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School Experiences of Children of Prisoners: Strengthening Support in Schools in England and Wales

By Julia Morgan and Caroline Leeson

Abstract

Millions of children worldwide experience having their parents sent to prison every year (Penal Reform International 2017). Children who experience a parent spending time in prison, are more likely than any other group of children to face significant disadvantages including increased poverty rates; an increase in caring responsibilities; an increase in being bullied and stigmatisation; a decrease in school attendance and attainment; increased mental health problems and an increase in the risk of offending (Morgan & Gill 2013; Morgan et al 2013a; Morgan et al 2013b). Moreover, parental imprisonment has been shown to have a direct impact on children's academic attainment as well as socio-emotional development often leading to changes in behaviour which may escalate to school exclusion or truancy (SCIE 2008). This chapter will explore the impact that parental imprisonment can have on children's school experiences and offer recommendations to strengthen support in schools for this group of children.

Children of Prisoners: Facts and Figures

Parental imprisonment affects a substantial amount of children (SCIE 2008; DCSF/Ministry of Justice 2007). In England and Wales it has been estimated that approximately 200,000 children had a parent in prison in 2009 (Williams et al 2012) whilst in the European Union, approximately 2.1million¹ children will have a parent in prison on any one day (COPE 2017). Focusing on the USA, it is estimated by some researchers that 1.7 million children have a parent in prison (National Research Council 2014) however other research has indicated that 5 million children in the US may have a parent who is incarcerated (Murphey & Cooper 2015). Trying to get accurate figures of the number of children who experience parental imprisonment is difficult as very often prisoners may not be asked about their family or children by the criminal justice system and may not volunteer the information themselves; hence many of these figures may be an underestimation.

The majority of children who experience parental imprisonment will have a father in prison because men outnumber women in relation to prison sentences. However, many women will be primary caregivers for their children and maternal imprisonment, although lower than paternal imprisonment, may as a result have a greater impact on children's outcomes. It is estimated, for example, that each year in the UK, 18,000 children are separated from their mother by imprisonment (Corston 2007; Prison Reform Trust 2016) and research has shown that when a mother is sentenced only 5% of children remain in their own homes (Prison Reform Trust 2000; Prison Reform Trust 2012). Whilst some (9%) will be cared for by their father (Prison Reform Trust 2012), many will either be looked after by wider family members (particularly grandparents), or enter the care system. If a child goes into care usually to live with foster parents, this is likely to have serious implications for the relationship between mother and child when she is released (Gelsthorpe et al 2007). Furthermore, if the child changes their living arrangements in any form, this can have a significant impact on personal and family relationships as well as any relationships they may have with key local professionals and schools. The latter relationship is often the least considered when making

¹ All Council of Europe countries included in this figure

decisions for the individual child, yet may be the most significant in terms of support for their education or wellbeing.

Across the world, the imprisonment of a parent can vary from a short time away from family to a significantly long time. For some this may be a permanent separation because of a life sentence or the death penalty. The nature of the crime for which the punishment is being served will also vary significantly from non-violent crime such as theft or fraud to violent crimes such as sexual assault and murder; all of which will mean family members, including children, facing substantial difficulties. For example, children whose parents have been sentenced to death not only face issues around incarceration but also face the trauma of the future execution of their parent (QUNO nd). Crimes of sexual violence, especially where the victim is a child, can create community tensions that mean the family is ostracised or victimised under the assumption of guilt by association. It may also be the case that some offences may have involved the child herself/himself as a victim and this can mean that children are facing very complex situations. For some families this may be their first experience of the criminal justice system whilst others may have been involved for many years and hence there are questions around the cumulative effect of imprisonment on children (Wright and Khan 2010).

Children with a parent in prison experience a number of transitions linked to the various stages of the criminal justice system: the arrest, the trial, the sentencing, the imprisonment, the pre-release, the release and finally the resettlement of their parent. All of these transitions may have a direct impact on children; their sense of wellbeing and their practical circumstances. In many cases children may be present at the time of their parent's arrest or may come back from school to find their parent's gone with no warning causing significant emotional distress. Publicity and media attention around the trial can also impact on children, heightening feelings of stigma and shame. It is important to recognise that resettlement also brings additional stresses; difficulties do not stop when a parent returns home, and children may need additional support through this transition (Morgan & Gill 2013). Thus, there is a very wide variety in the experiences of children whose parents are imprisoned and as a result, a wide variety in the number and characteristics of support needs of this group of children.

Children of prisoners: support needs

Research has shown that children who experience parental imprisonment are more likely than any other group of children to face significant disadvantages, are more likely to come from families with complex needs and are less likely to meet child well-being indicators (Smith et al 2007; Scharff-Smith & Gampell 2011; Glover 2009; Ayre et al 2006; Murray 2007; Boswell & Wedge 2002; King 2003; Murray et al 2009; Williams et al 2012; Robertson 2007). Furthermore, experiencing parental imprisonment can lead to one or more of the following: feelings of loss, confusion and trauma in children; an increase in poverty because of the loss of a wage-earner; an increase in the caring responsibilities of children; an increase in the child experiencing stigmatisation and bullying; a decrease in school attendance and attainment; increased mental health problems and an increase in the risk of offending (Murray & Farrington 2008; Action for Prisoners' Families 2003, 2007; Social Exclusion Unit 2002; Nesmith & Ruhland 2008; Loureiro 2010). It has been estimated that children of prisoners are approximately three times more likely to be involved in delinquent activity compared to their peers (SCIE 2008) and more than twice as likely to experience mental health difficulties during their lives (SCIE 2008). Parental imprisonment, therefore has both

short term and long term influences on children (Murry & Farrington 2008). Furthermore, as stated above imprisonment tends to be concentrated in families with complex needs. Thus imprisonment of parents 'contributes not only to greater inequality among adults but to greater inequality among children as well' (Wildeman 2009: 266). Imprisonment, therefore, can be seen to exacerbate disadvantage and inequality amongst those who are already disadvantaged.

However, although the available research has indicated a number of problematic outcomes there is a lack of strategy and support provision for this group of children leading to them being called the 'invisible' 'forgotten victims' of the criminal justice system (Murray 2005; Shaw 1992). In some cases, a child may be receiving statutory support services, but the service providers are unaware that the young person has a parent in prison and this crucial information is not divulged. Children with a parent in prison are often reluctant to offer this information for fear of a negative reaction such as rejection or stigmatisation both for them and their family. Furthermore, what is apparent is that when support is offered from statutory services it is predominantly focused on children who are considered to be at risk. Children who present as 'just getting on with it' or 'not causing too much trouble' are generally not offered any services, meaning that they are often left to deal with difficult emotions and complex home situations without adequate emotional or educational support (Morgan et al 2013a; 2013b). This can not only have a negative impact on their mental health and wellbeing but also their behaviour in school and, as a consequence, their academic progress. As a parent who was in prison told us:

'because my children kept it all to themselves..... no-one knew that their mum was in prison....they [schools] didn't know why they were playing up....but at home they would cry....it really impacted on them.....and no-one asked them what was wrong' (Morgan et al 2013a; 2013b).

This lack of visibility of children of prisoners may be for a number of reasons including the stigmatised nature of imprisonment which can result in some families being afraid to come forward for support because they fear they will be seen as guilty by association. Moreover, this may be exacerbated by a focus in policy on criminal justice as opposed to welfare needs (Scharff-Smith & Gampell 2011). For example, at policy level, children of prisoners often receive attention for two reasons. First, they receive attention because of the important role that family life has in reducing parental reoffending (SCIE 2008). Second, they receive attention because of concerns about the child's own possible future antisocial behaviour; for example 65% of boys who have an imprisoned parent are estimated to go on to offend (SCIE 2008; DCSF 2007). As a result, a focus on criminal justice may result in the general welfare of children of prisoners being overlooked and those children who may not be causing immediate concerns may be left to quietly get on with it (Morgan et al in 2013b). There is a danger in assuming that this is the reality; they are coping and 'just getting on with it' when there may be a number of reasons why they are not asking for help or otherwise indicating that they are struggling. Recently, there has been a slow but discernible shift in perception with more of a focus on the general needs of this group of children and how they might best be supported as a 'distinct' group of potentially vulnerable individuals (Scharff-Smith & Gampell 2011).

In addition, imprisonment is usually highly stigmatised and this can result in children losing support systems that they relied on previously, for example friends and relatives. This

stigmatisation could leave many children in a situation where they are unable to express how they are feeling to others as they are worried about the response they may receive or because they have been told to keep their parent's imprisonment a secret (Scharff- Smith & Gampell 2011). Coupled with this the remaining parent may be struggling (Smith et al 2007) and the child may not want to burden their parent with how they are feeling. As a result, children may have to deal with very difficult emotions without adequate emotional support (Loureiro 2010) and this may contribute to the increased levels of mental health problems which are found amongst this group of children (Murray & Farrington 2008).

Children of prisoners: experiences of school

An estimated 7% of children in the UK will experience their father's imprisonment during their school year and almost every school will have at least one child on the roll who has a parent in prison. Schools have been identified as having a key role in supporting children who experience parental imprisonment (United Nations 2011; SCIE 2008; Ramsden 1998) and research has indicated that good relationships with teachers can act as a protective factor for children who experience parental imprisonment (Losel 2012). Schools have an important role to play for three reasons. Firstly, nearly all children in western countries attend school and thus schools offer 'a major opportunity to support children of incarcerated parents and to help meet their needs' (Robertson 2011: 51). Secondly, parental imprisonment has been shown to have a direct impact on children's academic attainment as well as socio-emotional development often leading to changes in behaviour which may escalate to school exclusion or truancy (SCIE 2008). Appropriate, sensitive and bespoke pastoral care at school level, therefore, is important not only in terms of providing support to children who are normally highly stigmatised but also in contributing to improving outcomes for a group of children who have been identified as being at risk of a number of poor outcomes. As Wilderman (2009) argues above parental imprisonment often disadvantages already disadvantaged children.

However, research has indicated that children of prisoners all too often constitute a hidden population of children in schools (Morgan et al 2013b). Consequently parental imprisonment is frequently overlooked in the search for possible causes of any changes in a child's behaviour or educational attainment. Schools are not routinely informed through official mechanisms as to the incarceration of a child's parents. Unless it is covered in the media or is part of local gossip, they are therefore unlikely to be aware of what is happening in the lives of many of their pupils and it is not a question that is often asked when faced with a child who appears to be struggling (Morgan et al 2013a).

This is a particular concern as many families also do not tell anyone about what has happened because of their fear of stigma, discrimination and rejection. Knowing which families may be experiencing parental imprisonment is often difficult if families do not inform the school as there is little information collected by statutory services about children who have a parent in prison (SCIE 2008; Ramsden 1998). Furthermore, even where agencies are aware, this information may not routinely be shared with schools as practitioners are often worried about breaking confidentiality (Morgan et al 2013a).

By raising awareness of this group of children within the school, through training and other means, schools may find that parents are more likely to share this information with them as long as it was done in a culture of trust and support. This in turn would make it easier for schools to offer support. School staff repeatedly told us that more information and training

was needed (Morgan et al 2013a), a point that has also been highlighted by the United Nations (2011). One Head-Teacher told us:

‘Some understanding of what these children go ...they say ‘I’m going to see dad tomorrow and you think oh that’s nice but I have no understanding of actually what the environment they’re going into is like’ (Head-Teacher 8) (Morgan 2013a; 2013b).

Children have a right to stay in touch with their imprisoned parent as long as it is in their best interests (United Nations, 2011). Furthermore, research has indicated that maintaining contact between imprisoned parents and their children may lessen attachment difficulties and increase the likelihood of a more positive resettlement experience (Losel et al 2012). For many children, however, maintaining contact with their imprisoned parent is difficult to achieve as prison visits are often during school hours and prisoners are often housed far away from their families. As a result, children may be taken out of school to visit their parent in prison and this can lead to the child notching up a number of unapproved absences and can lead to a potential breakdown in relationships between the resident carer/parent and the school. One mother told us:

‘they keep saying they want to keep the kids and dads involved all the time together but it’s not very good. I have taken the children out of school and let them go half a day.....I even got phoned up for that.....the visits are 2-4pm so it’s got to be through school time’ (Morgan 2013a; 2013b).

Some children decide to forego visits to their parent during term time because of these barriers, thus only seeing them during school holidays, which is a significant reduction in the quality of their contact with the consequence of placing a strain on their relationship. The pressure on both parties to ‘perform’ when visits are sparse and far apart can often result in either the child or the parent deciding that it is not worth it, with the result that the child may go months or even years without seeing their parent. Our research showed the anxiety that children experience when they do not know how their imprisoned parent is getting on and if they are well; regular visits can put their mind at ease and enable them to have as close and nourishing a relationship as possible (Morgan et al 2013a).

Parental imprisonment, therefore, has numerous impacts on children’s school experiences. Morgan and Gill (2013) highlight how children’s concentration and behaviour may deteriorate as a result. Whilst other research has identified a range of negative impacts which range from the child displaying significant behaviour problems, including engaging in bullying behaviour towards other children and teachers, being victims of bullying and losing friends to educational and attendance difficulties (Action for Prisoners’ Families 2003, 2007; Murray and Farrington 2008; Social Exclusion Unit 2002). From our own research (Morgan et al 2013a) it was also evidence that there was a significant increase in the children’s caring responsibilities after the imprisonment of their father. This included the children looking after and worrying about mum, looking after younger children and worrying about their dad (Morgan et al 2013a). One Head-Teacher told us:

he’s had to become the father figure, and he’s done everything for mum at home, everything for the little ones. Trying to run in and do his exams. Go back home and make sure everything’s fine (Morgan 2013a; 2013b).

Children of prisoners: how support in schools can be improved

There are a number of ways in which schools can support children who experience parental imprisonment. Our recommendations are as follows:

Raise Awareness in Schools

One important area that has been identified is for schools to raise awareness of this group of children and the effects that imprisonment can have on children and families through a whole school approach. An important way that schools can do this is by developing a school policy which outlines how children with a parent in prison will be supported. This would include the identification of a key person within the school with specific responsibility for this group of children who would liaise with parents and families and be a key source of information and support on the issue (Evans 2009; Morgan et al 2013a). The designated person at school level should link with the designated person at the local authority level and be available to children and families within the school. This member of staff should have appropriate training and supervision and can act as a potential advocate for the child.

Another way to raise awareness is to develop a visible and easily accessible library of appropriate resources on the subject for parents, staff and children. This would not only raise awareness of the needs of this group of children but help to reduce the stigma and shame often experienced. If this was coupled with the use of posters or leaflets on noticeboards this would highlight to parents and children that the school has an understanding of the issues around parental imprisonment making it easier for parents and children to inform the school about their situation.

A further way for schools to raise awareness of this group of children is to ensure that up to date training on the effects of parental imprisonment on children and how this group of children can be supported is accessed by staff. Moreover, an understanding of the prison regime and the support needs of children is important as staff may be asked for advice by children and their carers.

Training should focus on areas such as:

- the impact on children of parental imprisonment,
- the importance of staying in contact,
- how children can be supported by staff,
- an overview of resources available,
- how to raise awareness without contributing to bullying or increased stigma,
- the process that children go through when they visit a prison
- the impact visiting their parent may have on their subsequent behaviour (Morgan et al 2013b).

Focusing on the child

Imprisonment affects children in a number of ways and it is important to focus on the individual needs of the child (Ramsden 1998). Not all children, for example, will find parental imprisonment traumatic and some may be relieved that a parent is no longer there especially in cases of violent offenders (Scharff-Smith & Gampell 2011). A child's reaction may depend on a number of factors including their age, how often it has happened before, the support they have at home, how imprisonment is viewed in their community or by their

friends and the nature of the offence (Scharff-Smith & Gampell 2011). It is also important to consider and challenge our own attitudes to offending behaviour and imprisonment to ensure that we work in a non-judgemental way recognising that the child's parent is still their parent regardless of what they have been convicted of. Negative public discourses and moral panics around criminal behaviour, imprisonment and criminal justice may, without us even realising it, influence our attitudes and the way we work with children and families. This examination of attitudes also extends to how we may view children who experience parental imprisonment, for example, viewing them as victims who need protecting or as possible future offenders themselves. Furthermore, it is important to reflect on how our expectations of children of prisoners may impact on them and research has indicated that in some cases teachers had lower expectations of this group of children (Dallaire et al 2010).

It is also important to enable children and parents who have experienced the imprisonment of a parent or close relative to identify how support in schools can be strengthened, how school policies can be devised and how schools can better support parents and children to inform schools about their situation. Involving the children themselves in identifying what would be most helpful for them is, therefore, crucial. This is an important aspect of good practice as there is a danger that policies create a top down approach which do not allow for children's own input or for the chance for them to experience a degree of empowerment. It may also be worthwhile to develop an individual care plan with the remaining parent/carer and the child on the support that the child may need (International Association of Youth and Family Judges and Magistrates 2006).

Be supportive

Existing resources within schools could be utilised to support the children of prisoners. For example, the pastoral support system, in-school counselling and in-school (or across a number of schools) support groups and mentoring schemes within schools could be used to support this group of children. Having a mentor who a child could talk to about issues which arose and who was available before and after visits to their parent in prison could be of benefit to many (Morgan et al 2013b). Moreover, the school curriculum and subjects such as Citizenship or PSHE could be used to explore sensitively in more depth why people offend and the impact that this has on the family. There are a number of online resources that can raise awareness of the experiences of children with a parent in prison (<https://www.i-hop.org.uk>) which will help reduce stereotypes as well as decreasing stigmatisation, rejection and bullying.

It is also important for practitioners to be aware that very often the period of imprisonment was not always the most stressful or uncertain time for children and in many cases the period before the imprisonment (including the trial and the arrest) as well as the early days of the release period caused more stress. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge the complexities of each phase of parental imprisonment to ensure that children are offered individually appropriate support throughout the various stages of the criminal justice process as well as understanding that there may be significant changes in behaviour after the parent comes home from prison. Support from a teacher or support staff based on a trusting respectful relationship was seen by many of the children and parents we asked as being key to creating a caring ethos where children were able to talk about issues they were facing (Morgan et al, 2013b).

Recognising that many children with a parent in prison will have significant caring responsibilities is another important area for schools to take on-board. The remaining parent may have had to seek work whereas before they had been a stay at home parent which may mean the children have to take some responsibility for chores. This is exhausting work and may have an impact upon the ability of the young person to concentrate and study. Schools can help through learning mentors, offering additional time and support as well as recognising the child's efforts in positive ways.

Ramsden (1998) also discusses how children worried about whether their teachers would maintain confidentiality and it is important to acknowledge the tensions that exist between a child's right to privacy and confidentiality and at the same time their right to support which can often mean the sharing of information. Practitioners, therefore, need to be sensitive to the child's needs, offer appropriate support in the right environment, give space and opportunity for children to confide their worries whilst acknowledging their views (Evans 2009; Ramsden 1998). Listening to children and parents and having an understanding of some of the challenges they face is crucial.

Whilst parental imprisonment may impact on children in a number of ways and may differ according to the age of the child, it is important that support is available at all stages of the child's journey through the school system from nursery to secondary school. However, it is important to bear in mind that younger children may be more likely to confide in teachers than older children (Ramsden 1998). Furthermore, a child's transition from primary school to secondary school should also be given special consideration as research has indicated that children of prisoners may find this period particularly difficult, losing support they previously relied on (Morgan et al 2013a). In addition, many children and parents have expressed to us that support was generally 'better' in primary school (children aged 4-11 years old in the UK) than in secondary schools (children aged 11-18 years old) (Morgan et al 2013a) and the calibre of support across the school system should be looked at to maintain levels of responsiveness.

Support prison visiting

Another area where schools can be supportive is working with children and parents to enable children to have approved absences to visit their parent or relative in prison. Many children and parents spoke to us about how difficult it was to carry on visiting their relative because visits were often in school time and taking children out of school to visit would often lead to school related problems around unauthorised absences. Recognising the importance of children having access to their parent and supporting this as much as possible is, therefore, a key role for schools. Sensitivity around prison visits was also highlighted as being important as children may have a number of reactions to visiting their parent and then returning home leaving them behind. An understanding of what children go through when they visit their parents in prison would be helpful for all teaching and non-teaching staff. In the UK, this would include children being searched and the use of sniffer dogs to search for hidden drugs. Again, the provision of a mentor who could discuss with the child how they are feeling before and after the visit would also be beneficial as would the use of art and other medium so that the child could express how they are feeling in a piece of work. Similarly, supporting a child with the use of a range of coping strategies for when feelings are overwhelming might be helpful, for example, a time out card to leave the room when emotions become too much.

Schools could also offer assistance to children to enable them to keep in contact with their imprisoned parents as part of a pastoral support system. This support could be around letter writing and/or creating drawings for their parent as well as the school keeping the imprisoned parent informed about their child's schooling. Imprisoned parents have a statutory right in the UK to receive copies of information sent out about their child and the child may also want to show their parent some of their schoolwork and this should be facilitated as best as possible. However, it is important that staff do not assume that this is always the case and focus on the child's individual needs through a discussion with the remaining parent or carer and the child. This will help to identify any potential issues or problems which may arise. For example, whilst many children may be upset about the imprisonment of their parent, for other children it may be relief and a respite from upheaval and potential violence. However, having said that the child may also feel a number of other emotions as well as relief and it is important to ensure that support is individualised and that assumptions about what children of prisoners may or should feel are reflected upon.

Work in partnership

Working in partnership with outside agencies is also important as is having an understanding of local services which work with children who experience the imprisonment of a parent or close relative so that families can be directed to appropriate external support systems. This information would need to be kept up to date by schools as frequently these services are offered by charitable organisations that may lose their funding especially in the light of the current economic crisis and cuts to funding. Roberts (2011) discusses how schools (or groups of schools) can work in partnership with local organisations to offer school based programmes to support this group of children. She described one programme for children of prisoners which run over 12 weeks for one hour a week; the children discussed the areas which were of most importance to them such as how to tell their friends that their parent was in prison. In the UK, mentoring is often offered to children who experienced parental imprisonment and Person Shaped Support in Liverpool offers a range of services to children including advocacy, one to one support, peer group support and support around release.

Encouraging local authorities to provide resources and promote a culture of working together to support children with a parent in prison will make the job of the individual professional much easier in terms of effective and meaningful support that is timely and appropriate (Leeson and Morgan 2013; Morgan et al 2013b).

Remember that the child has done nothing wrong

Lastly, it is important to remember that regardless of what the parent has done, the child has not done anything wrong. Moreover, regardless of what the parent has done, he/she is still the child's parent and the child may be feeling numerous, highly complex emotions around what the parent has done as well as feeling conflicting emotions about their parent and their relationship with them. These emotions may include fear, shame, hate as well as love and it is imperative that school staff show respect for the relationship between the imprisoned parent and the child without condoning what the parent has done. Only then will a child feel able to trust the professionals around him or her enough and be able to disclose details of their situation, their concerns and needs.

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