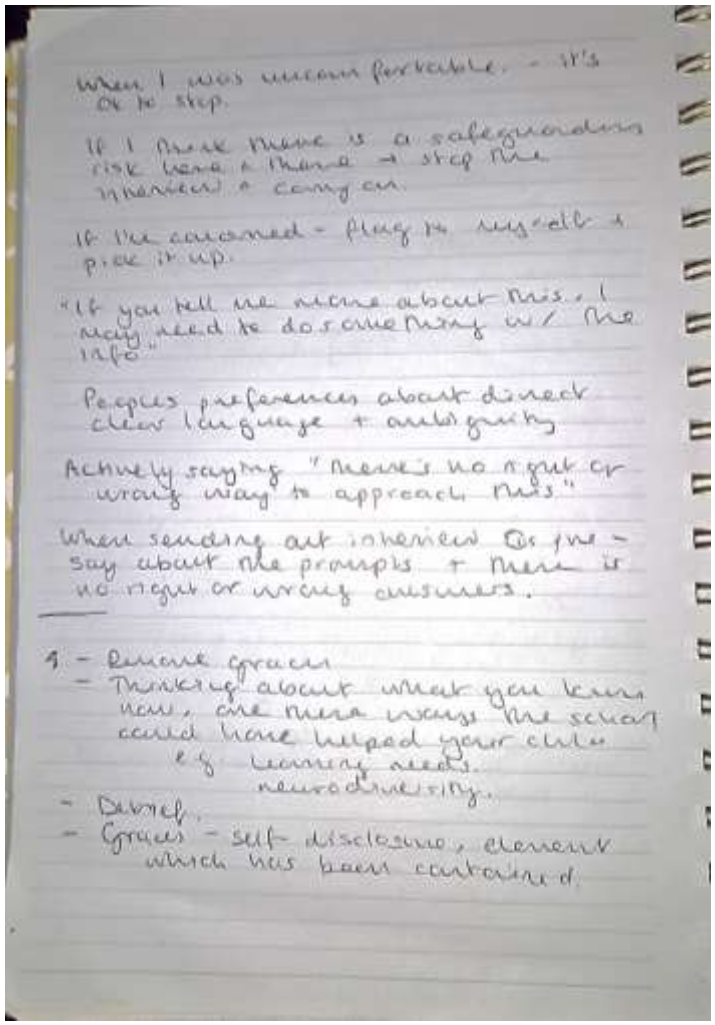
"Say mmm" instead of "yeah"

DO NOT LEAD!! If I'm going to mirror – literally mirror.

Prompt – how do you feel about it? Would you do that again? Were you doing too much?

When screens goes OE topic – so much to say OE hadn't expected to talk about it.

Neurodivergence? ↔ Purpose of debriefing, additional resources.
→ Add to debrief list
- National Autistic Society
- Dyslexia UK
- ADHD
- What is SEND.



When I was uncomfortable. – it's OK to stop.

If I think there is a safeguarding risk here & there → stop the interview & carry on.

If I'm concerned – flag to myself & pick it up.

"If you tell me more about this, I may need to do something w/ the info."

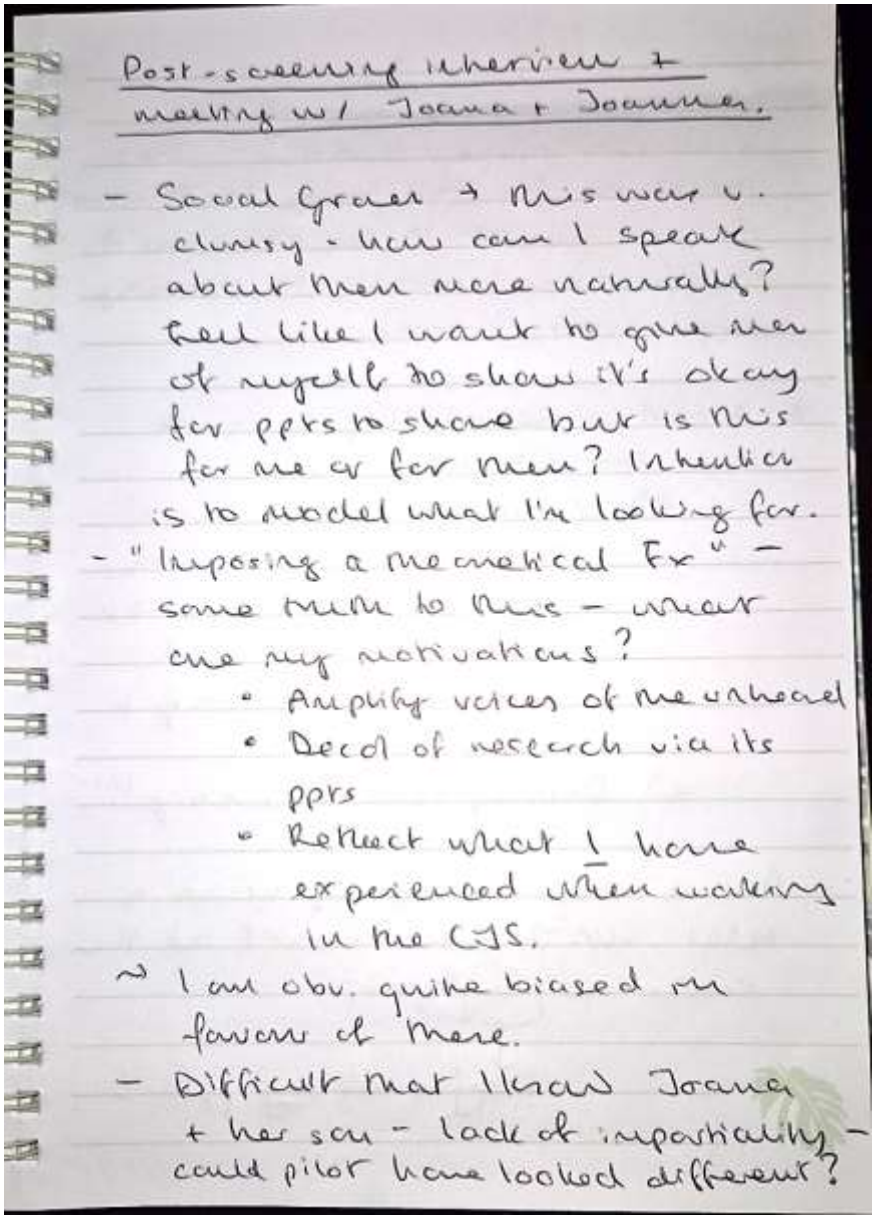
Peoples preferences about direct clear language & ambiguity

Actively saying "there's no right or wrong way to approach this."

When sending out interview Qs pre – say about the prompts & there is no right or wrong answers.

---

1 – Remind Grace
- Thinking about what you know now, are there ways the school could have helped your child e.g. Learning needs. neurodiversity.
- Debrief.
- Graces – self- disclosure, elements which has been contained.

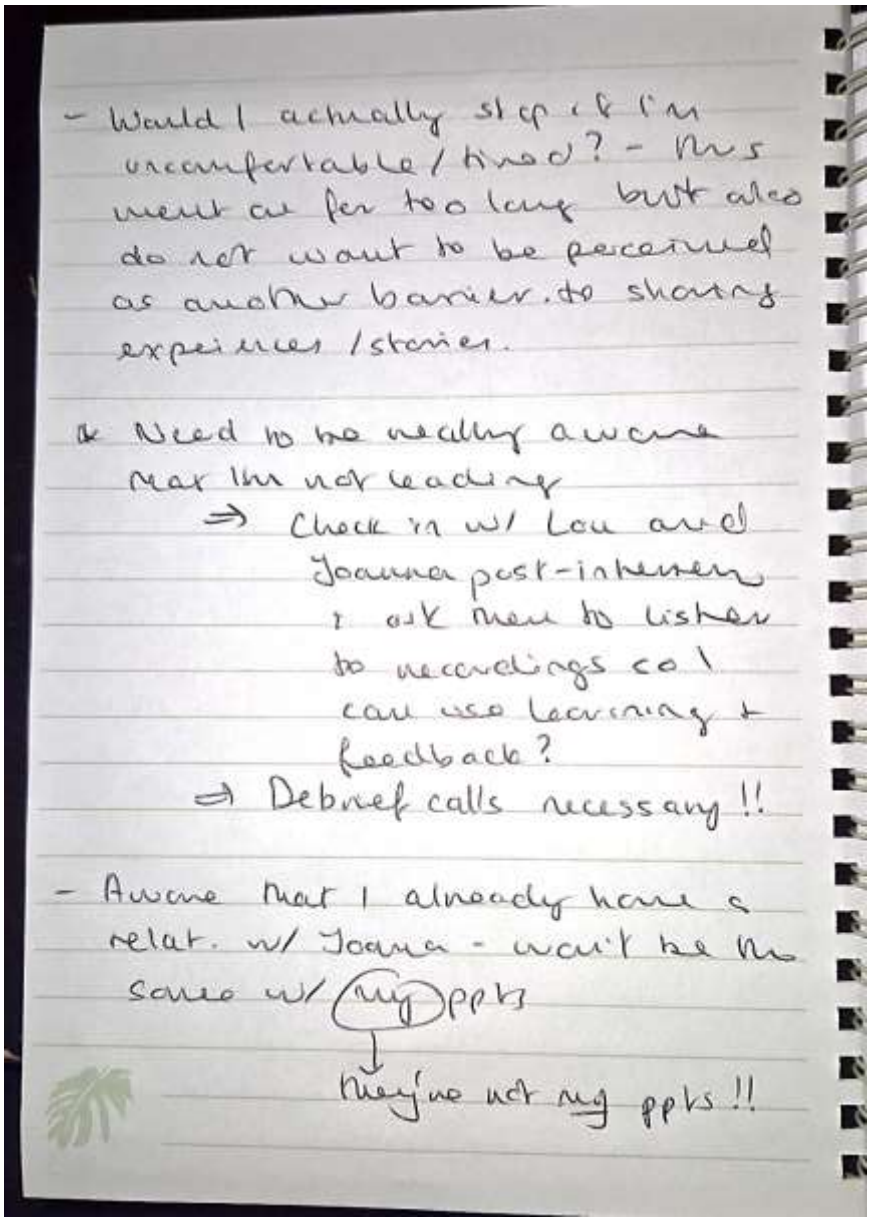


Post-screening interview + reading w/ Joana + Joanna.

- Social Grace → this was v. clumsy - how can I speak about them more naturally? Feel like I want to give them of myself to show it's okay for ppts to share but is this for me or for them? Intention is to model what I'm looking for.
- "Imposing a mechanical Fx" - some truth to this - what are my motivations?
  - Amplify voices of neurohealth
  - Detail of research via its ppts
  - Reflect what I have experienced when working in the CJS.

→ I am obv. quite biased in favour of them.

- Difficult that I know Joana + her son - lack of impartiality - could pilot have looked different?

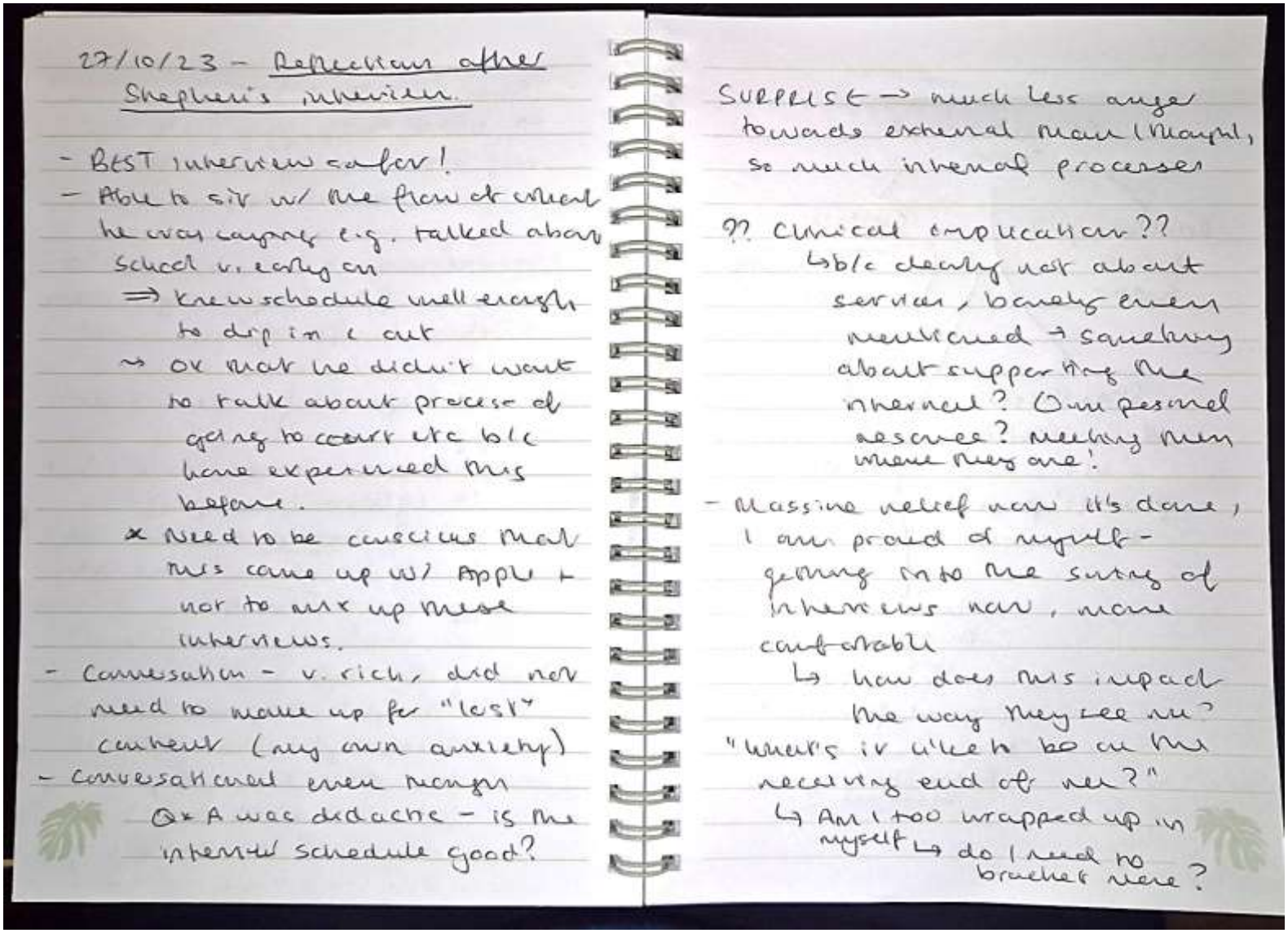


- Would I actually stop if I'm uncomfortable / tired? - this went on for too long but also do not want to be perceived as another barrier to sharing experiences / stories.

* Need to be really aware that I'm not leading
  ⇒ Check in w/ Lou and Joanna post-interview + ask them to listen to recordings so I can use learning + feedback?
  ⇒ Debrief calls necessary !!

- Aware that I already have a relat. w/ Joana - won't be the same w/ ~~my~~ ppts
  ↓
  they're not my ppts !!

b. Post-interview reflections (Stephen)



27/10/23 – Reflections after Stephen's interview.

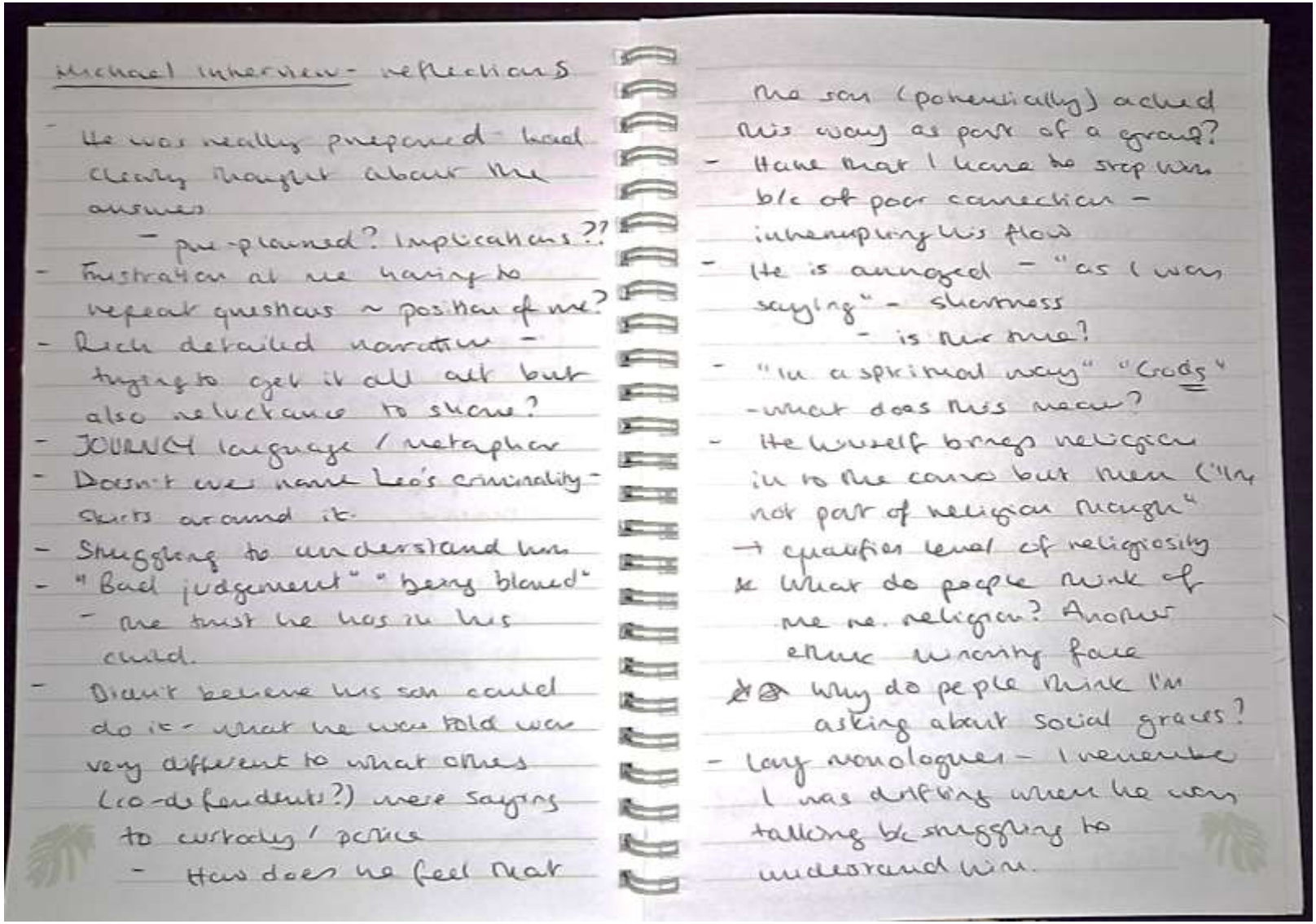
- BEST interview so far!
- Able to sit w/ me from st when he was saying e.g. talked about school v. early on
  ⇒ knew schedule well enough to drip in & out
  ↝ or that he didn't want to talk about process of going to court etc b/c have experienced this before.
  ✕ Need to be conscious that this come up w/ Appl + not to mix up these interviews.
- Conversation – v. rich, did not need to make up for "lost" content (my own anxiety)
- Conversation went even longer
  Q✕ A was didache – is the interview schedule good?

SURPRISE → much less anger towards external than I thought, so much internal processes

?? Clinical implications ??
  ↳ b/c clearly not about service, barely even mentioned → something about supporting the internal? Own personal issues? Seeing them more than they are!

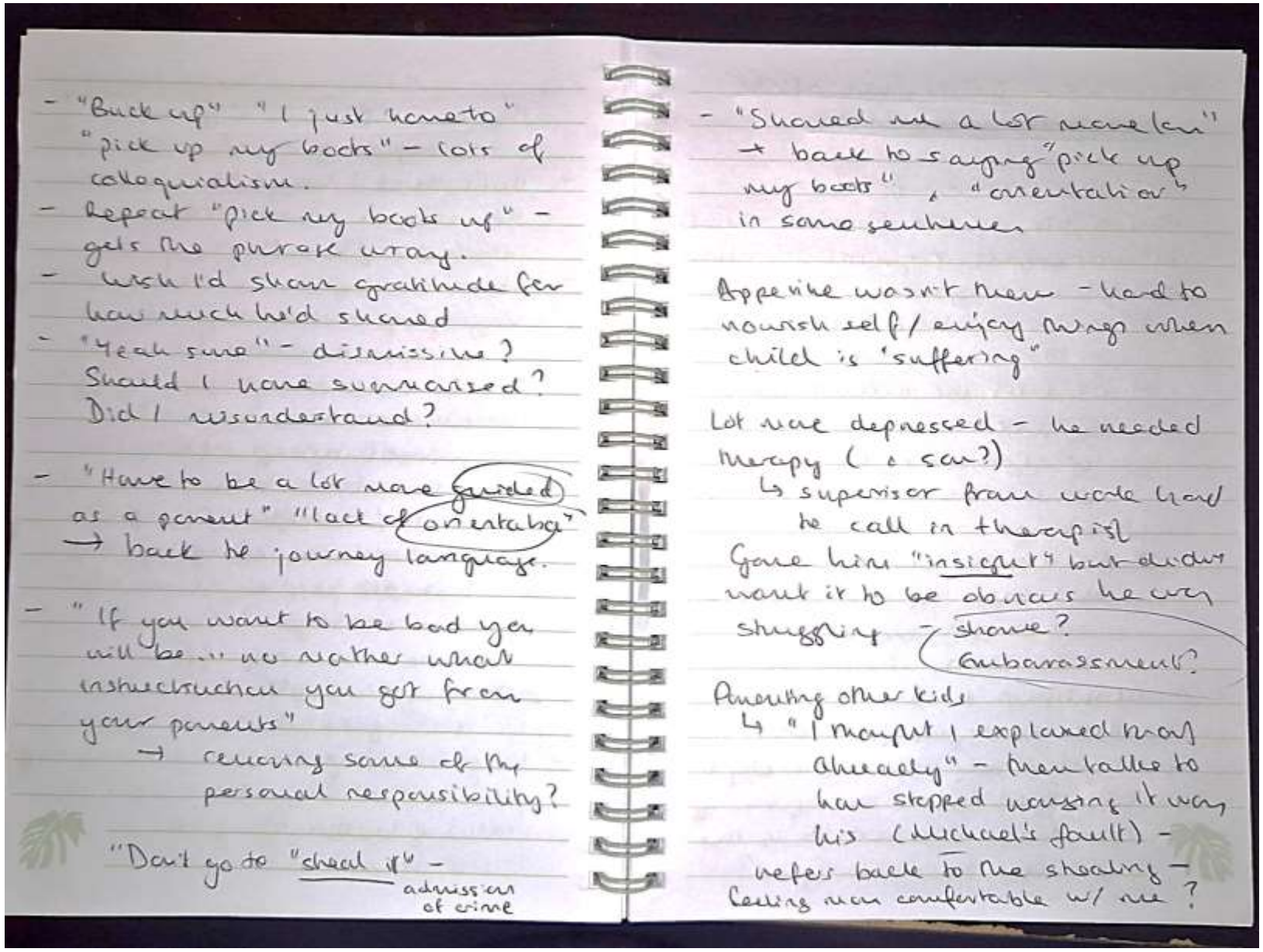
- Massive relief now it's done, I am proud of myself – getting into the swing of interviews now, more comfortable
  ↳ how does this impact the way they see us?
"What's it like to be on the receiving end of us?"
  ↳ Am I too wrapped up in myself ↳ do I need no brushes here?

a. IPA Step 1: Data Immersion (Michael)



Michael interview - reflections

- He was really prepared - had clearly thought about the answers
  - pre-planned? Implications?!
- Frustration at me having to repeat questions ~ position of me?
- Rich detailed narrative - trying to get it all out but also reluctance to share?
- JOURNEY language / metaphor
- Doesn't ever name Leo's criminality - skirts around it
- Struggling to understand him
- "Bad judgement" "being blamed"
  - me trust he has in his child.
- Didn't believe his son could do it - what he was told was very different to what others (co-defendants?) were saying to custody / police
  - How does he feel that his son (potentially) acted this way as part of a group?
- Have that I have to stop him b/c of poor connection - interrupting his flow
- He is annoyed - "as I was saying" - shortness
  - is this true?
- "in a spiritual way" "Gods" - what does this mean?
- He himself brings religion in to the convo but then ("I'm not part of religious thought"
  → qualifies level of religiosity
  ⇒ What do people think of me re. religion? Another ethnic minority face
  ⇒ Why do pepl think I'm asking about social graces?
- Long monologues - I remember I was drifting when he was talking b/c struggling to understand him.



- "Buck up" "I just have to" "pick up my books" – lots of colloquialism.
- Repeat "pick my books up" – gets the phrase wrong.
- Wish I'd shown gratitude for how much he'd shared
- "Yeah sure" – dismissive? Should I have summarised? Did I misunderstand?

- "Have to be a lot more guarded as a parent" "lack of orientation" → back the journey language.

- "If you want to be bad you will be ... no matter what instruction you get from your parents"
  → removing some of the personal responsibility?

"Don't go to "shed it" – admission of crime

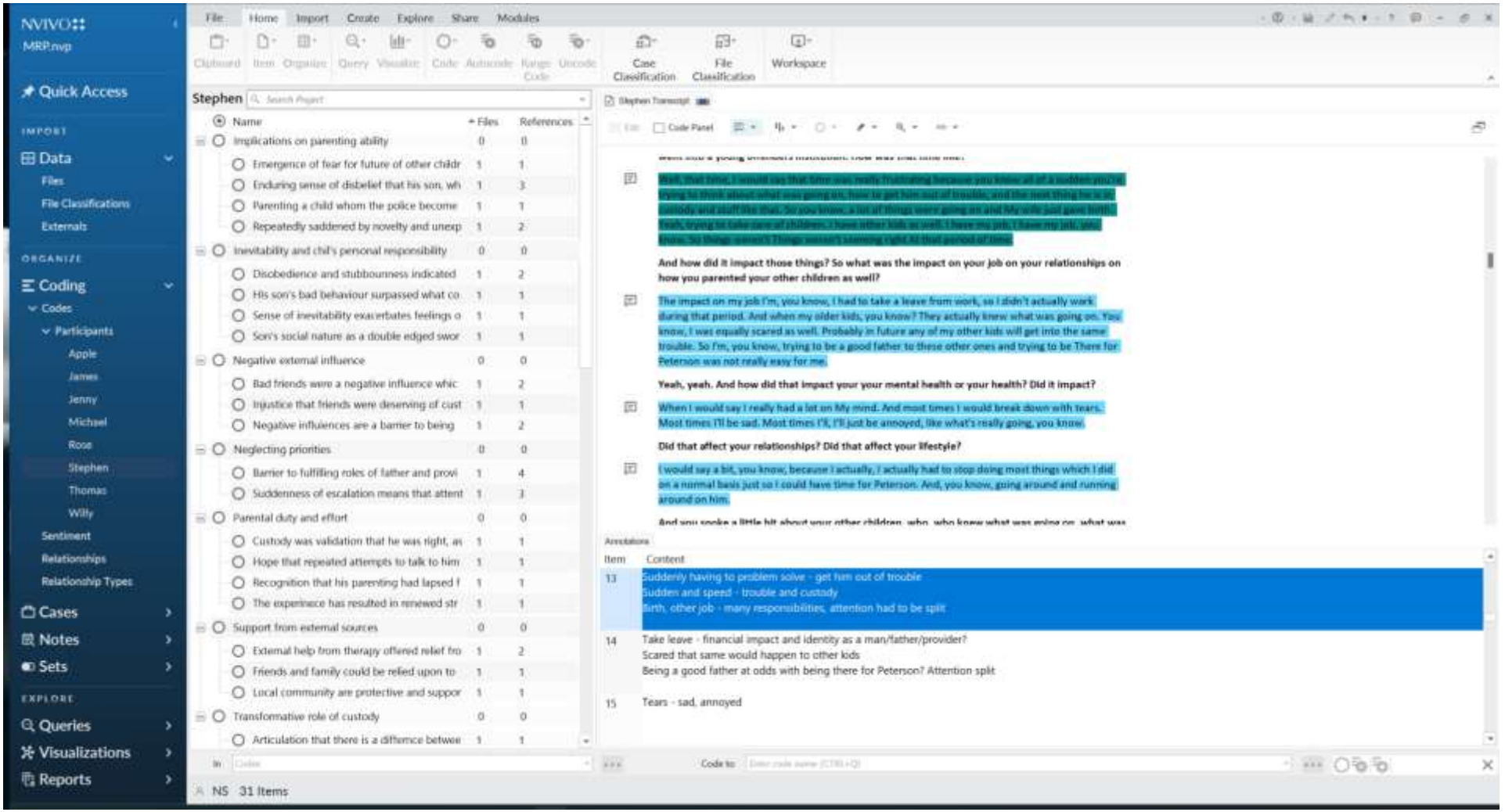
- "Shared me a lot more later" → back to saying "pick up my books", "orientation" in some sentences

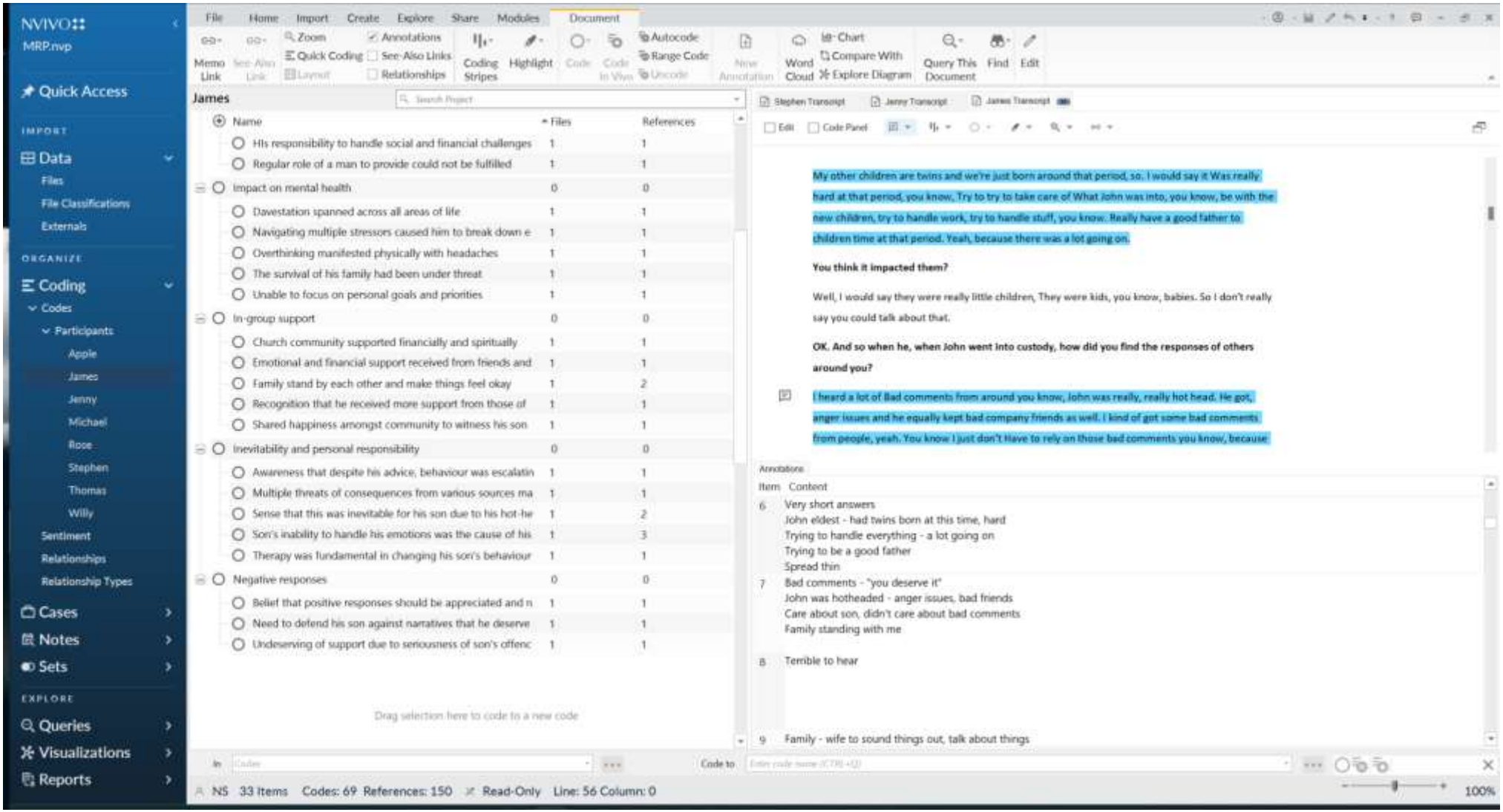
Appetite wasn't there – hard to nourish self / enjoy things when child is 'suffering'

Lot more depressed – he needed therapy (I can?)
↳ supervisor from work had to call in therapist
Gave him "insight" but didn't want it to be obvious he was struggling – shame? Embarrassment?

Avoiding other kids
↳ "I thought I explained how already" – then talks to how stepped around it was his (Michael's fault) – refers back to the shooting – feeling more comfortable w/ me?

Appendix N: Example of Exploratory Notes and Experiential Statements in NVivo (organised into PETS) – Stephen and James

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Jenny
Michael
Rose
Stephen
Thomas
Willy
Sentiment
Relationships
Relationship Types
Cases
Notes
Sets
EXPLORE
Queries
Visualizations
Reports
File Home Import Create Explore Share Modules Document
Memo Link
Zoom
Quick Coding
Annotations
See-Also Links
Relationships
Coding Stripes
Highlight
Autocode
Range Code
Word Cloud
Chart
Compare With
Explore Diagram
Query This Document
Find
Edit
James
Name
Files
References
HIs responsibility to handle social and financial challenges 1 1
Regular role of a man to provide could not be fulfilled 1 1
Impact on mental health 0 0
Davestation spanned across all areas of life 1 1
Navigating multiple stressors caused him to break down e 1 1
Overthinking manifested physically with headaches 1 1
The survival of his family had been under threat 1 1
Unable to focus on personal goals and priorities 1 1
In-group support 0 0
Church community supported financially and spiritually 1 1
Emotional and financial support received from friends and 1 1
Family stand by each other and make things feel okay 1 2
Recognition that he received more support from those of 1 1
Shared happiness amongst community to witness his son 1 1
Inevitability and personal responsibility 0 0
Awareness that despite his advice, behaviour was escalatin 1 1
Multiple threats of consequences from various sources ma 1 1
Sense that this was inevitable for his son due to his hot-he 1 2
Son's inability to handle his emotions was the cause of his 1 3
Therapy was fundamental in changing his son's behaviour 1 1
Negative responses 0 0
Belief that positive responses should be appreciated and n 1 1
Need to defend his son against narratives that he deserve 1 1
Undeserving of support due to seriousness of son's offenc 1 1
Drag selection here to code to a new code
Stephen Transcript
Jenny Transcript
James Transcript
Edit
Code Panel
My other children are twins and we're just born around that period, so. I would say it Was really hard at that period, you know. Try to try to take care of What John was into, you know, be with the new children, try to handle work, try to handle stuff, you know. Really have a good father to children time at that period. Yeah, because there was a lot going on.
You think it impacted them?
Well, I would say they were really little children, They were kids, you know, babies. So I don't really say you could talk about that.
OK. And so when he, when John went into custody, how did you find the responses of others around you?
I heard a lot of Bad comments from around you know, John was really, really hot head. He got, anger issues and he equally kept bad company friends as well. I kind of got some bad comments from people, yeah. You know I just don't Have to rely on those bad comments you know, because
Annotations
Item Content
6 Very short answers
John eldest - had twins born at this time, hard
Trying to handle everything - a lot going on
Trying to be a good father
Spread thin
7 Bad comments - "you deserve it"
John was hotheaded - anger issues, bad friends
Care about son, didn't care about bad comments
Family standing with me
8 Terrible to hear
9 Family - wife to sound things out, talk about things
In
Code to
NS 33 Items Codes: 69 References: 150 Read-Only Line: 56 Column: 0
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Appendix O: Transcript excerpt showing Exploratory Notes and Experiential Statements for Apple

Experiential statements	Transcript - Apple	Exploratory notes
Discomfort and sadness for both the parent and child due to this experience p1	**So I'd like to understand a little bit more about your experiences as a parent of some one sentenced in youth custody. So if you could please think back to when your child was first sentenced and went into a young offender's institution, could you tell me about how that was?** Well for me? I was really really sad, you know. I didn't really like that. He had to go through the experience. But unfortunately, it happened and I had to go through that such experience. So I wasn't really happy. I wasn't comfortable. Yeah. **yeah. So yeah, sad that he has to go through experience. And yeah, just not happy that things had ended up this way?** Yeah. **yeah.**	Really really sad He had to go through the experience – sadness on behalf of his son I wasn't happy, I wasn't comfortable

The present and the future are full of curiosity, anxiety and the burden of not knowing p2	**so what was the run up to that like, the run up to to him being sentenced.** The run ups? **sorry.** What was the run up like? **Sorry, no, so what was (pause) the the sort of the time just before he was sentenced. What was that like for you? So the sort of previous weeks or months, or after he'd been arrested, I suppose?** well you know, there were really curious times, you know, because throughout a period I was really curious. I was really anxious to know what was gonna happen. I was you know, I was just not really really comfortable throughout that period you know, I was trying to get information everywhere, you know, trying to do what I can do, you know? Yeah, really devastating period for me.	Not understanding colloquialism? Curious times – what did he want to know Repetition of word “really” Anxious, looking for information everywhere Unsure of the future and what was going to happen Curious about what he can do, what his responsibility/role is Devastating period for me – burdened?

	What was that? Sorry?	
His mind was busy with devastating thoughts about what his child would have to go through p2	So really, devastating period for me **Yeah, devastating period (pause) And you've said a few times that you weren't like very comfortable during that time. And what I'm just wondering what you mean by that.** Yeah, you know, my mind wasn't at rest knowing that… Yeah, my child was gonna face this, this sort of experience. So I wasn't with my mind wasn't really at rest. Yep. **Yeah (pause) and what was going on for you in your life at that time? What were some of the things that were happening in the day to day?** Well, I'm, I had work to handle it. Yeah, stuffs like that.	Repetition of devastating – huge emotional burden Busy, full mind "my child" – conceptualise as parent Worries keeping him awake/not at peace "face this" – something horrible
Irritation around his son's situation whilst having the parental responsibility of employment and providing for his family p3	**Yeah (long pause) And and and anything else like what I just, I'm trying to get, in a sense, I guess, of what those what's happening in those days, the things that**	Cuts me short, does not elaborate, generalises as "stuffs" – difficult to think about? Work – this was tricky for him?

	were going on, the different things that you might have had to attend or deal with? Yep, like, I said. I had to deal with work. My mom was in the hospital, so I had to go check up on her. You know, I run a store. So you know, I'm always in the store and out of the store, you know. Stuff like that. **Yeah (pause)So it sounds like, you've got quite a, you know, running a store. That's quite a a full time full on type of job.** Yeah. **Yeah. So yeah, I'm just wondering how having to sort of manage what was happening with with Onion, how that impacted your day to day.**	Irritation at repeating self – reflecting irritation of this time before? Loss – mum in hospital, mum in YOI "had to check up" – responsibility "I run a store" – responsibility, falls on him, busyness Maculinity? Role of a man/dad to provide
Loss permeated through different aspects of life (time with mum, earnings, experiences) p4	Well, I would say it really made me miss out on some things which I often did, you know. Most times I went late to work, most times I couldn't check up on my mom in the hospital, most time I wasn't present at the store. So many things changed, yeah.	Miss out – sense of loss again "most times" – impact of this overtook everything

He had to neglect his priorities p4	**Yeah. And how did you? How did you feel about those things, those those changes that had happened?** Well, I didn't really feel good, you know, neglecting priorities which is just because of something which was about to happen. Made me feel so down. Yep. **yeah. (long pause) yeah, neglecting your priorities. And yeah, well, I mean, what would you say were your priorities at that time?** Yeah, I'm you know my job, checking up on my mom, going to the store. Those are my top 3 priorities every day. **Yeah. And so I know you mentioned your mom, previously. And what was, thinking about that time before he was sentenced, What was what was that time like for others around you? So like you said you mentioned your mom on whether others that are impacted as well?**	Change from what he expects of himself and his responsibilities Didn't feel good Sense of self tied to responsibilities, neglecting priorities had negative impact Employment and family, business – constancy of these priorities, sustained importance

The whole family were preoccupied with thoughts and questions around how this would end p5	Yeah, you know everybody was dead worried. You know, we all kept thinking, thinking, and thinking of what was gonna happen, how it was gonna end. So everybody was just suspense at that period of time. **yeah. And did that impact your relationships with other people?** all, I would say. **Yeah (long pause) could you tell me a bit more about that.**	Preoccupation of thoughts Dead worried – fatality of it Gonna end – not knowing, thinking the worst Suspense, not knowing, no surety, did not just impact him or onion but the whole family
Loss of social time and opportunities to connect and sustain relationships p6	Yeah, no Like most of my colleagues, you know. Most times I didn't, really, I wasn't, really. I didn't really have the time, you know, to sit up no more with them, you know. Catch some drinks, talk, some talk about stuff. I didn't really have that social time much anymore. (cut off) **(Interrupt) Yeah, so your your social time with colleagues… it reduced. It sounds like you. Well, you just didn't have that time anymore.**	Lost in speech – didn't really, wasn't really – reflecting feeling of being lost? Loss of social time No time to talk to people – loss of communication opportunities (how would he talk to people about this?)

Family were a strong bond and source of unwavering and consistent support p6	Yeah **yeah, what about others?** Um…(pause Kind of the same (long pause) **any family members that it impacted your relationship with?** you know, we just put family members together, you know, I would say three practically bonded a little more, because, you know, everyone was always checking up, calling, checking up, calling, checking up, calling, trying to get information, too. So, family was really there, you know. **Yeah. (pause) could you tell me a bit more about that? So it is really lovely to hear about there were 3 people who bonded together. Yeah, could. Could you just tell me a bit more about that?** Yeah. You know. We're all really, really concerned about what was gonna happen to Onion. So on a daily basis, you know, we just try to reach out to each other just to know	Togetherness, a bond – strength in this High frequency of family checking up and calling Trying to get information – shared curiosity as mentioned before? Stifling?

Change in the way family connects, from fact to face to more task-focused over the phone p7	how each other is doing. Yep, because you know, like I said, I couldn't always go to see my mom or be at a store always anymore. So you know, we practically communicated through the phone on a daily basis. Yeah.	Shared concern about what will happen to Onion Daily – no escape/can't think about or do anything else Daily reaching out – constant interaction and connection Refer back to loss of seeing mum/going to store, using phone to communicate instead of in person Practical communication – what about emotional? Task focused?

Appendix P: Example participant table of PETs (with quotes)

James – PETs

PET	Experiential Statements and Quotes
Disruption and halting progress	Annoyance that his son's disobedience caused so much disruption *"Most times I did get annoyed, you know, most of the times just I'm having this sad feeling, but annoyance most of the time… I was not really happy with John, you know, because he had always, you know, been getting into recent troubles. And I've always started, you know, started to warn him, warn him about getting into troubles. So on this particular issue, I wasn't really happy with him."* Custody halted but did not stop his plans moving forward *"I would say these are, after the incident, I still got to, you know, start up my store, you know, and you know, everything pretty much went back to normal after that, you know, kind of got a Lot of support you Know, and even financially, you know people got to support us"* Harder to achieve the plans he had set in motion *"My other children are twins and were just born around that period, so. I would say it was really hard at that period, you know, Try to try to take care of what John was into, you know, be with the new children, try to handle work, try to handle stuff, you know. Really have a good father to children time at that period. Yeah, because there was a lot going on."* Instead of moving forward in life you get stuck behind *"actually trying in the sense of trying to move forward and you're stuck behind. Now I was trying to open a store at that period, which would have equally helped me move forward, but I couldn't, so I was stuck behind. You know, I'm trying to clear up my mom's funeral. It didn't go as planned, so you know I was just stuck behind. With work as well, I'm trying to raise up money. You know I couldn't efficiently work at that period so I was just stuck behind"*
Duty to help others	Need to use this experience to support his other children to manage *"Yeah, I really try to do the same thing. So you know, they don't go for lots of worrying and get into such trouble"* Now he can get through anything and support others to do so too *"I would say with the way I'm everything went from negative during the period to positive from after the period. Maybe we have a good sense of confidence that I'm, you know, I can make it through anything. And with the way I'm, and with the way John has changed, you know, has equally given me positive side to myself, yeah. Yeah. And yeah, that influence is what is gonna make me pay more attention to my, you know, my friends, you know. So I so I can bring them up more better way so yeah."*

Duty-bound responsibility	His responsibility to handle social and financial challenges *"Yeah. I have to deal with finance, you know, a lot really went out of my Account, You know, I had a family that I had to still, you know, take care of also. Yeah. So, you know, and I had some social, some social challenges"* Regular role of a man to provide could not be fulfilled *"Well, I had financial challenges because I couldn't follow up my work anymore. Yeah, I could actually be regular where I had some financial instability at that period."*
Impact on health and life	Devastation spanned across all areas of life *"It's kind of actually, you know, it was negative, had a negative impact on almost everything like I couldn't actually focus on opening the store I wanted at that moment anymore. I had to start focusing on John And you know his issue. Also, my mom's funeral had to be postponed from the date which we actually fixed it at first"* Navigating multiple stressors caused him to break down emotionally *"I was really, really sad throughout that period. You know, like all my plans which I had had to be on hold. So that was also sad for me as well, and the incident was a very sad one for me too. So I had and I really broke down, you know. And though I had my family around, you know, which is how to have each other's back, you know? Yeah. So I yeah, I had some emotional challenges."* Overthinking manifested physically with headaches *"There were most times, which I actually was overthinking and you know. I suddenly know that I have some headaches now"* The survival of his family had been under threat *"I had to focus on family. I like I said, I just had a I said of twins. But also keep up with my hourly work. So I would say that whole time was really tight period. And I'm glad I survived it. I'm glad my family survived it because we had to Go through a lot."* Unable to focus on personal goals and priorities *"Oh yeah, I work hourly, so you know, if you don't put too much time, you know you won't get much. So yeah."*
In-group support	Church community supported financially and spiritually *"Mostly the people who were on my side, where I'm from, my religious community. Yeah, like for my church, it will help me support me financially. And also, you know, we had prayers as well."* Emotional and financial support received from friends and family *"This was the most serious case which John had gotten into and you know, I really thought that they are not going to support me on this or support John either, but no, everybody still kept their*

	love positive, yeah."
	Family stand by each other and make things feel okay *"Yeah, you know my family members, they love John. You know, despite the fact that they know he's a really tough guy who gets into trouble almost every time. They weren't actually negative concerning the incident, and they showed the positive love and response, yeah."*
	Recognition that he received more support from those of his own race *"You know my I'm black, so I had a lot of support from pople of my colour, yeah. I'll say 80% of support came from people of my colour."*
	Shared happiness amongst community to witness his son changing for the better *"I'm very, very happy He's now, he's now handling things more better now. Now, things there hasn't really gotten into any issue that alarming so you know his behavioural change is really a positive one now… You know, a lot of people in the community, they're really happy about that"*
Inevitability and personal responsibility	Awareness that despite his advice, behaviour was escalating *"I try my best not to always without crushing John, Just, you know that his behaviour was uncalled for. You know, he shouldn't always, you know… he should maybe always try to talk it out or just let it go. I'm kind of listen, most of the time, but there were times you know."*
	Multiple threats of consequences from various sources made no impact *"So in the school, you know, with the school authorities who caution him. Most time often threaten to, you know, take into custody and stuff like that, and also on the street and also. And I would say from the neighbourhood often cautioned him and, you know also equally, you know, in custody from, you know, direct from police so."*
	Sense that this was inevitable for his son due to his hot-headed character *"When John first started school, I would say he was really a hothead from birth, yeah… I started getting some reports that, You know, he got into some, some, some fights, you know, some little fights like that…You know, coming from all the threats and which people threatening him, I just had this feeling that one day it might happen. If he doesn't try to calm down."*
	Son's inability to handle his emotions was the cause of his problems *"Well, I would the Say the fact that he couldn't handle his emotions in that period, h was definitely heading down the path… And you deliberately turn everything into an argument or a fight."*
	Therapy was fundamental in changing his son's behaviour

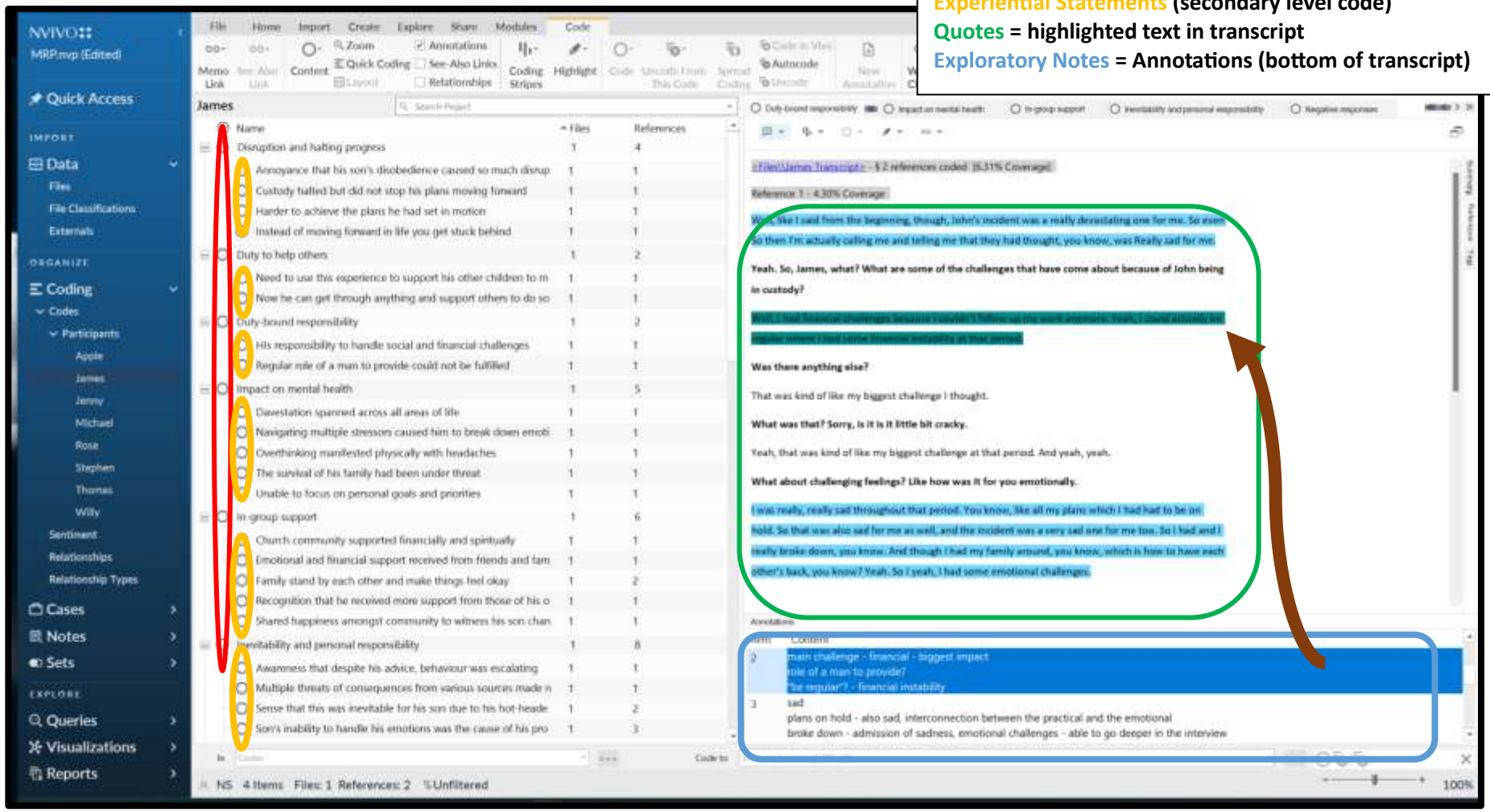
	"When he was out and I had to book him for therapy classes. And, you know, just living. Yeah. And I'm very, very happy he's now, he's now handling things more better now. Now, things there hasn't really gotten into any issue that alarming so you know his behavioural change is really a positive one now"
Negative responses	Belief that positive responses should be appreciated and negativity comes from the negative *"If you feel bad about someone, you're definitely gonna say bad about someone… I would say the people who were positive were the people who liked me and John, yeah.. Well, like the people who gave some bad comments, you know, I just didn't respond. No matter what. I just, you know. Try to get out of the way and who you know, show the positive, a positive Response to feedback. Yeah, I actually, you know, I always appreciated them, yeah"* Need to defend his son against narratives that he deserved his fate *"I heard a lot of Bad comments from around you know, John was really, really hot head. He got, anger issues and he equally kept bad company friends as well. I kind of got some bad comments from people, yeah. You know I just don't have to rely on those bad comments you know, because I'm, John is my son and I do care about him, so I didn't actually think of their bad comments. Of course, I had my family standing with me, so yeah…Yeah, most people were like "you deserve it". Yeah. They were like "you deserve it," stuff like that… Wow, it's really terrible for me to hear but, well, I had to handle that."* Self-imposed belief that he is undeserving of support due to seriousness of son's offence *"This was the most serious case which John had gotten into and you know, I really thought that They are not going to support me on this or support John either, but no, everybody still kept their love positive, yeah"*

Appendix Q: Example of participant PETS and Exploratory Notes in NVivo

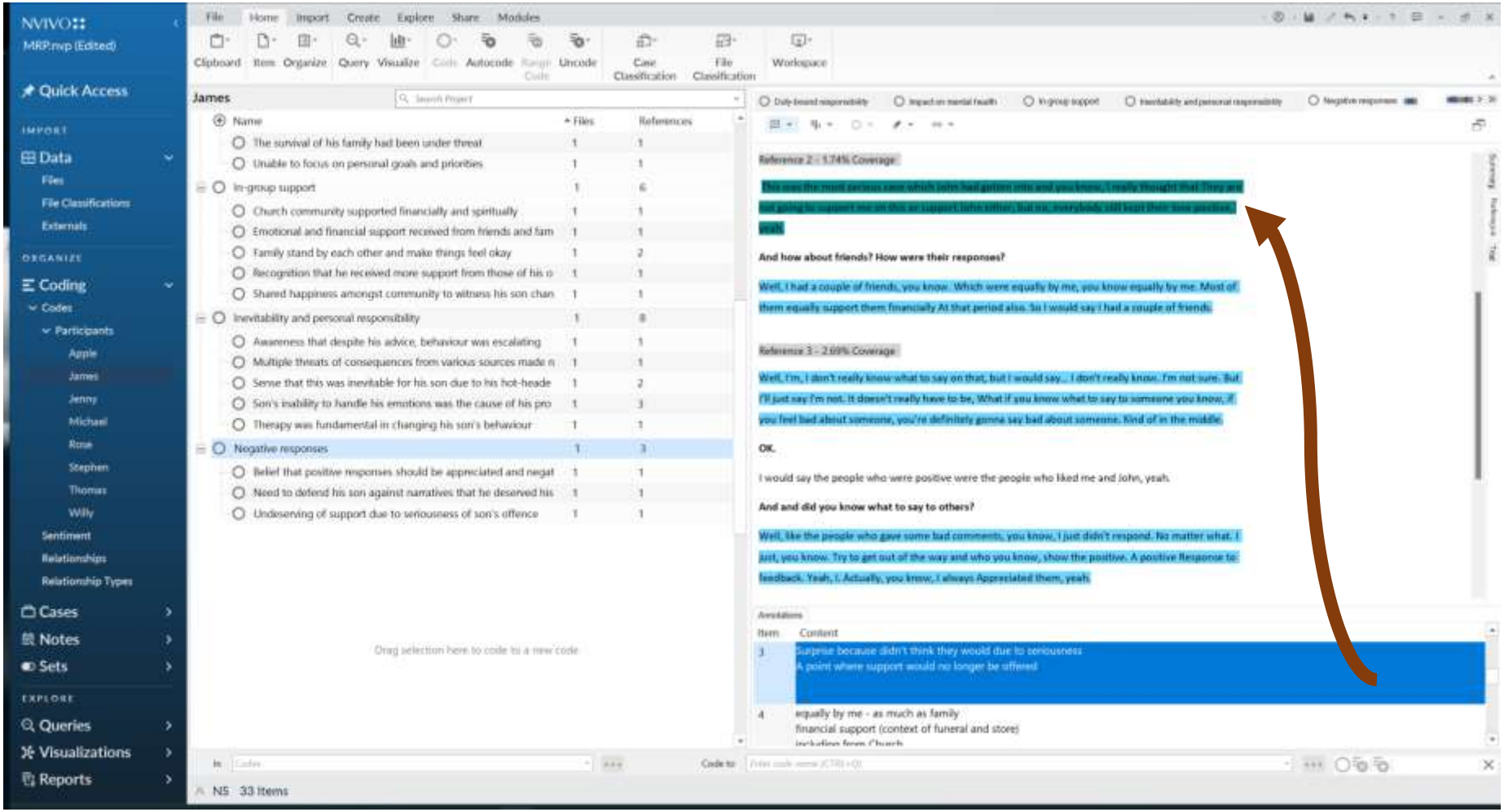
PET: Duty-bound responsibility (James)

KEY:

PETs = columns to the left (highest level code)
Experiential Statements (secondary level code)
Quotes = highlighted text in transcript
Exploratory Notes = Annotations (bottom of transcript)



PET: Negative responses



Appendix R: Photos of manual assembly of GETs

Various iterations and final groupings shown


The role of a parent
Parental authority
Parent-child relationship + consequences
Concern for your child
Perception of child
Expectations vs reality
Love and disappointment
Parent-child relationship + healing
Duty to help others
Parental duty + effort


Concern for your child
Expectations vs reality
Parent-child relationship
Love and disappointment
Parent-child relationship + healing
Parent-child relationship + healing
Perception of child
Parental authority
The role of a parent
Parent-child relationship + consequences
Duty to help others
Parental duty + effort


Systemic injustice + bias
Negative external influence
Impact of external influences

Appendix S: Organisation of GETs and subthemes in NVivo