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The Transition to Adulthood in Young People with Experience of Parental Substance Misuse

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Figure 1. Image from Trey's collage

THE TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD IN YOUNG PEOPLE WITH EXPERIENCE OF PARENTAL SUBSTANCE MISUSE

'... it's weird coz I think a lot of children of
alcoholics, and myself included, grow up too fast
but don't grow up at all'

Alexander Byrne
September 2019

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University of Bristol in accordance with the
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Abstract

Young people (YP) transitioning to adulthood with experience of parental substance misuse (PSM) are an overlooked group. This is partly due to the secrecy and stigma around the topic. Research has demonstrated the impact that PSM can have for many outcomes for children (social, educational and psychological) however young adults have received relatively little attention. The study aims to explore issues YP face in terms of identity, how they make sense of their experiences and how they cope. In this context parental substance misuse refers to alcohol and illegal substances while parental can refer to biological, step and foster parents. A qualitative approach was used to explore the nuance of individual's accounts and to ease conversations that were anticipated to be sensitive. The 'Life Grid' (Parry et al, 1999) and a visual collage making activity (Dowling, McConkey & Sinclair, 2018) was used alongside semi-structured interview questions concerning YP's transitions and historical experiences. Analysis of the results indicated that young people had complex feelings towards their parents (e.g. worry, shame, anger) and that individuals made sense of their experiences relative to their peers. Additionally, parentification left YP feeling as though they had leapt ahead of their peers and then been left behind. It is recommended that educational psychologists could usefully intervene at multiple levels within individual casework, joint conceptualisations and training of frontline staff.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the young people who took part in the research. They willingly shared their stories, thoughts and feelings about an incredibly personal topic. The research would not have been possible without them, nor would it have been possible without the support of the organizations who put me in contact and facilitated these meetings: Catch 22; Neighbourhood Coordinators; National Association for Children of Alcoholics (NACOA) and many others.

Thanks also to Dr Sandra Dowling who had the patience to deal with my erratic approach and provided sage guidance throughout the two years. Thanks to the tutor team who provided a solid and stimulating environment which 'scaffolded' me up to the level of attempting this in the first place.

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Finally, thanks go to my friends, family and partner Mary for putting up with my absences and ensuring that I kept going when things were hard and kept going *out*, to put things in perspective.

Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with or with the assistance of others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Signed:

Date:

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

ACE	Adverse childhood experiences
ACMD	Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs
COA	Children of Alcoholics
CoPSM	Children of Parental Substance Misuse
CYP	Children and Young People
EP	Educational Psychologist
EPS	Educational Psychology Service
ID	Identity
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
LA	Local Authority
NACOA	National Association for Children of Alcoholics
NCOA	Non Child of Alcoholic
NEET	Not in Education Employment or Training
NICE	National Institute for Clinical Excellence
PSM	Parental Substance Misuse
YP	Young Person

1. Introduction

In general, it is fair to say that more research into Parental Substance Misuse (PSM) has taken place with children than young adults (Velleman & Templeton, 2016). This is due to the emphasis on early intervention and the logic that prevention is better than treatment. Although justifiable, this unfortunately leaves a large number of young people who are living, or have lived, with PSM who have been excluded from research and having their accounts heard (see section on ethical issues, chapter 3). While much has been written on transitions to adulthood little has been written about this experience for young people growing up with PSM. Hence, a doubly overlooked population.

Attention was drawn to the subject via ADFAM's (2003) initial report 'Hidden Harm' followed up in 2007 with 'Hidden Harm Three years on' and later in 2013. Other policy documents bearing on the area have been published (DfE, 2015; HM Government, 2012; HM Government, 2017; Public Health England, 2013). Indeed, PSM is multidisciplinary, as such, many policies and governmental departments (e.g. health, education, communities, local government, local authorities, children's social care and treatment services) are involved in the area. This level of involvement is a double-edged sword (Byrne, 2016). Theoretically this means that lots resource will be set to working to reduce harm. However, there are well documented problems concerning multiagency working (Munro, 2011) which can impede these same efforts. An example is between the different priorities between children's services, treatment services and the 'think family' ethos (Murphy, 2013). Without addressing these difficulties specifically, the thesis aims to cover ground in terms of exploring young people's experiences of transitioning to adulthood and parental substance misuse.

The first (current) chapter introduces the topic through definitions (i.e. parental, substance, misuse, adulthood and parentification) estimates on prevalence are given and the remainder of the thesis is outlined.

The second chapter begins by highlighting theoretical positions relevant to the thesis (e.g. multiple theories of identity development as well as attachment and resilience). It then moves on to present the literature search strategy and literature review specifically for the impact on young people (16-25). Many issues are addressed, including: psychological

symptoms, parentification, class, school, social, relationships, personal substance use, onset and the UK context. Finally, the research questions are presented.

Chapter three articulates the research design and methodology. This includes the research paradigm, the ontological and epistemological positions adopted, an outline of interpretative phenomenological analysis, a discussion of limitations and ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter presents the findings from the six young people. These are broadly categorized as: Becoming; Relationships; Feeling Secondary and Rejection; Internalizing symptoms; What helps?; Becoming adult and views on transition; and, systems and structures.

Chapter five presents the discussion of the findings with reference to literature introduced in chapter two. A central feature is the identity of the young people, this thread runs throughout the chapter. Other elements include a discussion on normalization, parentification, growing up and down, structures and supports and finally a return to identity in light of these considerations.

The concluding chapter brings together the main points from the discussion. It acknowledges the limitations of the thesis and presents areas for future research. Considerations of quality in qualitative research are addressed. Finally, the implications of the work for educational psychologists is discussed and a model to aide conversations with young people is introduced.

1.1. Terminological problems and conceptual confusions

This section will look at the conceptual confusions and problems with definition. The topic has multiple definitions for each element which can lead to misunderstandings, it is therefore important to be clear about what is being discussed (Cleaver, Unell & Aldgate, 2011). This section will cover the terms: parents, substance, misuse, prevalence and parentification. The terms used in the present study are outlined at the close of the section.

1.1.1. Parents

Parental typically refers to a child's biological parents but other arrangements are referred to in the literature: adoptive, step, foster or grandparents. Differences also emerge between single parent and dual parent families and associated substance use patterns where one

abstains (Alexanderson & Nasman, 2017). The young person's experience may differ in each arrangement, for example, in beliefs concerning heritability of substance using habits (Bancroft et al, 2004). Gender of parent and social stigma is also relevant (O'Connor et al, 2014; Scafie, 2008; Shulman & Seiffge-Krenke, 2015; Ohannessian, 2012). Harsher social judgment can be ascribed to mothers (aligned with ideas of maternal traits) which can impact on parental mental health presenting a further risk factor.

1.1.2. Substance

A substance refers to: illegal drugs, 'legal' highs, medication or alcohol. However, much of the research focuses on either drugs or alcohol (Russel, 2008). Drugs can be understood in terms of social acceptance irrespective of their illegality (Cleaver, Unell & Aldgate, 2011). The type, onset, frequency, duration and environment (physical and social) are also important considerations (O'Connor et al, 2014). Direct and indirect effects (environment, physical and psychological) on the user and child warrant attention as they vary between substances. Bancroft et al (2004) reported YP's differing needs for secrecy when parents used illegal drugs compared to alcohol as well as differing locations for use (i.e. outside, at the pub or in the house).

Russel (2008) argues for a separation between substances based on three levels. Firstly, that the substances taken effect the user in different ways and the child's experience will differ. Secondly, the child will experience different societal attitudes towards their parents based on the substance being used (i.e. a greater tolerance of alcohol use relative to illegal drugs). Relatedly, the societal effects on the parent themselves will differ, presumably effecting issues such as mental health and involvement in schools etc. Finally, the differences in professional responses, Russel (2008) argues that there is a greater chance of service involvement where illegal substances are used compared to alcohol.

Commenting on the separation of substances, Bancroft & Wilson (2007) state that the differing legal statuses of substances have influenced the types of knowledge about each and that there is more known about parental drug abuse (Turning point, 2006). Bancroft & Wilson (2007) contend that drug misuse is seen in terms of addiction, and a brain disorder; while alcohol misuse is seen as a moral failure, with more choice associated with it – an alcoholic is 'a specific personality type' distinct from the majority of alcohol users. Forrester & Hawin (2006) recognized that there are reasons for separation. However, they argue,

from a social work perspective, that the reality of professional practice is polysubstance use in highly complex environments (see also: O’Conner et al, 2014). For this reason, and due to financial constraints, Forrester & Hawin (2006) argue that solutions need to be developed that encompass both drugs *and* alcohol. Supporting this, in a wide-ranging review paper Orford, Velleman, Copello, Templeton & Ibanga (2010) argue that there is a ‘core’ experience of living with a family member who misuses substances and that while various factors may ‘colour’ that experience (i.e. substance, pattern of use, position within family) with the similarities outweighing the differences.

1.1.3. Misuse

Misuse stands in for a variety of terms implying differing culpability. The distinction between use, abuse and misuse concern severity and duration with the key factor being perseverance of use despite negative consequences (personal, social, legal and environmental).

NICE (2011) define alcohol misuse as either harmful drinking or alcohol dependence. The former is concerned with alcohol related health problems including: psychological problems, physical illnesses and alcohol related accidents. The latter, Alcohol dependence, is “characterized by craving of alcohol and continued drinking in spite of harmful consequences. It’s associated with increased criminal activity, domestic abuse and an increased rate of significant mental and physical health problems (cg115)”.

Whereas drug misuse, as defined by NICE (2012, qs23) is: “dependence on, or regular excessive consumption of, psychoactive substances leading to social, psychological, physical or legal problems”.

1.1.4. Prevalence

The three areas discussed above have implications on the prevalence of PSM (Cleaver et al, 2011). Prevalence estimates began with ADFAM’s (2003) document *Hidden Harm*. This placed the number of children living with a parent misusing a substance at approximately 250,000. Velleman & Templeton (2007; 2016) have more recently commented on prevalence, summarised in the table below.

Alcohol	Illicit Drugs
3.4 million < 16 years with at least one binge drinking parent	<1 million live with an adult who has used any illicit drugs in the previous year
Approx. 1 million with two binge drinking parents	>250,000 live with an adult who has used class A drugs within the previous year
<500,000 living with a lone parent who is a binge drinker	>870,000 live with an adult who has used a class C drug within the past year
Approx. 2.6 million live with a hazardous drinker	335,000 live with a drug-dependent user
Approx. 300,000 live with a harmful drinker	72,000 with an injecting drug user
>700,000 with a dependent drinker	72,000 with a drug user in treatment
	108,000 with an adult who has overdosed
430,000 CYP live with a problem drug user who also uses drugs	
>450,000 have parents where problem drinking co-exists with mental health issues	

Table 1. Prevalence. Adapted from Velleman & Templeton (2016); Manning, Best, Faulkner & Tithernigton (2009)

While informative these figures pose questions about severity, comorbid conditions, language used and the trajectory of children, young people and parents. There are also concerns about the validity of estimates as much of the data comes from parents who seek treatment - typically those who are in treatment have either been compelled by social services to do so or have reached a point of severity that has precipitated seeking help. This leaves an unknown number of young people (YP) living 'under the radar' with PSM. Additionally, the figures say nothing about YP whose parent's onset occurred when they were 16+ (see: Bancroft et al, 2007; Sternberg et al, 2018).

1.1.5. Parentification

The term 'Parentification' is present within much of the literature and can be separated into emotional, instrumental and destructive types (Godsall et al, 2004). It has also been

associated with child neglect as well as post traumatic growth and resilience (Hooper, Marotta & Lanthier, 2008). The first, 'Emotional' parentification involves a YP taking on the emotional needs and responsibilities of the family; 'Instrumental' refers to the environmental and process needs of the family separate from emotional needs (i.e. cooking, cleaning, and housework etc); whereas, 'Destructive' parentification involves the traditional hierarchy of authority being subverted, with the child taking on more responsibilities and having more power than the parent. Borchet, Lewandowska-Walter & Rostowska (2016) point out that the extent to which adolescents report benefits of parentification is contingent upon the stability of the family.

Relatedly, Burton (2007) notes that parentification (or adultification) is contingent on what people assume or expect of a young person at that age, and this can vary depending on cultural norms. Tasks containing responsibility and challenge (and potentially seen as adultification) can prepare young people for the emerging adulthood environment, however, the extent to which this is efficacious is dependent on the support that is given (Burton, 2007; Benson & Elder, 2011). Parentification is more likely to occur in families that are experiencing poverty, as parents may have to work more to meet housing needs, and therefore more is expected of children to manage the house and it is likely that less support is available to develop a sense of psychosocial maturation (Benson & Elder, 2011). Kelley et al (2007) found that female college students who scored highly on measures indicating suspected PSM were engaged in increased amounts of parentification, particularly in respect to instrumental and caregiving roles (discussed further below).

1.2. Transition to Adulthood

This section will discuss the terms 'adulthood' and 'transition'. Similar to the last section, wide usage and multiple understandings of the terms have led to commentaries that can be contradictory and confusing (Sawyer et al, 2018). First 'adulthood' will be explored, looking at: biological, legal and social concepts. Secondly, 'transition' will be discussed with reference to models of youth and adulthood development.

1.2.1. *Biological*

Biologically, adulthood is linked to the age of physical and sexual maturity. Advances in global nutrition, declining global onset of puberty, understanding of brain and body development, frontal lobe development continuing into third decade (Patton & Viner, 2007)

and socioeconomic changes have led to calls to re-evaluate the ages associated with adulthood and adolescence (Arnett, 2000; Sawyer et al, 2018).

1.2.2. Legislative

Legislative definitions of adulthood are entwined with the age of an individual. Table 1 below (Sawyer et al, 2018) indicates the differing terms and ages as YP approach the ‘age of majority’ and gain full legal status. In doing so, YP acquire rights, responsibilities and fall under various policy definitions based on age. Age limits are present in policy internationally, however these can be contradictory, for example: the UN definition of the term ‘Youth’ covers the age range 15-24; the EU ‘Strategy for Youth’ includes teenagers and young adults aged 13-29; and, the World Health Organization definition of a child is between 0-19 years (Sawyer et al, 2018). Therefore, a young person aged 18 could be considered an adult in the UK, a youth by the UN and EU and a child by WHO.

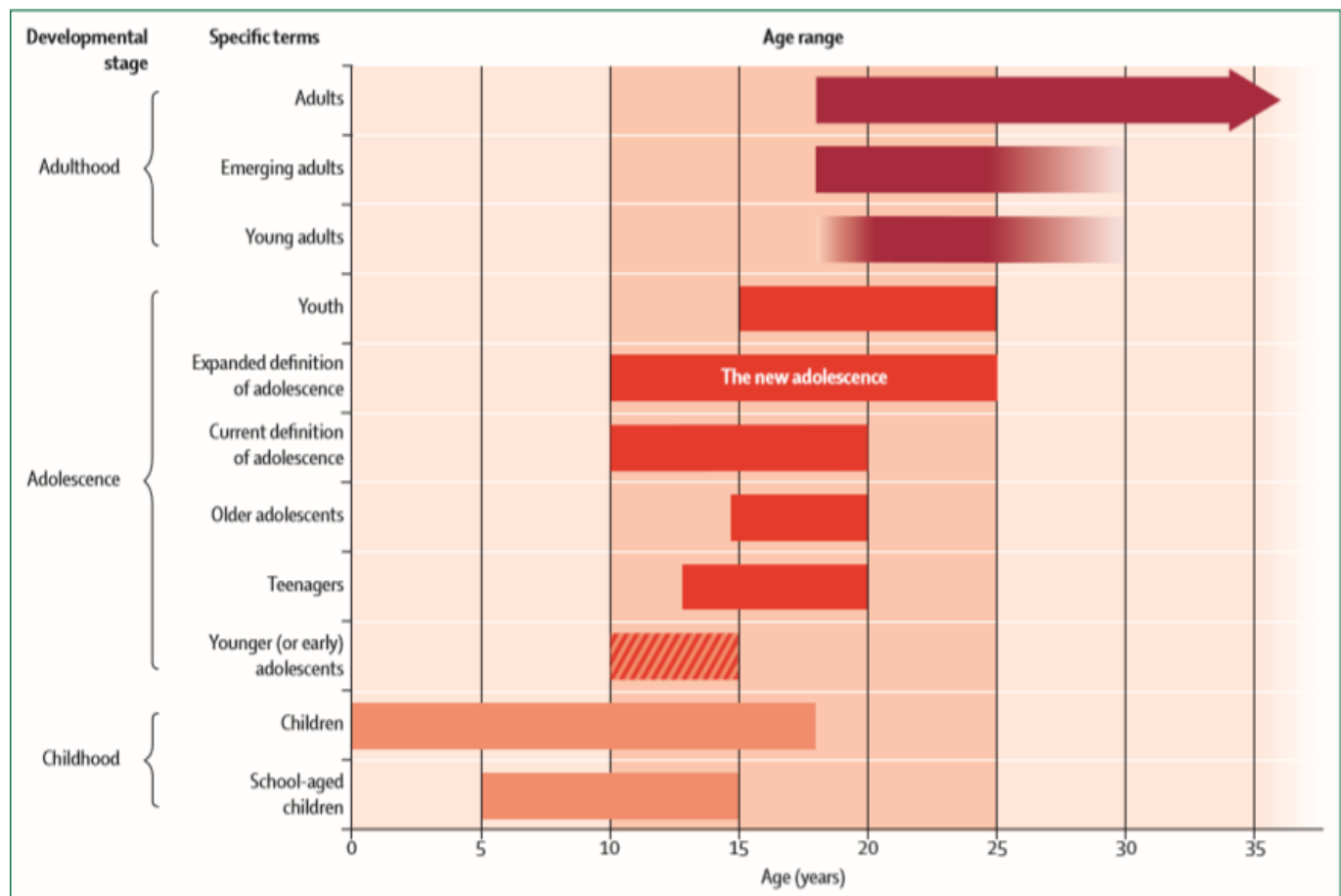


Figure 2. Commonly used age definitions of specific terms of relevance for adolescence that span or overlap with developmental periods of adulthood, adolescence and childhood (Sawyer et al, 2018)

While these differences may appear relatively harmless they matter to YP (Horrowitz & Bromnick, 2007) as well as having implications for governmental accountability, budgetary

concerns, protections and access to services (Backett-Milburn et al, 2007). For example, age based legally controlled actions (e.g. alcohol consumption etc.) represent increases in independence and can confer social status from one's peers (Hedges, 2012; Horowitz & Bromnick, 2007).

1.2.3. *Social*

The premise of social considerations of adult identity is that being seen by others as participating in adult roles will impact on how the self is judged - as adult or not (Benson & Elder, 2011). Cote & Bynner (2008) argue that many of the traditional social indicators of adult status are becoming less relevant due to large social changes and the increased length of time for acquisition of home ownership, parenthood and other factors (see: Arnett, 2000; Horowitz & Bromnick, 2007). There is debate within the literature about the extent to which this is influenced by socioeconomic status (Arnett, 2016). Able & Fitzgerald (2008) argue that attainability of such indicators is contingent on the symbolic and material resources young people have at their disposal within their social environments, and that attainability isn't equal. Benson & Elder (2011) emphasize the importance social comparison plays in self-identification of adult status. Aware that individuals often conduct transitions within cohorts (i.e. a class graduate high school together; see also Wenger, 1998) the degree to which YP feel they are older than their chronologically similar peers is dependent on the types of roles occupied by the YP. Status is also differently accorded to social roles and markers depending on local as well as national contexts (Arnett, 2016; Sanders, Munford & Boden, 2017). For example, taking on household responsibilities (e.g. Parentification) can be seen positively as displaying adult characteristics or as a premature loss of childhood. Benson & Elder (2011) found that low socioeconomic status and disorganized family structure led to increased amounts of 'adulthood' which in turn led to higher levels of self-reported maturation.

However, Horowitz & Bromnick (2007) stress the importance of remaining responsive to the indicators of adulthood that transition age youth select for themselves, as opposed to ascribing what is and isn't important from a distance (see also: Hartman & Schwartz, 2006). The overall picture of adulthood appears to be a combination or 'package of factors' (Hartman & Schwartz, 2006) that, above a certain threshold, denote adult status to self and others. Although individuals vary in how much weight they ascribe to indicators (i.e. home

ownership etc). Similarly, Abel & Fitzgerald (2008) assert that young people are not an homogenous group and their transitions should be similarly understood. They argue that to understand YP, consideration of their environments is also important in relation to peer, family and community networks (see: O'Connor et al, 2014) the relevance of which will be discussed in the next section.

1.2.4. Transition

Transition is a process of changing from one state to another. Berzin (2010) describes the concept in humans as fitting within a linear developmental model of ageing. However, commentators (Sawyer et al, 2018; Arnett, 2000; Setterson & Ray, 2010) have noted that the simple linearity of progressing between two fixed states (e.g. adolescence to adulthood) has been disrupted due to societal changes.

Crafter (2012) stresses the importance of the social aspect of transitions. Commenting on Wenger's (1998) concept of 'communities of practice', Crafter (2012) notes individuals are parts of multiple systems which exist in parallel (e.g. family, school, friends, work and hobbies). As such, transitions involve entrance into new communities, the process of which is hindered or facilitated by peers or other persons within those other environments that can communicate relevant knowledge. The following quote illustrates the two threads (i.e. individual and environmental) involved in transitions to adulthood:

"Transitions are fundamental features of social life and represent periods of change and adaptation. However, change is situational, yet transition is psychological. It involves internalising and adapting to new situations brought about by change and encompasses shifts in identity and agency" (Stringer & Dunsmuir, 2012 p5).

As the quote suggests, transition is a product of environmental change and individual adaption to that change. This definition speaks to many of the theories of adulthood and identity development introduced in the next section.

1.2.5. Transition to adulthood policy

Bringing discussions of transition and adulthood together, the informational website Preparing for Adulthood (PfA, 2013) outlines four areas for professionals and families to consider when transition planning: employment; independent living; friends, relationships and community; and, good health. These bear resemblance to earlier formulations of the transition to adulthood from Barnardo's (1996) who described these as: leaving school and

beginning employment; financial independence; leaving the family home; beginning sexual relationships; coupledness and parenthood. The two conceptions of adulthood are comparable, however the earlier version contains greater emphasis on parenthood – absent from the PfA (2013) document.

1.3. Summary

This section has explored important definitions, introduced the term ‘parentification’ and discussed adulthood and transition. This has enabled decisions to be made for the present research. The make-up of contemporary families is variable, following Bancroft et al (2007) the position that ‘parental’ refers to an adult that is responsible for the young person will be taken. Alcohol and drugs will be grouped as substances due to a desire for pragmatism (Forester & Hawin, 2006), recognition of a ‘core experience’ of PSM (Orford et al, 2010) and with a view toward relevance to professional practice. In relation to misuse, without speaking to the parents directly it is not possible to ascertain the severity or duration of substance use, it is therefore left to young people to determine whether PSM was sufficient to warrant attention. It is clear that there are many indicators of adult status, Hartman & Schwartz (2006) idea of a ‘package of features’ enables a diverse range of factors to be included the breadth this allows will be useful of this exploratory research. The next chapter looks in greater depth at the theoretical models involved in adulthood and introduces research specific to the topic.

2. Literature Review

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first presents theories that are relevant to the topic (i.e. identity development, attachment and resilience). The second will detail the literature search strategy, comment on the terms used and the inclusion/exclusion criteria. The third briefly looks at policy considerations. The fourth highlights the effects of PSM on older YP, including: psychological symptoms; class and transition, social concerns, school and education, onset and foetal alcohol syndrome disorder (FASD), adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) and the UK context. Finally, the research questions are presented.

2.1. Theories and Models

The theories discussed in this section have been selected due to their frequent citations in the literature (see diagram below).

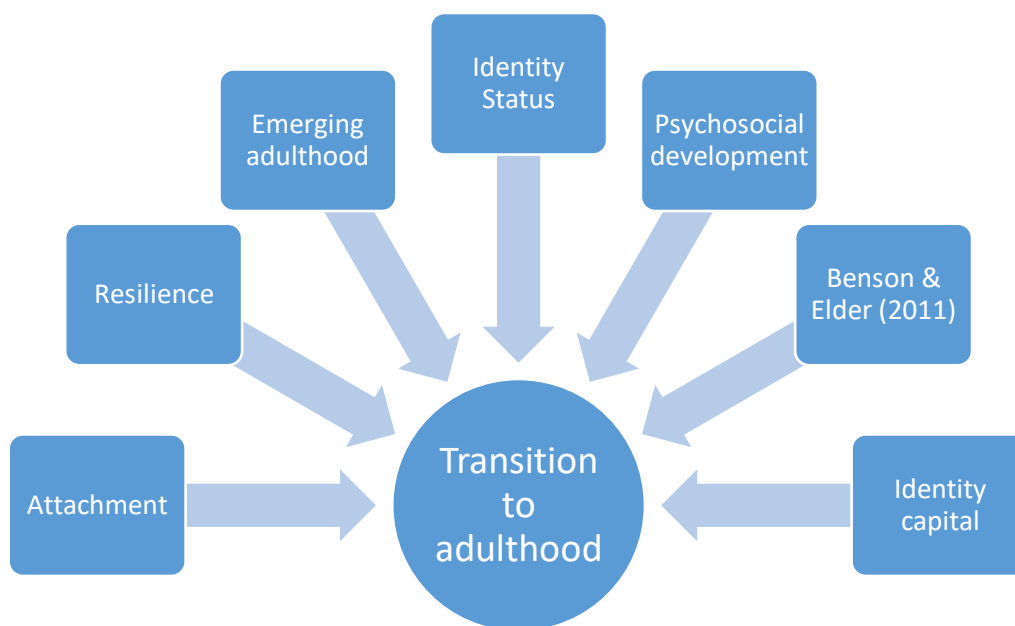


Figure 2. Diagram illustrating theoretical influences upon study

It is important to stress that theories are explanatory frameworks. As they have different characteristics they will explain the same phenomena in different ways. It would have been possible to use any of the theories mentioned as an overall explanatory framework, however a choice to prioritise one over the others had to be made for the coherence of the thesis. The steps in the diagram below (p28) outline how this decision was made.

The first theory to be discussed is Emerging Adulthood (EA). Next is Cote's (2002) Identity Capital model, followed by Marcia's (1993) extension of Erikson's (1959) stage development

model. Benson & Elder's (2011) Social Status and Adolescent Identity model will be the last identity theory to be outlined. Finally, Attachment and Resilience theories will be commented upon. The latter two theories have implications for PSM and the transition to adulthood and are well known within Educational Psychology relative to those introduced concerning identity development.

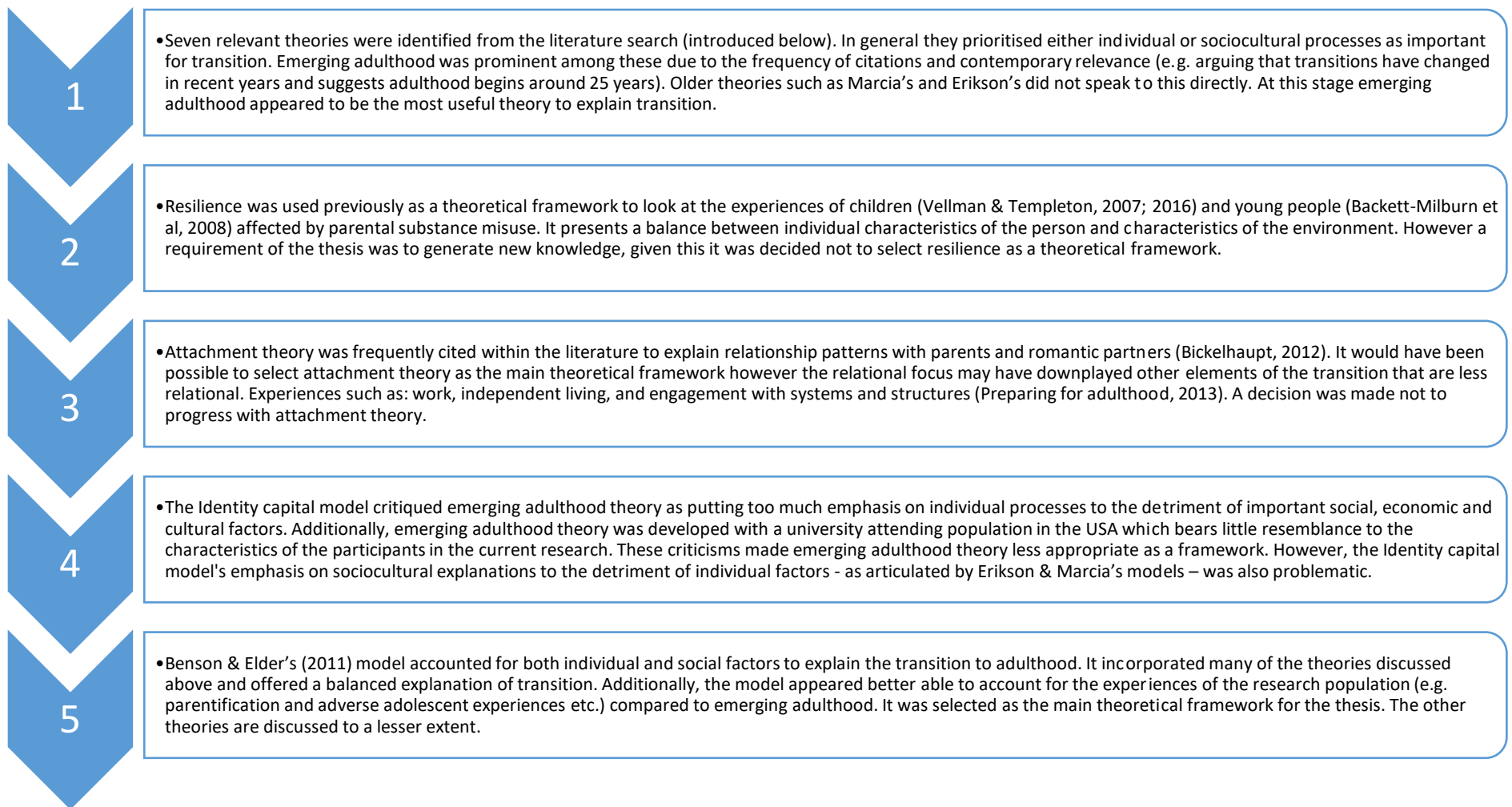


Figure 3. Diagram showing steps taken to arrive at theoretical framework and theoretical influence on study.

2.1.2. Emerging Adulthood Theory

Emerging Adulthood (EA) is proposed to explain the changes to the trajectories of young people (18-25). It is presented as a new phase in the life course, as a result of increases in education enrolment, changing market conditions for unskilled work and gender equality. The theory is the result of Arnett's work (1997; 2000; 2004; 2006) with YP and offers a psychosocial explanation for the "delayed transitions" that characterize YP's early adult lives.

Arnett (2015) found EA is characterised as a time of: increased identity exploration; trying out possibilities in love and work; instability; self-focus; and a feeling of being 'in-between'. Within EA there are a 'big three' set of indicators: 'accepting responsibility for one's self'; 'making independent decisions'; and, 'financial independence'.

It has been criticised with arguments relating to: age limits (see Sawyer et al, 2018), originality of the idea (Sawyer et al, 2018; Cote & Bynner, 2008); and EA's explanatory power (Horowitz & Bromner, 2007; Cote & Bynner, 2008).

Addressing the universality of EA, Cote & Bynner (2008) contend that 'emerging adulthood' may describe the transitions of middle-class youth only. Arnett (2016) responded by highlighting that the indicators of EA would differ according to the circumstances of the individual, both cultural and economic. Also conceding that early challenging circumstances may engender perceptions of early adult status relative to their peers (Hartman & Schwartz, 2006; Benson & Elder, 2011; Arnett, 2016) due to the effect of 'parentification'.

2.1.3. Identity Capital Model

The Identity Capital Model (Cote, 2002; Cote & Bynner, 2008) seeks to understand individual variation in the process and the outcome of transition, through structural and individual resources at an individual's disposal.

The term identity capital is proposed to illustrate the trade between personal characteristics and opportunities in the life-course (e.g. life and job satisfaction, role in the community).

Identity capital for young adults can be tangible (e.g. group membership, gender, parental investment and support) or intangible (e.g. intellectual development, sense of agency).

These can be used to 'trade' for development in personal projects to gain identity status (i.e. adult membership, prestige, access to social perks etc.).

Society now necessitates individualisation, the development of personal identities, attributes and skills (Arnett, 2000; Cote, 2002). As noted, this has disrupted transitions between structured places (i.e. school to work) and there are now gaps between structures. To get through the gaps 'identity capital' is required (Cote, 2002). This will be approached with different levels of enthusiasm by different YP (i.e. default and passive roles vs active ones); the former approach could lead to delayed entry into adult status as some aspects of society do not provide adult role models, or necessarily benefit from agentic adults whereas the latter is associated with 'better' adult outcomes (Cote, 2002).

The identity capital model challenges EA, arguing that it leans too heavily on individual characteristics and thereby downplays structural factors such as class and parental support (Cote & Bynner, 2008). In sum, the identity capital model looks at the differences in personal resources and how these interact with contextual barriers and opportunities within the transition to adulthood.

2.1.4. Erickson's psychosocial development theory (1959)

Erikson's Ego Identity Status model (1959) proposes a stage-based transition for human development which individuals progress through, although, occupation of higher stages is not guaranteed (Hayton, 2009). Stages are characterised by significant dilemmas that the individual must navigate. Resolution of these dilemmas results in either successful or unsuccessful outcomes. Success in an earlier stage builds positive momentum for later ones, and vice versa.

The dilemmas have parallels with contemporary work (Arnett, 1997; 2006) about role confusion, career concerns and sexual identity. For instance, individuals must experience identity confusion akin to Arnett's (2000) experimentation and waywardness.

2.1.5. Marcia's Identity status (1966; Marcia et al 1993) model

Marcia developed Erikson's (1959) ego identity status model, particularly the notion of the crisis of identity resolution vs identity confusion. Looking specifically at the terms Erikson described as 'late adolescents' and 'young adults'. Marcia introduced a difference by which young people within these categories undertake identity defining decisions in key areas of their lives.

Marcia et al (1993) argue that identity formation is dependent on two processes: *exploration* and *commitment*, which result in four types of identity status; identity achievement; foreclosure; moratorium; and diffusion (see figure 3).

		Has a crisis been experienced?	
		Yes	No
Has a commitment been made?	Yes	Identity achievement	Foreclosure
	No	Moratorium	Identity diffusion

Figure 3. Marcia's Identity status theory.

Identity achievement is when the individual has explored alternative possibilities in terms of identities and committed to one; Moratorium, is when exploration has, or is, taking place, but commitment has not; Foreclosure, is characterised by commitment without exploration; and, Identity diffusion is uncommitted and is with or without exploration of alternatives.

These concepts characterise the processes of transition and illuminate where individuals are within the model. The differences in trajectory of identity statuses is discussed in Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia (2010) however, the expectation is that development and environmental factors will introduce instability to identity achievement, and the process begins anew, for example as individuals progress through Erikson's stage model (Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia (2010). Additionally, it is possible to conceive of environments that facilitate greater or lesser opportunities for exploration or commitment. Also relevant is the supposition that the earlier stages in Erikson's theory, and their resolution have a domino effect on the likelihood of later crises resolving in the positive realm. This could be understood as cumulative risk, discussed by Bancroft et al (2007).

2.1.6. Benson & Elder (2011)

More recently Benson & Elder (2011) proposed the social status and adolescent influences on adult identity model.

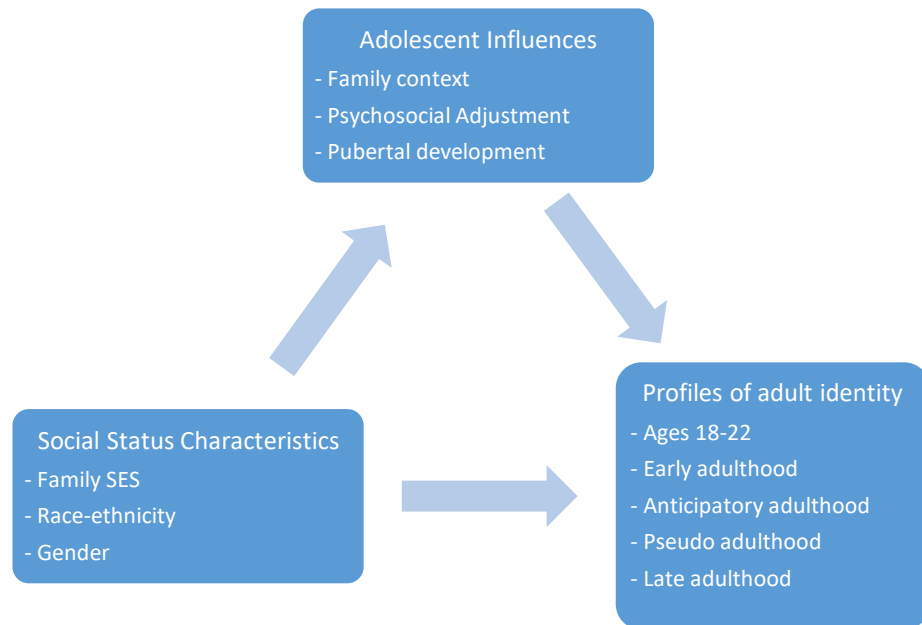


Figure 4. Benson & Elder (2011)

Importantly, Benson & Elder's (2011) model encompasses both intra-psychological development (e.g. self-responsibility etc.) which Arnett (2000) proposes, and also stresses the importance of more sociological findings such as role transitions (Cote & Bynner, 2008; Johnson et al, 2007). Profiles of adult identity are influenced by 'social status characteristics' and 'adolescent influences'. Benson & Elder (2011) arrived at four different profiles for adulthood by combining psychosocial maturity (i.e. intrapersonal development: estimations of confidence, independence and responsibility) and subjective age estimation relative to same age peers, resulting in: early adults; anticipatory adults, pseudo adults; and, late adults.

The extremes of early and late adulthood are described by YP who either rate themselves as acting older than their same age peers and score high on measures of intra-personal development or vice versa. The social comparison acknowledges that transition is not individual, resembling the idea of 'communities of practice' where transition is viewed in cohorts (Wenger, 1998).

The findings that vulnerable and disadvantaged youth moved into adulthood earlier than less vulnerable peers (Benson & Elder, 2011; Setterson & Rey, 2010; Burton, 2007; Johnson et al, 2007) was developed by Benson & Elder (2011) who questioned whether this was characterised by role transitions and intra-psychological development at approximate levels, or whether one factor would be lacking behind the other? Indeed, their findings suggested that early role transitions stemming from disadvantage often led to lower levels of intra-psychological maturity, which could in turn lead to stress as individuals faced challenging adult circumstances (Galambos & Tilton-Weaver, 2000).

2.1.7. Attachment

Attachment theory was developed by Bowlby (1969; 1988) and later Ainsworth et al (1978) (See Bretherton, 1992). Key concepts include 'attunement', the 'internal working model' and the 'styles of attachment'. Attachment theory envisages four 'styles' which develop within the interaction between primary caregiver and child. These are: secure; insecure (avoidant); insecure (resistant/ambivalent); and, disorganized attachments. The latter group is most associated with behavioural difficulties and psychopathology in later childhood, adolescence (Green & Goldwyn, 2002) and later life (Kroll & Taylor, 2003).

'Attunement', availability and parenting style contribute to the early interactions between child and primary caregiver, in turn these shape the child's 'internal working model'. This is the way they think about themselves and how they view the world and can be important for future relationships. As the child ages, the desire to seek security and comfort in the physical sense, moves to the psychological. Meaning that the primary caregiver need not be there to give a sense of security or vice versa (Kroll & Taylor, 2003 p140).

PSM can influence the relationship between the primary caregiver and the child (Velleman & Templeton, 2016). For example, absences, physical or emotional could act on the process of 'attunement' (Kroll & Taylor, 2003 p138). Similarly, the direct effects of the substance taken may influence the style and capacity of parenting (Velleman & Templeton, 2007). However, the presence of a teacher or a supportive adult can serve to mitigate the effects of challenging interactions and lead to a 'secure base' (Frederickson & Cline, 2015 p444). In this respect it has parallels to findings from the resilience literature, discussed next.

2.1.8. Resilience

Resilience is used to describe: 'better-than-expected developmental outcomes; competence when under stress; or positive functioning indicating recovery from growth' (Velleman & Templeton, 2016). It is both an individual and environmental factor. On the individual side, Daniel & Wassel (2002) suggests three fundamental conditions for resilience: a secure base; good self-esteem; and, a sense of self-efficacy. It can also be viewed as a combination of risk and protective factors with the latter including: supportive social and physical environments; meaningful roles etc (Newman & Blackburn, 2002).

In relation to PSM resilience can be considered a process and an outcome (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). A key finding was that YP's personal resilience was constrained by their: 'age, experience, need to care and protect siblings, structure and geographic distribution of families, and responses of their parents and others' (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008).

2.1.9. Summary

This section introduced and unpacked the terms 'adulthood' and 'transition'. The term 'adulthood' was taken forward as a collection of characteristics concerning individual psychological beliefs coupled with social indicators. Additionally, this includes legislative, biological and age-based considerations (i.e. the age of majority and physical, mental and sexual maturity). The PfA (2013) document is helpful in suggesting areas of import for adult development, however it gives little advice on how to achieve these for differing populations. Models and theories of adult identity development were proposed alongside attachment and resilience theories which may help conceptualize the mechanisms of distress or its absence. The next section makes up the main body of the literature review and will focus on the effects of PSM on young people.

2.2. Policy

This section will briefly introduce the many different departments and organizations which have a bearing on PSM and transition to adulthood.

Firstly, the Children Act (2004) prioritised the early identification of vulnerable children following the principle of early intervention. This stemmed from the Every Child matters (ECM, 2003) agenda. At a similar time the ACMD's (2003; 2007) 'Hidden Harm' papers were seminal in highlighting the experiences of children and young people growing up with parental drug misuse. The government accepted many of the recommendations from the initial report. These concerned early identification, listening to voices of CYP, information gathering, calls for more research into affects at different stages of the life course, issues of training, issues of evaluation, representation of PSM at governmental decision making levels and targets for early years, maternity and social services. Importantly, the reports did not include YP affected by parental alcohol misuse and little was said about young people over the age of 18.

The Munro (2011) review detailed the importance of multiagency working (MAW) in pursuit of safeguarding children. This was particularly relevant due to divisions between services which prioritised their individual clients needs rather than working with the family as a whole. It also spelled out frequent problems with MAW and suggested ways in which this could be addressed. At a similar time the National Treatment Agency produced a document 'Parents with drug problems: How treatment helps families' with policy recommendations pertaining to PSM (NTA, 2012). Importantly this noted that for parents misusing substances, living with their child could be a protective factor, motivating them to seek treatment. The variability within family and parents situations were also commented upon (i.e. parents not living with their children and adults living with non-biological children).

'Silent Voices' (Adamson & Templeton, 2012) the report commissioned from the children's commissioner was broadly focused on children rather than young people or transition age youth. However, it contained key changes of emphasis. It stressed: the need to focus on alcohol and drugs; listening to the voices of children affected; early intervention; and, a family focus with the young person at the centre. Other important points included the highlighting of insufficient services and training to deal with issues of PSM. It echoed the Munro (2011) review in calling for better MAW. Finally, it called for identification of CYP

affected by PSM that are not already known to services and highlighted the need for training and support for older YP.

The government's Alcohol Strategy (2012) was limited in relevance to PSM. It does not mention the children of alcoholic parents but does make reference to the 'Troubled Families' programme – discussed below. The government's Drugs Strategy (2012) recognised that treatment options for drug and alcohol misuse can be similar. It called for evidence-based psychological interventions to support families affected by drug use. Unfortunately there was little mention of older young people (e.g. above 18). However, it was recognised that substance misuse is only one part of a complex picture: that children of substance misuse have increased likelihood to use substances themselves; and that parents are role models to their children. Finally, it also made reference to the 'Troubled families' programme. Relatedly, Public Health England (2018) developed a toolkit to aid commissioners in making decisions about PSM and young people. Unfortunately this extends only to age 18. Recommendations include working with the whole family, awareness of local procedures for referral and close reference to NICE guidelines for substance users (i.e. cognitive behavioural therapy and couples therapy). Finally it notes that limited evidence is available for treatments for parents who are misusing drugs.

The 'troubled families' agenda began in 2011 in response to the London Riots – it overlaps with the thesis topic in many respects. The families are described as those who have and cause problems (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2017). These problems concern substance misuse, crime, mental health issues etc. It stresses the need to work at the family level rather than with discrete individuals (see also, Munro, 2011). Service reform and getting people into employment are key aims for the programme. It proposes a keyworker model to work with the whole family, who is an advocate for the family and takes on a 'lead person' role. PSM and transition to adulthood is seen as one part in a complex web of issues. It notes that keyworkers may have a speciality in an area such as substance misuse.

This section has briefly introduced policies which overlap with the thesis. Important points include the repeated emphasis on MAW, early intervention, the need for training and working with families. Notable absences concern information on transition age youth and interventions that support parents dependent on substances. It is worth mentioning the

calls to group alcohol and drug misuse of parents made above – as discussed in the introduction.

2.3. Systemic Literature Search

This section will detail the literature review including the search strategy, the record of searches and finally the inclusion / exclusion criteria adopted. Overall this review adopted a systematic approach. The literature search applies specifically to the effects of parental substance misuse on the young people (16-25) with experience of PSM. There exists a large amount of research on the effect of PSM on children, this is referenced in the introductory sections but not in the main body of the literature review due to limited relevance. Various databases were used to identify relevant literature (e.g. Ovid, Psych Info, Scopus, ProQuest, Psych Articles, Web of Science, Eric and the British Education Index). Search terms are detailed in the table below; these were generated from prior reading around the topic and were added to during the search. As relevant research was identified hand searches through related records and reference lists led to further relevant literature. Due to a relative dearth of research on young adults with experience of PSM ‘Grey Literature’ (Oliver, 2014 p138) was also included (i.e. dissertations and reports from charitable organizations). After all relevant research was uncovered duplicates and irrelevant studies were removed based on reading of the titles. Following this the abstracts of papers were read and those with limited relevance were also removed. A group of 28 articles were read in full, two were removed based on limited relevance, leaving a final group of 25. The next section highlights the terms used and inclusion and exclusion criteria in more detail.

2.4. Terms Used

The terms used for the literature search were gathered from initial reading around the subject, as well as during the literature search itself.

Area	Search terms
“young people”	Youth, adolescent*, teens, young adults, young people, young men, young women, emerging adults, early adults, late adolescence, transition age youth, delayed adults, extended adolescents, youthhood, 16-25, 18-25, provisional adulthood, NEETs, waithood, NLFET, children of alcoholics, adult children, children of addicted parents, children of addiction
“transition to adulthood”	Pathways to adulthood, transition to adulthood, ageing out, becoming adult, pathways, leaving home transition; becoming independent; developing independence; journey to adulthood; school to work transition; university to work transition; parentification; adultification
“Parental substance misuse”	Substance abusing families; parental substance abuse; parental substance misuse; parental addiction; parental drug use; parental drug misuse; parental alcohol abuse; parental alcoholism; child of impaired parents; child of addicted parents; family alcoholism, family drug addict*; substance abusing parents; maternal drug use; maternal substance misuse; maternal drug abuse; maternal substance abuse; paternal drug abuse; paternal drug use; paternal substance misuse

Table 2. Search terms

2.5. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

For initial selection articles had to have titles referring to all three of the above terms (or synonyms). Limited results were returned and the inclusion criteria at this stage was revised to: containing at least two of the above terms.

Additionally, articles that contained one of the above terms which also had a focus on aspects of the research questions (i.e. resilience) were included at an early stage where they were judged to be relevant to the context of the research. Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies were included.

Exclusion criteria was based on:

- Language
- Location
- Relevance
- Recency

For example, articles in languages or locations with limited comparability to the UK context and those older than ten years (except for highly influential studies) were also excluded. Relevance was harder to determine on the abstract or title inspections, however, papers were excluded if they referred to: children rather than 'young people' (i.e. <16 years see exception*); tobacco use in parents (this was deemed too low in severity to qualify as 'substance misuse'); or if the emphasis of the article was on the young person's substance use while parental factors received no mention.

2.6. Visual of Literature Search Strategy

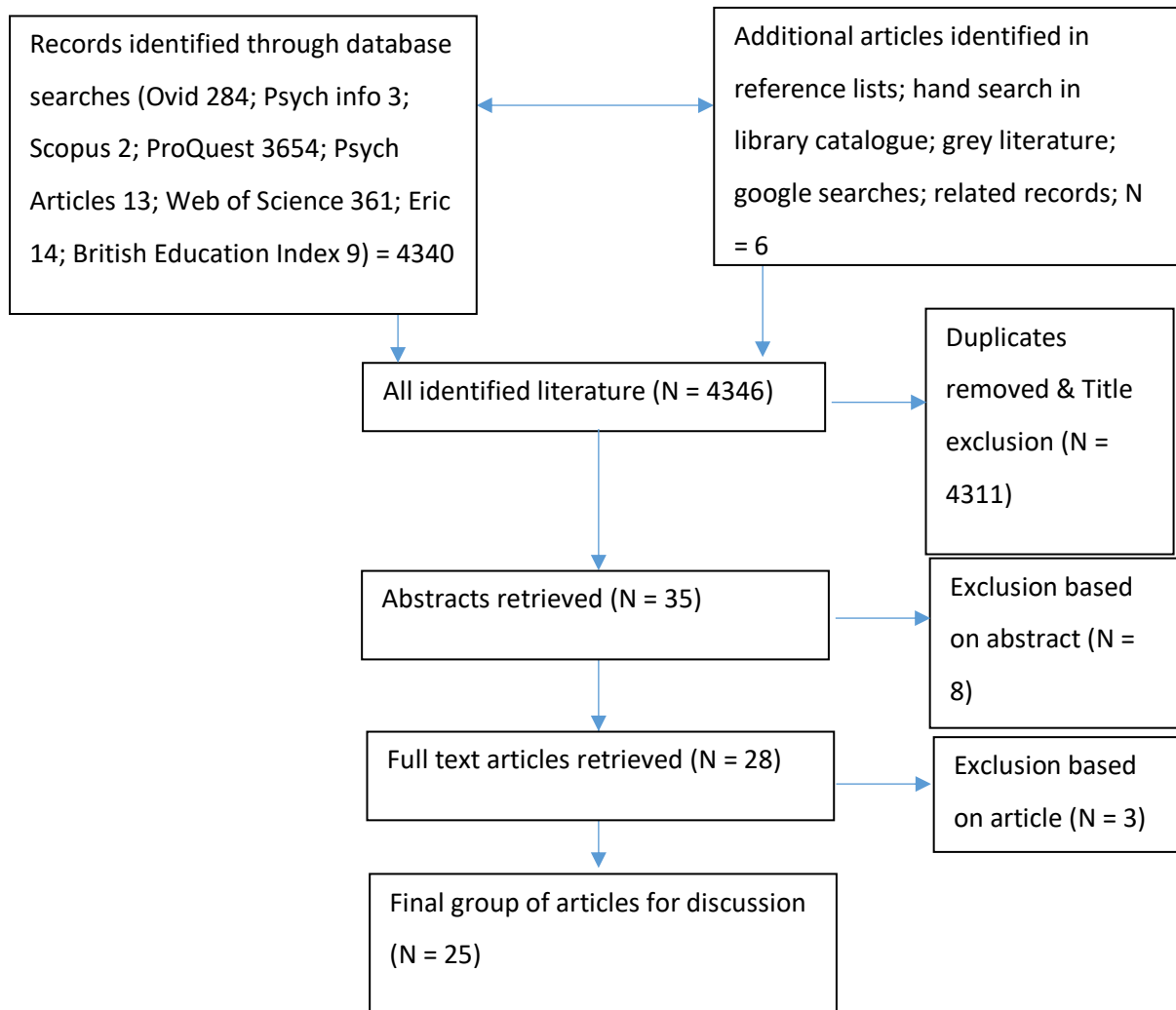


Figure 5. Literature search strategy

2.7. Papers reviewed

There is a broadening literature on outcomes for children of parental substance misuse (Velleman & Templeton, 2007, 2016). Importantly, Cleaver, Unell & Aldgate (2011) highlight that most parents who use drugs or alcohol present no extra harm to their children. However, PSM may be a contributory factor to chaotic lifestyles and environments which increase risk to YP (Kroll & Taylor, 2003). The NACD (2011) highlight that a large minority of children continue to feel the effects of PSM into adulthood and their later years. This section presents the results of the literature review. The papers have been roughly grouped into categories. The logic of the papers grouping was based on the main findings reported, however there is considerable overlap between papers.

2.7.1 Psychological symptoms during the transition to adulthood

The internalizing effects of PSM on children include mental health problems such as anxiety and depression (e.g. Velleman & Templeton, 2016; Harwin, 2010; Templeton, 2009; McLaughlin, 2015). The extent to which these last into early adulthood is the focus of this section.

Longman's (2014) dissertation research looked at differences between adult children of drug misuse (N11), adult children of alcohol misuse (N19) and a control group (56). Exposure to either substance resulted in a higher likelihood of psychopathology in early adulthood (as indicated by the Personality Assessment Inventory (Morey, 2007) and no statistically significant differences between the substances were reported. However adult children of drug misuse had the lowest score on the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Denier et al, 1985) and the highest on indicators of childhood chaos (as measured by a questionnaire created for the research). Consequently, Longman (2014) conclude that children of drug misuse suffer the greatest barriers, and this is attributable to chaotic childhood experiences. However, the measure of childhood chaos was created by the researcher and had not been validated. Additionally, there was overlap within the PSM drugs and alcohol groups, these parents were included in the drugs group, this raises the possibility that separation by substances may not be pragmatic or representative of real-world experience.

Similarly, Fuller-Thompson et al (2013) reported that offspring of parents who engaged in PSM had a greater likelihood of developing depression, and that this did not vary by gender of parent or child. While informative the methods used to ascertain PSM (i.e. data from

6268 individuals who returned a Canadian Community Health Survey) are based on an answer to a single question concerning PSM from adults. This gives little information about severity, onset age, single or dual parent use and assumes that individuals were aware of PSM while children. As such the findings, in isolation, should be treated with caution.

In contrast, Caywood's (2007) thesis research found gender differences resulting from PSM when looking at emerging adults' alcohol use during transition: males used more alcohol and females experienced greater depressive symptoms; and, that PSM was associated with offspring's psychosocial impairment. Participants were families (at least two parents and one child) where parents were screened for alcoholism. Participants were then re-interviewed at approximately five and ten years after the initial study, it was therefore based on responses at three time points from groups adult children of alcoholic parents (N195); depressed parents (N158); and, non-distressed parents (N103). Caywood (2007) concluded that family alcohol history is predictive of offspring drinking behaviour via socialization into chaotic environments. The results are supportive of the broader literature in this area, however the inclusion criteria was limited to YP who were part of 'intact families'. This implies, at least, a partial level of stability, excludes single parent families and has unclear implications for severity as solo PSM in mother and/or father is not discussed.

Brook et al (2010) investigated whether parental alcohol use during their children's adolescence led to psychological symptoms and alcohol use in young adulthood. Results indicated that males used more alcohol and reported more psychological symptoms in late adolescence with the latter continuing into early adulthood. Additionally, that PSM was associated with offspring alcohol use in late adolescence; which was associated with psychological symptoms in young adulthood. Participants (predominantly African American or Puerto Rican) were drawn from a longitudinal study with questionnaires completed at three time points (T1, N = 1330, T2 – N = 1190 and T3 – N = 660; the participants at T3 were oversampled for those who reported drug use and parenthood at T2). Participants completed questionnaires about parents' and their own alcohol use and psychological symptoms. A methodological problem with this concerns the secrecy and shame which YP have reported about PSM which could lead to distortions in reporting (Houmoller et al, 2011; Scafie, 2008; Backett-Milburn et al, 2006; Jordan, 2018) although the design attempted to control for this using tape recorded instructions for the questionnaires

thereby participants did not have to answer questions from the researcher directly. Moreover, the authors acknowledged that this method also assumes that alcohol consumption is observable to YP, and the participants were entirely from minority groups within the US, with limited applicability to the UK sample.

Larkins & Sher (2006) explore the stability of personality in transition age youth (N = 487) with experience of family alcoholism (approximately half of participants) through analysis of longitudinal data at three time points over an 11-year period. Their findings indicated higher levels of psychoticism, behavioural disinhibition and negative affect (as measured by the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire) in YP who grew up with family alcoholism (as measured by the DSM-III AUD criteria) however, as YP grew up these traits reduced, in line with the wider population trends but contrasting with much of the literature which suggests familial transmission of substance use.

Section Summary

From the literature reviewed above it is possible to focus in on a few key points. Firstly, that PSM is associated with the development of psychological symptoms in the young adult children. Secondly, there is disagreement in whether there are gendered effects in relation to the development of psychological symptoms as a result of PSM. Additionally, the methodologies employed are quantitative in nature, and the voice of the young person is rarely present. A further point is that the research is exclusively American and as such may not easily compare to a UK sample due to demographic differences between America and the UK. One of those differences is social class, discussed in the next section.

2.7.2. Class and Transition

Cleaver, Unell & Aldgate (2011) discuss the environmental consequences and related factors of PSM for children: poverty, separations, unsafe and criminal conditions (see also, O'Conner et al, 2014). It is suggested that these environmental factors can lead to difficulties in transition on top of PSM. The studies below look at YP from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and those in contact with homelessness services.

Jordan (2018) interviewed 22 young adults transitioning to adulthood from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Findings included transitions that were unstable and characterised by: insecure relationships with partners; superficial friendships; limited support from family and friends; and, economic instability. Jordan (2018) also found that

relationships (relatives, peers and partners) were characterized by a sense of mistrust. This is attributed to parents' socialisation, as well as personal insecurity. Participants also discussed adultification by financial necessity and commented that they were often 'rushed into adulthood'. Respondents supported Arnett's (2000) indicators of 'feeling in-between' and being 'somewhat adults'. Jordan's (2018) account is highly informative and addresses outstanding issues with Arnett's (2000) EA model (e.g. EA and low SES) however, it doesn't describe PSM specifically, which may highlight unique features (i.e. 'core experience' and shame, secrecy) in a UK context.

Napolitano (2010) used qualitative interviews with 60 participants recruited while receiving support from a homeless shelter. The YP interviewed had a belief in their ability and resiliency to achieve their life goals. The backgrounds of the YP were challenging and varied, many were described as 'truly left alone' indicating their supportive social networks were minimal. This made 'successful' transition difficult to achieve and the positive motivation for change had left many participants at follow up. The most stable group at follow-up, new mothers, described their children as a source of motivation and providing a turning point. Recruitment from a homeless shelter indicates that homelessness may be the more salient characteristic at present, although many reported PSM as a feature of their childhood, this could be seen as a contributor to their current circumstances in line with the literature on Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACES, discussed below).

Tyler (2006) also looked at the transition experiences of 40 homeless young adults (19-21 years) using qualitative interviews. Findings indicated that PSM featured in the majority of the participants' backgrounds, and for some YP substance use characterized their wider family networks. Importantly participants' backgrounds were accompanied by many other risk factors (e.g. parent criminality and child maltreatment). Tyler (2006) discusses the cumulative risk associated with the participants' family histories which are associated with multiple transitions between living arrangements. Conceptually, social learning theory and socialisation via persons and environments are used to explain YP's transitions into risky environments. Tyler (2006) hypothesized that their experiences would put YP on a track for early independence, which is supported with reference to one individual's account within the paper. Despite the qualitative methodology the study is lacking in evidence drawn from participant's own voices. Tyler (2006) concludes by noting that the participants lead

'nomadic' lives (i.e. acquiring few resources or connections and making numerous transitions) which bear resemblance to one another in their instability and challenging family histories.

Section summary

This section explored the research related to class and transition among young people with experience of parental substance misuse. Again, the studies were exclusively American, which limits the comparability to the UK. Two of the studies reviewed featured young people accessing homelessness support. It is important to state that this may represent a more extreme end of the research population. While PSM is associated with youth homelessness, it does not necessarily lead to it (as will be made evident in further studies reviewed below). A common feature was the insecurity of the transition to adulthood due to cumulative risks and the sense that individuals were transitioning with minimal support from others. This is explored in greater depth in the next section.

2.7.3. Social concerns

Social consequences of PSM are present for parents and their children, for example straining of social networks due to secondary issues of PSM like violence, antisocial behaviour and criminality (Cleaver et al, 2008). Children's relationships with peers may also be strained due to PSM (Velleman & Templeton, 2007; Houmoller et al, 2011). This section looks at studies reviewing early adult social outcomes.

Rudolph et al (2011) looked at the social networks of 650 older young people within a community outreach and self-referral sample. Their findings indicated that PSM is associated with the proportion of their adult children's social networks being populated by drug users. Importantly, having both parents at home using substances led to a larger proportion of their networks using drugs. The father's drug use in the home, as opposed to elsewhere, also led to an increase. Rudolph et al (2011) explain their findings through social learning and attachment theories. The findings also comment on the effect parental attitudes have on their offspring's peer selection processes, and how this may linger on through internalized values once peer relationships become more important. However, these results are from an older (median age 33), reasonably extreme population (i.e. street outreach services), once living on the street individuals' networks may increase with drug using peers, this could be a factor of homelessness rather than PSM.

Hedges (2012) used narrative interviews with 25 late adolescent girls with experience of family substance misuse. Conclusions indicated that family norms of substance misuse socialized these young women into personal use, framed as a 'rite of passage' into adult status and as a 'full' member of the family. Many discussed personal use as a way to belong and as a way to 'join in' with other members of the family. Hedges (2012) highlights that there are advantages of use for YP: indicating symbolic maturity as well as constructing an identity (e.g. socially, substance use says something about who a person is, and who they are not). Interestingly, the severity of the exposure of the girls to substance use and related experiences (arrests and abandonment) led to reports that they did not see alcohol as a 'real' drug. Hedges (2012) found that parentification began when participants started using substance themselves – indicating that they were seen as old enough to take on further responsibilities. A limitation of the study could be the severity of the experiences (e.g. 95% were involved with the justice system and 40% were in youth custody) additionally, this was limited to young women only and the experiences of young men may be different in character.

Bickelhaupt's (2012) dissertation research explores the effect of parental alcoholism on socio-emotional outcomes. Retrospective interviews were conducted with 13 university students aged 21-25. Looking at this 'successful' cohort Bickelhaupt (2012) found that possessing an 'innate drive to succeed and presence of extracurricular activities can overcome 'most' of the prominent barriers of PSM. These were conceptualised as 'unpredictable environment' and 'poor family communication'. The wider literature suggests that while important, these two barriers may not be the *most* important for all YP who may develop alongside bereavement, family imprisonment and poverty – besides others. A key finding was the importance of the current romantic partner who was described as facilitating trust and aiding in development of healthy communication patterns. Again, this stands out amongst the wider literature that suggests YP growing up with PSM may not develop a secure internal working model, which can lead to difficulties of trust with relationships and partners. Bickelhaupt (2012) also discusses themes of parentification, shame and a desire for normalcy and escape which are reported elsewhere in the literature (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). Importantly, these findings are based on a 'successful' sample, 30 other participants were excluded for involvement with drugs and alcohol consumption

above an undisclosed 'safe limit' – this is unfortunate as they may have also been considered successful as university students who performed well academically.

Relatedly, Kelley et al (2010) investigated attachment styles of adult children of alcoholics (daughters) within 226 university students. Participants completed three questionnaires (i.e. two on relationships style and one on Adult Children of Alcoholics (ACOA)). Their findings indicated that compared to non-alcoholic parents, ACOA reported greater anxious and avoidant behaviours within romantic relationships. While informative the authors acknowledge the exploratory nature of the project due to numerous limitations. For instance, no mention is made of other stressors during development, onset or duration of alcohol use. Additionally, 23% of the sample were single and not currently in a romantic relationship while others reported greater or lesser involvement with a partner. A variety of factors may affect the expression of behaviour in a relationship (e.g. length of relationship, cohabitation, children etc) none of which are mentioned.

Section summary

This section has reviewed research that prominently features the social concerns of young adults with experience of PSM. Importantly the populations of the participants are different from those that have gone before (see class and transition section) with the inclusion of college students and high achievers – in itself this illustrates the variability of destinations for youth with history of PSM. A further important point is that the social networks of young people with experience of PSM may be comprised of a higher proportion of substance using peers without this family history. This has implications for individuals own substance use as well as transitions. Reasons for personal substance use were provided by Hedges et al (2012) and these centred on 'belonging' to the family or within a peer group. Finally, romantic relationships were discussed in relation to attachment theory, with some participants reporting on the benefits of a romantic partner while Kelley et al (2010) highlighted the increased likelihood of anxious / avoidant behaviour in relationship styles. The next section looks at the role of school and education.

2.7.4. School and Education

Children of PSM are at a greater risk of negative school experiences for many reasons (Serec et al, 2012; Covell & Howe, 2009; Trovik et al, 2011). Not least parents reduced capacity in

advocating on their child's behalf (Cleaver, Unell & Aldgate, 2011). This section looks at education related areas of PSM in older YP.

Mangiavacchi & Piccolo (2016) used a Russian longitudinal sample featuring 5000 households to investigate whether parent's alcohol consumption affected their offspring's total educational achievement. Findings indicate a negative relationship between mothers' alcohol consumption during childhood and children's educational attainment. Mangiavacchi & Piccolo (2016) propose multiple methods of transmission: prenatal exposure to alcohol (i.e. Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder, FASD), caring for parent's health needs (i.e. parentification), family disruption, health issues during childhood and socialisation into habits of drinking via the behaviour of the father. Mangiavacchi & Piccolo (2016) conclude that the 'cost' of PSM affects offspring in terms of future productivity as well as more immediately for other family members supporting the using parent, with implications for family resources. Of the 1832 adult children on which educational data is available, the age range varies widely (18-37) a quarter of whom are either married or cohabiting and the PSM took place between the ages of 7-14. The variability in the sample raises many questions. Firstly, whether total educational achievement can be accurately measured in 18-year olds relative to the older age bracket who have had almost double the opportunity time to increase their level of education. Secondly, PSM between the ages of 7-14 leaves out PSM with an onset in later years (see Sternberg et al, 2018) as well as prenatal exposure (see Williams, 2015) which may have specific effects different from those reported in the present research.

Section summary

While there is a wide range of research on the effects of PSM on school and education it is almost exclusively focused on younger age groups. However, the findings from Mangiavacchi & Piccolo (2016) highlight important points, that PSM can affect educational attainment due to a variety of reasons (e.g. parentification, family disruption, health issues and socialisation). One area left unaddressed is the onset of parental substance misuse, this is the focus of the next section.

2.7.5. Onset of PSM and Foetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder (FASD)

Sternberg et al (2018) used data from a longitudinal cohort following 454 families to ascertain whether the onset of parental alcohol misuse effected the outcomes for offspring,

specifically looking at the effects of PSM beginning while children were in emerging adulthood, rather than childhood. Findings indicated that less risk was transmitted in terms of offspring's own alcohol problems and consumption compared to PSM that spanned earlier developmental periods. However, the study acknowledges that they did not distinguish between offspring who lived at home or independently, which may influence the extent of offspring behaviours and outcomes.

Representing an extreme end of the PSM literature, McGregor's (2009) thesis explores the life experiences of seven YP with FASD. McGregor (2009) found that YP understood their development as initially 'normal' before coming to a realization in late childhood/ early adolescence of difference. Late adolescence and early adulthood was associated with challenges with peers, school and parents. However, in emerging adulthood mature and more resilient constructions became apparent (i.e. striving to complete high school). Generally, the participants' transitions were turbulent with periods of homelessness, arguments with family, difficulties with education, drug or alcohol problems. McGregor (2009) highlighted that many of the YP did not give up and comments on factors that promoted resilience (e.g. meaningful relationships, meaningful employment and opportunity). Indeed, many of the participants are now prominent members within the FAS community. McGregor (2009) made a deliberate choice to avoid the topics around family chaos and ongoing parental relationship with substances. This limits the understanding of contextual factors that may perpetuate or mediate risk and success (i.e. differences in parenting style and the role of peers, which are highlighted elsewhere).

[Section summary](#)

FASD fits within discussions of onset as this represents an extreme outcome of PSM specifically due to the timing, during pregnancy. Salient points are made in the discussion of identity in relation to FASD; coming to understand their perceived non-normality; the need for multiple 'chances' as well as social difficulties throughout adolescence – these are features common to the experience of many other participants. At the other end of the onset axis, Sternberg et al (2018) found that the later substance misuse occurred in parents the less risk was passed to their children. Presented together the two findings could imply a linear relationship between risk however, this misses other important factors such as

severity of substance and quality of the parent relationship – the latter is the subject of the next section.

2.7.6. Parent relationships, parentification and leaving home

Madkour et al (2017) looked at the effects of parental relationship quality on YP's alcohol use patterns over four interviews between ages 18-25 (N 1,320 – 1,489). Findings highlighted a negative association between instances of heavy alcohol use in the past year and quality of relationship with parents. Gender based differences emerged, for example, the quality of the maternal relationship was important in reducing heavy alcohol use for both sexes up to age 19 and remained so until age 25 for males. However, this was not the case for females between ages 20-25. Madkour et al (2017) conclude that communication training for parents may be of benefit in reducing alcohol use in emerging adulthood. The study is of limited use given that it does not comment directly on parental substance misuse other than making reference to likelihood of increased adolescent use following parent use. This socialization model of transmission (see, Caywood, 2007; Jordan, 2018) may explain some of the variance within this sample or interact with communication styles.

Hussong & Chassin (2002) explored differences in the leaving home transition between Children of Alcoholics (COA)s and a matched control group. YP between 18-23 years were interviewed (454 total, 227 COA). Children of alcoholics had the most difficulty making the transition, felt less positive about it and reported reasons for making the transition that were different from the control group. For example, COA responses indicated that they were more likely to leave home because they were unhappy rather than to pursue further education or a job. Additionally, COA were more likely to leave home earlier as a result of family conflict and to have more difficulty associated with the transition. However, there was no difference between the groups in terms of leaving home to pursue greater freedom or to live with a romantic partner. Importantly, COA reported more Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) than the control group which also factor into the difficulties with transition (see below; Hughes et al, 2017). While broadly supportive of other findings in the literature the data was taken between 1988-1990. EA (Arnett, 2000) suggests that contemporary transitions may bear little resemblance to those of 30 years ago, given this the conclusions must be considered with caution.

Williams (2015) used a mixed-methods approach with YP who had experienced parentification. Participant involvement was tiered: 205 completed a questionnaire, 181 of those followed up with a written response and a further ten were interviewed. Results indicated that the nature of parentification was important (i.e. medical vs substance misuse elicited different attitudes). Importantly in respect to transition, parentification was associated with an opposition to parents' beliefs and values, which implicates many of the models highlighted above – previously 'foreclosure' was anticipated in this population whereby YP take on the values of their parents without exploration. Additionally, Williams (2015) comments that intensity of additional responsibilities can hinder identity development through barriers placed between peers who do not share similar experiences, and that time constraints in socializing are also key. Participants attitudes toward parentification differed: it was reportedly negative in the short-term but beneficial in the long-term as it developed skills necessary for self-sufficiency and thus responsibility. The mixed-methods approach effectively gathered a broad range of data which led to the conclusions, however, the nature of parentification in the sample is not adequately discussed (i.e. severity, frequency of PSM) which limits the generalizability of the findings. The extent to which parental substance misuse impacts on perceived parentification was explored by Kelley et al (2007). Participants comprised 368 female college students (USA) 103 of which met criteria for categorization as Adult Children of Alcoholics (ACOA). Findings indicated that the group reported higher levels of historical parentification as compared to a non-ACOA group. In particular, respondents reported higher levels of instrumental and caregiving responsibilities as well as perceptions of unfairness. Kelley et al (2007) also stated that family substance misuse could lead to parent-child role reversals. Additionally, findings from the daughters indicated that when the mother was suspected of substance misuse, the daughters assumed greater parentified responsibilities as the mothers in the study appeared to take on greater responsibility for the home. Finally, Kelley et al (2007) reference earlier findings from Valleau, Raymond & Horton (1995) that the development of a sense of self, where parent child role reversals have taken place, can centre on the ability to care for others and that this caregiving can come at the expense of individuation. An acknowledged limitation of the study is that the group (college attendees) may be

‘functioning at a higher level’ than contemporaries with similar experience who do not attend college.

Section summary

A key finding from the studies above was that participants reported greater feelings of parentification compared to their peers without family history of substance misuse. Additionally, that participants reasons for leaving the family home were to avoid conflict rather than to pursue work or further education. Finally, the finding that the type of parentification could impact on identity development via a rejection of the cared-for parent’s beliefs and values is also important in the context of young people taking on their parents substance use habits. These issues of identity are also addressed in the next section which looks more specifically at work carried out of the UK.

2.7.7. UK context

The majority of the studies referenced above took place in the US. A notable exception is the work completed by Bancroft et al (2004), Bancroft & Wilson (2007), Wilson (2007) and Backett-Milburn (2008). All three used a qualitative approach and the same data to understand the experiences of YP growing up with PSM with a focus on everyday practices of ‘getting by’. Interviews were with 38 YP aged between 15-29. Purposive sampling was used to engage YP with a range of experiences and backgrounds. Interviews were semi structured and used a ‘life grid’ tool (Parry et al, 1999) a thematic timeline used to give participants more control over their stories and to reduce the ‘interview effects’ of the data collection (discussed in chapter 3).

The different authors had slightly different emphases. Findings from Backett-Milburn et al (2008) indicated PSM was associated with disruption, neglect and harm alongside developing understandings of family difference, secrecy and parentification. Consistent with the literature, PSM was central to respondent’s accounts however it was not the sole factor (e.g. violence, mental health problems and sexual abuse as well as structural factors such as disadvantaged backgrounds; were also prominent). Relatedly, the agency of the participants was a focus of the research, with results indicating a variety of ways of expressing this: challenging the parent, withdrawing, school, friends and wider family relationships. Importantly, Backett-Milburn et al (2008) found that these areas, typically assumed to be resilience promoting, were also frequently sources of stress (e.g. school was not always an

'oasis' away from the home but sometimes a place where difficulties from home came to the surface.

Bancroft et al (2004) produced a report with the Joseph Rowntree Foundation using the same data and holding a similar orientation. Their findings illustrated that growing up in parental substance misuse was perceived as challenging by the young people; that support was perceived as variable (i.e. school, social services involvement etc); that many participants had difficulties with substance use themselves; and, that the participants came to understand their families as non-normal due to the substance use. Additionally, Bancroft et al (2004) argued that support needs to consider both the individual YP (i.e. their views and agency) and also consider their wider families (including the substance using parent where the individual desires) with whom many are still often connected.

Relatedly, Bancroft & Wilson (2007) argued that policy constructions of the transition to adulthood in Children of Parental Substance Misuse use terminology that imply a homogeneity that is not present in the experiences of YP. A case study approach is adopted using seven of the 38 YP, which allowed for an in-depth exploration of heterogeneity. Importantly this included drugs and alcohol whereas much of the previous literature (discussed above) focused on one or the other. Wilson et al (2008) argue that YP are often overlooked relative to children and that interactions of this group with others such as 'careleavers' and 'NEET' is damagingly unexplored. Additionally, Bancroft & Wilson (2007) argue that much support appears to be contingent on meeting these labels, and that where YP older than 16 appear in the literature this is often in respect to the risk they present rather than potential support for transitions to adulthood that they require. Finally, where PSM occurs later, their needs risk being overlooked and instead categorized by the behaviour which may be a symptom or response to PSM (e.g. school disruption).

Section summary

This section looked at in-depth qualitative findings from a UK sample. Important findings relating to identity, support and policy were discussed. The next section looks at the role of Adverse Childhood Experiences.

2.7.8. Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and multiple stressors

Hughes et al (2017) conducted a meta-review on the influential area of Adverse Childhood Experiences. PSM is an ACE, described as 'household substance abuse'. Findings are

supportive of evidence described above and detail the cumulative risk of multiple ACEs on later adult outcomes: educational, employment, poverty, mental and physical health, sexual risk taking, substance use and violence. Hughes et al (2017) highlight that exposure to four or more ACEs in childhood is associated with the greatest risks. The resilience literature is mentioned in relation to mitigating the effects of multiple ACEs. While it employed strict criteria for inclusion of research into the methodology, attention is drawn to the lack of information regarding onset, duration and severity of ACEs. This highlights that the outcomes for a child who is exposed to brief household substance misuse at an early age is differently affected in comparison to an adolescent that lives with prolonged PSM. Thereby making room for heterogeneous understandings of ACEs and development.

Similarly, Hussong et al (2008) looked at the experience of negative life events and stressors in COA relative to non-COA using three longitudinal studies up until emerging adulthood. Findings across the studies indicated that COA experienced greater family related stress experiences and family separations compared to controls. Hussong et al (2008) hypothesize that the extent of parental impairment may mediate stress (e.g. arrests, prison and the social effect of children's friends witnessing the parent's behaviour). Results also indicated that both financial stressors and the occurrence of rare events, were more common in the COA group (e.g. threat of eviction etc). Hussong et al (2008) suggest that the influence of these stressful experiences may continue to influence YP throughout college (e.g. where typically concerns of peers begin to trump those of family) and into emerging adulthood.

Dunlap et al (2004) explored issues of PSM, violence, sexual exploitation and drug subculture through ethnographic research with mothers and daughters in Harlem between 1994-1997. Interviews with 160 individuals and 20 families took place, however Dunlap et al (2004) focused on two families in depth. Findings indicated that the two mothers exposed rather than protected their children from detrimental aspects of street culture (e.g. drug use, prostitution and violence). The older daughters discuss feelings of shame, fear, isolation and endured a chaotic family environment throughout their upbringing. Prolonged absences from the home led to parentification and socialisation into substance using practices, leading to competence in both areas. Dunlap et al (2004) suggest that the absence of expected parenting provision led the daughters to 'grow up' prematurely. Both mothers had lost custody of their children however many of them continued to return to the

neighbourhoods and areas in which their mothers lived. The extreme environments discussed may have limited applicability to those of rural England, however, issues of shame, isolation and fear reoccur throughout the literature in UK and international contexts.

Section Summary

This section looked at the role of Adverse Childhood Experiences and the relationship between parental substance misuse and the impact on later adult outcomes. A common theme among the studies included is that the more exposure to multiple stressors the family has, the greater the impact on the developing young person. Hughes et al (2017) argue that exposure to more than four or more ACEs is associated with the greatest risk – parental substance misuse is only one of these however as noted in the previous sections it can accompany poverty and mental illness besides many others. These findings put PSM into a wider context of risk.

2.8. Visual based Methodologies

This section will discuss the use of visual based methodologies in general as well as the Life Grid (Wilson et al, 2007; Parry, Thompson & Fowkes, 1999) and audio recorded collage making (Dowling, McConkey & Sinclair, 2018) with semi-structured interview questions for the current research topic. The ethical case for employing them over semi-structured interviews alone will also be articulated in chapter 3. This section has been informed by a previous essay on the subject (Byrne, 2018).

Buckingham (2009) argues that creative and visual methods have been employed by (mainly) qualitative researchers to address the problems identified with traditional *talk-based* methods (See also Silverman, 2016). Research into sensitive areas such as PSM raises ethical and methodological questions that are suited to creative approaches (Wilson et al, 2007). PSM can be illegal or socially stigmatised and there is often a climate of secrecy around it (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). With the presence of these factors, the participants could be considered vulnerable (although it is important to consider the implications of this term; see Liamputtong, 2013). Wilson et al (2007) argue that task-based approaches can be effective at engaging reticent interviewees in the interview process and are therefore suited to the current topic.

The 'life grid' (Wilson et al, 2007; Parry, Thompson & Fowkes, 1999) as a method of data collection has been adapted as a modification of semi-structured interview schedule. It reportedly gives more control to participants than traditional question and answer based methods (Wilson et al, 2007). It is a timeline split in to six areas which can be adapted according to the topic (see example in appendix). Participants are asked to complete what they can in each of the areas with reference to key dates (e.g. school leaving age, 13th birthday etc).

Underlying both the Life Grid and the collage construction is a physical visibility of the data, which is present for the duration of the interview. This has various benefits: it serves as a visual reminder of what's been included previously (reducing the need to repeatedly ask questions regarding timelines); and, both are easily referred to via non-verbal means (i.e. they can be pointed to, images can be found, selected and interpreted without the use of language). Other arguments in favour of visual methods include: the visual display and associated benefits in aiding explanations (Wilson et al, 2007); enabling reflections on the data already provided leading to considered responses (Frith et al, 2005; Buckingham, 2009); providing access to topics that may be difficult to talk about (Frith et al, 2005); engagement and attention (Hight, 2003; Thomson & Holland, 2004); increased control for the participant as well as appropriateness for sensitive subjects (Wilson et al, 2007; Parry et al, 1999; Chase, 2005: 667); and finally, differences in interview pragmatics relative to more structured approaches such as seating arrangements or toleration of silence (Parry et al, 1999).

As mentioned, visual methods are often positioned as the more sensitive option relative to traditional talk-based interviews which lends them to the sensitive topic of PSM. However, visual methods have downsides (Buckingham, 2009). These have been grouped as concerns of justification, collection and interpretation (see table below).

Concerns	Description
Justification	- Power relationships <i>may</i> be reduced but not completely eliminated (Buckingham, 2009)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Visual methods do not necessarily lead to more authentic truths than verbal accounts however they can be presented as such (Frith et al, 2005)
Collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Visual methods <i>could</i> be used to elicit a verbal transcript, which <i>may</i> become the focus of interpretation to the detriment of the visuals, which distorts the account. The researchers own understanding of the visuals, and the mediums in which they are created may influence understandings and it is important that this is acknowledged (Guillemin, 2004; Rose 2007)
Interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ventriloquizing or over interpretation of what's been produced may take place to suit the researcher's narrative (intentionally or not) if visual methods are used without a verbal component (Buckingham, 2009).

Table 3. Concerns with visual research methods

Importantly, many of the critiques highlighted above are concerned with using visual methods exclusively, in contrast the present research is using visual methods as a way of facilitating a verbal account (see chapter 3). Moreover, it is not the intention of the research to interpret the meaning of any visuals created outside the context of the interview.

The combination of the Life Grid alongside the collage and the verbal account can be seen as triangulation. Typically, this is employed to get closer to the 'truth' of the phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2013) as such it tends to be aligned with essentialist epistemologies or methodologies. This is not an explicit goal of the present research, however, the process of using multiple methods of data collection allows for a reconsideration of the data first presented. It is hoped that this will lead to revisions which represent responses that are considered, in contrast to 'quick-fire responses' (Backett-Milburn, 2008).

This section has highlighted the data collection methods employed; specifically looking at the advantages of sensitive visual-based and creative methods as compared to a more traditional approach.

2.9. Summary

As has been shown in the preceding sections, PSM can affect young adults in a wide variety of ways and the research is often conflicting (e.g. the role of relationships, gender of parents, and the impact of parentification). This may indicate that transitions, and young people's backgrounds, are highly divergent. Considering them as a uniform group is difficult; some are high achieving college students in healthy relationships whereas others are homeless, leading 'nomadic' lives with minimal support. The discussion of ACEs and multiple stressors may go some way to explaining the variety in severity of destinations for participants. However, this discussion is devoid of the young people's voices. The detailed accounts highlighted by Bancroft (2004), Backett-Milburn (2008), Dunlap (2004), Hedges (2012) and Jordan (2018) offer explanations which concern identity, belonging, transition and risk. Finally, the use of visual based methods to facilitate discussion in sensitive areas has also been articulated. All the preceding issues will be integral to the present study, discussed in the next section and again in the following chapter.

2.10. Scholarly context

This section will outline the role of the educational psychologist (EP) in relation to the topic.

Educational psychology operates at multiple levels with a range of role partners: individual, group and systems; alongside children, families, teachers and schools (Fallon, Woods & Rooney, 2010). EP's have faced numerous reconstructions based on changing working contexts and have various descriptions: scientist-practitioners (Frederickson, 2007); community psychologists (MacKay, 2002), applied psychologists (Leyden, 1999; Burden, 1997) among others. At the centre of these descriptions is the promotion of children and young people's needs and this is a critical area of overlap for PSM.

EP's have multiple opportunities to interact with PSM and transition related work as a result of the levels and role partners described above. Additionally, EPs occupy a privileged position in that they link and influence many disciplines (Loxley, 1978). In this way EPs can be conceptualised within the community psychologist role (MacKay, 2002).

The Children and Families Act (2015) extended the age range which EP's work with up to 25. This firmly places the transition to adulthood within the remit. The act compels EP's to involve parents and YP in strategic decisions about their futures, essentially considerations of their transition to adulthood.

The age of evidence-based practice presented another change which has required an increased familiarity with research (Sackett et al, 1996). EP Training requires completion of a doctoral thesis to instill pragmatic research skills and develop evidence-based practitioners (Farrell et al, 1998) thus supporting the scientist-practitioner and applied psychologist roles (Stringer & Miller, 2008). Relatedly, Gomm & Davies (2000) proposed that there are: 'three lenses driving research: to improve the capacity for prediction and control; to develop understanding and explore meanings; and to address ethical issues and promote desired values'.

The above points highlight some of the roles and duties which act upon the EP. Research is now part of the role, and that which promotes the needs of marginalized young people is particularly relevant. The new upper age limit brings transitions to adulthood within Eps sphere of influence. Of the three lenses highlighted by Gomm & Davies (2000) the second

and third are most suited to the present study. These ideas will be developed in the next section on position.

2.11. Position

While some of the research literature in this area adopts a qualitative approach and aims to listen to the voices of YP, the majority does not. On ethical grounds it is important to challenge this and promote YP's agency via participation in research about their experiences and situations (Fisher, 2012). The way in which this is approached is an important factor as some methods may be more or less empowering than others (Wilson, 2007; Parry et al, 1999; Bancroft, 2004). Much of the research (reviewed in the literature review section) is secondary data analysis, longitudinal or based on questionnaires. While informative, these methods can omit the nuanced experience of what it is like to grow up with PSM. In terms of YP's experiences in this area relatively little is known: that parentification can occur, that mental health needs may be present, that YP hold on to secrets and shame, that transition is not easy and that many YP face precarious situations.

As with much psychological literature there is a focus on questions of 'what's wrong?', 'what has made things worse?' (i.e. mental health needs, ACEs and school difficulties etc) and 'what are the risks?' however, a positive psychology and resilience perspective is also important to look at what has helped YP in these situations. The literature review has indicated that escapism, friends, relationships, purpose and opportunity are important, but these are not clear cut.

A difficulty with the literature is that it traditionally focuses on younger age groups to the exclusion of older YP. Besides this, there are a range of differences making comparison between studies problematic: differing definitions of substance misuse, exclusivity in recruitment of participants: and, paying little attention to questions of onset and duration, besides single or dual parent substance use. Choices in criteria for participation can be overly specific and too crude simultaneously (i.e. separating between the substances but ignoring severity and onset). Furthermore, some of the models used to make sense of transition to adulthood and adult identity development are hampered by samples based on secondary data, or by relying on university samples.

Additionally, the research literature points to many reasons why PSM may be damaging to a YP's transition (e.g. ACEs; parentification; onset; mental health needs; education;

relationships and independent living troubles) however, much of this is carried out outside of the UK and more importantly little comes from YP's accounts themselves.

2.12. Origins and purpose of the research

The motivation of the present research is to understand the experiences, and listen to the voices, of young people (YP) who have grown up with parental substance misuse (PSM). It is exploratory in that YP with experience of PSM are underrepresented in the 'transition to adulthood' literature (Burton, 2007).

Another aim was to understand what, if anything, helped the young people to 'get by' when growing up. It is hoped that the research might contribute to reducing 'unconscious incompetence' in relation to practitioners and systems working with Children of Parental Substance Misuse. It is an area that many practitioners have a limited awareness of, given the paucity of research, therefore any further information is likely to aide practitioners in avoiding unconscious incompetence (Broadwell, 1969).

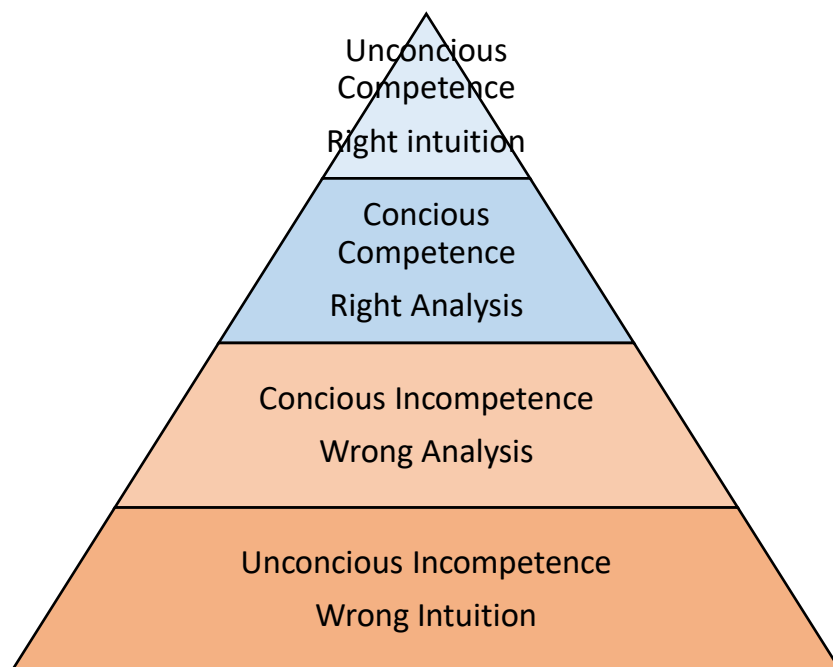


Figure 6. Hierarchy of competence (Broadwell, 1969)

On a personal level, the motivation for the project stems from work in Botswana and Edinburgh with older children affected by homelessness and PSM, many of whom were

affected by AIDS/HIV and other complex challenges. This involved living and working alongside young people and participating in co-operative projects over multiple years.

2.13. Research questions

As highlighted above, there are many gaps within the research literature. This study aims to understand and listen to the experience of young people with a background of parental substance misuse with attention to their transition to adulthood. The research questions for this study are:

1. How do YP make sense of their experiences of transitioning to adulthood in an environment where there is/was parental substance misuse?
2. What are YP's views, if any, about the impact PSM has had on their identity and in becoming adult?
3. What has worked for YP in developing resilience, or getting by, despite PSM?

3. Methodology

The terms methodology, methods and research design are often confused or used interchangeably despite the differences between them being important (Oliver, 2014, p142). Methods refer to the specific tools used for the collection of data but can also refer to the tools used to analyse data once collected. Methodology is the process by which the research is organized more broadly and thus comparable to research design (i.e. the epistemology, ontology, methodology and methods).

Methodology is either qualitative, quantitative or mixed-methods. Briefly put, quantitative research strategies favour a hypo-deductive approach based on the norms of the natural sciences and postulate a reality that is objective and external. In contrast, qualitative research strategies rely less on measurement and tend to favour language as opposed to quantification (however there are exceptions). The relationship between theory and research is inductive rather than deductive, that is, qualitative researchers ask questions that explore the way individuals experience and interpret their social world (Wilig, 2013 p11). Reality is seen by qualitative methodologies as emergent and as being constantly socially constructed by individuals or groups (Bryman, 2016). A qualitative approach was selected for the current research due to its suitability for answering the research questions, and for its ability to allow for rapport with the young people to enable participation (Bryman, 2016).

In this section the terms: epistemology, ontology, methodology and methods are introduced, briefly discussed and mapped onto the present research questions. There is brief discussion about alternative approaches considered as well as information on the sample and visual based methods. Finally, the method of analysis is described, the limitations of the methodology are set out and ethical considerations are addressed.

3.1. Research Paradigm

The relationship between the elements of methodology has been variously described with terms substituted for near synonyms and the precise nature of influence between them given different emphases. Crotty (1998) compares the relationships to 'interlocking elements' where epistemology influences the theoretical perspective, which affects the methodology and in turn the methods. This is conceived in a pyramidal structure with

epistemology on top. Brechin & Sidell (2000) praise this model for its apparent 'tidiness' and the corresponding ease of understanding but note that a deeper exploration of any stage quickly results in considerable complexity. In contrast, Brechin & Sidell (2000) utilise the concept of 'push and pull factors' to describe the way in which decisions about the research take place.

Importantly for this metaphor, traffic is not just one-way, top-down, as is implied by Crotty's (1998) pyramidal model. The 'push' factors, from the bottom up, represent practicalities (e.g. resource expense, time limits and location) and these concerns may influence the philosophical stance which the researcher adopts. Bryman (2016) takes up this point and highlights that the topic may exert considerable influence on the epistemological position of the research in two ways. Firstly, if no previous research has been carried out, there will be little on which to draw leads, therefore a qualitative epistemology that generates theories through induction rather than testing theories via deduction may be appropriate. However, it is important to note that 'doing the groundwork' is not the aim of qualitative researchers and that research adopting this orientation is epistemologically valuable in its own right. Additionally, the rapport building necessary to gain the confidence of potential participants could undermine notions of objectivity - if they were held. The 'pull' factors refer to this stance, and the choices that the epistemology and ontology adopted, demand. These points have relevance to the present study's design given the numerous ethical concerns.

3.2. Ontology

Ontology is concerned with whether social phenomena should be understood as a product of the perceptions and actions of the social actors who have a bearing on them, or whether social phenomena exist as objective entities and have a reality outside that of the social actors (Bryman, 2016). It refers to the researcher's beliefs about the nature of reality and can be conceptualised with reference to a scale, with realism and relativism at opposing poles (Madill, Jordan & Shirley, 2000).

On one side of the scale *realism* supposes that reality is objective and that truths from reality can be known (i.e. akin to positivism). On the other side of the scale is relativism. It holds that realities are multiple, subjective and universal truths are impossible as realities must be understood within the context (e.g. time, space and culture) in which they are

produced (Hays & Singh, 2012). However the hard separation of the two positions is a false dichotomy, as researchers could adopt an approach from philosophical pragmatism (Legg & Hookway, 2019).

The ontological position adopted for the present study is that of social constructivism. This philosophical position holds that perception and experience is not a 'direct' reading of reality (Willig, 2013 p6). Instead 'realities' and 'knowledges' are multiple. The role of language is important within social constructivism, as the same event can be differently experienced and described by individuals leading to differences in understanding and perception with both accounts remaining valid (Willig, 2013).

A social constructivist perspective will enable listening to, and focusing on, the accounts of young people making sense of their transitions to adulthood via discourse. This will be achieved through questioning of participants alongside a timeline and visually based methods. This will develop understanding of how YP make sense of their experiences.

3.3. Epistemology

Epistemology is the branch of philosophy concerned with knowledge and justification (Durant-Law, 2005). It addresses questions concerning 'what' and 'how' something can be known, as well as the reliability and validity of knowledge claims (Willig, 2013 p4).

Epistemology informs research methods in that it determines, in part, what researchers consider it is possible to find out, the kinds of questions worth asking and what questions are possible to answer.

Interpretivism is an epistemological position that rejects the assumptions of positivism (e.g. objective reality, detachment etc). It holds that realities are multiple and depend on other systems to derive their meaning – making fixed realities less tenable (Neuman, 2000).

Interpretivism is concerned with meaning making and the subject matter is different in kind from that of positivism and the natural sciences. It focuses on people, interactions and institutions and this difference necessitates a change in logic which respects inter-subjectivity (Bryman, 2016). Data is interpreted with the aim of gaining an understanding, rather than an explanation, of the social world (Von Wright, 1971: 2004 cited in Bryman, 2016; Neuman, 2000). An interpretivist epistemology has contributed to the questions being asked and what is seen as valid knowledge within the present research. An interpretivist

epistemology is useful in attempting to answer the research questions concerning understandings of PSM and the transition to adulthood. It is expected that the accounts of individuals will be highly subjective and context specific and require interpretation and meaning making of their accounts.

Relatedly, phenomenological approaches are interested in producing knowledge of subjective experience, and hold that, for social reality to be understood, it must be grounded in people's experiences (Willig, 2013). Crucially, previous understandings of events are 'bracketed' which enables them to be seen afresh, leading to new or renewed understandings (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009 p13). Concerns of quality and texture of experience are paramount as opposed to seeking *reality* or explanations. In this sense there is an assumption within phenomenological researchers of multiple realities, (i.e. that of the research participant as well as external and other subjective ones). This overlap of ontology, epistemology and values has been termed *Philosophical Alignment* (Durant-Law, 2005) and has led to the current selection of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) as a method of analysis.

3.4. Alternative approaches considered

Related information could have been sought from a mixed or quantitative methodology. The literature highlights numerous measures that look at parentification, status as an adult child of an alcoholic, as well as many evaluating resilience, mental wellbeing and social functioning. A combination of these may have revealed associations between exposure to risk, what can mitigate it and factors leading to a successful transition. However, as noted in (Backett-Milburn et al, 2007) the type of responses to questionnaires of this kind often feels 'quick-fire', not allowing as much time for consideration or nuance. The methods imply a critical realist, or positivist approach to ontology and epistemology which is not the position adopted for the present research. Besides this, research of this kind can be critiqued on ethical grounds for a lack of authentic opportunities for participation; for being done to YP, rather than with them. Additionally, a mixed-methods approach combining qualitative accounts alongside some of the measures outlined above was dismissed as this would not have answered the research questions outlined.

3.5. Description of Design

Data collection was initially within a local authority in the South of England. This was due to practicalities of transport, office space for interviews and contacts within the EP service. Unfortunately recruiting participants was challenging and therefore the area was widened to include the South, South West and Northern regions.

Qualitative data was collected from semi-structure interview transcripts. This was supported by audio recorded conversations while making a collage depicting the transition to adulthood experience (Dowling, McConkey & Sinclair, 2018). Additionally, the 'life-grid' (Parry et al, 1999) resource was used to provide a visual aspect to structuring the initial conversation. These methods were selected with the aim of giving more control to the participant and as the use of visual methods has an evidence-base for being supportive for sensitive research topics (Wilson et al; 2007).

The research design allowed for data collection over three meetings however this was flexible based on availability and preference of the participants. Liamputtong (2013 p304) highlighted that practicalities such as (transport, time etc.) often present barriers to engagement for research in sensitive areas. Given this, participants were able to participate fully in one sitting, or complete one aspect of the process.

The first stage involved meeting participants to discuss practicalities and expectations (e.g. time available, rights and ethical concerns). Participants were asked demographic questions (i.e. age, school attendance etc). Additionally, planning for the collage activity also took place (i.e. discussion about the types of materials to be used). As mentioned, the 'Life-grid' (Parry et al, 1999) was used to structure initial conversations.

The second stage involved construction of the collage with the completed 'life-grid' present. The intention was to have a period of time between stage one and two to allow for reflection and elaboration on the information from the life-grid, however this was flexible.

The collage was intended to be created from paper and cut out images, however participants invariably preferred to search for images online and copy and paste them into a document. Participants were asked to represent what adulthood means to them. Semi-structured interview questions were used to aide in elaboration. The final stage was a replication of stage two to allow more time for completion.

All stages were audio recorded. Sign positing material was also provided to all participants.

3.6. Recruitment

IPA seeks quality over quantity, as such, the expectation for the number of participants was low (between 3-6), however the amount and depth of information sought was high, as is necessary for IPA to achieve sufficient rigor (Larkins, Flowers & Smith, 2013).

A wide range of charities and organizations (neighbourhood co-ordinators, schools and colleges) were contacted via email. Positive responses were followed up with further communication to organize meetings to explain the research process more thoroughly.

Four meetings with gatekeepers took place. Information sheets were shared and the requirements for participation were discussed. This led to a joint meeting with a support worker and a young person as well as many other potential leads.

The intention was to focus on a local authority in the South of England for practical reasons and with the view that the specific local experience may shape YP's accounts in an informative way. Unfortunately, it was not possible to recruit enough participants from this area and the search area was extended.

Additional organizations were contacted, and meetings arranged (see reflection on data collection for a personal account of the process).

12 young people expressed an interest and made contact either directly or through an organisation. One YP was too old, three others lapsed in communication, two pulled out on the morning of the planned meeting. Six participated in total aged between 17-25 years. They had a mixture of experiences (e.g. taken into care, living with ongoing PSM, family - separations, parental and personal use of drugs and alcohol, drugs only and alcohol only).

3.7. Sample

The research population is potentially very large based on the prevalence figures (Velleman & Templeton, 2016) however, due to anticipated difficulty recruiting, based on the experiences of comparable research (e.g. Backett-Milburn et al, 2007) the sample selected may not be representative of the research population as a whole. Sampling was purposive – based on the criteria: aged between 16-25 years with experience of PSM that was ongoing or historical.

The age range was selected for multiple reasons. Firstly, the upper limit for EP involvement had increased to 25 years. This meant that EP research with this population was relatively rare and new research would be novel and informative. Secondly, the extant research on PSM is typically with children under the age of 18 and multiple studies have called for greater research in this age bracket (Bancroft et al, 2004; Velleman & Templeton, 2016).

Demographic information from the six participants is presented in the table below. Overall recruitment was difficult. This was noted by other researchers in this area (O’Conner, 2014; Backett-Milburn, 2008; Wilson, 2007). In total 18 organizations were contacted. Half of those contacted replied in some form. Meetings took place with six organizations, this involved meeting gatekeepers, exchanging information about ethics and explaining the research in more detail. The participants came from four organizations. There were seven last minute cancellations from participants, 19 meetings were arranged in total and twelve were attended (see reflections in research journal for more information). Cancellations were attributed to various reasons (e.g. last minute appointments, forgetfulness, chaotic lives, fear of participation etc.) some of the YP attended later meetings whereas others ceased contact.

Demographic summary	
Gender	4 female, 2 male
Age range	19-25
Currently living independently / cohabiting with partner	1/6
Black Asian and Minority Ethnic	2/6
Parental bereavement	2/6
Previously lived independently	5/6
Parental alcohol use only	1/6
Parental substance use only	1/6
Siblings	5/6
Employment / education	
Not in Education Employment or Training	2/6
Current employment	4/6
Previous / current higher education	2/6
Previous / current further education	4/6
Relationships	
Married	1/6
Current romantic partner (unmarried)	2/6
Children	2/6

Table 4. Demographic summary of participants

3.8. Data Collection

The initial questions for the semi-structured interview can be found in the appendices. These were developed with the assumption that discussion would move from the questions and follow the participants own interests. Consideration was given to the openness, exploratory and probing nature of questions. In order to explore identity, questions were included that sought to get an impression of how the participants thought other people viewed them (e.g. friends, family members) and how they saw themselves. Questions about capacity, coping and resilience were all asked to address the third research question on resilience. These also focused on who, how and what kind of help the participants received. Scaling questions were asked which enabled follow up questions about movements on the scale (e.g. 'if you are at 5 now, what number were you last year' etc.).

All of the participants completed the 'Life-Grid' exercise (described in chapter 2). Two participants spent considerable time on the collaging exercise, two made efforts to complete the exercise and the final two did not – one did not want to meet again feeling that they had said enough, the other did not reply to emails about dates for a second visit. The collage was constructed with individuals completing an image search on google images and copying this onto Microsoft Publisher or Microsoft Paint. A more traditional collaging task was described to the first two participants, however they suggested that use of a computer would be better. Both tasks were designed as a way of getting people talking and mediating a sensitive conversation, they were not intended as standalone methods of data collection.

Participants were met at a location of their choosing (e.g. place of work, shopping mall, EPS office, charity base). The amount of time spent with each participant was variable. Typically, this was due to unforeseen circumstances on the part of the participant, but time demands added another pressure. One participant took part in three meetings, another made 2/3 appointments, two others made 1/3 appointments and the final two were only able to offer one visit. Individuals were typically accompanied by an individual from the charity who introduced them, the accompanying person left after introductions and explanations of the process – usually to an adjacent room, or different area. Young people were asked whether they wanted to keep the collages and/or life-grids that were made. Only one YP wanted to do so.

Meetings were audio-recorded with consent and these were transcribed.

3.9. Data Analysis: Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

“IPA is concerned with the detailed examination of human lived experience. And [sic] it aims to conduct this examination in a way in which as far as possible enables that experience to be expressed in its own terms, rather than according to predefined category systems” (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009, p32).

The quote above neatly describes Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). It is a method of qualitative analysis that uses transcripts typically from semi-structured interviews. In the analysis IPA, rather than being descriptive, seeks to generate knowledge about quality and texture of experience, but also aims to place this within social and cultural contexts (Wilig, 2013 p17). IPA can also be described as: idiographic, interpretative, phenomenological and informed by hermeneutics.

Idiographic refers to smaller studies (often singular) that aim for detail and depth as opposed to nomothetic which aims to make general claims. This is not to say that IPA does not make general claims, only that it does so from a position where individual accounts have first been thoroughly explored. Put another way, IPA is aligned with the ‘texture’ of human experience, to achieve this detail and depth, a rigorous and methodological analysis is required. Idiographic concerns overlap with those of sampling and IPA tends to use samples that are small in number and purposive for this reason (i.e. individuals have similar contexts and experiences). (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009).

The term phenomenology is understood as the philosophical approach to the study of experience. It is otherwise defined as ‘the study of structures of consciousness as experienced from the first-person point of view’ (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy; Smith, 2018). With reference to IPA and phenomenology four philosophers are frequently cited. Firstly, Husserl, who emphasizes the importance of perception and experience.

Key elements of phenomenology and IPA are attributed to Husserl. These are: ‘getting back to the things themselves’ which refers to the tendency to classify experience according to pre-determined categories, thereby missing important detail; the ‘phenomenological attitude’ where he is in favour of cultivating a reflexive attitude towards experiences; and, relatedly ‘bracketing’ which is part of a method to achieve the phenomenological attitude, it

involves putting aside assumptions about the way the world operates to focus on perceiving the world (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009 p14 -16).

Secondly, Heidegger introduces the important ideas of understanding people as 'being[s] in the world'; who are complexly embedded within the world (i.e. intersubjectivity); and that are being is always in relation to something (i.e. relationality).

Thirdly, Merleau-Ponty stressed the situated and subjective knowledge about the world (i.e. embodiment). Highlighting in particular the importance of the body in mediating that relationship between ourselves and the world. For Merleau-Ponty, practical activities take precedence over abstract or logical actions (Anderson, 2003).

Finally, Sartre emphasizes the 'continual becoming' involved in selfhood, noting that individuals are engaged in their own personal projects which invariably bring them into contact with others with their own projects. Also important for Sartre is the role of absence in shaping ourselves and views (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009 p20).

The different points of view relating to phenomenology, synthesized by IPA are showing 'that the individual is within a world of relationships, language, culture, projects and concerns' (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009, p21). This highlights the richness within which human experience is set, and thereby points towards the need for interpretivism, rather than positivism, as an epistemology for making sense of individual experience.

Hermeneutics is the theory of interpretation. It developed separately from phenomenology, around the understanding of biblical and philosophical texts. In examining lived experience IPA typically takes the form of a researcher interpreting the experience of another person, who in turn is retelling (i.e. interpreting) their own experience. This making sense of making sense is referred to as the double hermeneutic, or second order access (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). The hermeneutic circle is the idea that to understand a part the researcher must understand the whole; but that the understanding of the whole comes from the understanding of the individual parts. Crudely put, the method involves moving back and forward through different levels of analysis and interpretation. While criticised as near tautology, IPA theorists argue that it presents a method which enables interpretation to take place.

Transcriptions were analysed according to the methods outlined in Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2013):

- 1) Reading and re-reading
- 2) Initial noting
- 3) Developing emergent themes
- 4) Searching for connections across emergent themes
- 5) Moving to the next case
- 6) Looking for patterns across cases

Within stages 3 – 6 further techniques from Smith, Flowers & Larkin (2013 p96-98) were employed to develop depth within the emergent themes: abstraction, subsumption and polarisation and to a lesser extent function. A reflective research journal was kept during the analysis stage to ensure that all initial impressions were captured, but that those which were irrelevant to the analysis did not interfere with it unduly. Examples of the initial noting, analysis, development of emerging themes can be found in the appendices.

3.10. Limitations

3.10.1. Analysis

IPA has limitations, Willig (2013 p94) notes that ontologically, IPA relies on ‘the representational validity of language’. Essentially the language being used in the interviews may be constructing reality rather than describing it. The experience accrues further meaning through new ways of describing it, and in interaction with another person.

A related concern about language is raised by Willig (2013, p95) who questions how successfully participants can recount their experience to the researcher with concern about the effects of questions asked to participants not familiar with expressing themselves verbally, or by other means. This could be understood as reticence on the part of the researcher and an aspect of their experience missed.

Finally, Eatough & Smith (2006) highlight the problem of cognition noting that ‘hot cognition’ or when the participant is unsettled or anxious, may elicit different types of thinking, and thus generate different responses. This raises the possibility of whether

sensitive subjects like PSM are more likely to elicit agitated responses. If they are, perhaps this is best seen as a feature of the account, rather than a separate feature distorting it.

While informative, many of these criticisms are not unique to IPA, and that in comparison to other methods, the tolerance for sensitivity of subject alongside considerations of intersubjectivity create the most suitable methods for this study.

3.10.2. Methodological

The length of time and number of meetings proposed by the information sheet may have appeared daunting to potential participants and dissuaded their taking part. This is impossible to know. Based on those who did participate, they typically took two sessions though some used all three and appeared to value the time and conversation.

3.10.3. Summary

The choice of IPA flows from the ontological and epistemological standpoints adopted. The methods used to generate data for analysis were selected due to the sensitivity of the subject. These models and techniques are consistent with answering the research questions; the aim is to understand YP's subjective accounts of transitioning to adulthood, what helped and hindered them, and to ensure that they feel listened to in telling their stories. The considerations within phenomenology concerning the contextual nature of human experience, and the action-orientated nature of becoming are particularly relevant to the transition to adulthood in that IPA recognises the embeddedness of the individual with respect to intersubjectivity.

3.11. Ethical considerations

As a trainee educational psychologist, the British Psychological Society's ethical code (2018) provides a guide to practice. From the beginning there were obvious ethical issues concerning the vulnerability of the participants, their families, the sensitivity of the subject and the likelihood of it triggering emotions within the participants, and myself. These issues were considered in a previous essay (Byrne, 2018) and many of the themes addressed here are similar in content.

PSM exposes risk to families due to illegality, social stigma and secrecy (Liamputtong, 2013 p304) therefore it may be a sensitive topic for participants. However, previous research on PSM was consulted to aid in addressing ethical issues (Wilson et al, 2007).

Participants were contacted through gatekeepers to organizations. This provided an initial filter, as gatekeepers would not approach individuals they did not believe could cope with the process. Gatekeepers received information about the study to pass on to participants to enable a more informed decision.

It was stressed to participants that the research was not looking to apportion blame or judgement, that they would be anonymous and that they could withdraw from the study at any time up until the data collection period was over. Signposting information covering a range of related areas was shared with all participants.

Procedures were put in place to ensure that any distress could be managed quickly.

Participants were encouraged to let somebody know that they might need support during this period of time; breaks were built into the time allotted for each meeting; a stop card or action was provided which allowed the participant to stop the meeting or change the subject without having to articulate why; the organizations involved were also briefed about the research, as such they could anticipate feelings of distress and provide support. The methods were designed to recognise the sensitivity of the subject and to give some control back to the participants (Wilson et al, 2007).

Issues of voice and empowerment were considered throughout the research design. Allmark et al (2009) challenge the notion that research about 'voice' is necessarily empowering. Arguing that much research in sensitive areas still contains a power imbalance (i.e. shaping of questions; the use of data afterwards). However, Fisher (2012) notes that the risks and

difficulty which accompany research in sensitive subjects result in less research with vulnerable groups overall. Thereby further reinforcing vulnerability as these groups' and their voices are diminished through omission. Neither participation nor self-determination is aided by fewer opportunities to be heard. This aligns research in these areas within a social justice perspective which Fox (2013) has linked to moral values that underpin contemporary educational psychology. As such, while acknowledging the limitations of research about 'voice', its pursuit has a demonstrable ethical basis (for a similar argument see: Byrne, 2018).

Informed consent was another important ethical consideration. Critical reading into the concept highlighted problems (Byrne, 2018). Typically understood it involves the participants being briefed as to what the research entails, and agreeing to participate before the research gets underway (BERA, 2004). This has potential problems as a *complete* explanation of *all* the possibilities for what will emerge in the interview are unknown (Heath et al, 2009) and the uncertainty grows when considering the future of the research. Therefore, it can be difficult to properly articulate to what individuals are giving their consent. Furthermore, a *one-off* giving of consent may put pressure on a participant to continue past the point at which they are comfortable. With this in mind, *process consent* was adopted which allows for the participant to opt out at many different stages and leave their preceding data or not. However, ethical problems can occur here too. Heath et al (2009) highlighted the potential for participants agreement to a small task to grow into consent for a bigger task, the participants' initial agreement makes them more likely to agree to subsequent requests – which could be manipulative if done inconsiderately (Byrne, 2018).

To summarise, there are no 'silver bullet' solutions for designing research in sensitive areas, the methods outlined above aim to be ethical and supportive within the limits of the topic and researcher experience. The next section presents the research findings.

4. Findings

This chapter will present the findings from the interviews with six participants. Findings are drawn from interviews with each participant using a 'life grid' timeline tool, semi structured interview questions and from collages made during the data collection process – as described in the previous chapter. The tools used merge together into rich account from each young person and IPA was used to analyse these accounts. The chapter is divided into the five superordinate themes. Each section starts with a description of the superordinate theme and any subthemes as follows: Becoming and ID change; Relationships; What helps; Becoming adult; Systems and structures. These themes do not exhaust the rich data gathered during interviews, but they do reflect those which best address the research questions. The first section briefly introduces each participant, next is an overview of the superordinate themes and finally the chapter reports on each of the findings. A chapter summary is presented at the end.

4.1. Pen portraits

John is in his early twenties. He lives in a town in the south of England. John's mother recently died from complications associated with alcohol misuse. His father died from cancer when he was an adolescent. He has lived happily in a long term foster placement for many years. He has an older brother who lives independently and step sisters who live far away. He works at a local supermarket, has a range of friends and a girlfriend. He drives and enjoys fishing and music.

Trey is in his twenties. He lives in a coastal city in the south of England. He has a wife, and a son from a different relationship. He and his wife have bought a flat. He has an older sister and step brothers and sisters. He happily works in his former high school however has had a range of other jobs. Trey is a university graduate and hopes to become a PE teacher. Trey is athletic, sociable and, in the past, has been in trouble with police. Sport, music and socialising are all important to Trey. Trey's mother is addicted to marijuana.

Nancy is in her early twenties. She lives in a city in the South West of England. She has a purposeful job with a charity that supports children of alcoholics. She has an adopted brother and is not in contact with her father. She is a rescue dog enthusiast. Nancy

previously had self-identified problems with alcohol, school refusal as well as an eating disorder. Nancy's father is an alcoholic.

Betty is a mother in her early twenties. She lives in the suburbs of a coastal city in the south of England. She currently lives with her father while her baby is in care. She has a very difficult relationship with the baby's father. She enjoys music and movies. She has unsatisfying work in a kebab shop. Betty is trying to stay away from drugs and alcohol. Betty's mother misused substances during Betty's upbringing.

Val is in her late teens. She lives in the suburbs of a town in Southern England. She has a younger sister and is close to her mother. She lives with her grandparents and has recently become a proud aunty. Val is striving to cease drug use. Val is close to her mother and lost her father a number of years ago, however he was not close to the family. Val's mother is addicted to heroin.

Jebz is in her twenties. She lives in a city in the North of England. She is in full time work as an administrator for a college and attends an evening university course. She has moved back home following a period of independent living. She is an only child and lost her father a number of years ago. Jebz is musical, she travels widely, enjoys meeting new people and is a Christian. Jebz wants to run her own business. Her father was an alcoholic.

4.2. Overview of superordinate themes

Table 1 (below) presents the superordinate themes and subthemes for the findings chapter. Not all subthemes were present for all participants however those selected were prominent within the interviews and were relevant to the research questions. Superordinate themes were generated in a structured way. This was a result of a topic frequently occurring across different participant's interview transcripts. The process of generating superordinate themes was as follows.

First, and in line with the advice of Smith, Flowers & Larkin (2013) each interview transcript had multiple readings with different types of note making strategies occurring on each reading (e.g. initial impressions, identifying themes, searching for commonality across themes).

Where participants mentioned interactions with: 'schools, colleges, places of work, charities and youth groups' these were initially seen as important emerging themes in themselves due to the frequency of their occurrence in the transcript (numeration).

As the initial themes contained similarities they were abstracted (putting like with like). For instance, schools and colleges are similar in their educational aims for young people and the interaction with older more knowledgeable adults. The charities and youth groups had comparable goals but were orientated towards life skills rather than academic aims. 'Systems' was noted as an initial theme and the previously mentioned themes were subsumed into this superordinate theme.

Additionally, the absence of a theme in a transcript could also be indicative of its importance (see discussion about the importance of absence from Sartre in Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009 p20).

For one of the young people 'structures and systems' did not feature to the same extent as the rest of the participants. This participant was not part of any groups, had withdrawn from formal education and did not have a job. This was an example of 'polarisation' (Smith, 2009).

The process of reading, noting and rereading was repeated for the other participant's transcripts. Each was considered separate from the rest to be consistent with the idiographic element of IPA. However, similar discussion of interactions with schools, structures and systems occurred for most participants and this was also grouped under the theme 'systems and structures'.

As stated above, where the same themes emerged across multiple accounts, this was considered to be a potential superordinate theme. For a theme to be superordinate it was decided that it had to be present in at least four of the participants' accounts (illustrated in the table below).

Additionally, it was important that the themes and superordinate themes had face validity. A way of checking this was through discussion of the themes and appropriate coding of the transcripts during research supervision. This was also apparent by considering the superordinate themes in relation to the wider literature. Face validity was improved where

other researchers had found similar themes or areas of focus (e.g. Backett-Milburn et al, 2008 and ‘non-normality’).

Theme	John	Nancy	Trey	Betty	Val	Jebz
Becoming or rejecting their parents						
<i>Becoming mum or dad</i>		X	X	X	X	
<i>Rejecting family</i>	X		X	X		
Relationships						
<i>Sibling</i>	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>Romantic</i>	X		X	X	X	
<i>Peer</i>	X		X	X		X
Acceptance and rejection						
<i>Feels secondary</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Feels rejected</i>	X	X		X		
Becoming an adult						
<i>Becoming an adult</i>	X	X	X	X		X
<i>Rejecting adulthood</i>			X	X	X	
<i>Views on Transition</i>		X	X		X	X
What helps						
<i>Escapism</i>	X	X	X	X		X
<i>Substances</i>				X	X	
<i>Individual agency</i>	X	X	X			X
Systems and structures						
<i>Present within systems</i>	X	X	X	X		X
<i>No or little structural involvement</i>					X	
Internalizing symptoms						
		X	X	X	X	X

Table 5. Overview of superordinate themes

4.3. Findings from interviews

4.3.1. Becoming



Figure 7. Image from Val's collage

Becoming and identity change refers to the development of each participant as they have grown up within settings where parental substance misuse was a factor. Many of the participants wondered whether they would become their parents or discussed striving not become them. The relevance of PSM in relation to transition to adulthood was apparent, bringing up issues including identity formation, social learning theory, and resilience – discussed later in the thesis.

4.3.1.2. *Becoming or rejecting their parents and families*

Many of the participants spoke about the possibility of going down similar paths to their parents or resembling their parents in some respect:

'I didn't know how to socialize, and I just felt like a mirror image of my Dad so I was quite ashamed ...'. Nancy

The resemblance to her father prompted difficult internal feelings for Nancy who also considered her similarities to her mother:

'she's very pragmatic and throughout my childhood she was very stiff upper lip, keep it inside and maintain the situation. And I think I'm more likely to do that now. I'd rather be pragmatic and I'd rather be in control of what's happening, than be like my dad...'. Nancy

Change has taken place for her, she has chosen what she sees as a positive path, she is now more likely and would rather be like her mother – importantly, not all the young people have another parent providing a better role model on hand. Another participant raised the

idea of parents as role models and indicators of what is acceptable. She commented on the relationship between her and her younger sister breaking down due to her following her mother's path into substance use:

'because I was now going into my mum's world, and she didn't want, want to see her sister going down the same road as her mum.' Val

This young woman thinks her sister sees her as following her mother into a 'world' of drug use, the changes from past to present tense indicate that the process is ongoing. The role of siblings featured in another participants account too. He stressed his difference from his family overall and his brother specifically:

'compared to my family I'm one of the only ones who's gone, who's gone like the opposite way, I'm not a lot like my family who just want to do like, they just like.... Like my brother, my brother is the complete opposite to me and he annoys me because he, he's earning more money than me and he doing nothing.'

And later:

'but he, my brother really annoys me as well because he likes to drink as well and I'm thinking, in my head I'm thinking 'your just like mum' which is my mum, but ... he doesn't see the bad side of it too.' John

For him his brother was *just* like his mother and he is different to both. It was apparent across participant accounts that they self-identified, in part, in relation to their parents, with a focus on becoming, or striving not to become their parents. Participants often distanced themselves from parents in response to their experiences of parental substance misuse in their own childhoods, and their desire to not replicate this in their own adult life. The next section will look at the theme of young people's relationships.

4.3.2. Relationships



Figure 8. An image from John's collage

Relationships were a key factor within all of the participant's accounts. These featured romantic partners, siblings, peers or other key adults. Participant's experiences varied considerably in relation to all four areas, three are presented as the subthemes: Siblings; Romantic; Friends.

4.3.2.1. Friends

Friends were seen as either a source of tremendous support or the difficulty of their absence was stressed - some were constructed as fake friends or 'users'.

One participant felt that connection with other people was a powerful motivator. She evaluated her own situation in relation to how many friends she had, and how many new people she was meeting.

'...the people I know have let me down it shouldn't stop me from meeting new people, coz that's the worst thing to stop meeting new people then I won't, I'll just be stagnant.' Jebz

Her desire to avoid stagnation through increased social contact speaks to her drive to improve her situation. Friendships were prominent throughout another participant's account, these were fundamental to how he saw himself.

'he is the closest because me and Taylor met up, because Taylor especially when mum passed away, I took a week off college afterwards ... but Taylor helped me so much with that he, he, he helped me with any advice or something Taylor would be the person that I would go to'.

And later,

'I think, if it wasn't for ... Taylor I would... I'm not saying he's changed my whole life but he's like ... kinda helped me express so much more feelings'. John

This participant downplayed the effect of meeting Taylor, but with reference to a very high criterion 'changing my whole life'. He acknowledged that his relationship enabled the expression of feelings, which he previously referred to as being 'bottled up'. Another young person discussed the problematic role of substance use and her friendships. There were difficulties as she did not want to stop socialising but didn't know how to socialize without substance use as a focus.

'When I wasn't drinking and I wasn't using I didn't know how to go out or how to socialize, I wasn't going out, I wasn't doing anything'. Nancy

With substance use providing a friend group, shared activity and other shared rituals, abstaining becomes difficult, this was evident in another participant's account;

'I met a good group of friends there. I still talk to them, I don't go coz they're still into drugs and all that and I'm trying to stay away from them bunch of people.' Betty

The young person was striving to distance herself from a group of friends due to their substance use - however, she could no longer participate if she wants to be reunited with her daughter - she was faced with a choice between substance use and her peers or her daughter. She developed her comments about friends:

'not really, I've not really had friends, I've had users and abusers and what not. I've, I'm a quite a isolated person. I only have people round me when they want something. And I obviously don't see it til the next day.' Betty

Friendships as a form of relationship was a big focus for participants in terms of the quality of them, how many they had and the support they gave and this theme of relationships continued with a focus on the role of siblings.

4.3.2.2. *Siblings*

Siblings were discussed in terms of rivalry, support and with reference to the deeper connection to another person that they could provide. One participant commented on the difficulty of the relationship between her and her sister:

'Because, when I was growing up my mum used to always take care of my sister. It was always Catriona, Catriona, Catriona.' Betty

She perceived her mum as preferring her sister and rejecting her. This pattern was apparent in another participant's account:

'yeah, my mum was always, why don't you do what you sisters done, I was almost not good enough, almost. I was, I was in my sister's shadow.' Trey

Both participants felt that their mothers preferred their sibling to themselves. Another young man stressed the difference between himself and his brother.

'but he, my brother really annoys me as well because he likes to drink as well and I'm thinking, in my head I'm thinking 'your just like mum' which is my mum, but ... he doesn't see the bad side of it too.' John

He later commented on the relationship between himself and his sisters:

'it's weird coz she's my sister ... it's not a massive age gap coz I've got two other sisters. One I don't see that much, and one I see most often, you've got Samantha who I don't really see [Xani: mmmh] I just feel bad because that's just not what it's kind of meant to be'. John

He thinks that the relationship with his siblings should be more meaningful and that it is not as it should be – introducing the idea of a norm. In contrast a young woman without siblings discussed their imagined benefits.

'Yeah I think being an only child is sometimes like, I like, siblings can, not all siblings get along but there are ones that do kind of get along, not even like best friends but it's like a team, you can face things together, you've got a team, and you can go to someone for help or you can discuss things, and I've never really had that person to bounce off of, so it's just been me and my own thoughts.' Jebz

The desire for a deeper and meaningful connection is apparent. For some young people this could be found within a romantic relationship, discussed in the next theme.

4.3.2.3. *Romantic*

Participants varied in their relationship status. Some were in long term relationships, two had children but had separated and the majority of participants were single. One couple lived together, and others had previously lived independently or with partners. Romantic

relationships were a source of stability and growth for some but presented as the opposite for others.

After leaving high school one participant began a romantic relationship which quickly became controlling. This impacted on her social contact with others:

'my boyfriend wouldn't allow me to have friends because he wouldn't want me going out, I wasn't allowed to get a job because I might mix with other men'. Val

Romantic relationships were important for another young woman. In the quote below she discussed the relationship with her former partner and father of her daughter:

'so I said to him I've had enough, get me out of here, and we got our own place. And it was just lovely. But then I fell pregnant like 2 days before we moved in and straight away it was like baby – no life'. ... 'so as soon as she was born, he just got bored and he wouldn't come back home he'd always stay out round his mums.' Betty

She described a very brief period living with him where things were going well. The situation deteriorated and she was soon on her own with her daughter. She attributed the worsening relationship with her partner to the birth of her daughter. In doing so she used the same logic as her mother – the baby drove them apart - who she wished to disassociate herself from prompting complex feelings about multiple relationships.

Relationships could also be a source of strength and growth. One participant's relationship with his girlfriend played a pivotal role in his identity.

'I think if it wasn't for her I wouldn't be in the position I am now.' John

And later:

*'and you start to care for someone that's when ... it changes for you, I think getting a girlfriend has changed me, obviously the things she's done for me and helped me'.
John*

He saw himself positively and reasoned that being able to care for someone changed him. Additionally, he attributed meeting girlfriend and the support that she gave him to his current positive identity and situation.

These findings represent a general pattern that stresses the importance of relationships in the transition to adulthood. They highlight that relationships can be both stressors and

supports. The role of substance use as a bonding activity with similar aged friends appeared to be challenging in terms of young people's identities, a point which will be explored in the discussion chapter. The relationships with external adults are discussed later in this chapter, the next section focuses on feelings of rejection or being secondary in importance.

4.3.3. Feeling secondary and rejection



Figure 9. An image from Trey's collage

This theme concerns participant's feelings of rejection, or of being secondary in importance to their parents. The quotes can be seen on a sliding scale; feeling *rejected* represents the most severe manifestation of the theme and feeling accepted it's opposite. The realization that they were not being put first was often painful, and the questioning of their own importance remained with some young people until early adulthood.

4.3.3.1. Feeling secondary

Many participants commented on feeling secondary in importance to their parent's substance use:

'when the drinking took priority, that I think that I really realized that 'oh that actually hurts'. Jebz

Feeling secondary was described differently, some participants commented on the pain they felt, whereas others didn't think they were being listened to:

'yeah... it just ... it annoyed me so much coz she never listened to me. She, I, the fact that she always put alcohol first. Over me and my brother...' John

Participants felt that the substance was put before their own interests. This participant stressed the strength of his mother's addiction:

'She won't give it up she'd rather give up water than weed'. Trey

And later:

'but all I can remember, all I can listen to in my head, was, does my mum love me or weed? Does my mum want to see me getting married or does she just wanna keep creating her deathbed'. Trey

The strength of Trey's feeling is apparent, he turned the feeling of being secondary into an either or ultimatum – his mother either loves him, or she loves weed. Another participant took a more nuanced position, in the quote below she discussed her mother not being 'there'.

'I look back on my childhood and think it could have been better, mum could have been there a bit more for us, she, she, she was never not there for us when we needed feeding, needed cleaning we were able to do most of that for ourselves anyway but she was always there for us but I look back and think to myself, I think, even though she was on the drugs she wasn't a bad mum. So and... and it's changed the way I felt about it when I was younger, to now where I'm like well actually she wasn't a bad mum.' Val

She began with a critique however, by the end of what she was saying she had persuaded herself that her mother wasn't *bad* after all. Importantly, in her wider context of her experience she felt as though she was returning to childhood from a previous place of greater independence. Whether this affected her feelings towards the relationship remained to be seen.

4.3.3.2. *Rejection*

One participant had made comments that indicated a sense of rejection. She viewed her entrance into foster care as her mother *giving up* on her; this was compounded by further experiences of rejection: she was expelled from multiple schools as well as foster placements.

'Sometimes I don't talk to one of my aunties and she always comes round my mums and my mum picks her over me and it's like ... why would you pick her over me? Why would you pick your sister over your child? If my sister was going to do that I'd be like 'no fuck off, I've got a kid y'know'. Betty

She viewed the attention of her mother as a zero sum game – if it is at all on someone else, then it is not on her. The severity of the position, and the anger it engendered illustrated the importance which she placed on her mother’s attention.

Many of the participants suspected that substances, rather than them, were the priority for their parents. This feeling had stayed with many of them until early adulthood, a theme that is developed in the next section, which focuses on internalizing symptoms and details potential results of these feelings.

4.3.4. Internalizing symptoms



Figure 10. An image from Trey's collage

Many of the young people highlighted self-reported psychological symptoms such as feeling low, anxiety, worry, self-questioning and described rumination. It is not suggested that these feelings are unique to children of parental substance misuse, however research discussed in the literature review argues that it may be more frequent. One participant commented that her psychological symptoms contributed to the shortness of time she spent in college.

'By that time I had started suffering with a bit of depression um and anxiety and just the crowds and all those different people that I didn't know, was just too much so I think I lasted about a week in the college environment. ... ummm'. Val

Psychological issues were also prominent for another young woman who highlighted that issues of control, coupled with an eating disorder, led to her entering a women's crisis house.

'Yea one of the reasons I went into the women's crisis house in the first place was that I developed quite a bad eating disorder, and I had to have control of everything and everyone around me.' Nancy

Internalizing symptoms presented difficulties that were often too large for individuals to face alone. For one participant these could be temporarily alleviated by returning to his old school and talking to those people that knew him well:

'I came into school a few times when I was quite low, I would come into school just to talk to people you know. So that would give me a little perk up.'

And later:

'coz as a young lad I used to want to think things over all the time, I used to think think think, I used to not think 'what's wrong with me' but I used to think 'why am I like this, why?' Trey

The second quote highlighted his self-questioning, rumination and indicated that he thought there was something wrong with him. Similarly, another young woman's comments showed her feelings of low self-worth, anxiety and fragile confidence:

'yeah since Elise's gone I just feel like, yeah, nothing really, to everybody else I feel like a piece of dirt that blows in the wind. You know... but I'll, I get over it everyday so...'. Betty

The participant links these negative feelings to the loss of care of her daughter and also, by implication the loss of her role as a mother. At the end of the quote she commented that she will 'get over it' and that she does so everyday – a testament to her ability to carry on despite it all. This section highlighted a range of internalizing and psychological symptoms that many of the young people attribute to their experiences growing up. The next discusses what young people found helpful or supportive.

4.3.5. What helps?

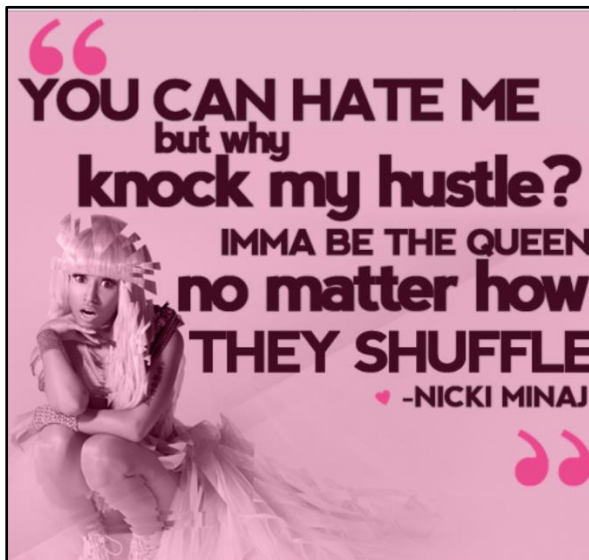


Figure 11. An Image from Jebz' collage

All of the participants discussed what helped them at the time of interview as well as while they were growing up. This theme overlapped with that of *Systems and structures*, and *Relationships* however there were also distinct individual characteristics that participants reported. Three subthemes are presented: escapism; individual agency and, substance use.

4.3.5.1. Escapism

One young man described time spent at the gym; he began going at an early age and continues to go regularly. This served as an escape and as an activity which developed his self-agency:

'Yknow, set myself goals in the gym, just took my mind off my problems, yknow, I was always feeling, I used to walk everywhere [Xani: mmm] like I used to think about my mum, or I gotta do this or I was in trouble but the gym was always really... coz I used to set myself goals [Xani: mmh] just an hour and a half my mind would just be empty. I was gymming 7 days a week sometimes I'd go twice in a day sessions [Xani: that's a lot eh?] yeah, but the gym for me, definitely had that moment of, I want to call it serenity. I was, I was going on my own I had no one bothering me, I had my music in, I knew what I wanted to do, I had my goals for strength-wise so it was just each time it was just, an hour and a half, everything away...' Trey

The gym provided an escape from home and from his own thoughts - besides developing his sense of self-efficacy. He also mentioned having his music in; media is another method of distancing oneself from the everyday. A strategy also employed by another participant:

'coz I'm my best company to be quite honest, I'll put music on, music helps me to get through quite a lot'. Betty

And later:

'or I'll sit and watch films, funny films and crack myself up, you know, and I sit and talk to myself, you know, sometimes my conscience puts things on my shoulders so I'll sit and talk to them.'

The participant noted that her own company was 'the best' and described how she spent her time - through music and engaging with other media. This provided a temporary escape from day-to-day life characterized by difficult feelings, memories and household chores. Another young woman used coping mechanisms that were different in kind to many of the other participants. She was aware of the concept of escapism and knew how to utilize it.

Xani: yeah... in terms of the day-to-day when you were living with your father, was there anything that helped you to get by, to get through when things were difficult?

Nancy: yeah I used to read a lot. Umm and coz it was rural I'd take the dog out for like 3-hour long walks, which I always loved [Xani: yeah] and I used to ride as well, my friend had horses. So I loved doing that.

And later:

'Yes, I guess Megan, my dog, there was the role of escapism, and as well she was a huge, huge rescue dog and she did not like dad. And when he'd get quite physical, she would start snarling if she was in the room which, y'know until he learned to lock her out, was pretty helpful. It kind of reassured me and I always felt safe around her.'
Nancy

She was comfortable reading and had a dog to care for and *escape* with for extended periods of time. Mental escape from the day-to-day was employed by another participant:

'I was always in my own little world in my head, coz I love music coz I like to sing and I like also, just live gigs and anything to do with music and people dancing, looking at

new producers so I'd just go and do that, it'd just be like learning a new song on the piano. I'd kind of like narrate songs in my head but to music. It kind of took me out of that normal day to day.' Jebz

The interest and talent – she is able to go and learn a new song on the piano - that the participant displayed are a protective factor. She is able to escape into her own head but also has a hobby to follow in the outside world.

4.3.5.2. *Substance use*

Substance use was reported as a coping mechanism by two of the participants. For one this contributed to losing care of her daughter:

'[in reference to what helps] drinking, smoking weed, but I haven't done that for like 4 months I drink now and then. ... but it just don't go away. It'll stay there and just not go away. My daughters making me wanna live and making me wanna sort everything out.' Betty

She is in a double bind: the separation from her daughter led to feeling like a 'shit mum' and loneliness (i.e. 'isolated person'). Substance use as a coping strategy reinforced the identity of a 'shit mum' but abstention led to further loneliness due to a limited peer group and increased feelings of isolation. Another young woman relied on substance use to cope with difficult feelings.

'mum was really heavily using... I... I was also heavily using crack cocaine, due to my dad had passed away'.

And later:

'I think it was because, I knew in myself why she [her mother] was doing it, and obviously it was because her dad had just died. But to say that to someone else 'oh her dad's died so she's doing heroin' they never understood why and I could never find the words to explain to them, or it's not just because her dad's died it's because she can't cope. And she uses it as a coping mechanism. Umm... so I think that's the best I can explain it'. Val

The participant shared that she was using substances as a way of coping with challenging events – the death of her estranged father. As mentioned above, the young woman

described herself as going into her *mother's world*. She followed her mother's example when her mother relapsed following the death of her own father.

4.3.5.3. *Individual agency*

An individual narrative or belief in oneself to make positive changes and support themselves was important for many of the participants:

'but there wasn't much support again, even from my parents, I feel, not even to this day. I didn't get much support. It was mainly me. I'd get the odd day when my mum turns round and is like 'oh you know, well done'. But it was just straight away, it was just straight back on to the weed, well not back on but you know.' Trey

Young people perceived their parents support as intermittent and affected by their use of substances, given this, they had to believe in themselves. This also happened in relation to eliciting support from others:

'And I feel like that was the time, that was pivotal, coz I had in my head, I used to ask people for help. And if I wait on people to help me it's not going to happen so I have to just push myself and make it happen.' Jebz

The participants stressed the role of their own efforts in their development, in spite of the limited support of their parents. Another participant exercised individual agency through plans to get away from her father by going to a school far away.

'But I think that honestly the only thing that kept me going towards the end [of living with her father] was err I booked myself an appointment with the sixth form in Brighton. And I pretended it was my dream to go there. St Marys sixth form in Brighton 'I need to go there, I need it'. Umm and I just kinda played my cards and pretended that it was the only thing I'd ever wanted. I knew that he'd always wanted me to go to university. So I figured if I played that angle I could get out. And I just counted down the days. So I was like 'okay, four months left, lets go'. Nancy

Despite the difficult circumstances of living with her father she was able to influence her situation. While this was effective in one sense; illustrating that she had control (evident in her choice of language: *I booked myself, I pretended, played my cards, pretended and played the angle*) control also became problematic as she developed an eating disorder and stopped attending school.

The findings from this section show that young people employ strategies that are adaptive as well as problematic. The role of individual agency was prominent in participants who appeared to be coping more successfully at the time of the interview. The findings from the next section explore the way young people have come to understand their transition and becoming an adult.

4.3.6. Becoming adult and views on transition

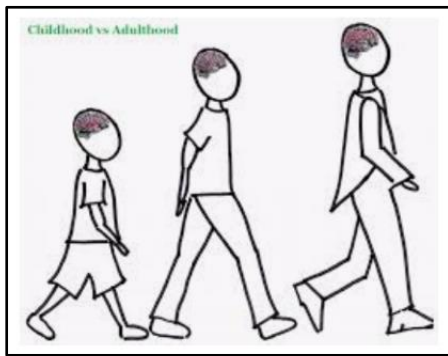


Figure 12. An image from Trey's collage

Participants viewed their transitions as rushed relative to their same aged peers. While some thought of themselves as adults, the majority did not. The concept of adulthood was critiqued and complicated by all of the participants - many suggested a separation between a physical and mental adulthood. The subthemes presented are 'becoming adult' and 'rejecting adulthood'.

4.3.6.1. *Becoming adult*

One participant introduced the idea of adulthood as an understanding of self.

'so the real adulthood is when you have that sense of self when you can go anywhere in the world and you know who you are...'. Jebz

The use of the word 'real' implies the opposite, a false adulthood which is linked with trivial indicators. She continued:

'I feel like that's when you can be amongst people and know what you want, you might not agree, you can be amongst people and be like, like know where your going, em if they say something they agree, they don't agree. I think that's when your really an adult. Because I've noticed a lot of people who are well into their 30's and people who have that kind of lost feeling and I think that's when, that's when people do end up with addictions'. Jebz

The participant commented about having independence of thought, mind and direction. She compared herself to people who *should* be adult based on their age but were not in her estimation. Another participant's adulthood began with a departure from the family home, the beginning of a relationship and through becoming a mother.

'But then I fell pregnant like 2 days before we moved in and straight away it was like baby – no life. I did want to get rid of her, I'm glad I didn't, but I did. I wasn't ready, I'd just turned 18 y'know?' Betty

Becoming a parent was transformational, she equated this with adulthood and responsibilities. In the quote she comments on the move with her partner away from her mothers' house. This was a significant event and step towards adulthood in itself, however, before the period of interdependence really began, it was transformed. She became pregnant and the baby soon resulted in 'no life'. She reflects that she was unsure about keeping the baby, highlighting that she was still young and not ready. Later on, in losing care of her child she also lost part of her adult identity.

'...I just feel like such a shit mum, for doing what I've done and putting my priorities wrong... I just don't know how to feel day to day really'. Betty

Her coping mechanisms, substance use, resulted in the loss of care for her daughter. Her adult identity as a mother was challenged and she did not know how to feel. For another participant adult identity was associated with masculinity and the gym played an important role:

'I used to go to these ones [gyms] that smelled dirty of rust and man. And yeah that's what, I look back, so let's go for ... that is what my gyms used to look like ... like just floor, concrete floor, a few bits for padding on and bare concrete, a bit dusty and a bit of dirt. Rock tape, rock climbing tape. Pictures of old school body builders'. Trey

There was a physicality and sensory aspect to the participant's description. He talked of the smell of *dirt, rust and man* as well as the pictures of *old school body builders*. The environment was potent with a version of masculinity, and he reminisced fondly about this gym that was harsh, unfussy and bare. The gym was also a place where he went to get *big*. For him being *big* was an indicator of masculinity and adulthood. This is what he was working towards and it was evident in the symbolic event of Trey reaching the age of majority and receiving his doorman badge.

'oh yeah emm, so yeah I turned 18, I got my door badge coz I was getting big, I was power lifting so I was quite wide'. Trey

This was something he not only has to wait until he is 18 for, but also a job with social status and opportunity. The recognition of the young man's size and new adult identity is capped with the symbolic door *badge*.

4.3.6.2. *Rejecting adulthood*

Some participants were reluctant to step into the adult role, in some ways they were rejecting adulthood. For example, one participant sees adulthood as stopping her from living her life and that her upbringing necessitated growing up faster than normal and thereby missing out on an idealized childhood.

'But where I had to grow up at such an early age, now I just want to be a kid. ... so it's hard it's very hard. I don't want responsibilities, I don't want to work, I don't want to do this, I just want to live my life and be a kid. But I can't because I'm an adult now. Y'know it's weird, it is weird.' Betty

Like Betty, Val also felt as though she became an adult prematurely.

'Normally you don't become an adult until your 16-18 and I sort of had to grow up quicker faster and mature. Now that there's that sort of dying down I'm starting to, I think, letting my childhood years sneak back in, and trying to have some fun like I would when I was a child.' Val

Illustrating the intention to reject adulthood, this young woman reported a complex co-dependency on her mother whereby adopting childhood roles elicited a caring response from her, something she did not receive as an adolescent when she was constructed as an adult by her mother:

'I kind of like it because I'm getting more mum and me time, whereas when she saw me as an adult it was more 'you're an adult now, you don't need me' 'you don't need your mum, you're an adult, you've grown up' so it's quite nice to actually have her around or want to spend time with me.' Val

Val's rejection of adulthood provides insight into the hesitance of committing to adult roles for many of the participants. Adulthood was pressed upon her, and with the baggage of independence and self-sufficiency, her mum suggested that she did not need her. Val's return to childhood could be seen as a retort, emphasizing that she *does* need help and support, that she is not fully independent and not able to meet the challenges of the adult

world on her own. This shows a reverse trajectory, while many of the participants regret their adult status and the corresponding responsibilities, few took steps to depart from it:

'It's like for some reason now I start sleeping with a teddy or a blanket. And normally you would grow out of that but I've grown into it rather than grown out of it'. Val

The 'teddy' and 'blanket' are symbols of childhood and signify her rejection of adulthood. The participant understood the change as non-typical, but this is concordant with the way she understood much of her life relative to others. Another young woman also felt she became an adult before her same age peers due to experience of PSM.

'ummm it was weird coz I think a lot of children of alcoholics and myself included, grow up too fast but don't grow up at all'. Nancy

She saw something specific about being a child of an alcoholic that led to hastened development but commented that the *growing up* is not authentic. Instead it led to an illusory maturity relative to same age peers. She developed the idea:

'I think I used to be like 'aw I've done so much more than you youngsters' and I kinda got to a stage now where my friends are moving in with their partners or they're engaged or they've had babies. And I'm very quickly realizing no I'm certainly not at that level.' Nancy

Her experiences provided her with privileged knowledge of a more adult world, while this put her 'ahead' of her peers in one respect, this knowledge was less helpful in relation to more ordinary aspects of adult development. She found these *life lessons* within the women's crisis house – discussed in systems theme. The participant was *overtaken* by her peers who had begun making symbolic forays into adulthood with weddings, parenthood and responsible jobs. The next participant has acquired these symbolic adult indicators:

'so I felt I was quite, I was very mature for my age back then but I think now it's had an effect on me. I do want to say it's had an effect on me now. Coz, I never really had that fun childhood, so ... coz I had to be grown up, now I've got everything, I've got my mortgage, got my wife, I want to have that young childhood again'. Trey

Despite having *everything* he reported that ageing prematurely had affected him and left him wanting an idealized childhood. Similarly, another participant initially described himself

as an adult with reference to his peers and work. He reasoned that those who have jobs and who do not are 'still being kids' are adults. He developed this point:

'no, I still think I'm still young I've still got a lot ahead of me I can never say I'm a full adult because I'm not saying I'm immature I'm not saying I'm just a little kid who just wants to do what they want but I think I'm an adult by law but reality is ... I don't fully see myself as a proper adult because I've still got commitment to do. I've got things to do I still I don't want to be ... my life to be, oh when your 21 you've got to be when you're an adult to have all this stuff you've gotta have everything sorted out you've gotta have things ... nowadays, life is a struggle, it's not like how it used to be you can't just move out and get your own place that why most people... are kind of living at home until their 30 coz it's just impossible to, I'd say I'm not a, I am an adult by law but not an adult by mind, I don't know if that makes sense'. John

In the quote he highlighted the complexity of the term 'adulthood' through modification (e.g. *full adult; proper adult; adult by law; adult by mind*). He also introduced comparisons to previous generations as well as cultural expectations of having 'stuff, things' and to the idea of having things 'sorted out'. This participant stands out in one respect as he did not describe growing up before his peers due to PSM as a feature of his experience.

4.3.6.3. *Views on transition*

Questions were asked to ascertain how young people viewed their transition to adulthood. Overall participant's responses indicated that their transitions had been 'hard' and that neither their backgrounds nor their transitions were typical:

'But where I had to grow up at such an early age, now I just want to be a kid. ... so it's hard it's very hard. I don't want responsibilities, I don't want to work, I don't want to do this, I just want to live my life and be a kid. But I can't because I'm an adult now. Yknow it's weird, it is weird.' Betty

There are unexpected effects of fast-track transitions to adulthood. The participant feels as though the speed at which she became an adult has contributed to her desire to return to childhood. She does not want to be part of the adult world of work and responsibilities however she is aware that she can't go back. Other consequences were apparent:

'I'd just go, I'd swallow it. And I think that that has made me a bit tougher but I think it's made me ... difficult. Like my wife says I'm difficult. I don't do emotions. I brush things off quite easily'. Trey

And later;

'she goes 'coz that's because your mum was too busy doing all that and your dad was never there' I go 'yeah' so I think love can do a lot too much can maybe .. is there such a thing as too much? who knows but I know this, the way I was treated as a young lad by my parents made me who I am today but it's made me difficult'. Trey

The difficulties growing up fed into their identities, resulting in the young people becoming in some cases 'hard' or 'difficult'. The participants also viewed their transitions as non-typical:

'... .. it's kind of the same from then on, til now. Apart from ... oh hold on... up until then til now, nothing changed until about a week ago when, a month ago now when my sister had her baby. Now it's like we all want to stop the drugs. Get clean. And become a normal family. Me being able to be an auntie that can actually go down to my sisters and say like 'I want to take my niece out for the day, can you put her in the buggy, or can I have the car seat' well I hope to be driving, I don't drive at the moment'. Val

This participant discussed the family identity, and the want to become a 'normal family' an identity that they once had (also noted that the new member of the family provides an impetus for the whole family to change). Two other participants discussed the realization of their families' non-normality:

'when I started meeting new people, hearing about their families, talking about my family they were like 'oh actually that's a lot to go through' y know, and I'd never, it'd never really clicked with me that this was not normal'. Jebz

For this young woman, it was the comparison to other families that made her realise that her situation was different to her peers. This is also apparent in the comment below:

'And she [a friend on a sleepover] went back and told her mum and she wasn't allowed to come and visit anymore. So that was like the penny dropped'. Nancy

Importantly, the young women learn that there are negative social consequences to this difference. In these last two accounts it took the comparison to others for the participants to recognize that things were not 'normal' at home. This section found that older young people with experience of parental substance misuse faced challenges in their transition to adulthood. They attributed some of those challenges to their upbringing, however other challenges were to do with general structural factors. The next section discusses the effect of structures and systems more thoroughly.

4.3.7. Systems and structures



Figure 14. An image from John's collage

All of the young people were part of systems and structures throughout their development to greater or lesser extents. All of them attended schools and most went on to further education or work. Those with more involvement with structures and systems appeared to be coping better. For others the absence of involvement with structures is prominent. Transitions between structures and systems presented serious challenges for many participants.

As mentioned above, one participant found the gym to be supportive of his identity:

'And you just all sort of work together. Almost sort of like a band of brothers. Like, I'd be lifting weights and the guy would be like 'oh your doing that a little bit wrong, try this or' they'd generally try and help you'. Trey

He saw it as a place that nurtured and developed his adult identity – one of masculinity – through rules and camaraderie. This was enabled through connections with more knowledgeable and able adults within the system.

'I was like 'aw' and I was still young, and I'd never said anything before, and that helped me to get into the rhythm of, you have to follow the rules. I, god, I had to be like one of these adults, I had to do adult things'. Trey

He felt that he had limited choices, to participate in the environment required a conscious change. He chose to take on responsibilities here and to become more adult, the system reinforced this by rewarding him. Another participant found significant support within

structures and systems. These ranged from school counselling services, to women's crisis centres and most importantly, a charity for children of parental substance misuse.

'Uuumm before that, I think it's weird, like before finding NACOA [the National Association for Children of Alcoholics] I always felt like my life just felt like I was constantly like just up, down, everywhere'. Nancy

For her NACOA provided a stabilising effect. Before she felt that her life was unpredictably 'up, down, everywhere'. The Women's crisis house also provided support:

'honestly no one in particular but I think coz your living with these people for weeks and melting down in front of them, you kind of build-up bonds quite quick.' Nancy

Here she referred to whether there was anyone specific who was supportive or helpful while she spent time in the crisis houses. No individuals stood out for Nancy, however the boundaries and overall experience were beneficial.

'the staff were amazing, they were 24/7 they helped me figure out how to manage finances, they helped me, well they called me out when I was being an arsehole to them. Like 'you can't behave like this around people' so yeah it was really good.'
Nancy

The crisis house provided support as well as the teaching of life skills important for adult functioning – financial independence and social relations. A further participant's involvement with systems and structures is more wide ranging – the church, charities, places of work and her community. The community system played a fundamental role in the way she saw herself, providing a set of values with which she interacted:

'even because you know kind of stepping out of anxiety and you know, trying to do all these things with charity I think people kind of don't see that you've accomplished anything until you've graduated. In our community if you're not talking about your degree or if you've graduated then they're not interested.' Jebz

Systems have values, here the importance of higher education as a key community value, and the place the participant occupied on the 'wrong' side of this by dropping out, is apparent. This was problematic for her and contributed to her re-joining university to take evening classes due to the social pressure of the community. Another young man is also

within many systems and structures. These are where he meets new and important people. These advance his development and he is clearly aware of that.

'to just go out and work ... it's kind of ... but also college has just helped me through the people you meet at college [Xani: yeah] and what the skills you learn, it's quite a lot of, people in courses they do work as well people can they you have a lot more advice and options at college'. John

Systems have a variety of benefits, the participant lists: 'help, people, skills learned, advice and options' as features of the college experience. All these areas are important features of John's account and his path towards adult identity development. It seems that college provides an area for exploration as well as commitment. This is brought into focus in the quote below:

'I think that, well you kind of at college, that's when you start to decide what you wanna be or kind of wanna go down the route even though that might change, and it did change for me'. John

Being a part of something was clearly a benefit for some participants, however, being within systems was not a universally *good* thing, or easily accomplished. Addressing the latter point first, accessing systems was made easier or harder by the support available from their parents. For one participant the absence of his mother at social sporting events was a lasting source of shame and challenge for him. This description illustrated some of the barriers to joining and maintaining group membership, for instance, he described the experience of having to 'cover up' for his mother's absence.

'I used to remember getting to my Sunday football with all my mates and all their parents would be there talking to each other and all, 'ah go on, go on Trey, yknow, do well' and their like 'oh where's your mum' and you've got to make excuses like oh she's at work this weekend she can't come out. Coz I was too embarrassed to say, ah she's too high to get out of bed'. Trey

This remains a troubling memory for the young man. It is worthwhile to consider his mother's perspective too as there is potentially shame and embarrassment involved at attending an event like a child's football match due to the social stigma that surrounds PSM and in particular towards mothers who face different social expectations to fathers in

relation to substance use. Judgement from others was a barrier to joining systems, evident in other participants' recollections too:

'coz she [Mum] was able to treat us, we were able to go out as a family, people weren't looking down at us, well there would be a few people that would look down their nose coz they'd know what had gone on – they were horrible – but it was nice'.

The young woman described a period when her mother abstained from substance misuse and, at this time, her ability to enjoy family outings *relatively* undisturbed. However, the families past still affected the young woman through perceived judgement of their history. More broadly, this young woman's position within structures and systems was at the periphery. She did not belong to any groups or fit easily within school or colleges. She had minimal 'social capital' or social connections with which to make transitions work:

'um I finished school, I didn't, well I did go on to college, but it wasn't the right environment for me.' Val

Later she noted the difficulty of the transitions:

'it wasn't much of a big change as it might be for someone else um, it, it was more the school change that was the bigger, biggest thing.' Val

She referred to an earlier change of school and saw that change as crucial within her life. She asserted her difference from others by suggesting that other people might find the change of living arrangements as the more significant factor. Indeed, systems were not always positive for young people as illustrated in the quote below:

'And obviously I went back to my mum's after we split up, moved out my mums into a B&B for 14 weeks and then I got my own place. But it was just the area and everything made me turn. [Xani: what was it about the area?] they were all {druggos? 20:20} err they were all on benefits and sort of crap and they want to ruin your life coz they've got nothing better to do'. Betty

The young woman felt as though her intention to change things was thwarted by the values and actions of the community system to which she had returned. Interestingly, this same young woman had also received support from a charity which took her out of her environment on outward bound adventure courses (e.g. camping and hiking trips to

Iceland). However, on return the power of the environment and systems of which she was a part illustrated the difficulty and complexity of the situations that young people may be facing:

'Xani: yeah, so what happened when you got back? What were things like then?

Betty: well I wanted to go round my mums but prior to them three weeks me and my mum had a fat argument. So I went back to dads with his.... Pppsstt shrek head girlfriend. And things went really bad from there, so I sort of left there and was homeless, I stayed at my mates, then my auntie found out coz I went and lived with my auntie...'

While providing escape from the negative environment in which she lived the return to the same environment eroded a substantial amount of the benefits from this intervention due to the sheer difficulty of her situation and the through the systems of which she was a part. Her situation appeared to spiral. This raises important consideration about the depth and scope of interventions in complex situations like those affecting the young people in this study – returned to in the discussion section.

This section presented findings which show the supportive role that structures and systems play for young people with experience of parental substance misuse when transitioning to adulthood. The contrast between individuals that were within and those who were not part of systems was stark. The broadening of social networks through occupation of systems was particularly beneficial for young people however, gaining access to systems and the negative influence that they can exert were also addressed. The next section presents a summary of the findings and themes.

4.4. Summary of superordinate themes

The themes identified above are briefly represented below for ease of reference (see table 6).

Identity in Transition to Adulthood							
Becoming or rejecting their parents	What helps?	Entering Adulthood	Systems and structures	Views on Transition	Relationships	Feeling secondary and Rejection	Internalizing symptoms

Table 6. summary of superordinate themes

Becoming or rejecting their parents

Many of the participants discussed being on the same path as their parents, some wondered how they had managed to avoid becoming them and others highlighted their strong preference not to become them.

What helps?

All the participants discussed sources of support, some internal and some external. These were grouped into three subcategories: escapism; individual agency; and, substance use. Some participants accessed a broader range of supports including friends and family.

Relationships

Most participants discussed themselves in relation to significant others. The subthemes were: friends; romantic partners; and siblings. Typically, this was in relation to the support that these relationships provided, however the absence of these relationships featured within multiple accounts (i.e. lacking a sibling or lacking a romantic partner).

Entering adulthood

The young people saw themselves as adults or on the path to adulthood. Many of them mentioned a desire to return to childhood resulting from their accelerated development while young. One of the participants has rejected adulthood and appears to be regressing to childhood.

Structures and systems

Most of the young people are within structures or systems (i.e. college, work etc) to varying extents. Typically this has a positive effect on identity exploration through skill development, meeting contacts and provision of support. Where young people have been outside systems the lack of opportunity and development is also apparent.

Feeling secondary and rejection

As a result of PSM many of the YP felt that they were not their parent's priority. This was often a source of pain or anger. A more extreme version of feeling secondary was rejection altogether, this was the experience of one of the participants.

Internalizing symptoms

Many of the young people describe or make reference to: feeling low, anxiety, depression and rumination. For some these are feelings that they have passed through, while others see these symptoms as more lasting features of their identities.

Views on transition

The majority of participants commented that their upbringing had been non-normal, and that this had contributed to who and how they are today. While this will be true for many young people, the individuality of the PSM experience (i.e. parentification, shame, covering-up and strained communication) adds complexity to the experience of transition.

4.4.1. Brief summary

The chapter opened with pen portraits of the participants to give context to the reader. Each superordinate theme was introduced with reference to the participants, alongside relevant subthemes. A table and brief summary of the themes has been presented above. The next chapter will link the findings presented here to the research literature introduced in chapter 2. This will be with reference to the research questions outlined in chapter 2.

5. Discussion

The overall aim of the thesis was to explore the experiences of young people transitioning to adulthood with experience of parental substance misuse. Three research questions were posed. These concerned: how young people viewed their identity in relation to PSM; how young people make sense of their experiences; and, what helps them to cope with their experiences? The outline of the chapter is depicted below. The first section makes a brief comment on identity in general and highlights relevant models from the literature review, this is followed by sections two, three and four. Each of these sections discusses a feature of PSM (normalisation, parentification and growing up & growing down) in relation to identity. Section five focuses on systems and relationships - factors that can bolster positive identities - but also notes that these can be problematic. Finally, section six returns to identity and summarises the experience of the population with reference to the preceding sections.

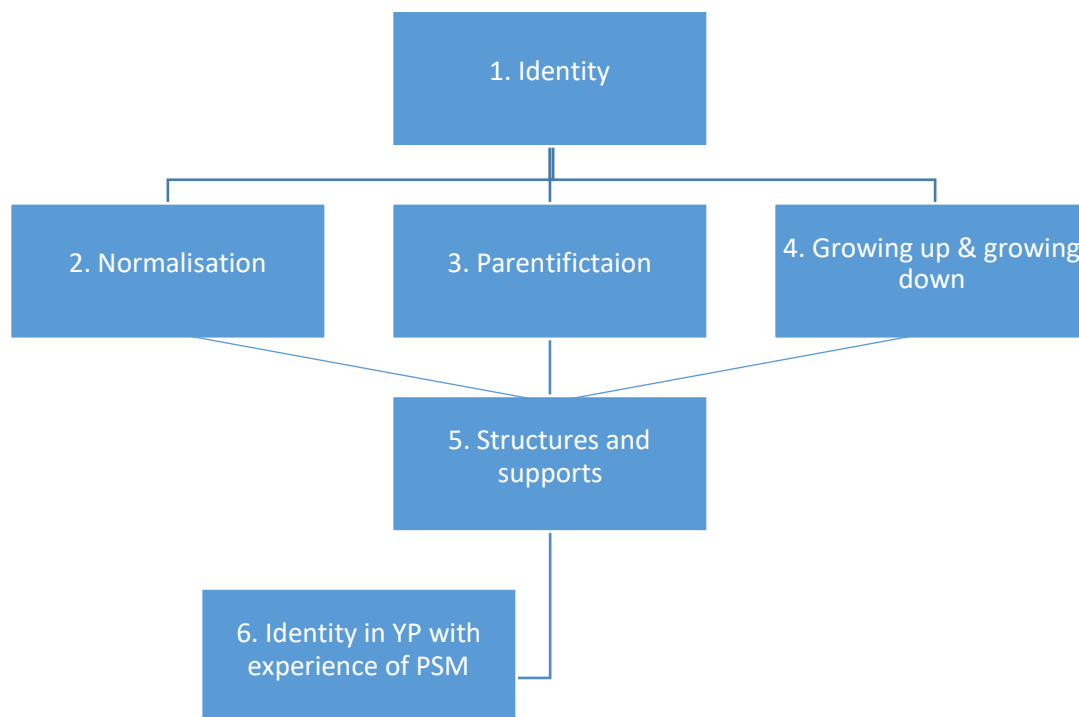


Table 7. Map of discussion chapter

5.1. Identity

At one level a positive adult identity is the goal of the education system, parenting and society in general. The link between identity development and the transition to adulthood is evidenced by the many theories which propose to explain contemporary transitions (Cote & Bynner, 2008; Arnett, 2000; Benson & Elder, 2011; Marcia, 2003). Throughout this chapter one point will be repeatedly made; that the experience of PSM appears to have given predictable contours to what is a highly individual process, and that this is over and above the effects of parentification alone.

Benson & Elder's (2011) model accounts for many of the transition theories in this area. It separates adult identity development during transition into two component parts: Social and intra-psychological. The former refers to processes such as social comparison, adoption of social roles and age-based norms (Cote & Bynner, 2008). The latter is concerned with internal processes such as self-responsibility and autonomy (Arnett, 2000). Benson & Elder (2011) argue that neither strand can account for adult identity in its entirety. Each must also consider the other. As Benson & Elder's (2011) model encompasses both, it will be the model that is used predominantly throughout the discussion. It is worth emphasizing that identity feeds into all of the preceding sections and will be returned to at the close of the chapter. The next section will focus on the process and narrative of normalisation; a concept that emerged frequently from the findings.

5.2. Narratives of Normalization

This section will discuss participant's realizations of non-normality, as well as the contribution of rare events and social comparison in exacerbating this feeling. The findings from the previous chapter indicated that participants felt their transition to adulthood has been hard and took considerable individual strength. In this way, participants saw their transitions, families and selves as 'non-normal'. Parentification is another way in which participants understood themselves as non-normal, however this is a broader topic and is addressed in a subsequent section.

5.2.1. Realization - That's when the penny dropped'

McGregor (2009) and Backett-Milburn et al (2008) both present accounts from young people who have come to understand that their development and families were not 'normal'. Both studies noted that the realization of difference took place gradually. A similar realization occurred for many of the current participants, typically in dialogue with others in the environment. Jebz, for instance, commented that it was only through hearing about other families' circumstances that she realized things were different for her.

However, a gradual understanding was not the case for everyone. Some detailed specific moments of change using the metaphors: 'that's when the penny dropped' or 'it just clicked with me'. These suggest a suddenness to the event - although this may be better described as a *tipping point* in understanding where a reinterpretation of previous events takes place. For these participants realizations happened during childhood or early adolescence - none of their parents began substance use when their children were in later adolescence as described by Sternberg et al (2018). Importantly, from this point onwards, participants viewed themselves and their families differently. They were compared to a 'norm' of a non-substance using family. This, the process of social comparison, is discussed in the next section.

5.2.2. Social comparison, socioeconomic status and class: drunks fall over, gentlemen lose their footing

The findings indicated that participants did not see their parent's substance use as something in which a 'normal family' engaged. Val's comment about the family stopping drugs and becoming 'normal' makes salient the family identity 'we' and not just the individual. This highlights that PSM does not just affect the young person in terms of

identity. Individuals saw themselves as part of families and this, a sense of family, was important to them (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). Participants were comparing their families to an idea of a 'normal family. They were making sense of their experience using social comparison. This was sometimes with reference to individuals but often it was to an abstracted idea of normality – the problem with this will be returned to in the summary.

Social comparison of this kind aligns with Benson & Elder's (2011) model of young adult development, which stresses the role of social status in perceptions of the self as an adult. The concept of a 'social clock' was also introduced - referring to the expected time by which the individual has achieved certain milestones relative to those around them. The age at which significant roles are acquired compared to peers and wider norms contribute to feelings of adulthood (Johnston et al, 2007). This was illustrated by many of the participants. One young man contrasted his status as an employee, boyfriend and college attendee to his same aged peers. His relative advancement was taken as a sign of his increased maturity, and as steps on the path towards adulthood.

The importance of social status is an interesting factor as many of the young people came from backgrounds that could be described as low SES. While parental substance misuse may be characterised as something which takes place in the context of poverty, Hughes et al (2017) showed that poverty, PSM and other adverse experiences all contribute to challenging situations that can impact on identity. The transition experiences of low socioeconomic status youth was the focus of Jordan's (2018) dissertation work. One of the findings indicated that the level of responsibility (or parentification) of young people from low socioeconomic backgrounds was higher than that of their more affluent peers. A similar argument is made in Benson & Elder (2011) and Kelley et al (2007) who note that this can lead to an increased subjective sense of maturity due to roles occupied and events witnessed. However, intra-psychological maturity may lag behind (Benson & Elder, 2011).

Comparing the participants' experiences in Jordan (2018) to those in the present study is important due to the similarity of objectives. Jordan's (2018) participants encountered a range of difficulties that were also apparent for those in the present study (e.g. social, relational, trust, and fast transitions). However, there were notable differences too. As mentioned, the participants in the current study saw their transitions, selves and families as 'non-normal' (Backett-Milburn, 2008). The root of this sense of difference followed similar

patterns related to PSM (i.e. shame, secrecy and parentification). Importantly, while parentification captures much of the current participants' experiences, they are distinctly different due to the PSM that also took place.

Social comparison was also discussed in Bickelhaupt (2012) who reported that many YP (US college attendees, daughters of alcoholics) desired to be like their 'normal' peers who did not have an alcoholic parent. Bickelhaupt (2012) found that participants were aware that a difference existed between their family dynamic and that of a 'typical' American family (though this is left undefined). Bickelhaupt (2012) argued that YP had a *need* to act in ways that suggested they did not have PSM challenges at home (this raises the question of whether individuals should always act in ways that are authentically reflective of their home experiences, and what this would look like?). The *act* was described as being: 'carefree and not taking things too seriously' according to a participant. Bickelhaupt (2012) described 'acting normal' as an internal barrier. However the decision to act as if nothing adverse was happening would be viewed from other perspectives as exercising agency, resilience and even be necessary for survival (Backett-Milburn, 2008). Evidently, like the current participants, the young women in Bickelhaupt (2012) also expressed a desire to hide what was going on at home (i.e. secrecy, shame) from their same aged peers. They saw a difference between themselves and their 'normal' peers with some describing their romantic partners as 'normal' with the implication that they themselves were not, thus comparing themselves to their partners. Relatedly, Backett-Milburn et al (2008) found that young people reported the difficulty that talking to someone about PSM presented due to the potential for rejection at revealing the 'family secret' and fears of stigma. However, being able to do so was seen as a considerable support, which was apparent in the accounts of the current participants. Thereby further suggesting the importance of relationships in the transition experience – discussed later in the chapter.

5.2.3. Internalizing symptoms and non-normality: 'Why am I like this, why?'

Internalizing symptoms appeared to be present in the accounts of the participants. Some chose to use familiar labels (i.e. ADHD, anxiety, depression) whereas others described difficulties more generally (i.e. feeling low, feeling shit). In this way they could be seen to highlight their difference from an imagined 'norm' of coping, or capability. At one level these implied that the young people, or those who gave the labels, suspected they had

something 'wrong' with them and that this was internal to the individual rather than a result of the environment and circumstance.

The literature review highlighted that young people who have grown up with parental substance misuse are at a greater risk of developing internalizing psychological symptoms in young adulthood (Caywood, 2007; Longman et al, 2014; Brook et al, 2010; Larkins & Shaer, 2006). The present study supported this, to an extent, as all of the participants discussed feelings including rumination, depression, anxiety, low mood and eating disorders.

However, it did not corroborate subjective reports of diagnoses as this was not an explicit aim.

The roots and effects of internalizing symptoms differed between studies. Longman (2014) attributed the development of internalising symptoms to the presence of greater childhood chaos. Brook et al (2010) found sex differences with males developing more alcohol use and psychological symptoms than female peers. Larkins & Shaer (2006) found that as participants got older, the presence of psychoticism, behavioural disinhibition and negative affect all diminished – in line with population trends. Essentially, Larkins & Shaer (2006) found that individuals *grow out of it*, unless of course, as Brook et al (2010) report, they don't and begin problematic substance use themselves. This latter point appeared to be the case for some of the current participants. The finding that young people tended to *grow out of it* (Larkins & Shaer, 2006) interacts with Benson & Elder's (2011) theory which suggests that parentification can lead to an early subjective sense of adulthood but with the psychological skills of adulthood lacking (Arnett, 2000). It may be that as psychological skills develop, individuals gain more control over their environments and thus internalizing symptoms, generated by stress at a lack of control, decrease. Biological support for this idea comes from research demonstrating maturation of the frontal lobes (involved in executive functions such as inhibitory control) continues up until the third decade of life (Patton & Viner, 2007; Sawyer et al, 2018). Whereas continuation of problematic substance use, in the context of other challenging circumstances (Hughes et al, 2017), creates an increasingly chaotic environment and internalizing symptoms continue as a result (Kroll & Taylor, 2003). Regardless, the present participants reported that internalizing symptoms affected the way they saw themselves in various identity roles: mother, son, daughter, employee and friend.

The roots were not readily apparent however, the contributing factors were: participants discussed the worry, anger and love they felt towards their parents.

These symptoms impacted on the participants in various ways. Some noted the effects they had on relationships, others commented on their ability to get and maintain jobs, or their ability to go to college. The young people also made comments that suggested they viewed the internalizing symptoms with a sense of permanency (e.g. 'oh, that's just my personality'). Relating back to the research question of PSM impacting upon YP's identity, one of the findings from Caywood (2007) and Larkins & Shaer (2006) was that adult children of PSM had an increased likelihood of developing psychological symptoms when they were using substances themselves. Half of the young people described this, noting that their own substance use was a coping mechanism, or provided a way to fit in (see Hedges, 2012) – discussed further in the section on relationships.

Returning to normality and substance use Hedges (2012) found that the young women in their study saw PSM as normal and expected adult behaviour. Abstinence in the participants and their families was in the minority, or abnormal. Substance use was then 'taken on' by the participants at a young age and understood as a way of belonging to the family group. While this was an extreme population (American) with more apparent exposure to substances than the current participants (e.g. majority of family system used substances) one of the current YP had begun using due, she said, as a result of witnessing her mother do so. She reasoned that if her mother is doing it, it must be okay for her too. This implicates socialisation and social environment norms, which are discussed in the section on systems.

5.2.4. Rare events and normality

Messages about difference could come in various forms. Hedges (2012) and Hussong et al (2008) highlighted that the occurrence of 'rare events' (e.g. bereavement, police contact etc.) was more frequent in children with experience of PSM. This was apparent for the current participants who reported: bereavement, parental arrest, legal involvement, long parental absences and rejection, moving into care, and frequent school exclusions. These experiences may have exacerbated feelings of difference and 'non-normality'. This was illustrated well through one participant who recalled the community searching for her father when he was reported missing – later found drowned following a Christmas party. She commented on the support that this showed, but also the intrusion it represented

especially given the context of PSM and the secrecy that surrounds it. The whole community met in the family home. Alcoholism and debt problems became impossible to conceal and the '*family secrets*' were *out*. The young person talked about the way both she and her mother were treated differently by the community afterwards. They lost friends and felt ostracized. In relation to Bickelhaupt (2012) the young woman no longer had the possibility of acting 'normal'. As a side, the young women's account raises the role of parental bereavement in contributing to feelings of non-normality, especially as a result of PSM. Velleman et al (2016) discuss this area and argue that bereavement of this nature represents special circumstances as there is stigma directed to both the bereaved and the deceased – however the findings are from a larger sample and with an older mean age than the current participants.

This section on normalization has commented on realization, social comparison, internalizing symptoms and rare events. It has argued that the young people in the study understood themselves, their families and their transitions as 'non-normal' in relation to each of these areas. In doing so, their identities have been impacted on by the value judgements which are smuggled into the term 'normal'. This will be developed in the final summary at the end of the chapter. The next section looks at another identity shaping experience – parentification.

5.3. Parentification and adulthood – ‘Normally you don’t become an adult until your 16-18 and I sort of had to grow up quicker, faster and mature’.

Growing up quickly in the context of parental substance misuse is associated with parentification or adultification (Dunlap et al, 2004; Bancroft et al, 2004; Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). This is where children take on roles typically performed by their parents or other adults. Participants discussed carrying out self-care tasks such as: cooking, cleaning and caring for siblings from a young age. However, one participant recalled looking after her incapacitated father and step-mother (i.e. fishing her out of the bath etc.) this level of responsibility and caregiving is much greater, and termed ‘destructive parentification’ (Hooper, Larotta & Lanthier, 2008). This is where hierarchies of authority and responsibility are inverted with consequent impacts on identity (Wilson et al, 2015). Importantly, Backett-Milburn et al (2008) argue that parentification is rarely a stable pattern in the context of PSM (this may be seen more readily in children caring for parents with long term illnesses: Wilson, 2015).

Indeed, a lack of stability was evident in many of the participants accounts (i.e. through periods of parental abstinence, absence, living with another parent or foster carer, or visiting relatives). The ‘destructive parentification’ from the participant referenced above is illuminative. When returning to stay with her mother, the responsibility and independence conferred at her father’s house was lost and reversed as her mother sought to compensate with increased vigilance and protection.

Parentification can affect identity (Wilson, 2015) in the experience of the young woman above, the instability of the situation may have led to different messages about the self (i.e. an independent adult who cares for, or a dependent adolescent who is cared for) in different locations and with different people. Relatedly, Backett-Milburn et al (2008) found that relinquishing parentified responsibilities was sometimes difficult for young people as the roles adopted could confirm social status outside the family – and the roles had become important for how young people understood themselves (see also: Benson & Elder, 2011). For this young person, the tension between the two environments, and identities, may have resulted in feelings of being out of control and contributed to internal psychological symptoms. Also relevant is Benson & Elder’s (2011) discussion which proposed that there are two sides to adult identity during transition – the sociological and the psychological. As

mentioned previously, the psychological is concerned with features such as personal responsibility and a sense of agency (Arnett, 2000). Whereas the sociological is concerned with social comparison to peers and an idea of a cultural norm by which time it is expected to have achieved certain developmental milestones. Internal conflict may arise when important people disconfirm the social roles achieved, but also, if the internal psychological development is not sufficient to cope with the demands of the adult world in which the young person sees themselves – which may be very challenging given the chaotic environments which PSM is capable of producing.

5.3.1. Parentification and resilience: smooth seas never made a skilful sailor? or out of your depth?

Post traumatic growth or resilience can emerge from contexts featuring parentification (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008; Hooper, Larotta & Lanthier, 2008). In one sense parentification could be seen as the giving of responsibilities to adolescents to develop their independence with the expectation that they subsequently feel more *adult-like*. Thereby developing a subjective sense of adulthood (Arnett, 2000). However, the specifics of each situation are important, particularly in the context of PSM. The consideration of *how* a task is given is important here – something educational psychologists know well through Dynamic Assessment (Lauchlan, 2012).

Half the young people's accounts show that individuals articulated a strong narrative of self-agency and resilience (however this was not the case for everyone and could have been a conscious presentation for the interviews, see reflections). As noted, while parentified contexts *may* provide opportunities for developing resilience and 'post traumatic growth' these do not necessarily happen automatically. The differences between participants are considerable in terms of where they are now, how much support they've had and what they have experienced (i.e. ACEs Hughes et al, 2017). Relatedly, as discussed in the section on 'non-normality' the amount of support given to young people in parentified roles was found by Benson & Elder (2011) and Burton (2007) to contribute to whether the young person became overwhelmed by parentification or not. This was hypothesized to affect a sense of agency or self-esteem. Furthermore, it was argued that families growing up in the context of poverty would have less resources at their disposal (Burton, 2007). Given this, parents would be less able to mediate in the extra responsibilities taken on and young people may

find themselves *out of their depth*. As has been made clear throughout the findings section, PSM has resulted in feelings of 'lacking support' for a variety of reasons, including parents putting their needs relating to substance use before those of their offspring.

The reverse of the unsupported parentification was also apparent. Benson & Elder (2011) and Burton (2007) stated that young people who are given similar responsibilities, but who are not experiencing poverty simultaneously, are able to benefit from these experiences due to the adult assistance that is available. The risks of failure are not as great and support can be tailored to levels of experience. This highlights one benefit of a stable supporting adult relationship often referenced in resilience literature (Velleman & Templeton, 2016). This was apparent in the participants' accounts; some had a supportive parent or foster parent, others made relationships with senior members of staff in jobs – discussed in section on systems and structures. Similarly, Backett-Milburn et al (2008) noted that the effects of social class were prevalent within their participants, the family of one was able to purchase a flat for a young person which enabled them to leave the challenging home environment with a sense of security.

An awareness that one can cope with difficult situations and exposure to adult events such as those associated PSM may develop feelings of maturity. An example comes from one participant who commented that she had done more than her peers when younger, but was now aware that they had overtaken her in terms of social indicators, and that she no longer saw herself at that level, as an adult.

This neatly encapsulated discussions about a subjective sense of adulthood, but one that was time limited. The social group and the rest of the cohort eventually *caught up* and the *head-start* was revealed to come at a cost. In *racing* towards adulthood, limited time can be spent developing the psychological skills necessary to meet the challenges it will present – especially in the context of PSM. This is not to say that it is the fault of the individuals, it is not a race they chose to run, as they will have had limited decision-making power in their environments based on their age and status. The development of these psychological skills is dependent on parenting, schooling, the family and wider society.

Parentification took place, to varying extents, for all of the participants. The effect on identity has been mediated, as has the parentification itself, by the amount of support on which the young people could draw. Some developed a strong sense of self-reliance or

agency whereas others have experienced the reverse. Overall, for these participants, parentification has encouraged them to leap ahead, but also destined them to be left behind. This is discussed in the next section: growing up and growing down.

5.3.2. Growing up and growing down: Abnormal contradiction or non-linear development?

The findings section indicates that the experience of the majority of participants was that of growing up earlier and faster than their peers. This was described as a necessity based on their circumstances and their parent's capacity. When faced with adult roles and responsibilities some accepted them while others were resistant to adulthood. In one case an YP took steps to reject adulthood. In this way participants could be considered to be *growing up and growing down*.

'ummm it was weird coz I think a lot of children of alcoholics and myself included, grow up too fast but don't grow up at all'. Nancy

Nancy's comment above neatly captures the logic of this section. However, it is important to state that the participants were all on different trajectories. While one young woman desired further independence and responsibility through moving out, beginning higher education, then work and finally moved back home feeling self-assured. Another was not in education, employment or training. She was trying to give up drugs and living with her grandmother.

5.3.3. Growing up

Growing up was influenced by factors discussed in the previous sections. On one level Individuals *grew* as they took on greater responsibilities and participated in or witnessed adult events – parentification. These experiences were made sense of in comparison to peers and with reference to various age-based norms (Benson & Elder, 2011). However, what it means to *grow up* and become adult was critically considered by the young people themselves. One young man highlighted many of the contradictions pointed out in the literature review; referencing social norms as well as changing socio-environmental conditions. Most pertinently for the present section, the participant pointed to a distinction between an *adult by law and an adult by mind*. This was similar to another young person who described a '*real adulthood*' that had a psychological rather than material focus. In this way it is aligned with Arnett's (2000) internal, subjective indicators of adulthood (e.g. self-responsibility etc.) as compared to more sociological, age-based indicators. Some of the participants suggested that they had the necessary psychological maturity but had not yet acquired the social roles. However, others thought that they lacked the psychological maturity having already experienced many of the social roles.

As the young people made apparent, what it *means* to grow up is a complicated subject. This has been usefully reconceptualised by Benson & Elder (2011) to include both the social normative milestones and psychological development. The findings indicated that participants' transitions were often speedy and solitary (Napolianto et al, 2010). Under these circumstances Benson & Elder (2011) hypothesized that psychological maturity may lag behind social indicators of adulthood. The discrepancy between these two may contribute to the feelings of 'inbetweenness' described by Arnett (2000, 2004, 2016). Indeed, young people from low socioeconomic backgrounds who had also experienced parentification reported a feeling of 'inbetweenness' (Jordan, 2018) which was similar to findings in the present study. The feeling of 'inbetweenness' contrasted with comments that suggested they had, when younger, seen themselves as adult. Paradoxically, their present uncertainty of status may reflect an increased psychological maturity which is indicative of adulthood. In terms of making sense of their experience growing up, at the time of interview, many young people were unsure of whether they were adults or not. The next section discusses what young people were growing into.

Parentification and becoming: Does the apple choose how far it falls from the tree?

'I was now going into my mum's world, and she didn't want, want to see her sister going down the same road as her mum.' Val

Parentification was considered in another sense too. That of *becoming* one's parents. Many participants commented on their similarities to their parents, and about being on the same 'path' as them. Following the logic that the same path leads to the same destination, the young people could be seen as considering whether they would *become* their parents or strike out a new path.

In relation to the participant's parents, two features were particularly relevant: firstly, that they are parents; secondly, that they misuse substances. These provide two identities (i.e. parents and substance users). They are understood by the participants in relation to their own experiences and to societal norms about what these two identities look like. Again, highlighting the importance of social comparison.

Addressing substance misuse, multiple studies have reported on the increased likelihood of adult children of PSM taking on the substance use patterns of their parents (Caywood, 2007; Rudolph et al, 2011; Hussong, Bauer & Huang; 2008; Sternberg et al, 2018; Hedges, 2012;

Brook et al, 2010). Various social and psychological mechanisms for this have been proposed (e.g. social learning and attachment theories, a life course perspective and adverse childhood experiences). Due to the high visibility or 'face' of substance misuse, it is an easy comparator between the young people and their parents. This was something done by the participants themselves. Importantly, comparisons of this kind are a simplification as there are many more aspects to a person's identity besides their use or avoidance of substances. Nonetheless, as the findings section and the quote above highlight, it was a feature and comparison that young people were drawn to themselves.

Unsurprisingly, the majority participants did not want to become their parents. The life of an addict is rarely desirable and as the participants indicated, they witnessed events they found challenging. The participants talked about shame, anger and displayed revulsion at the idea of becoming their parents. Yet they acknowledged the possibility of this happening and commented on it happening to their siblings. That some of the participants made the comparison between themselves and their parents in relation to substance misuse was clearly difficult in terms of their identity. This raised the possibility of further negative feelings directed inwards (see section on internalizing symptoms).

The second identity aspect to address from their parents in parenthood. Two participants are parents and a third has been meaningfully affected by the birth of her niece. At follow up interviews Napolitano (2010) found that participants who had made or maintained the most progress were new mothers. The birth of the next generation allowed for a point of comparison and reconfiguration of identity (Napolitano, 2010). For the current participants becoming parents enabled reflection on their own parents parenting. This allowed for comparisons between their parents and themselves – although this was not always positive. In this way, two of the young people stressed their difference from their own mothers despite the presence of clear, acknowledged, similarities. This was most pronounced in one young woman's account: she lost care of her child partly due to the impact of substances on her parenting capacity. Thus mirroring her own childhood growing up in foster care.

Bancroft et al (2004) discussed choice and control in relation to YP becoming *like* their parents. They suggested that control is exercised in YP 'preventing themselves becoming like the substance using parent'. This is an important point, and it raises a further question:

how much choice do young people have in shaping their identities in challenging contexts?

Can the apple choose how far it falls from the tree?

This is a big question that is not possible to fully answer within the bounds of the thesis.

However, returning to identity theories provides partial answers that are illuminative in this context. Marcia's (2003) categorization of identity status would place a young person who became like their parents as in either the 'identity foreclosure' or 'identity diffusion' categories (depending on the amount of exploration that has taken place previously). While this is described as a very individual process, the context of PSM, highlights that not all environments are equally able to facilitate identity exploration. This is due to a lack of opportunities and costs associated with exploration and commitment. Arnett's (2000) 'emerging adulthood' concept hinges on choice, but the choices his participants describe (Arnett, 2004) appear far away from some of those (but not all) facing the YP in the present study. Many of whom were thinking primarily of survival, the safety of their parents and for them there simply seemed less options to choose from.

To summarise, participants compared themselves to their parents. This could be a source of internal stress as they did not want to become them. The degree to which they, and others, saw them as in control of shaping their identities or becoming their parents is an important debate that is beyond the scope of the present research. The next section will look at adult identity and growing down.

5.3.4. Growing down

The previous section referred to the experience of growing up prematurely, however some young people were rejecting of adulthood and wished to *grow down*. The most extreme example of *growing down* came from one participant who, it appeared, had made a decision to begin sleeping with a teddy bear and a blanket as a way of indicating her return to childhood. While she was the only one to have taken such action, her experience could be placed at the extreme end of a scale on which all the participants could be placed. As highlighted in the findings, others also spoke about rejecting or resisting adulthood but to lesser extents. Arnett's (2000) Emerging Adulthood theory is helpful as it provides a structure with which to compare the YP's accounts. It proposes that an uncertainty about adult status during the ages 18-25 is characteristic of contemporary youth transitions. This raises the possibility that young people are acting in accordance with a wider social norm

and the experience of PSM has not affected this area of their lives. However, this was not the view of the YP, their reasoning was as follows: because they grew up so quickly they missed out on a carefree (and perhaps idealized) childhood. Now, because they missed out, they want to return to experience it belatedly. Arnett (2016) accepted that parentification may hasten the transition to adulthood in some instances. However, while EA suggests that YP will be resistant to committing to adult roles and status, no mention is made of a desire to return to childhood once adult status is acquired. Relatedly, and also difficult for EA, some of the participants saw themselves as trapped by the responsibilities of adulthood while wishing to return to childhood. This suggested that they did identify as adults sometimes or, at least, had done previously.

Growing down could be viewed through other models of transition and identity development. Considering Erikson (1968) and Marcia (2003) *growing down* could be explained by the initiation of an identity crisis (which is normative and metaphorical) where the resulting equilibrium that young people felt in adolescence has given way, and individuals must now *find themselves* again to restore lost equilibrium. In doing so they would be within one of the four identity statuses proposed by Marcia (2003). This is dictated by the extent to which they have explored and committed to an identity. However, the ability to explore and commit to a prosocial adult identity in the current social environmental context, brought about in part by PSM, is limited. For many of the young people adulthood has little to offer them (e.g. low paid unskilled work with anti-social hours). This analysis speaks, again, to Jordan (2018) and the transition experiences of young adults from low socioeconomic backgrounds.

Finally *Growing down* could be attributed to a rationalization in the face of difficulties presented in the adult environment. A way of expressing the difficulty of their particular circumstances. In this way, Cote & Bynner's (2008) concept of 'identity capital' may be useful in explaining *growing up and down*. The model suggests that much of early social and educational experience results in the accumulation of 'identity capital'. This may be tangible (i.e. parental support, group membership) or intangible (i.e. intellectual development, humour etc). Parental support and group membership was something which many of the participants lacked. The young people who are resistant to adulthood could be seen to be the ones who are most lacking in 'identity capital'. Indeed the participants' accounts were

characterised by a sense of self-agency or were devoid of it. Cote & Bynner (2008) propose that it is 'identity capital' which aides transitions between systems. Without it individuals will experience difficulty like the young people in the present study. They may then, due to the difficulty, reject adulthood as something they do not want to engage with – this could even be described as a resilient, yet unhelpful, response (Bancroft et al, 2004).

In this section identity has been discussed through the topics: growing up, becoming their parents and growing down. Models of identity development (Marcia, 2003; Cote & Bynner, 2008; Benson & Elder, 2011) have been used to elucidate the different potential effects that PSM can have on identity in transition for this population. From these, potential avenues for intervention have begun to emerge, discussed in the section on implications and in the next section on structures and supports.

5.4. Structures and supports:

Previously the discussion has commented on: parentification, normalization and growing up and down. It has presented the argument that these processes and events can impact on identity development in young people with experience of PSM. This section argues that systems and relationships can also modify the impact on identity from the factors discussed previously.

5.4.1. Systems

The findings from the present study indicate that being within systems (groups, clubs and organizations) were a protective factor for many of the young people. This is unsurprising given the centrality of systems to the resilience literature more generally (Velleman & Templeton, 2016). All but one of the young people were part of different systems to some extent and appeared to benefit from this involvement in similar ways. This was through: access to a wider peer group; being shown how to fit in by more experienced others; provision of time and space for development; enabling exploration; and, provision of advice from influential people outside the family. In these ways, identity development took place and challenges could be mediated by others outside of the family.

Marcia's (2003) model of identity development is useful to consider at this point. For 'identity achievement' to come about an individual must explore alternative identities and then commit to one. The role of systems in facilitating both these components is apparent in the experience of many of the participants and one young man in particular. He discussed the benefits of meeting people who provided advice (e.g. friends and teachers) and having had the opportunity to change direction of study, work and skill development. The young man was also aware that he had chosen a different path to the one he set out on, thereby demonstrating both exploration and commitment.

Marcia (2003) commented that diverse environments are differently conducive to exploration and commitment which could take place outside of a highly structured system like college. However, the structured environment appears to offer benefits that would be difficult for these YP to access elsewhere. However, it is important to note that systems needn't necessarily be positive. One young woman described the community in which she lived as 'making her turn' and determined to ruin her life since they had nothing better to

do. Additionally one young man noted that his peer group encouraged criminal activity resulting in his arrest for drug dealing as well as many other risky activities.

Continuing with Marcia's (2003) model, the exploration and commitment that was available within these systems appeared to be limited, especially in comparison to those available in an environment like college.

Presence in positive systems presents a benefit for young people, however, gaining and maintaining admission to systems could be challenging. Research introduced in the literature review, suggested that YP with experience of PSM can be limited by their history and circumstances in a variety of ways: access to peers (Jordan, 2018; Tyler, 2006) and activities (Hedges, 2012); the composition of their social network (Napolianto et al, 2010) or via a more general lack of resources (Jordan, 2018); and school attendance and success was also affected (Mangiavacchi & Piccoli, 2018). These barriers will all have feedback loops affecting individual's confidence and identity.

More generally, for young people attendance at clubs or groups is often reliant on the support given by their parents. This can be financial, motivational or in relation to indirect areas such as transport. PSM can impact these areas and add unique barriers such as shame and secrecy which, as highlighted previously, can affect trust and relationships (Jordan, 2018; Bickelhaupt, 2012; Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). As discussed in the section on non-normality the family, including the children, feel social judgement as well as the parents. This leads to the unsurprising conclusion that to support YP with experience of parental substance misuse, we also need to support their parents (i.e. Templeton, 2012).

Another relevant theory to the systems discussion is Cote's (2002) 'identity capital model'. This proposes that being within one system eases the transition to another (Wenger, 1998; Crafter, 2012). One reason for this is the help that can be elicited from more knowledgeable others already within those systems. This was apparent for many of the participants. Evidenced well by one young man who had remained in contact with his former high school since leaving many years previously. This continued contact enabled him to return on a volunteer basis and then to receive a job offer – remaining a peripheral part of that system eased his transition to employment.

The Identity Capital Model (Cote, 2002) highlights the ‘gaps’ between systems (i.e. the time between college and work) is now a feature of modern life and that individuals benefit from ‘identity capital’ to move effectively between them. These gaps were apparent for the participants, many had faced time out of school due to repeated exclusions, break downs in foster and training placements and some had had limited employment options. Group membership also provided social roles onto which individuals could pin their identity, bolstering it from challenges faced by circumstances at home. Just as being part of a system or group enabled easier transitions onwards the reverse was also true. Being isolated and outside of groups presented an obstruction to further transitions – evidenced in the two participants who had limited contact with groups and appeared to be struggling to a greater extent than the rest.

An important consideration from the ‘communities of practice’ (Wenger, 1998) work is that transitions do not happen in isolation. Adolescents are schooled in cohorts and peers are often in the same school year allowing for social comparison. Besides this, peers, siblings or parents can also provide knowledge about transition to new systems which the individual may not be aware of themselves. Both male participants spoke readily about their friends as a source of support and comparison. One used the term ‘band of brothers’ to refer to gym acquaintances, all of whom looked out for one another and shared a similar, albeit individual, goal. However, ‘communities of practice’ needn’t necessarily be positive (Hedges, 2012; Backett-Milburn et al, 2008), as is discussed in the next section on relationships.

5.4.2. Relationships

Identity can also be understood in relation to others. Young people talked about their relationships with their: children, partners, peers, siblings, parents and other influential adults. These relationships could bolster or undermine individuals’ positive identities.

5.4.2.1. Peers

Jordan (2018) found that the majority of participants saw themselves as isolated and felt that their transition was conducted largely on their own (see also: Napolianto et al, 2010). Findings suggested that individuals had a sense of mistrust in relation to friends and acquaintances - although this was predominantly about the absence of parental support rather than friends. While some of the current participants saw large parts of their

childhood as being spent alone, and saw themselves as relatively isolated, the role of friends in their transitions was also emphasized.

5.4.2.2. Social networks

Rudolph et al (2011) found that adult children of parental substance misuse had a higher proportion of drug users in their friendship networks than a control group. Many of the current participants noted that their friends and acquaintances used substances, and that this was a shared social activity. However, due to their experience growing up with PSM, and the difficulties this presented, their own substance use presented a challenge to their preferred identity. As mentioned, participants did not want to become their parents and substance use was associated with their parent's identity and actions. Given this, some abstained from substance use altogether but some struggled to do so as it was a prominent social activity. One participant described not knowing how to socialize without using substances. Another did not know anyone locally who abstained and faced isolation. A further young person thought carefully about whether his peers smoking marijuana while they raised their own children was morally permissible given his experience growing up. Substance use could be a coping mechanism, a response to the sadness or isolation and this brought individuals back into contact with the peers and substances they made efforts to avoid.

Relatedly, Backett-Milburn et al (2008) found that while friendships could be supportive and provide respite from their home environment, friendships sometimes led to involvement in self-destructive behaviour (i.e. substance use, criminal activity). This was true for half of the participants, and especially so for one young man who was involved in crime, and later arrested for drug dealing. He, like many of the others, reported that he got in with the wrong crowd. However also noted that dealing drugs provided a way to be needed by someone.

5.4.2.3. Barriers

Peers and relationships were impacted in other ways. Jordan (2018) discussed low socioeconomic status as a barrier to friendship due to a lack of resources, and arguing that resource can ease participation in social activities (see also Bancroft et al, 2004). This links to the concept of 'social capital' (Bynner & Cote, 2008; Cote, 2002) which can aide transitions and independence. Resource implications for friendships emerged from multiple accounts in

the present study. One participant contrasted living with his long-term foster carer - who could give him pocket money and buy him clothes, which he felt eased his *fitting in* with peers – with his mother who spent all the family’s money on alcohol. Another young woman noted that the friend group she developed were all financially restricted, which helped as she no longer felt the need to ‘keep up’ with others. She also highlighted the difficulties experienced due to the financial precariousness of her family following the death of her father. This highlights the interrelatedness between PSM, relationships and other concerns such as poverty (see; Hughes et al, 2017).

A further barrier to friendship for participants was the parental substance use itself. Reflecting on their upbringing, participants commented that they were reluctant to invite friends’ round for fear of their parents’ actions being discovered (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). Where this did happen it resulted in realizations of non-normality, negative consequences (friends no longer allowed to visit; embarrassment) and reinforced the need to keep the family secret (discussed in section on non-normality). These latter issues are also discussed in the next section, romantic relationships.

5.4.2.4. Romantic relationships

Long term relationships with a romantic partner can be seen as partially indicative of adult status (PfA, 2013). The participants in the current study made sense of their relationships with previous and current partners in different ways. Some talked about having multiple partners and holding previous beliefs that having sex was equivalent to adulthood. One mentioned the initial concealment and subsequent revelation of PSM to a partner which raised issues of secrecy and trust. Another mentioned the effects on communication skills and personality. Living with a partner was discussed, as was the inability to trust and care for a partner. Finally, the benefit that a partner can bring was also raised. These interrelated topics feature below.

Arnett (2004) argued that relationships in adolescence are more transient than those that occur at later ages, but also that they allow for social and emotional development as well as self-exploration (Jordan, 2018). This was found in the current study where two participants commented on the stability and growth that their partners had engendered in them. Arnett (2014) argued that romantic relationships among emerging adults are similarly unstable and exploratory. This pattern was evident in the participants, some YP had previous

relationships that broke down acrimoniously. Jordan (2018) found that many participants chose not to be involved in long term relationships due to concerns about trust and intimacy. Bickelhaupt (2012) indicated that a partner can lead to growth by developing trust and communication in adult children of PSM. The healthy relationship then became a support in the transition to adulthood. Both of the male participants in the current study indicated the benefits of intimacy and relationships in leading to personal growth. One stressed that he would not be where he is now, save for meeting his girlfriend. The other noted that his wife helped to settle him.

Bickelhaupt's (2012) findings were in contrast to those of Kelley et al (2010) which highlighted the attachment difficulties of adult children (daughters) of alcoholics. These indicated that daughters of alcoholics displayed more anxious and avoidant behaviours within relationships (i.e. regulating attachment to partners through approval seeking and exhibiting defensive behaviour toward others) than young women without family history of PSM. Some of the current participant's detailed previous relationships that had developed quickly (e.g. moving in with new partners). This was also apparent in Jordan's (2018) findings. The reasons for cohabitation were sometimes to get away from their home environment and to avoid homelessness. While moving away from home could present positive change in the short term, these periods of living interdependently did not last – this could be attributable to insecure attachment styles as in (Kelley et al, 2010) however this was not assessed in the data collection.

5.4.2.5. Communication problems

Communication patterns within romantic relationships were also a feature. One young man stressed this in particular when commenting on his 'coldness', 'difficultness' and preference to be alone. Communication problems were apparent in the participant's relationship with his mother. He recounted that she was rarely able to talk about things that were meaningful and whenever a *big* conversation loomed, his mother would go into her bedroom and smoke – a coping mechanism. The young man highlighted that his mother's substance use has made him who he is today, something of which he is proud, but that it has also made him *difficult*. He and his wife both attributed communication difficulties to his upbringing. This suggested that the way he made sense of his experience was also in response to his wife's interpretation, and that making sense of past experiences is not an individual pursuit.

Napoliato et al (2010) reported that respondents showed a preference for self-reliance which stemmed from a reluctance to trust other people. This was attributed to socialisation and attachment styles learned from parents. Jordan (2018) reported similar findings and explained these as young people not having role models who had engaged in caring relationships over long periods of time. These issues may have been a factor in relationship formation and maintenance in the present study. An inability to trust hampering intimacy and lacking adult role models that successfully work through relationship conflict. Two participants made reference to their fathers being bad examples. One noted the negative impact that this had but also reframed it, highlighting that a bad example enabled her to know what to avoid from a future partner.

The discussion brings together two strands: romantic relationships and a sense of self agency - both can be seen as adaptive and helpful. However, if a strong sense of self-agency impedes relationships formation due to fear of trusting another, this could be an area that may benefit from exploration. Indeed, one participant referenced this when speaking of the benefits of counselling. Another participant discussed not feeling ready to care for a partner at the time of the interview but did feel ready to look after rescue dogs due to their comparative transparency compared to people. This is seen in light of the relationship with her alcoholic father who had recently disowned her and disappeared. Bringing issues of trust and dependability to the fore.

When relationships were trusting and long-lasting they provided direct and indirect benefits for YP and their transitions (Bickelhaupt, 2012; Backett-Milburn et al, 2008). The latter was in the form of social opportunities the relationship made possible. In particular, access to the partners friends and relatives who broaden the social network. They provided a level of stability and support which was not forthcoming from participants own parents. This latter point was the case for both male participants who commented about a lack of support at home, and benefited from the psychological (e.g. difficult conversations, listening) and instructional support (CV advice) given by their partners' parents.

Relationship difficulties could be seen from an EA perspective (i.e. exploring self and possibilities in love) or in relation to experience of PSM and the chaotic environment that the young people experienced; such as the issues of trust highlighted by Napoliato et al (2010) and Jordan (2018). In terms of theoretical explanations Jordan (2018), Napoliato et

al (2010), Kelley et al (2010) and Rudolph (2011) suggest that Attachment Theory is especially relevant. The logic is that the primary caregiver is not available due to direct and indirect activities and can be rejecting due to the chaotic environment engendered from PSM. This leaves children with an internal working model which sees the self as unworthy and predicts that others are unavailable. However, it is important to state that not all children of PSM will necessarily develop attachment difficulties. Substance use may start later in the child's development (Sternberg et al, 2018) or there may be another supportive adult within the family. However, the impact on YP's internal working models does present a useful explanation. However it was not possible to ascertain the attachment styles of individuals and to do so from the data would be speculation.

This section on structures and systems has focused on two areas: systems and relationships. Within the former the benefits of being within systems has been articulated via the provision of support that they provide during transition. The relationships section looked at the protective and risk factors that are present within peers and romantic partners.

Systems, peers and romantic partners all provide feedback loops in terms of identity, if positive this bolsters a sense of positive identity. The reverse is also true. The message from the section on systems is that getting into them can be difficult with the experience of PSM. For that reason, this is an area where educational psychologists could advocate on their behalf; discussed at greater length in the section on implications. The next section presents a more general summary.

5.5. Summary: Identity development during transition in young people with experience of parental substance misuse

An aim of the chapter was to discuss identity development in relation to PSM and the transition to adulthood. This has been approached through discussing: normalization; parentification; growing up & growing down; and systems. These areas are summarised below.

One of the key findings of the thesis is that YP made reference to the concept of normality. They saw themselves and their families as distinct from it. This is important as the choice of the word 'normal' rather than non-typical, different etc. contains value judgements which impact on identity (e.g. normal good, abnormal bad). These value judgements can then impact on identity at the level of the family and the individual. As seen in the young man who makes efforts to distinguish himself from his family due to their claiming benefits. The idea of normality for young people came about from things not done (e.g. drugs, spending all the money on alcohol, listening to their children) as well as things done (e.g. family holidays, parents who worked, parents who were supportive and angry at appropriate times). Social comparison was a way by which normality was judged. The young people were often striving for 'normality' (Bickelhaupt, 2012) but this normality was often illusory, ill-defined or hard to engender. A further problem with this pursuit was that it frequently used an abstracted idea of normality. This could be constructed with market or political intent as in the concept of a 'hardworking family' (Cain, 2016) used by political strategists pertaining to those who claim benefits.

Both internalizing symptoms and the occurrence of rare events contributed to feelings of non-normality. Both were shown to be more prevalent in young people with experience of PSM. Finally, Hedges (2012) presented findings that showed for some young people abstinence may be abnormal and substance use normal. This raises the question of how norms are constructed, and the extent to which individuals choose to identify with a norm.

The section on parentification relied heavily on Benson & Elder's (2011) model which separated adulthood into intra-psychological and external sociological factors. It was argued that Parentification could lead young people with experience of PSM to leap ahead in terms of the sociological and subjective indicators of adulthood. However, it left them behind in terms of developing the intra-psychological skills necessary to manage the demands of an

adult identity. Especially in the context of little parental support and challenging social environments for transition. The impact on identity, then, was negative if individuals failed to live up to their own estimations of being adult via later stage sociological indicators (e.g. jobs, stable partnerships and successful parenting).

Important findings were discussed in the section on growing up & down, particularly in relation to *becoming their parents*. An Individual's identity was impacted through their awareness of their parents' actions in relation to parenthood and substance use. These identities came into focus when young people became parents themselves but also via comparison when young people engaged in, or decidedly avoided, substance use. It was clear the young people did not want to become their parents.

Another important finding was that of *growing down*, which interacted with Arnett's (2000) EA theory and delayed transitions, however appeared to go further. While many participants were unsure of their adult status (in concordance with EA) some were demonstrably resistant to the baggage of adulthood despite acknowledging they were within it. Another had chosen to reject adulthood altogether by actively reengaging with childhood symbols to elicit a caring response from her mother. This finding highlights the potential for unique transitional patterns in the contrast of PSM that are not well explained by EA theory.

The section on structures and systems argued that being part of a system was beneficial for young people in myriad ways: mediating challenges through support, providing connections that aided important steps in transition and thus in developing 'identity capital'. The experience of participants who occupied few group positions contrasted with those who were part of many groups. The concepts of 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998) and the 'Identity Capital' (Cote & Bynner, 2008) were utilized to put the participants' experience within theoretical contexts. Relationships were also discussed within this section. The positive effects of peers and romantic partners in terms of identity development was stressed. However, it was also noted that peers may lead individuals into more challenging environments (Backett-Milburn et al, 2008) and that formation of romantic relationships may be difficult due to issues of trust and intimacy (Jordan, 2018; Backett-Milburn, 2008; Keeley, 2010) as a result of PSM.

In drawing together the different elements of the discussion it is useful to return to some of the initial challenges in terminology. As discussed in the literature review, adulthood has been variously defined. The Preparing for Adulthood (2013) document highlights: independent living; good health; friends, relationships and community; and employment as key areas to consider when transition planning. However, these areas more or less leave out identity and are weighted towards the sociological indicators. As argued throughout the thesis, internal psychological maturity and indicators are also important (Arnett, 2000; Benson & Elder, 2011).

The majority of participants reported that they grew up faster than their same aged peers, and that this was due, in part, to their experiences of PSM (i.e. parentification). Benson & Elder (2011) argued that individuals exposed to adult social responsibilities from an early age developed the psychological indicators of adulthood later, and that this is due to a lack of parental support in navigating the challenges of parentification. The lack of parental support could stem from a variety of reasons, not least those associated with poverty, however in the present context PSM often necessitates increased parentification (Kelley, 2007; Jordan, 2018). Benson & Elder (2011) also argued that more affluent peers who were given similar responsibilities tended to benefit from these experiences and that this is contingent on the support provided.

This is a familiar concept in the world of educational psychology (i.e. the logic of Dynamic Assessment). The same challenge faced by two individuals with similar levels of ability can be experienced and completed differently due to the presence of mediation for one of those young people by a more able other. Completion of such a responsibility or task can lead to enhancement of self-agency or esteem, whereas failure may lead to a stress response and undermine agency and esteem (see section on internalizing symptoms). This is where the role of systems and supports gains importance. In absence of parental support, systems, groups, clubs and relationships potentially provide support and access to more able others who can provide that mediation and guidance.

Finally, social comparison remains central to young people's sense making of their experiences and Benson & Elder's (2011) model suggests that as social status changes with jobs, parenthood and education so do self-perceptions of being an adult. As peers begin symbolic forays into adulthood (e.g. responsible jobs, marriage, parenthood etc) some of

the participants remained in a similar position in terms of adult indicators, while others appeared to progress. Positive connection and support are fundamental for adaptive identity development in young people with experience of PSM. The need for these supports are potentially greater in YP with this experience given the obstacles that PSM presents in terms of identity development, secrecy and stigma.

In terms of assisting young people in this population it would be easy to recommend individual change as a solution (i.e. X would benefit from the development of a sense of self-agency and help making better decisions). The logic of the adventure breaks that one young person attended was exactly this - and they appeared partially effective (e.g. the YP had examples of overcoming adversity and challenge they expected to be thwarted by, made connections with peers and provided a break from substance misuse). However, on return to her home environment the individual was not able to maintain these positive changes and returned, reluctantly, to previous patterns of action. The thesis has shown that while development of individual intra-psychological skills is a good place to start, it is a bad place to stop. For interventions of this type to be at all effective the environment and social connections need to change, or be changed alongside the individual, that means working with the family and finding supportive groups in which individuals can play a part.

6. Conclusion

This study aimed to better understand the experiences of young people transitioning to adulthood who had lived with parental substance misuse. This was achieved through the use of novel interview techniques (e.g. the Life Grid and Collage Construction) to mediate the discussion given the potential sensitive nature of the topic.

It was hoped that the study would inform the understanding of educational psychologists and related professions. Thereby raising the profile of a subject that is often kept secret due to shame and stigma.

Three research questions were posed to achieve the primary goal of better understanding their experiences:

- What, if any, impact did PSM have on YP's identities?
- How did YP make sense of their transitions in the context of PSM?
- What helped YP in terms of getting by?

Firstly, as raised in the discussion section, participants believed that PSM had affected their identities. They had been exposed to adult orientated events from a young age and this accelerated their subjective sense of maturity relative to their peers. The young people felt that they were non-normal and that PSM had left many with internalizing symptoms (i.e. worry, anxiety and depression) which impacted further on how they saw themselves. Most prominently, individuals thought of their identities in relation to their parents and whether they themselves may become their parents. This was a concerning topic for young people and highlighted wider questions of choice in challenging contexts.

Addressing the second research question, participants clearly made sense of their transitions through the process of social comparison. This could be to their peers, siblings, parents or to an idealized or ill-defined norm. Participants also used wider family identities when thinking about norms and social comparison, thinking of themselves as more than individuals. In this way, participants thought that their transitions happened earlier and at greater pace than their same aged peers. They believed themselves to have become adult before their peers, but now many were unsure of their status as adults. The young people had internalized the identity of being mature beyond their years at an earlier age. However,

as older young people many no longer had the experiences commensurate with the norms of society or their peers. This led to feelings of uncertainty.

Finally, in response to the third research question ‘what helped?’ the findings were similarly clear. Being within systems like college, being part of a gym or church was beneficial. These systems provided contact with peers and adults outside of the family who were often able to provide support in one way or another. The young people often felt that their parents did not support them, and Benson & Elder (2011) highlighted the importance of support in terms of mediating challenges and the impact this subsequently has on self-esteem, and thus identity. Identities were also developed in relation to the values of systems and groups of which they were part, YP’s memberships of these could strengthen their sense of identity purely through being a part of something. Being within a system also enabled easier transitions between them (i.e. moving from college to work, or from one job to another). This was due to the greater social network that the initial system provides, and the likelihood that an individual would know someone who was in the new system, or a comparable one.

Relatedly, another area that ‘helped’ was relationships. These could be with peers, role models, other relatives or romantic partners. In terms of the latter, when this went well this was reported to lead to support, stability and growth. Having someone to be intimate with was highly valued. However, many of the participants experienced difficulties with all kinds of relationships and trust. Indeed, while a close network of friends and a romantic partner helped some, this could also make individual’s situations worse via involvement in criminality and personal substance use.

There are limitations to the present study (see relevant section) however, it has succeeded in some respects. It gave voice to a population that are often hard to reach and who are rarely involved in research discussions about them. Additionally, it has placed identity development as a key concern in terms of the transition to adulthood – which is lacking in planning documents (PfA, 2013). It has highlighted the importance of groups and relationships in supporting young people with this experience and articulated reasons why access and maintenance of both may be difficult. Finally, returning to identity, it has made apparent fundamental concerns about identity development in this population – whether one will become their parents. In doing so, it may aide practitioners in cooperatively finding

paths which enable YP to make choices while thinking of the context as well as internal factors.

6.1. Limitations / areas of further research

This section will highlight limitations of the present study as well as areas where there is room for improvement. It will close with a brief discussion on areas for further research.

6.1.2. Limitations

There were two main limitations in the study: homogeneity and adherence to the research design.

Firstly, homogeneity, a limitation of the study was the relative variability in YPs experiences. All participants had at least one parent that used substances in a way that was problematic for the family. However, some had also experienced parental bereavement; others were in long term foster care; the PSM varied in severity (e.g. heroin to alcohol); and some individuals were in supportive relationships whereas others had had challenging relationships in the past.

Velleman et al (2016) argued that bereavement with PSM represents *special circumstances* as stigma is directed to both the bereaved and the deceased. This may have impacted on YP's transitions in a variety of ways. Additionally, five of the six young people had siblings and the effects of PSM may play out differently due to the birth order and consequent responsibilities or exposure that young people face (e.g. elder siblings may feel more responsible for their younger brothers or sisters and thus take on greater caring roles). The interaction between gender and siblings could also be explored further (Backett-Milburn, 2008) reported that elder female siblings may take on a family caregiving role more frequently than male siblings.

Staying with homogeneity, there was variation within the community identities of the young people. One participant had East African roots and repeatedly stressed her links to the diaspora. Another mentioned the influence of his Jamaican descent. The effects of this were revealed in a variety of ways (e.g. the age at which one takes on adult responsibilities, expectations from parents and attitudes toward homosexuality). The differing influence of community values may have led to the generation of subtly different norms thereby reducing the homogeneity of the sample.

A design implementation limitation was that the amount of time spent and activities undertaken with each participant was variable (e.g. some completed all steps in the

research design, others only completed a Life Grid and semi-structured interview. This was due to the extremely challenging circumstances of finding participants, organizing interviews and participants' attendance at booked interviews (discussed in the methods section and further in the reflections in appendices). This impacted on travel as well as timing arrangements. In total 7 interview sessions were missed by young people or cancelled moments before they were due to start.

6.1.3. Future research areas

In conducting the research several areas for potential future study emerged. Four are presented below: severity and self-agency; black Asian minority ethnic experiences of PSM and transition; siblings; and, experiences of leaving and returning home.

Severity of PSM could be approximately measured in the future, this could take the form of length of time using, substances used, single or dual parent use and frequency of rare events. However, any results would also have to consider the presence of ACEs (Hughes et al, 2017) and that these may be more informative. This could interact with explorations of YP's current sense of self-agency or attributional style and could highlight patterns in relation to severity of PSM and home environment as well as inform interventions to develop this area.

Two of the participants were from minority ethnic groups. One account made reference to this more explicitly, while the other young person made only brief mention of a cultural identity. Exploration of cultural identity and PSM is an under researched topic in the UK and would therefore be useful in informing educational psychology theory and practice.

Exploring the identities of being a 'big brother or sister' within a context of PSM would also be illuminative; this could be in a similarly aged population looking back on their experiences. As mentioned, many of the YP had siblings and the roles and responsibilities based on birth order and gender may be enlightening and enable structured support to be more effectively given to young people.

Finally, a project title: 'one step forward, two steps back' looking at a similar population, could investigate YPs experiences of leaving home to live independently and then returning home where parents continue to use substances. This may be a challenging experience as the initial reasons for leaving home could be to get away from parents and home life. There

may be feelings of guilt at leaving siblings or other family members behind, and then feelings of shame at not being able to continue independent living. This could support services who work with transitioning young people.

6.2. Establishing quality

The issue of quality criteria in qualitative research methodologies is important. This section will evaluate quality criteria with reference to the present study. A previous essay (Byrne, 2018) was used to guide and support the arguments made below. Willig (2013, p152) argues that establishing quality in qualitative research is a primary concern. However, that it should not be judged using the same criteria as quantitative studies. Smith, Flowers & Larkin (2009) suggest Yardley's (2000) quality criteria as follows: Sensitivity to context; commitment & rigour; transparency & coherence; and, impact & importance. These will be outlined in turn.

6.2.1. Sensitivity to context

As highlighted in the methodology section the present study paid particular attention to the participants' context in terms of the secrecy and shame that are associated with PSM. One way of doing this was through choosing tasks within the interviews designed to mediate the experience (i.e. Life Grids, Collage making) as research suggested that a task-based approach could be effective in bridging difficult periods of silence, as well as boosting engagement in the process. Additionally, IPA was chosen due to its flexibility and orientation on uncovering meaning and identity. It was reasoned that a more direct approach (i.e. questionnaires) may not engage YP; engender feelings of things being done to rather than with them; and, leave them feeling as though their personal accounts hadn't been heard. IPA also has the benefit of allowing the researcher to display empathy, offer reassurance and consider the power dynamics within the interview process (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009 p180).

6.2.2. Commitment & Rigour

The present study demonstrated rigour in a number of ways. Firstly, this was achieved through the use of multiple interviews for some of the participants. This allowed time for individuals to develop their accounts, as well as the opportunity to reflect on things said previously and alter or develop them. The use of the 'collage' and 'life grid' - while not designed or intended this way - could be seen as a form of triangulating YP's accounts. Individuals were able to get across what they meant in different mediums. Rigour was also

apparent in the interview process itself. Smith, Flowers & Larkin (2009) note that skills such as 'digging deeper' and keeping boundaries are important and difficult for novice researchers to achieve. Fortunately, the Educational Psychology placement developed these skills through frequent and repeated practice through casework, thereby enabling sufficient depth to be achieved in the interviews.

Commitment has been demonstrated through the search for participants which encompassed significant travel, accommodation, time and tolerance for uncertainty. Many interviews were called off at the last minute following long journeys or overnight stays. However, there was an understanding of the context that the YP were in (often chaotic and unpredictable) which necessitated sudden changes to plans. However, a personal commitment to hear and promote the voices of the YP with this experience enabled resourcefulness and flexibility in finding participants and ensuring the interviews worked.

6.2.3. Transparency and coherence

In efforts to improve the transparency and coherence the process of selecting participants was detailed in the methods section. The above paragraphs outlining the limitations of the study are thorough and in a spirit of acknowledging weaknesses. Additional reflections on the difficulty of this are attached in the appendices. The steps taken within the analysis are also included in the methods section. The interview schedule, analytic tables and other documents are included in the appendices.

In relation to coherence, it is hoped that the choice of IPA is a 'good fit' with the research questions and overall drive of the study. These are concerned with identity and meaning making (key areas for IPA; Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009) as such, it would appear, that this is the case. Coherence is also demonstrated through adherence to principles of phenomenology and hermeneutics – discussed in the methods section.

6.2.4. Impact and importance

The introduction highlighted the importance of the topic. Unfortunately it has been somewhat forgotten since its zenith: 2003 – 2008 (ACMD, 2008). Given that the age range for EP involvement has recently increased to 25, this work is important in breaking new ground as few studies from an EP perspective have focused on this area, or with this population.

The accounts presented from the YP themselves are impactful in their descriptions of resilience despite very challenging circumstances. It is hoped that this will hold the attention of readers in related professions. Thereby promoting an interest in this area more generally. Considerations of utility are also important. A model for joint discussion with young people with experience of PSM was produced as a result of the thesis (see below). This provides a conversational map which YP and supporting adults can use to explore concerns which may occur in the lives of YP with experience of PSM.

6.3. Implications for Educational Psychology

An indicator of quality in qualitative research is the 'impact and importance' which a study demonstrates (Yardley, 2000). The importance of PSM and YP's identity is highlighted in the introduction however the impact of this research is determined by how it is carried forward from this point.

An overarching goal of the education system is to facilitate healthy young people entering adulthood and contributing to the community. PSM is not infrequent (Velleman & Templeton, 2016) as such it is likely to emerge in casework for many EPs. This research (alongside that introduced in the literature review) has demonstrated that PSM can negatively impact YP's transitions to adulthood in multiple ways. To reduce the impact of PSM it is suggested that the following points are considered at an individual, group and systems level (Fallon, Woods & Rooney, 2010).

6.3.1. *Individual*

This research concurs with previous findings about internalizing psychological symptoms. At their root, many of these may have tangled issues of shame, worry about the parent, parental love, stigma and fear of turning into their own parents. This is a valuable contribution to the literature as the studies reviewed are generally longitudinal and comment on the occurrence of internalizing symptoms but say little about the nuance with which they are held by individuals. These areas may serve as directions in jointly exploring a preferred identity with a young person or family. Relatedly, counselling was favourably reported by participants, it should be considered as a way of addressing individual concerns of young people.

Personal substance use is another important topic for individual consideration. The implication this had for YP with experience of PSM in terms of identity was significant. It affected how they socialised, coped with challenges and thought about their futures. Frank conversations about personal substance use may also feature in individual conversations with supportive adults – with the awareness that these will be sensitive areas. The Children and Families Act (2015) enables a greater role for young people and their families to become involved in strategic decision making about YP's futures and transitions. In this way, the findings highlighted in this study may go some way to influencing conversations around independent living, identity and relationships.

Communication and relationships go hand in hand. Much of the literature refers to socialisation and attachment theories to make sense of individual's identity and relationship patterns. Support, skills and training for parents and children may enable the severity of disagreements to be reduced thereby reducing tension within households and thus the need for problematic coping mechanisms.

A nuanced discussion of parentification with individuals may aid them to put their situation in perspective, as well as reframe others' understanding of their actions. A key issue will be the effect of leaping ahead then the risk of falling behind relative to their peers.

Additionally, the instability of parentified roles which could leave YP and others uncertain of their position within a group and their ability to cope with challenges without support.

Finally, it is important to establish role models for young people that are relatable as well as aspirational. The way in which many successful individuals (e.g. Einstein, Richard Branson or Keira Knightly) are highlighted as having dyslexia provides a template. The message that one does not need to be limited or judged by their experiences is important.

6.3.2. Group

The role of an EP as a community psychologist (MacKay, 2002) is relevant at the group and systems levels. At the group level attention should primarily be given to identifying meaningful groups and clubs in which the young person can play a part. Considerations of access and maintenance need to be addressed due to the barriers that PSM can create (i.e. shame, lack of resources, other caring responsibilities). As discussed, the group can provide new norms that encourage adaptive identities and contacts that can aid the YP's transition to adulthood in a variety of ways (e.g. work, relationships and contributing to something meaningful). Loxley (1978) noted the privileged position of influence that EP's hold. It will be important to use this influence in multiple systems to stress that young people are more than individuals and should be understood as such. This also pertains to effective MAW (Munro, 2011; Adamson & Templeton, 2012) EPs are well positioned to articulate the needs of YP to other services that may be working with the family. Identity was a central concern for these young people but the extent to which it interacted with family, peer and education groups needs to be reiterated to members of those groups as well as the individual.

Discussing PSM within school lessons on drugs or similar topics may usefully instigate these discussions with a trusted teacher. Given the prevalence indicated in Velleman & Templeton

(2016) it is likely that this would be relevant to many school and college aged young people. Importantly, discussion of issues such as shame, worry, secrecy and responsibility may normalize these feelings in those that experience them. In turn, opening-up dialogue with others or at least reducing the feeling that one is non-normal, which was prominent within the current sample. Relatedly, having an awareness of and highlighting groups with a specific focus on PSM such as NACOA (National Association for Children of Alcoholics) may enable young people to find other people like themselves, and even to contribute to something that they care about through their participation. These actions were highly valued by young people in the study.

6.3.3. *Systemic*

At the broadest level the principle of early intervention remains a useful principle in reducing the worst effects of PSM on identity and transition in the age group 16-25. This principle should be applied to families as well as individuals. As was apparent from the young people's accounts, despite many of them living away from home in their formative years, the relationship with their birth parents remained strong and meaningful. Templeton (2014) provides a model for delivering interventions to families together.

An awareness in systems of the demands that YP experiencing PSM are facing would also be beneficial. Therefore a role for EP's in delivering training on PSM to education staff is also foreseeable. Greater awareness may enable flexibility at time of distress and give YP confidence in their security within systems.

Another feature at the systems level is with reference to the role of the EP as a scientist practitioner (Frederickson, 2007). Similar research to the present study can and should contribute to informing education, healthcare and policy systems about the needs of individuals, groups and families affected by substance misuse (see recommendations for further research highlighted above).

Finally, the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) literature places PSM within a broader context of risk and resilience. It is important that practitioners understand this in relation to risks presented by PSM and also bear in mind the point made in Cleaver, Unell & Aldgate (2011) that not all parents misusing substances present as a risk to their children, but in the contexts of many ACEs the risks to children are greater. Certainly, in the context where four or more ACEs are present the paramountcy principle should have been considered.

6.4. A Model for Discussion

A model for discussing issues of PSM with YP is suggested to aid practitioner competence and structure conversations. This is based on prominent areas that the young people discussed and the pre-existing preparing for adulthood framework (2013). The model is ecological and the intention is for it to be responsive to individual situations. Ideas for conversations or reflection are introduced in each section below. It is hoped that this model will go some way to reducing unconscious incompetence (Broadwell, 1969) when working with this population, as highlighted in chapter 1.

History: YP's accounts of growing up are fundamental to the way they see themselves in the present. This can be positive (e.g. through what they have achieved, challenges overcome) or negative (e.g. memories of being wronged, feeling secondary or reminded of previous mistakes). All other areas are impacted on by YPs histories. Letting, or helping them, to explore these issues could be a powerful way of beginning and supporting change in other areas.

Identity: the present research has drawn on multiple identity theories which each shed light on a different aspect of ID development that could prove relevant for intervention.

Exploration and Commitment (Marcia, 2003) discussion here could focus on facilitating exploration of different identities (e.g. trailing of different activities with different people) and then commitment to one or two (i.e. motivational/resource support to continue). Work could include the use of values or an Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (Hayes, 2004) based approach to align YP's actions to things that are meaningful to them.

Benson & Elder (2011) emphasized that social indicators of adulthood and internal psychological capacities are both necessary for adult development. Intervention could feature a listing of important adulthood indicators for the YP and a discussion of the 'social clock' (e.g. driving licence, independent living, parenthood etc.) and how this changes as one grows older. Social comparison interventions could discuss the way we make sense of ourselves in relation to other people using the concept Schwartz et al (2002) introduced of 'maximisers and satisfiers'. Relatedly theories of Attribution and Agency – which was perhaps unknowingly used as the basis for an intervention for one participant – could be enhanced through practice generalizing skills learnt during these interventions, as well as generalizing this way of thinking into the home or other environments.

Relationships, friends, community: these could be considered in relation to the YP's children, parents, partners, siblings, friends and meaningful others. Exploration of how YP see themselves and how they would like to be seen could take place and usefully inform reappraisal of beliefs held about self and others (Beaver, 2011). Another topic might include discussions about potential relationship difficulties (i.e. trust, secrecy of PSM and how to broach these subjects with a partner or friend). Finally, discussions about the importance of communication skills within families (e.g. between partners, parents, siblings etc.) may benefit the family system as a whole; familiarity with interventions such as MPACT (Templeton, 2016) may be beneficial where younger children are still within the family. Identification of groups to join and communities to be part of was an enduring protective factor for young people; finding ways to enable them to meaningfully give back was also beneficial (i.e. joining NACOA or similar). Lastly, highlighting to YP that friends can be the enemy of wise choices as well as crucial supports – many of the young people detailed difficulties they experienced as a result of their peer connections. In this way tools for disagreement may be useful.

Independence: In this area a consideration of skills that YP have already acquired and mapping these onto current relevant experiences could serve to make explicit YP's strengths. The role and type of parentification needs to be explored with consideration of how, if this cannot be stopped, it can be supported in some way. A key finding from the research was that support during difficult events could make the difference between a learning opportunity and a stressful experience. Similarly, consideration of 'social capital' development (Cote & Bynner, 2008) may articulate YP's broader strengths (e.g. humour, wide family connections etc.). In the same vein, functional and independent skills such as completing paperwork and knowing how to cook which are basics for independent living need to be practiced. YP's accounts stressed that they may have taught themselves how to do these things due to their experiences growing up but they may not be completed to a high standard due to the lack of support when initially learning them.

Employment and Education: exploration in this area should involve planning activities to move between the two if so desired. The role of other people in these two environments is critical and identification of key contacts to advocate for the YP and mentor them will be beneficial. Similarly, letting employers / teachers know about the responsibilities taken on

outside of the education / work environment will allow for a softer interpretation of any challenges. A finding from McGregor (2009) was that YP benefited from repeated chances. Understanding the difficulties YP have faced or are facing may enable these to come about more often. Where additional responsibilities have been taken on the provision of support such to enable attendance at both work and education is vital – this may include altering policies on lateness or early departures at a minimum. Finally, the occupation of adult roles leads to self-perception as an adult therefore work experience is to be encouraged where possible. Similarly, being treated as an adult increased identification as one therefore a mentor, coach within these systems may provide this important feedback.

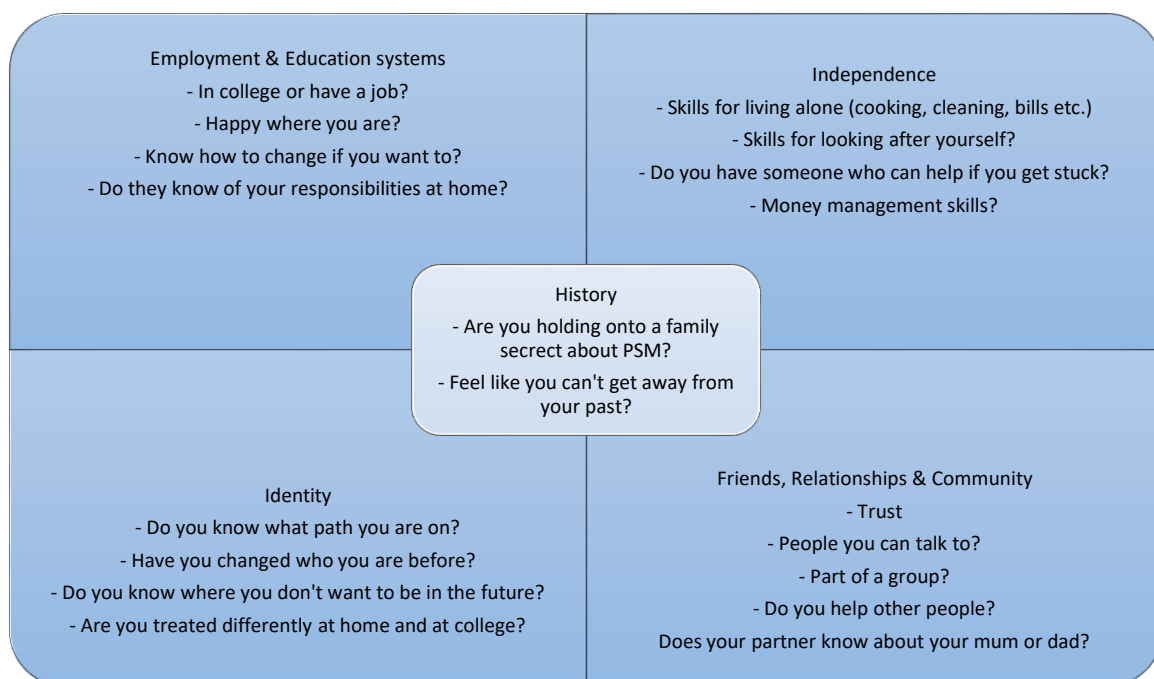


Figure 14. Model to conversational guide on PSM

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8. Appendix

8.1. Gatekeeper letter

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Xani Byrne, I'm a research student at the University of Bristol. I'm writing to ask for your assistance with my current project.

The project is called 'the Transition to Adulthood in Young People with Experience of Parental Substance Misuse'.

Participants will be asked to talk about what adulthood means to them. At the same time they will be asked to make a collage/picture about becoming an adult. This will be using cut out materials from books, magazines and the internet.

An audio recording will be made of the conversations. This recording, alongside the picture they have made will be analysed to get a better understanding of what it's like to grow up in an environment where parental substance misuse is a feature.

The research is particularly interested in listening to the voices of young people. It aims to understand: young people's thoughts concerning the impact parental substance misuse has on becoming adults; and, identifying what helps young people to cope in an environment of parental substance misuse.

I have enclosed participant information sheets that discuss the project in more detail. Please feel free to look through them. If you are interested in helping out, please reply to the email address at the bottom and I will forward on prepaid envelopes to accompany the participant information sheets. The envelopes will serve as 'expressions of interest' when they are returned I will contact the young people with further information about arranging times to conduct the interviews.

To be included in the research participants must have had experience of parental substance misuse ongoing or within the last 5 years. Participants must also be in the 16-25 age range (substance misuse refers to excessive alcohol consumption, illicit drug use, legal highs or improper use of prescription drugs which has had social, psychological, physical or legal effects on the person or their family).

Space for interviews will be made available at the Educational Psychology offices in Cowes. However, if a room is available in the building used by the charity/group (and this is preferable to the young person) it would be desirable to use this location. Additionally, YP will be asked to provide the contact details of a supportive person should they become distressed during the interviews. If the YP are unable to provide such a contact a member of the group/charity may be best placed to stand in as the 'trusted person (the previous two points can be negotiated and are not a condition of participation).

The research is forward looking, and it is interested in improving outcomes for young people, not to judge. Participants' contributions will be confidential, anonymous and stored securely. Names and other details that could potentially identify people will be changed.

This research project is part of my doctoral programme in educational psychology, I would be very grateful for your cooperation in the study. It has received approval from the University of Bristol School for Policy studies Research Ethics Committee. I would be very happy to answer any questions sent to the email address below,

Xani Byrne, University of Bristol
ab16311@bristol.ac.uk

Please direct any complaints to my supervisor at the email address below

Supervisor:
Dr Sandra Dowling, University of Bristol
s.dowling@bristol.ac.uk

8.2. Participant information sheet

The Transition to Adulthood in Young People with Experience of Parental Substance Misuse.

Invitation

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take some time to read the following information carefully. If anything in the following document is unclear, please contact Xani Byrne at ab16311@bristol.ac.uk



Figure 5. Signpost showing the directions to adulthood and youth. Is it that simple?

Why am I doing the study?

Becoming an adult in 2018 can be a complex and difficult process. Research suggests that some young people whose parents have had problems with drugs or alcohol may experience increased difficulty in participating in activities that make people feel like adults (like getting a job, continuing education, having relationships, becoming a parent, participating in the community and finding your own place to live, owning a car). However, some people whose parents have had problems with drugs and alcohol don't have any difficulty with these activities, or feeling like adults.

I would like to hear from people who have had experience of parental alcohol and drug misuse. I want to make sure that their voices are heard so that professionals who try to help can respond in ways that young people think are useful.

The project is a requirement for the Educational Psychology training course at the University of Bristol.

What do I mean by 'Experience of Parental Substance Misuse' and 'Transition to Adulthood'?

'Experience of Parental Substance Misuse' could be if your parents, foster parents (or your parents' boyfriend/girlfriend/partner) or main carer has had problems with alcohol or drugs. This could be a long time ago or it could be happening now.

'Transition to Adulthood' means becoming an adult. For example, changing from a teenager to a young adult.

Confidentiality and Safeguarding

I am doing the research as a requirement for the University of Bristol. I am not part of Social Services and I will not pass on your details to anyone.

I will have to tell social services or the police if you tell me something that makes me think that you, or somebody else, will get hurt. If this happens you will be informed about the decisions that are happening and nothing will be done without you knowing.

If you tell me something about criminal activity and this comes up in court I will have to tell people what you told me.

Apart from that I will keep what you told me private, safe and secure.

What will you have to do if you agree to take part?

Meet with me for a maximum of three sessions. Each session will last up to an hour and a half but it may take only half an hour. We can arrange to meet at a location that suits you and at a time that works for you.

In the sessions I would like to talk about what becoming an adult means to you. As part of the activity we'll make a visual collage from cut-out material, photos and other images. This can be a good way to think about a topic instead of just talking to someone.

In the first session we will make a plan about what we will do in the next two sessions. In the second session we will begin making the collage and talk about what becoming an adult is like for you. The third session will be the same, we will continue making the collage/picture and make a plan for the next session.

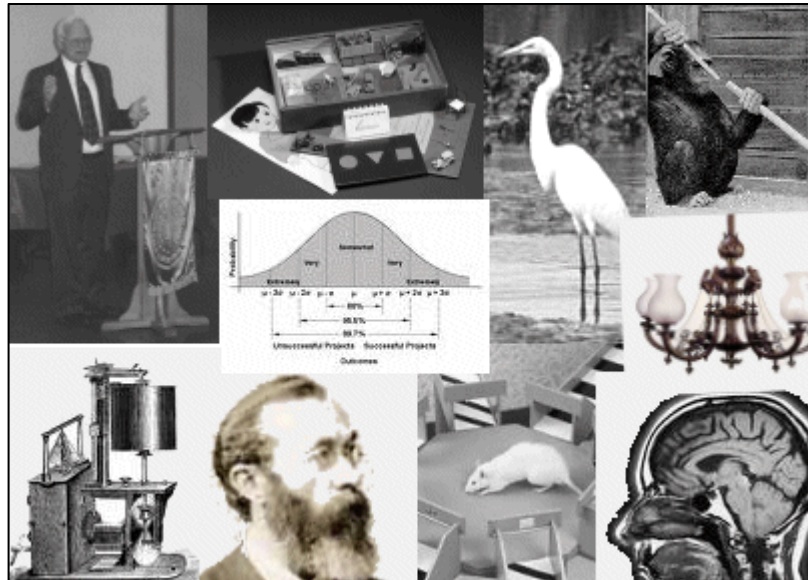


Figure 2. Example of a collage. Your collage might look like this but it doesn't have to. It could look more like a Pinterest board. This one is about a psychology department.

The sessions will be audio recorded, with your consent. I will use this recording when I write up the research paper. Your name will be anonymised, and no one will be able to identify you.

You can choose how much of the project you want to take part in. For example, you might want to talk about adulthood but not make a collage. That is okay and you can still be involved in the project.

How much time will participation involve?

Each of the three sessions will take between thirty minutes and an hour and a half. This is the maximum amount of time. You might finish all the activities in the first session, or you might only be able to come for two meetings. This is okay, taking part must suit you and what you are doing. If you have other commitments (like work or caring for family) we will make a plan around those.

Will your participation in the project remain confidential?

If you take part your information will remain anonymous. This means that your name will not be recorded on any of the documents, so people won't be able to identify you. In the first session I will ask you to choose a pretend name instead of your own. I will use this pretend name when I write the research paper.

You can choose to stop participation at any point during the interview and do not have to provide a reason for withdrawal (until two weeks after your last involvement). If you have not withdrawn

before this date the information you provided will be used in an anonymised form. For example, if we had an interview on the 01/01/2018 you can tell me that you don't want to take part anymore until 14/01/2018 and I will not use any of the information you provided.

Are there any advantages of taking part?

You may find the project interesting and enjoy discussing how you are becoming an adult, and what adulthood is like in 2017/2018.

You will produce a visual collage about becoming an adult and you can take this away and keep it, if you choose to.

By taking part in the project you could be helping to change the way services are delivered (in a small way) to young people in similar situations to you.

Are there any disadvantages of taking part?

You might find talk about becoming an adult uncomfortable.

Participating in the project may take quite a lot of time. But taking part will be based on times that work well for you.

Do you have to take part?

No, participation is completely voluntary. You have been approached because you may be interested in taking part.

You do not have to give a reason if you do not wish to participate and you will not be contacted again. Choosing to take part or choosing not to take part will not affect the services you receive from the charity or group in any way.

What happens now?

If you want to take part in the project please return the prepaid envelope indicating that you would like to be contacted about participation or contact the email address provided below.

If you would rather not participate, simply ignore this information sheet and no further contact will be made. If you have any questions, please contact me using the email addresses below.

What happens afterwards?

The audio recording will be copied out into writing and I will look to see if there are any patterns in what the different participants have talked about. All of this, the audio recordings, the written transcriptions and the collage (a photo of it), will be stored securely on a password protected server. Other researchers will have access to the data (the interview, the life-grid and collage) but all of this will be anonymised. That means the names will be changed, pictures will be blurred out and other details will be changed too. Researchers will not know who you are or where you live. Your consent forms will be stored on a password protected server for 20 years before being destroyed.

In the final session we will meet to talk about everything that we've done. We will talk again about what happens with your information, how it's kept secret and how it's kept safe. I will also remind you that you can choose to withdraw from the study for up to 2 weeks and I won't use any of the material you gave me.

The project has received approval from the University of Bristol School for Policy studies Research Ethics Committee

Researcher:

Xani Byrne

University of Bristol

ab16311@bristol.ac.uk

Supervisor:

Dr Sandra Dowling

University of Bristol

s.dowling@bristol.ac.uk

8.3. Session plan

The Transition to Adulthood in Young People with Experience of Parental Substance Misuse

Plan for sessions

Session 1 Maximum time 1.5 hours	Talk about the project and what will happen in the other sessions.
	Answering some questions about you and your situation. These will be anonymous.
	Make a plan about what materials we will need to bring for the next session.
	Talk about what you can expect from me as a researcher, and, about your rights to confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal.
	I will give you some information about services if you need to talk to someone.
Session 2 Maximum time 1.5 hours	Begin making the collage/picture and talking about what becoming an adult is like for you.
	Planning for the next session.
Session 3 Maximum time 1.5 hours	Continue making the collage/picture and talking about what becoming an adult is like for you.
	Finishing things off.
	Reviewing the collage/picture and taking a photo of the collage.
	Talking about your right to withdrawal, confidentiality and anonymity.
	I will give you some information about services if you need to talk to someone.
	Asking if you would like to receive a summary of the research paper when it's finished.

All of the sessions will be recorded with an audio device. Participants can withdraw at any stage (however this will not be possible after the data is made anonymous) and choose to remain part of the project or withdraw what they have said already.

At the end of each session I will ask you whether you want to go ahead with the next session.

Participants can choose which stages they want to take part in. For example, John wants to do only stage 1; Sarah wants to do stages 1 and 2. Both of these are okay and John and Sarah can still be involved in the research.

Participants can change their mind about which sessions they want to do.

Topic Guide for Transition to Adulthood collage/picture

Questions	RQ	Prompts
What does adulthood mean? How can you tell someone is an adult?	1	What was happening in the rest of your life at that time? Were you at school/work/relationship/... then?
What does an adult do? What doesn't an adult do?	1	Did that put you in mind of something?
What's before an adult? What's a teenager? A young person?	1	Could you draw me a picture of that in words?
What do your family think about adulthood? Is it different to what you think?	1, 2, 3	What was that like?
Has anyone told you, or talked to you about being an adult?	1, 2, 3	Do you have an image for that?
Does anyone help you become an adult? Who? How? What about your friends or family?	1, 2, 3, 4	You said ... could you say a bit more about that?
Where does adulthood begin? Your adulthood?	1, 2	What happened then? How long did that go on?
Have your ideas about adulthood changed?	1, 2	What kind of sense did you make of all that?
What would adulthood be like on a scale? What would the important bits be?	1, 2, 3	
Where would you be on the scale? Your friends? Family? Does it always stay the same?	1, 2	
Where do you think ideas about adulthood come from?	1, 2, 3	
Do you and your family agree about what an adult is?	1, 2, 4	
Can you think of a role model for adulthood? Describe that person/s.		
Does having a job make people more or less adult? Does the type of job matter? How?		

Can you tell me how your experience growing up shaped your ideas about adulthood?	1, 2, 3	
What has helped you to get where you are today?	1, 2, 4	
Is there anything in your past that helped you cope when things were difficult?	1, 2, 4	
Does living on your own make someone more of an adult? Is it important for adults to have their own place? What about very old people?		
Do relationships with other people make someone more or less of an adult? For example: romantic partners; children; age of friends.		
Does the relationship between a person and the community change when they become an adult? If so, how? Do adults do different things in the community to children, or teenagers?	1	
Does being healthy, or staying healthy, change whether someone is an adult or not? For example; What about very old people? Or very sick people?		
How much does a person's family affect them in becoming an adult?	3, 1	

Participant information

All information will remain anonymous. You will not be identifiable by any of the information you provide. You do not have to provide your name or address.

Age	
Sex	
Relationship Status	<i>For example: married, single, long term partner etc</i>
Number of siblings (including age and sex)	
Living arrangements	<i>For example: Rented room with partner in shared flat, or living with parents etc</i>
Parental substance use: type	<i>For example: Mother alcohol dependent, or father heroin use.</i>
Occupation	<i>For example: Current student; sales assistant; caring responsibilities; unemployed etc</i>
Education	<i>For example: A levels or Level 2 college course etc</i>
Parental occupation	
Parents relationship status	
Parental income (estimate)	
Dependents	<i>For example: daughter aged 2; or caring responsibility for mother; or none</i>

8.4. Signposting Policy

The research project may be upsetting and might make you think about problems that affect you or your family.

I think it is important that participants have the details of organizations that can help with these problems. It can be hard to ask someone, or to talk to someone face to face about these problems. Because it can be difficult, I have included a list of organizations that you can get in contact with by phone, online or in person.

This list is given to all participants at the beginning and end of the project.

Services

Information about groups and support.

- **Talk2** – Offering mental health and therapeutic support, including early intervention for those at risk of homelessness and other harmful behaviours. Provides counselling, information, advice and guidance on recovering and rebuilding family relationships

<https://www.iwight.com/azservices/documents/2750-Talk2-leaflet-parents.pdf>

<http://www.barnardos.org.uk/talk-2-service/service-view.htm?id=208109271>

01983 865657 (contact number)

- **Youth Trust** – Working hard for island children, young people and families. Free confidential service for young people under the age of 25.

01983 529 569 (contact number to make an appointment for on island counselling)

<http://www.iowyouthtrust.co.uk/>

National Services

Parental Substance Misuse

- **Adfam** - contains a list of useful websites and contacts.

http://www.adfam.org.uk/families/useful_organisations

- **DrugFAM** – for individuals affected by others' substance use
0300 888 3853 (contact number)

Drugs

- **UK National Drugs helpline**

0800 77 66 00 (contact number)

<http://www.urban75.com/Drugs/helpline.html>

- **FRANK** – national drug information service

<http://www.talktofrank.com/>

- **Release** – provides free legal advice on drug issues, and helpline
020 7324 2989 (contact number)

Alcohol

- **Drinkline**

0300 123 1110 (contact number)

- **Alcoholics Anonymous Great Britain**

0800 917 7650 (contact number)

Domestic Violence

- **24-hour National Domestic Violence Freephone Helpline**

0800 2000 247 (contact number)

<http://www.nationaldomesticviolencehelpline.org.uk/>

- **National LGBT + Domestic Abuse Helpline**

0800 999 5248 (contact number)

<http://www.galop.org.uk/domesticabuse/>

8.5. Researcher safety, Participant distress, Safeguarding and Confidentiality protocols.

Researcher safety

This document outlines the procedure I will adopt for lone working and visits to locations such as private residences or public facilities.

To facilitate participation, I plan to be flexible regarding the location of the sessions. This will involve lone working.

A hard copy of the address I intend to visit will be placed in a sealed envelope in the office of the Bridges for Learning Psychology Service office. Out of hours I will ask a colleague to carry the sealed envelope on their person.

A colleague will be notified of my intended visit to a private residence or public facility. I will provide them with the expected beginning and end times of the session. They will expect to receive a text message within 30 minutes of the agreed end time.

If no text message is received they will contact me by phone. If no answer is received by phone the named person will open the sealed envelope and pass the address onto the police.

Participant distress

The project may cause upset or distress due to covering potentially sensitive topics. In the first instance of distress questions will be stopped and participants will be given reassurance and time to 'cool off'.

A flexible approach will be adopted to ensure their wellbeing. Participants will be given the option to leave without having to provide a reason. They can also choose to withdraw their contributions until 2 weeks after their last interview. Participants will have been given signposting information of supportive organizations during session 1. Additionally, they will have been encouraged to let a trusted person know what they are undertaking and I will have the contact details of this person (or another trusted person) to contact in case of emergency.

'Stop cards' will be provided. These will be brightly coloured cards which indicate that the participant wants to stop the conversation. Their explicit meaning will be negotiated with the YP during the first session. 'Stop cards' are used as they are seen to be easier to use than verbally stating a desire to stop.

The researcher will arrive at the venue early to ensure the arrangements in the room enable the participant and the researcher clear access to the exit should they need to use it.

The 'life grid' exercise at the beginning of session 1 will be used to get an impression of the subjects YP are willing to talk about, or not. Topics of conversation will additionally be checked prior to lengthy discussion during the interviews.

The researcher will remain alert to changes in participant affect which indicate distress and breaks offered accordingly.

Safeguarding

Where I believe, or am informed, of potential harm occurring to the research participant or another person/s I will inform the designated safeguarding officer (if this takes place within a school, college or work environment). Where this is not possible I will pass my concerns over to social services or the police.

If I witness harm taking place while conducting the research I will, where possible and safe to do so, stop it. Following this I will report in line with the statement above.

Confidentiality

During the research it may become apparent that either the participant or someone known to the participant is engaged in criminal or illegal activity. As the population is young people with experience of parental substance misuse it is likely that issues regarding substance misuse, personal or third party, may arise. In the case of illegal drug use participants will not be reported to the police for these acts, however, signposting to addiction and advice service will take place during the first and final session (see session guide in appendices). Admission of illegal activity of the participant, or others, will be discussed at the earliest opportunity with the researcher supervisor.

Another area frequently associated with parental substance misuse is that of Domestic Violence. Participants will be reminded about the limits to confidentiality. For example, if the researcher suspects either the participant or a third party may experience harm in the future. In such cases this will be raised with the designated safeguarding officer where appropriate or passed on to the police where there is not a safeguarding officer present.

Additionally, signposting regarding domestic violence will be provided in sessions one and four to all participants. That this is being provided to all participants will be made explicit. This is to remove the perception of signposting (with potentially negative associations) as being targeted to the individual.

Participants will be reminded that if they disclose activities that could lead to future prosecution, this information could be required by the police in an investigation. As such they pressed not to discuss such illegal activity.

Participants will be reminded that if a safeguarding or confidentiality concern arises, the researcher will progress with this concern in the participant's full knowledge. Nothing in relation to safeguarding and confidentiality concerns will be done without first informing them.

The Transition to Adulthood in Young People with Experience of Parental Substance Misuse.

Please ensure that you have read the participant information sheet and are happy to take part in the research before completing this form.

Please read carefully and put you initials in the 'yes' and 'no' following boxes:

<ul style="list-style-type: none">I voluntarily agree to participate in this study and for Xani to come and interview me.	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none">I have been told that information about me will be kept secret, private and safe (for example: my name, where I live and my contact details).	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none">I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	

Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that I will be asked to complete a short questionnaire and that my answers will be anonymous. 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that when I come to meet Xani the conversation will be recorded and stored safely afterwards. 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I have been told that I have I can withdraw from the study until 3 weeks after the last meeting (after this point what has been recorded or made can be used anonymously). 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that if I say something in an interview that makes Xani think that I (or someone else) may get hurt, this information will be passed on to social services or the police. I understand that if this happens I will be told about every step and nothing will be done without me knowing about it. 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that the research has three stages, and that I can choose to take part in some stages and not others (for example, I could choose to do stages one and two but not three). 	
Yes	No

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I have been told that all participants will receive a summary of the research findings (if they would like one). 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the first meeting we will make a plan about what items to bring and what will happen in the next sessions. I would like to take part in session 1. 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the second meeting we will begin talking about becoming an adult. We will look at the resources and use them to make a picture about becoming an adult. I would like to take part in session 2. 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the third session we will continue talking about becoming an adult and making a picture about it. I would like to take part in session 3. 	
Yes	No
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I understand that the information I produce (in the collage, talking to the researcher or from completing the life grid) will be stored for up to 20 years and may be shared with other researchers in an <u>anonymised</u> form. This means that if someone uses the data they will not know who I am or be able to identify me or anyone else I talk about. 	
Yes	No

<ul style="list-style-type: none">I understand that the recorded data will be stored on a password protected server at the University of Bristol for 20 years.	
Yes	No

*You can change your mind about which sessions you want to be involved in.

Name:.....

Date: __ / __ / ____

Signature:.....

8.7. Example 'Life Grid'

Date	Age	Family/Personal	Work/School	Health/Illness
2004	15	Arguments with family.	Excluded from school, long-term non-attendance.	Broken arm from altercation with other student in school.
	16	Father Ill.	Dropped Art.	Fit, joined football team.
2007	18	Broke up with girlfriend.	Left school and continued with job in shoe shop. Left job in shoe shop. Unemployed for 6 months.	
2010	20	Moved out of home. Rented own flat with friends.	Started college at Jewel & Esk Valley. Received higher qualifications in business administration (B) and graphic communication (C).	

2015	25	Move in with partner (Jill). Brother hospitalised for Limes disease complications.	New job in city centre. Better pay.	Ran marathon.
2017	27	Son (Jack) born.		

8.8. Example superordinate themes

<u>Super-ordinate themes</u>		
<u>Themes</u>	<u>Page/line</u>	<u>Key words</u>
Independence and responsibility		
<i>Early adulthood</i>	3-4/107-109	'...one of my best friends had a baby, at 13, and she come round mine one day and obviously seen that I was capable enough to look after him. So she would just leave him with me and fuck off out. So I raised him for 8 months. Which was very hard coz I was only young.'
<i>Living Arrangements</i>	7/233-235	'And obviously I went back to my mum's after we split up, moved out my mums into a B&B for 14 weeks and then I got my own place. But it was just the area and everything made me turn.'
Changing Identities		
<i>Adulthood</i>	9/319-322	'But where I had to grow up at such an early age, now I just want to be a kid. ... so it's hard it's very hard. I don't want responsibilities, I don't want to work, I don't want to do this, I just want to live my life and be a kid. But I can't because I'm an adult now. Yknow it's weird, it is weird.'
	7/247-248	'And don't get me wrong I'd love to do drugs and drink everyday now but ... I've got too much to lose.'
<i>Parenthood</i>	7/223-224	'But then I fell pregnant like 2 days before we moved in and straight away it was like baby – no life.' 'And that's when it's hard, and that's when I got really heavily drinking and I hated the baby and that, I just didn't want to be around her, I felt like she pushed me away from him, but I just had to look at her and I just love her again.'
<i>Becoming her mother vs difference from her</i>	10/358	'if she would've been a better parent yknow it wouldn't have happened, so yeah, it's not nice.'
	7/240-241	'so they'd always be drinking, never putting priority into my child. I'd look after her, I'd never do nothing wrong with that it was just I was always drinking.'

	15/521-522	'...I just feel like such a shit mum, for doing wat I've done and putting my priorities wrong... I just don't know how to feel day to day really.'
	10/345-347	'but if I was to give up that would be just like my mum. Oh give up go into care see ya later. I'm not going to do that. I won't ever give up on my child coz I know how it feels... it's horrible.'
<i>Rebel Betty</i>	1/23-24	'emm I bit a chunk out of a girls check, coz I'd just had enough and then it just escalated into this whole sort of 'rebel betty' y know.'
<i>Loss of self</i>	7/223-224	'But then I fell pregnant like 2 days before we moved in and straight away it was like baby – no life.'
	15/527-528	'yeah since Esme's gone I just feel like, yeah, nothing really, to everybody else I feel like a piece of dirt that blows in the wind. You know... but I'll, I get over it everyday so...'
Environment – <i>The local area is problematic, the families troubled history is known there and this is a source of shame and conflict. The area appears to have few opportunities besides many drugs users without occupation.</i>		
<i>Area</i>	7/234-238	'But it was just the area and everything made me turn... they were all {druggos 20:20] err they were all on benefits and sort of crap and they want to ruin your life coz they've got nothing better to do.'
	3/100-102	'I grew up in Bere Regis and then my mum moved us away to Blandford, so it was okay, but then I went back to that area and there was just drugs flooding through the door all the time.'
Social and relationships – <i>Relationships have been difficult for Betty. Her only good friends live far away or are involved in drugs – which she wants to avoid. There is now conflict between her</i>		

<i>and the father of their child. Her own parents split up acrimoniously. Betty felt as though her daughter split her relationship up, this same charge was levelled at Betty by her mother.</i>		
<i>Friends</i>	4/139-141 12/420-422	'I met a good group of friends there. I still talk to them, I don't go coz there still into drugs and all that and I'm trying to stay away from them bunch of people.' 'not really, I've not really had friends, I've had users and abusers and what not. I've, I'm a quite a isolated person. I only have people round me when they want something. And I obviously don't see it til the next day.' so I said to him I've had enough, get me out of here, and we got our own place. And it was just lovely. But then I fell pregnant like 2 days before we moved in and straight away it was like baby – no life.
<i>Partners</i>	7/228-229	'so as soon as she was born he just got bored and he wouldn't come back home he'd always stay out round his mums.'
<i>Family splits</i>	16/553 11/390-391	'coz Catriona's for my mum and I'm for my dad,' 'Because, when I was growing up my mum used to always take care of my sister. It was always Catriona, Catriona, Catriona.'
Parental Substance Misuse – <i>Betty wonders why her mother took drugs in the first place. It embarrassed her when she was younger and she appears to blame her mother, rather than the drugs, for the way life has turned out.</i>		
<i>Wondering why?</i>	11/370-371	'it's like 'why?' she'd be like 'oh it helps me clean, it helps me do this, it helps me do that' She'd pick me up from school and she'd be like this [gurning, chewing action]....'
<i>Blame and shame</i>	11/373-375	'it's embarrassing me, and you know it's just, when I used to go round my friends house, she'd help do, like my friends mum's decorating and stuff, and all they'd be doing is talking, nattering, gurning. Talking, nattering, gurning'
History and Secrets – <i>History, rumour and connections in the environment are not helpful towards Betty or her wider family. It is a source</i>		

<i>of constant tension that does not appear to go away.</i>		
<i>Rumours</i>	10/361	'well it's just, a lot of my family have told me a lot of stuff about my mum'
<i>Connections</i>	11/381-383	'And I didn't even know the woman who I was getting it off of and she go 'your livvy's daughter' and I'd be like 'how do you know?' and then she'd go into it and I'd be sat there like 'aw matee....' You know. ... it fucks you up.'
<i>History</i>	9/316-317	'em I try not to remember my childhood much, but it just comes up and bites me n the arse sometimes.'
	8/279-280	'And she just everytime we argue brings up the past, and its like 'you tell me to forget the past and that's all you go on.'
Coping – <i>coping mechanisms are expected, helpful and unhelpful. Recognition of her competence from her father clearly means a lot to Betty. She gets through the days with media and the use of substances.</i>		
<i>Recognition of cooking, jobs</i>	15/546-548	'he's like 'yeah I like it when you cook me food' and I'm like 'oh alright, if you just ask me to do it then, if you want something done for when you come home from work just tell me and I'll do it' he's like 'oh you're a great help you know'.
<i>Escapism through media</i>	15/532-533	'coz I'm my best company to be quite honest, I'll put music on, music helps me to get through quite a lot.'
	15/538-539	'or I'll sit and watch films, funny films and crack myself up, you know, and I sit and talk to myself, you know sometimes my conscious puts things on my shoulders so I'll sit and talk to them.'
<i>Role of mother</i>		'drinking, smoking weed, but I haven't done that for like 4 months I drink now and then. ... but it just don't go away. It'll stay there and just not go away. My daughters making me wanna live and making me wanna sort everything out.'
<i>Alcohol, drugs</i>	10/333-335	
Separations - <i>Betty was put into care, tried hard to get out. Her daughter was taken into care. This pains Betty. Reducing the period of time spent apart is driving Betty's desire to change her self.</i>		

<i>Feeling rejected is a feature of Betty's description of day to day existence.</i>		
<i>Rejection –</i>	8/277-279	'Sometimes I don't talk to one of my aunties and she always comes round my mums and my mum picks her over me and it's like ... why would you pick her over me? Why would you pick your sister over your child?'
	10/349-350	'well when she put me in care I wasn't around her for 6 months, and I wasn't allowed to phone her, I wasn't allowed to do nothing coz I was in intense care.'
<i>Loss of daughter –</i>	15/527-528	'yeah since Esme's gone I just feel like, yeah, nothing really, to everybody else I feel like a piece of dirt that blows in the wind. You know... but I'll, I get over it everyday so...'
Structures and systems, schools		<p>it was sort of a school for naughty kids, yknow, there was a lot of horrible people there</p> <p>but it was outdoors so we was always doing stuff, we were never in the classroom, doing things, we were never sat down bored, we was always out doing stuff. ... emm yeah so that was quite fun, I loved it there. I'm still in touch with some of the teachers now but, and I left there I think I was about 16, 17</p> <p>and I went to college there, I went til I was 18 then I stopped going. But yeah it was lovely, I loved that school. If I could go back I would.</p> <p>yeah, but if I went there on a come down they would all look after me, they wouldn't just send me home... and then one of my job workers met me there and I was on a real bad come down....</p>

8.9. Notes on group themes

[internalizing symptoms] All discuss worry about going down same path as their fathers or mothers. All wonder about their ability to stay away from this. They see their parents in themselves. Some, from my point of view, have while others have managed to do their own thing.

[internalizing symptoms] All talk about shame, embarrassment and holding onto secrets. The effects of this on mental health and normality.

[work and ID development] Jobs are rated differently; dependability; pay; hours; responsibility; purpose; environment; understanding etc. Some talk of the desire to work, to find a career but not all. Some reject responsibility and appear to want a hedonic existence.

[PSM and family] Many have faced bereavement, or loss. Some talk of recovery and returning to normality, others talk of existing relationships with substances. PSM imperils the family financially and with an environment with more unpredictability. Bereavement is a point fo stress for the family and can be the onset of PSM, or its reoccurrence.

[friends and relationships] Friends are described differently. As either of tremendous support and almost like family. Or as fake friends, using individuals for whatever reason.

[adulthood and ID development] Living independently is often to get out of the parental home, to escape PSM and related chaos – despite the degree to which this impoverishes YP. This is sometimes with a partner, or alone. Those who lived with a partner tended to separate. Those living alone often found it overwhelming. Living with parents remained common but was typically destructive. Sometimes YP moved back in with their parents following time in care or with a partner – this is developmentally in line with emerging adulthood. Home is variable for young people, it may be with a mother, father or between the two. One participant lives successfully and independently.

[coping, id development] Some have found ways to give back to their communities, or to people with their own experiences. Others were lacking in purpose. Those that have found a way to give back, appear to be doing better, though still faces challenges.

[internalizing / externalizing symptoms] Many describe behaviour that is difficult or uncontrollable, but which has since settled. Control features in some accounts, where the YP tries to exercise control, or where the parents are unable to control themselves in relation to the substance.

[friends and relationships] They utilize support from others to varying degrees. Those with more social capital appeared to be offered more support. Some reported little to no support from outside agencies.

[ID development] The birth of a child provides a new narrative and a turning point for many young people.

[PSM and ID development] All see their upbringing as difficult, hard and a struggle. This was true despite affluence. All witnessed distressing and challenging scenes however, those who appear to have witnessed more violence are currently experiencing greater difficulty. This is in line with ACEs literature.

[systems] School varied for young people, some had many moves, struggled with bullying and social difficulties, or did not fit in academically. Moving schools appeared to present difficulties due to the strain placed on social relationships. Further education was attempted by many but only successful for two. The transition between the environments appears to be difficult socially and academically. This may be an area where Eps are able to advocate for a role in supporting transitions.

Normality was mentioned in every account, young people wanted to be normal and valued the brief times where this was possible.

[family] Some take sides within the family, i.e. mother or father. The role of siblings is sometimes helpful, envied and sometimes problematic.

[PSM and ID development] Participants regularly spoke about not having a good model in their parents. Some commented that this showed them what to avoid.

[PSM and ID development] Parentification took place in most of the accounts. This was to varying degrees: instrumental, destructive. There was a cultural dimension to this, Jebz noted that in her community children are expected to be able to run a house from around 12 years old, and many of her friends did so.

[internalizing] Many participants talked about depression, feeling low, anxiety, worry, sadness, frustration. Some talked about labels: ADHD, ODD, eating disorders. The degree to which these YP felt this was part of themselves was variable.

[relationships and friends] Two were in long term relationships. Both thought that relationships helped them to grow and develop, to become more adult. The others had been let down by partners, or had a more tumultuous experience. Two were neutral.

[coping and resilience] Many talked about escapism in one form or another. This was often in relation to music, books, or physical activity. This took the mind off the day-to-day experience.

[ID and adulthood] All participants had a nuanced view of adulthood. Many made a separation between a physical and a mental adulthood. Some commented on finding a purpose or ceasing to be lost. This psychological adulthood was described by one participant as the 'real adulthood' which trumped just having children, a job and living independently.

[PSM] Half the accounts were focused on alcohol, the others on drugs. The fathers use was the predominant factor in two account and mothers in four.

[PSM] Parental substance use is often described as a means of coping, either by the young person or in the parents own words. Substance use is taken on by participants in the same way, as a means of coping.

[internalization] Feelings of rejection and separation are also common. Participants highlight that they realize their parents are more focused on the substance, relative to them. This is a painful realization and causes much wonder and misunderstanding of the parents.

[relationships and friends] Some participants comment that their social experiences are around substance use and they are, or were, uncertain about how to socialize with peers without this context.

[internalization] Many talk about supressing emotions and note that it has made them hard, cold and not themselves. This, they think, often leads to relationship difficulties.

[community environment] The local environments are often characterized by personal histories of the families and contacts. These can be challenging to leave and reinforce substance use and family conflict.

Internalizing	<p>[internalizing symptoms] All talk about shame, embarrassment and holding onto secrets. The effects of this on mental health and normality.</p> <p>[internalizing / externalizing symptoms] Many describe behaviour that is difficult or uncontrollable, but which has since settled. Control features in some accounts, where the YP tries to exercise control, or where the parents are unable to control themselves in relation to the substance.</p> <p>[internalizing] Many participants talked about depression, feeling low, anxiety, worry, sadness, frustration. Some talked about labels: ADHD, ODD, eating disorders. The degree to which these YP felt this was part of themselves was variable.</p> <p>[internalization] Feelings of rejection and separation are also common. Participants highlight that they realize their parents are more focused on the substance, relative to them. This is a painful realization and causes much wonder and misunderstanding of the parents.</p> <p>[internalization] Many talk about supressing emotions and note that it has made them hard, cold and not themselves. This, they think, often leads to relationship difficulties.</p>
PSM and family	<p>[PSM and family] Many have faced bereavement, or loss. Some talk of recovery and returning to normality, others talk of existing relationships with substances. PSM imperils the family financially and with an environment with more unpredictability. Bereavement is a point of stress for the family and can be the onset of PSM, or its reoccurrence.</p> <p>[PSM and ID development] All see their upbringing as difficult, hard and a struggle. This was true despite affluence. All witnessed distressing and challenging scenes however, those who appear to have witnessed more violence are currently experiencing greater difficulty. This is in line with ACEs literature.</p>

	<p>[PSM and ID development] Participants regularly spoke about not having a good model in their parents. Some commented that this showed them what to avoid.</p> <p>[PSM and ID development] Parentification took place in most of the accounts. This was to varying degrees: instrumental, destructive. There was a cultural dimension to this, Jebz noted that in her community children are expected to be able to run a house from around 12 years old, and many of her friends did so.</p> <p>[PSM] Parental substance use is often described as a means of coping, either by the young person or in the parents own words. Substance use is taken on by participants in the same way, as a means of coping.</p> <p>[family] Some take sides within the family, i.e. mother or father. The role of siblings is sometimes helpful, envied and sometimes problematic.</p>
Relationships and friends	<p>[friends and relationships] Friends are described differently. As either of tremendous support and almost like family. Or as fake friends, using individuals for whatever reason.</p> <p>[friends and relationships] They utilize support from others to varying degrees. Those with more social capital appeared to be offered more support. Some reported little to no support from outside agencies.</p> <p>[relationships and friends] Two were in long term relationships. Both thought that relationships helped them to grow and develop, to become more adult. The others had been let down by partners, or had a more tumultuous experience. Two were neutral.</p> <p>[relationships and friends] Some participants comment that their social experiences are around substance use and they are, or were, uncertain about how to socialize with peers without this context.</p>

ID development	<p>[ID development] All discuss worry about going down same path as their fathers or mothers. All wonder about their ability to stay away from this. They see their parents in themselves. Some, from my point of view, have while others have managed to do their own thing.</p> <p>[ID development] The birth of a child provides a new narrative and a turning point for many young people.</p> <p>[PSM and ID development] All see their upbringing as difficult, hard and a struggle. This was true despite affluence. All witnessed distressing and challenging scenes however, those who appear to have witnessed more violence are currently experiencing greater difficulty. This is in line with ACEs literature.</p> <p>[adulthood and ID development] Living independently is often to get out of the parental home, to escape PSM and related chaos – despite the degree to which this impoverishes YP. This is sometimes with a partner, or alone. Those who lived with a partner tended to separate. Those living alone often found it overwhelming. Living with parents remained common but was typically destructive. Sometimes YP moved back in with their parents following time in care or with a partner – this is developmentally in line with emerging adulthood. Home is variable for young people, it may be with a mother, father or between the two. One participant lives successfully and independently.</p> <p>[coping, id development] Some have found ways to give back to their communities, or to people with their own experiences. Others were lacking in purpose. Those that have found a way to give back, appear to be doing better, though still faces challenges.</p>

	<p>[PSM and ID development] Participants regularly spoke about not having a good model in their parents. Some commented that this showed them what to avoid.</p> <p>[PSM and ID development] Parentification took place in most of the accounts. This was to varying degrees: instrumental, destructive. There was a cultural dimension to this, Jebz noted that in her community children are expected to be able to run a house from around 12 years old, and many of her friends did so.</p> <p>[PSM and ID development] Participants regularly spoke about not having a good model in their parents. Some commented that this showed them what to avoid.</p> <p>[PSM and ID development] Parentification took place in most of the accounts. This was to varying degrees: instrumental, destructive. There was a cultural dimension to this, Jebz noted that in her community children are expected to be able to run a house from around 12 years old, and many of her friends did so.</p> <p>[work and ID development] Jobs are rated differently; dependability; pay; hours; responsibility; purpose; environment; understanding etc. Some talk of the desire to work, to find a career but not all. Some reject responsibility and appear to want a hedonic existence.</p>
Normality	Normality was mentioned in every account, young people wanted to be normal and valued the brief times where this was possible.
Systems	[systems] School varied for young people, some had many moves, struggled with bullying and social difficulties, or did not fit in academically. Moving schools appeared to present difficulties due to the strain placed on social relationships. Further education was attempted by many but only successful for two. The transition between the environments appears to be difficult

	<p>socially and academically. This may be an area where Eps are able to advocate for a role in supporting transitions.</p> <p>[community environment] The local environments are often characterized by personal histories of the families and contacts. These can be challenging to leave and reinforce substance use and family conflict.</p> <p>[work and ID development] Jobs are rated differently; dependability; pay; hours; responsibility; purpose; environment; understanding etc. Some talk of the desire to work, to find a career but not all. Some reject responsibility and appear to want a hedonic existence.</p> <p>[systems] college, the gym and work all had contributed to development by those who managed to participate in these systems for a length of time. This is typically based on formation of key relationships with more knowledgeable others. Then in cultivating a sense of belonging within that system.</p>
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8.10. Reflections

This section presents reflections following various milestones during the research process. There are reflections on the interviews with participants, on the process as a whole, on meeting with gatekeepers and concerning other aspects of the research process.

General reflections are presented first, reflections on interviews with participants follow afterwards.

8.10.1. General reflections

Reflection following interview.

In this reflection I will focus on the process of making the collage. 1) The difference between searching for pictures via words said, rather than selecting from images presented, or already there and mapping them onto the ideas. 2) The feeling of flow during the meeting. 3) My feelings about my contribution to the meeting – the line between just nodding along, questioning and leading with questioning. 4) returning thoughts about the need for more participants.

Firstly, the difference between searching for pictures to make a collage online vs choosing from a selection of images already available and in one visual field. It seems trivial initially but actually the differences are quite marked, I think. It was the preference of the participant to use a computer for construction of the collage as they did not feel comfortable cutting things out. I had agreed to this as the comfortableness in talking about a sensitive subject is important, and I wouldn't want a process consideration like cutting, to detract from the more important content.

The difference between the two is that for the search engine you have to think of the word and enter it before you see images related to it. These have to come from the conversation or from ideas that might come to mind but are not verbalized yet. However, it may be that things with more concrete images are selected for a visual search than conceptual things like 'responsibility' as this is more difficult to represent visually. On the other hand, browsing through a visual field of pictures allows for an image that you hadn't thought of to inspire or suggest a meaning to the collage creator. It is like the difference between shopping on amazon and browsing in a department store. Whether or not this matters is another point, as I'm not interested in the product of the collage, rather the verbal content that this generates. However, the verbal content generated may be limited by the images that are present. I'm wondering whether this concerns the debate about the role of language within social constructionism; is language just a read off of the thoughts that are in there, or is language in interaction a construction of reality. What do images do to the role of language in this case, would they distract, lead in an inauthentic direction?

Reflections on interviews from a distance

In this reflection I will focus on events from the research interviews overall. Firstly, on meeting with gatekeepers; secondly on the interview process with participants and finally on how the interviews made me feel.

Meeting with gatekeepers

As mentioned in a previous reflection, finding participants was particularly challenging, this involved contacting many gatekeepers and meeting with a good number of them before being able to speak with participants. One point stood out from these contacts when things progressed. Often, the gatekeepers would give me information about the participant before I had met them. This felt like a desire on their part to help me, by giving assurances that the young people they had in mind were indeed suitable. However, not all of the interviews with young people went ahead, and thus, I was privy to information about them that was highly personal.

While I did not know their names or how to identify them at this point, it still felt as though the gatekeepers had sometimes shared too much. Othertimes, information had been shared about the young people, I then met them, and what had been mentioned by the gatekeepers had not come up in the interviews. It may have been the case that it would have, had we had more interviews given that so many appointments were missed. Holding on to this information within the interviews was difficult, I suppose I wanted to ask questions about it, but reasoned that to do so would be ethically questionable, and impact on the spirit of collaboration that the interviews had sought to foster. I'd wondered how they would have felt if I had asked a question that implied I knew more about them than they had told me? Disempowered, I thought, and that I was dishonest, presenting myself as if I wanted to know about their background but that I already did. I do think it's important that they have the power and ability to choose not to share everything with me, and am pleased to say that individuals used the mechanisms in place to change the subject when they felt uncomfortable and stated when they didn't want to say something to me more generally.

I suppose it was frustrating to an extent too; a gatekeeper had shared something about one of the participants that was relevant to the research literature, but as the young people had not said it themselves, I could hardly discuss it. In another way, it further illustrates the climate of secrecy around PSM which is discussed in the literature review.

Interview process

Doing the interviews was an interesting experience, the reading about power dynamics was relevant, I did indeed feel that, had I wanted to, I could have made different choices that affected the research in one way or another but I guess that's an inevitable part of the process, the power dynamic can be modified through use of different methods and interviewing styles but it is very difficult to eliminate it completely.

In doing the interviews I felt that I was constructed as much more of an 'expert' than I felt. The interviewees, as well as the gatekeepers, I thought, saw me as a specialist in this field. I guess I was to some extent but it was still an unusual experience. I remember similar feelings when I'd first started the course and gone into schools, the staff saw you as very specialist. I'd become more comfortable in both accepting that role and challenging it, I was less comfortable in both in relation to the research. A goal of the degree is to build research capacity in the students and part of that will be familiarisation with this process, so it (these feelings) are likely to be design, rather than chance, to paraphrase the course director.

Another interesting aspect of the interview process is on listening to participants stories about their growing up, and comparing them to my own transition experience. This is somewhat inevitable, it's the same process of social comparison that I wrote about within the thesis. You compare yourself to those around you, and that's one way of making sense of transitions. So how did I feel about my transition in relation to theirs? Generally pretty fortunate. While I could identify with some of the risks, I was aware that the support I had around me was greater than that the young people had available to them. I thought more about my brother, who has had a challenging transition, than I did of myself.

I wondered while doing the interviews what the young people thought of me. Since I wasn't too dissimilar in age, I wondered whether my presence as someone who has a lot, who has status to some respect and who is professional, coming to interview them about their lives implied judgement, or some kind of failure to succeed on their part. I hoped that I had mitigated these feelings with the spirit of the interviews and through my demeanour in general, however it's hard to know. One event stood out. Having spoken a bit about what I was doing to one of the participants, on the next visit he said that he would like to do a phd in education too. Maybe this was a throw away comment, but to me, at that time, it indicated that he was making a social comparison to me. It prompted questions: How would this make him feel? Would an interview from an older person like my mother bring about radically different results? Maybe more maternal themes would emerge that would be interesting in the context of PSM. Many more questions of this nature flowed, again I reasoned that the presence and demeanour of the interviewer was something that needed to be acknowledged and that any assumption that this was a small affect was unrealistic.

Reflections from gatekeeper meeting

Following the launch of the ASD diagnostic service the B4L team and I met with the neighbourhood co-ordinator team. B4L had had previous contact with them looking at running training events in the community for 'hard-to-reach' individuals. This had broken down when the service manager became ill.

The neighbourhood co-ordinators described their role as based on an Australian model. Ethics was central to their organization. They positioned themselves alongside individuals and stressed that they could only highlight issues, and not recommend that people go on courses or training events. A neighbourhood coordinator covered a patch of the island roughly equivalent to 10,000 people. It was implied that while building relationships was key to their successful work, this was also very difficult. They were interested in the research as they saw many people fitting the description. Though, as expected and detailed in the literature, they foresaw difficulties in encouraging this population into research participation.

As a team they asked many questions concerning ethics, confidentiality, the sensitivity of the subject, potential therapeutic effects of participation, potential of onward referral, perceived benefit of participation. I was able to answer these questions with reference to the ethical proposal and added more, discussing the merits of process consent as well as informed consent, explaining when individuals had a right to consent and talking about building redundancy into the meetings to avoid distressing issues. In response to this I discussed the life-grid as a sensitive method, as well as collage, which the team seemed to accept.

The three attendees at the meeting were enthusiastic and asked specific questions afterwards as they appeared to have individuals in mind whom they wished to approach.

Speaking to this audience I felt on-the-spot but in control. I was able to deliver a wide range of information fluently and confidently. My placement tutor was present and chipped in on a few occasions to prompt me with questions that necessitated a response from an area I had omitted. Overall the meeting felt like progress in two senses. Firstly, I appeared to be getting somewhere with the research, in a practical sense (i.e. as opposed to literature review and methodology). Secondly, reflecting on the experience afterwards with the team present, illustrated how far I'd come in being able to articulate my ideas, the areas (PSM and transition to adulthood) and the ethical aspects involved. This is in contrast to my memory of explaining my ideas to my course-mates roughly a year ago.

The feedback from the B4L team was positive, everyone suggesting that I had made a good case and had spoken well in the meeting. This boosted my confidence for the upcoming meeting with my dissertation supervisor.

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In this reflection I will focus on the second meeting with the second participant; and, meeting with the Catch-22 team.

The second meeting with Trey (pseudonym) went similarly well to the first. What stands out about him is his desire to give back and to contribute. He also has physical presence from all the time spent at the gym. He mentioned that he is popular and has an easy time making friends and this is easy to see, he's very open.

A few things about his story reminded me about my own growing up. He mentioned how he didn't smoke as concerning his mother's smoking but also mentioned that nobody who did sports smoked, so he didn't. This is a clear protective factor, the involvement with sports, and I also remember using it alongside a medical excuse (childhood pneumonia and pleurisy). I was similarly focused on health and fitness and this was anathema to smoking despite many of my friends' doing it throughout high school and university. Similar to me he placed a lot of value into sports participation for helping to combat a broad range of youth troubles – I had to stop myself from going off on a tangent and talking about this, it would have been so easy.

It struck me that his success in sports provided him with social capital, to borrow the term, that could be easily seen by others and this led to frequent male role models that partially stood in place for his father. These were typically strong men who valued discipline associated with the gym and sports. He identified many of them as role models and spoke about the trust he put in them and the responsibility they in turn gave him (e.g. looking after the gym, having a key).

There were some important revelations too. That Trey thought his upbringing had made him 'cold' and that this had been validated by his wife. This must be a difficult thing to think about when he also mentioned the importance of love. This seems to have possible links to attachment theory via internal working model, as well as what this says about demeanour in future relationships too – best left for the analysis.

Unrelated to the thesis something else stood out in the way that Trey spoke about his friends being of equal size and importance. This reminded me of David Hockney's description and use of Egyptian paintings where figures of greater importance were physically bigger in size (e.g. pharoes and religious leaders are sometimes twice the height of other figures in paintings) it made me briefly consider what a contemporary painting with gang members, politicians and other public roles would look like... best left to Mary.

Meeting with the catch 22 team was a relief. It finally seems like I've found the right audience and service to work with. When I explained my research the team of 8 were continually raising YP that could fit the participation requirements. It seems like they are involved in many, many serious cases, I wonder how they are able to resolve things or move things forward with the numbers that they see. The company speaks about the benefit of putting capital into public services and seem to have been going for 200 or so years. I guess I was a little prejudiced and thought that any gains would be hard fought with caseloads so high and training so apparently low. Anyway, I got the impression that they will soon make contact and I explained my limitations of time – phew.

Reflection on recruitment difficulties.

In this reflection I will detail the difficulties had in recruiting participants; arranging meetings with participants; the plans to move forward with the data of only a few young people; then getting inundated with requests for participation; and, the changes to the data collection process based on the limited amount of time available with the young people.

Table of participant contact	
Charities contacted	18

Charities replied	2
Other services contacted	
Other services replied	2
Meetings arranged	4, 3, 2, 4, 2, 1, 1 = 19
Meetings attended	12
Meetings missed	7

Recruiting participants via making contact with gatekeepers was difficult – this was described in research of a similar orientation (O’Conner et al, 2014; Backett-Milburn, 2008; Wilson et al, 2007). The research population are described as vulnerable due to the: illegality of their parents’ behaviour, societal attitudes, potential disruption the research may cause, suspicion of professionals and general secrecy around the topic. All of these factors may have contributed to the difficulty in recruitment. A surprising factor was that few of charities (at a local level) which appeared to be most aligned with the research remit, had young people over the age of 16 in their services. Participation in greater numbers was only achieved by contacting national charities with bases outside the immediate research areas. Staying with the charities contacted – those that replied had often misunderstood the request (with one politely alerting me that I had no got a job). Others services were willing but did not know of any young people they could refer, their remit tending to focus on younger children (i.e. <16 years). Further services were also willing at the level of gatekeepers, however arranging initial meetings with young people supported by an adult became problematic as multiple schedules had to overlap – these were often considerably further away than the initial research area.

The initial difficulties in recruitment made me feel as though I had picked too hard a topic and I, at times, considered changing to something that would allow easier data collection and ethics. An additional difficulty was the length of the data collection sessions (planned to be up to three separate meetings). As these could take up to three weeks to complete, were over a large area and the practice placement was over two separate sites, when I had agreement for one young person to participate I was worried about agreeing to interview another due to the travel, time and expense demands involved. I had also aimed to interview between 3 – 6 participants but lowered this due to the difficulty in

arranging any meetings. At multiple times I had a third young person who wanted to participate, however they cancelled at the last minute on two occasions which impacted my confidence as time was moving on and I had made limited progress. At this point I contacted a wider range of charities and met with two. These two provided me with many contacts, however I was still sceptical that this would lead to participants, based on my experience with other charities. My fears were not unfounded, these new participants cancelled on three separate occasions following periods of travel and overnight accommodation.

At times when it looked as though I would be unable to recruit more than the two young people previously interviewed I considered a change of methodology to something that I thought would work in those circumstances (e.g. case studies) however on further reading realized that this would not be compatible. I asked various colleagues about contacts they may have and this produced two participants in a school and a third near the placement office. Only one of these turned out to be successful although another recommended one of the national charities that did provide participants later. I found it interesting to speculate why the young people who had agreed initially to participate then changed their minds – was it the time demands; a feeling of betraying their parents in talking about a family ‘secret’; were the memories too painful to bring up; was the information sheet somehow intimidating; or did they just not want to talk? There wasn’t any way to find out at that stage. As mentioned above, many of the meetings were cancelled at the last minute due to unforeseen work arrangements for supporting staff, exams, medical reasons and forgetfulness. At the time I wondered whether this represented the ‘chaotic’ lives that were hypothesized in the literature review. On interviewing some of the participants later it did seem as though many of the young people had a lot going on for them, and the meeting arrangements of up to three sessions seemed fanciful.

One factor that kept me motivated during this difficult period was the fond memories I had of working with young people who had this experience in Edinburgh, and wondering how things could have been different for them. The tutors had recommended a choice of topic that was intrinsically motivating - this was good advice. I also felt that a change of topic so late in the course of the thesis would be almost

impossible to complete in the remaining time available – though I was envious of the progress my peers had made researching topics like teacher stress.

Reflection of the research process and interviews overall.

In this reflection I will focus on how I have developed as a researcher over the past two years; the research areas I'm thinking about at the moment and how I feel about the participants now that I am soon to cease writing about them.

Researcher development

Before embarking on the thesis I had completed the research commission, and approximately six of the assignments. Prior to that it was my undergraduate dissertation. Unsurprisingly I hadn't attempted anything of a similar scope. Honestly, I was quite intimidated by the scale of it, especially given my previous working style (e.g. finish all sections at the end and not before). Having come through it – pretty much - I'm certainly proud of myself. I can see that I've grown in organization, rigour, reflexivity and in general writing skills. I look at the other trainees in my year and see them thoughtfully placing words and completing sections in a logical and planned order. My own writing feels like the opposite; numerous drafts building towards a final edit that cuts off 50% or so, then repeating the process. Maybe it just appears this way and everyone writes like this? Regardless, I've certainly improved and am now closer to my colleagues than I was previously. When thinking of this, I'm reminded of the feedback from the pre-course assignments too. It was put pleasantly but essentially said that I'd made horrific stylistic errors and used overly long sentences. I can still see both of these traits in my writing but they are at trace amount compared to three years ago.

Other than the writing and organization, the thesis also tracked a development in my confidence. Again this is unsurprising given that it is an aim of the course overall. Specifically though, it's increased my confidence in taking on written projects of a bigger scale. I feel more able to write an article – and much more able to read one critically. Similarly, my appreciation of epistemology and ontology has grown and that enables me to see, and weigh, other research differently.

The numerous challenges faced over the course of the project (e.g. writing, organization, finding participants, analysis etc) have all helped me grow. Taking a message from the thesis here – challenges beyond your present level of ability, provided there is sufficient support, lead to growth. Support has come from many places and it has enabled me to at least hand something in as complete.

Research areas I'm thinking about at the moment

On another note, completing the research has got me thinking about other related topics. These are mentioned in the 'future research' section but I would also like to reflect on them here. Two stand out as most interesting. The first, would be around ethnic minorities' experience of PSM. This came up, obliquely, in two of the participants accounts. Jebz discussed the role her community played with reference to norms and values expected of her. There was, I thought, also the implication that her father was judged for having had an alcohol problem and having passed away. Trey made reference to Jamaican influences in what appeared to be a negative way – drugs and apathy but said little else about this topic.

The other topic that holds my interest at the moment is in relation to PSM, transition and siblings. It seems as though birth order could be important in the experience, with older siblings adopting a more caring approach than young ones and potentially being exposed to greater parentification as a result. Issues of gender and parental support would also be interesting factors. The focus would be on the relationship between the siblings. This was raised by many of the participants and I would have liked to have interviewed them as well, this would have given a very nuanced account of growing up from multiple angles.

How I feel about the participants now.

Another interesting point of reflection, for me at least, is on my feelings towards the participants now. It has been a long time since the interviews and I've spent a considerable amount of time thinking about their histories, phrases, relationships and everything else. I had a conversation at a wedding recently where I was talking about the research and the woman I was speaking to asked whether I had hope for

them. I found it easy to answer because of an optimistic disposition, yes, I had hope. But I guess I didn't have equal amounts of hope for each participant. Some were undoubtedly in more difficult situations than others. I wondered about the two who appeared to have the biggest problems with drugs and family situations, and what it would take to make change in their lives. My impression is that it would have to be something substantial and sustained and from reading about local authority cuts to addiction services I wondered whether they would get the support that they needed.

I was certainly hopeful for the two of the young people who appeared to have the greatest sense of self agency. Their determination to succeed and make the most of their situations was inspiring, though I did wonder whether some of that was put on for me, and that a different interviewer may have elicited a remarkably different account. Overall, I suppose I wonder about them. Whether they have met their goals, continued with their relationships, changed jobs or friends. It's a reminder of the privilege present in being a researcher. Having people open up to you about intimate details of their lives is incredibly trusting and rewarding.

Something from reading around the topic has stayed with me, annoyingly I couldn't find the reference so wasn't able to put it in the main body of the thesis. It's a simple idea and I guess the same one that underlies cognitive therapies. That it's not the event that matters rather the way individuals make sense of that event. Relatedly, individuals make sense of events alongside other people. So a positive influence, someone to reinterpret negative experiences is invaluable. This gives me hope for all of the participants, some of them will be the ones to challenge other people's negative experiences, others can benefit from others who will help them do that. This seems to lead towards the benefits of social contact and group based therapies.

One thing that stuck with me was part of Trey's account where he thought about his mothers' substance use and that of his peers. This seemed to be a moment where he realized that other things might be going on for his mother (mental health issues) but also that his friends were somewhere on a path that *could* lead to his mother and thus his own experience. He spoke about the difference between the few years

his friends had used, and the many that his mother had done. It struck me that this must have been a very difficult feeling, I thought that I could see him making the calculations in his head, that his mother could have been one of his friends who befell bad luck.

8.10.2. Reflections on participant interviews

First interview reflection John.

In this reflection I will focus on my thoughts and feelings during the first interview. In particular I will reflect on: similarities between this yp and yp I had worked with in the youth homelessness role; my feelings of admiration for the yp in being able to manage given his circumstances; the sense of things fitting in to place in relation to the research; and, my relief at completing the first interview.

The story the yp told of his background, upbringing and relationships was deeply personal. It involved alcohol abuse, relationships, being let down, multiple bereavements and a more hopeful future. This was a familiar picture based on my individual work with yp at risk of homelessness in Edinburgh. Typically, they had moved into precarious accommodation or 'sofa surfing' with many of their care placements breaking down. This was in contrast to the yp today, who had thrived in care. I wondered about the relative strength of foster and care teams in the different locations and why it had worked for one yp but not another. I could see this yp in the supportive accommodation and how I would interact with him. I had to check my impulse to build and develop a relationship with him further and to move on to strengths. I also felt that it was novel that someone else had done the individual work, and I was in a different role, from that I would usually be in.

Given the difficulty faced by the yp I felt considerable admiration for him since he had come out of the other side of a difficult adolescence. He was hopeful and grateful for the support that he had. He was also terrifically open and in tune with his feelings. He clearly saw the benefits of sharing his story and similarly, his abhorrence of alcoholism's effects was obvious. I wonder whether my feelings of admiration would be different had the yp been ungrateful, or angrier. There's maybe something in my reaction about demeanour. This could be an unhelpful bias in my thinking. Aren't angry people equally worthy of admiration? So the characteristic is emotional regulation, or being able to take a broader perspective. These could be better indicators of my feelings fo admiration.

Listening to the yp's story I had the feeling of his account fitting into place. Much of what he was saying went with the grain of the research, for example, the importance of peers, secrecy, shame and concerns of a chaotic home environment. This boosted my confidence. I felt as

though I'd be able to make sense of this account. I did I have a small concern that I wouldn't be adding anything new to the literature.

However, this is not the novel stage, the new part comes in the next meeting.

I also had the feeling of relief as the interview approached and during it. It felt like an important milestone. That's also what many people had been saying to me, so I'd internalised this to some extent. More broadly it doesn't feel like I'm standing still, it's more like one step forward and one step back. As I completed the interview I received an email from another charity saying they couldn't help as the age group they work with did not overlap with mine. This is testament to the difficulties of research in this area, finding participants.

Reflection on interview with participant 2 – Trey.

In this reflection I will focus on the thoughts and feelings elicited in me during the interview with the participant.

Admiration. The yp had had a colourful background. There were many risk factors: PSM, absent father, poverty etc. He was diagnosed at a young age with adhd and excluded from numerous schools during the primary years. The yp dealt drugs and was arrested. Despite this the yp has a child, a mortgage, car, wife, degree and job that he enjoys. This made me think of the concept of ‘fast track transitions to adulthood’. He was younger than me personally but had achieved more in terms of significant milestones. I did feel like less of an adult than him.

He also spoke about parentification which is a key topic in the literature. He was involved in instrumental parentification from 9 years old through necessity. Again this made me reflect on my own childhood and how I was protected this. At 9 years I wasn’t doing anything of the sort. I wondered whether he saw it as good for him in the long run, or maybe whether it was more nuanced than just good or bad, I expect so. In addition this, he spoke of feeling like he missed out on freedom and adolescence and now wants to get this back, which is causing his own relationship difficulties with his partner. Like key works from the literature, coping mechanisms have costs.

He commented that he felt adult at age 25, not nearly an adult but adult. This was when he was married, his son was born and he graduated - a big year. I suppose that is in line with EA theory’s predictions and my cohort is the exception, with their extremely delayed transition, over 30s. His ideas about adulthood were certainly not about tangible objects or activities, much more to do with psychological ideas of tolerance and responsibility.

However, there were also structural factors that upset his transition. He had an apprenticeship that fell through, this left him without a college place. Race and class concerns. His mother did not have money to support him, so his own personal resources were minimal during transition, however he had identity capital through sporting success and strength of personality.

His relationships with his mother was textbook PSM. He had a lack of boundaries and consequences. It wasn't that the environment was chaotic, or it didn't sound as chaotic as it might have been, but there was a lack of warmth. This resonates with findings from attachment theory. The lack of warmth persisted and came to a head when his mother had to choose between attending her sons wedding or continuing to use drugs. This was a very painful experience for him and illustrates too, the effects of ongoing parental substance misuse, rather than PSM that is for a fixed period of time. The relationship with his father was mentioned less, he noted that he didn't really have a father.

Shame was raised, he spoke of having to lie about his mother to his friends parents for fear of embarrassment. I wonder whether this would've been any different for alcohol use? I imagine not, I suspect he'd cover for mother's alcohol use too.

The participant also reminded me of my younger brother. He had had similar goals. Army, marines, personal training and fitness. He also looked similar, in haircut and tattoos. The biggest similarity was drug dealing. Both my brother and he dealt drugs and have since given it up. The participant suffered more consequences (i.e. criminal record) and I wondered whether that was due to the probabilities of police attention interacting with Race and class. My brother white a middle class and the participant Caribbean decent and working class.

The identification with the school was important too. This was an ongoing source of support, through the participants darkest hours and this has now paid off. He highlights the benefits of a lenient approach to sentencing. He is now a contributing member of the community and a role model to people from a similar background. What would've happened to him had he gone to prison? Criminalised? This train of thought is somewhat influenced by recent conversations on the radio about the effect of race and police stop and search powers around recent knife crime.

Clearly from a resilience perspective he had supports in place. Neighbours, something he was good at and received encouragement from, cousins as role models and a supportive school environment. He is also academically able. His narrative was largely about individual

responsibility for pulling himself out of bad situations. Hard work, like in the gym, pays off outside too. His language was goal orientated (e.g. he wants to be a teacher by x time) similar to that of gym based training. This is useful language.

Reflections following interview with participant 3, Nancy.

The most immediate difference in this interview, relative to the others was that the participant was female and middle class. The previous two were male and grew up close to poverty. That did not appear to be a feature for Nancy.

It was evident that she was nervous, she twitched regularly when listening to questions and responding. Her answers were short, shorter than I expected and I struggled to leave silences in between. She seemed to prefer to answer in two or three sentences.

She's been training as a councillor, and that shows too, her repeated use of the same phrases, empathetic listening and body language. It was unusual getting this back from someone else. At times I felt I was talking to a professional rather than a young person. This changed as we progressed with the meeting however I was still very aware of it.

She spoke of holding onto the family secret, and how this was revealed to a friend and that things got worse. This is key in the literature and also something that members of my own family hold on to. Talking about it may well be distressing as I imagine doing it myself. In this way she reminded me of my sister, there was a caution to her that is very like my sister. I need to be careful to not let that impact on the data.

Reflection from participant 4 Betty.

This reflection will focus on thoughts around the first interview with the fourth participant. This was the first participant who came through a substance misuse charity a recently met. The YP had had an extremely challenging life. This was present from early on, detailing the multiple separations in care from her mother, father, foster care placements and schools.

Violence was also a prominent feature of her accounts. She recalled beating up teachers, her parents, partners and people her own age. This was difficult to hear. Stories of cigarettes being thrown in faces and bleach put into tea. It reminded me of some of the pupils at my own school who were violent towards staff, others and myself. I already knew that this violence was a product of challenging environments but this was made explicitly clear with the YPs background. Witnessing domestic violence, violence to others and other chaotic scenes associated with drug using environments.

This was the first time a participant had been so expressly clear that they wanted confidentiality and anonymity. They were clear that if family members found out about discussions like this they would be devastated and angry. I need to remember to highlight that no one they know will hear the audio tapes – this was a particular concern, that people might realize the pseudonym and altered location were made up, based on the identifiability of the voice.

The family dynamics that were discussed were also very interesting. The disagreements between the sisters, the suggestion of foetal alcohol syndrome, one daughter being a 'mummy's girl' and the other a 'daddies girl'. Besides the roles of aunt and gran. Much of the fallings out between different members appeared to be to do with initial rejection which was replicated again when much older – not being able to talk on the phone when she calls her mother, feeling like her mother doesn't make time for her.

This was also the first time that the birth of a child was construed as a turning point. This is often referred to in the literature. The purpose and responsibility that a child brings. Separations were made between physical and mental adulthood, again. There were contradictions between whether she thought she was an adult or not, giving different answers at different times. All will be interesting in the analysis.

On a personal level I felt as though my own questioning technique was better in this interview than in many of the previous ones. I left more room for silence, which was filled, and asked follow up questions that provided more detail into the account. I had worried a bit about this in the last interview, although with hindsight I think it's probably fine.

Participant 5 interview reflection – Val

The interview with the participant 'Val' was both challenging and interesting. Firstly, I will focus on information the gatekeeper passed on prior to the interview ; secondly I will focus on the methods; next the interviewing style; finally the experince overall.

Gatekeeper information

Prior to meeting Val I had met with the organization to explain my research. Following that meeting I chatted with individual keyworkers who had thought of YP they could approach. One shared information about the situation and history of a YP they were supporting. They commented that the YP would be sure to speak candidly with me and discuss these issues. I later attended the saem venue to meet with the YP but was met with the keyworker instead who apologised for the YP cancelling at short notice. At this point the keyworker shared more infomration about the YP's situation. I think this was to explain why they were not present and to give me an impression about the uncertainty within her life. When I met with the YP weeks later they shared a large amount with me, but not the specifics that the gatekeeper had mentioned. At point in the discussion I was tempted to ask questions which may have led to this information. I decided not to do this and it is apparent within the transcript. The YP comments that things were just the same for multiple years. I suspect, based on the conversations with the gatekeeper that the situation had actually deteriorated significantly at this point, but that the YP had chosen not to tell me. I'm glad that the YP felt they could keep parts of their life secret. However, in being given information that was then not shared, certain discussions of research were not possible.

Methods used and their effectiveness

In this interview the collage making and life grids felt as though they were the least useful. The image searching for the collage was slow and effortful. The YP perhaps did not feel comfortable in doing this activity, working with technology in this way. However, the activity could equally be seen from the opposite perspective, that without the life grid and collage making activity the interview would have been even more

difficult. It is hard to know which way to interpret it. It is unfortunate that the first interview appointment was missed as this would have, hopefully, enabled for more rapport building to take place. Perhaps then the YP would have felt more comfortable in the activities and in discussion about her life generally.

Relatedly, this reminds me of a friend who completed a counselling training. He told a story about an activity they did early on. Everyone had to think of a secret they had not told anyone. They then had to sit next to one of the other trainees and on the count of three, begin telling them that secret. My friend described a nauseating feeling as he thought about what to tell, and who he would stand next to to tell. He described the aghast look on other people's faces who were contemplating the same thing. Finally the trainer intervened and said that they did not have to tell their secrets at all. The point of the exercise was to build empathy with future clients who were having to go through that same process. I think that the participant in the research may have felt the same way.

Overall experience

This interview was more challenging than any of the previous ones. There were long silences and it felt as though some of the answers were what the YP thought I wanted to hear rather than what they thought. They sounded like cultural norms or truisms being spoken rather than the YP's take on them. However, maybe I am being unfair and suspecting or looking for *hidden depths* where there are none. In general the challenges the YP had faced were huge, she appeared to have more ACEs than many of the other participants. It seemed as though the odds really were against her. In this way she reminded me of many of the YP that I worked with at the Edinburgh homelessness charity. It struck me that many of those YP had had very hard lives and that many were not *likeable*. They were not jolly, social, cheeky or easy to get along with. Their habits were hard to change and, from the outside, appeared obviously damaging. It was not that I didn't *like* the YP, just that she was less easy to get along with than some of the others. The interview reminded me that the difficulties faced by YP can impact on the energy that is given to this type of encounter. Additionally, I thought about the amount of *workers or staff* that may have been involved with the YP. There could have been suspicion, distrust or a variety of other feelings towards someone like me.

Participant 6 interview reflection - Jebz.

In this reflection I will focus on points of interest in the interview with Jebz. More specifically these will be around points of difference between her and other participants; the role of culture and community in her account; parts of the account that were close to theory; the inclusion of religion. Firstly I will start with a comment Jebz made when walking back to the care park.

On the walk back to the car park Jebz continued discussing areas from the interview. She made a comment indicating that she didn't feel as though she had the chance to experience shame at parental substance misuse due to the closeness of the community she was part of – East African diaspora. Jebz noted that family friends, neighbours etc were so involved in the going's on in the family that everyone knew her father was an alcoholic and people would talk about it. Therefore it was not possible to have a family secret, so there was no stress in holding onto that. This differed from many of the other accounts where individuals have mentioned the difficulty of holding on to this, and the problematic nature of sharing it, sometimes things got worse when they would tell.

Jebz, overall, came across as one of the most positive YP interviewed. I wondered whether this was due to her relationship with God and Christianity. I had seen religion mentioned as a protective factor in the Velleman & Templton (2016) paper looking at resilience and PSM in younger children but as I rarely encounter anyone with religious beliefs, I was not able to ask about this further. Jebz account made me consider religious belief from a pragmatic perspective. If it works, do more of it. Does the truth of religious belief matter if it reduces suffering and enables vulnerable people to succeed, keep going and avoid negative outcomes? Alcoholics Anonymous is well known for it's multi-step method which involves surrendering oneself to a higher power and relieving yourself of control over your actions. Surrendering free-will even. I wonder how this interacts with perceptions of control and self-efficacy more generally. It seems as though in some of the previous accounts interventions that have taken place have specifically targeted self-efficacy as an area to develop – unfortunately this has not been enough in those instances. Perhaps a religious framework is more effective? This is a matter to return to later.

I suppose it's also important not to let my own feelings about religion and god (atheism) cloud the way I make sense of Jebz's description of her experience. What I didn't mention above is my own feeling that religion preys [sic] on the vulnerable (i.e my bereaved next door neighbour) but maybe it should be seen as serving the vulnerable, both my neighbour and Jebz have achieved greater social contact from it, a cure to loneliness which was a problem for both, as well as many other participants. Maybe it's a positive embodiment of community that's missing from areas nowadays, religion fills that gap?

Finally, Jebz' notion of adulthood was sophisticated and psychological. Her description of going beyond age markers, roles and occupations to a feeling of finding oneself was very like Marcia's theories. Specifically, Jebz mentioned the importance of exploration, and going further than the general expectations of you permit. Her description of those who do not go beyond these alluded to adults in status but not in psychology, those who are lost.

Jebz' perspective, informed from her East African community and heritage, is a valuable one within the project. A good example of how the project has grown bigger than it's initial island scope.

8.11. Literature Search table

Ovid								
Search terms incl alternatives see section 2.4			Combination of search terms				Notes on papers	
1	2	3						
Young people	Transition	PSM	1,2,3	1,2	1,3	2,3		
337272	50907	858	2 results	6 results	270 results	6 results		
			Discounted due to age of study (1995) and intrauterine early intervention	5 discounted due to childhood interventions, focus on racial differences and age of publication	3 taken forward based on title inspection	Same as 1, 2		
				Leonard, C. L. (2012). <i>Assessing the impact of parentification on students' adjustment to college</i> (Doctoral dissertation, Fielding Graduate University). Limited	Longman & Rae (2014) dissertation <i>Adult children of drug abuse: levels of psychopathology in comparison to adult children of alcoholics</i>		Longman & Rae (2014). Quant. Thesis. Ethics of doing to YP rather than with, their side of the story is lost. 88 participants 11 PSM drugs, 19 PSM Alcoholics and 56, no PSM. Used Personality Assessment Inventory. Life satisfaction scale. There was reported overlap between the ACOA and ACODA pool, some parents used both substances – these were placed in the ACODA category – questions whether it is useful to make the distinction of substances rather	

				<p>relevance discounted</p>	<p><i>and controls.</i></p> <p>Fuller-Thomson, E., Katz, R. B., Phan, V. T., Liddycoat, J. P., & Brennenstuhl, S. (2013). The long arm of parental addictions: The association with adult children's depression in a population-based study. <i>Psychiatry research, 210(1)</i>, 95-101.</p> <p>Rudolph, A. E., Jones, K. C., Latkin, C., Crawford, N. D., & Fuller,</p>	<p>than severity, or single / dual parent use etc. All from a college population therefore excluding based on race, class, income etc (acknowledged by the researchers).</p> <p>Fuller-Thompson et al (2013) American. Quant 6268 participants. Similar ethical concerns in that it was done to with little benefit to the YP themselves. No participant voice.</p> <p>Rudolph et al (2011). American. Mixed methods. 650 YP. Street outreach so your not going to catch the ones who have 'succeeded' (i.e. Bickelhaupt, 2012). Older, median age 33. Limited to cocaine, crack and heroin. 90 min long interviews. Questionnaires.</p>
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					C. M. (2011). The association between parental risk behaviors during childhood and having high risk networks in adulthood. <i>Drug and alcohol dependence, 118(2-3), 437-443.</i>		
PSYCH INFO							
Young People	Transition	PSM	Other excluded due to irrelevance.				Notes
1	2	3	1,2,3	1,2	1,3	2,3	
182572	62809	1069	3				
			Jordan, W. (2018). <i>Family Disruption and the Transition to Adulthood Among Low</i>				Jordan (2018). 22 young adults interviewed. Doctoral thesis. Interviews, qualitative, good. But not as good as repeat interviews, and with a visual methods to take

			<p><i>Socioeconomic Status Young Adults</i>(Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo).</p>			<p>pressure of the being-interviewed experience.</p> <p>Good, but doesn't capture the severity of the experiences I'm looking at. Also the 'core experience' of PSM associated with secrecy, shame and potential future drug use as transitioning. So different population.</p>
			<p>Hedges, K. E. (2012). A family affair: contextual accounts from addicted youth growing up in substance using families. <i>Journal of Youth studies</i>, 15(3), 257-272.</p>			<p>American. Qualitative and aims to give contextual understanding of growing up in a substance misusing household.</p> <p>Theoretical framework is Bourdieu's Habitus. Unconscious socialisation that occurs through experience (i.e. social learning theory).</p> <p>Narrative interviews, participant observation and case following. 25 adolescent girls – no boys.</p> <p>Use of 'landmarks' in interview. To gain accuracy. Some told over multiple occasions.</p>

							Limitation being the extreme experiences of the participants. 95% involved with justice system, 40% in custody. Makes reference to Dunlap et al (2004) and Backett-Milburn (2008)
SCOPUS							
Youth	Transition	PSM					Notes
1	2	3	1, 2, 3	1,2	1,3	2,3	
208,045	5028	1580	2				
			Hedges, K. E. (2012). A family affair: contextual accounts from addicted youth growing up in substance using families. <i>Journal of Youth studies</i> , 15(3), 257-272.				Duplicate
			Napolitano, L. J. (2010). "YOU CAN'T COUNT ON NOBODY IN LIFE": HOMELESS YOUTH AND THE TRANSITION TO				60 homeless youth recruited from a shelter – i.e. non random sample, all of a certain severity to be living at home. American. Qualitative.

			ADULTHOOD. <i>Sociological Studies of Children and Youth</i> , 13, 107-130.				
ProQuest							
Youth	Transition	PSM	Title and abstract inspection selected the below.				Notes
1	2	3	1,2,3	1,2	1,3	2,3	
820868	538408	8253	3654				
			McGregor, D. L. (2009). Never say never: Struggle and determination in the lives of young adults with FASD.				Doctoral thesis. Qualitative interviews. Avoids looking at factors including family chaos and continuing parent relationship with substances.
			Caywood, K. L. (2007). <i>Young adult children of alcoholics: Risks and moderators of drinking, psychiatric, and psychosocial outcomes</i> . Pacific Graduate School of Psychology.				American. Dissertation. Quant. 456 YP of alcoholic, depressed and non-distressed parents. Just alcoholism.

			Bickelhaupt, S. E. (2012). The influences of parental alcoholism on socioemotional outcomes of emerging adults: A retrospective approach to healthy development.				Thesis. Alcoholics only. Retrospective qualitative enquiry. 13 students at university. Aged 21-25. Excluded from 30 those who were using drugs, and those who were drinking above 'safe' limit. Disappointing as could still be considered successful academically. Checking of the interviews with participants. Seems more ethical.
			Williams, K. (2015). Risk and resilience in emerging adults with childhood parentification.				Canadian. Quant, written, interview. Mixed methods. 205 quant. 181 written narrative responses. 10 individuals in interview. 17-19 years. Makes reference to Kelley et al (2007)
PsycArticles							
Youth	Transition	PSM	The rest discounted on title inspection.				Notes
1	2	3	1,2,3	1,2	1,3	2,3	
22299	1262	317	13				
			Benson, J. E., & Elder Jr, G. H.				American. Longitudinal sample of 18-22 year olds from ADD health

			(2011). Young adult identities and their pathways: A developmental and life course model. <i>Developmental psychology</i> , 47(6), 1646.				sample. Suggests four adult identity paths. Using person centred questionnaires responses in 1-4. Limited amount on PSM apart from adolescent experiences.
			Larkins, J. M., & Sher, K. J. (2006). Family history of alcoholism and the stability of personality in young adulthood. <i>Psychology of Addictive Behaviors</i> , 20(4), 471.				American. Longitudinal study data. Comparison with questionnaire. Alcohol only. Checked over 11 years, at three times with baseline age at 18.
Web of Science Core Collection							
youth	transitio n	psm					Notes
1	2	3	1,2,3	1,2	1,3	2,3	
540,724	310404	2694 3	361				
			Boumans, N. P., & Dorant, E. (2018). A cross-sectional				Swedish, discounted

			study on experiences of young adult carers compared to young adult noncarers: parentification, coping and resilience. <i>Scandinavian journal of caring sciences</i> .				
			Lee, C. P., Beckert, T., & Marsee, I. (2018). Well-being and Substance Use in Emerging Adulthood: The Role of Individual and Family Factors in Childhood and Adolescence. <i>Journal of Child and Family Studies</i> , 27(12), 3853-3865.				Data dated and limited use, discounted
			Sternberg, A., Pandika, D., Elam, K. K., & Chassin,				Alcohol only. Data from Chassin et al (1992) therefore very dated.

			L. (2018). The relation of parent alcohol disorder to young adult drinking outcomes mediated by parenting: Effects of developmentally limited versus persistent parent alcohol disorder. <i>Drug and alcohol dependence, 188</i> , 224-231.			Doesn't define AUD – maybe limited to America? Looks at parental alcohol use that begins when youth are within emerging adulthood – these may confer less risk to the offspring. Highlights the problems with parental AUD – i.e. over simplified and not looking at single parent, multi parent, treatment etc. Refers to Hussong et al (2008)
			Mangiavacchi, L., & Piccoli, L. (2018). Parental alcohol consumption and adult children's educational attainment. <i>Economics & Human Biology, 28</i> , 132-145.			Russian. 1994-2001 longitudinal. Dated and maybe of limited relevance?
			Madkour, A. S., Clum, G., Miles, T.			Survey. American. Quant.

			T., Wang, H., Jackson, K., Mather, F., & Shankar, A. (2017). Parental influences on heavy episodic drinking development in the transition to early adulthood. <i>Journal of Adolescent Health, 61(2)</i> , 147-154.			<p>Whether parental relationship quality was associated with offspring alcohol use during transition to adulthood. No effect of gender. Or age.</p> <p>Communication frequency; time spent; closeness. All important to curb EA problematic drinking.</p> <p>Parents may have a role in peer selection even into young adulthood as an 'inner voice'</p>
			Livesey, C. M., & Rostain, A. L. (2017). Involving Parents/Family in Treatment during the Transition from Late Adolescence to Young Adulthood: Rationale, Strategies, Ethics, and Legal Issues. <i>Child and Adolescent Psychiatric</i>			Limited relevance to present study, discounted.

			<i>Clinics, 26(2), 199-216.</i>				
			Roy, K., Messina, L., Smith, J., & Waters, D. (2014). Growing up as “man of the house”: Adultification and transition into adulthood for young men in economically disadvantaged families. <i>New directions for child and adolescent development, 2014(143), 55-72.</i>				Limited relevance, discounted
			Hedges, K. E. (2012). A family affair: contextual accounts from addicted youth growing up in substance using families. <i>Journal of Youth</i>				Duplicate

			<i>studies, 15(3), 257-272.</i>				
			Brook, J. S., Balka, E. B., Crossman, A. M., Dermatis, H., Galanter, M., & Brook, D. W. (2010). The relationship between parental alcohol use, early and late adolescent alcohol use, and young adult psychological symptoms: A longitudinal study. <i>The American journal on addictions, 19(6), 534-542.</i>				American. Self report of own behaviour and of parents'. Alcohol only. Longitudinal study. As well as individual interviews where a questionnaire was read out.
			Templeton, L., Velleman, R., Hardy, E., & Boon, S. (2009). Young people living with				Participants too young - discounted

			parental alcohol misuse and parental violence: 'No-one has ever asked me how I feel in any of this'. <i>Journal of Substance Use, 14</i> (3-4), 139-150.				
			Wilson, S., Cunningham-Burley, S., Bancroft, A., & Backett-Milburn, K. (2008). 'Joined up' thinking? Unsupported 'fast-track' transitions in the context of parental substance use. <i>Journal of Youth Studies, 11</i> (3), 283-299.				Policy and theoretical paper based on Bancroft et al (2004) & Backett-Milburn et al (2008) Links to Bancroft et al (2004)

			Hussong, A. M., & Chassin, L. (2002). Parent alcoholism and the leaving home transition. <i>Development and Psychopathology</i> , 14(1), 139-157.				American. Alcohol only. 227 ppts aged 18-23. Very old data 1988-1990. Longitudinal. COA showed greater difficulties in negotiating this transition.; fewer positive feelings about the transition; and different reasons for leaving home – compared to those who didn't have an alcoholic parent.
ERIC							
Youth	Transition	PSM	Title exclusion for relevance to topic.				Notes
1	2	3	1,2,3				
91531	57288	1003	14				
			Tyler, K. A. (2006). A qualitative study of early family histories and transitions of homeless youth. <i>Journal of interpersonal</i>				Qualitative interviews. 40 homeless youth. Examined family history and number and type of transitions. Street interviews. 19-21 and homeless. American.

			<i>violence, 21(10), 1385-1393.</i>					
			Chase, N. D., Deming, M. P., & Wells, M. C. (1998). Parentification, parental alcoholism, and academic status among young adults. <i>American Journal of Family Therapy, 26(2), 105-114.</i>					Excluded due to date
British Education Index								Notes
Youth	Transition	PSM						
1	2	3	1,2,3	1,2	1,3	2,3		
14900	5350	26	0		9	0		
					Templeton, L., Novak, C., & Wall, S. (2011). Young people's views on services to			Participants too young, discounted

					help them deal with parental substance misuse. <i>Drug s: Education, prevention and policy, 18(3), 172-178.</i>		
University of Bristol Library Search Engine							Notes
1							
			Mackril, Elklit & Lindgaard (2012)				Discounted due to limited relevance to topic. Less about transition.
Papers from reference lists, Snowballing and related records.							
			Kelley, M. L., French, A., Bountress, K., Keefe, H. A., Schroeder, V., Steer, K., . . . Gumienny, L. (2007). Parentification and family responsibility in the family of				103 female college students who met criteria for ACOA compared to 233 women who did not. Gender of using parents was explored. Parentification and Filial Responsibilities (adult) were used and Children of Alcoholics screening test. ACOA reported more parentification, instrumental and emotional caregiving and past unfairness relative to NCOA. Those

			origin of adult children of alcoholics. <i>Addictive Behaviors</i> , 32, 675-685. doi:10.1016/j.addbeh.2006.06.010				who thought that their mother had the alcohol problem reported high levels of parentification.
			Dunlap, E., Stürzenhofecker, G., Sanabria, H., & Johnson, B. D. (2004). Mothers and daughters: The intergenerational reproduction of violence and drug use in home and street life. <i>Journal of ethnicity in substance abuse</i> , 3(2), 1-23.				Qualitative interviews with 20 families and 160 individuals. Focus on two families in particular. Data dated 1994-1997 so limited comparability. Extreme population and environment.
			Backett-Milburn, K., Wilson, S., Bancroft, A., & Cunningham-Burley, S. (2008). Challenging Childhoods:				Qualitative interviews with 38 YP aged between 15-27. Mixture of parental substance misuse. Purposive sampling – to involve some yp not well represented in the literature.

			Young people's accounts of getting by' in families with substance use problems. <i>Childhood, 15(4), 461-479.</i>				Definition of parent included anyone who had been in a parenting role for a significant period of time. Use of 'life grid' (Parry et al, 1999) (Wilson et al, 2007))
			Hussong, A. M., Bauer, D. J., Huang, W., Chassin, L., Sher, K. J., & Zucker, R. A. (2008). Characterizing the life stressors of children of alcoholic parents. <i>Journal of Family Psychology, 22(6), 819.</i>				Alcohol only. Longitudinal survey data. Count data doesn't account for severity, age at which the experience happened or duration of experience. The authors correct for these things. Community based and university student population – good.
			Kelley, M.L., Schroeder, V.M., Cooke, C.G., Gumienny, L., Platter, A.J. & Fals-Stewart, W. (2010). Mothers' versus fathers' alcohol abuse and				265 university students between 18-30. American. Adult children of alcoholics – daughters - reported greater anxious and avoidant behaviour within romantic attachments.

			attachment in adult daughters of alcoholics. <i>Journal of Family Issues</i> , 31 (11), 1555-1570.				
			Hughes, K., Bellis, M. A., Hardcastle, K. A., Sethi, D., Butchart, A., Mikton, C., ... & Dunne, M. P. (2017). The effect of multiple adverse childhood experiences on health: a systematic review and meta-analysis. <i>The Lancet Public Health</i> , 2(8), e356-e366.				<p>Systematic review and meta analysis. Cross sectional, case control & cohort studies to May 2016. At least 100 sample size, adults aged 18+. Excluded high risk populations – these may be my populations.</p> <p>Acknowledged criticism that the ACEs measurement technique does not account for duration of exposure to an ACE or severity within that category, or age of exposure.</p>

8.12. Transcript and coding example

Emerging Themes	Original Transcript	Initial Notes
<p>Diagnosis and labelling – non normal</p> <p>Mothers Attention</p> <p>Sisters different treatment</p> <p>Separation from mother</p> <p>Negative about self.</p> <p>Tough area, family and background.</p> <p>Shaped by circumstance.</p> <p>Implied family chaos.</p> <p>Bullying and loneliness.</p>	<p>Participant 4</p> <p>Xani: so it's recording at the moment, I'm just going to put it here. So I guess we could start with, end of primary school, what was going on about that time?</p> <p>Betty: well I got diagnosed with ADHD and ODD.</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: mum wasn't really focused on what was going on with me, it was more what was going on with Catriona. Different family members would pick me up. And I wouldn't see mum til the next evening, sometimes I wouldn't see her til the next day.</p> <p>Xani: And so, you mentioned Catriona, is that your sister?</p> <p>Betty: My sister yeah</p> <p>Xani: and, where were you living at that kinda time</p> <p>Betty: Totton</p> <p>Xani: em</p> <p>Betty: I wasn't a very nice child just because of what I had going, like my parents arguing all the time, the estate I was living on wasn;t very nice... emm people mum had round weren;t very nice. Rarely, y'know, she would have them round, but at the same time it wasn;t nice.</p> <p>Xani: yep</p> <p>Betty: and that's about it really, I think</p> <p>Xani: what about friends at that kind of age?</p>	<p>Diagnosis, self as different from others.</p> <p><i>Something wrong, different pills</i></p> <p>Jealous of attention given to sibling. <i>Difficult sister relationship</i></p> <p>Lack of mother's availability. <i>Sister taking attention.</i></p> <p>Negative self-description as a child, explained as lots going on, parents arguments, mothers social networks and area.</p>

<p>Self-blame.</p> <p>Haunted by history. Flash of violence. New ID not of own choice – ‘rebel betty’ – who was she before this? Who is she really?</p> <p>School difficulties. Behaviour as communication – help.</p> <p>Living up to Rebel betty?</p> <p>Rejection by school and teachers.</p> <p>Rebel betty. Violence and disobedience.</p>	<p>Betty: I didn't really socialize with a lot of people, with friends, I used to get bullied quite a lot and I'd let em do it. Xani: okay Betty: and one time I lashed out and done completely the wrong thing... emm I bit a chunk out of a girls check, coz I'd just had enough and then it just escalated into this whole sort of 'rebel betty' y know. Xani: right okay, rebel betty, so that was end of primary school kinda time? So what was like the beginning of secondary school kinda time? Betty: what like year 7? Xani: yeah, yeah Betty: I only lasted til year 7, they put me in inclusion because I was bullying the teachers, bullying all the people, getting into a lot of trouble, stealing things Xani: yea Betty: and then they put me in inclusion for bleaching my teachers tea and I locked her in a cupboard Xani: yep Betty: and I got permanently excluded Xani: so what happened then? Betty: she just pissed me off but she smelled bleach in her tea and she didn't drink it Xani: em, so when you were permanently excluded, what happened? Betty: I was at home for a bit, then I got put into a foundation down the road called FECK, and the teachers would piss me off there and I flicked my fag in one of my teachers faces, and beat one of</p>	<p>Lack of friends and bullying, and 'let em do it' blaming self for bullying</p> <p>Violent response</p> <p>Escalation into new self 'rebel betty' – doesn't see herself that way.</p> <p>Difficult schooling, into inclusion due to bullying teachers. Behaviour communicating difficulties at home.</p> <p>High profile behaviours in a school. Rebel betty?</p> <p>Excluded before high school has really begun. Anger management? Details glossed over.</p> <p>Repeated exclusion.</p>
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<p>Early police involvement.</p> <p>Self-blame.</p> <p>Mum's needs. Model of substance use for coping.</p> <p>Shame with coping strategies, horrible without. Lose, lose situation.</p> <p>Complex history of going into care. Mothers fault Betty beat her up. Domino effect of risk. Chicken or egg of care. Rejected from home.</p> <p>Restrictions, violence effective at instigating change.</p> <p>Care can work. Activities and flexibility with rules.</p>	<p>them up, and got excluded from there. They got the police involved. All those kind of things. Xani: so how old were you at that time? Betty: maybe 11, 12 Xani: yup Betty: then I got home tutored, fucked that up... Xani: what was that like, home tutoring? Betty: I wouldn't get out of bed, she'd be sat downstairs for 45 minutes and I still wouldn't; get out of bed. And if I was to go down I'd just tell her to go away or I'll kick off, embarrass my mum. Emm, yea my mum found it very hard to cope. So she used to take some of my ADHD tablets to get through the day. And I'd noticed because her jaw would be going all the time, Xani: mm Betty: and, so that, that was her coping strategy. But then when she didn't have one she was just horrible. So we had a very hard relationship and I got put into care when I was 13, 14. Because I beat her up. Like beat her up beat her up, and that was very hard coz she wouldn't allow me home. So I went to brighton, went into care. Xani: went to brighton, okay, was brighton a totally new place for you? Betty: yea it was like intense foster caring so I wasn't allowed out, I wasn't allowed a phone Xani: and how long were you there for? Betty: three months coz I beat them up Xani: okay ... Betty: Then I went to another foster carer in Fareham. Dan and Karen. They were fantastic. Karen would take me out on the bike, we'd go</p>	<p>Blaming self for home tutoring not working.</p> <p>Embarrass her mother Parenting capacity Betty medicated from early age, likely Ritalin or similar, mother's suspected drug use.</p> <p>Coping strategy – what are Betties? Substances or emotional difficulties, no winning. Relationship hard AND put into care Beat up mother – what is that like for each party, fear of own child? Afraid at what you have done? Guilt? Feels that beating up mother led to her getting put into care, but blames mother for putting into care. Complex. Into care at early age, due to physical violence. Feels rejected. Very restrictive, didn't sound well.</p> <p>Short term. Repeated use of violence.</p> <p>Positive experience of care, activities seem important.</p>
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<p>Foster can work.</p>	<p>walk the dogs, we'd go down to the quay down in Fareham, Gosport key. Xani: yeah, yeah I know it Betty: it was completely different even though it was foster, she let me smoke, she let me have my phone, everything. She wasn't an asshole. And I asked to stay there for another three months and I ended up staying there for six months.</p>	<p>Ignored the rules, went down well.</p>
<p>Frequent changes, multiple rejections, multiple locations.</p>	<p>Xani: right, yeah Betty: and it killed me when I went but, I went to another carer, in eastleigh for a week, she had a heart attack and died. Prior. Like a month later after I left. And, then I went to Sharons in Wooton. And she was a coke head. She was damaged and would let me do whatever I wanted... and then one day we had a real bad time with drugs and she went at me, I went at her, and we just beat the shit out each other.</p>	<p>A place and environment Betty wanted to be in.</p>
<p>Inappropriate placement, violent experience.</p>	<p>And because I came off worse the police got involved, social got involved, and then my dad took me out. So my dad's been like the strongest one for me in the family. Xani: so are your mum and dad together? Betty: no, they split up when I was 5.</p>	<p>Separation, rejection, again.</p>
<p>Service involvement. Dad's for me.</p>	<p>Xani: okay Betty: but I mean they was always arguing, he was always telling her that she was off her head she'd burn all his money, and then he'd like flip her car over and set her car alight. It was hard, it was very hard. I mean my mum would be upstairs having sex with different men and then</p>	<p>Aware that some boundaries are important. Drug use commented on, explaining partially why they clashed? Violence, repeated.</p>
<p>Chaotic and extreme environment.</p>	<p></p>	<p>Services input, necessitated fathers input.</p>
<p>Positions self on father's side.</p>	<p></p>	<p>Recurring, allegiance to family. Family still referred to as a whole, despite the separation.</p>
<p></p>	<p></p>	<p>This said with a laugh, implying t's obvious, naive of me to think so. Chaotic environment, violence. Retaliation between two.</p> <p>Chaotic, violent and inappropriate environment for child.</p>

<p>Model of violence.</p> <p>Not okay because of consequences. Service involvement.</p> <p>Environment trap. Perceived favouritism to sister. Feels rejected.</p> <p>Family taking sides.</p> <p>Implied that mum's out of control.</p> <p>Social shame of mums substance use.</p> <p>Only empathy for mum in withdrawal – shared experience.</p> <p>More change.</p> <p>Area affects life, agency.</p> <p>Importance of getting out and staying out. Surrounded by drugs. 'drugs flooding through the door' uncontrollable.</p>	<p>I've got to post the keys through the letterbox to let my dad in Xani: right Betty: and then I watched him beating them up, so then to me, fighting was okay, obviously now I know it's not coz the amount of times I've been nicked for it Xani: okay Betty: then it was... okay, so it's hard because I grew up around all that, and I wish I didn't but, yknow, and my sisters always been the favourite child coz obviously she was gonna die when she was born coz she was [unclear]/ Xani: right Betty: so to me that's yknow, mummy's girl and I was sort of, sort of Dad's side. And she didn't really bulk it so. Yeah but my Dad's told me many times that if he didn't go out and get a gift for her, she'd kick off, she'd go mad, she'd end up going round the whole estate knocking on everyones door asking for some speed. It wasn't nice but if she needs her fix she needs her fix, doesn't she, really. Xani: mmmhh and so after your dad pulled you out of that? Betty: I was with my dad and my nan, for a few years. Then me and my dad got our own place. Xani: yup okay Betty: in Totton and like my life just deteriorated really, being back in that area. Xani: back in the area? Betty: mmh totton, I grew up in totton and then my mum moved us away to applemore, so it was</p>	<p>Social learning theory. Services – things need to be managed from outside. Learned this based on consequences of actions rather than a value etc. Circumstances contribute to presentation, clearly aware that these have effected her.</p> <p>Jealous of attention sister received due to premature birth – this is later attributed to mothers drug taking during pregnancy. Implied mothers guilt.</p> <p>Sides to the family. She, she, she – repetition pointing to emphasis of what mum has done. Little is said of dad's actions. Mothers judged to a harsher standard. Social aspect of substance use and environment. If she needs her fix she needs her fix – some sympathy here at what appears to be a common experience.</p> <p>Fathers independence limited by living with his mother, independence for father and his daughter goes poorly.</p> <p>Area effects.</p> <p>Family and personal reputation in challenging area.</p>
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<p>Drugs workers indicate severity of problem.</p> <p>Shallow using friends, unstable.</p> <p>Parentification – becoming responsible for friends child.</p> <p>Cared for, but overwhelming.</p> <p>Extreme language.</p> <p>Frequent lows.</p> <p>Sleep diffs.</p> <p>Vulnerability of child, aware this wasn't right.</p> <p>Feeling taken advantage of.</p> <p>Burdened with responsibility.</p>	<p>okay, but then I went back to that area and there was just drugs flooding through the door all the time. There was drugs workers and all this sort of things going on.</p> <p>Xani: so what kind of age were you at this time?</p> <p>Betty: 15, 16.</p> <p>Xani: and did you have like a stable group of friends?</p> <p>Betty: well not really, well I did, but not really they was just drug using stuff and one of my best friends had a baby, at 13, and she come round mine one day and obviously seen that I was capable enough to look after him. So she would just leave him with me and fuck off out. So I raised him for 8 months. Which was very hard coz I was only young.</p> <p>Xani: yeah, you were 15, 16 at this age?</p> <p>Betty: and dad would supply everything for him and we went on the process of wanting to adopt him and all those sort of things... and I just rung the dad one day and I said 'I've had enough, you come and get this kid or I'm gonna kill the kid' yknow coz I've just got to such a low point in my life, I could not have him there any more, coz I couldn't sleep</p> <p>Xani: mmhh</p> <p>Betty: she had no nothing for him so he'd either be in my bed or in my draw where I made a bed for him and Its just like this isn't my responsibility, I want to live my life and your, and I'm looking after your son. So yknow that was hard but yknow I just called the dad and said 'yknow you need to get him out my flat you need</p>	<p>Problem area. 'drugs flooding through the door'</p> <p>Friends still limited. Yes and no. Real friends.</p> <p>Peers having children early.</p> <p>Parentification, in a way. Adult responsibilities given, caring for younger child.</p> <p>Unusual experience.</p> <p>Betty's father also raising this child?</p> <p>Seems like cared about</p> <p>Extreme language – trying to shock me, the father?</p> <p>Feeling low, sleep difficulties.</p> <p>Vulnerability of his child</p> <p>Fairness of this? Why should I be doing this?</p> <p>Burdened with responsibility too soon.</p> <p>Can be assertive</p>
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<p>Services settle difficult things.</p> <p>Boundaries from father, some. Things went wrong – escalations.</p> <p>Return to school.</p> <p>Out of school for years. Self as naughty and horrible – negative self view</p> <p>Activity is positive</p> <p>School retains some influence Short term placement</p> <p>Teachers cared when feeling low, comedown. Own substance use implied.</p>	<p>to look after him and at that point his dad took my mate to court and at that point she signed him over to him. And then obviously I had her back in my house, things went wrong, things, drugs, parties, my dad says you need to stop it or your out, so, euuggghh but I was at school then, I went to school in the forrest.</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: ...</p> <p>Xani: ... could you tell me a bit about that? How old were you when you started that?</p> <p>Betty: 15, it was sort of a school for naughty kids, yknow, there was a lot of horrible people there</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: but it was outdoors so we was always doing stuff, we were never in the classroom, doing things, we were never sat down bored, we was always out doing stuff. ... emm yeah so that was quite fun, I loved it there. I'm still in touch with some of the teachers now but, and I left there I think I was about 16, 17</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: and I went to college there, I went til I was 18 then I stopped going. But yeah it was lovely, I loved that school. If I could go back I would.</p> <p>Xani: and could you say a bit about the, were any teachers there particularly nice?</p> <p>Betty: yeah, but if I went there on a come down they would all look after me, they wouldn't just send me home... and then one of my job workers met me there and I was on a real bad come down.... That was when Sasha met me there, that</p>	<p>Close involvement with social services, court etc Chaotic environment, social comparisons to younger peers.</p> <p>Ultimatums. Found new school. Change in conversation direction, doesn't want to go into detail? Euuughhh Silences.</p> <p>See self as naughty, horrible</p> <p>Prefers this hands on type of learning</p> <p>Lasting effects of school, positive. Some teachers have had positive influence.</p> <p>College. Began, emphasized that she loved that school.</p> <p>Own substance use. Being looked after – cry for help, no one else to look after her?</p>
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<p>Good friends but socialized through substance use – now trying to avoid. Social substances.</p> <p>Taken back to that environment – not fully in control. Activity, nature and travel.</p> <p>Positive activity.</p> <p>Choice, listened to.</p> <p>Behaviour as communication – struggling.</p> <p>Never call the police – things settled internally.</p>	<p>time. Em, yeah they were very supportive. In particular Kerry was very supportive, Kerry would look after me. I met a good group of friends there. I still talk to them, I don't go coz there still into drugs and all that and I'm trying to stay away from them bunch of people.</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: coz I don't want to be, taken back into that environment. But yeah it was great, we used to go to loads of places, we used to go to Dartmoor, we used to go camping, we used to go to Durdle-door.</p> <p>Xani: yeah I know Durdle-door</p> <p>Betty: yeah we'd do loads of things, we'd be out on the velodrome, riding our bikes all the time, we'd be out doing 6 mile bike rides. Emm we'd be cooking catering, and they buy you whatever you want for lunch so you get like a list at the beginning of the week and you tell em what you want for lunch, it could be anything and they'll cook it for ya.</p> <p>Xani: that's amazing</p> <p>Betty: or, or they'll teach ya how to do it and then you do it, but it was quite hard coz I kick off now and then and beat the classrooms up and ... to the point where there'd be no windows, nothing, the chairs would be outside, the tables would be battered But they'd never call the police</p> <p>Xani: right</p> <p>Betty: they'd just deal with it, yea it was great it was amazing ... but I had to leave</p> <p>Xani: so you</p>	<p>Other service support. Good group of friends but seen as bad influence, trying to stay away from them.</p> <p>Aware of dangers of environment on her decision making.</p> <p>Outdoor education, speaks about positively.</p> <p>Many positive experiences – is this about giving vulnerable YP positive social capital, experiences they can talk about with peers from less vulnerable backgrounds. Building independence and self-belief. Given choices that appear meaningful.</p> <p>Not able to control when she may 'kick off'</p> <p>Beat up and battered – testing boundaries, about whether they would reject her? Whether she'd be sent away?</p> <p>Police never called, seen as positive. Grassing?</p>
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<p>Had valuable experiences.</p> <p>Building self-confidence and capability through outdoors.</p> <p>Good friends but far away. Has friends but can't see them.</p> <p>Dual function as a break in substance use and contributing environment.</p>	<p>Betty: coz I was going to Iceland and the company wasn't being funded anymore Xani: sorry, you were going to Iceland? What do you mean by that? Betty: the country Xani: right, cool Betty: we went through Julie's services Xani: so you went to Iceland Betty: I didn't want to go but I went, ... and as much as I was an arsehole, I loved it Xani: yeah could you tell me a bit about that? Betty: yeah, we went for three weeks I think and they sometimes had us walking 22 miles a day, with our backpacks on, em up mountains, volcanos, white water rafting, the ration packs were absolutely terrible, just the whole experience of it. I've made some really good friends with i. I'm still in touch with them now, but they live so far away, I'd love to see them but they just live so far away. It was great. It was amazing. If I could take esme there y'know, I would Xani: yeah Betty: none of us payed for anything, we got everything funded for us, we went for a weekend away at first, then a week in Dartmoor, then we went for three weeks in Iceland so it sort of taught us to get ready Xani: yeah Betty: but were I was obviously wanting my weed and everything like that, that was obviously a good break, coz in that country you can't get it</p>	<p>Situation outside Betties control meant she had to leave? Unclear why?</p> <p>Change in direction of conversation.</p> <p>Suggests she knows she can be difficult</p> <p>Adventure therapy, showing self-belief etc.</p> <p>So has various social contacts through school, Iceland, home etc. – feels separated by friends</p> <p>Mention of her daughter</p> <p>Made accessible, presumably designed to change views of capability Gradual build up</p> <p>Provided a break from substance use, and environment.</p>
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<p>Ceasing substance use was hard but initially worked. Partners use. Purposeless following the intervention. Increased self-agency, ability to make changes.</p> <p>Positive experience in sea of difficulty.</p> <p>Motivated by seeing daughter, visiting rights.</p> <p>Importance of daughter for ense of self.</p> <p>Accomplishing difficult tasks – sense of agency, enjoyed.</p> <p>Respite from chaotic environment No communication Return to chaos, anger and more of the same</p>	<p>at all, and no way I was gonna sneak it into the country because there's no point. Xani: yeah Betty: so the first few days were hard coz I couldn't do nothing so, it was hard but I sort of come back from the county and back to my ex whose doing it and I just thought I don't want this stuff anymore I got myself out of that situation straight away, so it helped me out quite a lot. Xani: yeah, definitely. Sorry that was when you were about 18 is that about right? Betty: yeah about 17 18, yeah I was 17 when I went coz I met my baby dad just after when I come back. Umm yeah, it was fantastic. I would love to go again this year but I'm not missing more Sundays with Esme, no way. Xani: yea Betty: or if I want her back full time I'm not going to be allowed to be away from her for three weeks, It killed me being away from her for three months, so, yeah, as much as I'd like to go back I don't think I can walk that far again either. Xani: yeah 22 miles that's a long way. Betty: yeah we just be walking 15 minutes up here, break, two hours break, jesus but no it's that whole experience, I'd love to do it again. Xani: so what time of year was that? Betty: 2014 Xani: 2014 great Betty: we went in july, and the night we flew my nan's house burnt down and I didn't get told until the last day when we all had wifi and I was</p>	<p>Problems with returning to previous, familiar environment. Partners using substances.</p> <p>Was able to get out of that situation, at that time. Agency.</p> <p>Time also measured in terms of who partner was. Ex before, baby dad after</p> <p>Daughter's visiting rights restricted.</p> <p>Separation from daughter painful and damaging, motivating. It killed me being away from her for 3 months. She's dead away from her.</p> <p>Chaotic environment.</p> <p>Going off my trolley –</p>
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<p>Different person away from it all, contact brings it all back – inescapable.</p> <p>Capability, trying difficult things.</p>	<p>going off my trolley ... but yeah no we went end of july and come back 11th august. Xani: so was it bright all night Betty: yeah, yeah, I went to sleep with my hood, and a hairband round my head just so it didn't fall off. And when you got a bath or a shower in the lakes, and the lakes are like minus five worth it though coz it wakes you up. And you, you cook all your food. I took like 18 packs of noodles with me, so if I had enough of the ration packs I'd just cook the noodles up. Sometime we'd have treats like a bacon sandwich sort of thing when we went back to camp. And when we went back to camp, coz we'd walk away from camp all day, when we came back we had like dominos. All those sort of things you know, Xani: yeah</p>	<p>Memory for details, indicates significance of experience. Escape from day to day difficulty of home life.</p> <p>Provides positive stories of overcoming difficulty, coping with change etc.</p>
<p>Positive experiences – living well.</p>	<p>Betty: and when we got back to rekyavik camp site, aw that was amazing, they had swimming pools there, they had hot springs, salt water Jacuzzis, hot spring but some of them were like 47 degrees but I couldn't get in them coz they were too hot. So it was so worth it. And the night, the day we left they had the northern lights too. Xani: wow so you saw those Betty: no I didn't, I was fuming but yknow, they had all that, and the week later one of the volcanos erupted down in azjakano, down where we were, I was glad that we left otherwise I would've been melted or something hahah Xani: yeah, so what happened when you got back? What were things like then?</p>	<p>Enjoyed the trip.</p> <p>Grans house burned down at the beginning of trip, Iceland erupts at the end.</p> <p>How glad to leave? Happy to return?</p> <p>Return to normality.</p>

<p>Return to arguments and day-to-day of environment</p> <p>Dislikes fathers new partner – feeling pushed out? Leaves.</p> <p>No place for Betty. Precarious.</p> <p>Met new partner while homeless, vulnerable. Pushed out, rejected. Return to mums, arguments. Exasperation is instigation for moving in with partner – fragile situation. Brief period of pleasure, independence, relationship – changed by pregnancy. Baby – no life. At age of majority.</p> <p>Responsibility of daughter. Father leaves (boredom)</p> <p>Low, drinking and resenting baby. Baby – no life.</p> <p>Felt baby had split the relationship – echoing her own mother. Guilt of this.</p> <p>Hard but overcame. Mum’s as last resort, breakdown. Multiple moves, precariousness.</p>	<p>Betty: well I wanted to go round my mums but prior to them three weeks me and my mum had a fat argument. So I went back to dads with his... Pppsstt shrek head girlfriend. And things went really bad from there, so I sort of left there and was homeless, I stayed at my mates, then my auntie found out coz I went and lived with my auntie. Then I met Vince Esme’s dad. And then we started arguing all the time, and I knew he didn’t want me there. So I went back to mums ... and then just arguing all the time with my mums so I said to him I’ve had enough, get me out of here, and we got our own place. And it was just lovely. But then I fell pregnant like 2 days before we moved in and straight away it was like baby – no life. I did want to get rid of her, I’m glad I didn’t, but I did I wasn’t ready, I’d just turned 18 y’know</p> <p>Xani: mm</p> <p>Betty: And he made me keep her and I’m glad I did coz she’s crazy, but em it was hard coz we just had no [fun? 19.30] so as soon as she was born he just got bored and he wouldn’t come back home he’d always stay out round his mums. And that’s when it’s hard, and that’s when I got really heavily drinking and I hated the baby and that, I just didn’t want to be around her, I felt like she pushed me away from him, but I just had to look at her and I just love her again</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: so that was hard but... I done it. And obviously I went back to my mum’s after we split up, moved out my mums into a B&B for 14 weeks</p>	<p>Fat argument – big argument. Communication between mother and daughter remains difficult. ... ppssttstt shrek head girlfriend – does not like fathers new partner, feels pushed out?</p> <p>Homelessness, sofa surfing. Risky transition. Met father of daughter, arguments.</p> <p>Knew he didn’t want me there – negative about self, communication issues.</p> <p>Mum’s as a last resort.</p> <p>And it was just lovely – brief period of pleasure Got own place with daughters father due to argument with her own mother and father – becoming independent by necessity. living with new partner short time before moving in together.</p> <p>Pregnancy began at point of increased independence. Baby – no life – demands of having a child confounded plans for late teenage social life.</p> <p>Didn’t want to have child, felt pressured into it but now pleased that it has happened. Felt like baby took her youth away and drove her partner away.</p> <p>Alcohol as a coping mechanism for loneliness. Hated her child but loved her child – attachment issues. Is this a cycle repeating?</p> <p>Mum’s as housing of last resort.</p>
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<p>Own place, Overwhelming situation.</p> <p>Toxic environment. Out to get her. Changed her priorities.</p> <p>Switch from 'they' to 'I' – is betty one of these too? Product of environment. Baby safe but always drinking.</p> <p>Substances as coping devices.</p> <p>Outside services. I lost her – it killed me. ID change in losing child.</p> <p>See what you've got once it's gone?</p> <p>Low paid, unsocial, few hours jobs.</p>	<p>and then I got my own place. But it was just the area and everything made me turn.</p> <p>Xani: what was it about the area?</p> <p>Betty: they were all [druggos 20:20] err they were all on benefits and sort of crap and they want to ruin your life coz they've got nothing better to do.</p> <p>Xani: right</p> <p>Betty: so they'd always be drinking, never putting priority into my child. I'd look after her, I'd never do nothing wrong with that it was just I was always drinking.</p> <p>Xani: right</p> <p>Betty: and, smoking weed ... not around her but it was just one of those things and I couldn't cope without it</p> <p>Xani: yup</p> <p>Betty: and obviously the police was all there and I lost her. So. And it's hard for me to take and hard for me to deal with. And don't get me wrong I'd love to do drugs and drink everyday now but ... I've got too much to lose.</p> <p>Xani: mmhh, so does that kinda take us up to now?</p> <p>Betty: yeah</p> <p>Xani: so what else is kinda going on now? Do you work nights?</p> <p>Betty: yeah 2 days but I don't think I'll be going back coz of the pay, it's ridiculous it's 9 hours for £45 and I mentioned to them yesterday that I wanted more money and they were like 'no' I'm like 'I'm not one of your slaves' it takes me 45 minutes just to wash up.</p>	<p>Unstable transition, B&B own place – challenging environments. Effect of environment on self made me turn.</p> <p>Parental substance misuse repeating itself. Passing on generations. Description of destructive environment.</p> <p>Switch from they to I. Becoming the environment she didn't like. Suggestion that she did enough but that priority was not child, was drink? Filling a hole of purposelessness, loneliness and anger at child. Weed as a coping device. Escapism from reality.</p> <p>Separated from her child, by services. Hard, repetition</p> <p>I've got too much to lose – appears as though it's already lost? Motivation now appears to be contact with daughter. Substance use and chaotic environments put this in jeopardy.</p> <p>Has a job, nights – difficult for childcare – below minimum wage.</p>
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<p>Sees little purpose.</p> <p>Wants and doesn't want a more serious job. Threat of trial limiting future planning. Legal issues. More precariousness.</p> <p>Domestic violence, former partner, babies father. Echoes of own upbringing.</p> <p>Father's for me. Home is with mum. Home is drinking.</p> <p>Relationship with mother now even higher stakes.</p> <p>Uncertainty and interfamily strain.</p>	<p>Xani: where is it, what's the job? Betty: just a kebab shop sort of thing, like I want a full time job Xani: mmm Betty: but at the moment with the trial coming up I don't want them to not allow me to not have four days off for the trial. Xani: yeah Betty: so, coz if I start now, like it just yea I couldn't do it so I'm gonna wait for the trial coz I don't want to get a job and then end up going to custody for two years. Xani: right, yeah, you mentioned the trial, could you say a bit more about that? Betty: just where my daughters dad beat me up with his dad and stuff and they put the blame on me. Stating that I done it, I was doing this, I was doing that. When I've actually got cctv evidence of them doing it so. Yeah. Xani: and what's going on at the moment with family relationships and stuff, with you and mum? Betty: well I stay here with dad, sometimes I go home, but if I go home I end up drinking, I just don't like being there. Sometimes I stay with mum but because we've got such a volatile relationship I don't want to ruin anything. Coz she's got to be the supervisor between me and esme. I probably have ruined it but I don't care because I will go and collect her myself. Or get dad to collect her or something but I don't know.... Well I see nan every Thursday but she's not been very well, so I haven't seen her for the</p>	<p>Precarious job with little meaning attached.</p> <p>Wants and doesn't want a job.</p> <p>Alludes to further legal complications upcoming. Sword hanging over future.</p> <p>Concerned she may go to jail. Getting a job before then would be pointless?</p> <p>Domestic violence from former partner. Legal issues. Comparable to difficulties between betties own parents? Does she see this?</p> <p>Currently staying with father again. If I go home I end up drinking – limited control of this, home is drink and arguments.</p> <p>Her mother put in challenging situation, choosing between daughter and granddaughter. This will no doubt strain the relationship between mother and daughter if things go wrong. Already strained relationship put under greater strain. I probably have ruined it but I don't care – Contradictory, likely does care.</p>
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<p>Family contact despite strain.</p> <p>Perception of mother's rejection never far from surface. Last to be picked.</p> <p>Why pick her over me? Trying to understand rejection. Strives to be different from her mother.</p> <p>Haunted by the past – the whole family. Past as enemy of happy future.</p> <p>Threatening mother.</p> <p>Accused of splitting up parents – had similar thoughts about own child – history will repeat itself?</p> <p>Wondering why? Trying to make sense?</p> <p>The reason is personal. Horrible woman but my mother so I love her. Blood is thick.</p>	<p>past few weeks, sometimes I see her at my mums when I see my auntie and that. Sometimes I see my other auntie sometimes. Sometimes I don't talk to one of my aunties and she always comes round my mums and my mum picks her over me and it's like Xani: right Betty: why would you pick her over me? Why would you pick your sister over your child? If my sister was going to do that I'd be like 'no fuck off, I've got a kid yknow'. I sort of argued with her yesterday about it. And she just everytime we argue brings up the past, and its like 'you tell me to forget the past and that's all you go on Xani: mm Betty: and I just get angry and I tell her to fuck up or I'm gonna come round and beat her up all that sort of shit Xani: that's an interesting phrase she tells you to forget the past but that's all she goes on about, could you say a bit more about that? Betty: she just goes on, like how much of an arsehole I was, how I split her and my dad up, and it's like 'no, you done that' she's very nasty as well, when she gets into a little mood she's like you don't deserve your daughter, you should do this, you should do that, you're an arsehole, your that and it's like, hang on a minute. Why are you bringing, why are you doing that to me? Xani: mmhhh Betty: she's very deceiving and manipulative and sneaky. She's just a horrible woman and absolute horrible woman but she's my mother and I love</p>	<p>Despite family difficulties there is still frequent contact. Feeling rejected. Reliving the rejection that was experienced when younger. Behaviour is about trying to be noticed?</p> <p>What does this question mean when applied to betty – why would you pick alcohol over your child? Betty applies to self and answers.</p> <p>Haunted by the past. You tell me to forget the past and that's all you go on. Unable to move forward as a family due to recriminations. Communication breakdowns and violence</p> <p>How I split her and my dad up – how Betty feels, or at least felt, about her own daughter. Blame apportioned.</p> <p>Being told what to do. Wonders about mothers aggression, feels it's blamed on her but suspects it's really self hatred?</p> <p>Difficult relationship but family means love? Still needs mothers approval, interaction, love?</p>
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<p>Bringing up the past</p> <p>Perceived double standards Rejection and favouritism</p> <p>Sisters are not the same.</p> <p>Double standards.</p> <p>Wondering why the favouritism, why the rejection?</p> <p>Desires a normal relationship – can't see it. Unrelenting arguments are exhausting.</p>	<p>her. But somedays och I could throttle her, I swear to god.</p> <p>Xani: and you mentioned your sister there as well, how are things with your sister?</p> <p>Betty: yeah my sister. I got kicked out at like 13 / 14 and my sisters been there my whole life. When I moved back there I and to give her twent.. forty pound a week, even though I couldn't even afford to live myself. My sister doesn't pay anything, she still gets pocket money.</p> <p>Xani: right</p> <p>Betty: she still gets lifts everywhere, she gets what she wants, if she wants anyting online 'yeah I'll buy it for you, no problem'.</p> <p>Xani: mm</p> <p>Betty: it's just, completely different with her to me</p> <p>Xani: mm</p> <p>Betty: and she'll talk to my mum shit, she'll have a massive argument she'll be like going to hit my mum my mum will hit her. The next day the next five minutes it's like fine. If that was me I'd have the police rung at me she'd lie, she'd deceive, whatever she could do to get me in that police car. It's like why.... Why.... So its just ... its hard....</p> <p>Xani: okay that seems quite a good summary about what's been going on for you, is there anything else you'd add to that?</p> <p>Betty: I don't know to be honest, just that she's such an arsehole. I'd love to have just a normal relationship with her but she never gives me a normal relationship. And years, and year, and</p>	<p>Incredible contradiction.</p> <p>Negative social comparison to younger sister, feels treated favourably. Brings up the past – what Betty said she didn't like her mum doing</p> <p>More than double standards.</p> <p>She gets, she gets, she gets what she wants - not like me.</p> <p>Feels like arguments are excused for her.</p> <p>Perceives mum out to get her, and in service of her sister.</p> <p>Wondering at mothers motivation. Pauses, trails off, indicates difficulty, exasperation of memory.</p> <p>Striving for normality – seems impossible.</p>
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<p>Does change cut both ways?</p> <p>History is difficult and out to get her.</p> <p>Feeling low. Growing up early sparks longing for lost childhood.</p> <p>Rejection of responsibilities. No choice about being an adult.</p> <p>Age, parenthood and responsibilities = adult.</p> <p>No choice – persuaded to keep child then father leaves. Didn't choose environment or parents. Desires freedom from responsibilities.</p> <p>Different ID as a mother. Self at child level – mature but immature – feeling in-between or both.</p>	<p>year and years its been going on, but still she's just not changed.</p> <p>Xani: yeah, em... would it be alright if I asked some more questions about adulthood now?</p> <p>Betty: [nods]</p> <p>Xani: er has getting older changed the way you view your childhood?</p> <p>Betty: em I try not to remember my childhood much, but it just comes up and bites me n the arse sometimes.</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: I do get really down and low about it. But where I had to grow up at such an early age, now I just want to be a kid. ... so it's hard it's very hard. I don't want responsibilities, I don't want to work, I don't want to do this, I just want to live my life and be a kid. But I can't because I'm an adult now. Yknow it's weird, it is weird.</p> <p>Xani: so you say you see yourself as an adult now?</p> <p>Betty: yeah, coz my age and I've got responsibilities, I've got my daughter, I've got things you know. But I just don't want to grow up but I had to so it's hard, very hard, yeah.</p> <p>Sometimes I just don't want to do nothing and just lounge around and be a kid.</p> <p>Xani: mmm</p> <p>Betty: but when I'm with my daughter I completely come out my shell you know I can be a big kid. I'm good around children. Children love me and stuff and that's because I'm down to their level. And I understand so yeah.</p>	<p>In mothers power to give a normal relationship – does it cut both ways?</p> <p>And years and years and years – exasperation at situation, intransigence.</p> <p>Past is difficult and to be forgotten, it comes back to haunt her.</p> <p>Growing up early instigates feelings of an unfair loss of childhood. Desire to relive parts of this.</p> <p>I don't want work, I don't want responsibilities, I don't want to do this. I just want to live my life and be a kid. But can't because I'm an adult now. Unhappy, not coping, life is hard and there's no way out.</p> <p>Age, parenthood and responsibilities makes adulthood.</p> <p>Honest. Overwhelmed by tasks facing her. Little to be gained from adulthood.</p> <p>Daughter can improve mood, enables Betty to re-experience childhood.</p>
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<p>An ID that's competent – but not so judged by services.</p> <p>Coping mechanisms are substances Like her mother Giving it up, change for the baby Baby – no life. Now, baby want to live. Life and to live are different, have changed.</p> <p>Separation from daughter kills her. Separation from mother killed her. Needs connection. Knows the pain, can empathize.</p> <p>'Don't want to be that person' – her mother.</p> <p>Support is being removed, suggesting more competence.</p> <p>The struggle is holding things together – what happens afterwards? Giving up – like mum. Not like mum so won't give up.</p> <p>Forced separation hurt, it was painful, rejection.</p>	<p>Xani: and what about, like listening to your story, it sounds like it's been really difficult, what helps you cope? Betty: drinking, smoking weed, but I haven't done that for like 4 months I drink now and then. ... but it just don't go away. It'll stay there and just not go away. My daughters making me wanna live and making me wanna sort everything out. Xani: mmm Betty: even though I don't see her all the time, which kills me, if I was to kill myself or run away or anything like that, then, I know how it feels to be away from your mum, and wanting your mum and your mum not being there. Xani: mmm Betty: so I know exactly how she feels so I don't want to be that person, do you know what I mean, to make her feel like that anymore Xani: yeah Betty: I tried so hard, obviously now the social are now gone, everything's now gone, so I'm trying so hard to sort of get her back and get my head strong, but if I was to give up that would be just like my mum. Oh give up go into care see ya later. I'm not going to do that. I won't ever give up on my child coz I know how it feels... it's horrible. Xani: mmhh, you said you know how it feels, could you describe that a bit? Betty: well when she put me in care I wasn't around her for 6 months, and I wasn't allowed to</p>	<p>Feels that she can relate to children as she has their perspective.</p> <p>Honest. Drugs and alcohol, like her mother. Midway through giving up. The want for these things hasn't abided but separation from and contact with daughter provides the motivation to do so. The purpose. Other coping strategies are not mentioned.</p> <p>Low mood, thinking about escape. Able to put self in daughter's shoes – knows what separation does.</p> <p>Holds her mum responsible and doesn't want to be responsible for her daughter's pain.</p> <p>Motivated to get daughter back. Trying hard – what happens if she succeeds, or fails? IS the trying holding this together. Doesn't want to be like mother – giving up.</p> <p>Feels like she has been given up on.</p> <p>Desperate situation.</p>
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<p>Do anything to be noticed.</p> <p>Tried everything, noting worked, agency damaged.</p> <p>Desperate and unsure. Felt blamed, throws blame back. Blame the chicken, the egg or the coop?</p> <p>Mothers fault – what does this say about own loss of child?</p> <p>History and rumours. Family secrets – shared.</p> <p>Family secret: told. FAS, premature birth? So parental guilt is the reason for different sister treatment.</p> <p>Perception of lying mother, but wants to believe her?</p>	<p>phone her, I wasn't allowed to do nothing coz I was in intense care.</p> <p>Xani: mmhh</p> <p>Betty: ... it'd kill me, I'd self-harm, I'd kick off, I'd go mad, it was like my heart was sank all the time. And when I'd see her, I'd see her for like 2 hours of the day, and then she'd go home I'd try running on the train, I'd try everything. Em I tried running away, loads things. Or I'd try hurt myself really bad so I'd get to see her. Which wouldn't ever work. So yeah, I felt lost and lonely and I didn't, know what to do. And she'd make it clear that it was my fault all the time but it wasn't.</p> <p>Xani: mmm</p> <p>Betty: if she would've been a better parent yknow it wouldn't have happened, so yeah, it's not nice.</p> <p>Xani: do you think the way that you said that your mum used drugs, but I don't know if your dad did, how did that affect the way you've grown up?</p> <p>Betty: well it's just, a lot of my family have told me a lot of stuff about my mum</p> <p>Xani: mmhhmm</p> <p>Betty: and about the way, and the reason Catriona was born early was because of the drugs</p> <p>Xani: right</p> <p>Betty: but I don't want to believe them. I don't know if it's true I don't know what. Everytime I mention to her 'oh you used to take speed, you used to take my ADHD-no I didn't' it's like 'mum I have witnessed you taking two of my tablets</p>	<p>Do anything to get contact. Limited contact that was there. My heart sank everytime Trying to escape. Desperate to keep contact.</p> <p>Lost, lonely and powerless. Felt like she was blamed for the separation – no longer accepts this.</p> <p>Mother's fault, poor parenting. Doesn't accept responsibility. Does she view herself within this light in respect to her own daughter – fear of becoming her mother?</p> <p>Rumours, uncertain truth. Secrets.</p> <p>Suspected FAS or similar. Telling of a family secret, to me, now – how must this feel? Unravelling family histories. Now forgiving of mother, previously not the case, blaming.</p> <p>Feels like mother is lying.</p>
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<p>Wondering why drugs were used? Her own answer, and her mothers, is to cope.</p> <p>Social embarrassment of mothers use.</p> <p>Talking, nattering, gurning, talking, nattering, gurning</p> <p>Collecting for parents. Shared drug dealer. Like mother like daughter?</p> <p>Visibility of area; growing up with substance use.</p> <p>Effects of this, traumatic.</p> <p>Limited time for self. Instant adulthood.</p>	<p>because I go to my tablet box and one of the days has been missing, and she'd obviously just refill it. Xani: mmhh Betty: it's like 'why?' she'd be like 'oh it helps me clean, it helps me do this, it helps me do that' She'd pick me up from school and she'd be like this [gurning, chewing action].... Xani: mmhh Betty: it's embarrassing me, and you know it's just, when I used to go round my friends house, she'd help do, like my friends mum's decorating and stuff, and all they'd be doing is talking, nattering, gurning. Talking, nattering, gurning. Xani: mmhh Betty: I'd be like, y'know why I left that day, and she'd be like 'why' and its coz I had to go pick her shit up for her. Y'know and my speed dealer, who used to be my mum's speed dealer, told me everything. Xani: mmhh Betty: yknow, I don't do it anymore but like when I was, when I was And I didn't even know the woman who I was getting it off of and she go 'your livvy's daughter' and I'd be like 'how do you know?' and then she'd go into it and I'd be sat there like 'aw matee....' You know. ... it fucks you up. Xani: and you said that you had to grow up fast, you had to grow up early, how do you think that has affected the way you've become an adult. Betty: because I just haven't had no time for myself really, I've had to instantly mature,</p>	<p>Wanting to know why? Wondering.</p> <p>Shame at social awareness of this?</p> <p>Embarrassment. Social embarrassment.</p> <p>Talking, nattering, gurning, talking, nattering, gurning – visceral description, unusual to see mother in that way. Why I left that day – more significance to this? Mother and daughter share the same drug dealer – reputable source?</p> <p>Realization, feeling like she's becoming what she doesn't like about her own mother.</p> <p>Trailing off – challenging memory.</p>
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<p>Mature relative to peers. Maturity as a mask.</p> <p>Always been older than I should've been. Unjust. Sister priority. Feels rejected. Independent skills – cooking etc, instrumental parentification.</p> <p>Always bigger person.</p> <p>Limited choices, thrust upon – all loses. Implied that she chose 'adult' but this has costs too. Growing up is about survival, getting on.</p> <p>Self-reliance.</p> <p>Fragile independent living. Been through a lot by 18. Difference from mother.</p> <p>Implying that her mother didn't do this.</p>	<p>instantly, when I meet people for the first time or go out places they say 'your so mature for your age' and it's like I'm not actually, it's just the impression I give off.</p> <p>Xani: right, could you say a bit more about that?</p> <p>Betty: I just, I, pretty much I've always been older than I should've been. Because, when I was growing up my mum used to always take care of my sister. It was always Catriona, Catriona, Catriona. And When I'd stay out with my mates I'd stay outs o I was always cooking food I was doing, you know because I dunno, I don't know how to really explain it. I just always had to be the bigger person.</p> <p>Xani: right okay.</p> <p>Betty: and when I went into care it was either: be a cunt, be an adult or tell them to shut the fuck up, that's how I survived, that's how I got on.</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: I've always had to look after myself, all the time. An then obviously I was only 18, 17 when I moved out then I turned 18 when I was living with him. And I'd been homeless, I'd been living at friends houses, been dossing about on sofas, been, yknow so I sort of have a lot of hate for her because I would never ever do that to my child. My child could live at mine till she's duck dying do you know what I mean, elderly. I'd never kick her out.</p> <p>Xani: mmhhh</p> <p>Betty: and I know this is going to sound bad, but, I'd rather her do drugs under my roof, and if</p>	<p>Instant maturity. Others comment on this – world weariness? Seen more than many?</p> <p>Appears mature but not underneath.</p> <p>Always been older than I should've been</p> <p>Jealous of the time her younger sister took from her. Led to earlier independence than planned.</p> <p>Independence in cooking, instrumental tasks, time away from home</p> <p>Always had to be the bigger person – bigger than who, her sister, her friends. Bigger person as more mature?</p> <p>Be a cunt, be an adult or tell them to shut the fuck up – perception of limited choices. Care is hard. Unclear whether Betty chose one or all of these. Care necessitates survival strategies, she has survived and that justifies her choices?</p> <p>Perception of individual independence. Moved out at young age – however many students leave home here too – less support though and for radically different reasons. Homelessness puts years on, child aged 18. Blames mother. Contrasts self to mother, suggesting mother heartless.</p>
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<p>Implying that Betty was unsafe, with wrong people and doing the wrong things.</p> <p>Weed not same level. Mum's responsibility for negative actions. Narrative of self-reliance changes when in negative sense.</p> <p>Mother as lying to protect new reputation.</p> <p>Step dad – mother's reputation matters to him?</p> <p>Parenthood, daughter leads to adulthood.</p> <p>Exposure to world – loss of innocence early?</p> <p>Aware of truth of situation.</p> <p>Uncertainty of friends / users. Users of Betty and users of drugs. Isolation, loneliness. Low self-worth Naïve socially although world weary too – both.</p>	<p>she's safe, she's not doing the wrong things, she's not getting in with the wrong people. I wouldn't allow her to do drugs it'd just be smoking weed or whatever but my mum was allowing me to go out, stealing, doing drugs, drinking, coming back in ambulances all the time, going to hospital all the time and it just let me over your head. And when I get into an argument with her it's like 'yes I cared, yes this happened, yes that happened blah blah blah' it's like 'no you didn't, stop lying'. And she gets me so worked up coz she just lies all the time. Coz obviously whenever she argues my step dad gets involved.</p> <p>Xani: mmhh</p> <p>Betty: she doesn't want him to know so she just blatantly lies, and it winds me up more so...</p> <p>Xani: could I ask about what's helped you become more of an adult?</p> <p>Betty: my daughters one of them, and just being on my own, I'm used to being on my own. Em.... Yeah that's about it really I think. And obviously I've seen a lot of life that people haven't, so I think seeing what I've seen is also everything. It's also like I don't want to do that, I don't want to be like that an so I just grew up I guess. Yeah.</p> <p>Xani: is anything else, anything like friends or other people that helped you become an adult?</p> <p>Betty: not really, I've not really had friends, I've had users and abusers and what not. I've, I'm a quite a isolated person. I only have people round me when they want something. And I obviously don't see it til the next day.</p> <p>Xani: right</p>	<p>I know this sounds bad but... honesty, safety of home environment.</p> <p>Weed is not seen as a drug.</p> <p>Doesn't take responsibility for her actions, mothers fault for these things.</p> <p>Arguments about different interpretations of the past. Can't see that mother cared for her. Communication difficulties.</p> <p>Perceived doctoring of the truth to not embarrass step dad. Presence of step dad.</p> <p>Parenthood and individuality.</p> <p>World weary. Allows to see further down paths, now, and make choices.</p> <p>No friends – contradiction from before. Maybe a separation between friends and acquaintances. Users and abusers people want her for something, naïve and isolated – vulnerable.</p>
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<p>Bullying and reputation – difficult relationship with other women.</p> <p>Bullying and insecurity. You are what you wear?</p> <p>Socially withdrawn.</p> <p>School and trips developed agency. Narrative of independence – fending for self.</p> <p>Cleanliness, chores and house jobs. Like an adult.</p> <p>Managing the house. Like an adult.</p> <p>Care didn't help, leaving was a good choice, her choice.</p>	<p>Betty: so, yeah, I got a lot of male friends as well. I can't do women. I genuinely can't do women... you know it's just hard, it's weird. It's just all the bitchy-ness I can't, I can't do it. But obviously where I've got a lot of male friends their like 'oh you're a slut, your this, your that' and it's like 'how?' I dress in tracksuits. I don't ever wear girl clothes, y know.</p> <p>Xani: mmh</p> <p>Betty: how am I? you know it just Riles me up. So I just tend to keep myself to myself normally.</p> <p>Xani: mmmh, you spoke about some positive things at school, at the last school that you went to, and when you went to Iceland. Do you think any of that helped you with becoming an adult?</p> <p>Betty: probably yeah, coz I went to a different country on my own. And where dad was always working away I had to fend for myself, yknow, I had a two bedroom flat to look after so I'd always keep it clean, tidy up all the time, cook him dinner if he was to come home. You know, I'd always do sheets, change my sheets. Have people over, if the wrong people over I'd kick em out. I'd have parties and then after that kick em all out time.</p> <p>Xani: mmm</p> <p>Betty: and that flat was basically like my flat because I was the only one there</p> <p>Xani: mmhh</p> <p>Betty: so I think coming out of care and stuff was yeah, was my strong point</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p>	<p>No friends but lots of male friends now. I can't do women.</p> <p>Still bullied. Feels like there's nothng she can do to escape this.</p> <p>Difficulty with this leads to self-imposed isolation.</p> <p>School and activities developed sense of independence – probably. Fend for myself</p> <p>Looking after a home, her fathers. Managing a home makes you feel adult.</p> <p>Saw this as basically her flat. However key differences.</p> <p>Care was not good, getting out helped.</p>
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<p>Individual narrative.</p> <p>Control over animals – responsibilities. Cleaning.</p> <p>Being on own, self-reliance.</p> <p>Tidying, washing, jobs and chores.</p> <p>Doing all them things that you <i>should</i> do – responsibilities.</p> <p>Chores as occupation. Looking after the house is an occupation, a purpose. Cares about its appearance, fathers view.</p> <p>In the moment, survival. Maturation happens alone. By living it.</p>	<p>Betty: coz I was like always on my own, I was either with my nan, I told you I was at my nan's house and she had like 6 dogs. And I didn't like the smell, I didn't like the hair, I didn't like the dogs</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: so I'd kick em all outside, and then I'd shout em all back in and then towels all there in one place. And they would, so yknow, and having that, and obviously being on my own at my aunties, being on my own when Vince was at work, with esme or on my own it would always be tidying his wash stuff coz his work stuff would always be clean, the house would always be clean, he'd have a shower or a bath ready, he'd have his dinner on a table when he come home but it's like that still wasn't enough, it was like that was hard. But it's just that's what's happened growing up yknow, doing all them things that you should do, and that even with now dad's at work I'd make sure the house is tidy, everything's hoovered, everything's done, I've got to dust all that yknow.... But I always do it, just coz it keeps me occupied at the same time.... Yeah.</p> <p>Xani: and, kinda a slighty different kind of question, what do you think the different stages are of becoming an adult?</p> <p>Betty: I haven't got a clue. I don't know... I don't think about all that I just do it... I think, I think when I was on my own I just matured. By just doing it.</p> <p>Xani: by just doing it.</p>	<p>Closer relationship with her nan.</p> <p>Being on my own.</p> <p>Cleaning and looking after a house and home chores – led to feeling of independence.</p> <p>Never enough, doing all she could to please partner, he left anyway. Sadness.</p> <p>Where do the should's come from?</p> <p>Jobs around the house – keeps occupied. Lack of occupation worse.</p> <p>Matured on own by just doing it. Little choice? Had to just start doing it? Unsure as also began drinking and drug taking.</p>
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<p>Self-reliance leads to maturity. People let you down, it's immature to trust in others. Self-reliance is only safe option.</p> <p>Self-reliance from entering care. The starting point? Lack of choice.</p> <p>I'd rather do it myself – self-reliance Friends but not friends.</p> <p>Concern for others now more than self, adulthood?</p> <p>Insecurity. Taken what's said to heart. Vulnerable despite hardened exterior. Mature impression but not underneath.</p> <p>Don't bother about self. Self-worth.</p> <p>Moods and feelings are not controllable.</p>	<p>Betty: yeah, and by not relying on anybody, yknow, that's about it really. Xani: what's it like to not rely on anybody? Betty: it's nice, because you don't get let down. Xani: yeah okay Betty: you know, even when I was in care, I'd try my hardest not to rely on the foster carers, you know I'd cook myself dinner, coz if they cooked me something wrong and then I've got to eat it, I'd just then get angry and kick off. Xani: mmm Betty: so I'd rather do it myself, ... yknow, even when my friends, well not my friends, when people come round my house they've got to cook breakfast in the morning and if I'm there the next day they've always got something. And it's like I don't ever worry about myself, I always worry about other people. Xani: yeah Betty: so I guess that's just Xani: has it always been like that for you? Betty: I always judge myself on other people's opinions as well, so you know it's hard, like I won't go out nowhere until someone else has said to me 'oh that's fine' or I'll just get real bad anxiety Xani: mmmh Betty: sometimes I just don't even bother about myself and I just walk out the house in jammies Xani: mmhhmm Betty: just depends on what day it is really, and how it's going really and if I've had a good sleep and if I haven't had a good sleep, if I'm angry, I</p>	<p>Independence, relying on others detracts from that. Other people let you down, can only trust yourself – mother, friends, partners – wider relatives Tried to be independent from early age, in care. Did care precipitate this desire for self-reliance? Self-reliance is safer? Self-reliance but worries about other people rather than self – is that an indicator of adulthood, less elf obsessed? Honest, other peoples comments matter. History of bullying leave Betty acutely aware of others comments. Insecurities. Don't bother about myself – sense of self worth, fragile. Not that controllable.</p>
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<p>Mothers sees, and treats like a child. Blood is thick.</p> <p>Difference. If I act like one. Can be adult – choice.</p> <p>Rejection of responsibility.</p> <p>Feels as though she does have duties living with father</p> <p>Fluctuating adulthood. Separation between mental adulthood and that of a child – 12</p> <p>Implied CBT model?</p>	<p>might stay out coz I'm just going to be in a shit mood all day coz I'm angry with my mum. Or I'll probably just sleep the majority of the day. That's about it really.</p> <p>Xani: and another kind of question, a little bit different again, ... how do you think your mum sees you as an adult?</p> <p>Betty: she don't, she still sees me as a kid, she treats me like a kid, she treats me like shit, but I keep going back everytime coz it's my mum. So ...</p> <p>Xani: and what about your dad, does he see you as an adult?</p> <p>Betty: sometimes, if I act like one</p> <p>Xani: yeah okay, if you act like one could you say a bit more about that?</p> <p>Betty: well somedays I'm just like 'ah fuck off, I'm not doing this, I'm aint doing that'</p> <p>Xani: mmhh</p> <p>Betty: and he'll come home and be like 'why's my washing up not done' and I'm like '<i>I aint gonna wash up your shit</i>' then I'm like 'hang on a minute, I should've done that. It's just like, like a day of Sundays it's just, can't be bothered. So sometimes I don't even see myself as an adult, I've got the mental brain of like a 12 year old, somedays.</p> <p>Xani: okay</p> <p>Betty: and somedays I'm headstrong, and somedays I'm not, it just depends</p> <p>Xani: right, I think that's really interesting, what do you think it depends on?</p> <p>Betty: how I feel</p> <p>Xani: right, like you said</p>	<p>Quick reaction. Differences between mother and fathers view of her as an adult. Seen as a kid and as an adult when acts like one. Differing selves?</p> <p>Who are you really if the adulthood is an act, does it eventually become.</p> <p>Checks herself, self-realization. It's just like, like a day of Sundays – long period of time</p> <p>Sometimes don't see self as an adult – variable. Separation between mental brain and adult self. 12 when she was kicked out of school, soon to enter care.</p> <p>Uncontrollable. Somedays – repetition of, very changeable.</p>
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<p>Difference of perspective – okay for gran to see this way.</p> <p>Family blockages in communication. Arguments and slights.</p> <p>Feeling rejected, others chose over her.</p> <p>Communication difficulties.</p> <p>Again, feeling rejected, chosen over.</p> <p>Perceived inability to control anger.</p>	<p>Betty: yeah, yeah it's just, yeah how I feel really.</p> <p>Xani: what about, what about your nan? Does she see you as an adult?</p> <p>Betty: yeah, talks to me like a child but, they always will won't they?</p> <p>Xani: hah yeah, maybe, yeah</p> <p>Betty: yeah, my auntie's living with her, and taking care of her I hardly get to talk to her on the phone, I only get to see her like, coz like I say I was meant to go round my mum's today after the gym and em, she's like 'oh I don't know coz auntie will be here' and it's like 'oh okay, fine' she's like 'why you getting shitty?' and it's like 'coz your picking your sister over your own kid, mm then it just goes on and on and on, then the past starts coming up and I'm just like 'awwwhhh' and obviously my nan tried ringing me yesterday and telling me about her abscess behind her tooth and I hung up on her</p> <p>Xani: mmhh</p> <p>Betty: coz I was just too angry to talk to her, tried ringing her back 'oh Elaine's here, I can't talk' don't then. Alright, whatever.... You know it's just... it winds me up... and I don't want to see Elaine coz I'll lose my shit and end up beating her up, and I don't want to get arrested, again. I'm trying to stay outta custody, for my daughter, so... yeah.</p> <p>Xani: em, another, another kind of one. How do you feel about becoming an adult and what's important in terms of adulthood for you?</p>	<p>A CBT model? Feelings effect behaviour, thoughts etc.</p> <p>Granmothers always have a different experience.</p> <p>Communication barriers, difficulties within family. Desire to see nan, has lived with her before. Wider family connections are important.</p> <p>Let down.</p> <p>Feeling rejected – sister over own kid. Again. This is placed on mother but could equally be a difficulty Betty is bringing in too.</p> <p>Communication difficulties. Unworked through problems.</p> <p>Controllability of anger, emotional regulation.</p>
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<p>Adulthood is conditional of mother ID, presence of daughter. Loss of self without daughter.</p> <p>Daughter is responsibility</p> <p>Uncertainty and worry in relation to daughter. Feel like a shit mum. Feelings variable, as is adulthood.</p> <p>Unsure, worried about self. Fearful of fathers input – reflecting own parents?</p> <p>Low feelings. To everybody else I feel like a piece of dirt that blows in the wind – no control, blown by circumstance. Get over it everyday – reminder of coping. New coping strategy – self talk.</p> <p>Self-reliance, even socially. Escapism of music and TV.</p> <p>Other words, narratives and a different pace. Like Iceland? Escape.</p>	<p>Betty: I don't know really, since Esme's been gone I don't feel like an adult... I just feel like a normal 22 year old. Xani: right that's interesting, so without Esme you don't feel like an adult? Betty: no cause my responsibility's gone, when I see her every Sunday I don't know how to feel coz I just feel like such a shit mum, for doing wat I've done and putting my priorities wrong... I just don't know how to feel day to day really. And when I see her I don't know if she loves me or, I know she does but it's just how I feel in my head. Coz I don't know what manipulation he's putting in her head coz of what he done with me. It it's weird, yeah. Xani: mmmhh Betty: yeah since Esme's gone I just feel like, yeah, nothing really, to everybody else I feel like a piece of dirt that blows in the wind. You know... but I'll, I get over it everyday so... Xani: what helps you to get over that? Betty: talking to myself Xani: okay Betty: coz I'm my best company to be quite honest, I'll put music on, music helps me to get through quite a lot. Downstairs must hate me but I don't care. Xani: how, how does that help? Betty: I don't know really, just the songs and the music and the words. The beat and all that sort of stuff just helps Xani: yeah, yeah</p>	<p>Being a parent is key. Loss of child is a loss of responsibility and identity. Loss of motherhood? Identity of parent is merged with ID of adult. Otherwise normal, but previously didn't; see self as normal either. Feel like a shit mum</p> <p>Child personifies responsibility and an aspect of self – don't know how to feel Shit mum – negative ID, for poor choices</p> <p>Rudderless, without guidance? Insecure about whether her child loves her.</p> <p>In opposition to her father, a battle for their daughter – recreating her own parent's relationship? Social learning theory.</p> <p>Feel like nothing. Low mood. To everybody else I feel like a piece of dirt that blows in the wind. I get over it everyday – resilience there, how?</p> <p>Internal narrative, lonely. Hate me but I don't care. – opinions of others Escape into music.</p> <p>Taking away from everyday experience.</p>
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<p>Lonely.</p> <p>Fathers for me. Purpose, can act like a caring daughter.</p> <p>Recognition of effort by father, helps. Purpose, helps.</p> <p>Wants something to do.</p> <p>Boundaries between father and daughter – should parents be best friends?</p> <p>Divided family. Father and daughter vs mother and sister.</p> <p>Old divide.</p> <p>Self-reliance for sociability. How to be with other people without substances?</p>	<p>Betty: or I'll sit and watch films, funny films and crack myself up, you know, and I sit and talk to myself, you know sometimes my conscious puts things on my shoulders so I'll sit and talk to them. It's just weird it's just however I feel. But you know if dad comes home we'll sit and have a laugh, and I cooked him dinner the other night, and I seen this thing on facebook – I don't know if you've ever seen that thing, people make meals on facebook and then they post them Xani: emm no, I don't think so Betty: right well there was this beef stuff that I made, with chicken stock and all that sort of stuff with chips and he's like 'is there any more left' coz he ate the whole lot in like 5 minutes. I'm like 'oh my god' I was like 'you must've liked that then' he's like 'yeah I like it when you cook me food' and I'm like 'oh alright, if you just ask me to do it then, if you want something done for when you come home from work just tell me and I'll do it' he's like 'oh you're a great help you know'. Xani: mmmh Betty: like my dad to me is my best friend, other than Esme, he's my best friend, he will do anything for me but he won't do anything for Catriona. Xani: right Betty: coz Catriona's for my mum and I'm for my dad, sometimes we'll crack on together and he'll start talking to his self which cracks me up and vice versa really, but I do prefer my own company sometimes I do get all lonely and I'll just end up talking to myself even more, so it</p>	<p>Escapism.</p> <p>Weighs out decisions.</p> <p>Dad is her best friend – and her his?</p> <p>Recognition of effort, means a lot.</p> <p>Pride, change of voice and demeanour.</p> <p>Desire to please, recognition.</p> <p>Family are closest, but not sister, this is key. Does Betty blame sister for loss of parental attention?</p> <p>A child on each side of the family. They are each more like that parent? Social learning theory.</p>
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	<p>varies really, yeah I don't know. That's about it I think.</p> <p>Xani: yeah</p> <p>Betty: yeah</p> <p>Xani: well I think that's it, you've given a really detailed account em I'll stop it recording, there we go.</p>	<p>Loneliness and self-talk.</p>
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8.13. Ethical approval

Re: BRYNE Alexander: resubmitted ethics application

David Gordon

Mon 25/06/2018 19:49

To: Alexander Byrne <Alexander.Byrne@outlook.com>; SPS Ethics Applications Mailbox <sps-ethics@bristol.ac.uk>;

Cc: Alexander Byrne <ab16311@bristol.ac.uk>; Zaheda Tariq <Zaheda.Anwar@bristol.ac.uk>;

Dear Alexander Byrne

Thank you for responding to the concerns of the members of the SPS Research Ethics Committee. You now have ethical clearance for this research.

However, please note that the recent implementation of the GDPR into UK law in the Data Protection Act 2018, provides a new right of erasure so participants now have the right to withdraw at any time (or at least until the data are anonymised, after which withdrawal will become impossible). i.e. according to GDPR if it's possible to identify people then they can withdraw their data whenever they want. However, if two weeks corresponds with when all data will be made anonymous then this is a justifiable reason for a time-limit on withdrawal.

Good luck with your research

David Gordon

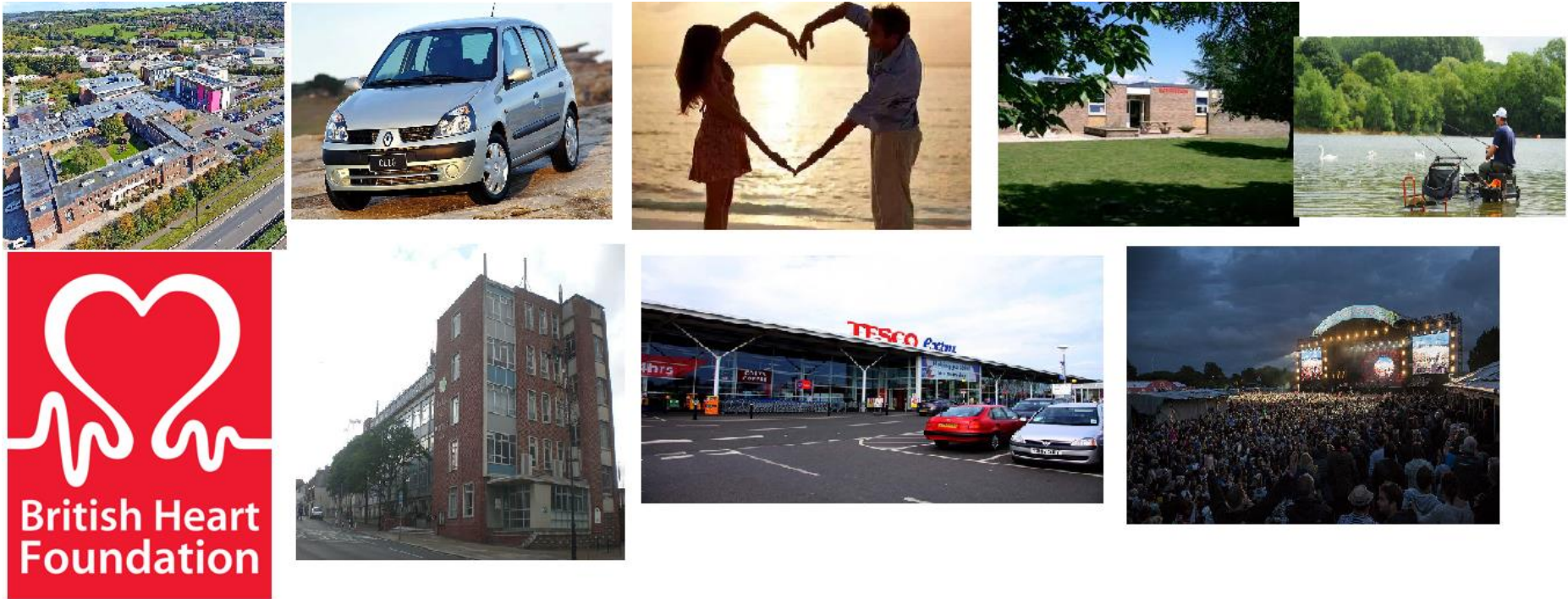
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8.14. Example Collages and life grid

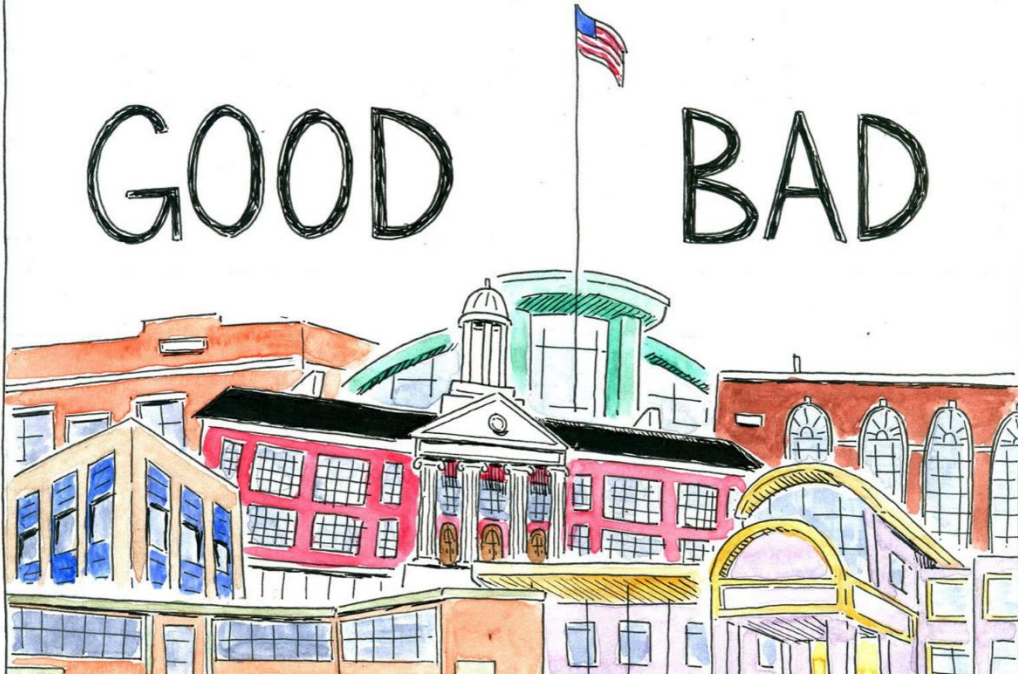


John's collage



DESPITE THE COMPLEX NATURE OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES, SCHOOLS ARE USUALLY DESCRIBED USING ONE OF TWO WORDS:

GOOD BAD



Young people are lonely - but social ...
telegraph.co.uk



honesty | The Perfect Piece
theperfectpiece.org.uk



Study says most Americans feel lonely ...
wsbradio.com



feel lonely ...
express.co.uk

Related Searches



lonely student



loneliness



Young people feel more lonely than ...
independent.co.uk



Makes Young People Feel Lonely
blackenterprise.com



Suicide linked to loneliness in ...
sciencenordic.com



40 per cent of young adults say they ...
burytimes.co.uk



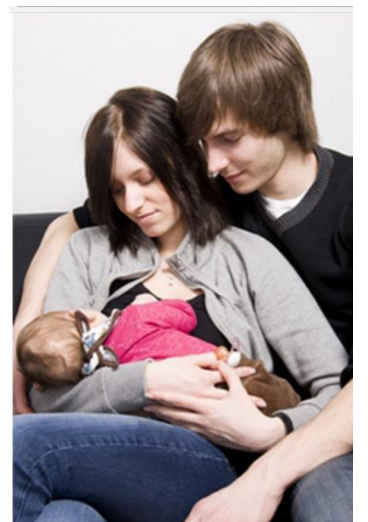
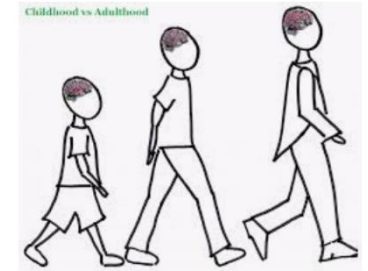
Youth Loneliness « K&M Communities
kandmcommunities.com



feeling lonely ...
home.bt.com



Lonely in Vancouver? So are 30 per cent ...

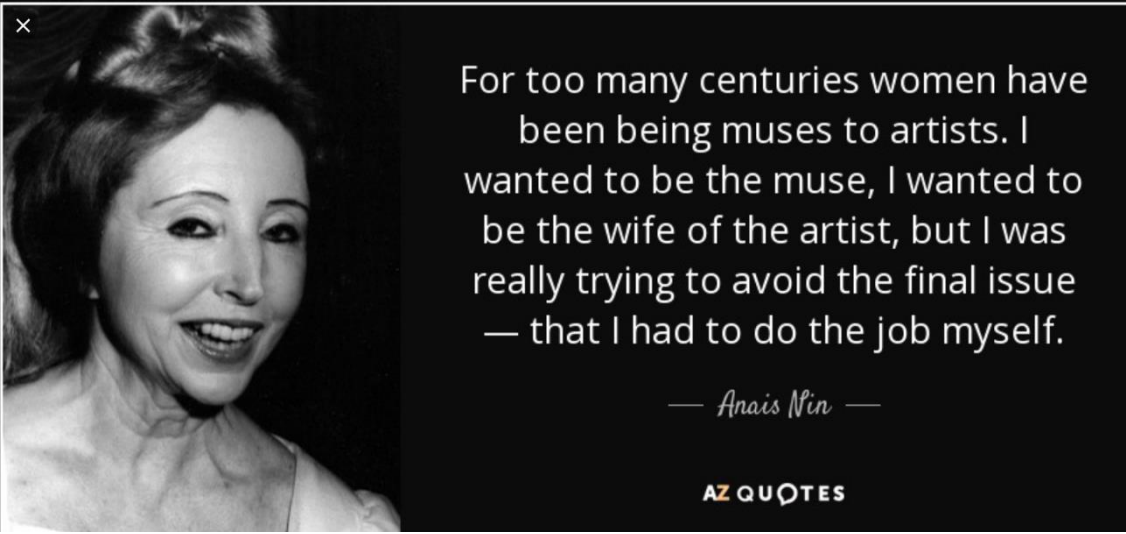


What qualities ideal partners have



Study Examines Link Between Partners





	External events	Family	Education	Work	Location	Other
48-49	High school diff. even change more independence	48-49 batterer misuse binge drinking mother trying to hold.			not prob school. prob high school	became introverted & looking work.
410	GCSEs	arguments partners	fr. friends in high school			sleep.
411	leaving high school.	↓				
412-13	growing up. bride up. relationship leaves left. Apprenticeship	2 car crashes. drinking took priority home environment won't have.	getting by. shipped classes		highly not as strict freedom broader light to home house share	socially & good. <u>not normal</u> friends more like family feeling lost. wants off. isolation friends advice

	father missing no eggs.	studying & working at the same time	casual job in nottingham looking for work.	instructor	friend.
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2014 winter

Feb

Funeral, diff

for A.C.

bereavement counselling
NACCA
counsellor.

driving lessons
passing

father missing
for approx.
weeks birthday
weeks.
was stayed at

basement.
funeral

standing & working
at the same
time

finished apprenticeship

new business
management
course for graduation

lost job
in northampton
looking for work.
back to work

time off

new job, similar
little other jobs
on side

director

rebuilding social
circle

move back to Leeds
but home to solve

friend.

grief
loss of friends

applies, passing
moving self

stepping forward
not back.
financial diff