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University College Cork, Ireland

"Me Da's in Jail": Does the Irish Criminal Justice System Punish the Children of Fathers in Prison?

Cathy Brennan

CARL Research Project

Name of Student:	Cathy Brennan
Name of Civil Society Organisation/Community Group:	St. Nicholas Trust
Supervisor:	Pat Leahy
Name and Year of Course:	Bachelor of Social Work; Year 4
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"The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons" Dostoevsky

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CARL seeks to:

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- provide their services on an affordable basis;

- promote and support public access to and influence on science and technology;

- create equitable and supportive partnerships with civil society organisations;

- enhance understanding among policymakers and education and research institutions of the research and education needs of civil society, and

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Introduction

In this chapter, the background of the study will be provided. The rationale behind the research, the aims, objectives and the research question will be presented. Finally, an overview of the chapters to follow will be provided.

Background

This dissertation is primarily interested in exploring the key issues in relation to children who are affected by paternal imprisonment in Ireland. There is no doubt the impact of imprisonment is not limited to prisoners alone as it affects members of their families and it is crucial to consider the wider implications of incarceration for society. Presently, there is no record of the number of children with a parent in prison in Ireland, however, it is estimated that the number of children separated from an imprisoned father is approximately 4,300 while an estimated 142 children are separated from an imprisoned mother (Martyn, 2012).

Although the significant impact of parental imprisonment on children has been internationally documented (Boswell and Wedge, 2002; Rosenberg and Brett, 2009), it is only in the last decade that Irish studies have come to the fore (King, 2002; Donson and Parkes, 2012; Martyn, 2012). The key finding is that parental imprisonment can have negative effects on the physical and mental health of children making them a vulnerable group in society. Furthermore, research indicates that parental separation via imprisonment is more harmful than separation for any other reason (Murray and Farrington, 2005).

In Ireland, there are research gaps existing regarding the rights of children of incarcerated parents or, in fact, to what degree their rights are protected by the State (Donson and Parkes, 2012). Children of imprisoned parents often endure the consequences of their parent's actions and can become *"the hidden victims of the penal system"* as they tolerate their own sentence, even though they have committed no crime (Martyn, 2012:2).

An International Report highlights that globally over 90 per cent of prisoners are male which make the numbers of children separated from their fathers far higher than those separated from their mothers (Scharff-Smith and Gampell, 2011). In Ireland, there were 13,055 persons sent to prison in 2013: 82.2% male; 17.8% female (Irish Prison Service, 2013). As

the vast majority of prisoners are male, this study aims to identify if the Irish Criminal Justice System takes fatherhood into account when a man is sent to prison.

Rationale

In Ireland, there is no National Organisation in existence which holds responsibility for supporting families affected by imprisonment. In fact, all over Ireland, there are only two voluntary organisations set up for this purpose which are Bedford Row Family Project in Limerick and St. Nicholas Trust (SNT) in Cork (Martyn, 2012). However, if appropriate services are in place, which support and promote positive family relationships when a parent is in prison, the results are successful resettlements (ibid.). International studies found that every opportunity for involving families in the life of prisoners should be significantly increased (Niven and Stewart, 2005; Scharff-Smith and Gampell, 2011).

This study is undertaken as part of a Community Academic Research Links (CARL) project which is an initiative, linked with University College Cork (UCC), assisting Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in areas of research. Adults coming to the prison, especially for the first time, may find it a daunting experience and it can be an intimidating place to bring a child. As a volunteer with SNT, I have seen first-hand families coming to Cork Prison and realise how invaluable this service is in lending an ear as well as a welcome cup of tea.

As a student social worker, I realise that society is changing its thinking with regard to *'listening'* to children and their rights are now emerging in policy and practice. I wondered how a child adapted to a life without their father and what rights/means they had in relation to keeping up a father-child relationship. From my volunteer experience, I realised there is a need to engage, encourage and support families of prisoners and learnt that families play a critical role in the reintegration of offenders.

Research Question

Does Irish Society punish the children of dads in jail?

1) Does prison work as a means of successfully responding to crime in Ireland?
2) Does the concept of patriarchy impact on a father when he is sentenced to prison?
3) Are children's rights maintained when a father is in jail?
4) What are the effects of paternal imprisonment on children?

Objectives

1) Devise an appropriate methodology to answer the research question.
2) Use the appropriate literature to meet the study's aims.
3) To explore the history of crime and punishment.
4) To investigate prison in contemporary Ireland and ascertain if prison works as a means of successfully responding to crime.
5) To examine the contested ideas of fatherhood.
6) To ascertain the varying effects that prison has on the child of an imprisoned dad.

Overview

Chapter Two: provides a detailed account of the research methodology.

Chapter Three: discusses crime and punishment.

Chapter Four: explores prison in contemporary Ireland.

Chapter Five: investigates the concept of fatherhood.

Chapter Six: examines childhood and the effects on children when a dad is imprisoned.

Chapter Seven: presents an analysis of the key findings followed with recommendations.

Chapter Eight: overall conclusion.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a broad introduction to the context of this study. It outlined the background and rationale behind doing this research project. The aims, objectives and the research question were addressed and a summary of the following chapters was provided.

<center>***Chapter Two: Methodology***</center>

Introduction

This chapter will provide a detailed account of the research methodology undertaken to complete this study. The approach undertaken is secondary research and the advantages and disadvantages of this method will be examined. The theoretical perspective employed by this study and the reasons behind adopting this framework will be discussed. The method of data analysis and ethical considerations will be discussed.

Methodology

A methodology is *"the recipe"* that surrounds and holds together any dissertation as it accommodates specific research methods as well as a set of theoretical, philosophical and ethical positions that help to bind together a research project (Carey, 2009:89). The overarching aim of this research was to explore the key issues in relation to children who are affected by paternal imprisonment in Ireland and this was conducted by undertaking an in-depth analysis of a wide range of secondary sources.

Children, with a father in prison, were the focus of this small-scale study and data was gathered from textbooks, government publications, newspaper reports, peer-reviewed journals and articles. Although these sources provide *"evidence"* that has already been analysed and processed, they are still open to interpretation (Carey, 2009:39).

Advantages and Disadvantages of Secondary Research

Secondary research is beneficial in terms of saving time and money, allowing opportunity for longitudinal analysis while minimising ethical issues (Bryman, 2004). Secondary research is a viable option when dealing with hard-to-reach samples, especially if there are sensitive issues. McQueen and Knussen (2002) confirm that it is easier to consult information that already exists through the use of reliable secondary data cutting out lengthy research procedures, especially when there are time restraints in a small-scale study. There is an abundance of valuable information which is easily accessible through the use of the university library and data is now widely available online. Furthermore, the extent of information often exceeds what the researcher could attain on its own.

There are disadvantages to secondary research. Secondary data may have been gathered for a specific purpose and measures taken might not meet the needs of current research. There is a risk that information may be obsolete (McQueen and Knussen, 2002). The impartiality of sources is an issue when conducting secondary research as there may be a possibility that the data collected may be manipulated to suit the researcher (Bryman, 2004). Therefore, every effort was taken to overcome any subjective interests that may have influenced the outcome of this study.

Grounded Theory

A theory, *"an explanatory statement that fits the evidence",* helps to frame research questions, and assists to make sense of the answers to those questions, by providing a way of looking at the world and understanding human interaction (Blackstone, 2012:37). Grounded theory is a form of inductive reasoning where research concepts are built from each *"layer"* of empirical evidence and gradually lead to a theory that links to the subject of research (Carey, 2009:105). Inductive research (the inverse of deductive research)[1] is about collecting data and observing what patterns or meanings can be extracted, which seeks to *"discover not test explanatory theories",* whilst drawing conclusions from the evidence gathered (Blackstone, 2012:37). This study used a grounded theory approach (from the *"ground up"*) which was guided by data, rather than guiding the data by presetting hypotheses, with the goal of generating a theory (ibid:285).

Theoretical Perspectives

The design chosen for research should be the one most suited to answer the research question (Whittaker, 2009). In seeking to establish if children are punished when their father goes to prison, a social constructionist approach was adopted. This study drew from an ontological framework as in ontology, which is closely linked to epistemology, philosophical questions are generated which assist in constructing a research methodology. Ontology *"reflects the nature of social reality and what the researcher understands reality to be like"* (Carey, 2009:68).

Paradigms shape our views of the world and the social constructionist framework hypothesize that "*'the truth' is a varying, socially constructed, and ever-changing notion*" (Blackstone, 2012:35). Constructionism *"the socially created nature of social life"* can be applied to

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[1]See Figure 1 and Figure 2 in Appendix 1 which shows the distinctions between inductive and deductive research.

theories to understand reality, which is created and constructed collectively through experiences and interpretations, and this interaction frames our realities (Marshall, 1994:484). The way of viewing the world is not formed in isolation, but shaped and influenced by culture and society (Greene and Lee, 2002).

The concept of patriarchy, *"a social system of gender relations in which there is gender inequality",* has been embedded in a range of social institutions and social structures (Scott, 2006:121). In Ireland, the *"male-dominated family is coextensive with human society from its very beginnings of 'man the hunter'"* and it could well be argued that it still exists today (Lerner, 1986:1). This study questioned if fatherhood is taken into consideration when a man goes to prison given that his role in the family is interpreted differently to that of a woman in Irish culture, taking account of the concept of patriarchy.

Method

The overall approach method adopted by the questions generated in this study is a qualitative method of data collection and analysis, influenced by the theoretical school of interpretivisim and critical theory. This study centres around fathers in prison and the impact this has on children. By adopting an interpretivist approach on the literature gleaned, the researcher established if fatherhood, and the maintenance of their relationship with their children, is taken into consideration by the Irish Criminal Justice System when a man goes to prison.

The core method used was critical discourse analysis, critically analysising available relevant literature. Social research should go further than gathering and analysing data, it should investigate and critically question established practices, policies and traditions and *"seek to change society for the better"* (Carey, 2009:56). The ontological positioning of this study has been influenced by critical theory which is effective in exploring the cultural and structural forms of disadvantage. This theory assists us to recognise the importance of ideology and discourse which is used to maintain dominance and control for certain groups whilst, simultaneously, excluding and oppressing other groups in society (ibid.). This study is undertaken with the goal of social change in mind and by gathering and analysing data, endeavoured to advance a theory that the Irish Criminal Justice System does punish children of fathers in prison.

Secondary Data Analysis

In secondary data analysis, which is the use of previously assembled data, a new perspective is sought in order to gain new insights, but theory development is limited to the data at hand as any questions that arise cannot be pursued in interview. In order to understand the complex story that your data has told, data analysis allows the process of making sense of information gathered as well as searching for what lies below the surface content (Whittaker, 2009). A visible and systematic way of doing this is based upon a model of thematic analysis developed by Braun and Clarke (2006). They define *"thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data"* (ibd:79). In this study, the researcher identified prominent and recurring themes within the literature reviewed and these were interpreted through a social constructionist lens. Thematic analysis is a flexible approach which can ideally be used with an ontological approach (Whittaker, 2009).

Ethical Considerations

As this study was based on secondary research and the data reviewed had already been collected and disseminated, there were no ethical issues to consider.

Conclusion

This chapter detailed the rationale for utilising a secondary research methodology to complete this study. The advantages and disadvantages of using this method were examined. Methodology and theoretical perspectives were explored. The method of data analysis and ethical considerations were discussed.

This chapter engages with literature in order to provide a picture of crime and punishment. It will discuss who goes to prison, Ireland as an unequal society and power in our Criminal Justice System.

Crime and Punishment

Crime, defined by Marshall (1994:96), as *"an offence which goes beyond the personal and into the public sphere, breaking prohibitory rules or laws, to which legitimate punishments or sanctions are attached, and which requires the intervention of a public authority"*. Some crimes can be perceived as both immoral and illegal, such as murder and theft; however, there are crimes which may be illegal, but not immoral and vice versa. Many social issues, such as euthanasia and abortion, are subjects of great debate in society which make many public policy issues form a crossroad of moral and legal law. Moral law can be defined as *"a law or rules for life and conduct, founded on what is right and wrong: the law of conscience"* (Macdonald, 1978:855). Whilst moral law could be construed as a set of universal rules, what is distinctive about law is that it possesses a compulsory quality which is enforceable and punishable, often referred to as *"the force of law"* (Hamilton, 2011:6).

The crime of not paying your television licence is punished by a fine of €1,000 and, if unpaid, warrants a prison sentence[2] (Deegan, 2013). There were almost 9,000 committals to prison in Ireland this year due to non-payment of fines, five years after laws have been enacted, under which defaulters would only be jailed in the *"most exceptional circumstances"*[3] (O'Keeffe, 2015:1). Deviance is culturally determined and changes over time and place (Bacik *et al.,* 1998). Ireland was the first country to enforce a smoking ban in the workplace in 2004, with fines of €3,000 for disobedience, many countries since following suit (Guidera, 2014). The changing of our social mores in relation to the status of Irish women has only occurred over the last forty years when the marriage bar, which banned women from working in the public

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[2]The number jailed for the non-payment of TV licence fines has increased more than five-fold in the past five years, with a 50% surge in 2012.

[3]Official figures show that the number of committals has jumped by 34% since the Fines Act, 2010 was enacted which introduced an option to pay fines by instalment, as well as giving a range of options to judges including recovery orders, attachment of earnings and community service with imprisonment being a last resort.

service after they married, was lifted in 1973[4] (O'Toole, 2014). Indeed, what could be considered deviant today could be regarded as normal in the future, as just over twenty years ago, being gay was a criminal offence[5] (Bohan, 2013).

Durkheim (in Giddens, 1972:123) once remarked *"we do not condemn it because it is a crime, but it is a crime because we condemn it"*. Durkheim (1961) believed that crime and punishment were essential elements in organised societies. Punishment can be defined *"as any measure that is imposed on an offender in response to an offence, even if it is intended to help the offender (or victim) rather than to hurt or harm"* (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007:62). Durkheim (1961) theorised that our shared social values and sentiments were necessary to understand the way we function in society and that punishment guarded moral discipline and social cohesion.

Punishment has existed in every society, maybe not always in the form of penal institutions,[6] and as a result its presence is generally accepted. As society evolved, and as it continued to battle with crime, deprivation of a person's liberty through imprisonment replaced execution and transportation as a means of social control, which represented a move away from the *"punishment for the sake of punishing"* ideology (Saarsteiner, 2009:17). Prison serves a dual purpose, it removes the offender from society whilst setting an example of moral authority to others; hence, social order is restored to enable the normal functioning of a society. Indeed, Durkheim stated that *"punishment is nothing but meaningful demonstration"* (Durkheim, 1961:192).

According to Garland (2001), the 1890s to the 1970s saw an era of penal-welfarism where policy makers presupposed criminality would be diminished and the principle of rehabilitation of offenders thrived. This form of *"non-punitive punishment",* which served

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[4]See: *'Ten things that Irish women could not do in 1970s',* O'Toole, F. (2014). Ireland joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 which complemented the role of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement in bringing many changes and securing greater rights for women in Ireland (Considine and Dukelow, 2009).

[5]The 'Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act, 1993' removed Victorian laws from Ireland's Statute Book which criminalised sexual acts between men (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences) Act, 1993).

[6]Over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, *'shaming'* punishments included the stocks, the pillory and public whipping. The system of transportation, where criminals were sent to penal colonies, was used as an alternative to hanging. Transportation was abolished after the 'Penal Servitude Act, 1857' was introduced. Penal servitude meant serving a sentence that is meant to punish the prisoner and was a term of imprisonment that usually included hard labour (Penal Servitude Act, 1857).

the purpose of retribution and deterrence, aimed to reform the offender and provide reparation to the victim and became the focus of prison in order to achieve crime control (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007:62). Paradoxically, whilst prison justifies punishment on the grounds that it is a means of restriction and whilst it endeavours to achieve reductivism, studies indicate that prison produces a slight increase in recidivism and all this at an enormous cost (Gendreau, Goggin and Cullen, 1999). Since the 1970s, there has been a paradigm shift in social control with the return of the victim, and whilst protecting the public is the prominent theme, prison is now to be a last resort with the modalities of punishment being administered in the community (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007).

Who goes to Prison?

Coles (1995) reveals the key dimensions of difference in how we transit from being children to adults lie within four main impact fields: social class, gender, ethnicity and locality as well as taking individual subjective factors such as sexual orientation and ability/disability into account. These indicators are equally applicable on determining who goes to prison.

Bacik *et al.* (1998) informs us that whilst it is difficult to neatly define the description of an individual defendant, it can be said that, as a group, offenders share certain defining characteristics such as they tend to be young, male and working-class. Furthermore, it appears that unemployment and poverty impact on the severity of sentencing. Research found 49% of people from disadvantaged areas are more likely to receive a custodial sentence than those from less deprived areas, as well as harsher sentencing for similar charges, indicating a *"sentencing bias"* for people from disadvantaged areas (Bacik *et al.,* 1998:26).

Ireland: an Unequal Society

The Criminal Justice System contributes to an *"ideology"* by relaying the message that the poor are the worst risk to society and that their criminality is the result of personal failings rather than social inequalities (Reiman and Leighton, 2013:177). Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) present us with hard evidence how almost everything, from life expectancy to infant mortality, teenage pregnancies and imprisonment rates, are affected *not* by how wealthy a society is, but how equal it is. Using empirical evidence, they demonstrate that the reason

more unequal societies do worse is not just because they have more poor people, but because every section of society does worse than the comparable section in more equal societies[7].

Societies with a bigger gap between rich and poor are bad for everyone in them, including the very rich, and we would be all better off if society was more equal (ibid.). Violent crimes are more common in more unequal societies and they are inclined to be more punitive, with higher rates of re-offending[8]. In addition, the consensus among worldwide experts is that prison doesn't work very well and that the criminal justice system makes a great mistake in *"the belief that punishment will deter, prevent or inhibit violence, when in fact it is the most powerful stimulant of violence that we have yet discovered"* (ibid:154).

As Ireland grew more unequal from 1970 to 2011[9], the prison population in Ireland increased by 400% (Irish Penal Reform Trust: IPRT, 2015). A recent publication of the Central Statistics Office (CSO), Irish Prison Service Recidivism Study for 2008 Cohort, indicates a recidivism rate of 51% within three years with male offenders representing 90.8% of the total population studied who had a higher recidivism rate than female offenders (CSO, 2013).

Power in our Criminal Justice System

Durkheim (1961) argued crime benefits society in that the functional nature of crime draws people together, develops a tighter bond of solidarity, in promoting a behaviour they want eradicated. Reiman and Leighton (2013:47) refer to the *"pyrrhic defeat theory"*[10], which shares Durkheim's view of the functional nature of crime; however, this theory argues that *"the failure of the criminal justice system yields such benefits to those in positions of power that it amounts to a victory"*.

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[7]Two Examples (Baker, 2009): The infant mortality rate of the best-off fifth of the British population is significantly worse than that of the best-off fifth of the Swedish population (p.184). Literacy scores are lower for the children of college-educated Americans than for the children of college-educated Finns, Belgians and Britons (p.109).

[8]In the USA and UK, re-offending rates are generally reported to be between 60 and 65% with lower rates in less harsh environments such as Sweden and Japan which are reported to have recidivism rates between 35 and 40% (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009:154-5).

[9]There is a present debate raging, which derived from a recent Report from Think-tank for Action on Social Change (TASC) [see O'Connor, N. and Staunton, C. (2015)] on economic inequality in Ireland, which found that when tax and welfare spending is factored in, income inequality in Ireland comes in around the EU average. See Tuffy, J. (2015) 'Why comparison of Ireland's income inequality with US is 'nonsensical'.

[10]*"A "Pyrrhic victory" is a military victory purchased at such a cost in troops and treasure that it amounts to a defeat"* (Reiman and Leighton, 2013:47).

Michael Foucault proposed prisons serve a purpose in society (Reiman and Leighton, 2013). Foucault tells us that the prison system converts the offender *"from a lawbreaker into a delinquent in need of correction"* and this authorises *"a permanent policing of the potentially troublesome classes"* (ibid:49). Perhaps Foucault got it right when he suggested that the failure of prison is part of a larger organization of disciplinary surveillance that permeates modern society (ibid.).

People who are hurt most by the failure of our criminal justice system are the people with the least power to change it (Reiman and Leighton, 2013). This continues mainly because the system harms the poor while it benefits the well-off; hence, there are no motivations to change the system for those with the power to do so. Moreover, whilst communicating the message that risk is *"from below them on the economic ladder",* and alluding that poverty results not from social causes, but from the *"moral depravity of the poor",* focuses on individual guilt and makes implications that the social system itself must be a just one (ibid:199). Beck (1992:21) defines risk as *"a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself".*[11]

Conclusion

This chapter revealed crime is culturally determined and provided a history of crime and punishment. Offenders tend to be young, male and working-class and there appears to be a sentencing bias for people from disadvantaged areas. Unequal societies provide more punitive systems with a higher rate for re-offending. Power in our Criminal Justice System was explored where it was ascertained that people who are most hurt by this system are the people with the least power to change it.

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[11]Beck (1992:35) informs us contemporary risks involves social inequalities and tells us that *"wealth accumulates at the top, risks at the bottom".* However, Beck (1992) further tells us of *'a boomerang effect'* insofar as those who produce risks or try to avoid them always end up being affected because those risks have a global impact.

Introduction

This chapter will focus on Ireland's prisoners and the many issues that prisoners present with. The gender imbalance of prisoners will be examined as well as the public's opinion on prison. The concept of prison as a successful means of responding to crime will be discussed.

Ireland's Prisoners

The prison population today stands at 3,612 within Ireland's 14 institutions (IPRT, 2015). It is well established that people who come into contact with the criminal justice system consists largely of people who come from deprived and disadvantaged backgrounds (Bacik *et al.,* 1998; Cavadino and Dignan, 2007; Martyn, 2012; Reiman and Leighton, 2013). Sixty per cent of people serving sentences for six months or less are poor, uneducated and often homeless (Martyn, 2012). Prisoners present with many varying issues, however, there is a correlation between mental health, substance dependency and offending (ibid.).

▪ *Prisoners' Exposure to Adversity*

Typically, prisoners can have a range of issues including poverty, unemployment, educational disadvantage, inadequate family support; have experience of residential care and a history of social exclusion[12]. For many, these problems are linked, directly or indirectly, to their offending (Bacik *et al*., 1998; Martyn, 2012).

A comprehensive sociological study (O'Mahony, 1998:59) on the background of prisoners in Mountjoy, the largest prison in the State, found:

- 91% grew up in families that had four or more children.

- 53% had no parent working or only mother working in family home.

- 15% had a parent imprisoned.

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[12]56% of prisoners came from just 6 districts in Dublin characterised by high levels of economic disadvantage (O'Mahony*, 1998:59)*

- 79% left school by the age of 15; 29% were illiterate.

- 88% had been unemployed prior to imprisonment.

- 77% had used illegal drugs with two out of three using heroin. Non-drug using prisoners had long histories of alcoholism.

- One in five had been a patient in a psychiatric hospital with 30% having made a suicide attempt.

- 29% were HIV Positive.

- ### *Irish Prisoners and Mental Health Issues*

In 2005, the largest research, *Mental Illness in Irish Prisoners*, was undertaken on the Irish prison population involving interviews with 1,580 inmates (Kennedy *et al.,* 2005). This study found that the rate of mental illness among prisoners is almost 40 times higher than that of the general community and at least twice the rate of studies that were similarly conducted internationally. This study also found that drug and alcohol abuse rates were between 61 per cent and 79 per cent among the prison population.

This raises questions on the way mentally-ill people are being processed by our criminal justice system and suggests that a high level of people with mental health difficulties are imprisoned, often for minor charges (ibid.). Indeed, the question is: do people go to prison because of mental health issues or do people become mentally unwell when they are confined and imprisoned?[13]

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[13] See various studies in 'what does solitary confinement do to your mind?' Breslow, J. M. (2014).

Gender Imbalance of Prisoners

In 1996, women made up 1.8% of the total prison population and, today, there are approximately 3.5% women in prison in Ireland (Bacik *et al.,* 1998; IPRT, 2015). Many studies have been undertaken to test the differentials between men and women committing crime which result in imprisonment. Some researchers have found the social construction of masculinity as a possible causal factor; however, other studies have found that gender bias may play a part in this discrepancy (Bacik *et al.,* 1998).

Lyons and Hunt (1983) carried out a study on 108 women and 120 men and found that women were treated more leniently in 70% of cases (Bacik *et al.,* 1998). Further studies (Chesney-Lind and Bowker, 1978; Moxon, 1988; Ashworth, 1995; Hedderman and Hough, 1994) have agreed with this finding where policing strategies may use *"a chivalrous ethos"* when dealing with women (ibid:6). However, another study (Farrington and Morris, 1983) found that the gender of the offender seemed to have little effect on sentencing, but it appears that judges take factors such as marital status, family background and parenthood into account in the sentencing of women more so than men (ibid.).

Public's Opinion of Prison

Prisoners are *"an unpopular group in society"* where the general public are usually far removed from the degrading conditions of a prisoner's life (Boswell and Wedge, 2002:21). Most public attention to this unseen group is therefore only drawn when sensational headlines stand out, such as *"in Cork Prison, 'slopping out is the worst part'"* (O'Keeffe, 2014a). Indeed, whilst there are people who think that prisoners should get their *'just desserts'* and must do the time for the crime, others are of the opinion that *"you wouldn't do this to a dog"*, prisoners are human beings and we must disassociate from the crime committed (O'Keeffe, 2014b).

A Public Attitudes Opinion Poll[14] carried out in 2007 indicated that *"the severity of penal sentencing should reflect the crime and personal circumstances of the offender"* (IPRT, 2007:19). This poll further indicated that 54% of people disagreed with the statement

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[14]Further findings from Public Attitudes to Prison (IPRT, 2007:17): 8 in 10 agreed that offenders with a drug addiction should be placed in drug recovery programmes instead of serving a prison sentence (81%). Just over 4 in 10 (44%) agreed that criminalising drug use causes more problems than it prevents, while 28% disagreed. Interestingly, the question of whether or not criminalising drug use causes more problems than it prevents attracted the highest level of uncertainty with 19% answering 'neither agree nor disagree' and a further 9% answering 'don't know'.

"increasing prison numbers will reduce crime", and 66% agreed that *"more people come out of prison worse than they go in"* (ibid:17). Additionally, 91% people agreed that mentally-ill offenders should be treated in a mental health facility as an alternative to prison (ibid.).

Prison Doesn't Work

As there is now international recognition that prison doesn't work, it is time for Ireland to acknowledge that *"prison may sometimes do good, but it always does harm"* (Scottish Prisons Commission in Murphy, 2010:6). Ireland has moved on from the notion that public whipping and penal colonies are a barbaric form of punishment as, in our civilised society of today, our humanitarian response to crime is to incarcerate, even when we know it doesn't work. No doubt, imprisonment, which is something imposed and therefore needs to be justified, causes physical distress and psychological suffering, but the overall consequence of imprisonment is loss of liberty (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007).

In the United States, *'civil death'*[15]*,* as an institution, which resulted in the extinguishment of most civil rights as a person, was discontinued in the middle of the twentieth century (Chin, 2012). However, incarceration is like a new form of civil death where an inmate is regarded as having "*a shattered character"* and the collateral consequences, meaning the serious and long-lasting effects of conviction, are imposed on the prisoner forever (ibid:1790). Indeed, this does not impinge alone on the prisoner as it has a ripple effect which inflicts additional suffering on the family as a whole, bringing burden on those who have not been found guilty of any crime (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007).

Criminal Justice to Social Justice

The literature reveals that the social profile of prisoners demonstrates strong links between social disadvantage and crime. It is obvious that we are not addressing the systemic nature of social exclusion in social policies which in turn leads to higher levels of crime in certain areas and/or among certain groups of people. Crime cannot be viewed as a social problem on its own, for there is not one cause and there is not one solution (Murphy, 2010). In 2010, there was a case presented for making a shift in resources from Criminal Justice to Social Justice.

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[15]*"Civil death is a concept which, in ancient times, referred to the loss of rights and privileges by those sentenced to death, banished or outlawed for committing a crime. In this sense, civil death is sometimes understood to be obsolete. Currently though, civil death refers to those who are deprived of those civil rights and privileges which are normally guaranteed by the law of a state. It is the loss of the status of citizen"* (Eyssens, 2008).

No doubt, this relocation of funds would help create better communities and a safer society for all (ibid.).

Conclusion

This chapter focused on Ireland's prisoners and examined the many issues that this vulnerable group present with. Studies on the gender of the offender and the public's opinion of prison were discussed. Prison doesn't work and it is clear that the Irish Criminal Justice System need to make changes to policy. Ireland has not yet found an adequate response to dealing effectively with crime and punishment. Our ideology needs to change; our response to crime needs to focus on the issues underlying the offending behaviour. If not, we are guilty of further discriminating what is already a very marginalised group in Ireland and our system will neither protect society nor achieve justice.

<p style="text-align:center">***Chapter Five: Fatherhood***</p>

Introduction

This chapter will examine the changing roles of fatherhood and discuss the significance of a father in a child's life. A study on imprisoned fathers will explore prison from a father's point of view. A brief look at Cork Prison will give an insight into paternity behind bars and an international project, signifying the importance of family relationships, will be explored.

Fatherhood: Past and Present

Historical accounts of fatherhood have provided much dialogue around the symbolic representations and constructions of fatherhood comprising of norms, values and beliefs surrounding the social status of a father and its related roles (Marsiglio, 1995; Dienhart, 1998; Featherstone, 2009). Images have come in two forms: *"a stereotype image - people's perceptions of how typical fathers think, feel and act and the ideal image - how people think fathers should think, feel and act"* (Marsiglio, 1995:3). No doubt, these fatherhood images vary across socio-historical contexts, cultures and social backgrounds. Public discourse on the *"good dad-bad dad"* dichotomy has abounded us with images of the nurturing father, emphasized by fathers' rights groups, competing with the *"deadbeat"* dad, who has so often been highlighted by the media. Additionally, there have been admissions from men that they all want to be *"good fathers - caring, nurturing, involved with our children in ways our own fathers never were with us"* (ibid.).

Freudian's psychoanalytic[16] and Bowlby's attachment[17] theories have had a significant influence on the relegation of the father to *"the mostly ignored background of family life"* (Dienhart, 1998:29). The changing roles of fathers can be explained in the context of the changing economic structure from pre to post industrial societies. As industrialisation set in and as men began to work outside the family environment, women stayed at home, creating the '*traditional nuclear family*' that served to distance men from their children (ibid.).

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[16]Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) developed the first (and most influential) psychodynamic theory when he stressed the role of complex psychological forces in controlling behaviour and called his theory psychoanalysis which probed the unconscious mind (Passer and Smith, 2004). Freud saw the father as the key figure in a child's life and *"the castration complex as the major organiser for emotion growth"* (Featherstone, 2009:54).

[17]Attachment theory refers *"to the strong emotional bond that develops between children and their primary caregivers"* (Passer and Smith, 2004:390). Psychologist John Bowlby maintained that children needed attention from a primary caregiver, such as the mother-figure, encouraging mothers to stay at home and discouraging female employment, which was a strong post-war movement that tried to create social reform through the agency of the mother (Dienhart, 1998; Featherstone, 2009).

Talcott Parsons classified the structure of the family into two rigid roles: that of the mother as having an *"expressive"* role, whilst the father took on the *"instrumental"* role (Featherstone, 2009:89). Parsons argued that children needed *"attuned and dedicated specialists"* who would provide day-to-day care, a role which *"fell"* on the mother, whilst the father's expressive role promoted *"self-control"* among children (ibid.). Popenoe agreed with the Parsonian theory[18] and reiterated that whilst fathers made a significant contribution as *"economic providers and second parents"*, they also brought a *"unique array of parenting qualities to the parenting role - as protectors and role models";* a distinctive role that only the father can play (ibid.).

The emergence of the father as a breadwinner was a major feature of the development to industrialisation, but came under pressure in the later part of the 20th Century (Dienhart, 1998; Featherstone, 2009). As society evolved in Ireland, women's status altered and shifted back into the workplace.[19] Whilst women's position in the workplace may not yet have broken the glass ceiling,[20] there has been a rapid rise in women's participation in the workforce (Taylor, 2004). With this new perspicacity that motherhood was no longer a barrier to a woman's career; men started to alter their attitudes and practices regarding work and family. In theory, the father *"aspired to provide an equal share of the child care within an equal relationship with his partner",* thus creating the era of *"shared parental responsibility"* (Boswell and Wedge, 2002:17).

From the 1970s onwards, fathers became increasingly involved in family life, where they began to recover from *"the social hangover of the Victoria era"* and went *"from hiding in the pub to cutting the cord"[21]* (Wallis, 2013:1). This brought about a significant social shift with

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[18]*"Parsonian theory showed more interest in the father, though it was primarily as a detached socializing agent readying the child for the outside world"* (Lamb, 1981 in Dienhart, 1998:29).

[19]The establishment of the Equality Authority in 1999 provided the protection of individuals and social groups in Ireland. The passing of significant equality legislation, Equality Acts 1998 and 2004 and the Equal Status Acts, 2000 and 2004 prohibits discrimination on many grounds such as gender, marital status and sexual orientation (Considine and Dukelow, 2009).

[20]*"In 1995, the US Federal Glass Ceiling Commission defined a "glass ceiling" as a political term to describe the unseen, yet unbreachable barrier, that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements"* (McCann Fitzgerald, 2014:1).

[21]King, L. (2011-12) conducted a study *"Hiding in the Pub to Cutting the Cord"* in the UK, which gathered parents' experiences of childbirth from the 1950s onwards. Many testimonies indicate that *"many men thought it was not a man's place"* to attend his child's birth. It is estimated that from the late 1960s to the late 1970s it goes from a minority of men attending births to between 70-80%.

many men now attending the birth of their child and the *'new man'* emerged (Boswell and Wedge, 2002: Wallis, 2013). Paradoxically, in many contemporary families, there has been a role reversal with many stay-at-home dads and the father's role has changed yet again *"from breadwinner to breadmaker"* (O'Brien, 2012:1). Indeed, the opportunity has arisen for men to participate more fully in their child's life which has brought about the notion of the *"nurturing"* father (Shaw and Lohan, 2012:2).

Research into Fathers

Family studies undertaken before the mid-1970s disregarded men's participation in childcare; therefore, there is little information for contrast purposes (Marsiglio, 1995). Research is now starting to emerge on what fathers "*do - and don't do - in and for families"* (Coltrane, 1995:256). Empirical research (Horna and Lupri, 1987; Nock and Kingston, 1988) has made it explicit that fathers have *"lower levels of involvement with children"* than their mothers (Mosley and Thomson, 1995:149).

O'Brien's (2005) study found children are at risk from, or benefit from, the life histories that each parent brings to their child (Featherstone, 2009:79). Other researchers (Lewis and Lamb, 2007) agreed with this finding and do not support the universal presumptions that father involvement is good for children; moreover, it is the importance of the relationship between the parents that is stressed (ibid:82).

A current methodical review of studies (Pleck and Masciardrelli, 2004) where maternal involvement was controlled, found *"a beneficial impact of 'positive' father involvement in children's lives"* (Featherstone, 2009:79). Several American studies (Lamb, Pleck and Levine, 1985, 1987) found *"children benefit emotionally and mentally from interaction with their fathers"* (ibid.).

Ihinger-Tallman *et al.* (1995) presented two reasons why children's well-being is put at risk in the absence of a father: firstly, children gain from the love, care and economic support a father can give and secondly, a father's involvement in the life of his child is significant to a child's development. An initial test provided support for their theory: *"that children whose fathers are functionally absent are at greater risk for developing problems"* (Ihinger-Tallman, 1995:57). Whilst old arguments in relation to boys needing male role models are continually used, what is becoming increasingly evident is *"that father involvement promotes good outcomes for children"* (Featherstone 2009:85).

Presently, we have seen the emergence of the ideal of the *'nurturing'* father, which has the connotation of strong involvement of the father in children's lives (Shaw and Lohan, 2012). In the past, it has been assumed that fathers' roles were defined, whereas their duties in the family are much more confused today. Nonetheless, a recent Report, *Understanding Fatherhood in the 21st Century (2012),* found men spend more time interacting with their children, which is a constructive development for the happiness and wellbeing of these children (ibid.).

As society evolves, fatherhoods change and fathers' roles are reframed in the process. Currently, it is anticipated that the new Family Leave Bill will be introduced into Ireland this year, which will allow fathers time to play a more active role in their children's lives (O'Brien, 2014)[22]. For now, this new role on the practicalities of intimate fatherhood and the *'nurturing'* father is fluid and open to negotiation, results of which will only be known in time.

Fathers in Prison: a Study on Imprisoned Fathers

Fathers generally have been under-researched and there appears to be a limited amount of research on paternal imprisonment. In Ireland, the number of parents in prison is uncertain as there is no record when they enter prison, making the targeting of this group difficult (Martyn, 2012; Ryan-Mangan, 2014). In O'Mahony's (1998:59) study of 108 prisoners, 72% had fathered at least one child.[23] In the UK, Lloyd (1995), who carried out a comprehensive review, found *"nothing in the research examined suggested that there was any good reason to equate offending behaviour with bad parenting"* and emphasized the legal rights of children *"to go on being parented"* where prisoners should *"continue parenting"* (Boswell and Wedge 2002:63).

A study of 181 fathers, imprisoned for a wide range of offences (sentence length spectrum ranging from under 12 months to over 10 years) found almost all expressed a *"sense of guilt or helplessness"* (Boswell and Wedge, 2002:39). A small minority of this group considered

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[22]Presently, fathers have no right to paid or unpaid paternity leave in Ireland. The Department of Justice is currently drafting a Family Leave Bill, which is expected to consolidate access to various forms of statutory leave into a single piece of legislation (O'Brien, 2014).

[23]Further findings of this study: 50% stated that they had a first-degree relative who had been in prison. 77% of participants had spent time in St. Patrick's Institute for Juvenile Offenders. The dominant type of offences committed was burglary, robbery and larceny which accounted for nearly 70% of the prison population at the time of the study (O'Mahony, 1998).

there had been no change in their family situation. 51% considered that life was *"harder for her"* and that the prison sentence was *"worse for their partners than for them"* (ibid:48).

Boswell and Wedge's (2002:49) study asked this group how prison had affected their children and less than a third reported more difficult behaviour, 8% reported that their child had become anxious or withdrawn, and a small number reported that their child was now receiving professional help. Additionally, there was a high recognition that life was more difficult for their partners, especially with regard to coping in a single-parent fashion. The majority were aware of the difficulties for their partner in visiting prison, especially with children. However, on a positive note, 92% received visits from their children and most *"expected to be living with or near their children on release"* (ibid:51). Overall, this study found fathers have *"low self-esteem"* and worried their imprisonment would lead to diminished contact over time (ibid.).

Cork Prison

Cork Prison is a closed, medium security prison for adult males and is the committal prison for counties Cork, Kerry and Waterford (Irish Prison Service, 2012a). In 2013, its daily average occupancy was 231 adults (IPRT, 2015). Prisoners are entitled to one 30 minute visit per week, supplemented by letters and a daily six-minute telephone call[24]. However, Cork Prison does not permit physical contact and visitors are separated by a wide counter which divides people with a Perspex screen (not all prisons in Ireland have this policy). No doubt, visits can be a combined source of tension and happiness for all involved in relation to what they can and cannot achieve. Furthermore, whilst there are various programmes offered in prison, there is no programme available specifically related to positive parenting or to enhancing the relationship between a father and child (Irish Prison Service, 2012b).

According to a recent report, non-contact visits are having *"a negative effect"* and are in breach of European Prison Rules and the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (Martyn, 2012:19). This comprehensive report found that there are no child-friendly visits within the vast majority of male prisons which also observed the differential

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[24]According to the rules of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (2007:29) *"a convicted prisoner who has reached the age of 18 years shall be entitled to receive by prior appointment not less than one visit from relatives or friends each week of not less than 30 minutes duration"*.

treatment between the relationship of an imprisoned mother and her child in comparison to that of an imprisoned father (Martyn, 2012).

An International Project

In Wales, Invisible Walls is a project developed in 2010 to strengthen bonds with families (Walsh, 2013). Whilst fewer than 50% of prisoners have regular visits, this project finds that the best way to engage offenders is through their children and families. This project emphasizes that *"family is the glue that holds all our efforts at rehabilitation around jobs and resettlement and training together"* (ibid:1). It has found, from engaging with prisoners, that the main fears fathers have when in prison are *"losing contact, ceasing to matter to their families, being forgotten, becoming irrelevant, and being abandoned inside and after release"* (ibid.). According to the Ministry of Justice's 2008 Resettlement Survey in the UK: *"having regular family visits reduces reoffending by 38%"* (ibid.).

Paternity Behind Bars

Rosenberg and Brett (2009:30) remind us that visiting arrangements need to account for the particular nature of *"paternity behind bars"* so as to enable contact in a way that is contributing to the maintenance of father-child bonds. A half an hour once a week of non-contact, in a big crowded room, does not provide the ideal situation for the maintenance of any relationship. Conclusively, the present system in Cork Prison is operating in such a way that it is impacting on the father's right *to continue parenting* whilst in prison, where security seems to be the priority. Ultimately, this will have a detrimental impact, not just on the father alone, but on the person who has a right *to go on being parented,* the child. Research indicates it is easier to overlook the children of imprisoned fathers in policy and practice than it is to ignore the parenting responsibilities of a pregnant woman, despite the fact that men are the overwhelmingly majority of prisoners (ibid.). According to Loucks (2004:4) *"imprisonment is a family experience... for prisoners, separation from loved ones is often the most painful consequence of incarceration".*

Conclusion

This chapter gave a detailed account of fatherhood and provided research into the significance of a father in a child's life. Research found the emergence of the *'nurturing'* father where fathers are now more involved in a child's life. A study on a sample group of fathers in prison was examined. Cork Prison provided an insight on family visits and a project in Wales, signifying the importance of family relationships, was discussed. Whilst fathers are not a homogenous group, the literature reveals similarities in that there is a significant fear of losing contact with their child whilst they are in prison. Finally, this chapter found the lack of child-friendly services in male prisons in Ireland contributes to the fact that the most painful consequence of imprisonment is separation from loved ones.

Chapter Six: Childhood and the Effects on Children when a Dad is in Prison

Introduction

This chapter gives an outline of childhood. It will critically analyse legislation and policy in Ireland to establish what rights the children of imprisoned parents have. The effects on families when a parent goes to prison will be explored. The significant effects on children when a parent is imprisoned will be discussed under a number of headings. The different gendered reactions for children will be examined. Life-long effects on children and the cycle of criminality will be discussed, focusing on the effects of paternal imprisonment.

Childhood

Marshall (1994:52) enlightens us that *"the term 'child'*[25] *can be used to mean either an offspring or someone who has not reached full economic and jural status as an adult in a society"*. Childhoods vary between cultures and society's construction of a child has evolved over time and place. Traditionally, children have been viewed as *"human becomings"*, whose natural needs and capacities mature through stages of socialisation, taken care of by adults, who nurture them to adulthood (Scott, 2006:24).

In 1962, Philip Aries pointed out that modern Western childhood is unique in the way it *"quarantines"* children from the world of adults, making childhood a "*journey towards adulthood"*, which is associated with play and education rather than work and responsibility (Marshall, 1994:52; Scott, 2006:23). Therefore, the child must be cared for and protected in the *"family"*, as provided for in our Constitution (1937)[26], failing which, the child provides the State *"with the excuse to intervene in irregular families, and to change or dismember them, if they do not comply with certain norms"* (Marshall, 1994:52).

Indeed, Beck's (1992) *"risk society"* argues that we are now in a modern era, where observable and measurable risks created by humans dominate and are reinforced by societal attempts to control, with the consequences of risk becoming a political issue. He remarks *"it is societal intervention - in the form of decision-making - that transforms incalculable hazards into calculable risks"* (Beck 1992 in Elliott, 2002:295).

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[25]The Child Care Act, 1991: "*child*" means a person under the age of 18 years other than a person who is or has been married.

[26]Article 41.1.1 of the Constitution: *"The State recognises the Family as the natural primary and fundamental unit group of Society, and as a moral institution possessing inalienable and imprescriptible rights, antecedent and superior to all positive law"* (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937).

Children's Rights in Ireland

Children's rights have long been a critical issue in Irish society and children today have been part of a society where their rights have either being unheard, ignored or undermined in the past (Burns and Lynch, 2008). The researcher will now investigate what rights are determined for children under our most fundamental law in Ireland, the Child Care Act, 1991 and the United Nations Convention for the Rights of Children.

- ### *Bunreacht na hÉireann, The Constitution of Ireland (1937)*

Bunreacht na hÉireann (meaning *'Basic Law of Ireland'*) is the Irish Constitution, a fundamental legal document enacted in 1937, which sets out how Ireland should be governed and protects all citizens to have *"natural human rights"* (Citizens Information, 2013:1). Children are therefore given many of the same rights as adults due to the fact that they are citizens; however, child-specific rights are limited to Article 42.4[27] and Article 42.5[28] (Ryan-Mangan, 2014).

Any amendment to the Constitution has to be made by public approval and Ireland held a Children's Referendum in 2012 in order to implement its 31st Amendment of the Constitution (Children) Bill entitled '*Article 42A Children*' (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2013). This amendment would endorse children as individuals and citizens with their own rights whilst simultaneously obliging the State, as far as are practicable, not only to protect, but to vindicate the natural and imprescriptible rights of all children[29]. The majority of voters were in favour of the Referendum proposal[30]. However, there has been a challenge to this

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[27]Article 42.4: *"The State shall provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiative, and, when the public good requires it, provide other educational facilities or institutions with due regard, however, for the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral formation"* (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937).

[28]Article 42.5: *"In exceptional cases, where the parents for physical or moral reasons fail in their duty towards their children, the State as guardian of the common good, by appropriate means shall endeavour to supply the place of the parents, but always with due regard for the natural and imprescriptible rights of the child"* (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937).

[29]The key implications of this amendment would mean *"the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration"* and the views of the child *"shall be ascertained and given due weight having regard to the age and maturity of the child"* in all proceedings relating to the child (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2013:1).

[30]58% voted Yes; 42% voted No (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2013).

Referendum and we are still awaiting judgement on referring the Bill to the President for signing into law (ibid.)[31].

The inferior constitutional status of children has led to many disastrous outcomes in Ireland (Kilkenny Incest Investigation, 1993[32]; Roscommon Child Care Case, 2009[33]) where the superior rights conferred on the family, as enshrined in the Constitution, have given a higher value to the rights of parents and were therefore acted upon (Kilkelly, 2012). Children deserve their own place in our most basic law which would give a clear declaration of their rights and entitlements. The proposed amendment would *"put children at the heart of the Constitution"* where children's *views* would be taken into account, putting children in a participatory position in society (Finlay, 2012:1).

- ***The Child Care Act, 1991 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child***

The Child Care Act, 1991 was the first child-care legislation that clarified the statutory role, duties and powers of the State to protect and promote the welfare of all children in Ireland who are not receiving *"adequate care and protection"* in the family unit (Considine and Dukelow, 2009:375). The "*Paramountcy Principle*"[34] in this Act provides the best interest of the child as paramount consideration, where the wishes of the child are considered (Hamilton, 2011:63). However, whilst point of reference is made to children's needs and welfare, this Act explicitly fails to include specific children's rights, particularly with regard to identified vulnerable groups (Ryan-Mangan, 2014).

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[31]The judgement in the High Court challenge to the result of the referendum was delivered in 2013 and the petitioner was unsuccessful in her challenge to the Provisional Referendum Certificate. An appeal against the judgment was heard by the Supreme Court in December 2014 which has been reserved and is awaited (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2013).

[32]In 1993, at the Central Criminal Court, a forty-eight year old County Kilkenny father of two was given a seven year jail sentence, having pleaded guilty at an earlier court hearing to six charges of rape, incest and assault from a total of fifty-six charges covering the period 1976 to 1991 (McGuinness, 1993). The Kilkenny Incest Investigation in 1993 marked the beginning of a series of inquiries into child protection failings in Ireland.

[33]*"On the 22nd of January, 2009 Mrs A, a mother of six children, was sentenced in Roscommon Circuit Court to seven years in prison following her conviction for incest, neglect and ill treatment. The presiding Judge, Judge Miriam Reynolds, (RIP) said the children were failed by everyone around them and that she was concerned that, while the former Western Health Board had been involved since 1996, the children had not been taken into care until 2004"* (Gibbons, 2010).

[34]"Paramountcy Principle" is the principle that the best interests of the child should be the paramount consideration and is the key principle of the Child Care Act 1991, where children's interests and welfare are the primary focus in planning and delivery of services (Hamilton, 2011).

Ireland committed to protect, promote and fulfil children's rights when it ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1992 (Children's Rights Alliance, 2010). The CRC has provided a much-needed structure to safeguard children's rights as well as providing a foundation for bringing their rights to the fore in the development of policy and practice. However, whilst the rights of identified vulnerable children in society are specifically mentioned, children of incarcerated parents are not given any specific place in this framework, which consists in total of 41 Articles (Ryan-Mangan, 2014).

Under the CRC, children have many rights that need to be respected. Articles 3[35] and 9 (3)[36] state that we shall respect the right of the child to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents, once it is in their best interests to do so. Article 2 (2)[37] specifies that the child shall be protected against all forms of discrimination on the basis of their parents status or activities. Article 12[38] states that the child has a right to express their opinion in all matters which affect them, their views (age-appropriate) given due consideration. However, the practice of sentencing and visitation, especially in relation to the father of a child, is not seen from *"a children's rights perspective"* and the consequences of incarceration are rarely taken into consideration (Donson and Parkes, 2012:408).

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[35]Article 3 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: *"In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration"* (Children's Rights Alliance, 2010).

[36]Article 9 (3) of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: *"States Parties shall respect the right of the child who is separated from one or both parents to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis, except if it is contrary to the child's best interests"* (Children's Rights Alliance, 2010).

[37]Article 2 (2) of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: *"States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members"* (Children's Rights Alliance, 2010).

[38]Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: *"States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child"* (Children's Rights Alliance, 2010).

- ***Our most recent National Policy Framework***

"Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures" is the first overarching National Policy Framework for Children and Young People (aged 0-24 years) which is to be implemented from 2014-2020. It aims to achieve *"five national outcomes"* for children encompassing health, education, poverty, child protection and youth participation. This *"whole-of-Government"* policy believes *"supporting childhood is building for Ireland's future"* and contains many *"important firsts for Irelands"* (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2014:vii).

Our most recent policy document outlines the key commitments which will be undertaken by Government and inter-agency teamwork to promote protection and welfare for all of Ireland's youth. This comprehensive document informs us that research *"is increasingly pointing to the benefits of positive parenting"* and believe supporting parents and early intervention are key to achieving the best for children and families (ibid:x). However, there is no explicit mention in this inspirational document of any support for children of imprisoned parents, although it specifically mentions other identified vulnerable groups. Moreover, it explores how it will implement strategies on tackling inequalities for specified groups and acknowledges *"the importance of policies that integrate minority ethnic groups into the fabric of society"* (ibid:101).

The Effects on Families when a Parent is in Prison

An International Report estimates that everyday some 800,000 children across the European Union live separated from their parents due to imprisonment (Scharff-Smith and Gampell, 2011). In Ireland, there is no precise record of the amount of children with a parent in prison, however, it is estimated 200,000 adults and 80,000 children visit Ireland's prisons annually (Martyn, 2012).

As most of the imprisoned parents are male, children of imprisoned fathers mostly remain at home in the care of their mother, although these circumstances may now be more difficult (Bedford Row, 2007; Donson and Parkes, 2012). Systematic research, who interviewed family members of prisoners, found the whole experience, from arrest to imprisonment, full of *"anxiety, shame and grief"* (Bedford Row, 2007:7). For many that undertook this research, the experience of imprisonment exasperated underlying problems that were already

putting stress on family life, such as *"poverty, childcare problems, health problems, substance misuse and very often the threat of homelessness"* (ibid.).

Some mothers report deteriorating health when their partner goes to prison (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009). In one Danish study, prisoners' partners described themselves as *"living in a prison without bars"* as they no longer had any time between work and visits to have any leisure time for them or their children (ibid:12). No doubt, this impacts on children's lives, as they are now living in a different family setting, perhaps with increased levels of tension in their surroundings. Furthermore, research found many women have to give up work as a result of their partner going to prison which further impacts on the financial affairs of a one-income family, which already may be struggling (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009; Donson and Parkes, 2012).

Family dynamics change when a parent goes to prison. However, one of the most important factors to be considered for fathers is their relationship with the child's mother[39]. Research found imprisoned fathers with *"complex couple relationships"* impact directly on child-father visitation statistics (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009:7). A father-child relationship is dependent on when *"a mother is cooperative, and may become impossible if she is not"* (ibid.). Half of all families lose contact with prisoners during their sentence, especially with regard to male inmates, as family breakups often isolate the father which is further exacerbated when a father is in prison (ibid.).

The Effects on Children when a Parent is in Prison

Whilst Ireland cannot put an exact number on the amount of children separated from an incarcerated parent, there is a wealth of international literature on the negative impacts that the imprisonment of a parent can have on a child's wellbeing (Boswell and Wedge, 2002; Miller, 2006; Condry, 2007; Foster and Hagan, 2007, Rosenberg and Brett, 2009). However, whilst formal attention to this vulnerable group in Ireland appears to be limited, there are now many Irish studies emerging which are informing us of the many effects on children when a parent is imprisoned (King, 2002; Bedford Row, 2007; Murphy, 2010; Martyn, 2012; Donson and Parkes, 2012; Ryan-Mangan, 2014).

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[39] The researcher will use the term *"mother"* as the primary care-giver throughout this report.

There are direct and indirect consequences in many forms resulting from a parent's incarceration (Ryan-Mangan, 2014). A change of living arrangements where the child finds their daily routines suddenly disrupted may lead to detrimental effects on a child's stability. In many instances, this can give rise to many changes in children's behaviour which may ultimately lead to a significant change or breakdown in parent-child relationships (Miller, 2006; Rosenberg and Brett, 2009).

- ### *Bronfenbrenner's Systems Theory, Grief and Loss and Erikson's Life-Cycle Theory*

Howe (2009:118) highlights that we have gained significant knowledge from Bronfenbrenner's theory[40] , which places the child in the centre, and indicates that *"children affect and are affected by their parents, family, friends and school"*. It is important to remember the ecosystems approach when considering children with a parent in prison. The whole composition of the family changes which may affect a child's development and wellbeing, impacting them at all levels.

Grief is a normal reaction to any loss experienced in life and as each person and their loss is unique, the process of grieving is as individual as our finger-prints (Kubler-Ross, 1997). Children have different levels of resilience and react to loss in different ways. When a parent goes to prison, the process of grief and loss is significant where a child must learn to adapt to a new way of life. Currer (2007:70) puts this well *"we must re-learn self; rediscover who we are, now that one special relationship has been disrupted. Since the self is social, we who are left are no longer the same"*.

Erikson (1950)[41] related that the socialisation of children at different stages affects the sense of self, deeming adolescence to be a time of intense significance which plays a fundamental role in developing a sense of identity. Indeed, forming a healthy identity is something most teenagers struggle with, often making adolescence *"a time of storm and stress"* (Passer and Smith, 2004:403). Traumas, such as a forced separation from a parent, will exacerbate any issues that a child may already be grappling with and impact on children differently. It is

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[40] See Appendix 3: Diagram of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems Model.

[41] See Appendix 2: Erikson's Five Stages of the *"Eight Ages of Man"*.

therefore important to bear in mind how each child emerges from the previous stage as they go through the life cycle and acknowledge that *"like the early chapters of a novel, themes that emerge in childhood help set the stage for the unfolding story of our lives"* (Passer and Smith, 2004:390).

- ### *Secrecy, Shame and Stigma of having a Parent in Prison*

Research undertaken in Mountjoy Prison found that 61.5% of parents stated their child was unaware that their parent was in prison stating work, army/navy or hospital as reasons for absence (King, 2002:53). However, there were limitations to undertaking this research: firstly, as there is no existing record of the parental status of prisoners, it proved difficult to get a sampling frame. Secondly, it emerged that children who were to be interviewed were not aware their parent was in prison which reduced the sampling size. Therefore, the total sample group (26 prisoners) is non-representative of the overall number of parents in Irish prisons (ibid.).

Many parents do not tell their children that a parent is in prison as they believe they are *"incapable of comprehending the concept of incarceration"* as well as hoping that keeping the knowledge from them will protect their emotional well-being (Miller, 2006:476). However, although their intention is good, *"this deception leads to confusion, distrust and uncertainty"* where children begin to fantasise about where their parent actually is. In the long term, this can have distressing and damaging consequences for the child (ibid.).

Miller (2006:477) suggests that *"most children are aware of society's stigma on criminal behaviour"*. Therefore, children are likely to feel embarrassed, ashamed and attempt to keep their parent's imprisonment a secret for fear of bullying or rejection by peers. Friendships are of critical importance to children and contribute significantly to their wellbeing, providing a sense of belonging (Passer and Smith, 2004). Therefore, children are at significant risk of social exclusion which can have *"lasting harmful consequences"* (Foster and Hagan, 2007:403). A third of prisoners' children suffer mental health difficulties in comparison to ten per cent of children generally (Philbrick, 1997 in Loucks, 2004).

The Effects on Education

Dallaire *et al.* (2010:284) found children of imprisoned parents are treated differently in schools; with teachers *"expecting less from children of incarcerated parents"* putting them *"at increased risk for academic failure and school dropout"*. Bedford Row (2007:8) found children are often *"ridiculed"* at school which can have a profound effect with many negative consequences. Furthermore, the disruption caused by changes in the child's circumstances interferes with a child's concentration level, having a serious impact on their academic performance (Ryan-Mangan, 2014). Foster and Hagan (2007:421) found paternal imprisonment *"exerts a direct effect on his child's ultimate educational detainment"*. Ultimately, the long-term goals and life-chances of the child are curtailed as academic success may be lost at the time (Miller, 2006; Dallaire *et al.,* 2010; Ryan-Mangan, 2014).

Gendered Reactions for Children

There has been a tendency to underestimate the effects of paternal imprisonment, nonetheless, the *"children of incarcerated fathers live in a high-risk and potentially emotionally disrupting and damaging environment"* (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009:13). There are definite behavioural reactions that seem to deviate depending on the gender of the parent that is imprisoned. The absence of a mother tends to result in *'acting-in'* behaviours such as withdrawal, regression and clinging behaviour. The absence of a father is associated with *'acting-out'* behaviours such as hostility, aggressive acts and discipline problems, which may lead to the use of drugs/alcohol as a way of coping and involve delinquent activities[42]. However, it is only through the knowledge that a parent is absent due to the fact of imprisonment that results in these gendered reactions for children (ibid.).

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[42]One study (Fritsch & Burkhead, 1981), where the gender of the imprisoned parent was correlated with the behaviour manifested in the children, indicated 32.6 percent of child-related problems reported by imprisoned fathers were related to discipline issues, compared to only 7.7 percent of those reported by imprisoned mothers. This finding indicates that the absence of a father, who generally assumes the role of disciplinarian, may lead to this acting-out behaviour (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009).

▪ *Life-Long Effects for Children*

International research indicates that whilst short and long term effects of parental imprisonment are hard to quantify, current literature signifies that *"the increasing number of children with incarcerated parents constitutes perhaps one of the largest at-risk populations in the United States"* (Miller, 2006:472). Furthermore, Bocknek *et al.* (2009:323), who used a mixed methods approach on school-age children of incarcerated parents, found *"a high prevalence of post-traumatic stress as well as high rates of internalizing and externalizing behaviours"*.

Children of prisoners appear to suffer *"profound psychosocial difficulties"* when their parent is incarcerated (Murray and Farrington, 2005:1269). Longitudinal research was undertaken examining the later-life outcomes for prisoners' children compared to children who were separated from their parents for other reasons. They contrasted boys separated by parental imprisonment during the first ten years of life with four control groups. Individual, parenting and family risk factors for delinquency were measured when boys were aged 8–11. Eleven antisocial and delinquent outcomes were assessed between ages 14 and 40. The result was that separation because of parental imprisonment *"predicted all antisocial–delinquent outcomes"* compared to the four control conditions, indicating that imprisonment affects children *"even up to the age of 32"* over and above separation of any other kind. This research concludes that *"prisoners' children are a highly vulnerable group with multiple risk factors for adverse outcomes"* (ibid).

▪ *Cycle of Criminality*

"Ideas about deviance being contagious have a long history" (Condry, 2007:66). *"Kin contamination"*, the idea that through close proximity, either geographical or genealogical, deviance can contaminate, remains a dominant concept referred to as a *"web of shame"*. Through this proximity relatives are presumed to be *"tainted or polluted either through association or through a genetic or biological connection"* (ibid.).

It is difficult to generalise that paternal criminality replicates itself in children as there is a lack of longitudinal studies, representative samples and appropriate control groups from which to establish such general rules (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009). Whilst it is difficult to measure to what extent paternal imprisonment itself will have on a child's behaviour, there

are numerous studies indicating that paternal imprisonment is a risk factor in children developing anti-social behaviour (ibid).

International research indicates that children of prisoners have a higher statistical probability of going to prison than that of children of non-imprisoned parents (Martyn, 2012). However, much of the literature points to the fact that sons (one study observed boys especially around puberty) are more at high risk of anti-social behaviour due to paternal imprisonment (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009). Murray and Farrington (2008 in Martyn, 2012:10) found that *"65% of boys who had a father with a criminal conviction ended up offending"*. An American study (Johnston, 1995 in Loucks, 2004:6) indicated that children of incarcerated parents are *"five to six times more likely"* to go to prison than their friends.

However, whilst it is evident that children of prisoners are at a higher risk of health and behavioural problems, there are many variations in what behavioural reactions each child will have when a parent goes to prison. Therefore, it is unrealistic to single out risk factors to show the extent to which it is paternal imprisonment itself that engenders such anti-social behaviour in children (Rosenberg and Brett, 2009). Whilst research would support the evidence that imprisonment of Dad *increases* the chances of his children going to prison, research also indicates that regular father-child contact and a good relationship between Dad and his family *decreases* the chances that Dad will return to prison after his release (De Cléir, 2014:1).

Conclusion

This chapter gave an account of childhood. It critically analysed legislation and policy in Ireland which found that children of an imprisoned parent are not afforded any specific rights nor is the practice of sentencing/visitation seen from a child's perspective. The dynamics of a family change when a parent goes to prison and the literature found a higher risk of many health and behavioural problems for children, with lasting consequences.

There are different gendered reactions for children and specific behaviours present due to the fact that the absence is through imprisonment. Paternal imprisonment exerts a direct effect on a child's educational achievements and future life-chances and there is a significant risk factor in children developing anti-social behaviour, especially for boys. There is also a higher statistical possibility of a cycle of criminality, which means going to prison may be an expectation of what lies ahead for the next generation.

Introduction

This chapter will present the findings, guided by the data collected, giving a new insight and meeting the aims and objectives of this qualitative small-scale study. The critically analysed data will be categorised into three key themes and discussed in order to answer the research question. To conclude, a number of recommendations will be given on how to make a social change to a very vulnerable group in our society, children with a father in prison.

Key Findings

The overall research question of this study was to advance a theory that the Irish Criminal Justice System punished the children of fathers in prison. Through the use of an extensive literature review, a number of significant themes emerged. Putting these into three broad categories: Prison/Irish Criminal Justice System, Fatherhood and Children of an Imprisoned Parent, this study will reveal a summary of findings.

- ▪ *Prison/Irish Criminal Justice System*

1) The social profile of prisoners could be classified as young, male and working class and there is a strong link between social disadvantage and crime.
2) Prisoners present with a range of issues which directly or indirectly link them to crime.
3) Unequal societies tend to have more violent crime and more punitive systems with a higher rate for re-offending.
4) Prison doesn't work as a means of responding to crime.
5) The Irish Criminal Justice System:
   - fails to implement policies to reduce crime as it focuses on punishment over prevention;
   - views crime as a social problem in isolation from underlying complex issues;
   - contains a number of biases where the disadvantaged in society have a greater chance of being convicted and receive a harsher sentence.

- ### *Fatherhood*

1) A significant finding is that there is no systematic record-keeping of the parental status of people who are imprisoned in Ireland.

2) Fathers in prison have a right to sustain a connection with their child, once it is in the child's best interests, yet this is not taken into consideration when a man is sent to prison.

3) Fathers in prison have low self-esteem and agonize that their imprisonment will lead to diminished contact with their children over time.

4) The concept of patriarchy, where the female is seen as primary care-giver and the male as provider, has shifted to a participatory *'nurturing'* role now being played by the father.

5) Various studies found that a father's involvement in a child's life is beneficial and significant to a child's development and wellbeing.

6) Mothers are treated differently to fathers when being sentenced. Mothers in different prisons in Ireland are better facilitated in maintaining a bond with their child.

7) Fathers in prison are not supported in maintaining father-child bonds.

8) The consequence of imprisonment is loss of liberty, but for fathers who have to parent behind bars, it is more than a punishment when a father has to surrender his right to go on parenting with no emphasis given to the vital role of fatherhood.

- ### *Children of Imprisoned Parents*

1) A notable finding was that there was no official record of the number of children with a parent in prison in Ireland.

2) Irish children's rights have been undermined in the past; however, this is now beginning to change. Even so, there are no explicit rights for children of incarcerated parents in any legislation or policy in Ireland.

3) Having a no-contact policy in place when a child visits their father in prison has negative effects and contravenes European Prison Rules. The practice of sentencing and visitation are not seen from a child's perspective nor are the consequences of incarceration.

4) The whole composition of the family changes when a parent is in prison. The child affects and is affected by its environment.

5) There are direct and indirect consequences in many forms resulting from a parent's incarceration. Children are at a higher risk of many health and behavioural problems, which can have lasting effects.

6) There are different gendered reactions for children when a parent is imprisoned and specific behaviours present due to the fact that the absence is through imprisonment.

7) In particular, paternal imprisonment exerts a direct effect on a child's educational accomplishments and future life-chances and is a significant risk factor for children developing anti-social behaviour, especially in the case of boys.

8) Children of prisoners have a higher statistical probability of going to prison.

Analysis of Findings

There is no doubt that the family setting is altered when a parent goes to prison, with many consequences for every member of the family. There is a significant link between having a parent in prison and a family's well-being and there are wider implications for society. Society is affected by parental imprisonment as the social and economic capital, upon which families and communities depend on to successfully raise children, is further diminished.

There are a wide and varied range of detrimental effects to children who have a parent in prison. Consequences can be significant ranging from physical ailments to psychological difficulties, putting children at a higher risk of social exclusion whilst curtailing their life chances. However, there are definite behavioural issues depending on the gender of the parent in prison, with children reacting in different ways.

Men make up the majority of the prison population and there are many children affected by paternal imprisonment. Certain acting-out behaviours can lead to an altered lifestyle as a means of a coping mechanism. Paternal imprisonment affects a child, as it transits into adulthood, having a direct effect on education, resulting in a loss of future life-chances. There is also a considerable risk of developing disruptive behaviour, especially in the case of sons of imprisoned fathers, producing a higher probability of a vicious cycle of criminality.

The concept of patriarchy, where a father's place in a family is seen as provider and not as carer, reduces the value placed on a dad in a child's life. Ireland's family structure has changed today with many different forms now prevalent in our society, but fathers have a valuable place in the family. Studies show that a father's involvement in the life of his child yields good outcomes for children. The father's role in a family may change over time and place, but one study revealed the utter significance and the never-changing fact when it disclosed *"the importance of fathers simply being the unique person they were in the life of the child"* (Boswell and Wedge, 2002:30).

Children of incarcerated parents remain *"a forgotten group of society's children who can be subject to a double-discrimination in terms of recognition and enforcement of their human rights"* (Donson and Parkes, 2012:408). There is a considerable lack of policy in place to provide adequate services for the practice of maintaining and strengthening relationships between male prisoners and their children. These children are not afforded any specific place in policy, thus they remain invisible in practice. However, there is now recognition in Irish society that children deserve to be listened to and their views should be expressed influencing any decisions that affect them. It is time we heard from the children of imprisoned parents to influence decisions about father-child contact when a dad is in prison.

Steps have to be taken to ensure that a child can have a good relationship with his dad while he is in prison. Research found projects (Invisible Walls) strengthen bonds between a father and their family creating effective results in reintegrating offenders back into society, whilst reducing the rate of re-offending. If we ignore the majority of our prison population, we are deliberately disregarding the natural rights of all children who wish to be parented, thus adding further discrimination and damage to a very vulnerable group in our society. Indeed, it is time society assisted in breaking the cycle of criminality. As Roosevelt (1940) remarked *"we cannot always build the future for our youth, but we can build our youth for the future"*.

Our Irish Criminal Justice System fails to reduce crime as it focuses on individual punishment and it is evident that prison does not adequately respond to reducing crime. Society needs a shift in ideology, as well as a shift in resources, where policies are implemented which tackle the underlying issues that impinge on disadvantaged groups in society, without further discriminating against them. It is only then we can create better communities and a safer society for all. If we ignore these facts, we are contributing to the

power of the criminal justice system, a system which neither protects society nor achieves justice.

It is a sad fact that Ireland cannot account for the amount of children who are affected by parental imprisonment. Our most recent national policy, *Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures*, is aiming to promote protection and welfare for all of Ireland's youth. It is time our Criminal Justice System, not alone acknowledge this vulnerable group, but provide a place in policy embracing the needs of this specific group. Time has come to provide a service that will encourage and strengthen a relationship with one of the most important people in a child's life, their father.

From the evidence gathered and analysed, this would advance a theory that the Irish Criminal Justice System does punish the children of imprisoned fathers. To conclude in the words of Marie-France Blanco (2006), *"children should be told that prison-imposed restrictions do not apply to love"*.

Recommendations

1) Create a National Organisation which would hold full responsibility for supporting families affected by imprisonment.

2) Activate an official Irish Register to record parent's status when they are sent to prison, as well as recording the number of children each prisoner has. This would provide an accurate figure on the amount of children with a parent in prison in Ireland.

3) Insert a specific section *"children of incarcerated parents"* into legislation and policy acknowledging these children as a vulnerable group in society and devising a strategy plan setting out ways of supporting this group.

4) Create pleasant visiting centres with child-friendly environments across Ireland's prison estate, especially in male prisons which is not the case presently. Non-contact visits, which are only in some prisons, should be re-evaluated and only used if completely necessary.

5) Provide key workers in prison to support/maintain family relationships and engage families in a prisoner's life as much as possible. Train prison staff to be aware of the importance of maintaining family relationships.

6) Father-child relationships should be facilitated in the same way as mother-child relationships. Family days in prisons where a father could spend a length of quality time with a child should be standard practice.

7) Programmes should be initiated in prison that would help fathers understand basic child development. One participant, on one such programme, remarked *"we must educate ourselves because we are raising the future"* (Cynkar, 2007:1)[43].

8) Provide support groups and specific programmes in the community to help meet the needs of all children affected by parental imprisonment.

9) All schools should provide courses that specifically educate teachers to manage the needs and vulnerabilities of children with a parent in prison.

10) Further research, of a longitudinal nature, where observational studies of father-child relationships are conducted and the views of the child expressed. This would be beneficial to determine the unique stressors and outcomes related to having a father in prison.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the main findings and critically analysed the assembled data, categorising it into key themes in order to answer the research question and advance a theory that the Irish Criminal Justice System does punish the children of imprisoned fathers. To conclude, a number of recommendations were given in order to make a social change to a very vulnerable group in our society, children with a father in prison.

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[43]See Appendix 4: 'Positive Parenting: APA's Violence Prevention Program Teaches Prison Inmates how to be Better Dads', Cynkar (2007).

Chapter 8: Overall Conclusion of Study

This study has shown that the Irish Criminal Justice System does punish the children of imprisoned fathers. In chapter one, an introduction of the study and an overview of the chapters was provided. Chapter two detailed an account of the research methodology. In chapter three, crime and punishment were discussed and chapter four explored prison in contemporary Ireland. Chapter five investigated the contested ideas of fatherhood. Chapter six examined childhood and focused on the effects on children when a father is imprisoned. Chapter seven analysed and discussed the key findings and produced recommendations. Chapter eight provided an overall conclusion to this study.

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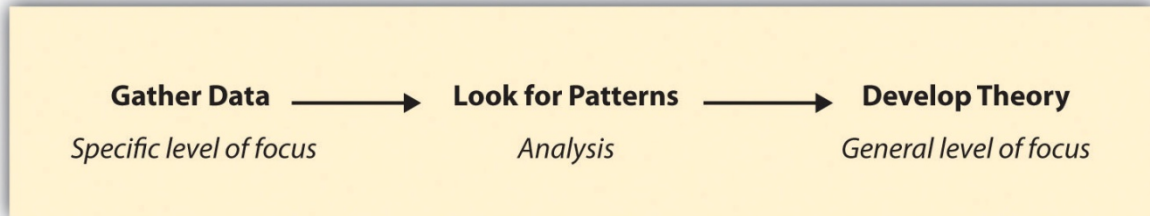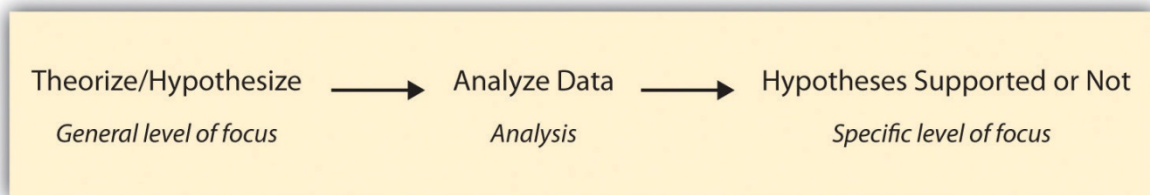## _Appendix 1: Inductive and Deductive Research[44]_

Figure 1: Inductive Research

Gather Data ⟶ **Look for Patterns** ⟶ **Develop Theory**

Specific level of focus   *Analysis*   *General level of focus*

Figure 2: Deductive Research

Theorize/Hypothesize ⟶ Analyze Data ⟶ Hypotheses Supported or Not

General level of focus   *Analysis*   *Specific level of focus*

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[44]Extracted from Blackstone, A. (2012) *Sociological Inquiry Principles: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods (v.1.0)*, available at: http://2012books.lardbucket.org/pdfs/sociological-inquiry-principles-qualitative-and-quantitative-methods.pdf [Accessed: 18th April, 2015].
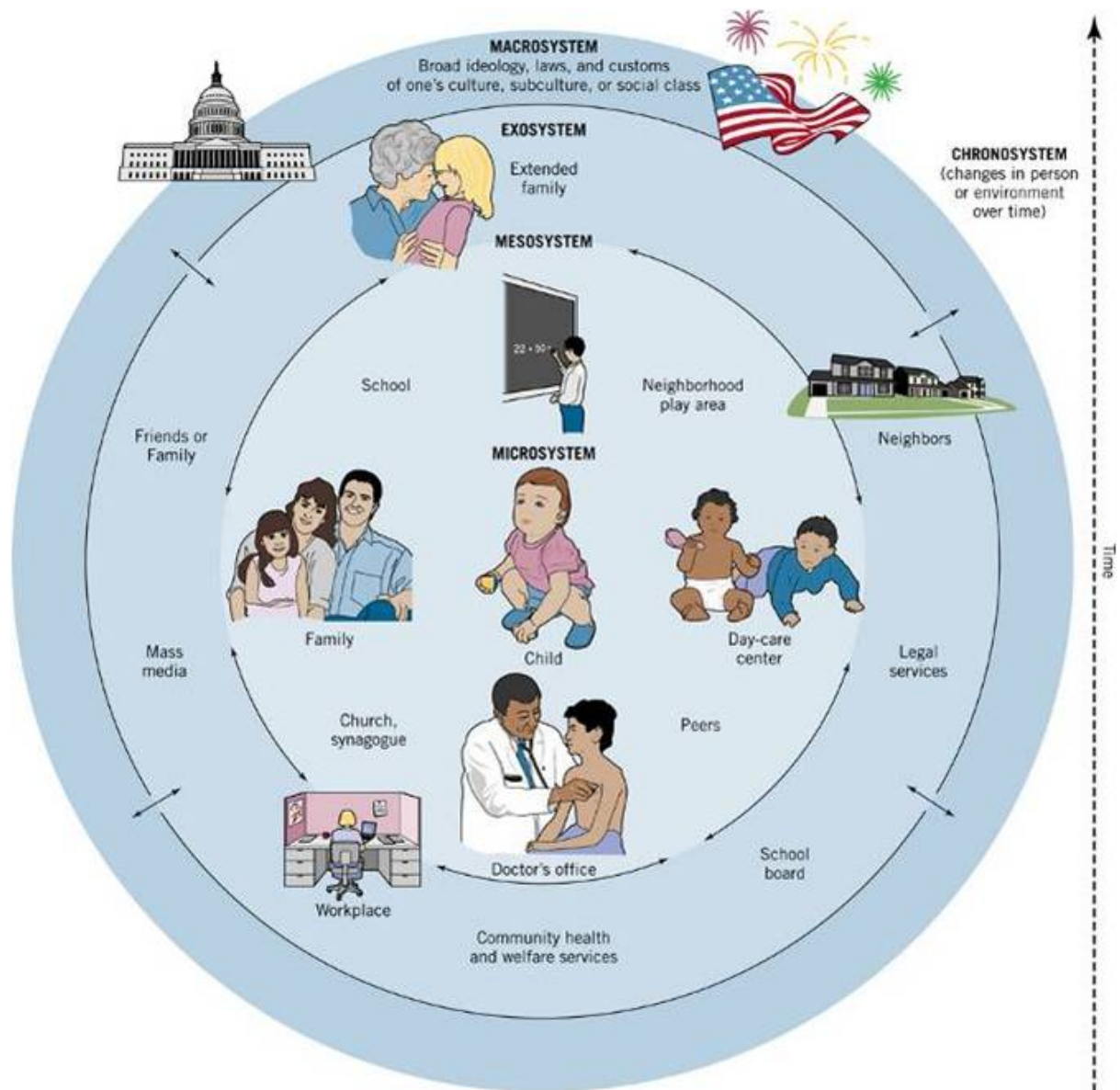
Appendix 2

Erikson's Five Stages of the *"Eight Ages of Man"*[45]

Stage	Description
Trust vs. Mistrust (0-1 year of age)	An individual struggles to develop trust in others (mainly caregivers that are key to their survival). A child's development of trust in this stage has a lot to do with the parents; they must display warmth and consistent care for the child to build a basic trust in others- without which they will be unable to form subsequent attachments and a level intimacy with someone further on.
Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt (1-3 years of age)	An individual struggles to find some independence and autonomy so that they may be less dependent on primary caregivers for everything and may meet society's increasing demands. If parents are supportive in children's struggle here, children may develop a good self-esteem and achieve self-control leading them towards this feeling of autonomy.
Initiative vs. Guilt (3-6 years of age)	An individual strives to develop higher standards and show initiative so they may be freed from their fear of not meeting outward expectations. As Freud described this age range, Erikson believed that at this stage children internalized their parents' principles, beliefs, and value systems and struggled with their need to uphold to these.
Industry vs. Inferiority (6-12 years of age)	An individual strives to master the cognitive and social skills indicated by their culture that they must have in order realize their goals, work industrially, and play well with others. This stage is critical in the child developing a strong ego and a sense of competence that will set them with a high self-esteem.
Identity vs. Role Confusion (Adolescence)	An individual struggles to develop a sense of self- their individual identity- so that they may subsequently find and understand their role in society. Amongst social pressures, physical changes, hormones, etc. adolescents must find who they are or remain in confusion as to where they fit in this world as adults. (If individuals in this stage try to move on to intimacy without developing a clear sense of self they may adopt their partner's identity in the absence of their own, and be left without one later on in life when their relationship ends)

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[45]Extracted from: Siegler, R., Deloache, J. and Eisenberg, N. (2006) *How Children Develop* (2nd ed.) New York, NY: Catherine Woods, available at: http://lifeinstructionmanual.wikispaces.com/Erikson%27s+Psychosocial+Development+Theory [Accessed: 17 April, 2015].

Appendix 3

Diagram of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory[46]

[46]Extracted from: Siegler, R., Deloache, J. and Eisenberg, N. (2006) *How Children Develop* (2nd ed.) New York, NY: Catherine Woods, available at: http://lifeinstructionmanual.wikispaces.com/Bronfenbrenner%27s+Bioecological+Model [Accessed: 17 April 2015].

Positive parenting

APA's violence prevention program teaches prison inmates how to be better dads.

You don't often see state prison inmates playing with multi-colored pipe cleaners or drawing with crayons. But that's exactly the scene that played out during a recent APA Adults and Children (ACT) Against Violence program at the Allen Correctional Institution (ACI), a medium-security prison in Lima, Ohio.

The voluntary, 11-session program, launched in March 2006, uses arts and crafts to show inmates ways to foster positive relationships with children, says Donna Dickman, regional ACT coordinator. Using pipe cleaners to illustrate the values they want to instill in their children, for example, or role-playing violence-free ways to discipline helps inmates understand the effects their behavior has on their children, she says. Even though nearly half of the inmates who participate in the program don't have their own children, says Dickman, they are eager to learn more about anger management and proper behavior around children. "Even if they don't have children, they're still in the community and kids are watching them," Dickman says. "[After the ACT program,] they better understand the importance of role modeling good behaviors for children".

Stopping the cycle of violence

APA's ACT program focuses on adults who raise, care for and teach young children. It is based on research showing that early childhood is a critical period in a child's life when children learn basic interpersonal skills, problem-solving and self-control, says Julia da Silva, director of the national program.

ACT's popularity with early childhood development teachers and parents involved in Head Start and other community parenting organizations in Ohio prompted Dickman to initiate the program at ACI. To date, Dickman has worked with more than 50 inmates, and the program's waiting list continues to grow. At ACI, nearly 95 percent of the inmates report fighting and hostility in their homes as children, making them fervent for lessons on violence-free conflict resolution, she says.

"Of all of the groups I have presented this information to, these guys are the most ready to absorb it and think about it because it directly relates to their lives", Dickman says. The program kicks off with sessions on the basics of child development and how to best respond to problem behaviors at different ages. In working with toddlers, for example, the prisoners are taught that these children may be easily angered because they want their needs met immediately. The session teaches participants how to avoid getting angry and use gentle but firm words to calm the child down and distract them with a book or toy. Subsequent meetings teach participants how different parenting styles affect children's behavior and touch on the affect of media violence on children.

And evaluation forms show inmates take the program's messages to heart, says Dickman. Pre- and post-test responses from one ACT group showed that the number of inmates who agreed that spanking is a normal part of parenting decreased by nearly 50 percent after participating in the program. "It helped me understand [that] raising a child is not a trial-and-error process," one participant noted. "We must educate ourselves because we are raising the future".[47]

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[47]Extract from Cynkar, A. (2007) 'Positive Parenting: APA's violence prevention program teaches prison inmates how to be better dads', *American Psychological Association* (38) 8, available at: http://www.apa.org/monitor/sep07/positive.aspx [Accessed: 19 April, 2015].